

**Addis Ababa University**  
**College of Social sciences**  
**School of Graduate Studies**

**Sex Business in Addis Ababa**

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**November 2014**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

# **Sex Business in Addis Ababa**

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**A thesis submitted to the school of graduate studies of  
Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in  
Social Anthropology**

**Advisor: Sussane Epple (PhD)**

**November 2014**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

# Sex Business in Addis Ababa

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## **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the thesis titled *Sex Business in Addis Ababa* is my original work and to the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where proper citation and due acknowledgement has been made. I do further affirm that this thesis has not been presented or being submitted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or publication, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis.

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## **Certification**

I, the undersigned, certify that the thesis *Sex Business in Addis Ababa*, which is submitted to the school of graduate studies of Addis Ababa University to award a degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology, is the original work of Lijalem Getaneh Fenta (GSR/1302/05).

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**Dr. Sussane Epple (PhD)**

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## **Acknowledgments**

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the large number of people who contribute for the successful completion of this thesis. First of all I want to thank and praise the almighty God for everything I have done in my life.

I would like to extend my gratitude to my Advisor Dr. Sussane Epple, for her critical comments, suggestions, invaluable guidance and support. I am also indebted to the large number of individuals who participate in this research as informants; specifically I would like to thank those destitute sex workers, taxi drivers, hotel workers, for devoting their precious time to share their life experience with me.

My warm thank also goes to my institution ARCCCH for giving enough time for my study. I am also grateful to my family who assisted me morally and their prayer keeps me strong enough throughout my work. I would like to extend my gratefulness to my friends Hailemichael, Seblewongel, and other friends of me who assisted me a lot in the process of editing and thanked for sharing some valuable ideas about the research and for being out there for me whenever I want your help.

Last but the opposite of least, I want to use this opportunity to thank my informants who actively participated in the interview and FGD session. My warm gratitude also goes to hotel and club owners and Human resource managements who gave me permission to observe and interview informants at their establishments. And Ms. Shewanesesh Birhanu and Mamitu Yilma had also a great contributions that assisted me a lot starting from the beginning of this study.

## **Glossary of Amharic local Terms**

Arada- refers to a person who is “smart” and has the propensity to experiment things.

Birr- the Ethiopian currency bill which is equivalent to almost one nineteenth of a dollar.

Chat bet- is a house where *Chat* is sold and often is used also for a make shift *Chat* chewing ceremony.

Chat- is a local chewed stimulant herb (fresh leaves of *Catha Edulis*) with amphetamine like effect containing cathine. It is mostly used in Ethiopia for social purposes, excitement and dismissing fatigue.

Fa’ra- is the opposite of ‘Arada’ which refers to person’s backwardness.

Fird bet- is to say court a house where fake drinks and foods are sold to foreigners relatively with highest payments.

Kebelle- the smallest political administrative unit in Ethiopia (urban neighborhood association).

Kiflehager- is an area which is found out of the capital. It includes Regional, Zonal and *Woreda* towns and rural *kebelles*.

Shisha- is a fresh tobacco leaves mixed with fruit shavings and flavored molasses, specially blended for use with a hookah (social smoke). It is inhaled in an oriental tobacco pipe with a long flexible tube connected to a cold water container.

Tella- is a kind of local beer with alcohol content comparable to an average factory beer or even more.

Woreda- the second smallest unit of political administration in Ethiopia, which consists of different *Kebeles* in it.

Yebetlijoch- this term refers to properly brought up children with strict observation to the local norm and culture.

## List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune- Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
CSW	Commercial Sex Work
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FHI	Family Health International
FSCE	Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment
HIV	Human Immuno- deficiency Virus
IUOTO	International Union of Official Travel Organizations
KII	Key Informant Interview
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
PLC	Private Limited Company
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UN	United Nations

UNICEF	United Nation Children’s Fund
UNWTO	United Nation World Tourism Organization
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
VIP	Very Important Person

## List of Figures and Tables

Fig. 1 Diagrammatic Representation of External and Internal Environments of Sex Tourism.....	30
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## Table of contents

<b>Content</b>	<b>page</b>
Chapter One .....	1
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem .....	4
1.3 Objectives of the study.....	8
1.3.1 General objectives.....	8
1.3.2 Specific objectives .....	9
1.4 Research Questions .....	9
1.5 Research Method.....	10
1.5.1 Research Approach/ Design.....	10
1.5.2 Data Collection Techniques and sources .....	10
1.5.2.1 Focus Group Discussion (FGD).....	11
1.5.2.2 Interview .....	11
1.5.2.3 Observation .....	12
1.5.2.4 Case Study or stories.....	13
1.5.3 Data Collection Procedure and Sampling Technique .....	13
1.5.4 Data Documentation and Analysis.....	14
1.6 Significance of the study .....	14
1.7 Scope of the study .....	15
1.8 Problems Encountered and Limitation of the study.....	16
1.9 Description of the Study Area.....	18
1.10 Organization of the Paper/ Thesis .....	20
Chapter two.....	21
2. Review of Relevant Literatures.....	21
2.1 Definition of Key Concepts.....	21
2.1.1 Definition of Tourism .....	21

2.1.2	Definition of Tourists.....	22
2.1.3	Definition of sex tourism .....	22
2.2	Nature and beginning of prostitution .....	23
2.3	Nature and beginning of prostitution in Ethiopia.....	24
2.4	Advantages and Disadvantages of Tourism Industry.....	25
2.5	Theoretical Framework .....	28
Chapter Three.....		31
3.	Nature and Current Trend of Sex Tourism in Addis Ababa .....	31
3.1	Places of Origin of prostitutes and their motivations to move to Addis Ababa.....	31
3.2	Professional and Personal Background.....	32
3.3	The Push-Pull Factors to engage in sex work .....	36
3.4	Factors for the expansion of sex work .....	37
3.5	Who are customers and sex workers and reasons for prostitution .....	41
3.6	Customers of Sex workers and choices of customers .....	54
3.8	Factors that motivate prostitutes to engage in sex business .....	62
3.9	Major sites of commercial sex workers.....	84
3.9.1	Hotels .....	87
3.9.2	Day and Night Clubs.....	90
3.10	Interaction between sex workers and customers .....	92
3.10.1	Methods of attractions and ways of interactions of customers .....	93
	Dressing styles of sex workers.....	96
	Sex workers consumed foods and drinks .....	98
Chapter Four .....		99
4.	Prospect and challenges of females sex workers .....	99
4.1	Main challenges of commercial sex workers. ....	99
4.1.1	Problematic encounters with hotel, restaurant and club managers .....	99
4.1.2	Financial pressure from security guards, bell boys, waiters and receptionists.....	101
4.1.3	Respect less treatment by Customers, Brokers and Pimps.....	103
4.1.4	Uncomfortable working conditions .....	106
4.2	New prospects and perspectives in life through prostitution .....	108
4.2.1	Economic benefits.....	109

4.2.2	Social and Cultural benefits .....	111
4.2.3	Psychological and moral benefits .....	112
Chapter Five.....		115
5.	Lives of sex workers in sex tourism.....	115
5.1	Impacts of sex work on sex workers and the hosting community .....	115
Chapter Six.....		121
6.	Conclusions.....	121
6.1	Concluding Remarks .....	121
References.....		125
Appendices.....		127
Appendix 1: Background Profile of Informants Participated in study.....		127
Appendix 2: Guiding Questions.....		129

# Chapter One

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Tourism is one of the greatest and hastily growing industries in the world. From this increasing industry, developed nations such as Europe, North America and East Asia takes the highest share of tourist flows. While tourist flows in Africa is very low, large number of tourist arrivals from Africa are taken by South and North African countries and Ethiopia receives the least (Muluaem, 2010:3). Currently the share of African tourism from international tourist arrivals ranges from 3-5% of the flow while the largest share which is more than 40% of tourist flows are taken by Mediterranean area and 15% are received and welcomed by Asia. Even if income from tourism and tourism investments are very important for Africa, tourism is growing slowly in the continent (Van beek and Schdmit, 2012:1).

The distribution of tourist flows in Africa and all over the world are not the same, it is unevenly distributed. From all tourist flows in Africa, 1/3 of the share are taken by North Africa, 1/4 for eastern Africa, 1/3 for south Africa, 10% for west Africa and 1% for the whole part of central Africa. From this regional distribution in Africa, more than half of tourist destinations in the continent are taken by three African nations namely, South Africa, Morocco and Tunisia (*ibid*, 2012: 1-2). Since 1960's international tourism industry is highly increasing, many tourists travel to different parts of the world and are accepted by locals at their destination understanding tourism as the main source of income for their nations and people (Ayode and Tadele, 2010:1). Even though tourism is important and useful for a country mainly in enhancing economic growth of a nation, many problems are occurring in relation to its benefit which might be taken as its disadvantage or drawbacks (Biazen, 2010:8).

Millions of children and women join prostitution every year and is so a serious threat for women and children. Taking economic problem as a factor, lots of children and women are forced to participate in prostitution particularly in developing countries (Arshad, 2012:1). This implies that Sex tourism is expanding rapidly in the world particularly in third world countries including African countries; and Ethiopia, as one of developing African country, is also affected by sex tourism.

According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), Tourism is defined as activities of humans in travelling and staying outside their residential place for enjoyment and recreation not permanently for a year or more and a tourist is defined as a person who moves to a place or country and spends a minimum of one day or more days outside his/her locality but not more than one permanent year for leisure, business or other purposes. (WTO, 2009a). Tourism is one of the highest income contributing industries and is very essential for economic development of a certain country. Because of this importance and energizing of economic growth, it is growing rapidly in developing countries (Biazen, 2010:8). It tells us how tourism industry is important and useful for a country unlike its disadvantages and impacts on local citizens.

Sex tourism is commonly defined as movement of people from economically developed countries to less developing countries mainly to receive or engage in sexual services with local residents of men, women and children in exchange of money or other materials (Davidson and Taylor, 1994:1, Grimstad Sontvedt, 2009:6). While Tepanon defines sex tourism as “anyone who is open to and desires for opportunities for sexual contacts (2006:2). Tourism prostitution (sex tourism) has been defined as, “tourism for which the main motivation or at least part of the aim of the trip is to consummate or engage in commercial sexual relations” (Omondi, 2003:2). Sex tourism is practiced in many different parts of the world but Brazil, South East Asian, Caribbean and some African countries are the leading figures in involving sex tourism (Davidson and Taylor, 1994:1).

In the past South East Asian countries namely Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, South Korea and Sri Lanka have been the major tourist arrival centers for sex tourism. But today the practice of sex tourism spreads and rapidly growing to different parts of the world such as Goa (Indonesia), Cuba, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Costa Rica, Eastern Europe and many African countries like Kenya, Tunisia, South Africa, Gambia (Omondi,2003:2). Since recent years as a means of satisfying their economic problem, there is high growth rate of men and women who go to tourist destinations seeking sex tourism mostly in developing countries in an alarming rate (*ibid*). Prostitution and commercial sex workers highly increasing and expanding rapidly in different parts of Ethiopia particularly in tourist destination areas, regional towns and the capital of the country, Addis Ababa; which receives the highest share from all parts of the country (Ayode and Tadele, 2010: v-vi).

Some researches done in the area shows that for long period of time sex has been part of the tourism industry. Today, the number of tourist flow in Ethiopia is highly increasing and getting momentum compared to the previous one. This is because of relatively stability of the country, opening of private tour and travel agencies and organizations, opening of different tour operators, development of world tourism industry, well expansion of transportations and information and others (Tarekegn, 2008:11). But the number of tourists visited Ethiopia are very little compared to other east African countries even though international tourists in eastern Africa are growing better and better (Biazen, 2010:17 and WDI, 2010; cited in Mulualem, 2010:3). Even if the country is rich in its historical, cultural and natural attractions; tourist flows in Ethiopia is very less and poor compared to other African countries. For example, the total number of tourists who visited Ethiopia in 2006 is 290,000 while neighboring Kenya is visited by 1,644,000 tourists, which is five times more than Ethiopia (WDI, 2010; cited in Mulualem, 2010:3). This data shows us the number of tourists in Ethiopia is too much less even compared to eastern African countries. However, because of the growth of world tourism and the development of other facilities, tourist flows in Ethiopia is increasing from time to time and getting improvement. In relation to this growth of the tourism sector, the number of sex workers in Ethiopia is equivalently increasing. Many hotels, bars, night clubs and restaurants are becoming the home of various prostitutes (Mulualem, 2010:3). Like other common and official works, there are brokers who intermediate or join sex workers to foreigners and tourists. Local guides, drivers, receptionists or hotel owners and tour operators are also actors in joining tourists and sex workers (Ayode and Tadele, 2010:1).

Of course from my life experience being my job is related to tourism, there are a lot of driving forces that urges Ethiopian women to prostitution; poverty, lack of formal education, lack of awareness, peer influence, wrong perception of prostitute girls towards tourists, lack and low enforcement of clear governmental rules or policies towards sex workers, expecting to leave their country through the shoulder of their abusers, wishing to form marriage alliance and be employed by their customers, hoping to assist their families, lack of employment opportunities and others are some of the factors to be mentioned. All these are identified as root causes that force Ethiopian young girls to practice the life of prostitution and all causes are from my previous personal observations and informal exchange of ideas with actors in Addis Ababa. Yet most of these problems have been existed in the country for long but the magnitude and scope of

the problem increases since some ten or fifteen years back. From observations and informal discussions that I have had with clients of sex workers and intimate partners of sex workers, this rapid expansion of prostitutes might be due to high population pressure, rising cost of living conditions in the world market, recognizing it as short way of earning business, fast expansion of globalization, communication and modernization etc. but the economic constraint may take the highest share. In contrast, there are women who practice prostitution in their free will and interest not forced by economic or other constraints, which may be taken as leisure activity.

Here my particular intention is that when young girls and women work as prostitutes with tourists other than the risk of HIV/ AIDS and other sexual transmitted diseases, sex workers encounter various challenges from different angles when they are at work which causes health, social, psychological and moral problems on the productive forces of the country. In addition there are many motivating and driving factors that lead Ethiopian females to engage in sex business in Addis Ababa. Though this scientific study is planned to explore and bring out major causes of sex business and grand problems that faced sex workers at work in Addis Ababa.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

It is not exactly known when and where prostitution has started but it has been practiced for long period of time in the history of mankind. Some literatures indicate that it was exercised in ancient Egypt, Rome, Greece and China (Arshad, 2012:2). The term “prostitution” has no clear definition as its meaning varies among or within societies and has different forms based on the activities of participants. Different Scholars define it differently and have various definitions based on their view of the practice (*ibid*).For example, Encyclopedia of Social Sciences define prostitution as “the act of practice of indulging in promiscuous sexual relations, especially for money and a prostitute is (mostly a female), who is engaged in promiscuous sexual intercourse for money and/or for material advantage” (Arshad, 2012: 3).

When we come to its beginning in Ethiopia, Prostitution is started in the 16<sup>th</sup>C.at Gondar during the time of emperor Libne Dengel but it has been expanding and increasing during the time of Italian invasion of the country and has existed for centuries in Ethiopia (Mengiste, 1999 and Kefetew, 1996; cited in Tarekegn, 2008: 4-6). The establishment of Ethio-Djibouti railway in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Mengiste, 1999 and Tadele, 2000; cited in Tarekegn, 2008:6) and the

commercialization of local drinks mainly of *Tej* (a local alcoholic drink made of honey) also contributed a lot for the expansion of prostitution in Ethiopia (Tadele, 2000; cited in Tarekegn, 2008: 6). But in most societies of Ethiopia, prostitution is seen and accepted as a social ill or socially unacceptable and forbidden practice (Kefetew, 1996 and Wondimu, 1996; cited in Tarekegn, 2008:7).

The magnitude and nature of the problem of sex tourism (both child and adult) is not well studied and identified in Ethiopia unlike the rate of the problem is increasing rapidly. Because of this lack of concrete and valid data it is difficult to know the rate of its prevalence and incidence (Ayode and Tadele, 2010:3). But some studies done in commercial sex work shows, that prostitution and sex tourism is doubling itself in a fast rate particularly in developing countries such as Ethiopia. As a result of its hidden nature and difficulty of getting exact information from commercial sex workers, the number of women who rely on prostitution is not exactly known in Ethiopia. According to Tarekegn, taken from the study of 1988 Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, there were 78,731 prostitutes estimated in Ethiopia and were forecasted over 90,000 by the mid 1990's (2008:7). And another study done by MoLSA in 1995 indicates that 7% of the female population of Addis Ababa was estimated with the involvement of prostitution in which girls under the age of 18 are being the fastest growing group in the practice. In 1993 study of UNICEF and MoLSA, in the different street corners of Addis Ababa, an average of 50-52 child prostitutes were working in commercial sex work and there were around 30,000 child prostitutes in Addis Ababa in the year 1996 which constitutes 28% of the prostitutes in Ethiopia (Tarekegn, 2008:8).

According to estimation of Family Health International in 2002, there were 2000 sex workers in Addis Ababa city in brothels, hotels, night clubs; bars etc. and currently sex work in Ethiopia is pervasive and open sometimes. During night time, large number of women in the capital and regional towns are selling sexual services openly (Overs and *etal*: 2011:12). According to some sources one hundred fifty thousand women are leading their life in prostitution and commercial sex work in different street corners, hotels, bars and restaurants of Addis Ababa. From this data we can understand that commercial sex work is becoming very common, rapidly expanding and women are performing it as one means of leading their life in Ethiopia.

Sex tourism is a multibillion dollar global industry in which various sex tourists from many developed and industrialized countries travel mainly for the purpose of purchasing a kind of sexually associated services. Female and male sex workers, directly or indirectly are members of the whole tour and travel sectors, taxi drivers, air plane, hotel and restaurant workers are all beneficiaries of sex tourism(Ayode and Tadele2010:1).This might be the reason why commercial sex work and prostitution is increasing in an alarming rate. Sex tourists travel from their home land to less developing nations where there is cheap sex, available at any time and poor law enforcements (*ibid*). In most nations adults have the right to consummate in sex work and prostitution unlike children below eighteen years old are forbidden. But currently in Ethiopia children are also even taking the highest share of sex work and prostitution because of economic constraints or poverty, broken family and unemployment. From different parts of the country many children migrate to the capital and forced to lead their life as sex workers. They prefer to go to streets or road sides, hotels, tourist destination sites, museums, guest houses, restaurants etc. than going to school or relying on other jobs. Commercial Sex workers and prostitutes in Addis Ababa are originated both from the capital and the country side (Ayode and Tadele, 2010: 1-2).

In some tourist destination areas as a result of tourist demands, prostitution and commercial sex work is well established as a formal or informal business sector (Biazen, 2010:13). And also the supply of women for sexual activity often emanates from the continuous demand of sex tourists (Davidson and Taylor, 1994:3).From my point of view, sex workers prostitute themselves with tourists is basically to alleviate their economic problem and give solution to the question of survival. This is not an end by itself but sometimes it is also used as a means or a bridge to go out of Ethiopia, get better employment and get married of clients etc. Despite these expected benefits and advantages, sex workers encounter many problems like health problems (risk of HIV/ AIDS and other sex related diseases), unwanted pregnancy, homosexuality, abuse of drug, smoking, drinking, crime, psychological and moral degradation and inferiority, cultural and religious change or mix up (confusion), cheating, misbehaving etc (Bender and Furman, 2004:177). Some of these problems are being reflected and seen in our daily social life and contacts with sex workers. Therefore, this research is going with the intention of producing or providing a substantial findings or accounts about main causes, challenges, outcomes and driving factors of sex workers to engage in sex business at Addis Ababa. Disclosing the major customers

of sex workers and understanding the origin of prostitutes is also the mission of this scientific research.

Sex tourism is rapidly developing industry equivalent to tourism industry in many countries today. Therefore, unlike its benefits in generating income, sex tourism is influencing the culture and degrading reputation of countries in tourist destination centers (Tepanon, 2006:2). Now a days, because of the development and expansion of tourism industry, globalization, modern means of communications and transportations; Sex tourism is devastating the developing world including Africa. This is also true of Ethiopia since recent years mainly in tourist destination areas, bars and hotels. It is highly intensifying and the numbers of sex workers are increasing from time to time in Africa and Ethiopia. Contrary to this rapid expansion, researches and scholarly studies on sex tourism are not common or very rare in Africa particularly in Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia, there are indeed some scientific researches done (conducted) on commercial sex work or prostitution. However, the area of sex tourism has remained unstudied so far and there are no detail information about the scope, nature, cause and consequences of sex tourism in Ethiopia. The first scientific study is a research done by Getnet Tadele and Desta Ayode (2010), in collaboration with ECPAT/FSCE and Ministry of Culture and Tourism entitled as *An Assessment of Child Sex Tourism in Some Selected Tourist Attraction Sites in Ethiopia*. It mainly assesses about the causes, effects and magnitude of child sex tourism in some selected tourist destination sites and also identifies main actors of child sex tourism. In addition to this, it also mentioned national and international legal frames (rules) that forbid or protect child sex tourism and finally concludes with stating some recommendations and suggestions how to avoid, prevent and rehabilitate child sex tourism jointly by various stake holders of governmental and nongovernmental organizations.

Two smaller studies have been also conducted in Ethiopia and Eritrea by two different researchers. Waganeh Tarekegn, a social worker, published *Child (girls) prostitution: An Increasingly Growing Social Problem in Ethiopia*, the Ethiopian Social Policy Reader, volume 1, (2008), which highlights about the emergency and expansion of prostitution particularly in Ethiopia and explains how children are highly affected by prostitution in relation to the expansion of tourism. It also explains the causes, effects and magnitude of prostitution in Ethiopia.

Md. Arshad wrote on *Prostitution in Africa: A sociological Study of Eritrea* (2012), which discusses the historical beginning and expansion of prostitution in Eritrea. It states the social acceptance of the practice and also tries to define prostitution using various definitions forwarded by different scholars and institutions. The research explains and evaluates about the effectiveness of NGOs in minimizing and rehabilitating commercial sex workers in Eritrea.

Even if these small studies tried to discover some findings on child sex tourism and commercial sex the nature, driving factors and challenges of adult sex workers are not touched in detail by anthropologists and other researchers. So very little has been known about the magnitude and nature of the problem of prostitution and commercial sex work in Ethiopia (Ayode and Tadele, 2010:3). Though understanding this research gap and when I found the issue highly imperative to undertake an anthropological research on the nature, magnitude, challenges and effects of sex tourism in Ethiopia; I encouraged to pay due attention to explore and bring qualitative anthropological facts to culminate the problem. I believed qualitative research method will bring valid and reliable data on the nature, challenges and effects of sex tourism in Ethiopia. So that it is this research gap and widening issue of sex tourism in Ethiopia, mainly in Addis Ababa that encouraged me and this research is going to discover and discuss issues by providing various anthropological accounts.

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

#### **1.3.1 General objectives**

The overall objectives of the study are the following core points:

- To assess and identify the main factors and nature of sex business as well as multifaceted problems prostitutes encountered from the community, intermediaries and their customers etc. and also it is going to discuss their origin and main sites of sex workers in the capital. It also assess the causes and impacts of prostitution on sex workers as well as local people of the country.
- To develop an anthropological and ethnographic account on the major causes, impacts and challenges of sex workers and sex related business in general by taking different hotels, restaurants, clubs, massage parlors and guest houses as a site in Addis Ababa and

joining brokers, pimps, sex workers, bell boys, security guards, taxi-drivers and other informants.

### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

Specific objectives of the study are mainly:

- ❖ To identify the major causes of sex work in Addis Ababa including the motivations and hopes of sex workers to engage in sex work with tourists and other foreign and local customers.
- ❖ To elucidate different categories of relationships sex workers establish with their customers and understand the major customers of sex workers in Addis Ababa.
- ❖ To understand the grand problems and challenges of sex workers when they engaged in sex business and assess social condition of sex workers.
- ❖ To discover the most affected part of the society in sex work and assess the overall influence and impacts of sex work on the hosting community and the country as a whole.
- ❖ To investigate the main sites of sex workers and understand origin of sex workers and their customers as well as how they suffered by pimps and customers.

## **1.4 Research Questions**

Based on the above objectives of the study the following major research questions are formulated. Accordingly the aim of this research is to answer the following question.

- 1) What are the major socio- economic and psychological factors of sex work?
- 2) What are the main driving factors that force females to engage in sex work?
- 3) What are the major challenges of sex workers at their engagements?
- 4) What are the main agents involved in sex work and impacts of sex work?
- 5) What are the effects of sex work on sex workers and the overall society?

## **1.5 Research Method**

In this part of the paper an outline of the research methodology, including the research design, data collection techniques and tools, data compilation and analysis methods, which were used to carry out this research are given and discussed briefly below.

### **1.5.1 Research Approach/ Design**

This research was designed to investigate the multilayered effects and challenges of sex work on sex workers and the people of Ethiopia, focusing on the incidents of sex work in Addis Ababa. Therefore, owing to the objectives, research questions and nature of the issue under investigation, particularly its emphasis on investigating the causes, effects or changes and inside challenges of sex business; the research is mainly qualitative. This research is mainly focused on the exploration and understanding of the perspectives, perceptions, and opinions of those individuals who are involved and affected by sex work, and also on the identification of different causes, out comes, influences and challenges of sex business on the hosting community. The research aims to reflect, explore and disseminate the views, feelings and experiences of research participants from their view point. Thus, bearing this in mind, employing such qualitative research methods as ethnography, case studies and life histories made it possible to collect more qualitative and context based data about the perceptions and opinions of individuals and community members, who are affected by and involved in sex business, towards the causes and challenges of prostitution.

### **1.5.2 Data Collection Techniques and sources**

Pertaining to the research design proposed above, both primary and, to some extent, secondary sources of data was consulted in this research to obtain the required data for conducting the research. Much of the secondary data sources were obtained from published and unpublished documents and materials, books, various researches, news papers, magazines, pamphlets and brushers etc. primary data about the factors, major challenges and results of prostitution and sex business was collected directly from individuals, sex workers and people who are affected, involved and benefited from the market of sex business. Different qualitative data gathering techniques were used to obtain the primary data directly from the informants.

### **1.5.2.1 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

To gather relevant data and discover valid finding, only a small number of sex workers who are directly involved in sex business are selected and grouped in one FGD and discussion was conducted in one of the discussant's own home. Hence one focus group discussion session was arranged and conducted with sex worker informants with the aim of accessing a broad range of views about sex work and collecting a large amount of data pertaining to the issue under scrutiny, relatively over a short period of time. This FGD was arranged to identify the main driving factors, challenges of sex workers and effects of sex business and to know the influence and impact of the problem on the hosting community. To arrange FGD I first contact a prostitute informant at one club and she facilitated FGD with other four friends of her at her home in Gottera condominium house. The FGD was arranged during day when they were free from work. They were chewing Chat at the home of my first contact informant in which all their expenses were covered by me. As a result this Focus group discussion was mainly arranged with high profiled prostitutes at their home when they were free of their engagement during day time.

### **1.5.2.2 Interview**

In addition to the above techniques, the research heavily relies on interviewing to gather the required data. Both unstructured and structured interview questions were prepared and an interview of formal and informal way through talks was made with different informants. The interview was conducted with sex workers, pimps, local guides, driver brokers, bell boys, receptionists, security guards, hotel, club and restaurant managers to understand how sex workers and their practice are perceived by the community.

The interview was made with the aim of acquiring data on what the informants think as causes of sex business, why prostitutes decided to engage in sex work and how they feel about the different challenges they face at a time of prostituting themselves.

The value of an ethnographic interview is optimal for collecting data on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics like sex and prostitution issues are being explored. Therefore, in this research an intensive in-depth interview was made with different informants for collecting data on the informants' personal histories,

perspectives, experiences, and attitudes towards the cause, effects and challenges of prostitution and sex tourism.

Key Informant Interview (KII) is a type of interview where by a researcher able to bring well rich and all rounded information about on a certain topic of study. It is used to investigate data on sensitive issues like my particular concern to study sex tourism at one area. Accordingly Bernard states that interviewing of mainly unstructured in depth interview applied for studying sensitive issues like “sexuality, racial or ethnic prejudice, or hot political topics”(2006:213).

In this research, an intensive and detailed interviewing was made with some local agents and brokers of sex workers, hotel, club, restaurant supervisors and managers and other informants. Other candidates of in-depth interview were sex workers and drivers who are involved in the process and are main actors in the event which provided and generated for me detailed ideas of the scenario. An in-depth interview session was held with mainly security guards, local guides, brokers and pimps supposed that they will have detailed information about sex tourism being they are mediators who negotiate sex workers with tourists financially and psychologically.

### **1.5.2.3 Observation**

This is one of the basic tools of gathering data but in researching some issues like sex tourism, it is very difficult, dangerous, risky, sensitive and hard for the researcher to participate and observe the situation or things directly involved in the action. The difficulty partly emanates from the secret or covert nature and character of the activity, and also it is hidden in its nature as well as regarded as socially taboo. However, the researcher made a simple observation how sex workers contact their customers and negotiate with their customers without participating in the activity to acquire information and understand the problem in detail from the activities of sex workers and their customers. This method helps the researcher to understand and discover how sex workers communicate and contact their customers in hotels, clubs and restaurants and other establishments. Are there any signs or symbols used as a medium of communication between sex workers and tourists? How sex workers familiarize themselves with their customers who come from diverse culture, language, social background and attitude? These and other issues are discovered through continuous observation. The systematic observation which will be made by the researcher will serve two purposes. On the one hand, as a data collection tool, it helped me to

collect real and observable information about the activities and behaviors (emotions and feelings) of the informants under investigation. On the other hand, it served as a mechanism to check the validity of the information produced in other data collection tools; putting it in other words it assisted me to check up what informants say about themselves and what they actually do in their day to day activities and practices.

#### **1.5.2.4 Case Study or stories**

This method of data collection technique aims to understand social phenomena within a single or small number of naturally occurring settings. Using this method detailed qualitative data of four or five sex workers in a hotel or restaurant was taken and their deep life history is studied systematically and carefully. So by using this method valid data of life history of five prostitutes who have contacts with tourists and other foreign guests were studied and their data was collected. Analysis and documentation of their detailed life history was helpful to clarify and understand previous story of prostitutes, overall understanding of sex work and as well as process of sex tourism in Addis Ababa. This technique is very helpful in addition to information or data gathered through other methods of data collection techniques.

In line with this Bloor and Fiona states that the purpose of case study is to get information and understanding the process involved with in a settings (2006:7-8). But, this can't involve studying a single or multiple cases and numerous level of analysis. Though using this method various detailed cases are collected and recorded by asking and informally discussing with participants and observing their act of sex seeking in selected hotels, clubs, bars and other places in Addis Ababa. Finally the collected and recorded cases were analyzed and placed in categories accordingly.

#### **1.5.3 Data Collection Procedure and Sampling Technique**

Investigating and detailed assessing or understanding of the main challenges, effects and over all nature of sex tourism and as well as producing an anthropological account of sex tourism in Ethiopia based on observation and from informants data are the major concern of this anthropological research. Before the beginning of data collection, the objective and purpose of the research was brief in detail for informants and were asked and invited to participate in giving information to the researcher, if they are voluntary to be an informant they are asked some

information what they know about the impact but not forced or compel to be as an informants if refused. After this the researcher arranged or adjust and coordinate or facilitate convenient meeting places and other equipments that are quite necessary for particular data collection technique to be used in collecting data from voluntary informants.

As mentioned earlier, the researcher employed observation as one form of data collection tool (techniques).The observation was made in different places where the informants are seen interacting with one another. The observation was made in many establishments in which it was done with and without the knowledge of them being observed.

A non probability sampling technique was used to select the informants who participated in this study as informants. Due, largely, to the clandestine nature of the issue under investigation snow ball sampling techniques was mainly used in this study to select most of the informants that participated in this study. Through this type of sampling technique I was be able to reach large number of informants that I could not find by using other non probability sampling.

#### **1.5.4 Data Documentation and Analysis**

The next step or task which was done after collecting the necessary data using the above data collection tools are categorizing, combining, synthesizing and there by analyzing of the collected data. Before the actual analysis of the data, the collected data was sorted and categorized in accordance to its source and type. For the purpose of clarity and convenience the data collected by each data collection technique was transcribed, compiled and further elaborated in meaningful and patterned information soon after the completion of that particular data collection session. Above all, the whole collected data was analyzed in thematically organized in away by pursuing to the original descriptions of the field notes so as to infer meanings and generalizations.

### **1.6 Significance of the study**

The facts which will be generated after completion of this study will have great importance for various governmental and nongovernmental organizations and institutions, policy makers, stake holders, judicial and other concerned decision making organs, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, women, child and youth affairs, Hotel, club and restaurant owners etc. it is used as an input for them to alleviate the problem and buildup the country's good image and sustainable development of the tourism industry. It may benefit folks, parents and relatives of sex workers, health centers,

police stations, local religious institutions, consultancy agencies. The findings of this research may also be important in providing different insights on the driving factors, impacts and challenges of sex workers in Ethiopia, for researchers, scholars, students and academicians who are interested in the investigation of various aspects of sex tourism and prostitution as a whole. Finally, the result of this finding is also expected to serve as an additional literature material for helping students and other researchers who are interested to study the same issue.

### **1.7 Scope of the study**

Being my research site is Addis Ababa where many tourists and foreign guests are hosted and served daily the problem is also very high in Addis Ababa than any other tourist destinations in Ethiopia. Many girls, teen agers, women and adult men in some rate are vulnerable to the problem of sex work. Addis Ababa has a lot of beautiful hotels, bars, restaurants, night clubs and some guest houses with comfortable bedrooms, pensions and shower or wash rooms. This situation create a good opportunity for the expansion of sex tourism in the capital, taking this as an advantage many beautiful Ethiopian girls prostitute themselves in order to earn money in return and get out from poverty.

In Addis Ababa, there are many street, hotel, brothel and private home sex workers which are both from the capital and out of Addis Ababa (Ayode and Tadele, 2010:1;Tarekegn, 2008: 2-3). Some of these sex workers are part timers (mostly street sex workers) while most of them working in hotels and restaurants are full time sex workers. Though this research focused and concerned mainly on identifying the challenges, problems, causes, nature and consequences of sex tourism mainly in clubs, hotels, restaurants and bars in Addis Ababa. Other establishments such as Massage parlors, guest houses, gym and spa and sauna bath rooms were also considered in the study.

Thematically the scope of this research is mainly limited to the investigation of problems facing prostitutes with a focus on commercial sex workers engaging with tourists and foreign guests. It also assessed the nature, cause, challenge and effects of sex tourism in Addis Ababa taking evidences of various informants by crosschecking their idea or data. And geographically the scope of the research is focused in Addis Ababa more specifically in some selected tourist destination hotels, bars, night clubs, massage parlors and guest houses at Piassa, Bole, Meskel

flower, Kazanchis, Leghar and other sites. This is mainly the capital is the seat of many offices and first destination of many foreigners. So the regional scope of the research is restricted mainly in finding the overall effects and challenges of sex work on the hosting community in Addis Ababa mainly tourist hosting hotels, guest houses, clubs and bars etc. This was done by gathering data from informants, continuous observation and FGD group taken from my particular sites of study.

Finally the time chosen for the study was convenient from January to August where the country experienced and hosted more tourist flows. More commonly seasons from November to May particularly are peak seasons of tourist flow in Ethiopia. This is due to celebrations of many religious and cultural festivities during these seasons. And the other seasons are low seasons for tourists in Ethiopia. Lastly the researcher employed qualitative method of data collection tools in which it is used to gather much more and detailed information using various methods of data gathering mechanisms. This method also helps the researcher to acquire genuine data by triangulating the information given by asking different open ended formal and informal questions and discussions with the informants.

### **1.8 Problems Encountered and Limitation of the study**

There is lack of anthropological and academic researches conducted in the area of my particular study; it is difficult to find secondary sources because of this research gap my findings may not be backed with past researches. Largely due to the clandestine nature of sex tourism and prostitution there was a problem of accessing the required information on time.

Sex work is a sensitive problem in its nature because of that I faced many problems to contact appropriate informants. Particularly I faced difficulty of contacting informants mainly sex workers. I encountered problems of getting first hand information from prostitutes and their customers. This is because open discussion and talking about sexual issues is a social taboo in Ethiopia (Ayode and Tadele, 2010: 3). Latter on using various methods of approaching, I found sex worker informants but not their customers. This is done using snow ball sampling method of contacting informants that is after I contacted some informants, I could able to get more informants through the agent of my earlier informants. It was challenging and difficult to get individual informants directly involved in sex tourism.

During field work, my informants and contact persons who were basically sex workers themselves, pimps, driver brokers, hotel, club and restaurant managers and supervisors, drivers, security guards, bell boys, receptionists, head waiters and local guides. These informants and contact persons tried to veil or deny necessary information about the issue. Some of my informants were primarily unwilling to give information in case of fear and thinking of the outcome may negatively affect their business and income. And it was due to their suspicion that telling the reality about the discussion topic may bring them to punishment by legal courts assuming as they violated the law. But I told them the reality as it was not like that and showed them the letter I received from my dep't and Ministry of Culture and Tourism. I began intimacy and get closer to discover the reality. And by these methods I propagated to informants. The time given to complete this study was not also well enough to stay in the research site and dig out detailed data and information.

The particular issue I chosen was also need much budget to discover detailed facts and complicated issues on sex work. Shortage of time and budget were also other challenges that I encountered in the study. But I tried to manage the allocated budget given to this study. There were also hotels, restaurants, clubs and other sites that refused my engagement to their establishments as a researcher. Some even totally protected their permission and denied my engagement at their establishments. They halted me not to study at their respective establishments. Some government officials also disclosed the scope of the problem and impact of the situation due to the fear of shading the image and political system of the country.

For the study of this paper, I travelled to many places to contact informants and for observation. I gathered data travelling to many places. During field work I encountered diversified fierce challenges from various category of the society. The first challenge I faced in the field work was from hotel club and Bar Managers. Challenges that emanated from security guards and security supervisors were also another challenges and hindrances for easily accessing of informants.

Here I would like to describe one of highest challenge that I encountered in certain Hotels. In one international Hotel I went for observation and interviewing informants. Primarily I get the permission and willing of Human Resource Manager and I travelled to that Hotel continuously. One day as usual I went to the Hotel for observation and interviewing but unfortunately the hotel head of security guides came and intimidate me to left out the Hotel. I was contacting an informant from the Hotel and began to discuss about the issue but an expectedly the guy came

and interrupt our discussion and forced me to go out from the Hotel. I tried to settle the situation but he couldn't understand and disagreement occurred between us. Finally, Night Manager of the Hotel came and tried to settle our cases but he couldn't. Lastly, I left out the hotel for ones and all. This was one of the biggest challenges that met in the field.

The other challenge emanated from accessing informants particularly Commercial Sex Workers and I accessed them through the agent of drivers, brokers and bellboys I found sex worker informants. In addition during observation I approached and contacted some sex workers systematically to get available data. The other method was through snowball sampling method some Commercial sex workers contacted me their friends and co-workers.

In the study I couldn't directly accessed homo-sexual sex workers and I can't get first hand information directly from the main studied groups. This is occurred due to illegality and covertly practice of homo sexuality in the country. Therefore, I can't get any homosexual informant for interviewed. Challenging all these and other minor cases were very difficult nevertheless because of my heartfelt effort I tried to discover and bring valid and valuable data about this sensitive issue of sex tourism.

## **1.9 Description of the Study Area**

This research was conducted in some selected places of Addis Ababa. As per my topic, sex tourism in Addis Ababa, I focused on tourist destination and preference areas in the capital. That is, hotels and clubs were given due attention. Particularly, I widely used high standard international and star rated hotels, clubs, restaurants, massage houses, and dancing houses for this study. Thus, I was frequently visiting these places to get relevant data for the research.

I used multiple sites for collecting qualitative data pertinent to the research. My focus however was on hotels, restaurants and clubs. I particularly used high standard international and star rated hotels, clubs, restaurants, massage houses, dancing houses and other similar places. Broadly speaking sites can be classified into two in terms of the profile of the prostitutes where high profiled and lower profiled prostitutes are found. I identified that majority of high profiled prostitutes are engaged for business in international hotels and clubs that shows status matters to work as a sex worker in a standardized hotels. As the focus of my research is in these sites I was able to collect data from these areas through using a combination of methods of data collection.

I also frequently visited and collect data both through observation and interview from ordinary hotels, clubs, pubs, restaurants, massage houses and air port. Museums, guest houses, shopping centers, streets, roads, parking centers, homes and houses of pimps and sex workers were also other visited sites for the study. Many sex workers and their customers are highly available in the above establishments and that is why I focused on the sites that I have mentioned above.

I covered places that I assumed I could get informants and direct participants on the issue under scrutiny. I covered from top hotels to streets and slum houses in which brokers and other informants are available. In the above mentioned sites and study areas I found many informants and observed many interesting activities which benefited and strengthen information that are gained from informants. My first choices for this study were hotels, clubs, bars, brothels and museums of the capital. But when I went to the actual field work I found and informed other remaining additional sites for the study. Due to that I also turned to the above mentioned places for gathering data.

When I went to the actual fieldwork I had a plan to observe how prostitutes contact customers, to identify which areas and establishments were the main sites of prostitutes and to meet informants for interview on issues like challenges faced during prostitution. Unfortunately when I began to contact informants and tried to interview them about sex work in the city they proposed and advised me another additional establishments and places for further information. In this way I assessed many sites and establishments that are interesting and very informative for my study.

Gathering data in some of the above mentioned sites were very difficult. There are sites that I got limited information and there are also places in which unexpectedly I found rich data for the study.

From the above listed places hotels, clubs, restaurants, guest houses, museums, streets, and air port compounds were my sites where much more and detailed information were found. Other remaining sites like music concert areas, shopping centers, cafés and red-light districts were also important in producing invaluable information for the study. These sites fed me a lot of data for understanding the issue of sex tourism.

During field work I travelled to various parts of Addis Ababa. I travelled to places like Bole, Kazanchis, Hayahulet, Chichinyia, Megenagna, Arat Kilo, Amist kilo, Piazza, Meskel Flower, Laghar, Ambassador area, Mexico, Saris, Meri, CMC, Gerji, Merkatto, Gottera, Tekle haymanot areas, Daksen sefer and other areas of the capital. These are places in which the above mentioned

establishments are located. I also went to other various places of the capital either continuously or for some days, but I only mentioned here the most important and frequently visited sites.

### **1.10 Organization of the Paper/ Thesis**

This thesis consists of six main chapters. Chapter one explains an overall highlight and context to the study. It gives some brief information and concepts of sex tourism and explains some of the components of the study. It describes objectives of the study and finalizes by discussing research methodology and data collection techniques employed in the study. Chapter two of the thesis reviews some of the attempts and literatures in the academic world in theorizing and understanding sex tourism. It explains some advantages and disadvantages of the tourism industry and elaborates the beginning and development of prostitution. Chapter three discusses detailed about nature of sex work, origin of prostitutes and motivations of prostitutes to engage in sex work. It also explains the factors that contribute to the expansion of sex work and assesses the major causes of prostitution and ends up discussing major sites of commercial sex workers and methods of customer attractions. Chapter four states about the main challenges of sex workers from various sides and explains implications of sex tourism in the country. It concludes discussing about consequences of CSW and sex tourism in general. Chapter five of the paper entails and looks at the condition of sex workers and influence of sex tourism on the hosting community. The last chapter of the paper finalizes and describes the core findings of the study.

## Chapter two

### 2. Review of Relevant Literatures

In this sub chapter of the paper I will try to discuss the nature of prostitution and explain research gaps on sex tourism, assess impacts and benefits of tourism on prostitution. This should be done by reviewing some related literatures on the topic of sex tourism which are gathered from books, articles, journals, researches and other relevant materials. Finally a theoretical concept on prostitution and sex tourism will be discussed to provide a theoretical framework to substantiate the findings of this research.

#### 2.1 Definition of Key Concepts

##### 2.1.1 Definition of Tourism

The term tourism is defined in different periods differently. The definition of tourism is controversial which is mainly due to the complexity of tourists' activities and their diverse interests. Therefore it is difficult and misleading to generalize about tourism and tourists (Van Harssel, 1994:3; cited in Huang, n.d<sup>1</sup>:3). But the most widely used definition of tourism is the definition given by UNWTO which defines tourism as:

*Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which imply tourism expenditure. As such, tourism has implications on the economy, on the natural and built environment, on the local population at the destination and on the tourists themselves.*(UNWTO; Cited in <http://media.unwto.org/en/content/understanding-tourism-basic-glossary>).

Tourism entails the activities of people travelling to and staying in places outside of their usual and common environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes. Tourism mainly refers to the activity of visitors on their visiting countries. Tourism has been commonly related to prostitution and can be taken as an engine of economic and social development. This economic and social use of tourism are encouraged and assisted tremendously

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<sup>1</sup>n.d- means no date, because the material I cited have no any year of publication.

by governments. But the social and cultural nature of tourism in return will bring to socio cultural change of local communities in the visited areas. In some cases this change of tourism in socio cultural life of the people may be useful but its disadvantage to the local people may be heavier than its advantage (Monterrubio and Bello, n.d: 13).

There is relationship between sex and tourism, which are integrated since the 19<sup>th</sup> century of western European mainly of British visiting of holidays to “exotic” places of Mediterranean area in which many travelers began sex with local people (Little wood, 2001; cited in Puccia, 2009:114). According to Rayan, 2000: 27, “tourism is a socially sanctioned escape route for adults in to play, fantasy, and sexual adventure. . . . It is not surprising that sex and tourism are inseparable events (*ibid*).

### **2.1.2 Definition of Tourists**

According to International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) 1963, tourists are defined as people who are temporary visitors who spend a minimum of twenty four hours in a destined country or nation and the main objective of the whole journey can be for leisure including recreation, holiday, health, religion, study or sport and as well as for business, family, meeting and mission (IUOTO, 1963; cited in Puccia, 2009: 18). But the contemporary and most often used type of definition in the field of anthropologists and sociologists is Valene Smith’s (1989) definition of tourism. It defines “a tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (Smith, 1989:1; cited in Puccia, 2009: 19). This definition is more elaborated in the following way: visitors or tourists through their movement have their own various and many motivations or aspirations but tourism is based on three basic operative elements which forms an equation known as Tourism= leisure time+ discretionary income+ positive local sanctions (*ibid*).

### **2.1.3 Definition of sex tourism**

Sex tourism is defined differently but the most commonly and widely used definition of sex tourism is it is defined as “consisting of people from economically developed nations

travelling to under developed countries specifically to purchase the sexual services of local men, women and children” (Enloe, 1989: 36; cited in Puccia: 2).

Sex tourism is not restricted only at a particular or certain area of the world but it is practiced everywhere in the hosting countries. But developing countries are the most visited areas for sex tourism (Eriksson, 1996; cited in Chetty, 2007:2).

#### **2.1.4 Types of tourism**

There are various types of tourism in the world. According to Smith there are five main types of tourism, namely, ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, environmental or ecotourism tourism and recreational tourism including sex (Smith, 1989:1; cited in Puccia, 2009: 19). All these various classification of tourism are evolved from various and complicated tourist motivations in which each tourist aspires to have its own experience in travel (Puccia, 2009: 19).

### **2.2 Nature and beginning of prostitution**

The term ‘prostitute’ is derived from a Latin word and the first historical written document about the presence of prostitution is found from ancient Egypt. Though, the first written material about prostitution was emerged during the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, since that time onwards the idea of prostitution and prostitute women changed through time (Ordonez, 2006 and Lacqueur, 1992 respectively; cited in Ortiz, 2009:7). But it is not precisely known when prostitution is started (Arshad, 2012:2). In the middle ages of Europe, the practice of prostitution was protected, respected, licensed and controlled by law to gather large amount of revenues for their nations. For example in England *Bordellos* (Places of payment for males who need sex) were given licenses first from bishops and latter from parliament. As prostitution was respected and protected by law in most parts of western countries, prostitution related crimes were strictly controlled by legal institutions and organizations (Mengiste, 1999; cited in Tarekegn, 2008: 4).

In contemporary history of prostitution, prostitutes were considered as they have main desire of sex or as people who suffered with psychopathological disorder in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> C. respectively. Prostitution was understood as a “necessary evil” or disease which safeguarded women from rape due to the assumption of unrestrained sexual desire of men or as a result of widespread poverty (Kong, 2006 and Pateman, 1998 respectively; cited in Ortiz, 2009: 7).But

today prostitution is perceived as body of international sex industry which is estimated to bring about 52,000 million dollars per year globally (Villa and Gonzalez, 2006; cited in Ortiz, 2009:7).

### **2.3 Nature and beginning of prostitution in Ethiopia**

When I proceed to the beginning of sex work in Ethiopia, it is not exactly known where and when sex work began in Ethiopia but was practiced since the olden times. According to some sources, its beginning is related and connected to the movement of kings, nobles, war lords, the establishment of cities and growing of trading activities in the country (Andargachew, 1988:276; cited in Momentum Consultancy PLC, 2010:9). Sex work has been practiced for a long period of time since the time of Byzantine, Greek, Roman and Egyptian empires. And the first evidence about the beginning of sex work in Ethiopia is identified by Portuguese priest known as Francesco Alvarez during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. According to him, sex work in the country is practiced around the royal camps of Gondar during the reign of Emperor Libne Dengel during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

During the middle Ages in Gondar, Axum, Lalibela and in other commercial centers of the Ethiopian empires, sex workers perform intelligence services and were the main body guard of the royal camps. The establishment of Addis Ababa as a capital and its fast growth in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century facilitated the expansion of sex tourism throughout the country (*ibid*).

Sex work in Ethiopia has long history like other countries which has been started during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is believed that prostitution widespread in Ethiopia because of Italian invasion and subsequent disruption of the country, divorce between a husband and wife, construction of the Ethio-Djibouti railway, growth of urbanization and urban life as well as commercialization of local drinks. All these factors contribute to the rapid growth and commercialization of prostitution in Ethiopia. The practice of prostitution increased in Ethiopia as husbands of Ethiopian women left their wives to battle fields and women seek an alternative means to earn money to grown up their children by meeting the sex demand of Italian troops (Pankhurst, 1974 and Nick, 2006; cited in Overs and *etal*, 2011: 12 and Mengiste, 1999 and Kefetew, 1996; cited in Tarekegn, 2008: 4-6).

Sometimes sex work in Ethiopia today is both open and pervasive. During night time both in Addis Ababa and regional towns very huge number of women are selling sexual services openly (Overs and *etal*,2011: 12). A modern type of prostitution including child prostitutes started because of the development of towns and urbanization (Mengiste, 1999; cited in Tarekegn,

2008:5). The issue of sex and its activities are not discussed openly and freely in most Ethiopian societies. This is mainly due to intact traditional cultures, beliefs and public attitudes as well. Sex mainly of homo sexuality that is sex of male to male or female to female is considered as taboo or unnatural and uncommon in Ethiopia. (Andargachew, 1988:276).

#### **2.4 Advantages and Disadvantages of Tourism Industry**

Sex tourism is practiced by many western men and is a rapidly expanding social phenomenon. As the number of tourist men increases through time in a country, sex tourism become difficult to understand and vague activity to the professionals, academia and the whole public. Sex tourism is tied with the transmission of HIV/AIDS, other sexually transmitted diseases and sexually addicted behaviors (Bender and Furman, 2004:176-177). Tourists who need to involve in sex tourism mainly comes from well developed nations particularly from USA, Western Europe and Japan (*ibid*, 177). The development of tourism industry led to the expansion of sex trade in tourist destination areas and people in economically less developed nations are forced to involve in sex trade for rich countries of tourists to get incentives for a living (Kibicho,2009 :78).

However, there are two contradictory arguments based on the impact of tourism on prostitution and even if studies done in the area of tourism impacts on prostitution are rare; researchers debated in two categories about the relationship between tourism and prostitution. The first group argues that prostitution causes more number of prostitutes, crime and damages moral values of locals mainly in tourist destination areas. And conversely the other group denies the reinforcement of tourism on the expansion of prostitution and organized crimes (Wall and Matheison, 2006:242; Ryan, 2003: 321 respectively cited in Monterrubio and Bello, n.d: 14-15). From these two arguments we can understand that tourism alone doesn't motivate and fuel up prostitution, crime, and other sexually transmitted diseases but have its own share including other factors. Though, tourism has its own advantages and disadvantages to the visited societies.

Tourism is simply defined as an essential leisure activity which needs movement, journey and some days of stay in new destination site (s). We can fully state that Tourism is “the largest peace time movement of people”. In modern times there is remarkable rate of tourism development globally which is motivated by advancement of better communication system, information technology, culture of travelling, more leisure or relaxation time and disposable

income and growth of affluence (Munshi, 2006: 4461- 4462). For both developed and developing countries, tourism is very crucial economic, social and cultural activity of many societies and are important in energizing national, regional and local, development (Telfer and Sharpley,2008; cited in Monterrubio and Bello, n.d: 13). Tourism is also important to create job opportunity (Sebastian and Rajagopalan, 2009; cited in *ibid*), regional and local investments, develop trade exchanges and help other economic sector in tourist destination cites (Ryan, 2003; cited in *ibid*). It helps to develop local infrastructure facilities (Monterrubio, Gullette *etal*; cited in *ibid*), leisure opportunities (Getz, 1993; cited in *ibid*) and encourage for revitalization of local traditions (Deitch, 1989; cited in *ibid*). Even if tourism industry has the above mentioned benefits, it has also disadvantages on local communities or social structures of the visited ones. These include expansion and increase of crime (Belisle and Hoy, 1980; cited in *ibid*: 13-14), noise, litter, traffic jamming, drug use and alcohol consumption in destination societies (Piazem, 1978; cited in *ibid*: 14). It has also negative impacts on local cultures like acculturation process, consumerism and commodification of local cultures (Stronza, 2001; cited in *ibid*: 14). All these are identified as inconvenient results and negative influences of tourism.

Many of the above impacts and consequences of tourism are not evolved solely from the development of tourism but mixed with other factors. This idea is well supported by “social aspects of communities may change not only because of tourism, but also as a consequence of globalization, the media, intrinsic and extrinsic factors (the wider environment), and the ‘natural’ changing process inherent to each society” (Monterrubio and Bello, n.d: 14).

Now a day international tourism is becoming one of the largest leading industries in the world. It is growing and developing through time which probably may bring the highest income for nations. Tourism industry is essential and very important for nations in bringing foreign currency as well as introducing a nations’ culture, development, history etc. to visitors. Unlike its many benefits it has also various disadvantages and influences on the hosting community and the hosting country too. There are some ideas that suggest benefit of tourism exceeds its disadvantages. But there is no consensus which outweighs more. International Tourism has many benefits for individuals of a certain nation.

From the various benefits or advantages that it has, tourism industry brings regular employment or job opportunity for many people. It provides job opportunity in hotels, bars, clubs, restaurants

or tourist agencies employed as guides, drivers, tour operators and work other jobs which directly brought from tourism industry. It helps them to earn regular income, save money that brought from it and help to improve their life. The other most important advantage of tourism industry is it develops economy of the country. Tourists pay a lot of money for the services they used in hotels, bars, restaurants, transportations, communications and other services. Generally it benefits local businesses and in return other business sectors like food suppliers, petrol stations, transportation and communication suppliers and other companies and business sectors may be established and developed.

Tourism also helps hotels, roads, airports, supermarkets, shops and other infrastructures to be built in tourist destination areas. This helps tourists to easily access and visit remote areas and benefits local people by using newly built infrastructures. According to Dogan, tourism enhances modernization and integrates people with urban civilizations. Tourism enhances government services and also leads government to provide democratic and tolerant political system. It also contributes to the development of national and ethnic consciousness as well as emancipation of women (Dogan, 1989: 220; cited in Puccia, 2009: 4). Stronza in his book also argues that tourism for a country may better and develop communication and transportation services of tourist destination areas (Stronza, 2001; cited in Puccia, 2009: 4).

Tourism has both benefits and disadvantages to the hosting countries. According to Crick “There may be costs and benefits of international tourism for host communities” (Crick 1989; cited in Puccia, 2009: 4). Tourism in some areas bring environmental preservations where as in other sites destroy resources and bring degradation of resources and environment (*ibid*). Tourism industry has decline or subside tradition of the hosting community how ever in other visited places it enhances historical consciousness of people (Crick, 1989: 373; cited in Puccia, 2009: 4).

In relation to tourism industry, there are also other problems which face countries in hosting tourists. One of its disadvantages is growth of crimes. There should be high rate of crimes in related to tourist activities. For example jewelries and other traditional and cultural items or goods will be looted or taken out by tourists from the hosting country. Health is another problem of tourism industry. It is caused mainly due to mass movement of tourists which might cause the spread of contagious diseases in various parts of the world. Not only this but also diseases such as HIV/ AIDS and other contaminated diseases are easily transmitted with largest flow of

tourists. Natural environment of a country might be seriously affected and destroyed with high rate of tourist movements for visiting.

There is observable research gap in regarding to sex tourism in Ethiopia particularly adult sex tourism. As a result it is difficult to get detailed information and data about the prevalence, magnitude, effect and challenge of the problem under investigation. Indeed there are researches done in the area of prostitution or commercial sex work and child sex tourism in Ethiopia conducted at some tourist arrival centers. But there is big research gap of sex tourism in Ethiopia as the problem is rapidly expanding and worsening through time because of the development of world tourism industry and other facilitations. Though this research will bring further understanding on what the situation of sex tourism in Addis Ababa looks like and will provide a base for further researches to be done in the area in order to bring more knowledge on what are the factors that lead women to this life style, nature, impacts and what prevents them getting out of the situation.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

Writings and literatures on prostitution are more ideologically contaminated than writings in other fields of the social sciences. This is more evident in that scientific study on sex industry is abandoned, and the available studies are done by those researchers who consider the sex industry as something worthless activity. Majority of the researches done in this area are more inclined to particular political goals, and are conducted by individual researchers who strive to abolish the industry at all (Weitzer, 2005: 934). Therefore much of the researches on prostitution are done by political activists and focuses mainly on violation of rights and other bad aspects of the sex industry. In the literature there is shortage of theoretical concepts to explain and analyze the different variables of sex tourism.

There are various theoretical concepts developed by different scholars to explain and understand different aspects of the sex industry. However, none of the existing theoretical concepts tries to conceptualize and understand sex in relation to tourism industry. The essentialist theory of sexual liberals and the social constructivism of radical feminists are the dominant theoretical concepts dedicated to explain and understand different aspects of prostitution. Sexual liberals follow an essentialist approach on prostitution and sexuality, and these groups of theorists argue that men's

sexual activities are biologically driven; and hence they believe that prostitution could be ended on women's eagerness to service men's sexual interests. Men have a natural interest over women for sexual pleasure and prostitution of women can be viewed as a response of satisfying that natural interest of men. On the other hand radical feminists follow the social constructivism approach and question the naturalness of sexuality. They argue that sexuality is not natural rather they believe that sexuality is socially constructed by the society. According to these theorists sexual feeling is something that we learn through our life time from members of our society where we live in. This approach suggests that men's interest of sex against women prostitutes is not mainly of natural or sex but acquired from the social environment (Jeffreys, 1997; cited in Selam, 2012: 9-10).

Despite lack of detailed theoretical concepts on sex tourism literatures, Kibicho (2009), in his book *Sex Tourism in Africa: Kenya's Booming Industry*, tries to understand and explain the relationship between prostitution and tourism by employing some theoretical concepts. Taking this into account, in the coming few paragraphs an attempt is made to summarize and discuss some of the concepts discussed in the book.

According to Kibicho (2009: 35) extreme poverty is the cause of intensifying sex work, and in countries where the economy is largely dependent on tourism and related services governments are unwilling to control the expansion of tourism related sex. The demand for sex that emanates from tourists is also the main cause for the expansion of sex tourism.

Kibicho also identifies two main kinds of environments that directly influence the operation of tourism generated sex work. The environments are classified as internal and external. According to Kibicho, the internal environment consists of four main elements which includes 'commercial sex workers', 'sex tourists', the 'sex trade organizations' and 'tourism operators' within tourist attraction sites. The external environment or the outer layer includes 'global market', 'government policies', local community and 'societal trends' etc, which directly or indirectly influences the sex tourism practices (Kibicho, 2009: 35).

The external and the internal environments that influence the sex tourism industry can be summarized in the following diagram.

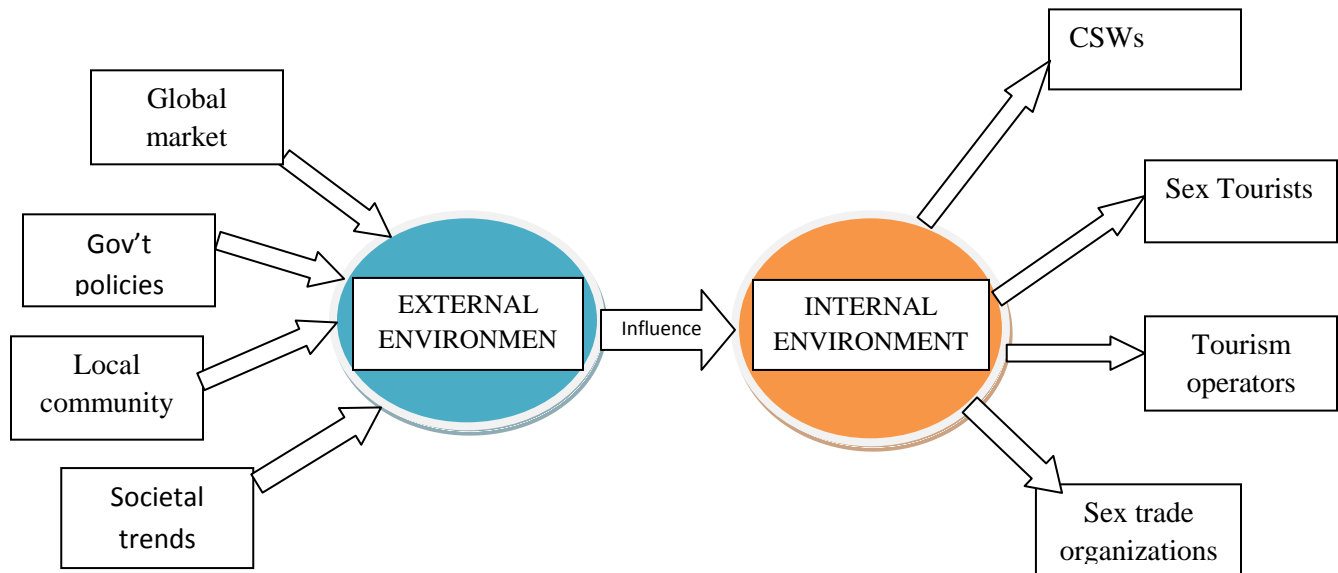


Fig. 1 External and Internal Environments of Sex Tourism

As a result of tourism and tourist related activities social systems in the tourist hosting countries is changing a lot. As the tourism industry develops it starts to involve more organized foreign private sectors into the expanding industry. This in return brings different social, cultural and political benefit and consequences to the tourist destination areas. Among the non economic consequences of such activity social and cultural changes are the most predominant occurrences. Despite these pervasive social and cultural changes, many local individuals in tourist hosting countries are interested to gain economic benefits from tourism (*ibid*: 36). One of the ways in which the locals gain the economic profit is by practicing sex with tourists. In most cases the tourism industry may not able to satisfy the job needs of all the unemployed local individuals in the hosting countries, thus locals devise another way of benefiting themselves from the tourism sector that is by engaging on sex with tourists.

The different concepts which are described above will provide the theoretical framework to explain and examine the relationship between sex trade and tourism. In sex tourism such concepts as tourism, sex tourism, sex tourist and sex trade are the main variables in the relation between sex trade and tourism. Thus, analyzing and examining the relation between these concepts will provide a theoretical concept to portray the linkage between the two industries.

## Chapter Three

### 3. Nature and Current Trend of Sex Tourism in Addis Ababa

Commercial sex work has been on the rise and now it has become a means of earning money for many young and older women in Ethiopia, especially in the capital Addis Ababa. Consistent with the literatures I have tried to review on the issue, my observations and interviews with key informants also confirm that the practice of prostitution is rising quite radically in Addis Ababa. Prostitution is mainly chosen as a means of survival or livelihood; as a source for earning money for subsistence use.

#### 3.1 Places of Origin of prostitutes and their motivations to move to Addis Ababa

It should be noted that prostitution is socially derogated economic activity for both women and men, who also marginally involved in this business. To work like a prostitution in one's own birth place and among people whom one knows and related with blood is unthinkable; it is shame for the person and his/her family; this explains why more than three fourth of my informants in Addis Ababa originated from the country side, particularly of wolayita, Jimma, Ambo, Wollo, Hawassa, BahirDar, Gondar and other parts of the country. This means that the majority of street based and lower hotel or restaurant sex workers are originated from country side and *kiflehager*<sup>2</sup> areas of Ethiopia while only few of sex workers in lower hotels, bars, clubs belongs to the capital. From the reverse side also, women deciding to work as a prostitute from Addis Ababa would go to *kiflehager* areas of regional towns.

One of my informants known by the pseudo name Sami, who is a taxi driver in Addis Ababa, told me that almost all sex workers in Addis Ababa are originated from *kiflehager* areas. But there are also few prostitutes that are originated from Addis Ababa. He also told me that Addis Ababa girls work in *kiflehager* towns. He told me that in one of his field trip to Hawassa town, he had met many Addis Ababa girls in Hawassa town, some of whom told their history and family background to him.

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<sup>2</sup> Kiflehager- is a place or an area mainly of a small town or country side in Ethiopia and located out of Addis Ababa

During field work I had among sex workers, most of my informants in interview and FGD are also from *kiflehager*. When I asked why they left their locality, they told me that they came to Addis by their own interest to win and improve their life, by becoming free from the control of their family. They cannot work like prostitutions in their own locality, even if they decide to improve their own future life by themselves; and migrating somewhere else, among people unknown to each other is mandatory.

My driver informant named as Manyazewal working closer to one international hotel in the city said that

*...because of my intimacy and close relationship with prostitutes, I know that most of the sex workers involved in street, lower hotels and bars came from rural areas and country sides ... prostitutes in highest hotels and night clubs requires a foreign customer and the guest who resides in the above establishments also needs girls of professional, well active and good English command because of that most of these kinds of sex workers are from Addis Ababa, other tourist destined sites and well developing towns of the country such as Hawassa, Bahirdar, Dessie, Harar, Mekele, Nazreth, Jimma, Ambo and other towns. I understood much information about sex workers because I freely discuss any detailed encounters and challenges of sex workers at their work.*

### **3.2 Professional and Personal Background**

One of my informant know by his pseudo name kelbessa, who serves as a bell boy in a hotel which I have chosen as one of my research site, informed me during the interview session that most of sex workers in hotels are students, returnees from Arab countries, house maids, artists, models, which include both the employed and unemployed in the hotel. Despite the few male sex workers, whom I found it difficult to met, women sex workers are of different socio- economic background; some are married while others are divorced, some are students while others are workers like waiters in hotels and others work in cosmetic, massage hoses, hair salons, supermarkets and boutique houses.

Many Pimps whom I interviewed in the field expressed that University, College, Primary and Secondary level students are also involved in sex business in the capital that come from all social

classes, e.g. low, medium and high income background. But most often economy of low and high standard family students dominates the industry of sex business in Addis Ababa. During interview most of my informants that is eighteen out of twenty five explained that a lot of sex workers in Addis Ababa are University, College or High school Students, bar ladies, married, unmarried, divorced women and others. They are mainly of unemployed women in which they have no any means of income independently. Therefore to avoid their shortage of resources they decided to engage in prostitution life as a means of gaining income through short period of time without much effort and suffer.

Seble is a middle aged woman pimp, who attracted many girls to sex business and contacted many customers with newly admitted prostitutes in each day. She responded the following when I interviewed about what kind of women are engaged in sex business:

*... Well, many females are part of this business either employed or unemployed. For example, I know married women who are employed in cosmetic houses and very big super markets that additionally engaged in sex business side by side. Eeeemm... and there are women returned from abroad and engaged in prostitution, there are also other females who used sex work as additional means of gaining money. But most of sex workers in the city are students of different levels and categories. There are street, bar ladies and club sex workers. Divorced and unmarried young females as well as girls of poor families are also included. Particularly females of none or less income used sex business as a means of generating money for their daily make ups and dressings.*

There are also many sex workers engaged in massage parlors or houses, gym houses, high standardized star rated hotels, red light districts, night clubs and dancing houses that originated both from the capital and *kiflehager* areas of the country. It is evident that when I had observations in various hotels, night clubs and massage houses; I found and observed many women and even teen agers searching customers in hotels, night clubs and massage parlors to earn business. I saw some of them contacting foreign guests in the above mentioned establishments using sign and verbal languages. Relations begin using communications like using verbal and sign greetings, and they start to talk and exchange various ideas. During their extended stay with customers, sex workers discuss lots of ideas and exchange much information

about life and other related issues. In this form relationships began, grown and developed in to sex business.

Through their stay together, sex workers and customers began to drink a variety of alcoholic drinks and enjoy together for much more time. Through extended stay these kinds of relationships and intimacy developed to sexual relationships. It is done through negotiated payments of sex and sometimes not. When relationships and contacts developed with good intimacy as well as friendship, various forms of gifts, tips and payments are contributed to sex workers from their customers. In some cases, these kinds of relationships and intimacies led to marriage alliances. And some sex workers become as second wives of their customers receiving money only from their customers or boyfriends in their own home land. These kinds of sex workers are totally dependent on their boyfriends and assisted by their false husbands. This is what I understood from informants particularly of prostitutes and pimps in the study area.

According to informants mainly of sex workers and bell boys; most of sex workers engaged in hotels and clubs work with the full knowledge of the above listed establishment managers and officials; while in other areas sex workers involve without the knowledge of managers and owners of hotels, bars, massage houses and gyms.

Mekdi, a prostitute of seventeen years old working at a night club explained about her and other sex workers:

*...I worked in various hotels, night clubs, streets, guest houses and even massage houses for three years. I know all things in the life of sex business; I have many clients and prostitute friends who engage like me. There are girls who came from kiflehager and Addis Ababa who need to improve life through this work.... We worked with the full knowledge and permission of managers and supervisors. What they need is a beautiful girl with neatness, good dressing and smooth relationship with guests. You know they need beautiful girls mainly in clubs and bars to attract many customers for the sake of their business. It is us who bring them many customers and parallel to these we may have many customers with attractive payment for us which benefited us a lot.*

From her idea I understood that there is a form of symbiosis benefiting each other. The opening and expanding of many hotels, bars and night clubs as well as its luring payment for sex workers attracted a lot of females to involve in sex business. And the presence of many sex workers in

these areas contributed to attract many customers for bars, hotels and night clubs. In return, as many customers come to get various services, countless sex workers have also the opportunity to contact sex customers. They are benefiting each other in earning much more income. In relation to these expanding hotel and bar services, many women and teenage girls such as students are becoming victims and targets of sex and sex related businesses.

There are also call girls who earn sex businesses receiving phone calls directly from customers and pimps. Most of these kinds of sex workers are Arab returnees, divorced women, girls who have boyfriends, students, employed women, artists, models, home girls and married women in some cases. I found this information from pimps whom I had good intimacy with them during field work. My informants Aster and Biruk, who are a call girl and a pimp who benefited each other, told me detailed information using extended interview when I interviewed them. Aster when interviewed about how she and other call girls contact customers, she replied that:

*... I meet customers through the agent of Biruk. You know when customers asked him to find a business lady, he called me to get ready with special phone number that I have only for this business. I entered to a bath room, took a shower, used various protocol makeup, sprays and dressed well. Then, he gives a drive, picked me up from my home and contacts with the guest either for short term or for one night spent depending on the interest of the customer. After that I enjoyed the guest as he needs and interested in. Lastly, I received payment, charged one third of my earning to Biruk for his service and he backed me home. Do you understand me he brought me customers and in return I paid him a lot of money for his service. ... in relation to this form of business, I have one..., two..., three..., yes four partners who works like me receiving calls from customers or pimps from Biruk and others. Two of them are women returned from Arab countries while the others are college student and divorced girls.*

Biruk is a pimp, who contacted sex workers with many foreigners for sex business and during interview that we have together, he told me the following:

*In this business, I have many guests and prostitutes whom I contacted every day. Most of my customers need students, home girls with teen ages or employed beautiful girls. They need females which are not ordinary sex workers. Because of this reason I contacted females of employed, young divorced, Arab returnees and*

*girls living with their parents to customers. I have many women and girls whom I contacted with customers. I have their cell phone, called them and joined with guests. And from my experience, most sex workers who work through calling are students, models, artists, divorced and employed women with diverse occupations, home maids and others off course. There are for example sex workers who worked in hotels, bars and night clubs but transferred to a call girl through time. They rented home alone or together with a number of three or four and working business through telephone calls from us or sometimes directly from their customers.*

### **3.3 The Push-Pull Factors to engage in sex work**

Although the factors and the circumstances, which could be also best explained within the push-pull framework, forcing the women to become prostitute vary across situations and individual reasons. Indeed from this study I found that economic poverty is the main reason for the radical increase of prostitution. In the interview that I had with sex workers and other informants; poverty is mentioned as the prior push factor for prostitution in Ethiopia. But we shouldn't miss that well to do so and wealthy women are included in the industry.

As some literatures also noted, although from the surface this choice is their own free will, the extreme economic poverty in the country side, especially in small urban centers and rural areas, and the absence of alternative way of economic engagement and means of income, which is also true in the case of a couple of my informants, forced women to migrate from the country side and engage in prostitution. As the case of much prostitution in Addis Ababa city, one of my informant said that she migrated here in Addis Ababa to avoid rural socio-cultural marginalization that is stigma and discrimination when she was engaged in her home town in prostitution.

One informant who came from Wello and engaged in prostitution told me that she had no even daily meal even dry bread for couple of days before she began sex work.

From FGDs that I had with sex workers, I understand that the expansion of hotel, club, massage and gym services in the capital and higher payments given from customers are reasons for the expansion of sex work here and there in the capital. In relation to these; economical problems or poverty, the increasing number of customers in the capital, the growth of westernization as well as availability of many dating websites, pornographic films and social medias as a result of

globalization and the growing number of tourists, business men and conference participants in the country encourages many teen agers, students, married and divorced women, employed and unemployed girls as well as male homosexuals to involve in sex business. This part will be discussed in detail in another subchapter but here it is put only to show why many sex workers are migrated to the capital for sex business.

### **3.4 Factors for the expansion of sex work**

There are a lot of factors that stimulated sex work and prostitutes to engage in sex business. I found many reasons attached to engagement of sex work particularly with tourists and other foreign guests. During interviews with sex workers and other informants, I get a lot of attachments to involve in sex business. Some of these major precipitating reasons can be discussed below.

Contemporarily Addis Ababa is becoming a center for many national and international conferences which are conducted throughout the year. As a result the city is becoming a destination for conference tourism and sometimes paid sex or sex tourism. When the number of tourists arrived in the country increased from time to time there is a possibility of high number of prostitutes engaged in sex work. This is due to the rising demand of sex workers for sexual services as the number of sex workers increased through time. An informant who was a driver and acted pimp named as Esayas during interview told me how the availability of conferences contributed for the intensification of sex work in the country. He expressed that many national and international conferences are arranged in Ethiopia throughout the year in different periods. To attend these meetings many participants flock to the country in different periods. Taking this as an advantage, a number of sex workers engaged in sex work either in the streets, hotels, clubs and pubs of Addis Ababa. Parallel to these conferences unlimited number of participants doesn't mind their stay with sex workers. Though, because of the arrangement and existence of these conferences, the country is becoming destination for conference tourism and sex tourism. Seble, a sex worker whom I interviewed in the study told me that;

*... When there are AU and other international conferences and summits in Addis, we are busy all the days until the meeting ended up. I, for example, worked day and night without rest. I contact many customers, get much more income and benefited us, taxi drivers and pimps. We gained a lot of money from various customers and spend all the time with them. Being we are busy during these*

*seasons our local customers couldn't contact us even some of my coworkers switched of their mobile (s).*

Samri, a woman pimp and cashier in a certain hotel explained how conferences benefited many sex workers, pimps, hotel, restaurant, shop owners and others even.

*...Many clients called me many times to find females for them. It is known that many businesses become hot during meeting seasons. Many females take permission from their working places during meetings in Addis. I called them and make them work at day and night. The presence of many conferences in Addis Ababa benefited many sex workers and us to gain much more income.*

Though, today Conference tourism is becoming an important and essential component for the development of tourism, economy and also political relation of the country with various countries. But contrarily large number of sex workers is smuggling to prostitution and other related activities in Ethiopia. Students and even many teen agers or underage girls in Addis are flocking to sex work as demands growing from time to time. As a result, many Conference participants, business men and tourists consumed sex during their stay with local females, lesbian and gay sex workers paying sex payments and giving some gifts. Sex is consumed as an additional enjoyment and leisure for many tourists during all their stays in the country.

Informants of this study mainly of Sami, Kidist, Samri, Birukti and Manyazewal, who mainly work as sex workers, told me that even if many tourists, business persons, diplomats, investors and others who arrived and visited the country primarily to achieve various motives; secondly they meet local sex workers to satisfy their sexual desires and enjoy through it as well as its related activities. They forge various forms of relationships with sex workers, pimps, drivers and other local citizens whom they mate during their stay in the country.

The availability of various dating web sites, blogs and social medias as an output of globalization also provoked and contributed a lot for the expansion of sex work in Ethiopia. As many electronic social medias and websites are opened to make connection of people easy through time, there is the possibility of increasing the number of sex workers and its consumers. There are also many medias that transmit pornographic films and videos which victimize many youngsters of the less developed countries including Ethiopia. Using these social medias many people easily contacted and communicated people of other countries as well as local people who resides far away. Therefore, through long communications with electronic medias and searching

of dating websites, a lot of people began sexual relationships and intimacies with many sex mates.

To substantiate my argument the idea I told a good story by one prostitute informant. Informant Seble expressed the following during interview.

*... I for example contacted two customers using face book. One of my customers was from Finland and the second one was from USA. Unfortunately for different reasons not to contact me, these two people came and found me. I still have good contact with one of my customers online. If I need, I can get another one through face book and other web sites. I have many partners who contacted through this method and have many friends not yet I found. I have also some other customers but I can't exactly remember where they were from. Some of them plan and come purposely for enjoying with us while others contact us when they arrive for a certain purpose. Sometimes in this way we contact customers for business.*

Though because of the availability of social medias and dating websites, people who have a plan to visit the country may understand and informed more about the condition of sex tourism in Ethiopia before they arrived in the country. And after the guests landed in the country they become more interested and encouraged to have sex with the hosting community. This is because of their pre informed ideas mainly from medias and information they received from others who visited the country prior to them as many tourists have the trend of asking information about a country in which they plan to visit. They search many ideas to be well informed of about their destinations.

This idea is confirmed and well supported by informants' ideas who were taxi drivers, pimps, security guards, sex workers and hotel receptionists. Taxi drivers and bell boys<sup>3</sup> told me that some times when a foreign guest needs sex with Ethiopian girls, he immediately asks them to take to clubs, bars and pubs sometimes even by calling by the name of the club or bar. According to bell boy informants, the guest asks bell boys to locate the location of known clubs, pubs and bars sometimes calling by name. And they told me as they told the place to drivers of the guests to take the guest to the place where they need. This assures that some foreigners even have information about cheap paid sex in the country.

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<sup>3</sup> Bell boy- is a man who takes care of and served room guests in a hotel. He assisted the guest in showing the room number and holding their luggage when guests entered and out from hotel rooms.

During FGD, sex workers also confirmed that their customers are taken to famous clubs and pubs by their drivers. It is the drivers and pimps who bring customers to prostitutes in hotels, pubs, clubs and streets where sex workers are engaged for sexual businesses.

In addition to the presence of various Social Medias and web sites, Ethiopia has no clear legal frame work to penalize sex workers, pimps or brokers and others who directly or indirectly involved in the practice and intensification of sex work. Stake holders and judiciary bodies of the country are inactive to take actions on those actors who commit illegal or unethical activities and glorifying sex tourism to others. Even if there are unclear laws ratified on the issue, it is not well implemented and there is a big gap in the implementation of the stated laws. All in all the above discussed problems paved the way for the intensification of sex work in the country. In these days the country is introducing and glorifying sex tourism indirectly to the world unconsciously. There are also personal reasons that drive sex workers to involve in sex work. It is resulted due to orphanage, separation of husband and wife, unconditional or emotional interests and unwanted pregnancy. A sex worker named as Saba told me the following about her engagement in sex work:

*I was living with my parents; learning and grownup with my friends and class mates. Occasionally, I had ex-boy friend that I meet him when I went out from school. ... Unknowingly, I get pregnancy from him; I shocked when I heard as I was pregnancy. My parents didn't hear as I get pregnancy. I was in trouble and decided to go out from my home without the knowledge of my family. Then I come to Addis Ababa five years ago and stayed in as home maid in a certain house. But when my pregnancy became visible to any one I went out and began to live with a friend of me whom I met and introduced in Addis who was very poor like me. We rented a small slum together and gave birth after some months. ... Finally I decided to involve in sex business. Off course I began it as soon as I arrived at Addis Ababa when I have no any alternative to get daily meal. I think others may have their own special reason for their entrance to prostitution.*

As some other sex workers and driver brokers informed me there are sex workers who engaged in prostitution life because of many complicated and diversified reasons. According to their explanation there are sex workers involved in sex business because of separation of lovers,

economical problems, failure of education, lack of knowledge about prostitution life, peer influence and other similar reasons.

Today sex business is becoming a fashion and unlimited number of females began to participate in the business. It is counting as one means of survival and becoming an ordinary work in the country. Because of the growing of communication technology, in modern days people have an opportunity to search and access information about their traveling countries. Travelling people have the curiosity and experience of searching and reading information from various web sites and Social Medias before they travelled to a certain country for visiting and other tasks. Tourists gather lots of information about their destination and the hosting community prior to their travel for leisure activity and other tasks. For example, they assess or ask lots of information like climate, food, living condition, living costs, culture, economic status, political situation, stability, living style and peoples' history etc. of their destinations. Though, as they have this tradition, they may exchange information one another mainly from the people that visited before and may get any related issues including condition of sex work at their destination.

I also well understood this information from my work experience when I informally discussed with tourists and many visitors they told me the above data as my profession is very much related with tourism industry. Therefore, Social Medias expand the activity of sex and sex tourism in particular in various ways to people of other countries in one way or another.

### **3.5 Who are customers and sex workers and reasons for prostitution**

When we think of sex tourism, we should understand that who are engaged as sex workers and why they sell sex for tourists mainly? This is because if there are no sex sellers, there will not be clients or customers who will find to consume sex and vice versa. This is I think very important to understand the issue of sex tourism from its root cause and find last long solutions to its intensification.

As I learned during my research, both male and female sex tourists are coming to Ethiopia. But the majority of sex consumers are male tourists even if there are unlimited numbers of female sex tourists in the country. Most often, female tourists engage in commercial sex with their guides, tour drivers, tour operators, tour company owners using their long stay together and intimacy as an advantage or opportunity. However, in very minor cases, female tourists may have sex with the hosting community, hotel or restaurant workers and users or customers.

Commonly white female tourists in some exceptions engaged sex with local men working in the tourism industry. They spend a great deal of time together through their tour and relationships occur frequently with persons working in the tourism sector around them such as with guides, drivers, tour operators. They establish a form of relationships with people with whom they travel with and/or who are around them.

While, the way of contacts of male visitors are different from females. Male sex tourists are much more in number and involve in sexual activities with local girls in various ways which is different from female visitors. Males travel to hotels, clubs, pubs and streets to find sex workers and in some cases contacted with females in business and shopping centers of the visited areas.

Solomon, a freelance tour guide in Addis Ababa explained:

*In Addis Ababa both male and female sex tourists entered primarily for different reasons I personally encounter many problems related to it. I got married but sometimes women tourists try to interact with me and some asked me openly to sleep with them.....male visitors asked me to bring a lady from somewhere. They need to have sex with Ethiopian girls. They need to dance, drink and sleep with them. All in all there are both male and female tourists who need to have sex with Ethiopians as part of their tour in the country. But the numbers of male and female tourists who find sex with local people varies. There are large numbers of male sex finders compared to female tourists. Females are very few in number, we can say it is almost none as they are very few in number.*

Saba, a female receptionist in one famous hotel in Piazza commented:

*... Okay, through my work as a receptionist, I observe many tourists mainly of white tourists bringing girls to bed rooms of this hotel. Customers bring sex workers from hotels, clubs whom they know before and sometimes they bring street sex workers. Off course there are also some women tourists who entered in love and sleep with their guides; but this is in some occasions that I observed this incident. For example, there is a guide whom I know very well and sleep with more than three white women tourists in our hotel. They contacted with some jobless males for one or more nights together. ...women tourists made sexual relationships commonly with guides, drivers ... tour operators and some instances with other people enjoyed in hotels. But males bring sex workers from various*

*clubs, hotels, shopping areas and other places. This is what I observed in different days in my working place and around it as Piazza is a center for such kind of relationships.*

During the research I learned that local women living in different economic standards, educational background, age level as well as status are working as commercial sex workers in various parts of Addis Ababa. According Sintayehu, head waiter in a hotel around Ambassador Area of Addis Ababa except their variation in status, economic class, age level, educational and professional background; all parts of females participate in sex business in the capital. As he said only their number and interest of sex work engagement varies from one status, class, profession and educational level. There are married women, girls with fiancés, university, college and high school students, models, artists, divorced women, sellers, prostitutes, government and private employees, waiters and house girls, beauty salon workers and others in the life of sex work. All these groups of society of females involve in having sex with tourists and engage in sex work in Addis Ababa. But their number varies from one category to another. And there are females who involve in sex work from each profession, economic class and group of society in the country.

Sami, a taxi driver who acts also as a pimp expressed this issue in the following way:

*...In prostitution life, females of all groups and positions participate for this business. Because of my proximity with foreign guests and sex workers, this is very common and day to day incident of me. I contact many sex workers to various foreigners in each day and received money from both sides. To tell you the reality, I have more than fifty call girls and their phone number; they give me their phone number and told to call them when tourists need or find them for sex. For example, I know a woman who teaches kindergarten students in the day and involves in sex work at night. I give a call to her many days and contact with many customers. I have her phone number and if you need to hear her response for your trust, I can call and make you hear what she will answer. You know, she has two kids but her salary paid from the school is not enough to take care of her children. This is because; we talk about life and other issues when we meet for work. She requires additional income to grown up her younger siblings for that reason she participate in sex work. She received money and some forms of gifts from various customers and used it to lead her own family's daily life. She used this forms of gifts and incomes to support her salary gained from teaching students. It is an additional form of gaining income to her...*

Sami's view was confirmed by several other informants of this study

Meseret, has been working as a prostitute for many years in various clubs in Addis Ababa. She explained:

*All categories of females involve in prostitution. You know what, the only difference is we prostitute openly and freely while others prostitute secretly in a hidden way. We work freely and received our payments openly but others engaged opposite to us, but they work what we are working. Currently, other females are taking our business. We engaged freely because it is our business and work openly but others are dominating us, taking our customers. If they need to work I don't know why they don't work openly like us. They like the business but hate working openly and freely with us.*

In a focus group discussion in which I had with some prostitutes which took part at their home. I also understood that Divorced, remarried, widowed women, domestic workers and returnees from Arab countries are also participated in sex work with tourists and other foreigners. There are females who went at various establishments and find customers for business. In some cases customers discuss and talk openly with these kinds of sex workers about their encounters and why they prostituted with tourists secretly. In the discussion that I had with FGD informants they told me as they called these types of sex workers as 'Code Three' used to represent female sex workers, who contacted their sexual clients in the mood of hotels, bars and clubs customers. These kinds of sex workers are basically students, employed women such as typists, married or divorced women, beauty salon workers, sellers and other women engaged in such kinds of business. They are commonly called as non prostitute females but engaged sometimes in sex work covertly.

As FGD informants expressed, the above mentioned groups and category of females became sex workers mainly due to economical problems and of taking sex business as one means of improving life. They consider sex work and prostitution life in general as leisure activity and a good means of earning high amount of money engaging with foreigners and tourists. This is because it is the guest or tourist which is expected to pay all costs of sex workers used for food, drinking, smoking and other enjoyments in bars, hotels and clubs. It includes transportation cost and bed room rents are also covered by the guest who they interacted. Other extra costs are also covered by the tourist other than sexual payments.

This is what I observed during my extended field observations and I also found it from informants during field work. It is very common that all their expenses used for relaxation is completely covered by their sexual customers.

Saba, sex worker in a big night club stated:

*... You can find sex workers from various categories of economic classes and professions. Because of my engagement I see many females from diverse areas engaged for business other benefits. There are secretaries, employed women, sellers, internet house workers, waiters, receptionists and other famous professional women engaged in sex work. Some females work to gain money for their basic needs, others for leaving their country through the agent of sex mates or to get free Visa and get more wealth through it. They have many interests.*

Meron, a receptionist in an international hotel told me the following about the motivation of females to engage in sex work:

*All right, from my experience as a receptionist I observe diverse females working businesses. I see married women with their rings, many students, employed women, Arab returnees, domestic servants and ordinary sex worker. ... I think they work to satisfy their economic interest as we poor economically, to relax themselves through it, to help their families as well as to bridge up customers for leaving the country. ... Well I saw that all expenses of their enjoyment are covered by their partners because I see males paying all expenses their consumption in the hotel.*

Others informants who are basically sex workers, pimps, a hotel manager, waiters and supervisors of security guards told me the same and similar information as Meron.

According to my informants who are sex workers and pimps, there is high rate of divorce in the capital which in return leads to the expansion of prostitution life and sex work is taking it as a means of survival and gaining money from it.

Besides economic reasons, there are also other motivations. For example sometimes there are divorced females who engaged in sex work as revenge of males or their prior mates. Elsa became a commercial sex worker when she divorced from her husband.

*...I left my husband three years ago. He was so important for me; we loved each other and had six years of warm love. But through time his behavior was not as good as before, he began to enter home lately. I tried to solve the problem but eeee, I couldn't... (She disturbed and sometimes stopped her speech). Finally I found him with other girl and left him out... we separated and I was sick for six months... I have no any opportunity to lead my life alone and finally decided to engage in prostitution. Now thanks to God I earn enough money to my survival from many customers. I think there are many females who have similar cases like me. I have friends who engage in sex work like me. Some engage as a revenge while many others like me involve as way of gaining income for survival...*

Lemessa is a young pimp who was my informant in field and stated his ideas about sex workers:

*... I found many sex workers for business and they told me a lot of things about their life. We discussed many issues about life. ... They entered in sex work because of various complicated life situations. Some entered to gain daily income for their consumption, others entered because of their separation from husbands; they took it as a way of forgetting their past life, others entered in the life to support their poor families and there are also sex workers who have no future motive but engage only to gain something for their addicts.*

Receptionist Meron also told me the same idea as Lemessa. In the discussion that we had she expressed that she found and have discussed with many sex workers in each day in the hotel where she is employed.

Some sex workers can support others and engage in additional businesses form their income.

Sami,a taxi driver broker told me the following about economic power of sex workers:

*I know a sex worker named as Sara who lives in a particular village of Ferensay. She went out with ambassador of Saudi and rich business men. She earns very good payment and tips from customers. When I contact her with customers, she pays me of well. We always openly talk about her income and future plan. She bought a minibus for her brother and bought a house for herself. She has a cosmetic shop and helps her parents very well. She is wealthy and has a plan to open a big restaurant in the future. ...other prostitutes have also many business centers, supermarkets, residential houses, private cars and wealth.*

Some prostitutes even work abroad, travelling back and forth between Ethiopia and the home countries of their customers. Sintayehu, head waiter in a three star rated hotel, explained that he knew professional cross country and very wealthy prostitutes living in Addis Ababa. He described the situation as follows:

*There are many things in the area of sex work. I have so much information in this issue because of my work and intimacy with sex workers. There are some professional and cross country 'prostitutes' involved in this life. And there are females engaged in sex work taking it as an additional work by parking their own private car in various hotels. For example I know a girl who goes to America for sex work and then travel back to Ethiopia. There are three girls that I know who work in Arab countries for some months and back home again for the same task. Therefore there are seasonal and 'transnational' prostitutes that travelled from country to country. They earn much money from it but they don't manage it properly. I know two sex workers who back and forth from Ethiopia to Scandivian countries. There are others who went to England to participate in marriage ceremony of their friend. You see it represents how they are powerful in their economy... all in all there are sex workers who are wealthy economically and there are others opposite of them.*

It means there are seasonal and migratory sex workers, who travelled to different countries for sex business. These migratory prostitutes are very rich economically; they have their own private companies, hotels, restaurants, clubs, cafés, houses, cars and other companies but engaged in sex work as an additional way of gaining money. They open business centers, supermarkets, cosmetic houses and other enterprises in different places and the process of regulation is given to their intimate folks and friends.

From this case I understand that there are sex workers who involved in sex work seasonally going back and forth to various countries considering seasonal variation of sex work demands from country to country. According to informant Sintayehu, these types of seasonal migratory prostitutes are less in number as it requires high amount of money to travel and work this kind of seasonal sex business. Let me explain it more, when it is low season for tourists in Ethiopia, they leave their home and moves to other countries in which there is large demand of sex workers. Economically these types of prostitutes are very rich who can have much wealthy, capital and property for their own survival as well as basic needs but engage in sex work to earn more income and wealth by enjoying with many diverse customers in travelling different countries of the world.

Winta is a sex worker working in many hotels and clubs of Addis Ababa. She told me the following when I interviewed her about sex workers and their economy:

*In this business you can find many different women. There are extremely poor and very rich sex workers. I have more than five friends who went to Arabian countries and Europe for business and back when there is hot business in Ethiopia. Most of them are Arab returnees and are very wealthy economically. They bring very good money from customers. You know they work for more wealth, income and to enjoy themselves through it. When we talk about business sometimes they compare and contrast their income with me. Then they laughed about me and encouraged to work like them.. They advised me to travel and work like them, but I can't have enough money to move and work with my friends. ... On the other side there are also sex workers who do not even have enough to pay for their daily food and drink. If they do not find any customer, or borrow money from someone, they would have no money for food and shelter...*

Female sex workers engage in prostitution both at day and night with short and long stay agreements. Marta, a female security guard and door attendant in a four star international hotel works in the check point area and registers girls entering with hotel guests She has often talked quite openly with commercial sex workers and summarized her knowledge about their lives as follows:

*I meet many business females in my work place. Some of them come for short hours, and others for the whole night Married women, students, home maids, divorced women, waiters, bar ladies, employed and unemployed women come for business. I often can see their profession from their identity cards during registration in the check point area.*

*the women are paid a lot of money from their customers. It is mostly the high school students, home maids, secretaries of various organizations, married and employed women who enter short term agreements during the . Others, such as club girls and bar ladies engage in both day and night, depending on the interest of their customers.*

According to informants who are sex workers, receptionists, pimps, security guards, bell boys and door attendants; most often married women, mothers, massage parlor workers and house

maids work during day and short term sex negotiations. They received more money from their customers because customers perceive them as non prostitute females. Home girls and students made sex with tourists to bring business more commonly during day time at Saturday and Sunday. This is mainly of due to strict family control and follow up not to go out at night as they are dependent on their families. Some married women engage in sex business for short term negotiation because at night they should take care of their children and husbands, they are also strictly under the control of their husbands not to out during night. They do not get permission to spend the whole night without their husbands and siblings.

Kalkidan, a commercial a full time sex worker explained:

*...students, married women, home girls and some employed females went for business during day time. They contracted for short term and receive money and various forms of gifts from their customers. They contacted their customers either through pimps and brokers or by themselves. These females are engaged to get money for their daily needs and are afraid of to work openly. They do not negotiate for the whole night because they are not free to spend all the night with customers. They are controlled by their guardians and husbands. Some should take care of their children and husbands and others fear their parents.*

A female receptionist named as Lackech working in an international hotel expressed the situation as follows:

*...One day in our hotel two American soldiers brought two Ethiopian women and took them to their bed rooms. The women get entered after they registered by our security guards. They had negotiated for short term sex and spent two or three hours in the bed room as I heard latter from one of the sex worker. Finally one of the two women ended her stay with her sex mate and took rest in the lobby section of the hotel. She was waiting her partner who couldn't end up, but the one who didn't finish was tired and was in rest with her sex mate at bed. She called her many times but her partner couldn't come and join her to go to their home. Finally, when I saw her in tension I get closer and asked her what happened to her? Then, she replied me that "I'm ok but I couldn't go home alone because if I go alone with the absence of my intimate friend, my husband will be serious and angry of. He may suspect me of cheating him, because he know that I went out with my partner for enjoyment this is why I need to go to my home with her, it is because he trust me. Therefore, if I went out and back with her he can't suspect me of anything with someone, or cheating of him. He assumes or understands that if I'm always gone out with her, he trusts me and I'm loyal for him." Because of*

*work we also encounter various similar cases in each day related to our work and contact with many guests.*

When I interviewed a taxi driver that often connects customers with prostitutes, he indicated that from his experience most sex workers who are mothers, married women, home girls and sometimes students and others who live with their parents engage only in short term negotiations. He gave me the example of a mother of three children who engaged in sex work. She goes to a specific hotel like any other customer, sits down and orders something to eat or drink. Then she established contact with customers who also came to consume something in the hotel. While the mother is absent, the oldest daughter has to take care of the younger siblings at home.

He further mentioned that sometimes home girls and students who usually only work during day time do negotiate for full day agreements during weekends. These kinds of females work secretly without the knowledge of their parents or guardians. In return money and other simple gifts are given from their customers. These types of sex workers contacted either by themselves or receiving calls from pimps.

According to Marta, a security guard, and Lakech, a receptionist working in a hotel: Among commercial sex workers also students under 18 can be found though in smaller number than those over 18, as such girls are usually under strict control and supervision of their family. As it seemed to them, the engagement of underage prostitutes has been increasing in the last years, due to various factors: This is due to increasing demands of guests and the growing materialistic interests of females through time in the country. False promises of pimps and peer influences are also other pushing factors of under ages to engage in sex work.

Teddy, a taxi driver who has regular contact with prostitutes and their customers, mentioned that there are foreigners who specifically ask pimps, drivers and bell boys to connect them with young girls who had no prior sexual experiences. The payment offered for sexual intercourse with virgins or very young girls is much higher than that for experienced prostitutes and additional tips for those who connect them with the girls are common.

Due to the high payment, students who are underage are attracted to involve in commercial sex work with foreigners and local wealthy men. Many Stories about precious gifts given to sex workers and of relationships that result in marriage may also be contributing to the attraction.

Essayas, a driver and broker stated that virginity is sold up to thirty thousand ETB and that a broker receives up to five thousand Ethiopian birr for bringing a virgin to a customer. But it is very often difficult and risky to contact these kinds of girls. This is due to less availability of virgin females and illegality of using teen agers for sexual relationships.

Another driver also told me that sometimes younger girls and teen agers are main targets of sex by foreigners and mainly of wealthy local men even if it is illegal activity in the country. During our discussion he told me one event that shocked him when he thinks about the issue of sex tourism. He expressed his shocking event in the following way:

*When I was working my usual work at Bole, one white guest asked me to give him a service with per time contract. And I gave a riding service for him more than five consecutive days. Unfortunately my guest was a Finland citizen who rested in a villa house at the back of telecommunication office close to Bole Holly Savior church. In the second day, you know he asked me to bring a young beautiful lady for sex. He was happy if I brought him a well dressed young lady. He also told me as he may charge very good money for the girl and me. But immediately he said that emmmm, no.. no leave it I remember that I've one Ethiopian lady whom I know in face book and decided to call her. Then he said give me your phone please. Immediately I gave him my phone, he searched her phone number from his diary book and called her with my phone. After he called her, may be three or four hours later, she arrived and joined him. He became happy when he met her. Then I took them to many shopping and visiting places and finally to his guest house. ...you don't trust me, the girl spends five nights with him I don't know how she convinced her parents. After I saw her, you know what shocked me and fell upset is that she is a teen ager not more than fourteen years of old. I don't know how she get sleep with him for five days and how her parents allowed her to go out of home. This is a shocking and unforgettable incident for me, because I've under age sisters and cousins like her. Therefore, I think that made me to feel sad and shocked me for many days. That was my first episode which I never forget. ...off course I encountered many things and events in the issue but this one is unforgettable incident to me. Finally he furnished her many items and tips me up.*

Another broker mentioned that there are customers of sex workers who assume that students and home girls are free from sexually transmitted diseases as they do not have sexual relationships with many other males. In some cases there are assumptions that the above categorized groups of females may have less opportunity of having previous sex and found with virginity. Virginity is also perceived as something that cure sex mates from various diseases including HIV/ AIDS. Therefore in order to fulfill requirements of guests, pimps bring these kinds of girls by calling

them or directly contacting ladies. Pimps searched these category of females to guests in order to get much more tips from sex consumers and sex workers.

Mamush, a driver broker and Hana, a commercial sex worker when customers look for university or college students, sometimes, other well dressed and beautiful sex workers with good command of English are contacted by brokers and then pretend to be students. There are many well experienced sex workers who are ready for these forms of arrangements to satisfy sex finders according to their interests. In order to get commissions and other benefits both from sex workers and sex finders Pimps easily lie and cheat guests in such a way. Guests are asked to pay large amount of money for these kinds of arrangements and for the sex workers.

Sometimes if sex workers are called and joined to sex finders through the agent of pimps, the amount of sex payment is fixed and told for sex workers by the pimps. This is because the pimp is first contact of the guest. I found it from FGD and told this information from sex workers, pimps and hotel managers. As the pimp is the primary person who received diverse sex requests of guests and tourists, the pimp first asked how much does they pay for the service and sex, then the pimp negotiated and convinced the guest about sex payments and commission to their services. After that the amount of payment from sex mates and commission for the pimp is told to sex workers before sex workers and finders are joined through the agent of pimps. If sex workers are disagreed or opposed about their charge for sex and commission to the pimp, another alternative is designed and the chance is given to another sex workers. All in all this form of negotiation and technique helps the pimps to easily know amount of their commission from both sides. And sometimes pimps and sex workers cordially cheat guests and tourists in this way in the process of sex work which in return mark a dark line on the tourism of the country.

Wolde Gabriel, a bell boy who worked in various hotels also explained that office secretaries, cosmetic shop sellers, waiters, beauty salon workers, super market sellers, NGO and governmental employees are also engaged as prostitutes. According to him and sex workers whom I discussed in the FGD because other than temporal income these girls think and hope that foreign guests whom they contacted will take them to abroad and improve their future life from current living conditions.

According to my informants who are pimps, sex workers, bell boys, drivers and waiters, most girls who works in high standard clubs, hotels and restaurants are younger, well dressed, beautiful, active and educated girls who sometimes attend up to college levels with good command of various languages relatively. In the observation that I had in hotels and clubs I also observed that well dressed, younger sometimes teen agers, pretty girls' with excellent language proficiency of English and other foreign languages are engaged in prostitution at Addis Ababa.

From information that I found from pimps and drivers, there are indeed some women who are rich economically and can afford the living costs but entered to prostitution like the poorer ones. Head waiter Sintayehu and pimps explained that there are sex workers who are owners of big restaurants, cafes, boutiques, cosmetic houses, supermarkets and others. Some of them have their own private cars, houses, rented villa houses and other properties but are engaged in sex work. They have more than sufficient income and wealth which is enough for their survival and to live in a well relaxed life but involved in sex business to gain much more additional wealth without much more suffer. For these reasons they goes to various hotels, restaurants, bars and clubs then ordered different kinds of drinks and foods.

According to Sintayehu, Sami, bell boy Wolde Gabriel and driver Fasil; well rich women entered in hotels, restaurants and clubs then ordered various foods like burgers, cheeps and other light as well as delicious foods. And from drinks they consumed alcoholic drinks like beers, draft, whisky, vodka etc. and other soft drinks. Parallel to these services through their enjoyment they interact with foreigner guests and sometimes locals using various communicative words and start to discuss with hotel guests about life, job, origin of guests and other jocks.

In the course of extended discussions and exchange of ideas they interacted for sexual relationships and if they get customers in such a way these kinds of females negotiate about relations, payments and other related benefits of their relationships. After they agreed or negotiated with customers they began to drink together and took their clients to other high standard hotels, clubs or sometimes private homes and made sex finally with considerably better payments. According to the above informants these kinds of contacts and relationships are becoming very common and perceived as fashion of the day in Ethiopia mainly in most known high standardized hotels, restaurants, night clubs, conferences, exhibitions and guest houses, a special house in which their customers are rented for some days.

Prostitutes by the community are seen differently. There are seen as they engage in high productive but less respected work. According to pimps and some sex workers Sex work is taken as a high yield work which brings much more income mainly in the Ethiopian context. Having sex with foreign guests is now becoming a fashion or an expression of modernization and taken as a better way of earning much more amount of money from the activity earned mainly from tourists and other foreign citizens.

According to Mahlet, a sex worker that I found in a certain club, it is sometimes seen as an expression of pride and dignity to be seen with foreigners. They took it as less suffering and enjoyable activity that doesn't require any qualification compared to other jobs and income gaining tasks. It is perceived as an easy means of gaining better money and various gifts with limited amount of time from customers. That is why the practice of sex work is growing from time to time in Ethiopia. This is particularly increasing in an alarming rate in the country since some years back in parallel to increment of living costs in the country. This is what I identified from my informants, observation and FGD groups in the field.

### **3.6 Customers of Sex workers and choices of customers**

Nowadays sex is becoming part of the trip when we consider about tourism and tourists everywhere in the world. Many foreigners and local men as well turn to contact prostitutes with their trips. In relation to this unlimited number of females and sometimes males as well involve in sex work.

According to pimps, driver brokers, guides and sex workers themselves, prostitutes in Addis Ababa have many customers. The customers of commercial sex workers can be divided into locals (Ethiopian) and foreigners. Locals can again be further subdivided into Diaspora Ethiopians and residents, while foreigners can be categorized as tourists, conference attendants, business people, NGO workers, diplomats, Ambassadors, politicians and political leaders or VIP guests and others who enter to Ethiopia for different purposes. From all these categories of people coming and living in Ethiopia, customers of sex workers can be identified, as I could learn from both commercial sex workers and pimps .

During an interview, , Liya and Samri two female commercial sex workers described different issues related to their clients ranging from their origin , their demands, their economic status, the amount of payment they are ready to pay and others .

In short the payment and gifts for sex varies from one customer to another. It mainly depends on the satisfaction, origin and economic capacity of the customer. Here being my particular emphasis is on sex work in relation to tourists, I will rely and discuss on relevant ideas focusing on my area of study.

There are various places in Addis Ababa where sex workers are concentrated to meet customers. This research mainly focused on Kazanchis, Bole, Piassa, Saris, Hayahulet, Chichiniya and Meskel Flower and other similar places in the city. These listed places are identified as some of the most known sites. Because of that I went around these places for observation and interviewing. The amount of money given to sex workers varies greatly, it depends for example on the kind of sex workers For example, Street prostitutes, new sex workers in hotels or clubs, and widowed women are paid less than prostitutes working in expensive hotels, clubs, bars or massage houses. The payment for sex workers also is higher if the contact is established through a broker. But as sex workers told me the payments given to them is very small as compared to their challenges and risks of their work and engagement places.

Among the people who come into contact with Tourists, such as pimps, driver brokers, drivers, local guides, receptionists and bell boys, many are asked by foreign guests to bring them into contact with Ethiopian sex workers.

As was explained to me in many interviews, when people working the tourism sector business are asked about prostitutes, first they ask the guest about his preferences, and the kind of sex worker he wished. They also inform about payment differences, advantages and disadvantages of the sex workers of different localities.

Lemma, who is fulltime engaged in brokerage in sex tourism explained that foreign customers express all kinds of wishes, and that usually he is able to find a woman that suits the interests of the person. Once the broker and the customer have agreed, the broker will either take the guest to places where sex workers are available or bring a sex worker to his room or hotel. In some cases the brokers (which could be drivers, bell boys, security guards or fulltime brokers) also negotiate about the price, especially in cases when there is a language barrier between clients and sex workers.

Hailu a taxi driver who commonly serves foreigners explained about his customers:

*... Sometimes my customers asked me to contact a female and you know what I asks them usually? I primarily ask and understand what kind of sex worker they*

*want to join. Then I took them to clubs, streets or called and asked my friends to bring females for my guests based on their needs. ...in some cases when the ladies can't understand the language of the guests I translate and make them to agree. For example, one day my customer contacted a new uneducated sex worker and she doesn't understand what he was saying. Even she doesn't know dollar and told me to give her ETB. When I was not translated for them they couldn't be communicated at all.*

From my own observation and various interviews with commercial sex workers and their brokers, it revealed high standard prostitutes such as club girls, bar ladies, escorts, call girls like students, home girls are preferably chosen by transit men(people who landed in a certain country for limited hours) conference participants, tourists, business men, diplomats, ambassadors, politicians, international organization workers, NGO employers or employees, soldiers, investors, Diasporas and other foreigners. These are the common customers of highly paid sex workers.

Mamush, a taxi driver and broker in the sex business, said that mostly transits, black Americans and Africans who came for conference are eager and more interested to have sex with Ethiopian females. He told me that commonly transits made sex with short term sex workers. This is due to their limited time to spend long hours with prostitutes. However, by and large customers of street girls who walk on streets or stop near big buildings during night are local customers who have less or medium economic power and sometimes foreign residents with low payments compared to club girls or escorts and other sex workers. These kinds of customers have no the power to pay more like foreigners or investors. For that reason they picked up sex workers from streets and home servants with low payments as they need to gain their daily meal and shelter.

As I could understand from interviews with different informants, the customers of commercial sex workers come from various countries, though the numbers of each country differ. According to some interviewed commercial sex workers, the interest customers from different countries have and the way they treat the women also varies.

Abeba, a commercial sex worker explained during an interview: “I meet different customers who come from various countries, and local men but their treatments and the way they treat you, payments or gifts, respects and interest varies one from customer to another okay.”

According to driver informants and some sex workers Africans, Asians, Americans, Europeans and South Americans in small number are the most known customers of sex workers. They made sex with many females at their destinations in Ethiopia. Among the Africans customers most mentioned are Sudanese, Nigerians, Kenyans, Senegalese, Beninese, Cameroons, Egyptians and South Africans. From other African countries like Ghana, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Uganda, Malawi, customers come in smaller numbers. From Asia customers are most often from various Arabian countries from India, China, and the Philippines, and to lesser extent from Singapore, Malaysia, and Korea.

Among the European customers there are many Italians, French and Spanish people, and in smaller number British, Germans, Dutch, Swedish, and Norwegian. From Northern America many Afro-Americans and in a smaller number white Americans are found and also there are only few customers from Latin America.

.Different tourists have different interests. As though interests of customers for sexual activity and tips or payments paid for sex workers also differs, and sometimes it depends on how satisfied they were with the service provided by the commercial sex workers. Sami, driver and broker in the sex business explained“... interest and choices of guests vary one another. Payments and gifts are not the same at all times. Some needs beautiful, thin and long haired girls while others told me to bring fatter and bigger sex workers. It varies from guest to guest.” As I learned from different drivers and brokers in the sex business, White western people mostly need modern and professional prostitutes who have good communication skills, are well dressed with attractive shape and somehow educated if possible.

The above Informants explained that Americans, Europeans and Asians have a preference for thin sex workers with long hair and who are well dressed, and are ideally fluent in English, while black Africans and Americans usually ask for bigger body structured, big postured and well dressed commercial sex workers, of any color and they also do not care for language proficiency and prettiness of a sex worker.

There seems to be also a difference in how customers treat the sex workers. Mamush, driver and broker in the sex business described: :

*The way whites and blacks treat commercial sex workers also vary. Blacks either from Africa or America they heavily exploit sex workers because they give value for their paid money but whites treat them very well and respect their humanity*

*and dignity. For that reason most of the time sex workers whom I meet prefer to work for white guests. Blacks make sex workers suffer severely in different ways. Some of them even consume drugs to wait during sex. ... I remember one time when a commercial sex workers screamed while with a customer in the hotel so that I actually went and picked her up unpaid from her customer.*

Eyasu, a broker taxi driver also expressed that people of various countries have diverse preferences and interest. He said that “for instance French and Russian customers mostly ask for professional and experienced prostitutes, they do not bother about their beauty”.

According to the same informant, Cameroonians need business ladies not mainly for sex, but for forgery business meaning for transferring illegal goods and protected drugs, as many of them are drug dealers. From interviews with drivers, local guides and prostitutes, it is transpired that there are foreigners who deliberately come to Ethiopia mainly for the purpose of accessing commercial sex workers, which are identified as sex tourists while others come to visit the country or other tasks but contact sex workers additionally.

Most Arab men are mentioned as tourists who arrived to Ethiopia mainly for the purpose of having paid sex and to enjoy with consuming or taking addicted drugs and substances. Therefore, they are sex tourists who deliberately enter to Ethiopia mainly of seeking sex with local females. After they arrive in the country, they rent villa houses or guest houses in group and stay for some days with enjoying themselves. Then they find sex workers and consume substances like *Shisha*<sup>4</sup>, *Hashish*<sup>5</sup>, *chat*<sup>6</sup> as well as other addictive substances and drugs.

Esayas, a driver pimp and was of my informant explained the following ideas when interviewed about sex tourists:

*...many foreigners entered to Ethiopia for various reasons. Some arrive for meetings and conferences; others arrive for business and investments; some entered for the purpose of visiting and tour but there are people who come for getting sex like Arabs. Arabs entered mainly for the purpose of having free sex with Ethiopian business ladies. Because sex with unmarried girl and consuming substances openly is forbidden in their country. They entered to Ethiopia mainly*

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<sup>4</sup> Shisha- is a prohibited drug consumed by people secretly that addicts consumers.

<sup>5</sup> Hashish- is another prohibited drug smoked by people and leads to addiction.

<sup>6</sup> Chat- is a green leaf consumed to alert minds of humans.

*during Ramadan which means during summers seasons. They come and rented villa houses in Addis Ababa. Then what they did is consuming addicted substances and taking various prostitutes to their guest houses. They enjoyed in this way for two or more weeks with joining different sex workers. Arab men contacted most of the time with Arab returnees because it is easy to communicate easily with Arabic language. I gave a ride and contacted a lot of sex workers in each day. They made sex with rotation form and spoiled a lot of females in Ethiopia. They have the capacity to pay much money for prostitutes, pimps and owners of guest houses.*

According to many of my informants particularly pimps, drivers, guides, bell boys, sex workers, receptionists and waiters; there are a lot of Arab men who entered to the country for getting paid sex and taking drugs and substances freely. According to them, Arabs mainly from Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait, Egypt and Sudan and other Muslim dominated countries as well as Turkey deliberately come to Ethiopia for searching paid sex and to get various addicted substances such as *Chat, Shish a, Hashish* and other things freely out of their country. This is because using these protected substances openly or freely in their country is strictly forbidden and their religious and legal laws forbid them not to do so.

It is known that Arabs use *Sheria*<sup>7</sup> laws and are administered or judged by *Sheria* courts when they did something against of the *Sheria* laws. In relation to this, the judgment which is given by this court is very harsh and difficult compared to other non religious secular laws applied in various countries. Through my observation I also saw many Arab men dealing and enjoying with Ethiopian sex workers in clubs and hotels.

However, according to many informants particularly information of pimps, drivers and driver brokers, other foreigners don't deliberately arrive in the country to use the above mentioned things rather used it as an additional enjoyment. They told me after they destined for visiting, business dealing, investing, meeting and other reasons they consumed drugs and get paid sex services.

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<sup>7</sup>*Sheria*- is customary and religious law of Muslims used to judge criminals accordingly and is practiced in many Muslim dominated nations.

### 3.7 View of Commercial sex workers about their customers

CSWs engaged in sex business have also their own views and identifications of customers. Prostitutes can identify who can able to pay better money for them and a well paid customer has given a good respect from sex workers. From my intensive observation and interviews that I had with the afore mentioned informants; call girls or escorts, night club, bar, pub and high standard star rated hotel sex workers seek not to have local Ethiopian clients. They primarily need to contact with foreign customers. Even Some prostitutes show interests to prostitute with Diaspora Ethiopian customers or wealthy Ethiopians investors than local residents this is due to their hope or assumption that they possibly will pay much more money and tip up a gift to them than other ordinary locals.

In addition prostitutes assume that Diasporas and wealthy business men will marry and took them abroad either through marriage or as concubines. I interviewed one sex worker and replied “...what Habesha people will do for me? I need to go out and sleep with foreigners if not Diasporas or other wealthy locals. They paid me more and if I gave much pleasure and satisfied them they will rent a house or brought me abroad...”

In the observation that I had in various clubs I also observed that many of the prostitutes do not like to prostitute with local men. They refuse to go out with locals this is due to ill treatment and less payment for paid sex or sometimes refuse to pay at all at the end of having sex. When I systematically understand it sometimes contacting foreign men is considered as a form of dignity and pride on the eyes of sex workers themselves. Azeb is also a sex worker and told me the following when I interviewed her why they primarily need foreign guests:

*You know, their treatment varies. Foreigners particularly white customers treat us very well. They advised us and shared many similar stories. They take care of us very well and give us comfort. Eeee... they also paid us good money and gave gifts as a bonus. Some guests do not have an idea about local currencies and exchange rates of dollar and Ethiopian money. For that reason they paid and tip up more than enough. In some cases they arrange various abroad opportunities. Some guests rented or buy resident houses for us. I have partners who married foreigners and living abroad or living locally with permanent supports of their mates. Come to local customers, they firstly ill-treated us even some refused to pay our agreed payments, sometimes they hit or intimidate us and paid less*

*compared to foreigners. They don't look us like other people. They don't give a respect like human beings. They violated our rights and sometimes forced us to commit unwanted sexual relationships. Because of these and other reasons we preferred to contact white and other foreign or Diaspora or well rich local men.*

According to sex worker and some security guard informants; in some instances local customers of sex workers deny or refuse to pay for sex workers even after negotiation and have sex with them. As data received mainly from sex workers, security supervisors and receptionists some local customers paid fewer payments but harass and demoralize prostitutes with some harassment verbal words. All in all local customers ill-treated them badly compared to foreign customers. Some even hit sex workers physically and took their private properties like necklaces, ear laces, rings and incentives too. Some others also forced sex workers for anal and oral sex. And some sex workers are forced to have unsafe sex with customers. There are customers who obligate sex workers to commit sex without condom which causes health problems on sex workers. It also leads sex workers to unwanted pregnancy and various diseases. All these actions are done due to over drinking and when disagreement occurred between the two mates at their bed room.

I personally from my observation also assured that particularly high standard sex workers in night clubs, bars, pubs, hotels and restaurants have no any interest to go out with locals. They ignored locals, and inclined to foreign guests. Even some sex workers refused to talk with *Habesha*<sup>8</sup> guys. When an Ethiopian guy starts to talk with them they gave their backs and ignored him immediately. They are motivated and aspired to contact foreign customers than local Ethiopians. Most sex workers couldn't show any interest even to talk and enjoy life with locals unless he couldn't bring and contact them foreign clients for their business. But they are willing to talk if he contacted them foreign guests for that reason they are okay for pimps and drivers. Many sex workers which are engaged in the aforementioned establishments refused to have Ethiopian customers.

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<sup>8</sup>Habesha- a name given to the people of 'Habeshat' what we call today known as Ethiopia.

### **3.8 Factors that motivate prostitutes to engage in sex business**

In this part the main reasons that motivate and push sex workers to engage in sex business with foreigners and some local men as well are discussed. There are various pull and push factors in which sex workers are strived to engage in sex work and rely in prostitute life. As informants basically prostitutes, pimps, drivers, bell boys and receptionists stated that prostitutes have a lot of problems and shortages which forced them to engage in sex work as a means of survival. For simple understanding, these problems are classified as economical, social, cultural and psychological. All these factors drive them to the business and take on sex work.

For this research I talked to many prostitutes to know the main causes of prostitution. When I asked them what urges them to engage in prostitution, they told me as there are varied reasons for their engagement. Some of these expressed that they consider prostitution like any other formal ordinary job, while for others it was a way of earning additional income. They took prostitute life as normal job while others took it as secondary way of earning income. The reasons why females decide to engage in sex work seem to vary greatly. The information I collected during interviews with various informants and during FGD showed that these reasons can be mainly classified as economical problems, social, cultural and psychological factors.

## A. Economic factors

According to the interviewed sex workers economical problems are the main reason for young and also older women to get involved in sex work which can be discussed below.

### Poverty and Unemployment

According to information I received from FGD and interviews of sex workers. Poverty is one of the main driving factor that forced many females to engage in sex business in Ethiopia. They engage in this business to gain their daily meal and shelter particularly for extremely poorer females. As female sex workers stated in the interview the poorest women particularly with no other alternatives for daily food and drink took prostitution as a means of survival. Many females engaged in sex work to escape economic hardships and live better life.

One day when I went to the field to contact more informants I received a call from my earlier prostitute informant Saba. I went to the area and joined with another friend of Saba named as Meti. Meti is a twenty one years old prostitute and single who came from Nazareth seven years ago. After that I switch on my recorder and began to record response of the new informant:

*... It is difficult to survive in Ethiopia particularly today. Living is becoming worse and worse through time in our country. Living cost is increasing from time to time. You can't get the same price in the morning and afternoon. The price of goods and items increases from time to time. House rents are becoming as high as before. Everything is on the move and increase from time to time. To resist these price increments you need to have equivalent income. If you have nothing how can you survive? You need to have food, shelter, closing and others. You should arrange something for your survival. No one can assist you these days even your mother okay! ...I for example have no any alternative other than sex work. I have grown up in a very poor condition with poor diets and facilities. I dropped school at grade nine. I have no any other skills to be employed and work. The only chance that I had was to be a house maid or a sex worker. And I preferred the second one and engaged in sex work. I took it to fulfill basic necessities for my life. I think this is not only my case but probably the case of others as well.*

Another pimp informant named as Yalew also explained that the cost for living in Ethiopia is increasing. There is high rate of increment in the price of goods, items and products used for consumption. To resist this high rate of living standard, people of middle and lower income

should increase his/ her own income in relation to the living cost of the country. But if they failed to do so, they should find a solution for financial shortages.

To cope up poverty and resulted crisis countless females began to involve in sex work. It is taken by many females as a way of gaining a form of earnings for life.

From discussion of my FGD sex worker informants I understand that extreme poverty is one driving force that compels many females to enter in prostitution. Therefore to cope up price increments and survive their life, improve the life of their folks, parents, to take care of their children as well as get out from poverty a lot of women involve in prostitution in Ethiopia. . This is because sex work is perceived as the only short way and easy means of earning money for survival or changing life through it.

As Meti, Seble and Mamush told me women are also expected to change or improve the life of their families in Ethiopia. In most Ethiopian societies females have a responsibility to change the life of their families and relatives than males. They have this burden of improving the life of their families and helping their parents particularly at old age. All these and other burdens resulted from poverty compelled many women to engage in sex work. If they fail to do so they are accused and degraded by the society. For that reason they are forced to marry a person who can fulfill their interest or engaged in sex work as an alternative means. One of my informants Liya with an age of 26 explained her entrance to prostitution in the following way:

*I was very young, about seventeen when I started engaging in commercial sex work. Before I began doing this , my parents in a good economic position, and I was well supported, encouraged and sent to school with the idea that I would assist them later, after their retirement But when I reached grade sixth, my father passed away and all the burden of sustaining the family was put on my mother's shoulders only. But she did not manage to feed and take care of all five family members. As I am the oldest daughter I had to help my mom and started selling tela<sup>9</sup> and other alcoholic drinks in our home. Life went on in this way for about two years. However through time life became challenging and it was more and more difficult to survive. Then I dropped my education and I moved from Ambo to work in Addis Ababa to assist my family. I stayed in the house of my uncle for two months and began to work in a hotel as a janitor. I was paid four hundred Birr<sup>10</sup> per month and I sent my monthly income home to my family After eight month working and supporting my family in this way I decided to change and began to involve in sex work Now I earned much more and could send much more money*

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<sup>9</sup>Tela- is a local alcoholic drink made traditionally from a variety of crops and grains.

*than before. Also my own life improved with the bigger income: : I rented a house for two thousand five hundred birr per month, I am able to dress in expensive, fashionable and comfortable modern clothes and I wear good shoes.*

*My family is living a better life now: two of my brothers and one of my sisters are going to better schools.*

*As a prostitute I earn better money than before. My clients are mostly foreigners. But my relatives have no any idea about what I am actually doing. They don't know what I am really doing in Addis Ababa. They think that I earn that much money working in a foreign company. Therefore with no choice to beat poverty I decided to engage in this business. If we had enough wealth at home you couldn't get me here.*

From the above case, one can understand that poverty is one driving factor that forced many females to participate in sex work even if it is not their interest to engage in this kind of business.

Yared, a bell boy and a broker in the interview stated that financial shortages is a big

*...they need to have food, shelter, clothing and other facilities. If they get what they need they couldn't be a sex worker. It is our poorness that forced us to do a job what we don't need to do. Poverty is enslaving us and compels us to be shameless.*

In the FGD discussion that I had with prostitutes they also agreed that it is primarily economical and financial shortages that push them to involve in this form of business. But they didn't deny as there are also other reasons for females to engage in prostitution life. The discussants also told me that today prostitution is saving many females from dependency and it is one means of survival for many females and a lot of people behind them.

Unemployment or joblessness is another reason for more females to enter in to prostitution. As the rate of unemployment increases through time the number of females who joined the life of prostitution also rises up. Dissatisfaction resulted from unemployment fueled the rate of prostitution in the country. The rate of self employment is also minimal in Ethiopia mainly in the sphere of educated people. Educated intellectuals and uneducated ones search for employment to get job. Everyone needs to get employment for economical, mental and psychological satisfaction. However if failed to get the chance of employment many become hopeless and females decided to involve in sex business to forget problems of unemployment and fatigue. It is also resulted interests of independency as unemployed women need to out from dependency of their parents. It is clear that high access of job opportunity is very essential to possibly to minimize the rate of prostitution and number of sex workers in the country.

It is important to raise a prostitute informant Kalkidan's idea in which she replied the following interviews:

*... Particularly a woman without job or any income has no any opportunity other than this life. Surprisingly today many graduated students from colleges and universities are also flocking to involve in this business. This is resulted from unemployment. Either educated or not all are jobless. If they get an opportunity of employment, they wouldn't be a sex worker like us who educated less. I dropped out school at lower grade levels and entered to prostitution. But now educated prostitutes are becoming more and more. We engaged in the same way and task either educated or not. There are lack of job opportunities and job creations in Ethiopia. Even if there are some opportunities it is not equivalent to unemployed job finders. It requires fierce competition to be employed. So if no extra chances for employment and other solutions are arranged in the future more and more females would join to this business. There are problems and lack of well paid job opportunities in our country.*

In the interview from responses of sex workers I understood and found that unemployment is one driving factor that forced young and adult women to enter in prostitution. They engaged to earn daily income for their survival and assist their folks, children, husbands and families. As driver and broker informant Mamush told me that nowadays compared to the number of job finders there are no enough job opportunities and easy access of various jobs in the country. There are limited spaces for employment. Many are becoming jobless and hopeless in their grown up country. Therefore, this growing rate of unemployment in the country leads a lot of adults to participate in delinquencies and unlawful tasks. For many females, becoming a prostitute today is taken just like a normal and favorite task. It is perceived as one way of self employment.

Kassahun, manager at a hotel, added that not only unemployment, but also the extremely low wages paid by many institutions and organizations pushes women to resign from their job and engage in sex work, or from engaging in sex work in addition to their regular jobs.

He also told me that there are a lot of women and men who went at their hotel and asked for employment.

Of young women who are employed as waiters or receptionists some engage in sex work with hotel guests to get additional income.

Sintayehu, a hotel head waiter explained that in addition to high growth of living costs a lot of jobless people engaged in theft, robbery, prostitution, cheating and consuming prohibited drugs which all are resulted from joblessness. As he further extended his idea as a means of forgetting stress occurred due to joblessness and bringing a form of income for their needs many females engage in prostitution and related businesses.

Currently, he stated, prostitution is becoming fashionable as it is one way of earning lots of money in a short period of time.

Rahel, an educated sex worker with college degree, depicted about her entry into commercial sex work:

*...I studied nursing for three years and graduate three years ago. I searched vacancy announcements and tried to get job but I couldn't be successful for a year. There are many non employed people with qualified with different fields. I have to have something for my life, I searched another way to engage and latter I found myself in this business which I immersed due to unemployment. Currently thanks to God even if it was not my choice, I'm gaining something at least for survival.*

As I received from informants, there are large numbers of unemployed educated and uneducated people in Ethiopia. Job availabilities and opportunities are not equivalent to job finders in the country. Higher institute graduates have less opportunity for getting employment and are much in number compared to the previous periods. It requires strong competition and over qualified skill and performance to pass and employed in a narrow road. As such the country is not utilizing its rich human resources in a proper way. There is high rate of unemployment which in turn leads these adults and youngsters to various crimes. Being they are jobless and unemployed, these citizens are becoming addicted of various substances as well as alcoholic drinks.

Due to their engagement in prostitution many are willingly or unwillingly become victims of substances. They are influenced by their customers and co-workers to taste addicted substances. There are also prostitutes who began to take substances not to fail at sleep during night and to let them out from fatigue. While some others were dependant on substances before their engagement which compelled them to bring a form of income to buy substances. Since they have no alternative as they are unemployed, they are compelled to enter in to prostitution.

All in all addictedness forces them to involve in sex work which urges many people to bring income for buying drugs and drinks in large amount of money. So the less job opportunity that we have, the high sex workers that we observe in the country. Joblessness is a reason that pushed many females to involve in sex work.

Due to increasing prices of house rent and food items and other important goods for life many people are forced to live in slum like houses and feed on unbalanced diet and low quality food. This is occurred due to the increment of living costs in the country.

Though to survive and cope up this increasing of prices in items, goods and other services; a number of employed and unemployed females are compelled to participate in sex work mainly with foreign customers. In one way or other living conditions of human beings determine their engagements. They involve in the practice of sex work to resist difficulty of life and some others engage to help their folks beyond them and to live better and luxurious life.

According to my informant driver Sami, some of the sex workers were home maids or servants before they engage in sex work. They paid less money compared to what they earn currently from sex work. They paid unaffordable payment compared to difficult works they perform without much rest. Because of this they can't resist the growing living conditions and some servants need to improve their life and assist their families as well by increasing their income.

Elias a bell boy in a hotel, explained:

*There are many causes for prostitution. Each woman has her own reason for her entrance to sex work. The major one is due to financial problems. Most people are living in a very poor life today. Many sex workers are engaged because of poverty and dissatisfaction of their income received through other forms. ... They went out for business often with foreigners because they asked foreign customers to pay with the currency of dollar. Some customers particularly transits (a person who landed at a country for some hours) does not know the rate of dollar and Birr. When they exchange the dollar with local money they earn a lot. Because the exchange rate of Ethiopian money and dollar are totally different. The currency rate of dollar is much higher than Ethiopian Birr which currently attracts and stimulates many sex workers to enter in the business.*

I understand from Elias's idea that the devaluation of Ethiopian money mainly compared to American dollar and Euro as well as highest exchange rate of these currencies are another

attractive reasons for women to involve in sex business either short term or full night agreements. This inflation of Ethiopian money forced many people to live in sub standard conditions. Because the capacity of ETB to buy items and fulfill other human needs is becoming lower and lower through time and various commercial as well as non commercial items imported from abroad are on the increase. Therefore to resist these problems a lot of females are compelled to engage in sex work with some wealthy local men and foreign customers. And in return they paid money in the form of ETB or dollar from their sex customers.

A driver and broker Mamush had also another argument. He stated that the salary paid for government employees and other self employed people are not enough for survival. They are earning incomparable payment with their work. The incomes of some people today can't buy something to fulfill their basic needs even. Living condition in the country is very difficult today. So that to cope up the rising living cost many employed women prefer to involve in sex business to improve their life through gaining additional income. Particularly divorced and mother women are forced to engage in sex work in order to take care of their siblings and get a form of remittance for them. All in all less payments received from their employers is one driving factor and cause that pushes particularly females to involve in the practice of sex work in Ethiopia. The payment or salary they earn from their regular work is in comparable to the rising living cost of the country and decided to engage in prostitution.

Generally what I learned from my informants is substandard living conditions and poverty of the majority of the people in the country leads women, girls, teenagers and students to sex work in various hotels, bars, restaurants, clubs and streets.

In some cases as sex worker Saba told me there are women who involve in sex work to bring business works and attract customers for their commercial works. According to her this form of contacting customers is mostly practiced by women of good wealth and financial capacity. They used their sexual intimacy with customers to import items and goods from abroad with cheap prices. In short these kinds of sex workers engage in the sex work not to earn sex payments but used their foreign customers as an agent to import goods with affordable prices from abroad. They used their sexual intimacy as a bridge to gain other future benefits with agreements promised between them and their customers. So using their sexual intimacy with customers as an opportunity, wealthy and middle aged women brought various items and goods from abroad with little or no taxation. And they sell these items with higher profits in the country in which women

of such kinds are benefited two times that is from their sex payments and goods and items bought with the agent of customers.

## **B. Social, Cultural and Psychological factors**

Besides economic reasons there are also social, cultural and psychological factors that enforce and motivate women to engage in sex work. These factors vary from area to area and from one sex worker to another. It mainly depends on the needs, interests and problems of women encountered before their engagement of prostitution. In this section an attempt has been made to discuss the most important social, cultural and psychological reasons that compelled a lot of females to involve in sex work.

### **Peer influence/ pressure**

Peer influence is one of the driving factor in which many females are compelled to engage in sex work. This form of pulling to sex work is powerful that attract a lot of females to the industry of sex work. Peer influence is common and strong particularly between close and intimate partners as well as relatives or folks. It is also powerful between families, workmates, neighbors and class mates. As the above categorized parts of the society may have very close intimacy there is the tendency of attracting and convincing others on the activity whom they are engaged in. Makda, a young woman of eighteen engaged in sex work, told me the following:

*I did not have any idea about this business, even I don't have preconceived information how can I attract and handle customers. I don't know how much can I negotiate with customers and protect myself from various challenges. But I got all information from my close friend who engaged in prostitution earlier. she convinced and told everything about the business. Thanks to her now I know everything about it. I think there are many females entered to business in similar way like me.*

Hilina, a twenty two years old prostitute, also explained how she entered into the sex business. She outlined that she entered to sex business through peer influence. She was convinced and began to involve in the business through the attractive words of her nephew. She had a dream to engage in another well paid job and had a plan to assist her folks. She told me as she was a devoted religious girl grown up with a family of religious parents. Primarily she began sex work like a game to relax herself with her nephew at their adolescent periods. However through time

she get deep inside and became a well experienced sex worker. Ones she engaged she couldn't stop prostitution because the money that brought from the practice attracted her not to leave out from the life. In the interview she also narrated the power of peer influence as something that changed your own belief and perception. She further extended her expression that peer influence on one's owned belief, thought, outlook, thinking, understanding and position is not as simple as we expect. It has a strong power to change some one's thinking and understanding which forced someone to accept others own idea and thought. When she concluded peer influence is very forceful to change their owned stand of people in peaceful means. It changed your own ideas not at a time but through process.

Meklit, a sex worker of twenty one who has similar case of engagement in prostitution:

*... We began it when we were at school. I had a classmate when I was at school. We grew up in the same village and had also very tight relationship. We learnt in the same class and helped each other. We did assignments and group works together. We never separated in the school and performed well in class. But through time when we grownup and become an adolescent, learning all periods in a single class became boring, because of that we started to left out from school after lunch. .... Before I joined her, she went out alone with others and contacted an old wealthy man through time. After a while, I began to Left out School with her. Through time she motivated and contacted me an old man of around fifty. We began in this form and contacted many customers in this form. Finally we totally dropout from school, left our parents' home and engaged in this business.*

During the research, I came across many sex workers who were attracted to prostitution through the direct or indirect influence of their friends. Seeing their friends wear attractive and expensive clothes, shoes and jewelry created the desire in some to have the same

Askale told me how she was attracted by the expensive dresses her closer relatives were wearing. She began working as prostitution at the age of twenty three:

*I came from Wollo district. Before I came to Addis Ababa and engaged in this business, I had a niece who lived in Addis. She was back and forth to visit her families and relatives. At that time I saw her dressed expensive and very attractive cloths and shoes. I remember she also gave me a lot of money. One day when she came for visiting her parents I decided to come to Addis Ababa and told*

*her about my interest. She first refused my idea but I was totally determined to come to Addis Ababa ignored her refusal. Lastly she changed her idea and came to Addis Ababa with her. ... I stayed one year with her, began to know the city very well. When I adapt everything in the city she told me secretly all about her life and I also encouraged engaging in the business of sex work. After I took some days of thinking I decided to enter in the life with her. She was indeed unwilling on my engagement but I entered to the business attracted by her dressings and well decorations. I entered to it as I was primarily influenced by her dressings.*

I identified that when I interviewed many prostitutes some responded me as they engaged because of peer pressures. They are told by sex worker peers to involve as they have attractive body structures. I met an informant working in a club and explained her engagement as:

*I engaged after many days of advices from my friend. She told me as I am beautiful and may change my life through it. She convinced me this your beauty will be with you for only some years but after that you will lose it and retaliate you after you lost your beauty and passed away. So why not you use your beauty, why not you enjoy at your young age. She attracts and won me in this form to engage. I'm highly influenced by my friend and convinced by her words.*

Therefore, Peer influence has a strong magnetic power to attract and change the attitudes and thinking of many people. It needs very strong self-reliant people not to shift his/her own belief on behalf of others. It requires a person's strong dedication not to give hand and shift personal attitudes on behalf of others owned ideas particularly unimportant ones.

The tendency of girls and women to engage in prostitute life through peer influence is very high as I found from many informants. In our discussion a driver pimp Sami told me that there are so many females particularly teen agers and students entered to sex work influenced by their peers. This is mainly due to their low level of maturity to differentiate and decide what is good and bad as well as what is important and less important for them. He further added as he knows many sex workers that began the life attracted and influenced by their peers and intimate friends.

Female teen agers and students are highly vulnerable to peer influence. This is mainly due to their low level of maturity and understanding. During interview informant Nunusha stated her entrance "I have an age mate at seventeen who engaged in the life. She invited me many days

and gave me many gifts. She even bought me an attractive jewelry. In this form she preached me many times and one day after invitation she contacted a customer.”

As I found from the above informants, there are a lot of females in Addis Ababa attracted and influenced by their peers, intimate friends, relatives, neighbors and families to involve in the practice of sex work. This is more commonly done using their personal intimacy, friendship, social intimacy, close relationship and proximity as a means to convince others to the practice of sex work. In this case mainly of girls, house maids or servants and students at different levels of education are highly attracted and influenced by their intimate peers as well as pimps or brokers. From FGD discussants I found some girls that began prostitution due to peer influences and attractions. In the discussion they stated that a lot of teen agers, high school and college or university students, lower socio-economic females and some employed women are the most affected part of females by peer influences in the country. FGD discussants also informed me that peer influence is dominant not only in sexual attraction but it is also very powerful on addictedness, selection of boyfriends, sex mates, selection of clothes, shoes, cosmetics, way of dressings, hair styles and on other life issues as well. In relation to this idea not only the above mentioned groups are influenced but married women, co workers, relatives, divorced women and other parts of females are also influenced and attracted by peers and friends to involve in the business of sex work and addiction.

Seble, a commercial sex worker explained to me during an in-depth interview how she was highly influenced by her best friend to engage in prostitution

*I was a dedicated female who need to have a better life through hard working. I was a devoted religious woman before I started this life. Religiosity had a big place for me and believed my life will be sweet only with God. I haven't any materialistic thinking and idea before. I didn't need luxurious life; only need to have some income to fulfill my basic needs only. It was my dream before prostitution.*

*But all these motives and plans were changed through time. I have a close relative and intimate partner who grown up with me in neighboring houses. We were learning in the same school and I had better performance than her, but two of us were medium learners. Through time she became interested in physical education or sport and inclined to this field. She became less and less in academic subjects. In relation her inclination, she began to enjoy with various young boys and started sexual life with them. All her jocks and talks mainly focused on sex issues and sexual practices. After I saw and heard her continuous actions and jocks, I decided to break up and halted friendship because of her actions and narrations. Finally she dropped out from school and prostituted her with many known older wealthy men in the city.*

*One day she called me and told to meet me. I met her and asked for excuse. In another day she asked me to go at some place with her. I agreed and went with her at a place, we found a man with a mid of fifty that I couldn't know him before. We greeted and drove at one secured restaurant. He ordered a drink but I refused to take a drink then they let me to drink one at least. However with hot jocks, debates and plays I drank more alcohols unknowingly. That was my first time of drinking alcoholic drinks. Unknowingly after one or two hours of waiting with drinks, a man greet and join us. Now we became four and moved to another hotel for meal and another drink again. After some more waiting, I told my friend as I need to back home and she responded me to wait some minutes and her customer will gave a drive to our home but time was going over and I don't remember after taking some bottles of beer. Finally, I woke up and found myself at a certain room with a man. I couldn't have any sexual practices before. All my dreams failed at one night after I was cheated in such a way. I become hopeless and fell guilty. I was then driven out from home by my father when I backed home lately. I felt as I was useless, empty vessel and inferior. At last I get myself in this dirty life.*

There are many similar girls who are influenced by their peers and became a prostitute. These kinds of prostitutes might be economically in problem or not. But what urges them to involve in sex work is peer influence and attraction.

### **Addiction/Substance abuse**

Commercial sex work and addictedness are interrelated; they are inseparable. As informant Hizkael expressed prostitution and addiction are reverse sides of the same coin in most instances because in one way or another prostitutes are highly vulnerable to addictedness. Addictedness of drugs and drinks leads people to involve in sex, crime, disobedience and delinquency.

During my research I observed that many of sex workers were addicted to various drugs including alcohols, cigarettes and prohibited substances such as smoking Cannabis, Shisha and hashish in Shisha houses and at their homes..... I observed it as one way of attracting and contacting customers for business. Because consuming substances, alcohols and drugs are used as an expression of modernization by prostitutes. They saw from customers or other ways and began to apply it to compare them with their customers. If a sex worker doesn't consume drugs, substances like shisha, cigarettes, *Chat* and hashish and alcohols she is called as '*fara*', literally to say 'uncivilized' by other prostitutes. Even these drugs are prohibited to consume, a lot of prostitutes and their customers consumed many drugs before they engage at work and at work sometimes.

During various observations in the field and FGD that I had with sex workers at their home, I also observed that most sex workers took and used various addicted drugs. They smoked

cigarettes, hashish and chewed *Chat* in which all the facilitations were covered by me. Their customers also consumed various drugs, substances and alcoholic drinks. For example I observed them so many days smoking cigarettes and sometimes chewing *Chat* individually or with sex workers.. Prostitutes also used various drinks mainly when they are at work. As I observed and found from informants, Sex workers chewed *Chat* most commonly in group at home mainly two or three hours before they move at night to clubs and hotels for business. This is because they used it as a stimulant not to fail in sleep during night when they are at business areas and consuming substances helped them to develop a form of freedom for contacting customers.

In my field observations, I also observed that sex workers consumed and smoked various brands of cigarettes and substances during night at clubs, hotels and restaurants. As I got from some informants of prostitutes, some of them and their customers also used a variety of prohibited substances or drugs and more strong alcoholic drinks at night. Therefore as I observed most prostitutes either for a certain purpose or not they smoked cigarettes and used to have different types of drugs and alcohols.

Elsa, a prostitute of 24 years old told me the following:

*I grown up in Dire Dawa in which everyone people chewed Chat freely, therefore I began chewing as I was young still chewing. After I come to Addis, I also adapted other substances like smoking. Once you started it is very difficult to leave. Hence addiction also forced many sex workers to begin business and ties not to out from the practice of sex business.*

As I heard from informants through time when they consumed various drugs, substances and drinks again and again they become addicted and dependent of drugs as well as drinks. Over and continuous taking of substances and drinks through time leads them to over addiction and related health problems. They become exploited and addicted of what they used daily. Ones addicted, they should consume more to satisfy their needs which requires a great amount of money. To buy and consume substances they should generate a form of good income for buying substances and alcohols. And in order to have these drugs and drinks in each day, they should have to have good income to afford the prices and sex work can be taken as a way of bringing earnings. And sex work is taken as an easy way of bringing money to buy drugs, substances and expensive alcoholic drinks. Off course it is not used to fulfill their requirements of drugs and drinks but it is

used for other purposes too. They make prostitution life suitable for using various drugs and alcoholic drinks freely and openly.

Prostitute FGD discussants confirmed me that sex workers were also chewing chat at their home and I checked it when I was discussed with them in the FGD session in which all expenses that they used during discussion time are covered by the researcher. Of course there are minorities who aren't addicted of drugs and alcohols but practiced it sometimes to look like their customers and co-workers. They sometimes consumed to be similar to addicted sex workers but not consumed all the days. And it is also used to be free and relaxed at work.

During observation, I saw many teen agers and young female sex workers smoking cigarettes and consuming alcohols in clubs and hotels, which they commonly practiced it assuming it as an expression of modernization and civilization.

Sami and Manyazewal a broker and taxi driver consecutively explained that sex workers, smoke and used drugs to forget and free from stress and to be seen as civilized sex workers. Though, the practice of prostitutes with taking drugs and substances openly in return attracts many teen agers and students to the practice and dependence of drugs and substances. They are highly vulnerable to substances and drugs as it is used openly. As I heard from sex worker Kalkidan, some of sex workers are influenced by their peers, coworkers or customers to consume drugs and drinks while others used it by their free will and interest. But in one way or another many sex workers are addicted of drugs or substances and consumed much amount of alcohols per day. Addiction makes their life complicated and difficult to leave out from the life of prostitution. Though they forced to sustain in prostitute life and make it their lifelong work. They earn money from clients and consumed it for having drugs, drinks, clothes, supporting others and used it for other consumptions. It circulates in this form through their life.

### **Sexual violence and abuse**

Sexual harassment, rape and its related crisis are another driving factor that lead females to sex work. As informant Meklit told me this is very common particularly in the country side and rural towns of the country. There are cases in which females are forced by strangers to have unsafe and unprotected sexual intercourse with unwanted guys at their teen ages which also cause unwanted pregnancy and various sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/ AIDS. Sometimes

virgin girls are also raped forcefully in a time when they are not ready for sexual practice and sex activity in general.

As informant Sintayehu told me in the interview:

*When females faced a form of sexual harassment, forced rape and infection of diseases because of rape, they are pushed to engage in sex work to forget their past life and as a response and offense of males' actions. Some females knowingly need to revenge other males through spreading the diseases and revenge other customers. It is resulted from moral crisis and hopelessness of victims of rape and sexual violence.*

Gulilat, a pimp of twenty six years old stated that many females encounter various forms of sexual violence and harassments in their daily life. Both urban and more of rural Females faced various forms of forcible rape or sexual violence from males in different instances and occasions. Some are verbal harassments and others are sexual harassments.

When females encountered sexual violence some girls become hopeless and lose their self confidence which breaks their heart. Some females lost their morality because of sexual violence and rape by males which sometimes leads them to brutality and began to revenge males. The loss of self confidence plus hopelessness in return leads them to disruption of their lifelong plan. It makes a shadow particularly on the life of teen agers and students as it affects their future motive negatively and finally they decided to engage in sex work. When I asked Sable, a prostitute how females get involved in sex work she replied the following:

*There are many causes of sex work. The case of one sex worker varies from another. Sometimes females involve in sex work as a revenge of male customers if they are forcibly raped. When they are victimized with forced rape some females develop feeling of hatred and mistrust on males which I don't think as it is right. Through time it took females to feel and develop a kind of revenge towards men as they are forced by male to have sex at their teen ages. These evil deeds on teen agers cause various impacts and consequences on the physical body and psychological feelings of girls. They grew up with bad feelings and hatred of males which brings them to engage in sex work. For instance there are some HIV infected prostitutes engaged in sex work to revenge males. Because they assume that they are infected with HIV from males. It leads them to revenge particularly*

*when they are infected from their husbands, fiancés and sex mates. They don't bother whether their customers used condoms or not. It is mainly resulted from immaturity and misunderstanding which leads them to engage in sex work secretly.*

As I identified from informants there are some sex workers who deliberately involve in prostitution to infect males with sexually transmitted diseases. Kidist is an ex- sex worker who participated in this study as informant and explained how she and her co-workers started sex work in the following manners:

*I grown up in Ambo town and came to Addis twenty years ago. When I was living with my mother I encountered forced rape when I was twelve years old. Then when I faced sexual violence I became hopeless and through the agent of local elders my relatives tried to wed me with the guy who raped me before. But I refused and fortunately I preferred to engage in sex work than get married of him. I left my home, began to live with my relatives far away. After a year I decided to leave my home town and came to Addis with one of my cousin. At the beginning in Addis I employed shop seller and changed my work to selling 'Chat'. After two years I started to know the city very well and decided to change work. I began to remind the actions I encountered in my home town I retaliated and began to develop a form of hatred on the races of Adam. Even if it was wrong, I decided to involve in sex business in hotels and stayed for ten years in the life. I helped my folks very well from business I gained through sex work. But my parents didn't know what I am doing. I had many customers and through time many customers asked marriage but refused to marry any one because I know that most of them were married and I didn't trust them. They told me as I'm beautiful and had many chances to marry a wealthy man. One of my customers asked me marriage many times he patiently asked day and night; he even sent my closest and intimate friends to convince me. When I refused he asked me again and lastly I managed to marry him. Now I have very nice, joyful life with my husband and gave birth of a three years old kid, thanks to God. ... I had many friends who entered to sex work because of the same reason like me. We talked a lot and heard from them about their engagement.*

From this case one can understand that sexual violence and rape pushes females to involve in sex work. Once they engage in this activity, it is very difficult for them to leave out from sex work and business of sex, because there are other related addictions which holdup sex workers not to easily out from its activity. In the study I understand that willingly or unwillingly many females become brutal and began sex work not primarily for earning incomes but for the sake revenging customers with having unsafe sex with many customers when they are infected with diseases due to forcible rape.

### C. Moral motivation and related factors

Other than the above reasons there are additional and remaining factors that initiated females to involve in sex work for the sake of earning businesses. Moral and cultural factors initiated females to involve in prostitution and gain earnings from customers. Rahel, a hotel receptionist and informant of me stated ideas about engagements of sex workers in the following manner:

*Currently many females are flocking to sex business. They entered due to diverse reasons. There are girls who assume or think of sex work as life game, enjoyment and perceived sex work as an easy way of earning money. They recognize it as something which has pleasure in it. Some females also think of sex work as getting pleasure in it and it is taken as a gift for females; it is also assumed and perceived not as a strong task compared to other difficult works. There are sex workers who entered in business to compare themselves with other sex workers. According to sex workers spirituality or devotion in religion is seen as uncivilized or hindrance to modernized life. Religiosity is understood as against of their moral freedom. For that reason they aspire and motivated to involve in sex work with foreigners as a basic economic life and means of survival. Some prostitutes also need to help their parents when their neighbors are assisted by their daughters. Comparing themselves with others many started sex work.*

Women of diverse background entered to prostitution in various parts of Addis Ababa. They attached many reasons for their entrance. Meron explained about engagement of females in sex work as a fashion form as:

*... Some females assume and recognize as they are loved, needed more than others and considered or think of themselves as they are more beautiful than other females particularly when they are asked by many males for sexual*

*intimacy. When different people asked them for love, they assume as they are more beautiful than other females and lead them to involve in sexual engagement with business. They think as they are superior to other females and assume as they have the power to attract many male clients. Over thinking and understanding of themselves motivates them to sex work. Therefore they took it to convince their mind and engage in sex work to earn better money from the business. They also need to exceed other ladies which are not in the business and looked like better than others or smart by dressing better clothes, shoes and decorative items involving in sex business. The search for love and acceptance by others encourages mainly of young girls to participate in the life of sex work.*

Increasing demand of sex workers is another contributory factor for sex workers. It is resulted due to the expansion of hotels and the growth of the tourism industry. Particularly in the past ten and fifteen years there is relatively high growth of the tourism industry in the country. The number of tourists who toured to Ethiopia is increasing slowly through time. The growth of tourism sector in turn leads to the expansion and development of many hotels, restaurants, bars, clubs, lodges, guest houses and other recreational centers. When these services motivated and expanded through time there should be the possibility of large number of sex workers and prostitutes flow to the activity of sex work in the country. This is because there should be increasing demands of sex workers by many customers. Taking this as an advantage many teenagers and adult women involve in sex work to earn money and gifts.

Sintayehu told me the following about this situation:

*... Compared to the former regime, the flow of tourists and foreigners in the country are increasing today. Many hotels, restaurants and clubs are constructing rapidly even in the country sides. Side by side the number of people who seeks sex with sex workers is on the rise. I meet sometimes observe a lot of customers asking and bringing sex workers to their rooms. This increasing demand customers motivated many sex workers to engage in the business. As there are many demands of sex workers, more and more prostitutes will flow to the industry. It is clear we are observing many customers and prostitutes in the city.*

Less or ill treatment of families and spouses have also its own value for engagement of sex workers. Solomon told me that some females treated badly both from their families and husbands which through time lead to prostitution.

The other most important driving factor to engage in sex work is that the disagreement of females with their folks, husbands and relatives. When these kinds of disagreements happened between families and married couples a lot of females were forced to involve in sex work as a means of survival. It is very common if females are dependent on someone else and lived with the support of others in the family. Marriage separations or separation of spouses highly pushed prostitutes to involve in sex work. The case of Sara who was my informant in this study is related to this issue. When I asked Sara why she involves in sex work, she responded as follows:

*I live in Bole area and I had a boy friend that I loved so much. Before I started sex work for the sake of business I was always thinking of him. We were loved each other, I was in his mind and he had in me. After we stayed two years in a very deep and attractive love I caught him with another girl. He denied me and began new love with another girl friend. I asked him about the situation but he totally denied and tried to cheat me. I separated with him and faced heart broke for some months. I was neutral for sometimes but finally decided to begin a new life and engaged in this business in order to forget my previous life and love history. After this, I don't want to remember my former life and tell you the detail more than this. I don't want to be stressed and bother about the past life.*

This is what Sara replied during the interview that I had with her. When I observed her during observation that I had in a hotel she had the opportunity to work with more than six times in one night as short term negotiation. Sara was active with good command of English language and communicates easily with various guests and was busy of work as well. I took only the case of Sara, but there are also many other girls who have the same case as Sara.

Sex worker Mahider whom I talked to her in the field explained the following:

*I went out from families because of my fault. I was grown up and lived with medium wealthy parents. When I was a student I went with my friends, studied and played in group. But my father was disappointed when I went out to my parents. He often shouted at me and threatened badly. Imagine what will he did if I made high mistakes and faults. One day my parents told me to keep our home,*

*no one was around me I was given a responsibility to keep and take care of everything. But after some stays my friends called me and left out the home as unlocked. I couldn't back immediately then a thief was entered inside and took many properties from home. When I backed home I found totally opened and a lot of items were stolen. I shocked very much and went far home. I didn't have any response for that case I went to the nearby town Awassa and engaged in prostitution after four months. Finally one customer whom I met at Awassa brought me to Addis Ababa and I continued the same life as before with various customers.*

Some sex workers are also entered in prostitution to get freedom of their strict family control. Some families take care of their daughters and siblings with strict control while this form of tight family control has its own impact on the life of teenagers. After children grown up they need freedom and began to cheat families. They started a new life that was protected by their families. When children grown up in this form of family they wish to develop a form of equality with their age mates and are easily attracted by their age mates to participate in sex business. For that reason many girls, students and house maids who grown up with tight family control need to engage in sex work.

Habtamu, a local guide and informant of me in the field told me that “there are various wealthy family teen agers who get involved to sex work during day cheating their parents”. As he further extended that they involved to purchase or gain additional things such as to dress fashion and more expensive and luxurious items, to buy what they sought at their age mates from the business. These kinds of sex workers mostly students made sex in secret and covert way at the day. Meron a twenty six years old female security guard in a hotel explained the following:

*... Tight family control is another factor for females primarily for under ages to enter in prostitution. They entered in it to declare their freedom mainly when they are at school. There are many similar girls whom I met engaged in business. They took their engagement as a form of forging freedom and personal right.*

In addition to the above factors there are also additional reasons for sex workers to engage in prostitution. These factors are educational and vocational failures, housing instability, various psychological and emotional problems, intolerance of their sexual orientation and other reasons

are taken as the common factors that led to vulnerability of females to sex work. Informant Mekdi expressed that

*...You know, I was not successful in education. I failed three times in grade nine; I don't know how I failed to pass. I dropped it and stayed at home for two years but through time staying at home in all days became boring and boring. My mother was also feeling bad about my school failure and attrition. When life becomes boring I decided to work business in which I entered because of educational failure. I introduced with many partners and began to deeply involve in the business.*

Sami argued that as there are females who involved in prostitution because of their emotional and unconscious decisions and when they are repeatedly told or suspected by others like families or husbands as they made sex work with many men. This kind of unrealistic suspicion leads them to engage in business. Meron also stated that there are some girls involved in sex business due to lack of shelter. Fikreaddis a twenty four years old prostitute told me the following about her entrance to prostitution:

*...I lost my parents at my teenage. They were very poor and deprived of to live better life. When they passed away, I couldn't have any responsible relative to take care of me. I left out from home after three years of parentless and began to live in streets. I began to sleep on streets for several years I saw orphan life. But that was so very difficult to survive without shelter and adequate food. Lastly I managed to join sex business and its life. I have many friends who entered because of homelessness and shortage of basic necessities. There are some who started it because of sexy attitude and interests.*

There are some girls or females which recognizes staying with one guy or boy friend as boring. They need to have more than one sexual mate. These kinds of females assume that having more than one sexual mate or customer mean like testifying varieties. They assumed as they will get various sexual satisfactions from different customers. Taytu, a receptionist in one international hotel told me information about why many girls are smuggling to sex work:

*...In my point of view, there are females who took their engagement as joyful, used to contact many customers and bring much more income. There are others having only one sex mate as boring to them. While there are many girls who*

*entered to sex work due to family economical problem, homelessness when they are street girls and when they detained from learning. ...Eeemmm of course there are sex workers who entered to fulfill their unlimited interests and some others engaged because of reinforcements by pimps...*

Therefore all the above mentioned factors major reasons and cause of sex tourism and sex work in Ethiopia which are identified by this study from informants.

### **3.9 Major sites of commercial sex workers**

Starting from home level to various clubs and international hotels I identified many places where sex workers engaged in prostitution and sex business. I found prostitutes in streets, hotels, restaurants, clubs, massage parlors, Gym houses, Museums, air port, guest houses, concert places, and shopping centers. As I was told by sex workers and pimps, prostitutes use to contact their customers in these sites. I also visited the area and observed that the sites that my informants told me is the right places for the prostitutes to contact customers and vice versa. There are a lot of places used for commercial sex work and related activities. They can be divided into two in terms of their openness to the customers and to me as researcher. Some places, such as...massage parlors, guest houses, Shisha and hashish houses, *Fird bets*<sup>11</sup>, underground day clubs and other places are not open to everyone for visiting and observation. But these establishments arrange sex workers and deliver sexual services to their customers. These establishments make additional businesses in delivering sexual services to their customers and receiving much money from both sex workers and customers. Thus, I can term this underground operation as ‘closed’ operation of sex business.

Other places are free and open access to get sex workers for everybody. Hotels, clubs, pubs, streets, main roads and big buildings are major places where open access sex workers are engaged in business that can be categorized under the open access category. Many sex workers smuggle or flow to these areas in order to contact customers and accommodate much more income from sexual services. These places are also open for every customer to contact sex workers easily.

There are also places like massage parlors, guest houses, *fird bets*, residential houses, parties, ceremonies, *Chat* selling shops and chewing houses, Shish a, Ganja and hashish selling houses

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<sup>11</sup>*Fird bet*—means court and is an establishment where customers of sex workers are taken to be cheated false drinks and foods with highest prices are available.

where sex work is practiced in secret way and closed manner. Nobody knows as these places are used for delivering sexual services for customers. From these categories various organized parties and ceremonies are used for contacting customers while the remaining establishments are places where covert sexual activity is delivered to customers. But these places are known only by few customers where they visited these places regularly.

There are also clubs and pubs where many females are involved for sex business in the capital. These types of places are becoming common in the capital where drinks sold in a very highest amount and expensive drinks are available with very expensive prices.

One of my informants told me that in most night clubs customers are requested to pay high entrance fees that are expensive compared to hotels and other places. For that reason most customers of such places are the well- to-dos such as rich men, diplomats, well known and famous people, merchants, investors and higher local and international government officials. Another informant Elias who is a driver broker also stated that foods and drinks sold in such types of establishments are very expensive that only those individuals who could afford the cost could visit such sites and only expensive alcoholic drinks are available for customers. For example, some commonly known drinks (e.g., beers, drafts wines and soft drinks are not available in these houses).

Sex workers engaged in these houses also ask customers to pay them much more money than any other areas. As I observed in the field, these houses have many big body guarded security guards and if they consider and think of someone who may be a journalist or a researcher, they may not let and allow that person to get inside the house even if he can afford the payment. This is because they suspect that this kind of people may write and expose their hidden works and secrets to government bodies and may let aware of non customers about their services and activities. Due to this they frustrate that this kind of exposure might be against of their business.

Informants of sex workers, pimps and drivers participated in the study of this research realized that massage parlors and guest houses are becoming hidden places of sex work and related services today. Many massage parlors who served 24 hours and some guest houses in the city deliver sexual services for both local and foreign guests with additional payments for sex. These establishments arranged females to deliver paid sexual services for customers. Dereje was my informant whom I found near to an international hotel delivering driving services for tourists and

I interviewed him detailed information about sites of sex workers as his work is related to foreign guests. He explained his idea in the following manner:

*There are many massage parlors in the city that deliver services for 24 hours. Some of these parlors include sexual services for their customers even though it is not legal to deliver sexual services in massage parlors. They deliver short term sexual services for both local and foreign parlor customers. They asked to pay extra money for sex. The massage lady made sex with the guest after she entered to massage the customer. She negotiated about sex payment inside the massage room. They are paid from 200 to 400 ETB per sex. Guest houses are also other places where sexual services are available. They are delivering sexual services in the same case as massage houses. When tourists rented guest houses for some days, they are asked whether they need sex workers or not. Sex workers are arranged in guest houses to engage in sex business with customers when guests needed to have.*

According to informants I interviewed and my continuous observations, there are various places in Addis Ababa where hidden and underground sex works are performed. Some of the places are easily known by local people while others are unknown to many people. During the course of field work I went to some of these places and could able to observe how contacts with customers are being done in these places. I saw many prostitutes drinking and dancing with their customers I interviewed pimp Jambo about centers of sex workers in the capital and he told me many ideas in the following way:

*Good, I know many places where prostitutes are engaged in for business. I have many intimate sex worker friends. They invited me when I am free of work and they told me many places that they are working in. There are many underground dancing houses where day sex work is delivered to customers. There are also many unexpected places where sex works are practiced secretly. These areas are not noticed by the people. For example there are day parties, underground day dancing clubs and night clubs where nude and half dressed sex workers are available. In these areas both open and hidden sexual activities are performed. Students, teen agers, strict family controlled girls, married women, spouses or fiancées and house maids are the major targeted and affected parts of the society*

*in these areas. They go to these places regularly through the agent of pimps, intimate partners, co-workers and class mates. Diasporas, top government officials, sugar daddies (they are old aged men who made sex with young girls), wealthy men and foreigners are the main customers of these sex workers.*

### **3.9.1 Hotels**

Hotels are places where customers are served to have bed rooms, various kinds of foods, drinks and other related services. In relation to these availabilities there may be other services like sexual, massage, gym, sauna bath and other services for customers. But it is not official mainly in high standard hotels to include sexual services in their hotels. From my observation, there are sex workers in many hotels though not allowed officially to engage in sex business with hotel customers.

Some sex workers primarily travelled to hotels to get services like other common hotel customers.. But after they get inside the hotel and get services they begin to search for customers for business. They try to communicate and interact with various foreign guests. They use sign and verbal languages to initiate customers and communicate at the beginning in the hotels. Commonly they begin with greetings and trying to attract the guest through extended discussions both may interact and form sexual intimacy. After this they begin to deal about payments. According to informants and observations I have had in various hotels, most of the time guests who rented bed rooms in hotels brought sex workers from various clubs and others areas in which sex workers are easily available. One Sex worker informant told me how she and other prostitutes contacted customers:

*We contacted sex customers in various ways. There are pimps who called us and contacted customers. We go to clubs and hotels to get customers. But in most high standard hotels we are not allowed to openly engage and contact customers. If we are seen openly doing that we are protected by security guards and makes us to leave the hotel. But in unopened way we contact customers from hotels. For instance let me talk you about mine. I first entered to the hotel and ordered something may be a drink or food. Next to that I find a customer from the hotel. I said Hi first and began to communicate. Then I asked him much information and talked him about mine. I began to interact with him in this form and finally I turned him to a customer. I dealt with payment and went with him for business.*

I made many observations in various hotels but concentrated mainly on five high standard hotels of the city which I found large numbers of foreign and local guests and sex workers too. The observation that I conducted was prolonged more than five months; one time each day for three to five hours depending on situation. Observation was mostly done during the night sessions that helped me to grasp much information and develop my previous understanding about sex work. When I visited these hotels in the evening during all my field work periods which helped me a lot to observe and grasp lessons. It helped me to compare and contrast its changes through time. My observation assisted me to know and aware of many things in hotels particularly related to my study.

From my field observations I understand that many females flock to hotels mainly international and high standard ones when international and continental conferences are opened. I observed a lot of young ladies and women in hotels to contact customers of meeting and conference participants. Most hotels and clubs are busy and crowded with business ladies and foreign guests. During the time of international and continental conferences many hotels, clubs, restaurants, visiting sites, shopping centers and other places were very crowded and it was also very important for sex workers, drivers, hotels, clubs and shopping centers to gain much income from guests. My Informant Esayas during interview express ideas on this incident as:

*If there is African or other international conferences in the city everything is crowded and busy. Any services like car rents, hotels, restaurants, clubs, roads, shops, visiting destinations and others are highly crowded. Lada taxis are also busy in serving guests and sex workers. During this time you can also observe many new females in various hotels mainly of international and high standard hotels. Many females take permission from their working places and goes to many hotels to meet sex clients for business. This is planned and deliberately done by many females during this time. And guests of conference participants also involve in having sex with these Ethiopian sex workers. It is very common in the capital and known by many hotels. They took this seasonal as a time of earning high amount of money from sex.*

From this case we can understand that there are so many of sex workers relied in various hotels seasonally to gain money from sex. I also observed many females in hotels during national and continental conferences often at times of African Union summits and conferences. I observed

some hotels unwilling to serve and host local females assuming they probably contact guests for sex. These hotels need to keep privacy of their guests and cover engagement of prostitutes at their hotels. But I identified that there are some hotels in which sex workers are asked to pay money for security guards, some hotel managers and supervisors as entrance fee covertly. In some hotels there are security guards who asked money from sex workers to enter to the hotel. Unless sex workers do not pay for these guards, they are not allowed to get in the hotel and served inside. This is mainly informed from informants of sex workers, drivers and pimps. And there are some hotels which asked sex workers to pay money when they are taken out from these hotels or get inside through customers from other areas. It is a payment like entrance and exit of their customers. Sex worker Askale hated what these kinds of guards are doing in these hotels. When I interviewed she stated the following ideas:

*I went for business to many hotels and clubs. I saw many unethical and unforgettable issues. There are hotels who keep your dignity and right and opposite to this there are some hotels and clubs that violated your personal right. I know some hotel securities who asked me payment for them before I entered and contacted customers. With no choice I paid fifty and sometimes one hundred Birr to them many times to get inside and found customers. I paid for the first entrance compound guards, passed them and asked by the next security guards to pay extra money for them. There are also some hotels that need charge from you when you enter with a customer to their bed rooms. There are some hotels that have a regulation to receive some form of your earnings for going out from their hotels. Their rules and regulations vary from hotel to hotel.*

There are limited hotels that include bars like lobby bars, VIP rooms, conference halls, reception rooms, bed rooms, restaurants underground clubs and other facilities inside their compound. These kinds of hotels hosted many conferences, wedding ceremonies and other customers in various seasons. Some hotels also have massage services and Jaz music and live or band music concerts and programs, gyms, aerobics, guiding services and other related services. In these places hotel guests contact with different sex workers in various forms. Therefore, taking it in to account hotel guests have the opportunity of meeting sex workers in these places and consume sexual services in addition.

### **3.9.2 Day and Night Clubs**

Clubs are other places of sex workers. There were also another targeted places and frequently visited sites of this study. There are many day and night clubs in Addis Ababa that served customers during day time and throughout the whole night. But there are limited clubs in which my targeted groups are engaged and their customers are largely available. Some clubs works up to the mid night, while most of these places works all over the night. Clubs are also the most intensively visited sites and are included in my observation during field-work. I visited many night clubs during observation and observed many things related to sexual activities and attractions. I spend the whole nights in various clubs and tried to observe what is happening in those night clubs during night.

Some night clubs have entrance fee while others are free of entrance fees. Alcoholic drinks available in clubs are too much expensive than the normal prices. Dim lights with very loud music, various kinds of alcoholic drinks, much noisy, are common in clubs. Too much of different things and people in one sentence Sex workers with varied hair and wearing styles, Dj music players and dancers in a band and single waiters, physically very big security guards, manger and many local and foreigner customers all are found and available in night clubs. The dancing floors were crowded and full of many dancers and customers. Commonly it becomes hot after twelve in the mid night because many customers and sex workers drank a lot of alcohols.

During observations I had in night clubs, I saw lots of people taking alcohols and contacting with sex workers. Most night clubs begin their services and open for guests starting from half past ten in the evening. As soon as these night clubs opened many guests and sex workers entered to the clubs.

I saw many guests taking drinks and almost all customers dance with sex workers in clubs. Some customers and sex workers even kissed and warmed up each other. They smoke and drink together. They danced in pairs in the dancing floors and a form of discussion and negotiation was formed. After negotiation they began to drink, sing and dance together. Some shouted loudly during dancing with the loudly opened music, some deeply sang and failed emotionally. As I observed, many of the customers and sex workers smoke cigarettes in the club. Finally after they drink more alcohols, smoke and danced together and negotiated on payments, they drunk and danced together again for long hours in the establishment and went to bed rooms of customers. As I observed in night clubs some customers took sex workers to their beds, private homes or

guest houses more commonly after 2:00 pm in the mid night. The process of leaving the club usually begins since twelve in the mid night and continues up until six in the morning.

During observations in night clubs, I found many NGO and governmental employed workers, AU delegates and officials, UNICEF and ECA officials, various embassy officials, tourists, business men, investors, well famous and known persons, artists, government officials, foreign residents, core diplomats and other officials. There were also many officials of national and international organizations. I easily identified them by asking security guards as they know their regular customers, looking at their car codes and some of them talked with me after consumed much more drinks in the clubs. As I stated above there are clubs who have entrance fees and others are free for entrance. When I entered to a certain night club I met Momina, a cashier receiving entrance payments at the gate of the club and interviewed her about charges of the club:

*In each day it is opened since 11:00 in the evening. Many sex workers and guests visited the club. I received fifty Birr from each guests of the club. But prostitutes are asked to pay when they entered lately of the opening hour of the club. Prostitutes who regularly works in the club are free from entrance payment but they are asked to pay for the club after they contacted a customer like exit payment. I collected a minimum of ten thousand Birr at one night from entrance fee alone for the club. In the club single females are not allowed to enter in the club unless they come with male guests. Because we know what they need; most of the time females visited the club to contact customers for business. The club has many beautiful regular business ladies, who paid exit fee to the club. They attract many customers from various areas. We had many local and foreign customers. From local ordinary people to diplomats, tourist, famous persons and even highest governmental status persons visited the club in each day. Many guests visited the club more than ones.*

I also identified that most of the customers in clubs during my observations were Arabians, Sudanese, Egyptians, Kenyans, Nigerians and Indians, Chinese, Italians, locals and other citizens in minor numbers. I identified these customers from their language, face colors and structures. I also tried to contact with some of the customers and told by them about their locality or origin. Even I talked and discussed privet lives with some customers in clubs. They contacted with sex

workers and some of them formed a form permanent relationship with prostitutes. They forged agreements with sex workers like concubines, who are preserved like second wife of customers. During my observations in various establishments mainly night clubs I very often used both obtrusive and intrusive methods of data collection. Obtrusively I tried to approach sex workers like customers that seek relationship or someone that needs a sex worker for somebody else. I sometimes also acted like pimps who engaged to contact them with customers and approached like intimate and closer friends to gather information for my work. By using this method I tried to gather valuable data and information from sex workers.

By approaching them in such a way and approaching sex workers friendly, I understand that how much they charged per night, how they negotiate with customers and way of identification of back ground of their customers. It also helped me to know about origin of their customers and forms of negotiation and challenges of prostitutes faced from customers. For example in one big night club I approached a prostitute named as Azeb and I acted as I need her for my partner enjoyed with me in the club. I talked many information with her and she asked me as she should first need to see the customer, then she will ask his residence where he rested in for bed and will negotiate about her payments.

From her information I understood that before sex workers agreed and negotiated for sex, they should have to know their clients economic background, drink he is consuming, clothes and shoes he used currently, bed rooms he rented and other background information, which helps them to decide payments of sex from customers. And if he is not fitted with these criteria's, sex workers probably will decide not to go out with such a client. This is what I understood from sex workers intimating them obtrusively.

### **3.10 Interaction between sex workers and customers**

Here a question should be posed or raised to address how sex workers and their customers interacted and joined for sex business and sexual activities. This is crucial to identify and give solution to the growing practice of sex work. How sex workers contact with customers and how their customers easily identify sex workers from other non prostitute females. How prostitutes or sex workers handle various behaviors of their customers should be well identified and discussed. Therefore, these and other issue will get answer in the following sub chapters.

### **3.10.1 Methods of attractions and ways of interactions of customers**

Sex workers use many diversified ways and methods to attract their customers for sex business. They use a lot of techniques and styles to get the attention of customers. They approached customers according to interests of customers. I understand it from my observation and interviews that I had with sex workers, pimps, security guards, drivers and waiters.

During my continuous observations, I could able to easily identify sex workers who came to various hotels to contact customers. Sex workers primarily entered to hotels like customers and after served by waiters they seek customers to contact for business. They most commonly and purposely seated in front of guests or close to other hotel guests. Then they normally ordered drinks and foods like other hotel customers. But they consumed their orders very slowly because they need to stay longer hours in the hotel.

Sex workers particularly bar ladies and prostitutes who engaged in hotels and clubs have many codes and ways used as a medium of communication between sex workers and customers. From my observation and interview I had with sex workers, I understand as they used many forms of communications in their work. They practiced and communicated with customers with a variety of signs and movements. From my observation, mostly in hotels, sex workers ordered a kind of soft drinks mainly of Mirrinda, and sometimes bottled waters and Ambo waters or flavors. They also ordered and consumed hot drinks like macchiato, milk, Sprice and other drinks. For example if a girl or woman ordered a soft drink and seat alone in a hotel, it is understood as she needs a customer for sex business. It is interpreted as a sex worker who finds sex for the sake of business or for other benefits. These kinds of sex workers communicate with the customers by eye contacts and body movements for sex. For example, smiling, closing one eye, shying and other mechanisms and body movements. There are customers who can understand and communicate with sex workers using these codes of communications in hotels.

Sometimes prostitutes act as talking long telephone calls, but their attention and look is over the targeted guest. This is deliberately done to attract attention of customers and to easily approach and make intimacy. When the guest looks at them they show him a sign of attraction of love and sexual interest by showing a smiling face and other signs attracting customers like eye contacting. Through this method they try to catch up the attention of customers. Then when a customer needs a sex worker and showed interest to communicate, both often began to talk, joke

and discuss issues about life. These discussions and free talks through long stay grown to sexual interaction started to drink and enjoy together. Finally they negotiated about sex payments and other facilities. Lastly they leave the establishment and went at the bed room, guest house or private home of the customer together. In this way I saw many women and girls who were successful in approaching and getting customers for sex business.

There are also another ways of taking the attention of guests in clubs and motivating them for sex. In night clubs, prostitutes used various methods of attractions. A prostitute dances very sensitive and sex motivating style of dancing, which often dances close or in front of a guest in which the sex worker needs to get attention of a customer for sex business. Some sex workers also dance in a style of shaking their body or sexy dance and some others hug each other and with customers during times of hot common dancing in the club

Sometimes a sex worker fired on her cigarette from the already fired cigarette of the guest. It is a way of attracting him and is one way of approaching a guest for sexual purposes. The sex worker used this style to initiate him for sex and to attract his attention. In another case, a prostitute seats close to the guest then motivates and invites him to dance with her. Therefore using these varied ways they can hold customers either for short term or the whole night negotiations. As I heard from some prostitutes there are few sex workers who spend romantic life with customers during all their stay and sexual engagement. However there are others that spend a complicated and dissatisfied life with customers.

Street sex workers used another styles and ways of approaching customers. They have diverse methods and ways for attracting and contacting customers. When people pass around streets where they are engaged, they call like “hey” and asked whether he need a lady or not. If a car travel and going in a very slow speed, prostitutes ran and ask a driver whether he needs a sex worker or not. And when a guest needs a sex worker, he picks up one sex worker from the many and took to his hotel or any place he needs to go. One sex worker that I met in Kazanchis area and was informant of this study told me the following story:

*We often stop or congregate here to meet customers, as you see there are many business females waiting for customers. Sometimes we called a man using various initiative and courageous words to attract his attention. In other cases a customer come with a driver and ordered him to stop when he looks us and we went in a mass close to the guest. He then selects one from us and took to a hotel. Most*

*often our customers who come with a car called us with a word known as “hey you” and the local people of this surrounding called us ‘hey you’ as our nick name. It is used as our identification.*

There is another mechanism of attracting customers. Sex workers know how to win and deeply catch up attention of their customers. A security guard whom I interviewed in a hotel told me the following:

*There are sex workers who look like fresh and beginner for the business. They act as cool girls, silent and not danced in clubs. These kinds of sex workers seem free from smoking. You know this is one form of cheating customers. Sex workers cheated customers acting like a beginner unlike are more experienced ones. Because there are customers who need shy girls and attracted by neutral behavior of a sex worker. Sex workers mastered how to attract their customers. They employed various strategies and methods to influence customers. Some are also acted like girls and students. They laid customers as they engage in clubs without the knowledge of their parents. But the reality is not. Sex workers are genius in understanding the psychological and biological needs of their customers as they are experienced from their engagement as prostitution. They easily know and understand the interest of their clients by looking at their faces.*

Sex worker Saba also told me that sex workers have various signs used to communicate with customers and their co-workers. They have the knowledge of many sex related signs and languages. She told me that “sex work is our duty; it is our business for that reason we know many sign languages and body movements that helped us to attract and contact with customers”. There are also sex workers who purposely learn languages which help them to easily communicate with customers. They go to private colleges to study languages of foreign customers. I found many sex workers who can speak two and more than two foreign languages. Some learnt languages from abroad before returned to their home while others learned from school and privately using soft copy materials. A driver and acting broker Essayas told me about language efficiency of sex workers:

*There are many girls who can speak more than two languages, they are fluent speakers and contrary to that there are sex workers who can only speak their own mother tongue. For instance during my work I met a sex worker lady who can*

*speak even Korean language. I surprised when I found her speaking Korean language with one Korean guest. I asked her about the language and how she learned it. She replied me that she learned it from Korean teachers. Imagine it you can guess how many Ethiopians can speak this language all over the country; I think very small people probably not more than fifty or sixty. I found many girls who can communicate with two and three languages. Arab returnees for example can speak at least two languages.*

Therefore I understood from informants and observation that there are many girls who intentionally go to school to study languages for the target of interacting and communicating with customers in his mother language. It is simply planned to easily approach and understand customers through speaking their own language. So it is one way of interacting and communicating customers for business.

All in all I understand from the study that there are a lot of ways and strategies of prostitutes used to communicate customers. They employed various techniques to get the attention of their customers in various working places. They approach and contact guests using different sex motivational styles. The way of approaching customers varies from one sex workers to another.

### **Dressing styles of sex workers**

In hotels, bars, restaurants, night clubs, pubs, streets and other working sites, sex workers used various types of wearing styles. From my observation in various places of Addis Ababa and data gathered from informants prostitutes used many unique wearing styles when they are at business places.

As I understand from my observation they usually dresses very short miniskirts, very light and thin tights, shorts, too much tighter and lighter trousers, very long dresses, long dresses but shorter at the front, tightened skirts. They also dress very short miniskirts, body and tightened, very tight bodied shorts and T-shirts mini coats as well as other styles. I saw many used skimpy wearing styles. They often wear high heeled shoes, boots and slippers for perfect look and attraction of customers. They wear half necked in which most parts of their body are uncovered. There are also times in which sex workers wear only trunks or underwear and bra alone. All in all prostitutes wear branded, modern and high quality items with expensive prices.

As sex workers told me they spend a lot of time in beautifying themselves. Prostitutes or sex workers devote much more time to self adornment and dress. They buy high quality and expensive clothes, shoes, ornaments, cosmetics and other quality items from supermarkets and boutiques. They wear provocative style of wearing in a way to attract clients for sex business. In addition to the above wearing styles, sex workers dress a variety of grungy style of clothing. They buy and wear decorative kinds of ornaments such as ear laces, necklaces, rings and other jewelries. Beyond this, they goes to beauty salons and buy pretty items like cosmetics, lotions, makeup, conditioners, hair treatments and shampoos. In this way they please the eyes of their customers. When I interviewed prostitute Hilina about their wearing styles she told me that:

*Dressing very well is like our identity. Unless we dress carefully and beautifully no one needs us. We bought expensive clothes, shoes, ornaments and decorative items. We used high quality branded items to get attention of customers. We spend most of our income for clothing and buying makeup and other decorative items.*

During interview informant Kidist also stated that

*During my life as a sex worker, we dress beautifully and attracted more customers. We buy very expensive branded clothes and items. For example I dressed very thin tights and miniskirts some times. I also used ornaments and well decorated with makeup and other cosmetics. I visited beauty salons many times at least twice a week. This is because customers need to interact with an attractive wearing styles and well decorated ladies.*

Nowadays clothes of females are becoming shorter, tighter, thinner and more revealing. Some of them are half naked; mainly below knees and back of their body is nude. Though these kinds of wearing styles of females are provocative and inspire for adult males for sex. Some of them probably wear these kinds of clothes for romance, motivating males and selling sex for the sake of earning money. Today many girls and some women in the city wear in a style of sex workers which initiate males to approach females for sexual activity.

As my informant sex workers Azeb and Makda told me during interview they buy many expensive clothes, shoes, ornaments and cosmetics for the sake of making them beautiful and easily attract the attention of customers. As I heard from them they are sensitive and unplanned to buy decorative items, clothes, ornaments and shoes. They expend a lot of money to fulfill their interest of cloths, ornaments and makeup as well as beauty cosmetics.

## **Sex workers consumed foods and drinks**

Prostitutes order a variety of foods and drinks in hotels and clubs. In accordance with their interest and choices sex workers in night clubs, restaurants and hotels consumed a variety of foods and drinks. According to informants who are hotel waiters they know sometimes what these kinds of business ladies will order before orders are given to them. As far as I observed in the field, many sex workers consumed light and easily digestible foods like cheeps, pizza, burger, lasagna, club and other foods. From my observation, sex workers most often consumed fast and nonfat foods. They eat less oiled foods both for their health and keep their shape thinner. I also heard this information from sex workers themselves.

In relation to drinks sex workers used various kinds of hot and cool drinks when they are waiting for customers. These drinks used by prostitutes vary from one area to another and from hotels to night clubs. There are differences in the availability of drinks from hotel to hotel, club to club, bar to bar and from hotels to clubs and bars to hotels or clubs to bars. Therefore, considering this, sex workers ordered and consumed drinks based on its availability and their choices. From observations and CSW informants, prostitutes drink alcoholic drinks at night in order to make free from boring and some because of addiction. As they told me a variety of beers, whisky, wine, vodka, cognac and other drinks are the most important and often used kinds of cool drinks in night clubs and bars. They also drink hot drinks like coffee, spruce and sometimes tea to stimulate them and not to fail in sleep at night. I saw them using these drinks at night in clubs when they are at work.

According to informants and field observations, in most cases when sex workers agreed to sleep with customers all expenses are covered by their customers. I saw many customers paying for their contacted sex workers. It is more commonly done after negotiations of customers and CSWs. All payments for drinks, food and other costs are managed by the customers. And also in various sites the drinks used by sex workers are mostly similar from one area to another. Most of the time at night many sex workers consumed alcoholic drinks than any other hot and soft drinks. I saw only some sex workers who consumed bottled waters and soft drinks mainly in hotels and shifted to alcoholic drinks after they contacted customers.

## Chapter Four

### 4. Prospect and challenges of females sex workers

#### 4.1 Main challenges of commercial sex workers.

Sex workers faced many complicated diversified challenges through their work. They encountered many hardships during sex work. Unlike its disadvantages, they may have some forms of benefits economically or grasp some knowledge and history through sex work. It gives a lesson for their future life. Here below I will discuss first the challenges encountered from different angles and then proceed to prospects or benefits they gained from sex work.

According to informants and observation I conducted, there are many problems and challenges that encountered prostitutes during their engagement in sex business. They faced a lot of physical moral and psychological damages. These dangers and challenges directed from different corners and shuttle them to a lot of accidents. In this part I will try to discuss the major obstacles or challenges that encountered sex workers during their engagement in sex work from different angles and corners. For easy understanding of these challenges from many angles I will classify and discuss them in detail.

#### 4.1.1 Problematic encounters with hotel, restaurant and club managers

One of the barriers to sex workers comes from hotel managers and supervisors. Prostitutes are challenged sometimes by managers of various establishments when they are working in hotels, clubs and restaurants. The challenge begins from their entrance to these places to meet customers. Informants participated in this study during interview and FGD session told me that they have a lot of barriers from supervisors, managers and sometimes from owners themselves. They realized their grievances on those who hinder them not to work freely. Due to challenges they faced from these people they can't engage and contact their customers. The challenge hindered them not to involve in sex business freely and confidently. I also assured this situation during interviewing of supervisors and managers in hotels and clubs in some cases.

When I interviewed Prostitute Liya about challenges that faced from managers and other staffs she realized it as:

*I personally faced many challenges from different people. We are asked to pay money for them to enter and served in some hotels even. No one knows it except us who paid money to somebody freely. They are enslaving us in our country. For*

*example, I know many hotel managers received money from sex workers and I know a hotel manager who allowed his relatives and friends to involve in the business in which he is working in. I also know a hotel manager who first asked us for sex to engage in a hotel that he works in. He asked us free sex as a requirement. You know we encountered many challenges from different angles. We can't bring money without challenges. We have many ups and downs.*

According to informants who are mainly prostitutes including pimps in hotels they are sometimes told to leave the hotel by security guards ordered from managers and supervisors. To this end one of my informants told me that “we sometimes suffered a lot to meet customers in hotels challenged from hotel managers, supervisors and in some occasions from supervisors of security guards”. She added that even if we entered with negotiating with them we will not have the chance to contact customers. Informant Saba told me their challenges from managers and supervisors as:

*... I prefer to leave telling our challenges. We are not seen as humans, they ill-treated us, and they hit us. Some even beat us and asked to give them some of our earnings. They accused us as theft, cheater, shameless etc. how can I tell you, it is difficult to express our challenges in words.*

I also received information from driver Mamush. He expressed it as “...challenging work. They are neglected, stigmatized and discriminated from the majority people. Almost half of their earnings are distributed to others. They are beaten and demoralized by others...” he also told me as many are forced to have unsafe sexual relationship with managers and supervisors. As many informants told me challenges of sex workers are complicated and diversified. Many are demolished from the industry because of challenges and hardships. In the FGD session they also told me their private challenges and hardships from managers and supervisors.

When I was in the field I also talked to hotel managers why sex workers are protected not to freely involve for business and hotel manager Solomon told me the following cases:

*Well, it is not allowed for females to engage in sex work in hotels, they are free to get services not customers for the sake of business. Nevertheless engaging for business is unethical and illegal hotels. There are guests who refused engagement of prostitutes. They need freedom and silent environment. Some prostitutes are not good; they harass guests against of their wills. Some CSW even looted our*

*guests from their pockets and rooms. Some asked over payments and some cheated guests in various forms. There are also occasions in which disagreements and arguments are happened. All these things obligate us to protect sex workers not to engage in our hotel.*

Prostitution in hotels is not officially permitted. It is informal and illegal as these places are selected to get other services. But unlike that, many CSWs engaged in hotels sometimes with the full knowledge and covertly of managers and supervisors. Some hotels need their reputation and supported disengagement of sex workers at their establishments.

#### **4.1.2 Financial pressure from security guards, bell boys, waiters and receptionists**

The other challenge and hardship for sex workers who mainly engaged in hotels emanates from security guards, waiters, receptionists and bell boys. According to prostitutes themselves it is the major challenge that encountered most sex workers many times in various hotels. Lada taxi drivers and prostitutes told me when asked about the issue that security guards mainly receive a lot of money from many sex workers. Unless they paid for them, they protected prostitutes not to get inside and served in hotels. This is done particularly when they know as they are business ladies.

Many prostitutes told me that they are not asked to pay money for security guards in all hotels to enter in. But there are some hotel workers who demand them to tip up or give money to let enter to the hotel. More than four sex workers who were my informants told me the same idea about their challenges and threats from security guards and bell boys. But for better understanding I took the idea of Hirut, who explained the situation better than others.

*There are hotel security guards who openly asked us to pay money for them. We sometimes pay money not only once in a day, but more than that to enter in hotels. Hotel guards who seat in a checking point at the first gate of the hotel first receive us money and phoned to another guard who is inside to ask and receive another payment for him as well. Even if we pass and enter to the hotel sometimes in this way, we probably may or may not have a customer. If we pay for them more than eight or nine times, they will leave us free for some days. So it is challenging for us to work freely without any frustration in hotels where we are asked to pay a*

*bribe for guards. It is done without the knowledge of hotel owners and government bodies. And in relation to bell boys, there are some bell boys who threaten and warn us in the hotel. For example, if we passed security guards and get us inside the hotel, bell boys warn and intimidate us not to involve freely in the hotel. And there are some bell boys who openly asked money and in return will call us if a customer needs a sex worker. Therefore, we have all this challenges in hotels that forbid us not to feel free.*

There are also challenges that emanated from waiters and receptionists. If they identified sex workers easily in hotels waiters and receptionists also do not served them as like other customers. Waiters and receptionists sometimes become ignorant to serve business ladies in their working places. When I interviewed a prostitute who faced similar case told me her challenge as “I mostly disappointed with services of hotel workers. I met a waitress who refused to take my orders. I encountered a receptionist who refused to tell room number of my customer or dial to my customer and told as I arrived to the hotel.”

Waiters sometimes served sex workers with unhappily and are unwilling to serve prostitutes. There are instances waiters bring unordered orders for sex workers. Receptionists also hide information for sex workers and sometimes called a security guard to let them out.

As I understand from informants, mostly they do not feel somehow free working in hotels in which they are sometimes protected even to enter. Even if they need to get only hotel services, they are not allowed to get inside in some hotels. This is a form of discrimination and violating the rights of females which influences females not to move and served freely and equally like males. It is against their freedom and personal right. Another informant named as Titi during FGD session expressed her disappointment or grievance on security guards as:

*...We are not allowed to enter in some hotels alone without any male with us. If they know as we are sex workers or suspect a woman as sex worker, they let us not to enter. We sometimes entered to the hotel with having a man. We entered sometimes with a man that we know, invite a beer or something to him and let him out leaving us alone. We did it not to pay for them unless they protect us not to enter. Let me tell one incident, one day a woman went to at.....hotel. This hotel is an international hotel where many customers are served in it. Then a woman came driving her car and the guards asked her for check up, she parked her car*

*for checkup at the gate of the compound. You know what the guards did; they protected her not to enter in the hotel. She became nervous and asked them why they forbid her not to enter and they replied pay money and will let you enter. She was a professional respected woman working in a famous NGO, but they could not know her. They assumed her as a prostitute like us. After that she drove back and returned with police forces. The police force caught the guards and took them to police station. And the hotel managers asked her an excuse and we get a freedom for some days because of this situation. They sometimes made mistakes in this form.*

As I clearly understand from informants, sex workers face many diverse problems from bell boys, receptionists, waiters and security guards. In some cases, bell boys work like brokers that contacted a sex worker and customers. For his service sex workers are demanded to pay much amount of money from their earnings. And there are instances in which bell boys protected hotel guests not to approach and interact sex workers in their hotels unless they are paid or tip up by prostitutes.

#### **4.1.3 Respect less treatment by Customers, Brokers and Pimps**

Pimps are people who fully engaged in contacting CSWs with customers. They earn some percent of earnings of prostitutes and received money from customers for their services. They are intermediaries in contacting sex workers and their customers. But brokers are people like taxi drivers, bell boys, security guards, hotel managers and other people who work the activity of pimps additionally. They contact sex workers with customers as their secondary job and there are brokers who contacted CSWs with customers but charged nothing from both sides. Customers and pimps or brokers are another people who are threats for sex workers. They are other challenges for prostitutes in different situations. According to informants who are sex workers participated in interview realized that there are good customers that well understand and treat them very well and vice versa. They faced many physical and psychological ill treatments from customers during business and from pimps as well. Sex workers encounter various forms of abuse and violation of their rights both from customers and pimps.

As they told me, there are sex workers harassed and beaten by customers and there are instances where customers refused to pay the negotiated payments for sex workers. Some customers forced prostitutes to make unwanted, unsafe and uncommon type of sex. Some of them forced sex

workers to smoke, drink and take unwanted drugs with them. Helen, a female door attendant and security guard in one international hotel, told me the following:

*I saw and heard many forms of violation of female's rights. It is common here in my working area. Some shouted loudly at bed rooms due to sexual unbalances of customers and sex workers. I found many girls who are denied of their payments, which in turn led to disagreements. There are sex workers who are easily cheated by clients. Most of them cheated with false promises told from clients to take out of them from Ethiopia. For example, I know one Arab man who is our hotel customer, he cheated many young girls. He brought many young girls to our hotel; sometimes he brought three or four girls in each day. He promised them to begin a passport and visa process and tell them to take to his country. Using false promises he made free sex with many prostitutes without any payment. I heard it from females who entered with him. I asked them and told me all about. And in another day, one Indian man brought a sex worker, entered and stayed for some hours then they began to argue outside the hotel. We went closer and asked her about the issue. She told us as he refused to pay the negotiated payment. He was agreed to pay one hundred dollar but after sex he paid her only fifty Birr for short. Finally we interfere, told and intimidate him to pay her payment. Lastly after big dialogues he gave the negotiated amount. Generally many sex workers are disappointed with customers. I well understand all this issues, because I have the tradition of asking sex workers freely about their life encounters when they went out from the hotel.*

As I found from informants there are many African and Arabian men who physically and verbally harass and violate the rights of prostitutes in the home land of CSWs. Informant Fikreaddis stated another story about their challenges faced from various customers:

*...We faced many challenges in each day. For example, many Africans and black Americans suffered us during sexual relationship. They took drugs and played on us (i.e. CSWs) like toys. They also ill-treated us morally. Arabs and other citizens also made rotational sex. One man took one sex worker and after he made sex with her he transferred her to his friends without extra payment. I know one Arab man who cheated many females lying as he is a pilot and promised as he would*

*take us out. We were cheated by his false promises. He made unsafe sex with various sex workers even with some of my friends. Sometimes he picked up more than two sex workers at a time. He unpaid any fraction of money to us but later I got the reality from one female security guard as he is not a pilot. After I know the reality I told to my friends and co-workers. I saw him back and forth many times and made sex with many females.*

All my informants agree that there are a lot of challenges that faced prostitutes daily at work mainly from customers.

Sex worker Kalkidan told me their challenges encountered from customers. She stated that “there are some customers who refused to use condoms and to pay or paid less particularly when they drank over. Some asked unethical anal and oral sex. Some beaten us physically and others forced to leave their room after sex in the mid night.”

And indeed, there are challenges from pimps and brokers. One sex worker who was my informant told me about challenges from pimps as:

*I had a pimp who joined me with customers. He first made sex with sex workers before he contacted with customers. This is his primary criteria; he tasted all of us worked through the agent of him. One day he contacted me a guest; to be honest I didn't cheat him about the amount I earned. I gave him three hundred birr for contacting me a customer but he became nervous and thrown away the money that I gave to him. I shocked and leave him out, after that he denied to join me a customer and punished me with blocking customers; he cancelled me to join a customer. He contacted a customer for others. One day he called and intimidated me; he was also tried to ban me from any contacts of my former customers. He was not happy and was disappointed when we discussed detailed life issues with customers. He tried to interrupt when customers arrange something for our future life change. He was too much selfish and silly.*

CSW Azeb told me how they are affected by pimps and when I interviewed her she told me their challenges from pimps in the following way:

*I was contacted customers through pimps before I contacted by myself and I had one pimp who joined me many customers. When he contacted a customer he fixed our payments and took almost half of my earnings. I suffered with challenges and*

*he took partial of my earnings. Sometimes we invited pimps many times to get customers through them. Some asked us free sex and if refused they never contact us a customer. I know some who even need to share our tips and gifts given from customers. I know pimps who decided our payments on behalf of us from customers. They told us how much does we earn and how much we paid for their service. We also encountered some verbal and physical harassment from pimps.*

Pimps and brokers are facilitators that facilitate relationship of sex workers and customers. Sometimes they also negotiated customers and prostitutes based on payments. By doing so pimps benefited a lot. They received money and sometimes a form of gifts from both sides. But they oppress prostitutes both economically, socially, psychologically and sometimes physically. Similarly customers are also other treats to many sex workers. Customers violated the rights of prostitutes in many forms.

#### **4.1.4 Uncomfortable working conditions**

The last challenge emanates from working environments in which sex workers engaged in. It is mainly related to street sex workers. Here challenges are originated from both naturally or by nature and man caused challenges. They are classified as nature and human caused threats. Due to the nature of their work street sex workers are exposed to many psychological, physical and health problems. Some of these problems are persistent and difficult to control while others are temporary challenges.

As I found from informants of sex workers and drivers, CSWs particularly street prostitutes encountered many natural and manmade challenges. Naturally they are exposed to high coldness, wind, rainfall and flood sometimes. In some cases they are also exposed to dangers of wild animals like hyenas when they are waiting for business in the streets. Car accident, high sound effects, addictedness, health problems are another challenges of sex workers. Sara is a street sex worker who also goes to hotels and clubs for business. When I interviewed her about her work challenges she explained it as follows:

*...when I engaged on streets for work, I encountered problems of rape three times by police officers and homeless strangers. I was also looted my ornaments, earnings and mobile phone. I saved from car accident by a drunken driver. We have many hindrances; we work through cold and uncomfortable conditions. We sometimes are forced to have unsafe sex with drivers and strangers. We*

*sometimes have beaten at night by strangers. I don't feel freedom when I engage on streets up to mid night. I now left street work and engaged in hotels and clubs.*

Prostitutes also faced many man caused problems and hardships like robbery, forced rape, unwanted pregnancy, verbal and physical harassments are some among many challenges. These challenges emanated from the society, drivers, pimps, customers and hotel officials. There are also instances in which sex workers are exposed to looting by gangs and STDs<sup>12</sup>. Driver Guililat said “I met more and more prostitutes shouting at night when stolen or raped by strangers on streets.” He added that some are cheated and stolen their property by their co-worker and others. Sometimes other than looting their money and ornaments, sex workers particularly of street prostitutes faced threats of forced rape and sexual violence, which in turn lead to unwanted pregnancy and different sexually transmitted diseases. Sex worker Mahider told me that “There are many sex workers who became victims of HIV raped by a stranger at night particularly teen agers as they are powerless to defend the violence. I know some of them in person”.

The other threat is from the community in which they are living in. Prostitutes are discriminated and violated from other parts of the society in which their engagement in sex work is seen as an evil did. Though, as sex workers themselves told me that they are far and discriminated from their relatives, parents, neighbors, government officials, police forces, households. Few prostitutes are mistreated by their boyfriends, house owners who rented them or by other parts of the society. Because of all these challenges they are neutral and forced to live alone. “We live alone neglected from the community. It is only God who is with us, we discriminated from the mass even from our parents and closest relatives.”

Most sex workers are far from their parents and relatives. Some have no any close relatives and intimate friends at least to share their dissatisfactions and grievances. Here, Beti, who is a sex worker for more than fifteen years, expressed her grievance with a dull look in her eye and a heart breaking way as:

*I am alone; I have no any relatives around. I only trusted with God; I am living with the support and almighty of him. Seven years ago I was seriously sick because of cold and slept at empty home for many days; no one arrived and visited me. I just sold my gold ornaments for getting medication. My mother passed away when I was kid and I don't know whether my father, brother and*

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<sup>12</sup> STDS- sexually transmitted diseases

*sisters are alive or not. I am lonely living in a house that I rented and paid one thousand birr per month. No one is with me even to share ideas and secret. Finally when I retired and leave out from this life I will die confessing to be buried by municipality as I have no relatives and friends.*

This is what I heard from my informant and I learnt much lessons from informants. As I observed and told from informants most of them are living daily life, they don't bother about tomorrow. Most of them are dissatisfied and unhappy in their work. They said this work quarrel us both from God and the society. But they engaged as they have no any alternative means and work until God improve situations and give better life for them. Most of them are neutral and friendless except their co-workers and customers. They are mistreated and neglected from the society. They are less respected and ill-treated in the society. They need people who understand their detailed problems. My informant Beti told me some points as:

*I preferred to contact white customers than locals or black Africans. I often contacts western white men for their good treatments and respect ion. They treated me very well and told me many funny stories. They respect me like their friends and families. Some even told showed me how to change my life from this. They all take care of me and paid good money and furnish many things and gifts. Sometimes they tipped me up very well. But local men and Black Africans underestimate me and others who engages in similar work. They respected less and ill-treated CSWs. Some heavily beaten and discharged us. They suffered us during sexual intercourses. They give a value to their money not for our suffering. They don't care for us.*

Therefore, all these points are identified as challenges and problems that face sex workers because of their engagement in sex work. I am sure there are other challenges and treats that encountered sex workers but I tried to identify the most common and major ones which are repeatedly encountered and told by informants.

#### **4.2 New prospects and perspectives in life through prostitution**

Prostitution as a form of survival and means of livelihood has advantages or benefits and disadvantages to se workers and the community. There are people who aspire and wish to flourish sex work and in contrary others need to demolish or avoid the practice totally from the country. It is controversial and debatable. But whatever the case is, as sex work has many

disadvantages, it has also many benefits particularly to sex workers and the people of the country directly or indirectly. This is what I received from informants. Now I will discuss the direct and indirect uses and benefits of sex work industry.

#### **4.2.1 Economic benefits**

The practice of sex work mainly benefits and disadvantaged CSWs economically as discussed above. As I found from sex worker informants poverty is the main pushing factor for their engagement. After engaging in sex work, CSWs earn money, gifts and other belongings from customers. Even some get the chance of visiting many countries with their customers. Few CSWs married foreign customers and taken abroad by their customers.

After CSWs earned money from customers they used their money unwisely. And what makes them disappointed or crazy is that unwise use of money that gained through sexual engagement. They are not planned in managing money and waste it for unnecessary and less important consumptions. A sex worker informant named as Beti during interview forwards her money usage as:

*A lot of life incidents forced sex workers to engage in sex work but many of us are urged by poverty to involve in sex work. Economical shortages and problems took the lead in driving sex workers to prostitute life. For example, I entered to this life because of poverty and engaged in this work for long. As you find me still I am working and live with it, I earn a lot but I don't know where I waste it. We sometimes earn more money in a couple of days even better than a well paid salaried official does earn in a month. It is a good means for earning money but the money that we earned through it doesn't have any blessings for that reason we lost it shortly. Of course, there are a lot of sex workers who change themselves economically. There are women, who have their own cars, house, restaurant, café, hotel, villa or guest houses and other resources. Some sex workers benefited a lot from it. I think the way that you grown up are important for your management of money. I grownup in child rearing NGO; I didn't grown up with my parents and I think that disadvantaged me not to manage money properly. I often lead life wearing neat and fashion clothes, shoes and other ornaments, I eat and drink what I need but I have no more wealth to change my life. I wasted the money that I gained in some days and nothing remained in my hands. I have many*

*intimate friends who have married foreign clients. I have friends who married and living in Sweden, Denmark, America, Switzerland, Dubai and other Arabian countries. They are living a better life today and some of them of called me often and talked about their life.*

I personally checked wealthy women who have many resources after informed from informants. They benefited much from sex work and are living a better life compared to other sex workers. Therefore, I understood that sex workers gain a lot of money from customers but what matters their life is their management and skill of proper use of money. And there are many changed economically from sex work, while there are others who still in poverty that are not benefited more and have no any wealth. According to Mamush, who is a driver broker, sex workers received a lot of money, materials and gifts from customers after sexual relationships. “They received gifts and tips after sexual relationships such as mobile phones, computers, i-phones, iPods, clothes and shoes for their parents and other gifts from their customers.”

Some times after sexual relationships, they forged permanent friendships and will through time grow to marriage. Some sex workers got chances of employment opportunity either in local NGOs or taken to customer’s home country and employed. Sometimes they may receive much gifts and capital that helps them to engage in various business sectors. And other facilities should be arranged by their sex partners after relationships. According to a head waiter informant Sintayehu many even helped their families and relatives beyond them.

He told me for example as he know a prostitute who married one Sweden man and now she is living in his home town and now she began to invest her country even. He further stated “there is a prostitute who helped permanently by her customer serving as a concubine or secondary wife of their customers. He rented home and opened a beauty salon at Bole area paying a rent in each month.” There are also many other prostitutes benefited from the industry.

Tourists and other sex customers paid large amount of money for sex workers sometimes attract non prostitutes to turn a blind eye on sex with these customers. Here I would like include an idea that is forwarded by an informant during interview. He said that “sex work is one form of gaining foreign currency to a country. It brought a tremendous

amount of foreign currency to our country so it should not be discouraged.”He said it is net cost or payment which is paid for them directly from customers better than any profession.

#### **4.2.2 Social and Cultural benefits**

The other benefit in which sex workers gained from sex work is that social treatments and intimacy mainly with white sex mates. It is mainly resulted from their romantic love and long stay with sex customers. They may have good interactions and idea exchanges between customers and sex workers. They sometimes forge good intimacy and relationship. As one informant who is a sex worker realized “we sometimes enjoy and relaxed when we contact a good customer. We treated well and received a good care and treatment. He advised us how to change our life.” In some cases their intimacy and sexual relationship grow and develop to lifelong intimate friendship or close family life. The social relationship sex workers develop with different customers helps them to take a lesson for the improvement of their life and support them to have better life than they have before. One of my informants Seble during interview realized her idea:

*During my work as prostitute I saw many things. I faced many things from customers and other parts of the society, which through time helps me to improve my life and gives me to develop a way of tolerance to live with others. Life is challenging mainly in our work you meet many people who have diverse interests and attitudes. Some of them may harass you verbally, physically and sexually, while others treat and take care of you like their daughters. Through time when you meet with many customers with diverse behavior, you will gain a good lesson mainly an idea of how to manage different behaviors with diverse interests. You will learn how to live with others and manage your life in general. I personally I benefited a lot from various customers that I joined. I meet many sex partners because of my work; some of them treated me highly and advised to change my life. While others challenged me as people have diversified behaviors. Therefore I took advices of them to change my life. Let me tell you one reality; three years I was in my normal work, waiting customers in a club that you find me now. I was enjoying myself with taking alcoholic drinks, by chance one guest called me with a sign, I went and seat with him. He was a Belgian man; well educated and asked*

*a lot of information about my life. I told him everything about my life, I never hide him anything and after that he spent all the night with little rest in advising me and talking about his life changes. He advised me many things which latter gave lessons for my life. Then he promised to support and follow up me until my life is improving in a better way. I was hopeless, dissatisfied with my engagement and leading only daily life. But after I met him, I dedicated to change my life and now thanks to God I have better life than before. I am now fully confident enough and dream to change my life better than now. With the support and consistent advice of my Belgian friend, I have now a good income and capital with happy life.*

In this case, there are many prostitutes and sex workers in which their life is flourishing and improving through time with social intimacy and advice of their sex partners. In the same reason, sex workers grasp many cultural benefits and moral motivations from their customers. For example, they learnt positive and constructive ideas and cultures from their sex mates with different incidents as one benefit of tourism is exchange of ideas, values and cultural thoughts.

They may grasp a lot of moral ethics from their clients. My informant Beti shared her life and previous history in detail; during discussion she told me that many sex workers have the opportunity to learn and develop good moral values and ethics. According to her, there are guests who thought and preached them about respecting of humans, tolerance, honesty, generosity and believing on God. So in this case they acquire many lessons that help them to develop positive thinking and used this as their life doctrine and rule. For example, they learn to thank people, respect everybody, be keen and modes, be models and construct others to learn from them.

### **4.2.3 Psychological and moral benefits**

During my field work I found that prostitutes are socially stigmatized and neglected. They are mistreated and disrespected by the society. Therefore, they need good psychological and moral treatments from customers and the society as a whole. There are customers that understand problems of prostitutes. As many informants told me, countless sex workers are demoralized and less treated from the society. They don't have given any respect and humanity from the society where they are living in. And because of these reasons, they don't want to tell for others about their engagement and life history. They do not need to be known by others as they are sex

workers. This is what I also assured during field work observations that I have had in their sites. Due to this reason most of them do not want to share their life and were ignorant not to tell any information based on their life and engagement. But as I stay long with them and approach them very well, they began to communicate and talk with me.

According to sex worker informants sometimes the choices of customers are highly related to treatments of customers. CSWs sometimes received better treatment and respect from some local customers but mainly from foreign customers. If their customers do not give a respect for them, they will disrespect their customers in return. But unlike that most of their foreign clients are good in their treatment and respect. Customers of sex workers sometimes also tip up, invite touring with them, gave gifts and psychologically treated them very well. Because of these advantages most sex workers inclined to interact with foreign sex customers than locals. Based on it my informant Beti when I asked a question about why sex workers mainly prefer to approach foreigners than locals or *Habeshas*. She responded it in a way that strengthen and confirm what I have been told by others:

*Oh, we are right in approaching foreigners mainly white clients than local Habesha men, this is because primarily of their treatments given for us. Locals demoralized your privacy you know, he doesn't care about your moral value, and sometimes he may hit you missing good treatments and taking care of you. But foreign customers respect and treated us very well. They take care of you at all your stay with him. We females need treatment and caring from males. Because of this reason we prefer foreigners than locals mainly due to their treatments not because of their payment. You know there are many locals who can able to pay more than foreigners but we usually aspire to have foreign customers than locals. This is what most of us wishes to have every day. However locals understood and perceive it as we prefer foreigners because of their payment or to get much more money than locals but the reality is not.*

From the above case we can understand that prostitutes received different moral and psychological treatments from customers. Psychological and moral treatments given to prostitutes vary from one customer to another. It tells us how treatments of customers vary one from another. This tells us how prostitutes respect and good treatment builds their moral than good payment. During this study I understood that many sex workers require treatment and

respect from customers and the society. They need the society to develop positive attitude towards their work. Most of them aspire good treatment and open discussion for interests in a way what they freely involve to express their interest. And as some of them told me during interview, they get customers sometimes who well treat them psychologically and morally. This treatment gives them strength and moral to improve their life from poverty. They need to win their life from using their earnings and wishes to leave out from the life of sex work for ever. Beti here also told me this idea genuinely:

*As you see I am still alive thanks to God, but most of my friends that I know in sex work are passed away. This might be due to lack of moral and psychological treatment, not because of poverty, just money is paper, it is nothing. But treatment makes your life to flourish, better as well as renewed your mind and thinking.*

Some of them neglect themselves from the society where they are living their own life alone. Their grievance about the society makes them to be cruel and careless about life and other people. Because of this they are neutral; they have no any social relationship with others. They live their own life as an isolated part of the society.

## Chapter Five

### 5. Lives of sex workers in sex tourism

#### 5.1 Impacts of sex work on sex workers and the hosting community

Sex work and prostitution life in general have an impact on the tourist hosting community. As various studies done in the area of sex tourism in many countries showed, sex tourism has many diversified influences on the hosting community. The findings that I brought for this study also revealed that sex work have many disadvantages to the people of the country and sex workers themselves. According to informants who involved in the interview of this study, sex work is now becoming expanding in our country particularly in tourist destination areas and it have many social, economical, cultural and health impacts on the community of the visited areas. It has many psychological and moral impacts mainly on the newly grown generations, students and particularly on sex workers themselves.

My informant Leyila, who is working in a hotel as a door attendant, explained the impact and influence of sex work as follows:

*Sex work has many disadvantages mainly on sex workers. It has many health and moral impacts. They faced susceptibility of various types of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/ AIDS, syphilis, fistula and other diseases. For example, I remembered a prostitute who went out from room shouting and crying after she entered. And the other one is over sex; many sex workers faced this problem from customers. There are incidents sometimes where one sex worker served for two or three customers without extra payment. They are also forced to commit unethical and uncommon sex practices with customers. These kinds of sex practices are uncommon in our culture and lead females to various kinds of diseases. For example there was an Arab guest in our hotel who brought many prostitutes and forced them to have anal and oral sex. One day one of the prostitutes left out from his room angrily and sorrow face. I asked her what she encountered inside and she replied me that 'he is not a good man; you know he asked me anal sex in which even I hate to listen'. Sex work also caused transmission of different types of skin diseases from one another. This is because there are many people who have skin problems. It caused infection of womb and unwanted pregnancy on sex*

*workers; it is particularly caused if both of them drink and consumed more alcoholic drinks and committed unsafe sex. Moral damage and sometimes physical harassment like hitting of sex workers by their mates is another impacts of sex work. For example, one white customer brought a lady from club to our hotel. They consumed alcohol but in reverse the woman was over drunk and entered to their room. However, the sex worker could not make safe sex properly with the man, he told her to be cool again and again but she couldn't. After that you know what he did, he paid her and called a guard to leave out her from his room, then she left out and went to her home in the night. You know for instance this causes moral damage on her and demoralizes her. There are also sometimes cases in which they couldn't get their payment positively and peacefully. There are customers who refused to pay payments to sex workers. All these are impacts and disadvantages of sex work on sex workers.*

Many sex workers encounter various forms of influences and violation of their personal rights from customers. Sex work also caused a variety of social and health problems on the hosting societies. Hizkael informant of me in this study expressed the impact of sex tourism as:

*Sex work caused many social, psychological and health problems on sex workers. One it caused sexual violation and rape on married women, mothers and students and under ages. Secondly, it caused high rate of separation of husbands and wives or divorce, which in turn lead children without parents and guardians. And it leads females to practice unwanted and unnecessary sexual relationships. Thirdly, sex work causes transmission and expansion of various types of sexually transmitted diseases. Lastly, sex work brings to mistrust and lies between boyfriends and girl friends or fiancés. This in turn causes separation of spouses and fiancés.*

Sex work and the expansion of activity of sex work have another influence on the people of the country. Some local indigenous cultures might be eroded or totally eliminated through time. It spoils and through time damages the original and local cultures and traditions. People travel from one country to another commonly to visit uncommon and unique culture and living system of people different from their country. But if one culture dominate and overwhelmed the other, there should be universality of cultures because of the domination of other mainly the civilized

western cultures. It is common that culture and tradition of the developed countries dominated the developing native cultures, way of life and thinking. The culture and thinking of western countries is taken and accepted by the people of the developing countries as a modern and civilized way of life. It is taken as an expression of modernization and civilization. Therefore, loss of local identity and values are one impact and influence of sex work and sex tourism in general.

Pimp Lema during interview stated the following idea:

*... Today a lot of adult people are becoming careless. Locally grown cultures and traditions are washing away. Respecting and supporting each other seems to have lasted. Respecting old ages and protecting our national prides are declining. New and unfamiliar cultures are growing faster. For example valentine day, thank you giving day and other new cultures are dominating olden traditions.*

The influence and impact of sex work is very high to change the attitude and mentality of the people of the visited countries. Informant Sinshaw, who is a head waiter in a hotel, told me the following ideas about influence of sex tourism on the hosting community:

*Sex tourism has a great impact on the new generation of the country mainly on teenagers and students. The main disadvantage of sex tourism is inflicting or changing the normal traditions of a society. It spoils the thinking and culture of local people or society. It expands unwanted sexual relationships and it causes high divorce in the country. Even it leads the society to the practice of polygamy and materialistic thinking to the people of the tourist destined areas. It is very difficult to defend and tackle this form of cultural invasion; once it spread over the country you can't easily check it. It leads to materialistic idea to develop on youngsters.*

This shows that how sex work and sex tourism affect a certain country in contaminating their local indigenous culture and disseminating a newly or unfamiliar culture or tradition to the people of tourist hosting country.

### **Safety**

The safety of sex workers is also at risk, there is no any legal way and regulation that helps sex workers to receive their payments from customers. It is one challenge and impact of sex workers

on their daily life and engagement. One informant of me whom I interviewed about impact of sex tourism expressed the situation as follows:

*Disagreement in payment is common in some cases here in the hotel where I work in. For instance, once upon a time I remember that two Sudanese men who live in Saudi Arabia came with two Ethiopian sex workers. They entered to the room and spent some two or three hours together in the room. Then the women asked their payments from their customers but the men refused to pay for them. They disagreed and dialogued for some minutes; then our security guards interfere and tried to mediate them but they couldn't negotiate. The sex workers replied as they were not leave out until they are paid and finally we let them out from the room without any payment. This is because we always give priority to hotel guests, they went out with sorrow. I saw this situation recently six months ago. And in some cases there are situations in which one guest brings a lady and sexed by rotation. One friend of him waits in the bath room until he finishes sex and let him to go and have sex with the woman. They sexed her turn by turn, which is uncommon and bad for her health and moral value.*

Sex workers encountered much physical and sexual violence from their sex mates in various occasions and days. They are forced to have unsafe and abnormal sexual practices with customers and are pushed to consume substances and drugs without their free will and interest. As informants told me in the study, there are customers who asked and sometimes forced sex workers to have anal and oral sex. Some also need to make unusual form of sexual practices like penis sacking. And as informants participated in the interview told me that there are many sex workers who disagreed and left out alone from rooms with disappointment and with sorrow face. Their distress and grief face represents as something that faced CSWs from customers. This disappointment resulted from uncommon sex desires and interests of customers.

### **Social effect: Drop out from education or regular employment**

According to informants whom I interviewed during field work I heard the following detailed information:

*Sex work has impacts on the image of the country and many teen agers and students began to involve in the practice of sex work. Hence, because of this*

*situation, Performance of students in their learning decreases and there is high rate of attrition from school as many girls and students began to involve in sex and sex related businesses. Many people are becoming victims of drugs and prohibited substances. There are also a lot of youngsters and teen agers who are victimized and influenced by pornographic films and sometimes they practice it which leads and initiates them to practice unsafe sexual relationships at their teen ages. Their involvement of sexual practices at their teenage in return exposed to fistula, unwanted pregnancy and various types of sexually transmitted diseases. All these impacts are resulted from the expansion of sex work and sexual exploitation in the hosting country.*

In relation to the expansion of sex tourism in the country, materialistic thinking is growing in the mind and thinking of the young generations particularly. The newly grown generations think and develop an easy and short ways of gaining earnings and develop a kind of rapid economic development without reasonable tasks and fewer efforts.

The other effects of sex tourism and expansion of CSW is crime related impacts. There should be also high rate of delinquency, robbery, theft and disobedience because of the expansion of sex tourism and prostitution. Prohibited drugs and substances should be sold openly and used by the community buying from the available areas. Commander Gaddissa an informant of me whom I met in the field at one nearest police station in the capital told me the following:

*CSWs mainly engaged for business during night. As this is comfortable time for many disobedient and illegal people to do complicated crimes. Many complicated crimes are done and charged at night in relation to sex work. There are CSWs who assist foreigners in the transferring of prohibited drugs. For example, we captured many drugs like Hashish, Shisha and cannabis, which sometimes called as ganja or kirtas locally. We documented these prohibited drugs in our office not to easily transfer to other people. Few CSWs also appeal to our officers when they looted their Jewelries like Gold and money too. Cases of rape and sexual harassment are also registered sometimes. In relation to this I remember one sex worker who committed suicide because of her enforcement to make unprotected sex with a customer. Other than these cases, many disagreements and fights between customers and CSWs; between CSWs and strangers and other people*

*recorded and brought to our office. There are also killing activities and trials rarely brought to us. Two car accident cases that lead to the death of four people are registered. One sex worker was also killed due to her refusal of giving her earnings to strangers and many cases are brought to our office which is related to CSW.*

Many hidden crimes and related delinquencies are resulted in some cases due to the prevalence of sex work. Some of these cases are brought to the police while many are not brought to police. As prostitution is growing through time, there are people who are pro and against sex work. Some says that it is unethical and immoral practice in Ethiopia and should be illuminated and the other group says it is normal if it brings currency why not it is allowed to be freely practiced in Ethiopia. I got these ideas mainly from informants of this study but the majority was against of the expanding of sex work in the country.

## **Chapter Six**

### **6. Conclusions**

In this chapter an attempt will be made to summarize and present a conclusion remark about the major findings of the study. In this chapter here below I attempt to finalize the main causes of prostitution, its current status, problems faced by prostitutes at work and the victims of sex tourism as well as the main parties involved in contacting sex workers are assessed.

#### **6.1 Concluding Remarks**

Commercial sex work is on the rise in Ethiopia particularly in the Addis Ababa. Contemporarily Addis Ababa is selected as a comfortable place for hosting many national and international conferences. For conference and other tasks a number of foreigners from Africa and other continents visited the country daily. In relation to this countless number of females began to involve in prostitution to earn money and a form of bringing from customers. The practice of sex work in the capital is escalating from time to time as the number of men who demand paid sex is increasing.

As we know Addis Ababa is a seat of many national, continental and international organizations due to this many foreigners settled in the capital and others come for work and other tasks in various seasons. People working in these organizations coupled with few tourists who came for visiting fueled sex tourism in Ethiopia in the same way as the most visited countries of the world. Directly or indirectly many foreigners who entered to the country involved to have paid sex with prostitutes.

Today many teen ager youngsters are smuggling to sex work as the living conditions are highly on the increase. Tourist flows in the country are getting better and better from time to time. In relation to this many establishments and brothels are building up in the country mainly in tourist destination sites. A lot of clubs, hotels, restaurants, lodges, guest houses and other establishments are also rapidly constructing. Many red light districts are also opening in the capital today. Following the opening and availability of these establishments and increasing numbers of foreigners in the country a lot of females and males in some cases are engaging in prostitution. Sex work today is perceived as a high yielded work.

As I observed and get from informants sex work is becoming like well recognized ordinary jobs in Ethiopia. Prostitution is becoming a means of survival and a way of bringing currencies and wealth. As I found through my study many females are victims of sex work. Females of different socio-economic background involve in sex work with foreigners particularly. Mothers, married, unmarried, divorced, students, domestic servants, teen age girls, employed and none employed women even artists and model lists in some cases participate in prostitution. But the degree of their involvement to prostitution varies from one category of women to another. Some involve in hidden way while others involve openly in sex work. Particularly students including teen agers, street females, Arab returnees, bar ladies and divorced females took the highest share of prostitution. Ones they entered to the life of prostitution they don't get out from the practice. It is very difficult to leave prostitution after they involved ones.

The number of pimps and brokers are also increasing through time in relation to the growing demands of sex workers. Many pimps contact prostitutes with customers and received a payment either from both sides or only from sex workers as a commission. Sex workers have different socio- economic back ground but engaged to earn business. In return for their services pimps and brokers receive almost more than one third earnings of sex workers and a form of tips or gifts from customers. For example one pimp told me that he earned 35% of her payments from one sex worker. In the city I found many pimps that engaged in contacting sex workers and customers. Some took it as their major job and while other brokers contact sex workers and count it as their secondary job. In the study I identified Taxi drivers, bell boys, security guards, receptionists, local guides, some hotel managers and supervisors involved in contacting prostitutes with customers.

Prostitutes contacted customers either through agents or by themselves. They meet customers by pimps, receiving calls directly from their ex-customers or going and waiting to various establishments. From these sex workers some of them work with short term negotiations and others are fulltime sex workers. Prostitutes have also peak seasons, peak days and hours for work. There are seasons in which the demand of sex workers is heightened and down at some seasons. It is highly related to peak seasons of tourist flows and other reasons. As I learned from the study Thursday, Friday and Saturday are peak days of sex workers. Many customers move to various establishments and contact prostitutes with high payments. Prostitutes have also peak working hours and as I identified from 10:00 pm in the evening to 3:00 are very hot and peak

hours for sex workers. In relation to seasons, from the beginning of November to the end of May are the busiest seasons for prostitutes as there are large demands of sex workers in these seasons. From the study extreme poverty, peer influence, educational failures, the need to leave out from their country, unemployment, the need to earn quick money or income, substance abuse, separation of spouses, homelessness due to family conflicts, separation of parents or broken families, sexual violence and ill-treatment from parents and spouses are identified as the main root causes of prostitution in the country. But economical problems and the need to earn extra wealth are the main reasons for their engagement.

In this study many forms of challenges of commercial sex workers are identified. Prostitutes faced many problems when they are at home. These problems originate from different angles. The challenges are categorized as natural and human originated problems. Sex workers faced social stigma and discrimination. They are humiliated by various people at work and at their localities. Sometimes they are asked to make free and unprotected sex with pimps, hotel managers and supervisor, strangers, customers.

When I undertake this study I found two contradicting ideas on the expansion of sex work and sex tourism in general. There are groups who are pro sex work and against the growing of sex work and sex tourism in the country. When I interviewed I found some informants who supported the practice of sex work. This group argues that sex work should be well recognized in Ethiopia because it is one form of bringing foreign currency to the country and is a means of survival for many prostitutes and pimps. They added that it is one form of minimizing joblessness in the country.

Many benefited from the practice and industry of sex tourism. It is the life and means of survival for many poor people. A lot of prostitutes, pimps and brokers changed their life receiving payments from sex workers and their customers. There are also many husbands and families or folks of prostitutes who are highly dependent and benefited from earnings of sex workers. Sex work furnished many material benefits to sex workers and their relatives and husbands. Therefore this group concluded that CSW should not be stopped but it should be legal and recognized work.

While the opposite group contends that sex work should be minimized and illuminated as it spoils many teen age girls and students to engage in prostitution. This group debates that sex work is not well supported as our identity and it is against of our moral, cultural and religious

values. Prostitution is perceived as evil deeds of foreigners and is brought and introduced by the whites. This group further claim that prostitution leads many females and young generation to develop a kind of materialistic thinking and sex work is an agent that brings many sexual and non-sexual diseases. Skin disease, bad smelled breathing and addiction are mentioned as non-sexual caused diseases. And the group finalized their argument that CSW should be illuminated and stopped as it is immoral, unethical against of our identity. The practice of sex work is no more supported and recognized by the people and government of the country.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Background Profile of Informants Participated in study

**Table 1 Profile of Sex Workers Informants**

No	Name of Informants	Sex	Age	Educational Background	Locality or Place of origin	Marital status
1	Makda	F	18	Elementary	Ambo	Unmarried
2	Meklit	F	21	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Addis Ababa	Unmarried
3	Askale	F	25	Elementary	Wollo	Divorced
4	Kalikidan	F	20	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	Addis Ababa	Unmarried
5	Kidist	F	18	Elementary	Jimma	Married
6	Seble	F	26	Elementary	Awassa	Married
7	Mahider	F	24	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Nazret	Unmarried
8	Fikreaddis	F	24	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Bahirdar	Unmarried
9	Azeb	F	23	5 <sup>th</sup> grade	Metu	Unmarried
10	Hilina	F	22	Elementary	Mekele	Unmarried
11	Titi	F	19	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Addis Ababa	Unmarried
12	Saba	F	17	Elementary	Gondar	Unmarried
13	Sara	F	23	-----	Harrar	Married
14	Beti	F	35	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Ziway	Divorced
15	Mekdi	F	17	Elementary	Tepi	Unmarried
16	Aster	F	28	Elementary	Gondar	Married
17	Meseret	F	20	Elementary	Debremarkos	Unmarried
18	Elsa	F	24	Elementary	DireDawa	Divorced
19	Winta	F	21	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Addis Ababa	Unmarried
20	Hana	F	23	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	Adigrat	Married
21	Mahlet	F	18	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wollo	Unmarried
22	Liya	F	26	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Ambo	Divorced
23	Samri	F	25	Elementary	Arsi	Unmarried
24	Abeba	F	21	Elementary	Bahirdar	Unmarried
25	Rahel	F	22	Degree	Dessie	Unmarried
26	Ribka	F	20	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Debrebirhan	Unmarried
27	Meti	F	21	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	Shashemene	Unmarried
28	Hirut	F	17	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Addis Ababa	Unmarried
29	Kidist*	F	36	Elementary	Ambo	Married

\*Former prostitute

**Table 2: Profile of Informants of Bellboys, Security guards and Door Attendants, Hotel Managers and supervisors, Receptionists, Head waiters, Sex Workers, Driver Informants, pimps, Driver Brokers, Local Guides and Police Commanders who participated in the interview.**

No	Name	Sex	Age	Level of education	Occupation
1	Wolde Gabriel	M	25	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Bellboy
2	Kelbersa	M	29	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Bellboy
3	Simon	M	26	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	Bellboy
4	Ebsa	F	16	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Bellboy
5	Momina	F	22	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Cashier
6	Meron	F	26	Diploma	Security guard
7	Helen	F	19	Certificate	Security guard
8	Leyila	F	23	Diploma	Door attendant
9	Dereje	M	32	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver
10	Martha	F	27	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Door attendant
11	Tewodros	M	28	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Security guard
12	Sancho	M	34	Degree	Head of Security guard
13	Hizkael	M	36	Degree	Hotel manager
14	Solomon	M	38	diploma	Hotel manager
15	Mr. Kassahun	M	43	Diploma	Hotel manager
16	Rahel	F	21	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Receptionist
17	Taytu	F	27	Diploma	Receptionist
18	Saba	F	19	Diploma	Receptionist
19	Meron	F	26	Diploma	Receptionist
20	Lackech	F	22	Degree	Receptionist
21	sintayehu	M	31	Diploma	Head waiter
22	Sinshaw	M	28	Degree	Head waiter
23	Geremew	M	24	Diploma	Banqueter
24	Mengesha	M	22	Certificate	Banqueter
25	Gaddissa	M	38	Degree	Police commander
26	Habtamu	M	28	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Local guide
27	Sileshe	M	21	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Local guide
28	Eyasu	M	29	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver
29	Fasil	M	32	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver
30	Elias	M	27	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Driver and broker
31	Mamush	M	32	7 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver and broker
32	Esayas	M	26	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Driver and broker
33	Teddy	M	29	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver and broker
34	Hailu	M	25	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver and broker
35	Kiflu	M	31	10 complete	Driver and broker
36	Gulilat	M	26	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver and broker
37	Manyazewal	M	23	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Driver and broker
38	Sami	M	24	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Driver and broker

39	Jambo	M	31	Certificate	Pimp
40	Biruk	M	22	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Pimp
41	Seble	F	30	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	Pimp
42	Samri	F	27	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Pimp
43	Lemessa	M	29	10 <sup>th</sup> complete	Pimp
44	Lemma	M	25	8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Pimp
45	Yalew	M	33	7 <sup>th</sup> grade	Pimp

## Appendix 2: Guiding Questions

### 1. Interview Guide for Addis Ababa Sex Worker Informants

#### Introduction

The overall purpose of this research is to produce an ethnographic account of sex tourism and nature of sex work in Addis Ababa. It is mainly due attention on the causes, effects and prospects of sex work and sex tourism in general. Major sites and places of their engagements are also due emphasized. For that reason the following guiding questions are set out for prostitute informants.

#### 1) Personal Information

- ✓ Name (optional) \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Sex \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Age \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Educational background \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Marital status \_\_\_\_\_

1. Would you tell me your name, your work and where you originally came from?
2. Would you tell me about your age, marital status and level of education?
3. What do you know about sex tourism?
4. How many years did you spend through this work and what is your future plan or motive this after?
5. How do you contact your customers daily, is it with brokers or by other ways? If you contact with brokers, how much would you charge the brokers?
6. What are the factors that push you to lead life with sex worker and how do you begin it?

7. What challenges and hardships do you encounter daily when you meet with you engage at work to meet your customers?
8. Would you discuss how your work benefits you, your families and your life in general? And are there any people whom you are helping in from your income?
9. What are the disadvantages of your work and advantages of your work; would you tell me the main challenges and prospects of your work in detail?
10. Would you discuss how you and your work as a whole are perceived by the public, your families, relatives, colleagues, co-workers and customers? Or you work without the knowledge of your families and relatives?
11. What is your general view and understanding of sex work?
12. Did you ever take addicted drugs, substances, drinks and other things? Have you ever gone to health centers for medical care and services?
13. Why you choose to engage in sex work? Why don't you try another job opportunities?
14. Who are your usual customers mostly? Would you tell me their nationality if you know? And what kind of prostitutes took the largest share in your work place/s?
15. What is, in your opinion, the reason that many tourists are interested to have sex with Ethiopian females?
16. How much do your customers charged per night and per short stay? Would you tell me your lowest and largest income for per night and per short sex work?
17. If you are interested, would you discuss about your life history and family background in general?
18. What actions do you suggest to be taken to minimize the growing or expansion of sex tourism in Addis Ababa and Ethiopia as a whole?
19. Is there anything the government could do to improve the situation of prostitutes?

## **2. Interview Guide for Interviewing of Bellboys, Security guards and Door Attendants, Hotel Managers and supervisors, Receptionists, Head waiters, Sex Workers, Driver Informants, pimps, Driver Brokers, Local Guides and Police Commanders**

### **Introduction**

The main purpose of this research is to generate an anthropological account of the causes, challenges and prospects of sex tourism. It is also conducted to identify the major places of sex

work places and establishments and identify the most vulnerable groups to sex work. This is an interview guide set out for many mixed informants that are listed in the aforementioned.

## 2) Personal Information

- ✓ Name \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Sex \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Age \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Work or position \_\_\_\_\_
- ✓ Educational Background \_\_\_\_\_

1. Tell me about yourself? Including your name, age and work as well? How many years did you work in this field?
2. Do you have any idea about sex work and sex tourism?
3. Who are sex workers in relation to tourists in your opinion? What kind of women engaged as sex worker in the city? Do you know their economic and family background?
4. Which nation tourists is mostly need to have sex with local prostitutes? Why they choose have paid sex with prostitutes?
5. Do you know how much do women charged for sex per night and per short? If you know, would you tell me the lowest and highest charge for them?
6. Do you have information about the working place and sites of sex workers? In which places and establishments are these kinds of females engaged?
7. Do you know how sex workers contact their customers? Are there brokers or pimps who negotiated them with tourists or contact by themselves?
8. If they contact with brokers and pimps, how much do they are expected to pay for brokers and pimps?
9. Are there females who asked you to contact them with tourists and are there tourists who asked you to bring prostitutes?
10. Why many females need to engage as prostitutes and why it is rapidly expanding in Addis Ababa?
11. Do you know any woman or women who were sex workers before but now changed their life through this business and left out from sex work?
12. Would you have any incident that you never forget or surprised you when you think of sex work mainly in relation to the life of sex workers?

### **3. Guiding Questions for focus Group Discussion with some prostitutes**

#### **Introduction**

The main aim of this research is to study and understand the main challenges and prospects of sex tourism, to identify females and customers involved in sex tourism. For that reason the following main questions are set out for the Focus Group Interview and discussion. It is organized for some sex workers at their home.

- 1) What is your opinion towards your work and sex tourism?
- 2) Would you discuss why females decided to engage in prostitution?
- 3) Can you discuss the main driving factors to engage in prostitution?
- 4) Do you know which areas and establishments have many sex workers which kind of sex workers are the highest number?
- 5) Do you know the origin of many sex workers, are the majority from the capital or other areas of the country?
- 6) Would you tell me about the challenges and prospects of CSW in the city?
- 7) Can you tell me how you and other sex workers contact customers? Are there any agents who served in contacting sex workers with customers?
- 8) How much would you charge for pimps and brokers for their service?
- 9) Are there sex workers who went out from prostitution?
- 10) Why do many sex workers prefer to contact foreigners than locals?
- 11) How do you face the challenges occurred from diverse sides?
- 12) Do you have anything to add and discuss which is relevant to the topics we have raised and discussed so far?
- 13) Thank you for your time and all the valuable information.