



RESEARCH ARTICLE

EXHAUSTIVE TYPOLOGIES OF SEX WORKERS AND SEX BUYERS IN THE TANZANIA-UGANDA BORDERLANDS IN THE CONTEXT OF HEALTH PROMOTION AND COMMUNICATION TARGETING THE SEX INDUSTRY IN KAGERA REGION, TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

The assumption that sex buyers and sex workers are exclusively men and females respectively has for a long time informed societies, researchers and policy makers. As such, prostitution or sex work theories, research, policies, laws and interventions targeting the sex industry have exclusively focused on males as consumers of sexual services offered by females. However, with the emergence and expansion of sex tourism and female sex tourism, other categories of sex workers and sex buyers have been recognized: men who sell sex to men, men or women who sell sex to female clients and women who exclusively buy sex from or sell sex to women. Unfortunately, there is scanty information on this scenario in Tanzania and the study area in particular. We conducted a qualitative study that sought, among other objectives, to establish the typologies of sex workers and sex buyers to inform health promotion and communication interventions targeting the sex industry in the Tanzania-Uganda borderlands. Findings include 17 categories of sex workers and six categories of sex buyers. We believe the typologies presented will be user-friendly and adequately comprehensive to inform health intervention programs aiming at improving the health status of individuals in the sex industry in the Tanzania-Uganda borderlands and elsewhere.

INTRODUCTION

Sex work or the exchange of sexual acts/services for money or in kind is increasingly known a key contributor to the spread and maintenance of HIV infection in countries with concentrated-epidemic (Buzdugan, *et al.*, 2009; MoHSW/NACP; 2012; Kamazima, *et al.*, 2012a, Kamazima, *et al.*, 2017a). This understanding roots from several observations. First, FSWs, one of the most at risk populations (MARPS), has high HIV prevalence compared to the general population. For example, a Sentinel Surveillance Study in India showed that HIV prevalence among FSW was generally 10-20% more than ten times higher than among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics (NACP, India, 2007). Studies of female bar workers in Mbeya and Moshi in Tanzania reported high proportions of women engaged in informal commercial sex work with HIV prevalence ranging from 19-68% (Kapiga, *et al.*, 2002; Reider, *et al.*, 2003; Ao, *et al.*, 2006). A HIV Behavioral and Biological Surveillance Survey among FSWs in Dar-es-Salaam, 2010 indicated HIV

prevalence of 31.4% compared to 10.4% among women in the general population in Dar-es-Salaam (MoHSW/NACP, 2012). Second, FSWs are known to have multiple sex partners, which increases their chance of HIV infection. Respondents in a MoHSW/NACP (2010) study, for example, reported a median of three clients per day, that is, "[A]ssuming that a FSW works about five days a week and there are approximately 700 FSWs in Dar-es-Salaam, this represents an estimated 15,000 male clients per day." The Operational Guidelines for Targeted Interventions for High Risk Groups (HRGs) in India (nd.) estimated that "full-time FSWs have at least one client per day, or at least 30 clients per month, and nearly 400 per year." In other words,

Within one year, 1,000 FSWs will have sexual contact with 300,000 to 1,000,000 clients. In contrast, 1,000 "high-risk" men who have 6-12 sexual partners in a year will have a total of 6,000-12,000 sexual partners in a year. Since the HIV prevalence is much higher among FSWs, a higher proportion of their sexual partnerships could result in HIV transmission.

Finally, several studies confirm that FSWs' clients are 'straight and moral' members of the society who, in turn, have at least one partner in the general population (Kamazima, *et al.*, 2012a). The NACP, India (nd.)'s Operational Guidelines for Targeted Interventions for High Risk Groups (HRGs) clearly states.

The broader transmission of HIV beyond these HRGs often occurs through their sexual partners, who also have lower-risk sexual partners in the "general" population. For example, a client of a sex worker might also have a wife or other partner who is at risk of acquiring HIV from her higher-risk partner. Individuals who have sexual partners in the highest-risk groups and other partners are called a 'bridge population', because they form a transmission bridge from the HRG to the general population.

For sure, a combination of reported high HIV prevalence among FSWs, FSWs' risk behaviors including serving a number of clients (a day, a week, a month and a year), who also have lower-risk sexual partners in the general population testify the role FSWs play in the transmission and maintenance of HIV infection. In turn, this pattern of transmission calls for effective and efficient preventive interventions targeting lowering HIV prevalence among FSWs and slow transmission to the bridge population (NACP/NACO, India, 2006).

However, FSWs are not homogeneous. Researchers and intervention program implementers have applied different terms to different categories of sex workers including: 'sex work typology'; 'typology of sex work'; 'typologies of sex work'; 'sex work typologies'; 'sex work type'; 'type of sex work'; 'types of sex work' and 'form of sex work' (Buzdugan, *et al.*, 2009). Scholars have suggested categories/typologies of FSWs that are fluid and vary with geographical area and time based on various criteria: Harcourt and Donovan (2005) identified 25 forms of prostitution (11 direct and 14 indirect) "according to worksite, principal mode of soliciting clients or sexual practices"; where they work (Fusch, 2013); primary client soliciting place (NACP/NACO, India, 2006) and HIV risk (Ramesh, *et al.*, 2006). Other categories suggested are: indirect-primary, "who primarily solicit clients at their places of work, which are venues where facilitating sex work is their main purpose, for instance, massage parlors and bars"; indirect-secondary "who primarily solicit clients at their places of work, which are in non-sex work related industries, for example, agriculture and construction" and phone-based FSWs "who primarily solicit clients through phones" (Buzdugan, *et al.*, 2009). Kamazima, *et al.* (2012b) used a combination of criteria and identified about 14 typologies in the city of Dar-es-Salaam and concluded that the forms and categories of FSWs would change with social, economic, political and international definitions and forces.

NACO, India (2007) noted that certain typologies, for example, the brothel- and lodge-based, tend to have higher numbers of clients than the home-based, 'thus have a higher risk profile, requiring special focus even within the category of female sex workers.' A study on sex work typology and risk for HIV among FSWs in Southern India (Ramesh, *et al.*, 2006) showed that the overall HIV prevalence among FSWs studied was 24% but ranged from 17% among the home-based to 27% among street-based and 37% among the brothel-based. Therefore, having the understanding of types (categories or typologies) of FSWs in the country or area in question has

been recognized important for HIV and AIDS research and intervention programs targeting the sex industry (MoHSW/NACP, 2012; Kamazima *et al.*, 2012b; NACO, India, 2007). Informed by a traditional gendered assumption, societies, researchers and policy makers have understood and believed sex buyers and sex workers are exclusively men and females respectively. As a result, theories on prostitution or sex work, prostitution/sex work policies, laws and interventions targeting the sex industry have focused on males as consumers of sexual services offered by females. That is, males consume and females are consumed. However, with the emergence and expansion of sex tourism and female sex tourism, where (old) women from developed countries (mainly Europe and North America) travel to developing countries (Caribbean, New Zealand, Asia and Africa) to enjoy sex with indigenous males and females, other categories of sex workers and sex buyers have been recognized: men who sell sex to men, men or women who sell sex to female clients and women who exclusively buy sex from or sell sex to women. Relatively limited data exist on sexual relations between males and females from the north going south to buy sex. For example, studies of relationships between tourist males and local men have been conducted in India (Dandona, *et al.*, 2006), Kenya and Ethiopia (Mannava, *et al.*, 2013; Smith, *et al.*, 2015). Studies of relationships between female tourists and local males have been conducted in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Indonesia, Greece, Caribbean and Cuba (Kingston, 2015). As Kingston (2015) correctly observed, results from these studies provide evidence on the existence and rising number of men who sell sex to men and women who buy sex from women and men, challenging the long-rooted understanding that men are the exclusive buyers of sex and

Question the assertions made that conveys the 'prostitute user' as 'a man.' In addition, this finding signals the incompleteness of data on men who buy sex as they exclude those who buy sex from fellow men and transgender individuals. Similarly, data on sex buyers and sex workers need to be handled with care as they exclude women who buy sex and women and men who sell sex to women. In turn, this understanding testifies the observation that 'sex industry is under-researched and hidden area ... What we know about it is merely a representation of a much broader picture.

Certainly, there is scanty data on the existence and characteristics of male sex workers and males and females who sell sex to women in Tanzania and in Kagera Region, in particular. Sanghi (2012) noted there is increasing evidence that sex tourism and female sex tourism are prevalent in Tanzania particularly in Unguja (Zanzibar) and Pemba. The development of sex tourism and studies on men who have sex with men [MSM], Ahaneky, *et al.*, (2016), Mmbaga, *et al.*, (2017) and Mmbaga, *et al.*, 2018, for example, suggest the existence of men and women who sell sex to indigenous and tourist men. Similarly, the evidence that female sex tourism prevails in the country, hints on the existence of men and females selling sex to indigenous and tourist women.

In this paper we discuss about consenting adults who offer sexual services to other consenting adults. A prostitute or a sex worker (SW), therefore, is a consenting adult or liberated minor (woman or man) offering sexual services to other consenting adults or liberated minors. With this background in mind, we conducted a qualitative study on the Tanzania-

Uganda border that sought, among other objectives, to establish the typologies of sex workers and sex buyers to inform health promotion and communication interventions targeting the sex industry in Bukoba Rural, Bukoba Urban, Missenyi and Kyerwa districts, Kagera Region, Tanzania. Sex work or the exchange of sexual acts/services for money or in kind is increasingly known a key contributor to the spread and maintenance of HIV infection in countries with concentrated-epidemic (Buzdugan, *et al.*, 2009; MoHSW/NACP, 2012; Kamazima, *et al.*, 2012a, Kamazima, *et al.*, 2017a).

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homogeneous. Researchers and intervention program implementers have applied different terms to different categories of sex workers including: ‘sex work typology’; ‘typology of sex work’; ‘typologies of sex work’; ‘sex work typologies’; ‘sex work type’; ‘type of sex work’; ‘types of sex work’ and ‘form of sex work’ (Buzdugan, *et al.*, 2009). Scholars have suggested categories/typologies of FSWs that are fluid and vary with geographical area and time based on various criteria: Harcourt and Donovan (2005) identified 25 forms of prostitution (11 direct and 14 indirect) “according to worksite, principal mode of soliciting clients or sexual practices”; where they work (Fusch, 2013); primary client soliciting place (NACP/NACO, India, 2006) and HIV risk (Ramesh, *et al.*, 200). Other categories suggested are: indirect-primary, “who primarily solicit clients at their places of work, which are venues where facilitating sex work is their main purpose, for instance, massage parlors and bars”; indirect-secondary “who primarily solicit clients at their places of work, which are in non-sex work related industries, for example, agriculture and construction” and phone-based FSWs “who primarily solicit clients through phones” (Buzdugan, *et al.*, 2009). Kamazima, *et al.* (2012b) used a combination of criteria and identified about 14 typologies in the city of Dar-es-Salaam and concluded that the forms and categories of FSWs would change with social, economic, political and international definitions and forces. NACO, India (2007) noted that certain typologies, for example, the brothel- and lodge-based, tend to have higher numbers of clients than the home-based, “thus have a higher risk profile, requiring special focus even within the category of female sex workers.” A study on sex work typology and risk for HIV among FSWs in Southern India (Ramesh, *et al.*, 2006) showed that the overall HIV prevalence among FSWs studied was 24% but ranged from 17% among the home-based to 27% among street-based and 37% among the brothel-based. Therefore, having the understanding of types (categories or typologies) of FSWs in the country or area in question has been recognized important for HIV and AIDS research and intervention programs targeting the sex industry (MoHSW/NACP, 2012; Kamazima *et al.*, 2012b; NACO, India, 2007).

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Streetwalkers: Observed and reported to have ages ranging from 10 (mainly street children) to late twenties. However, one informant reported, “some are as young as eight or nine” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 10, 2018). They are aggressive and walk along selected streets/areas, for example, Uswahilini and Bus Stand (Bukoba Town) and long distance truck parking areas (Mutukula and Bunazi) soliciting clients. We observed them standing close to two guest houses in Uswahilini area with men standing close to them and some talking. An official interviewed in Bukoba Rural observed “this group has surfaced in the past three of four years ... However, their numbers has increased following operation ‘*uvuvi haramu*’ [illegal fishing] going on in Lake Victoria” (II, Bukoba Rural, January 12, 2018). A Streetwalker interviewed in Bukoba informed “on lucky days I may serve up to 4 clients ... charging TShs 2000 to 5000 per shot depending on client’s status and more than TShs 5000 for the night ... However, the police make our business difficult” (II, Bukoba Rural, January 12, 2018). We observed streetwalkers working till around 11 pm on weekdays and well early morning on weekends [at Night clubs].

Semi-streetwalkers: In the absence of a better term, we call this group ‘semi-streetwalkers’ because they sit at hot spots like along streets, bus stand and long distance truck parks; wrapped in *Khanga* or *Vitenge* and carrying (plastic) bags pretending to be travelers as camouflage from the police on

patrol. They are older women compared to the streetwalker and less aggressive but reported to have more bargaining power than many of the streetwalkers. Our informant in Bukoba noted, “[T]his is another new group of sex workers in town ... Majority are those who run from the fishing camps in the lake” (II, Bukoba Rural, January 12, 2018).

Service-based: Our key informants observed this is the largest group of FSWs in their areas. It included women in the formal and informal sectors using their workplaces such as bars, local brew bars in rural areas, offices, restaurants, shops, hotels, booking offices, health facilities and markets to solicit clients. They are women of mixed ages and relatively expensive compared to the streetwalkers and semi-streetwalkers depending on the nature of service provide. For example, it was reported that a barmaid in her thirties would be less expensive compared to a girl working on front desk in certain office (II, Bukoba Urban, February 10, 2018).

Freelance: These are women and girls reported to have formal employment, higher learning institutions students and married women mainly soliciting clients at social events, bars, workplaces, learning campuses/hostels or wherever they have chance to catch their ‘prey’. On key informant in Missenyi reported “these women are mostly independent and can afford visiting expensive hotels without being suspected FWs ... They are selective, choosing whom to have sex with and expensive [in terms of what they eat, drink and service charges]” (II, Missenyi, December 27, 2017).

Brothel-based: We observed women of mixed ages in brothels at the fishing camps in Bukoba Rural and Missenyi districts. However, our key informants reported they exist at similar spaces in Muleba and Kyerwa. A brothel-based FSW at a fishing camp in Bukoba Rural reported.

We used to have good time here before the government disrupted our business ... The fishermen [main clients] have run away; those you see around have no money to pay for our services ... We serve some on credit ... We used to charge TShs 2000 to 4000 per shot and TShs 5000 plus per night depending on season or in kind [fish, clothes, security or food] ... The males used to save us as husbands from authority roundups [village leaders and police] ... Some of my colleagues have left for Bukoba, Muleba and Mutukula because they could not afford living costs without adequate business ... If the situation remains this way, I may also leave soon (II, Bukoba Rural, February 5, 2018).

One key informant in Bukoba town observed,

This group of women has gone underground due to police roundups and the former RC’s [Regional Commissioner’s] intention to end prostitution in this town [as a response to HIV and AIDS] ... They are hard to reach ... Majority are operating from their rented rooms not brothels ... It would take time for a stranger to identify then as FSWs ... They present themselves as other independent women (II, Bukoba Urban, February 10, 2018).

Yet another informant had a different opinion that,

No one can end brothel-based prostitution in Bukoba town ... It has long history and more and more women are undertaking this business ... For me, what has changed is

the way they operate ... from a traditional one of renting rooms in wrecked back-houses, [in the evening] lining up in front of their rooms dressed in one *khanga* with *vibatari* [small oil lamps] and struggling for clients throughout the night ... They now live in descent houses [rented or owned] ... Some houses or rooms are self-contained and with electricity and water supply ... They use phones to invite clients in at convenient times presenting as normal visitors ... All this makes members of the community and the town authorities celebrate ‘they have eliminated them’ ... NO! You need to know their [brothel-based FSWs] new operating styles and the manner in which they conduct their business ... I can show you [the researchers] some of these places if you want (II, Bukoba Urban, February 10, 2018).

Food vendors: We observed the presence of female food vendors in all urban, semi-urban and rural areas, fishing camps and at some road and building construction camps in the study area. Observations and data from interviews at a fishing camp in Bukoba Rural revealed that majority of female food vendors prostitute to supplement their income. Other informants reported that female food vendors ‘employ’ young, innocent and beautiful girls to attract customers whom they may end up having sex with to get additional income and secure sleeping places on some nights [especially when *mama* has a sleeping over client] (IIs, Kagera, 2017/18).

Home-based: Our informants reported on older women prostituting from their owned or rented rooms or houses. These women were reported soliciting clients [mainly old men] in bars, at social events, through friends or through personal contacts mainly via the phones. They serve their clients at their homes, in guest houses; hotels, vehicles, client’s home or any other pre-arranged premises.

Poor women in rural areas: Poor women in rural areas in mixed ages, single, divorced or married were reported prostituting to make ends meet. They solicit clients mainly in local brew bars, at social events or on village streets and serve them mainly in farms, bushes or abandoned buildings and usually during the night and in darkness. Payment is often in kind or as low as TShs 2000 per shot or in kind. Their important clients include local men, businessmen and village visitors willing to pay in cash or in kind.

Drug and alcohol addicts: Although reported to be quite underground, our informants reported on women and girls who prostitute in order to buy or in exchange for drug particularly in Mutukula and Bukoba towns. According to an informant businessman interviewed in Bukoba town confirmed, “Women who have recently invaded Bukoba and Mutukula towns from the fishing camps are leading in this group ... the majority use [illegal] alcohol, marijuana and very few drugs” (II, Bukoba town, February 5, 2018). Their clients include fellow male alcohol and drug addicts or low status men willing to pay as low as TShs 500 per shot or in kind [drugs or alcohol].

Female migrants: This category of FSWs was reported only in Missenyi where an informant recalled, “In 2007 or 2008, there was a boom of long distance truck operators in Mutukula ... Prostitutes in all ages from all over Kagera, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi flocked to this place for business ... They mainly targeted nonresident men ... Costs of living shot up ... They disappeared as the number of potential clients declined” (II, Missenyi, January 8, 2018).

Escorts: Describing this category of FSWs in Kagera, a Streetwalker interviewed in Bukoba informed,

Any woman and FSW from all categories could provide escort to clients like businessmen, visitors, bus and truck operators ... They travel with clients within the region [Kagera], country [Tanzania] or beyond borders to Uganda, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi or Zambia ... I once had a chance to escort a truck driver to [South] Sudan ... It was fun ... I made good money ... He bought me expensive materials all the way that I would have not thought of buying [laughing] ... I long for such a trip to Zambia ... I am told there is good life in that country ... Have you [researcher] ever been there? (II, Bukoba Rural, January 12, 2018).

Women in construction, agricultural camps, factories and manufacturing: We observed a number of women laboring in construction, factories, manufacturing and on plantations, whom our informants reported prostituting to supplement their income, safeguarding their jobs or for security. Referring to women employed on sugar plantations in that district, one informant observed, “Some of these women come from very far ... Even outside Kagera [Region] ... They are paid low salaries, not paid on time or not paid at all ... So they prostitute to men in or outside the camps for additional income or security ... Sometimes, they prostitute to the supervisors to safeguard their jobs (II, Missenyi, February 4, 2018). An informant born in Muleba district interviewed in Bukoba Rural district informed, “the situation is similar to women in any camp be it road construction, building construction, mining or agriculture” (II, Bukoba Rural, January 10, 2017). An informant interviewed in Bukoba reported that “Women in most of the factories and manufacturing industries in Bukoba and Kagera in general prostitute to supplement their income or safeguard their jobs” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

Women selling sex exclusively to women: Our clients in Bukoba town reported on two women who have sex or sell sex exclusively to women and reported frequenting high status bars and hotels. However, one informant observed that “this type of prostitution is still quite underground in our town ... I am afraid the two women reported are not *Bahaya* [not Kagera indigenous women] ... May be they have come from other regions or outside the country ... You [researchers] may need more time to study this group” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 10, 2018).

Women selling sex to both men and women: Discussing the question whether this group of sex workers exists in Kagera, one study participant in Bukoba town replied, “as I have told you, as there are men who sell sex to both men and women, there are women selling sex to both men and women, ... That is how they make good money and make good living” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

Men who sell sex

Young boys to mid aged men selling sex to women: Our informants reported that “usually it is the women who hunt for young boys and aged men for sex ... However, those [boys and old men] accustomed to this type of prostitution go out hunting for such women ... if there are women hunting for men and pay them for sex; then this group exists ...

Table 1. The current typology of sex workers in four Tanzania-Uganda border districts, Kagera Region, Tanzania

Category	Description	Client Meeting places/soliciting mode	Sex offering places	Charge/fee arrangement	Av. # clients per working day	Types of Clients (Sex buyers)	
A.Females who sell sex (FSWs)							
1	Streetwalkers.	Young aged between 13-25 years.	Aggressive along streets, bus stand and long distance truck vehicles parks.	In cheap guest houses, dark streets, open spaces, trucks/vehicles, client's home.	Depends on the day, ranging between 1,500 to 5,000 per shot and 5,000 plus for overnight service.	Not quite clear but ranges between 2-5 per night depending on the day and girl's luck.	Unsorted but mainly in the low status, taxi drivers, visitors and students.
2	Semi-streetwalkers.	Old 25 years plus.	Along streets, bus stand and long distance truck/vehicles parks; carry bags pretending travelling.	In cheap guest houses; vehicles, some dark streets, client's home.	2000-5000 per shot and 5000 plus for overnight service.	1-3 depending on female's luck and the day.	Unsorted but mainly in the low status, long distance vehicle/taxi drivers and travelers.
3	Service-based.	Mixed ages depending on nature of service rendered.	At respective work places: bars, offices, restaurants, shops, hotels, booking offices and local brew bars in rural areas.	In cheap guest houses; hotels, vehicles, some dark streets, client's home.	5000-10,000 per shot and 10,000 plus for overnight service. Again, depending woman's status and client's willingness to pay or satisfaction.	Mainly one per night due to work schedule.	Ranges from low status to high class depending on nature of workplace.
4	Freelance.	With formal employment, higher learning institutions. students and married women.	Social events, workplaces, learning campuses/hostels.	Guest houses; hotels, vehicles, client's home.	Not captured but depends on female's status and client's willingness to pay.	1 or 2 depending on work schedule and money needed.	Range from low status to high class depending on status of the FSW.
5	Brothel-based.	Young and old women in fishing camps.	At the fishing camps.	In a brothel, rarely in clients' rooms.	2000 to 4000 per shot and 5000 plus per night depending on season or in kind.	2-5 depending on season.	Local or visiting men.
6	Food vendors.	Young and old women in fishing and construction camps.	At the fishing or construction camps.	Client's home, her room, at the shore or dark spaces.	2000 to 4000 per shot and 5000 plus per night depending on season or in kind.	1-2 depending on schedule and season.	Men from the camp or visitors.
7	Home-based.	Older women in owned or rented rooms/houses.	Bars, social events or through friends or phone.	Her home, guest houses; hotels, vehicles, client's home.	Not captured but depends on type of client, time in relationship and client's status; payment could be in kind.	1-4 depending on the day and clients' availability.	Mainly local males willing to pay, businessmen, truck/bus/taxi drivers.
8	Poor rural women.	Mixed ages, single, divorced or married.	Bars, social events or village streets.	In farms, bushes or abandoned buildings.	Usually in kind or as low as 2000 per shot.	1-2 depending on the area and event.	Mainly local men and businessmen willing to pay in cash or in kind.
9	Drug and alcohol addicts.	In mid ages.	<i>Vijiweni</i> , bars.	In cheap guest houses; vehicles, some dark streets, client's home.	May be as low as 500 per shot depending on need for money.	Unknown.	Fellow male addicts or low status males willing to pay.
10	Female migrants.	Teens and mid-aged.	Any possible angle, hotspots.	In cheap guest houses; vehicles, some dark streets, client's home.	Unknown but considered depending on need and client's willingness.	Unknown.	Mainly non-resident, local men.

Continue

11	Escorts.	Mixed ages. depending on client's choice. From any category, go with client within the region, country or beyond borders.	Unsorted. Mainly through previous contacts or friends.	Pre-arranged places or client's home within the region, country or beyond borders.	Transport, care, drinks, food and gifts (material goods or money).	1 at a time; though may have short time client(s) during the trip.	Tanzanians or foreign men.
12	Women in construction, agricultural camps, factories and manufacturing.		In and outside the camps.	In farms, bushes, their homes or abandoned buildings.	May be as low as 2000 per shot or in kind.	Unknown but could stick to one man at a time.	Men in and outside the camps willing to pay in cash or kind.
13	Women selling sex exclusively to women.		Not known, but through friends or observed behaviors and characteristics known to them.	At her home, client's home or any arranged place.	Not reported.	Unknown but could stick to one man at a time.	Unsorted but women of high status, wealthier.
14	Women selling sex to both men and women.		Not known, but through friends or observed behaviors and characteristics known to them.	Cheap guest houses; vehicles, some dark streets, client's home, hotels or arranged places.	Not known for women but depends on FSW's category and client's satisfaction.	Unknown.	Women and men in all ages depending on choice and money needed.
A.Men who sell sex (MSWs)							
15	Young boys, mid aged and old men selling sex to women.		Streets, bars, night clubs and working places or through friends/contacts	Cheap guest houses; vehicles, some dark streets, client's home or hotels.	Not captured.	Unknown.	From fellow young boys to aged men.
16	Young boys, mid aged and old men selling sex to men.		Not known, but through friends or observed behaviors and characteristics known to them.	Unknown but at client's home, guest house, hotels, streets or arranged places.	Unknown.	Unknown.	Men in all ages.
17	Young boys, mid aged and old men selling sex to both men and women.		Not known, but through friends or observed behaviors and characteristics known to them.	Unknown but at client's home, guest house, hotels, streets or arranged places.	Unknown.	Unknown.	Men and women in all ages.

Table 2. The current typology of sex buyers in four Tanzania-Uganda border districts, Kagera Region, Tanzania

Category/Description		Client Meeting places/soliciting mode	Sex receiving places	Charge/fee arrangement	Av. # clients per working day	Types of Clients (Sex workers)
A.Men who buy sex						
1	Men who buy sex exclusively from women.	Brothels, homes, bars streets and other hotspots.	Brothels, homes, guest houses, hotels man's home.	Depends on FSW's category, client's ability and satisfaction.	Unknown.	Women of all ages and categories depending on choice and availability.
2	Men who buy sex exclusively from men.	Unknown but personal contacts or friends.	Unknown.	Unknown.	Unknown.	Men of all ages depending on choice and availability.
3	Men who buy sex from both men and women.	Unknown for men but Brothels, homes, bars streets and other hotspots for women.	Brothels, homes, guest houses, hotels man's home or any arranged place.	Unknown for men but depends on FSW's category, client's ability and satisfaction.	Unknown.	Women and men of all ages and categories depending on choice and availability.
B.Women who buy sex						
4	Employed, businesswomen, wealthier women, single or widowed paying men for sexual services.	Workplaces, bars, social events, through friends/contacts, night clubs.	At her home, client's home or other arranged places.	Not captured but reported depending on relationship and services rendered or in kind.	Mainly sticks to one at a time.	Mainly young men.
5	Women who buy sex exclusively from women.	Not known, but through friends or observed behaviors and characteristics known to them.	At her home, client's home or other arranged places.	Not captured but reported depending on relationship and services rendered or in kind.	Mainly sticks to one at a time.	Women of all ages depending on sex orientation.
6	Women who buy sex from both men and women.	Not known, but through friends or observed behaviors and characteristics known to them.	At her home, client's home or other arranged places.	Not captured but reported depending on relationship and services rendered or in kind.	Unknown.	Women and men of all ages and categories depending on choice and availability.

This type of prostitution has not very much surfaced in this town but it is quietly practiced ... I think they identify each other based on behaviors and characteristics known to themselves (II, Bukoba Urban, February 10, 2018).

Young boys to mid aged men selling sex to men: One of our informant interviewed in Bukoba town had an opinion that, “[h]omosexuality has virtually existed in all societies from time immemorial ... *Buhaya* is no exception ... The problem is that our societies make it a taboo, immoral and against human nature ... Hence, practiced in great secret ... Men having sex with men may be few but do exist in our society” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 10, 2018). Yet another informant observed, “[w]ith the influence of globalization and uncontrolled access to pornography, homosexuality is on the rise in our communities” (II, Missenyi, February 4, 2018).

Young boys to mid aged men selling sex to both men and women: Responding to a question whether this group of sex workers exists in Kagera, one study participant in Bukoba town replied, “as there are women selling sex to both men and women, there are men who sell sex to both men and women ... That is how they make good money and look straight to community members” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

Descriptions of reported and (some) observed typology of sex buyers: We also asked our study participants to report on the categories of sex buyers found in their areas. Study participants identified three categories of men and three categories of women sex buyers as summarized in Table 2.

Men who buy sex exclusively from women: In all districts, our study participants confirmed that there are men who buy sex exclusively from women. “That is how a normal man should do ... not other immoral practices” claimed one participant interviewed in Bukoba (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

Men who buy sex exclusively from men: Reporting on this category of sex buyers, a study participant who confirmed on the existence of men who sell sex exclusively to men stated, “As I had told you, homosexuality exists in *Buhaya* but practiced underground ... So, it is likely that there are men who buy sex exclusively from men ... It depends on the type of service they desire and from which client of their choice” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

Men who buy sex from both men and women: A study participant interviewed in Bukoba observed, “Yes, we have such men in this town ... You see, all goes with one’s choice, sex orientation, type of service wanted and client availability ... Men in this group have many fish in their ponds, they miss one they catch another to quench their lust for sex (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

Women who buy sex

Employed, businesswomen, wealthier women, single or widowed paying men for sexual services: Our study participants reported that of recent there has emerged a sexual practice where employed women, successful businesswomen, single women and even married women pay men they choose to have sex with. A single businesswoman interviewed in Missenyi admitted having a boyfriend she travels and have sex with stating,

You cannot trust anybody you have affection with [man or woman] these days ... Each has lust for sex, which could lead to having an affair with someone outside your relationship and could lead to catching diseases ... To avoid this, I have my boyfriend [pointing at the young man next table] wherever I go ... He gives me what I need whenever I need it ... We are both happy ... I keep him well and fit ... I think more and more businesswomen like me will take this direction (II, Missenyi, January 8, 2018).

An ex-trafficking in persons (TIP) victim interviewed in Bukoba Rural recalled, “My friend [name] in our village earns money and material goods from his girlfriend ... A successful businesswoman from town [Muleba] ... She visits him at least twice a week” (II, Bukoba Rural, January 12, 2018).

Women who buy sex exclusively from women: Study participants who knew about the two women who have sex or sell sex exclusively to women and reported frequenting high status bars and hotels in Bukoba town concluded that as there are women who sell sex exclusively to women, then, there must be women who buy sex exclusively from women. One participant observed, “I think, clients of females who sell sex exclusively to women should be women who buy sex exclusively from women, otherwise they wouldn’t go along” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

Women who buy sex from both men and women: A study participant who knew about men who buy sex from both men and women in Bukoba narrated, “As there are men who buy sex from both men and women, then there are women buying sex from both men and women ... I think, it all depends on the type of service the woman wants and clients’ availability” (II, Bukoba Urban, February 5, 2018).

DISCUSSION

Certainly, the typologies of sex workers and sex buyers in the study area have changed since in 2002. At that time, only brothel-based, service-based FSWs and men sex buyers were identified (Kamazima, 2003). In this study, 17 categories of sex workers (14 for FSWs and 3 for MSWs) and six categories of sex buyers (three for men and three for women) were documented. Several factors could have contributed to this shift. First, increasing poverty among Kagera residents compels many of them to find alternative means of survival, including prostitution. Luzi (2010) reported Kagera as one of the thirteen regions with highest levels of poverty in the country. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2012) reported Kagera one of the last 10 poor regions in the country. The UN/Tanzania (2016) reveals Kagera region is facing poverty and chronic malnutrition among its residents and with highest level of gender disparities and trends of environmental degradation and climatic change impacts. Our observations and interview data indicated that *okwelokola* system or a legitimized modern form of slavery, exploitation and human rights violation practiced in Kagera, is pushing poor residents into a poverty vicious cycle. According to the strain theory, people living in poverty-stricken areas and lacking legitimate means to make ends meet would turn to immoral behaviors and practices for survival. Certainly, prostitution is one of such behaviors and practices opted by both men and women. Second, intensifying internal TIP for labor, domestic work and sex exploitation in Kagera Region is another factor considered contributing to this shift.

Our observations and interview data demonstrate that internal TIP is practiced uncontrollably; the TIP control machinery from the regional, district to the grassroots levels is unaware of this responsibility as stipulated in The Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act No. 6 of 2008. Given poor conditions trafficked persons live in, some turn to prostitution as a survival strategy (MoHSW/NACP, 2010; Kamazima, *et al.*, 2012a), a situation observed and reported facing women in the construction, fishing and agricultural camps, factories and manufacturing in the study area. Third, FSWs' reaction to regional and districts authorities' intention to end prostitution in Bukoba town, as response to HIV and AIDS, included changing their prostituting behaviors and practices. In order to avoid police roundups, for instance, the brothel-based FSWs operate as home-based; some streetwalkers pose as semi-streetwalkers while others prefer escorting clients within and outside the country. In turn, this has resulted into surfacing new categories of FSWs recorded in the study area. Fourth, our observations in Bukoba and Mutukula indicated that the mushrooming of entertainment and recreational venues has facilitated the emergency of recorded prostitution levels. For example, there are three night clubs, over twenty hotels that operate past mid night, several guest houses and a good number of bars and groceries in downtown Bukoba alone. As observed, these are hotspots for prostitution activities going on in the study area. Cheap and easy transport within a six km radius makes movement within and between downtown and the suburbs relatively easy for 24 hours. Use of cell phones makes communication cheap and quick. Much of Mutukula is becoming urbanized with new and descent places potential of prostitution acts. The establishment of the One Stop Border Post (OSBP) and other new business (the social clubs, for example) and relatively full time electricity availability, have fuelled social and economic development in the area. It suggests that prostitution is, in part, man-made, matching transformations taking place in the context in question. In other words, whether accepted or not, urbanization fuels prostitution activities in that space.

Fifth, some of the observed and reported categories of FSW in the study area are unanticipated aftermath of the on-going anti-illegal fishing in Lake Victoria. For good reasons, the operation stated in 1998 but intensified in 2017/2018. The police on patrol confiscate illegal fishing nets and boat engines, burn illegal fishing nets, batter down or auction boats and arrest fishermen for trial, which has left many of them bankrupt. Majority of fishermen have left the fishing camps for other possible alternatives off the lake. Women who survived from prostituting in the camps have now invaded some towns on the mainland forming new categories of FSWs, the streetwalkers and the semi-streetwalkers, in particular. Finally, as reported by our study participants and observed, augmented globalization has opened up uncontrolled access to pornographic images on the internet, cell phones and print. As a result, viewers (young and old people alike) of these images and sex acts get tempted to practice what they see (Kamazima and Kakoko, 2017b). This behavior, in part, has contributed to the surfacing of 'new' recognized categories of both sex workers and sex buyers in the study area. Similarly, we observed that almost all FSWs (like other community members) owned and used cell phones to communicate. In this case, the use of (cell) phones or networks to make contacts was no longer a unique feature to a specific group of FSWs; hence in this context, the 'call girls category' was omitted from the presented typology.

Although not clearly stated by our study participant, it could be deduced from the two cases captured that 'male escort category' is unfolding. In the Missenyi case, the businesswoman admitted traveling with her 'boyfriend' for sexual satisfaction while away on business. She wished other women of her caliber could take the same course. The Muleba case signals that the businesswoman could ask for the young man's companionship during her business trips. In the two cases, the businesswomen would be buying sex from men and men selling sex to women but at the same time serving as male escorts. However, it should be emphasized that the categories presented are not fixed but fluid depending on context, time and space (Buzdugan, *et al.*, 2009; Kamazima, *et al.*, 2012b). For example, a streetwalker may work for five hours, and then go to a night club; get a client to serve overnight and whom she may end up escorting two days later! The female migrant category that surfaced in Mutukula in 2007 disappeared as the potential group of clients declined. It suggests that SWs' categories would emerge, survive and go given forces operating in the geographical area in question.

Sex work is so dynamic; there are no strict *borders* between categories but fluid *boundaries* allowing both vertical and horizontal mobility. Although SWs' have both similarities and differences that should inform interventions meant for them; their mobility between and among recognized categories depends the contention over category *boundaries* and the resultants meanings and functions FSWs attach to these *boundaries*. So, generalizing on the morality of SWs' behaviors and practices based on observed workplace or other characteristics could be stigmatizing and leading to shallow understanding of sexual behaviors and practices involved in prostitution. Commenting on the characteristics of a programmatically appropriate typology, Buzdugan, *et al.*, (2009) wrote, "Exhaustive typology (should include all FSW types practiced in the respective geographical area) ... To inform programmatic activities and aid targeting, identification, location and inclusion of sex workers within programs ... To be programmatically useful a typology needs to be simple, easy to operationalize and comprehensive." We developed the typologies presented from the borderlanders' perspectives and observations conducted to inform health promotion and communication interventions targeting the sex industry in the borderlands. The typologies provide about seven criteria that could be used to (re)classify sex workers and the sex buyers. In addition, the typologies would inform strategies intended to address behaviors and practices of both the sex workers and their clients (that is, prostituting women, men paying for sex, women buying sex from men or women and men offering sexual services to women and men). This is true and important because both the sex workers and the sex buyers are bridge populations that need to be reached by health promotion and communication interventions. Reaching both the sex workers and sex buyers in a single program might be (or seem) expensive and demanding. However, it is possible and important for realizing and sustaining behavior change for better health of targeted populations. We are contented; the typologies presented will be user-friendly and adequately comprehensive to achieve the intended goal(s).

Conclusions and recommendations

Our study contributes to the understanding of the comprehensive typologies of sex workers and sex buyers in Kagera Region.

Our findings would facilitate in planning, implementing, monitoring, evaluating and re-planning for geographical area-specific or cross-border health promotion and communication targeting the sex industry in the borderlands as part of the African Union Border Program (AUBP) initiatives. Our understanding is that programs informed by in-depth understanding of targeted contexts would be more meaningful, socially and culturally accepted, thus potential of yielding better results. It is recommended that since sex workers' and sex buyers' categories change over time, conducting baseline studies to improve data presented in this paper would better inform health intervention programs aiming at improving the health status of individuals in the sex industry in the Tanzania-Uganda borderlands and elsewhere.

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