

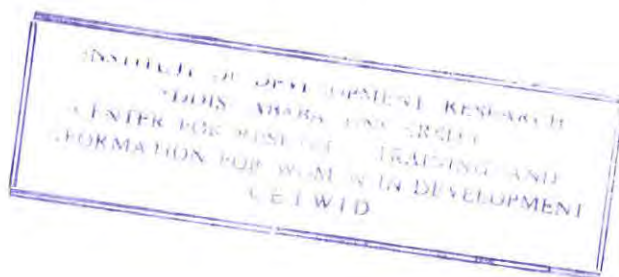
**An Assessment of Causes and Consequences of  
Commercial Sex Work in Adama City,  
Oromia National Regional State**

**A Thesis submitted to The Institute of Gender Studies  
Addis Ababa University**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement of Master of Arts  
in Gender Studies**

**By:**

**Worknesh Bekele**




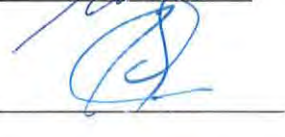

**August, 2007**

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
INSTITUTE OF GENDER STUDIES

Title: An Assessment of Causes and Consequences of Commercial Sex  
Work in Adama City, Oromia National Regional State

Name of student Workenesh Berete Signature 

**Approved by the Examining Board:**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Signature</u>	<u>Date</u>
Advisor <u>Eshetu Gormu</u>	<u></u>	
Examiner <u>Tsefe Tsegaye</u>	<u></u>	
Internal Examiner <u>Emebet Mulayeta</u>	<u></u>	

## **Acknowledgements**

Word alone can not express my sincere acknowledgement to, Dr. Eshetu Gurmu, my thesis advisor, for his unreserved constructive advice, guidance and critical comments during the thesis work.

I would not forget my family, my friends specially W/ro Amsalu Hunde, for sharing ideas and give me moral support during my study. Besides, I would also like to extend my thanks to many others who directly or indirectly, contribute for the success of my work.

I am also grateful to Oromia Women's Affairs Bureau, my employer, for sponsoring my study.

My thanks go to Addis Ababa University and Institute of Gender Studies for financial supports to my thesis work.

My heart-felt thanks also go to all respondents to my questionnaires and particularly those who gave me their full cooperation in in-depth interviews, and focus group discussion. I am also indebted to data collectors and supervisors and also thank W/ro Aynalem Megersa who helped me in encoding data in the computer.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation for the Administration of Kebele 06 who supporting me in sharing their offices during focus group discussions.

On top of all, I thank God without whose help is impossible to accomplish my study and reach this time.

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## Glossary

<i>Arekie</i>	Locally prepared distilled alcoholic drink
<i>Arekie bet</i>	A house where Arekie is sold
<i>Chat</i>	Leaves of the plant <i>Cathea edulis</i> grow locally and chewed.
<i>Gulit</i>	A small market stall where items such as fruits and vegetables, spices, charcoal, breads rolls and the like are sold
<i>Kebele</i>	Refers to the smallest administrative unit of the local government structure in Ethiopia.
<i>Tej</i>	<i>Locally brewed beer made from honey and <b>hops</b></i>
<i>Tella</i>	Locally brewed beer-like drink made from grains and hops
<i>Wereda</i>	An administrative unit that at least two kebeles.

## ACCRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
FHI	Family Health International
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labor Organization
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
NCTPE	National Committee on Traditional Practices of Ethiopia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
WAO	Women's Affairs Office
WHO	World Health Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

## ABSTRACT

The situation of most of the people in the developing countries is worse due to extreme poverty for majority of men and women. The situation is however worst for women. As employment opportunities are very limited for women with no or limited skills, a number of women are engaged in commercial sex work as a ways of survival. On the other hand we live in an era of where HIV/AIDs has become the threat of not only health but also development of economy of a country.. Thus, this situation draws attention to further research to take the necessary action.

This study was made with the objective of assessing the situation and problems of commercial sex workers in Adama city and to identify some socio-economic and socio-cultural factors that lead women to involve in commercial sex work; and to identify challenges that women face in the life of sex business. To this end, the study utilized both qualitative and quantitative method. In the qualitative method in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were employed, while the cross-sectional survey method was applied to collect quantitative data. In in-depth interviews 13 volunteer commercial sex workers were participated, while four focus group discussions consists 6-8 members each were conducted. In addition, a total of 300 women were asked to report on the background, reasons to join commercial sex work, the challenges they have even faced, etc, to generate quantitative data.

The study revealed a number of causes that lead women to commercial sex work. These include unemployment, economic need, the urge to support family, parental death, divorce, peer initiation and abduction. But, in general the outstanding case that women forced to join sex business is economic problem that they face in their life. A number of women/girls enter to the business due to the absence of other job. Factors such as having a better life through commercial sex work; better payment to be financially guaranteed is the major causes to the involvement of women in the commercial sex work.

The result of this research also indicated that a number of women who are involved in the sex business are exposed to tremendous challenge; such us physical, sexual, psychological, and social stigma. They are also exposed to different sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS. These women are found to be suffering from hitting, beating, and body injury by their clients. They also face sexual abuse in their daily life. They are also subjected to sever painful sexual intercourse including abnormal (anal and oral) sex which affects their health. In general, women in this business are denied their human rights.

Women who are involved in commercial sex work are also victims of social stigma. They are isolated, neglected and discriminated by the society in general. The negative attitude of the society towards commercial sex workers made them to be isolated from social interaction they have with their families, relatives, neighbors and friends.

It is concluded that the necessary efforts should be done by the government, non-governmental organizations and civic societies like women's and youth associations to eliminate the challenges of commercial sex workers.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Commercial sex work, formerly known as prostitution, is one of the phenomena in the social life of the human beings that has been practiced in different parts of the world for a long period of time. Even though its origin and exact time has not been pointed, some literatures (Bassermann, 1967; Kempadoo and Doezema, 1988, Freedman, 2002) indicated that it existed from the time of ancient Greece and Rome. As studies and surveys undertaken by different scholars (Wilkinson, 1955; Mcleod, 1982 in Phoenix, 1999) revealed, it has appeared at different times and forms for different purposes (politics, economic, culture, religion and the like). Commercial sex work is regarded as one of the moral and legal issues that have been controversial among different scholars like sociologists (persons who study social organization and structure of the society), moralists (who have strong ideas about moral principles), traditionalists (persons who stick to traditional way of doing things and prefer tradition to modern ideas) and legal persons (McMahon, 1988; Renzeiti, Eleson & Kennedy, 2001). In addition to this, it has become one of the areas of study undertaken by professionals like psychoanalysts, psychologists, social workers, health personnel, gender activists and other experts.

Different studies indicated that commercial sex work is an urban pathology since it is mostly practiced in towns. That means, commercial sex work is a typical act in places, where there are hotels, bars and restaurants, pensions and similar business activities undergone. Moreover, it is an activity where people from different ethnic groups with various languages, religion and culture meet. Client of commercial sex workers (usually males) involve in it for the satisfaction of sexual gratification, while women and others (such as pimps) take part for the purpose of earning income.

In addition to its existence over centuries and across the world, commercial sex work has developed and expanded in different places such as bar (those providing sexual service at drinking places), street (those looking for clients on the street), phone calling (those who wait for date at home) and the like (Aguilar and Lacsamana, 1996; Brock and Thistlethwaite, 2001;). The increasing and spreading of commercial sex work is started from the developed or Western world

and is believed to have expanded to the developing world through time especially among the urban dwellers (Almayehu, 1996). As a result of this, a number of women/girls are engaged in this high risk activity of physical, sexual, psychological and social abuse and contracting various types of STDs/STIs including the deadly HIV/AIDS and other venereal diseases in order to earn living (Farely and Kelly, 2000 cited in Bekele, 2003). In most cases, this kind of critical problems is the reflection of poverty which is one of the characteristics of developing countries (Muluembet, 2000; Brock and Thistlethwaite 2001).

The conditions and situations in which commercial sex work is undertaken vary from country to country, and from place to place. In some countries this activity is illegal whereas in others it is legal. Rules vary as to which roles in commercial sex work are illegal: being a client, or being a pimp. For instance, in Sweden it is legal to sell sex, but it is illegal to be a pimp, and since 1996 also to buy sexual services (Scambler and Scambler, 1999). The reason for this law is to protect commercial sex workers, as many of them have been forced into commercial sex activities by someone or by economic necessity. Here, commercial sex workers are generally viewed by the government as 'oppressed', while their clients are viewed as 'oppressors'.

In countries where commercial sex work is illegal, it is considered as crime and the practitioners are considered criminals under the law. For instance, in the People's Republic of China commercial sex work was prohibited by law in 1949. Similarly, in Japan the commercial sex work prevention law was passed in 1956 (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998). In case of Japan, one factor for the provision of commercial sex work by law is to pave the way for the convention adopted at the UN general assembly in 1949 against human trafficking and third party benefits from commercial sex work (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998). In addition to this, there is a belief that "one man and one woman" relationship must exist as a couple to establish a healthy family. In the United States of America, commercial sex work is prohibited in all of the states except the State of Nevada that allows licensed commercial sex workers with legal acceptance/protection. In America, the bases for their laws is religious thoughts specially that of Lutheran and Calvinist, which absolutely prohibit commercial sex work as it violets their moral norm and belief that everybody's emotional needs have to be satisfied in marriage alone.

On the other hand, in countries where commercial sex work is legal, practitioners have legitimate rights. They are protected by law and entitled to proper working conditions. They are considered as legitimate workers with the concern that they must be ensured and entitled to proper working conditions. For instance, in The Netherlands, commercial sex work is a legally permitted act, and commercial sex workers are provided with health and other social services. However, in respect to the legality of commercial sex work, there is a lot of violation especially against younger girls and women.

Due to the existence of different violation and exploitation of commercial sex workers commercial sex work is described as slavery. Women involved in this profession live a life of degradation and servitude. It exposes them to exploitation of their sexuality by others who benefit at their lives. Most of them are subjected to sexual and physical abuse and psychological mistreatment. In general, the social setting in which they are living are marked by abuse, they encounter not only client abuse but also persuaded by other people who live off their earnings (Schuler, 1986 cited in Kassahun, 1996).

Hence, it is with this understanding that the researcher planned to conduct a study aimed at exploring the magnitude of the problem of commercial sex workers in Adama city and to identify some socio-economic and cultural factors that contribute to the expansion of commercial sex work in general and the challenges that the women encounter in such business in particular.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

Commercial sex work has a number of interrelated harmful effects on the individuals who are involved in it in particular, and that of society in general. It exposes them to different social stigma, sexually transmitted infections, sexual and physical abuse, breakdown of family ties and many others social crises (Andargachew, 2004; Muluembet, 2000; Bekele, 2003). Sex work is described as experience of being hunted, dominated, harassed and battered. It is expressed as an act of violence against women and it is a violation of human rights (Farley et al, 1998; Farley and Kelly, 2000, cited in Bekele, 2003). Sex workers are vulnerable to exploitation at their workplaces and to violence at the hands of management, customers, law enforcement officials

and the public (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998) mainly due to the lack of international and local protection.

Different researchers (Renzetti, Edleson and Bergen 2001) said that in commercial sex activities, sexual and other physical abuse is the normative experience for women. The United Nations General Assembly of 1993 also considered forced commercial sex work as violence against women (UN, 1994).

Commercial sex work is a risky business. People who have many sexual partners have an increased risk of acquiring the STIs from one of the partners. A survey conducted in several cities during late 1990s by the Ministry of Health (2000) indicated that HIV infection rate among commercial sex workers in Adama was 65 percent. This rate is found to be the highest among all cities included in the study.

As already stated, the number of commercial sex workers in Ethiopia is increasing and expanding for different reasons (economic, socio-cultural, etc.) from time to time especially in urban areas. According to the 1994 Population and Housing Census results for Oromia, there were about 11,000 commercial sex workers in the region (CSA, 1998). This indicated the seriousness of the problem and attracted everybody's attention. To this end, continuous studies must be undertaken to address the problem of commercial sex workers and design programs and projects that help to minimize the number of women entering this activity.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Study**

### **1.2.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to assess the causes and problems of commercial sex workers in Adama city.

### **1.2.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To investigate some of the socio-economic causes of women's involvement in commercial sex work.
- To assess the consequences of commercial sex work; and
- To provide information that may help in minimizing the problems of commercial sex workers in Adama city.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This study is expected to provide answers to the following research questions.

1. What are the causes that attract women/girls towards commercial sex work?
2. What are the major problems faced by commercial sex workers? What is the future plan of the commercial sex workers?
3. What are the feelings/attitudes of commercial sex workers towards their activity?

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

It is revealed in different researches/studies that many women, who could be the major contributors for the development of the country, engage themselves in commercial sex work activities as a last resort to make a living. Due to the nature of the work, this segment of the society is experiencing miserable life situation (poor housing conditions and meager income), physical abuse (beating and battering) and psychological problem (lack of self confidence, depression, loneliness). Despite being part of a potential labor force, they are employed unproductively.

In view of the huge magnitude and long lasting repercussion of the problem of engaging in commercial sex work, it can certainly be argued that little efforts have been made to detect and minimize the problems. Had enough attention been paid to the problem by governments and other concerned bodies, commercial sex work would not have been expanded as a 'profession' accepted and by many women.

As already indicated this study tries to assess the causes and consequences of commercial sex work in Adama city. It is hoped that major challenges of the women/girls those involved in this activity will be identified. Thus, the findings of this research will inform and assist various government agencies and all other concerned bodies to identify the actions to be taken to alleviate problems faced by commercial sex workers. Moreover, the findings may also indicate future direction of research for those individuals who are interested in it.

Undertaking different studies is also believed to help evaluating the already started programs on problems related to commercial sex work, to know how far it has gone and document the changes being registered. And this in turn will be useful for governments, policy makers and planners to take the necessary action.

As the number of commercial sex workers is increasing and expanding in other parts of the country, it is believed that the results of this research can be replicated to other areas that have similar problems. Finally, the study can enrich the already existing knowledge and facts on the problems of commercial sex workers in the country.

### **1.6 Limitations of the Study**

This research is based on women who are involved in commercial sex work. However, due to time and financial constraints, the researcher did not include all types of commercial sex workers in the city. In this study, only commercial sex workers in hotels and bar and restaurants are included. Nevertheless, the study will hopefully provide insight how women's experience life in commercial sex work.

### **1.7 Definition of Basic Terms**

**Prostitution:**-The practice of engaging in relatively indiscriminate sexual activity, in general with individuals other than a spouse or friend, in exchange for immediate payment in money or other valuables (The New Encyclopedia Britannica Volume IX. 1986).

**Prostitute:** - A prostitute is an individual, female or male, who for some reward, monetary or otherwise, or some form of personal satisfaction other than purely for the gratification of an awareness of love, and as a part time or whole time profession, engages in normal or abnormal sexual intercourse with a number of persons, who may be of the same sex as, or the opposite sex to, herself or himself (Scott, 1968).\*

**Commercial Sex Worker (CSW):-** An individual who obtains monetary or material benefits in exchange for sexual intercourse with multiple partners and could be used interchangeably with the term prostitute.

## 1.8 Conceptual Framework of the Study

Various models have been developed and different explanations have been given by scholars why women/girls engage in commercial sex work. Some main models developed by different researchers were cited in Phoenix (1999). These are:

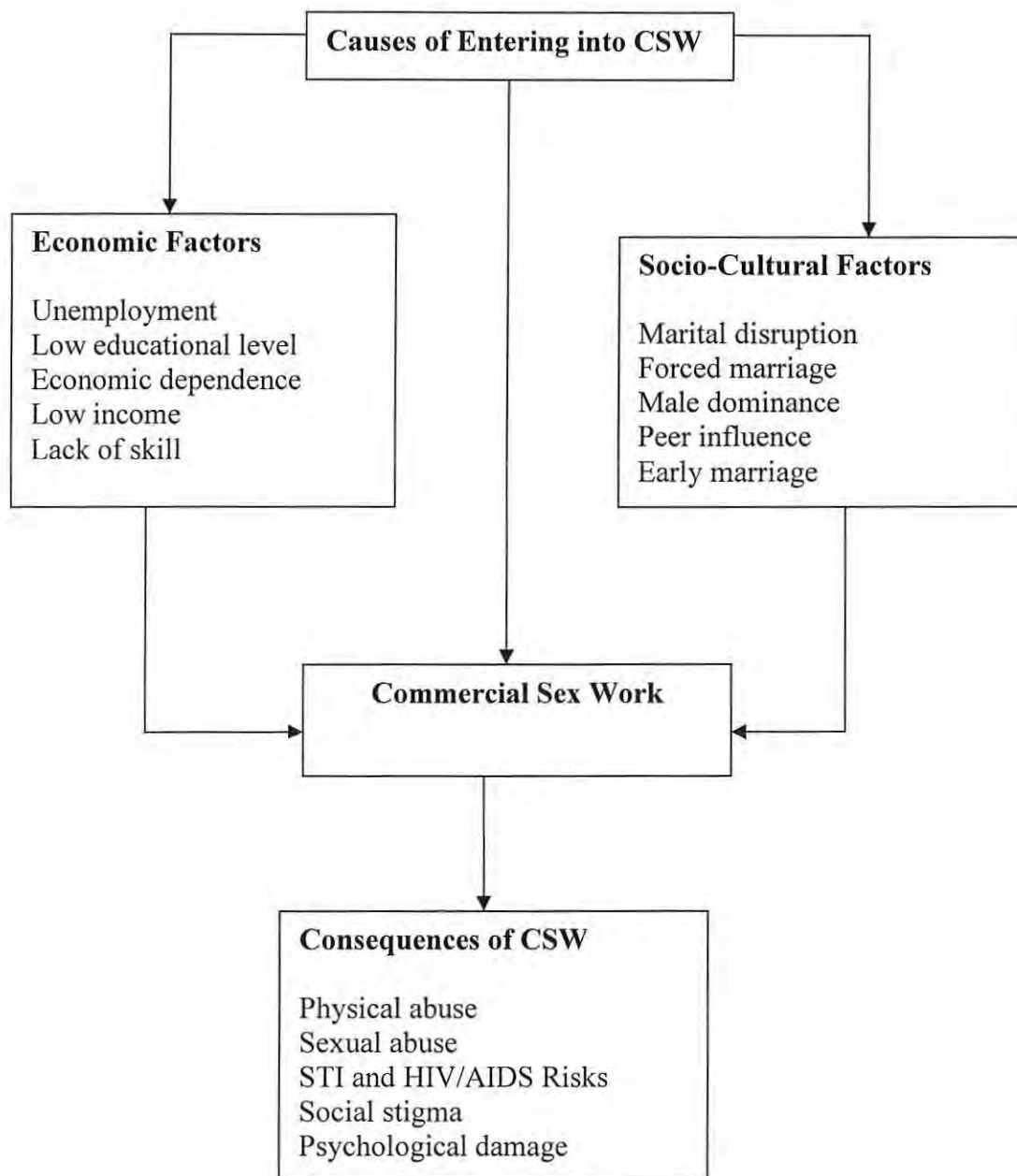
1. **The Pathological Explanatory Model:** - This model states that the cause of woman's engagement in commercial sex work is due to individual abnormality. This abnormality can be due to psychology and economic problem.
2. **The Economic Position and Poverty Explanatory Model:** - According to this model, women's engagement into prostitution is economic problem. Due to scarcity of job opportunity, they join this activity to earn income as economic option. Here poverty, unemployment, economic dependence, low income are mentioned as factors that compelled women to involve in prostitution.
3. **The Gender and Male Violence Explanatory Model:** - This model explains prostitution as a manifestation and result of men's superiority or control over women's sexuality. Sexual victimization is based upon its degree of male supremacy. It is one way in which men, the dominant status group control women. It suggests that women/girls engage in commercial sex work because of prior victimization by men. This includes sexual violence like rape, abduction and the like.

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\*The present study, however, deals only with female prostitute

Based on the above models and other literatures reviewed, the following simple framework is developed to analyze factors that influence women/girls to engage in commercial sex work and its impacts on them/commercial sex workers. As it is depicted in the framework the main causes that influence women to engage in commercial sex work are economic and socio-cultural factors. Due to lack of education, skill, and less opportunity to employment, women suffer from economic ill and are forced to join commercial sex work as one of available option. In patriarchal society, women are viewed as subordinate to men. Men supremacy over women is reflected in all structures. As a result, women are subjected to different sexual violence such as rape, abduction and physical abuse which finally lead them to join commercial sex work as a last resort.

Fig. 1. Conceptual Framework of Causes of Entering into CSW and its Consequences.



Source: Developed by the Author.

## **1.9 Organization of the Thesis**

The thesis is organized into eight chapters. The first chapter deals with background and statement of the problem, objectives, and research questions. The second chapter presents review of related literature. Chapter three presents research methodology and data sources. Chapter four focuses on description of the study area and characteristics of the sampled population, while the fifth and the six chapters discuss the major causes forcing the women/girls to enter in to commercial sex work and challenges faced by them in the sex business. In chapter seven, discussion of the major findings is presented. Finally, the last chapter deals with the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITRATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Theoretical Considerations

Basically, there are two main different theories with regard to commercial sex work. The first one is a theory that supports the decriminalization of commercial sex work as an institution (i.e., the sociological approach), while the other is a theory that rejects the decriminalization of commercial sex work (i.e., the feminist approach).

#### A. Sociological Approaches

Proponents of those who support the decriminalization of commercial sex work regard it as a necessary evil. They believe that eradication of commercial sex work would result in the rise of rape and other sexual offenses (Ong, 1993). Their reasoning is based on the notion of male incontinence (that is, the inability of men to control their sexual desires).

In order to eliminate these risks, they suggest different mechanisms under which commercial sex work could take places. These include segregated districts, licensing, and thorough medical inspection, etc., (Barnes and Teeters, 1961). Moreover, these theorists believe in and accept the commercialization of sexual activity as a part of life and focus on the socioeconomic welfare of women involved in the 'profession'. Due to this reason, they regarded commercial sex work as a 'necessary evil.'

From the view point of the supporters of decriminalization of commercial sex work, one could easily understand that this theory is male centered. Supporters of this theory argue that commercial sex work should exist in order to satisfy the sexual urge of men who could not able to control themselves or could not be controlled otherwise. This denotes the male sexual superiority over female indicating the prevalence of sexual violence and no respect for female as if they are considered as 'sex objects'. They were not able to consider several negative consequences it imposes on women. The second reason they raised is that it serves women as a means of financial sources. Here again they failed to look for other means of income for women involved in this activity. In general, it seems that this theory encourages and paves the way for the expansion of commercial sex work in the world to day. It also becomes one of the reasons to

push many potential young women to such activity as a last resort by isolating themselves from development program of any kind.

Moreover, they worry about the rise of rape in the absence of commercial sex work. However, practically the case of rape is found to be reported in a large number even in countries where commercial sex work is practiced openly like South Africa, and many others (Mitike, 2000; Yohannes 2003). Thus, in reality, it is not practical to minimize rape by allowing the existence of commercial sex work as this theory stated.

## **B. Feminist Approaches**

Radical feminist theory that prohibits the decriminalization of commercial sex work considers commercial sex work as a crime and the commercial sex workers as criminals. Like traditionalists, radical feminists reject the decriminalization of commercial sex work. Radical feminists view commercial sex work as a crime against women, just like job discrimination, rape, etc. Radical feminists regard commercial sex work as forced-sex and institution of gender inequality. They believe in the equalities of sexes and commercial sex work constitutes a violation of women's human rights (Fox-Genovese, 1991 cited in Yohannes, 1998).

Based on this theory, some countries incorporate the illegality of this profession in their legislation. Among these, the American Legal System is the typical example. In the United States of America, commercial sex work is prohibited in all the states with the exception of the state of Nevada that allows licensed commercial sex work.

Supporters of the feminist theory that rejects the decriminalization of commercial sex work are divided into two groups. The first group is those who found their basis on tradition and moral. The proponents of this theory are mostly traditionalists who give due consideration for the respect of belief, custom and religion. They worry about the break of rules and regulations by which the society is governed. The second group consists of radical feminists those who reject the decriminalization of commercial sex work and regard it as activity of gender discrimination, because women are exploited, violated and undermined.

## **2.2 Causes of Commercial Sex work**

Different studies reveal that there are many factors that forced women to join sex business. As stated in ILO report (1998), these factors comprise economic, social and political issues/matters. In many cases, sex work is often the only viable alternative for women in countries coping with poverty, unemployment, failed marriage and mainly family obligations, in the nearly complete absence of social welfare programs. For single mothers with children, it is often a more flexible, remunerative and less time consuming option than factory or service work (Hull and sulistyaninysin, 1998).

### **2.2.1 Economic Factors**

The poor and low standard of living is one of the reasons which lead women to join commercial sex work. One of the reasons for this cause is that in most cases women are denied right accesses to and control over recourses. They do not get educational opportunity, skill and knowledge that enable them to improve themselves. Especially in developing countries like Ethiopia, their only fate is to get married to 'husband' at their early ages instead of going to school. In addition, since the rural economy is almost subsistence, most of the women suffer from getting basic things to sustain their life.

Because of such unbearable life faced by women, they are forced to run away to urban areas in search of better life. However, since they do not have any skill and education which enables them to get better employment, the only chance waiting for them in urban is to be employed as housemaid or join commercial sex work (Yegomawork et al., 2003).

Extreme poverty at home also forces some girls to leave home in order to ease the family burden. The obligation to support the family financially and the extreme constrained labor market in the city force women/girls into commercial sex work. Girls who drop out of schools or even some graduates find it difficult to rely on family as their age advances in light of the lack of employment opportunities. The dominating majority group of young people that are victimized by this particular cause are school dropouts at various levels of the school system (Hashim, 1995). These girls eventually drift into commercial sex work as it seems to be the last resort that offers at least an immediate solution to their feelings of being burdens to families.

The severe economic problem that women face in their daily life leads women/girls to leave their family and parents for better life. They go into commercial sex work, because it is the only way that they could go on to survive rather than starving to death. Since most of these women do not have skill and education, the only alternative they have is to join the job of commercial sex work (Lakech 1991).

Thus, sex work is a means of earning income and maximizing economic opportunities for women/girls, in a situation where the labor market is very restricted. As a result, a number of women are seen to be involved in sex work that reflects the level of socio-economic development of the country.

### **2.2.2 Socio-Cultural Factors**

In developing countries like Ethiopia women and children are at risk because of various cultural beliefs and practices that have powerful influence on women's self images and the society's perception towards them. In addition, the cultural values that have contributed to women's subordination are manifested in every social institution (WAO et al. 2004).

In Ethiopia women and girls suffer from harmful traditional practices like early marriage and abduction (NCTPE, 2003). It is quite common that young girls, while going to school, to fetch water, or to go to the market are abducted, raped and forced to marry the perpetrators. This is because once they lose their virginity without marrying; they are considered non-marriageable (NCTPE, 2003). Abduction is practiced in some parts of the country and affects a life of many women. Abduction, as its definition shows, is a forceful action taken on women mostly with no consents. In some parts of the country it is a culturally condoned form of marriage arrangement. As a result, its occurrence reaches 69% at national level while it is 100% among certain ethnic group (WAO et al. 2004).

As indicated by (WAO et al. 2004) marriage presupposes the voluntary union of a man and a woman to live together and to share the burdens of life, marriage and abduction are two incompatible ideas. Abduction as it relates to forced marriage is an act of taking away a girl or a woman for the purpose of forming a permanent union between the abductor and the victim.

Consequently, such marriages do not last longer and usually break up, with the young women running away leaving their husbands and migrating to cities in search of a better life. Unfortunately, many of them end up being commercial sex workers (Yegomawork et al. 2003).

Early marriage is also one of the problems that expose women for different social and economic crises. In most parts of Ethiopia, girls do not have right to marry whom they want to marry and when to get married. They are given to the man they never knew. Moreover, they are forced to take responsibility of managing house and family which is beyond their capacity. The young woman who has not fully grown up to take the responsibility of parenthood and to be a wife will be subjected to psychological problems resulting in marital conflict, divorce and eventually migrate to cities in search of better life that often ends up in living on the street or as a commercial sex work (NCTPE, 1999).

### **2.2.3 Demographic Factors**

Migrants flow towards areas which are believed to be desirable for either economic or non-economic reasons. People migrate to cities mainly because of the attraction of urban life, i.e. in search of jobs, education and medical treatment. Besides those who came to cities in search of better standards of living, there are also those who came to cities with the intent of visiting their friends and families (Bethlehem, 2000).

Urbanization is one of the causes for the expansion and promotion of commercial sex work. Due to the establishment of different hotels, drinking houses and large as well as small shops, which are the features of the urban life, many people come to engage in the running of such hotels and drinking places, which indirectly lead women into commercial sex work.

Urbanization also led to migration of the active labor force from rural to urban. Explaining the situation Ottaway (1976:P.59) stated "The migrants are being thrust into the uncertain turbulence of the city where every person is a strange. They are forced to learn to survive in an environment that is completely artificial." Among the migrants, women are the ones who often come to towns in order to have modern life. Especially in developing countries like Ethiopia where different

facilities, modern infrastructure and social services like educational institutes and health services are concentrated in the few cities, the rate of female migration to urban center is high.

As it is indicated in the survey conducted by Kebede (1994), migrants often had heard exaggerated information about opportunities in the town. Majority of the migrants expect that they could get employment opportunity in cities and their income as well as livelihood would be improved highly if they moved to towns. In most cases, things would change. They cannot completely fit into the urban life. It is difficult to cope up with the urban way of life. All these pressures may boil up into problems of deviant behaviors like juvenile delinquency, as well as commercial sex work (Kebede, 1994).

According to the report made by The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (1983), the following factors are cause of commercial sex work in Ethiopia:

- Women's economic dependence on men
- The harmful traditional practices like early marriage and abduction
- Absence of job opportunities specially for women
- The inability of school drops out women to get training and work in different sectors
- Migration from rural to urban areas
- The expansion of hotels, bars etc in different places.

In the same way, Konjit (1996) also argued that, the major factors behind the increase in commercial sex work are rural urban migration, poverty, high rate of unemployment, family breakdown, natural calamities, traditional practices primarily early marriage, and even more important as a cause is the low status of women in society.

### **2.3 Consequences of Commercial Sex Work**

The activity of commercial sex work has tremendous effects on the individuals who are involved in it in particular and that of the society in general. It exposes them to different problems like sexual and physical abuse, social stigma, sexually transmitted infections (STI) including HIV/AIDS and psychological problem.

### **2.3.1 Physical abuse**

Physical abuse is one of the major challenges that commercial sex workers encounter in their day to day life (Renzetti, Edleson and Bergen 2001). Almost all women who are involved in the activity of commercial sex work are subjected to experience physical abuse like beating, slapping, kicking, battering, hitting and injuries resulting from violence and degrading (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005). Thus, a number of women who are engaged in commercial sex work are suffering from abuse of physical consequences which in turn have a long term effects in their future l

### **2.3.2 Sexual abuse**

Sexual abuse is another challenge for commercial sex workers. Sexual abuse includes unwanted and repeated sexual advance that range from unwelcome comments and touching to coercive sexual intercourse (Monzini, 2005)

Victims of sexual abuse do not report cases of violence appropriately because many of them do not characterize their victimization as a crime (Bonnie et al. 2000, 1997). As many studies indicate, women's silence about sexual violence emanates from "...fear, embarrassment, self-blame, confusion and ignorance of their legal rights" (Original et al., 2004).

No single factor explains why some individuals behave violently towards others. Several complicated and inter connected social and cultural factors are involved; but all of them are manifestations of unequal power relations between men and women (UNICEF, 2000). Women's lack of economic resources underpins their vulnerability to violence. Poverty forces many women and girls into occupations that carry a relatively high risk of sexual abuse particularly sex work (Omorodian, 1998, WHO, 2002 as cited in Mitike, 2000).

Sexual abuse is very common among commercial sex workers. Though, they are the primary victim of sexual abuse, women involved in commercial sex work do not report the cases. This may be due to the lack of awareness about their right or fear of being stigmatized by the existing structure, starting from their family up to governmental structure.

### **2.3.3 Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI)**

Due to the nature of the work, women involved in commercial sex activity suffer from different sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Jane and Maria (1996) indicated that commercial sex workers suffer from a range of illnesses, including AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. They also suffer from TB, respiratory problems, headaches, exhaustion, and injuries resulting from violence.

According to the World Congress (1996), the major consequence of sexual exploitation is the infection and spread of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. A survey conducted in several cities by the Ministry of Health (2000) indicated that HIV infection rate among commercial sex workers in Adama was 65 percent. This rate is found to be the highest among all cities included in the study.

### **2.3.4 Psychological Problem**

The involvement of women in sex business exposed them to psychological problem that has negative impact on their overall life. The distressing consequences of women involved in commercial sex work include physical, social and psychological and emotional problems (Jane and Maria, 1996). In this same reference, it is also indicated that the psychological consequences identified include lack of confidence, low self esteem, self hate, feeling an outcast, unworthy, unloved and unlovable, and feeling degraded and violated (Jane and Maria, 1996). The psychological trauma these women are facing can never be wiped out so easily. They usually end up being stigmatized and as a result, they lose their sense of belongingness and become of low self-esteem (Davis, 1993).

The psychological cause refers to belittling, derogatory remarks about a woman's appearance or sexuality, verbal abuse, intimidation and humiliation in front of other people, plus controlling behaviors including act to constrain a woman's mobility or her access to friends and relatives etc (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005).

### 2.3.5 Stigma

Commercial sex workers are facing severe social stigma in their life which affects them socially and psychologically. Stigma has been described as the quality that “significantly discredits” and individual come to see themselves (Services Administration 2003 as cited in Hanna 2007). It refers to the negative connotations like badness, shame and guilt that is given to commercial sex workers by the society. This stigmatization has a long lasting effect on the life of commercial sex workers.

### 2.5 Types of Commercial Sex Work

Types of commercial sex work vary from place to place and depend on the kinds of meaning they are given. For instance, it is classified as escort services, Eros centers, sex holiday, telephone sex calls, sex therapy centers and dating services (Davis, 1993). Traffic in women/girls for commercial sex work is also carried out through legally sanctioned overseas employment agencies and international mail-order bride agencies. The effect of this highly organized sex business on women shows that multiple power relations that have developed and have linked sexual labor to a wide range of vested profit at national and international level (Davis, 1993).

Commercial sex work in Addis Ababa involves different categories or classes made up of diverse socio-economic status, income and working conditions. According to Lacketh (1991), commercial sex workers in Addis Ababa are classified into six categories. These are street walkers, kiosk consorts, bar consorts, freelance consorts, petty-Madames and Madames.

- A. Street Walkers:** - These are mainly young girls that have run away from home and with lowest prestige. Some of them have migrated from their homes in rural areas, others right from city. These girls usually rent small rooms either in-groups or individually away from their work places. They operate in major street sides waiting for customers.
- B. Kiosk Consorts:** - The second category of commercial sex workers is women who live and operate from small kiosk and live in small rooms. They are often seen standing at their doors throughout the night waiting for the next client to come along.

- C. Bar Consorts:-**This group of women works for established madams or men who own big bars and other drinking places. In most of the cases they do not have salary, but in the large establishments they are paid fixed salary.
- D. Freelance Consorts:-**This group of commercial sex workers is those who have arrangement with the big night clubs whereby the owners provide them with free transportation and they in turn dance with and entertain the guests in the club.
- E. Petty-Madames: -** These are women those have their own small drinking place like bars, groceries and coffee shops. Besides their business, they are involved in the activity of sex work.
- F. Madames: -** This group consists of women who succeeded in their business. These are women who started their career as commercial sex worker and opened their own business.

## **2.6 Recruitment into Commercial Sex Work**

There are various ways of being attracted to the sex business. Pimps and brokers convince the women/girls by false promising a well paying job or marriage to a rich man. According to UNICEF (1996) more than one million female children worldwide are reportedly forced into girl/child commercial sex work every year.

The U.S. Department of Labor Office (1996) has summarized the recruitment into commercial sex work as follows.

.....Recruitment often takes place through relatives, neighbors, or friends who are already working in the industry and return home to invite younger women to join them. It tends to occur in pockets, that is, in a particular village or even certain streets within a village. It marks an acceptance tacit rather than explicit, within the community that it is acceptable for young women to enter commercial sex work because of the perceived financial rewards.

## **2.7 Commercial Sex Work in Ethiopia**

Commercial sex work in Ethiopia though practiced since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Pankhurst, 1974), it is said that the problem of commercial sex work did not get due consideration for a long period of time. It is very recently that it is considered as severe social problem and started to get attention from some concerned bodies like government authorities, non-governmental organizations and

scholars (Mulumbet, 2000). Due to this reason, there are only a limited number of studies on commercial sex work in the country. Most of the available studies revolve around the history (Pankhurst, 1974); causes and consequences, and types (street walkers, kiosk, bar and freelance consorts, petty-madams, etc.) of commercial sex work (Laketch, 1978, Andargachew, 2004). These studies have given attention and focused in investigating when, where and how commercial sex work commences, and the reason why women engage in this activity. They also have tried to assess the social problem that it resulted. However, the studies undertaken by Mulumbet (2000) and Bethelehem(2005) have highlighted the challenges encountered by women engaged in commercial sex activities. Even though these studies have tried to assess and investigate various problems (economic, social and psychological) that women/commercial sex workers encounter in their daily life, they have limitations in terms of coverage. Most of the studies are done on commercial sex workers residing in Addis Ababa. Little is known about the situations of commercial sex workers living in other parts of the country.

With regard to the magnitude of commercial sex work in the country, there is no comprehensive study that shows the extent of the problem. Different data were produced by different researchers at different times. For instance, the study made by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in 1986 shows that there were about 50,000 commercial sex workers in the country. On the other hand, it was estimated that Addis Ababa only had about 80,000 commercial sex workers (The Reporter, 2000, as cited in Bekele, 2003). According to the 1984 Population Census, the total number of commercial sex workers in Ethiopia was estimated to be 46,835(CSA, 1989). The 1994 census, on the other hand estimated the total number to be 46,034 (CSA, 1999). The 1994 census, on the other hand estimated the total number to be 466,034 (CSA, 1999). The results of the two consecutive censuses show that, there is little decline in the number of commercial sex workers between 1984 and 1994. However, the available documents on the issue revealed that commercial sex work has generally grown up in the country from time to time, especially in line with the development of urban centers (Andargachew, 2004).

Different reasons are mentioned for the expansion of commercial sex work in the country. The major factors for the spread of commercial sex work in Ethiopia are urbanization and unemployment (Andargachew, 2004) and rural to urban migration. For example, according to 1994 census, among the people who migrated to urban center, the number of females consists

52.51% (CSA, 1999). Women migrate to urban centers for different reasons including search for job, education, and other social reasons such as escaping from forced and early marriage, divorce, death of parents, and the motive to live with relatives in the city. However, when they realize that their economic need is not met in urban areas they engage in commercial sex work considering it as a means to earn better income. In addition, poverty, unemployment, family breakdown, natural calamities and traditional practices, etc., are often cited as major causes for the expansion of commercial sex work (Laketch, 1978; Hashim, 1995).

The situations and living condition of most developing countries is worse due to extreme poverty for majority of men and women (Monzini, 2005, Brock and Thistlethwaite, 1996). Being one of the developing countries in the world where 60% of the population live below the poverty line (DSWP, 1996) Ethiopia is subject to face similar problem. The situation is, however, worst for women. Being outside the structures of power and decision making, women are usually denied the opportunity to participate equally within the community (Getu, 2002). As life is challenging among those living in poverty, people are forced to struggle too much for survival and to change and improve their quality of life. One of the reasons for the expansion of commercial sex work is therefore, economic interest which leads many women to involve in this activity as a means of income and survival strategy (Laketch, 1978).

Due to the above mentioned factors and underdeveloped nature of the economy, a number of women/girls are forced to become victims of commercial sex work (Mulumbet, 2000). As a result, they face tremendous problems in their daily life and suffer a lot of risks which remain till the end of their life. Although some efforts have been made to curb the problem of commercial sex work and to improve the life of women engaged in this activity, measures taken to address the problem to the target population were limited. Only a few interventions have targeted commercial sex workers. For instance, in the 1980s the Ethiopian Government started a rehabilitation program for commercial sex workers that include vocational skill training and provision of work in various factories (MOLSA, 1999). However, since the initiative lacked motivation on the part of the beneficiaries, it has eventually failed. Among different reasons, the felt needs of sex workers were not considered in planning the project and lack of sustainable budget to support the initiative were the major ones (FHI, 2002).

Even though commercial sex work is not a legally recognized profession in Ethiopia, presently a number of women have been involved in this activity in different parts of the country. Since this activity does not require skill and education, it is easy to get into it for a number of women. At the same time, due to the nature of their work these women are exposed to numerous adverse conditions such as social stigma, poor housing condition, serious sexual and physical violence, sexually transmitted diseases like Syphilis, Gonorrhoea, including HIV/AIDS (Hashim, 1995; Muluembet 2000; FHI, 2002).

The study made by Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA, 1999) has revealed that the estimated total number of commercial sex workers in Adama is the highest among seven major cities in Ethiopia (Dessie, Harrar, Jijiga, Gimbi, Shashemene, and Arba Minch). The study showed that the estimated number of commercial sex workers in Adama was 3056. According to the recent study, undertaken by Anteneh and Associates (2004) the number of commercial sex workers in the city has increased almost by 200%. The study revealed that the estimated number of commercial sex workers was 6000.

According to the Oromia HIV/AIDS Office (2004), commercial sex workers in Adama city could be categorized into eight clusters; first generation non-itinerant establishment owner commercial sex workers, second generation non-itinerant establishment owner commercial sex workers, Semi-non itinerant group, itinerant commercial sex workers, brothel commercial sex workers, student commercial sex workers, waitresses commercial sex workers and street commercial sex workers. This shows that the magnitude and problem of commercial sex work is severe in the city and the issue requires further study to address the problem.

Since the city of Adama is found at the center of the country and it is a place where there are a large number of business activities, many people pass through or go there for different affairs such as trade, workshop, seminar, recreation and other purposes. In addition to this, large number of establishments like hotels, bars, restaurants and brothels have potential to attract many women/girls to be employed there as commercial sex workers .

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHOD**

The methodological design and different data collection methods employed, the data organization and methods of analysis are described in this chapter. The study has two components: Qualitative and Quantitative. To gather qualitative data, in-depth interview and focus group discussion techniques were used; while, cross-sectional survey technique was employed to collect quantitative data.

### **3.1 Qualitative Survey**

Qualitative data is very crucial to adapt feminist approach. The main target of feminist research is women (Reinharz, 1992). And its focus is women's lived experience aiming at empowering them and informing decision makers, like policy makers and planners on the issues of women from their own perspectives. For qualitative data collection, in-depth interviews and focus group discussion techniques were employed and separate guiding questions were prepared to serve as starting point for the interview and focus group discussions, respectively.

#### **3.1.1 In-depth Interviews**

To get the perspective of women in experiencing commercial sex work, in-depth interviews were conducted. It is appealing to feminist researchers as it offers them access to people's ideas, memories and thoughts in their words rather than the words of the researcher (Reinharz, 1992). Therefore, in this study the researcher interviewed 13 voluntary commercial sex workers. The ages of the interviewees range from 18 to 42. The interviewees were asked basic questions like their personal history, why they engage in this activity, problems encountered during their life as a commercial sex workers and their future plan. They were also encouraged to elaborate on issues that appeared to contain information relevant to the study (Appendix B). Interviews were made at homes and at the work places, as it is convenient to the interviewees.

#### **3.1.2 Focus Group Discussions**

Focus group discussions were conducted to obtain more qualitative data. The discussions were guided through a prepared set of questions. The researcher was the moderator. Tape recorder was

used and notes were taken. The discussions were held at the premise of Kebele 06 as it is found at the center of both kebeles and the discussions were participatory and interactive and the group's contribution was valuable. Four focus group discussions were held. The first was conducted with eight migrant women. The second was conducted with six non-migrant women. The third was conducted with six ever married four migrant and two non-migrant women while the fourth was with seven never married women four non-migrant and three migrant women (for details see Appendix C). Totally, 27 commercial sex workers participated in the focus group discussion. Each focus group discussion took one and half to two hours.

### **3.2 Quantitative Survey**

For the quantitative survey, cross-sectional survey method was utilized in two weredas of Adama city where a large number of commercial sex workers are living.

#### **3.2.1 Sample Size**

The target population for this study was commercial sex workers residing in Adama City. Only commercial sex workers who are currently working in hotels, bars and restaurants were included in the study. Due to time and resource constraints, commercial sex workers who work outside hotels, bars and restaurants were not considered. To describe the characteristics and composite of the study group, 300 commercial sex workers were randomly selected. These respondents were selected by taking 5 percent of 6000 which is the estimated number of commercial sex workers in the city (Anteneh and Associates, 2004).

#### **3.2.2 Sampling Procedure**

Hotels, bars and restaurants were the primary unit in the cross-sectional study. To this end, a two-stage stratified sampling procedure was applied. First the city was subdivided into two administrative units: weredas and kebeles. Then, the three weredas were sub divided into stratum (i.e kebeles), and two kebeles, (Kebele 06, from woreda 1 and Kebele12, from Woreda 3) with large number of hotels, bars and restaurants were selected purposefully. All commercial sex workers in these establishments were listed, and the 300 respondents were then selected using systematic random sampling having identified the first case using a lottery method

### **3.2.3 Data Collection Instruments for Quantitative Data**

A semi-structured questionnaire was prepared in English and then translated into Amharic (the most widely spoken language in the city) to collect information for the descriptive part. The translated questionnaire was then pre-tested on 15 commercial sex workers in the city to assess its contents, ordering and clarity of the questions. All the necessary modification is thus made accordingly before the survey.

A wide range of information on personal characteristics such as age, place of birth, educational level, religion, marital status, number of children and other dependents was collected using the semi structured questionnaire. In addition, the respondent's history of employment and the current working environment like reasons and timing to join commercial sex work was collected. Additional information such as income per month, feelings/attitudes towards their occupation (whether they like it or not) was also gathered using the structured questionnaire. The quantitative data was collected by employing 10 female of which 2 were commercial sex workers enumerators who have completed secondary level education.

Secondary data was gathered from archival sources such as books, journals, and other published and unpublished materials and documents.

### **3.3 Field Work**

The field work was conducted from 19 March 2007 to April 5 2007. It was also supervised by two supervisors that have college level education. Their task was basically focused on following up the day-to-day activities of the field work. Both data collectors and supervisors were given orientation on the content of the questionnaire and interviewing techniques in addition to the ethical issues that they should consider. A discussion has been held with interviewers and supervisors each day for 10-15 minutes on problems that have been encountered by the field staff. It helped to maintain the quality and reliability of the data as much as possible.

Each of the commercial sex workers was asked for her consent before the interview. The objective of the study was explained to every respondent so that their willingness is assured. Maximum efforts were also made to maintain privacy of the individuals during interview, and

confidentiality of information was assured by omitting names of the study subjects from the questionnaires. The supervisors and the researcher closely followed up the day-to-day activities of the field work to ensure quality of the data as well as its completeness and correctness.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

The information gained through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed into Amharic the language used to collect information, and then translated into English. Then the data is arranged in themes. The data collected through open-ended questionnaire was fed into the computer and categorized, coded and analyzed using SPSS software. Frequency and percentage distributions were used to describe the socio-economic and demographic profiles of the samples. Finally, the data both from qualitative and quantitative methodology were integrated and analyzed.

### **3.5 Ethical Consideration**

Since the issue under study is a sensitive one it requires ethical consideration. Prior to initiating the interview, consent was asked and the purpose of the study was described to the respondents. In addition, interviewers were described about the possible outcome of the study and its benefit to them and other women. Privacy was promoted and respondents were informed that whatever information they provide would be kept confidential as the analysis is made for the entire group without mentioning names. Respondents were also informed that they have the full right to discontinue or refuse to participate in the study at any time if they wish. They were given the opportunity to ask questions, and the expected duration of participation in the interview was communicated to them before hand.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE POPULATION**

#### **4.1 Description of the Study Area**

Adama is a city where the study was carried out. The city was established around 1925. It is relatively an old city by the Ethiopian standard. At present, it is the largest city in Oromia region and one of the largest in the country (Anteneh and Associates, 2004). It has been serving as the center for different levels of administrations at varying times. It covers an area of 968.27km<sup>2</sup> and found between 1500-2300 ranges of altitude. The housing and population census result indicated that the town had a total population of 127,842, of which 63,715 and 64,127 were male and female respectively. The age distribution of the population indicated that young people in the age group 15-24 years constituted 23% of the population (CSA, 1996).

The city is geographically located 100 km away from Addis Ababa and lying on the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway and asphalt road line. It is also on the main tourist route of the Rift Valley Lakes and hunting places. It is a popular holiday destination for visitors from Addis Ababa, especially during the weekends (CRSOBPED, 2000). Within the city, there are many light industries and educational institutions. There are also 131 hotels (where food, drinks and rooms for accommodation for clients are served), 327 bars and restaurants (where food and drinks are served), and about 1,491 establishments like pensions (where rooms for rent are served) and brothels (an establishments with a number of rooms that serve as a base for sex workers), Tej and Areke bet (where local drinks are sold) (Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1 Number of Establishments in Adama City**

<b>Types of Establishments</b>	<b>Quantity</b>
Hotel	131
Bars and Restaurants	327
Different establishments like pension and small drinking places (Tej abd Areke bet(serving local drinks)	1,491
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,949</b>

Source: Adama City Administration, Trade and Tourism Office, 2006.

Like other major cities of the country, Adama consists of people of different ethnic, religious and socio-economic groups. According to the 1994 housing and population census result for Oromia (CSA, 1996) indicated, the major ethnic groups residing in the city were Amhara (44.4%), Oromo (26.25%), Tigre (10.9%) and Gurage (6.2%). Religion wise, Orthodox Christian constituted 77.5% and followed by Moslems (17.8%) (CSA, 1996).

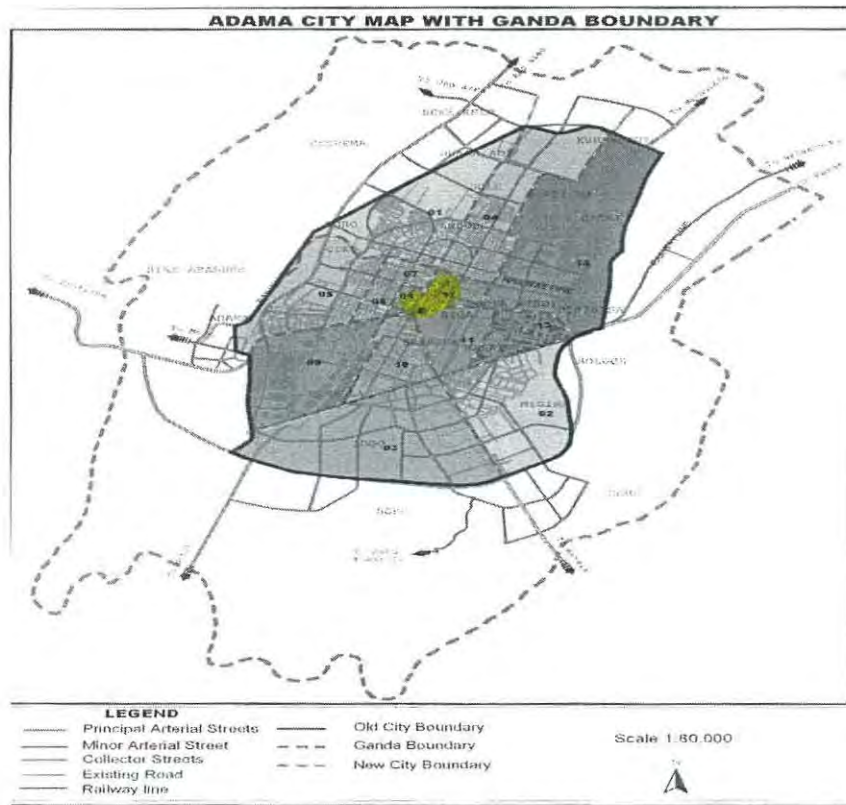
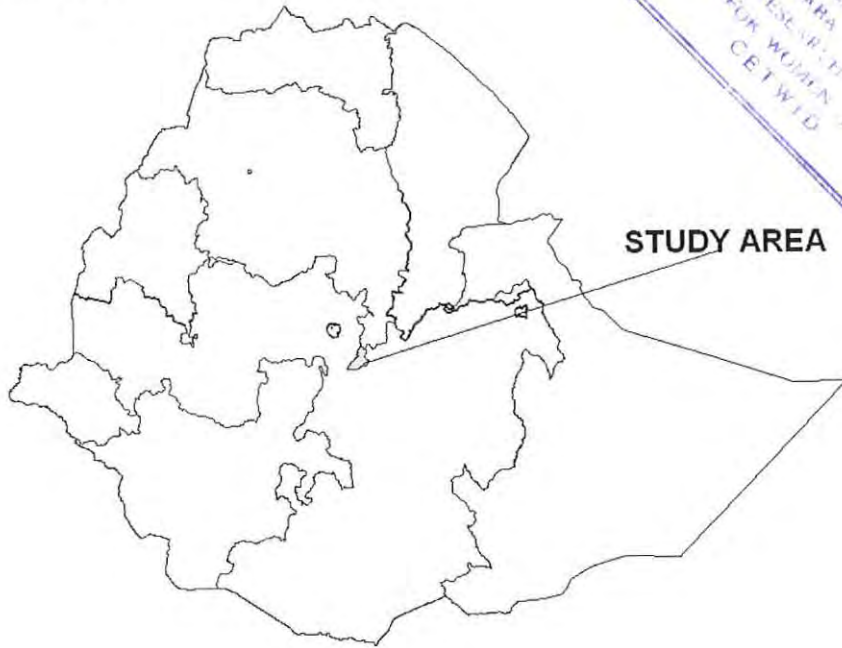
It is observed that industries and business institutions are flourishing from time to time and this enables the city to attract many migrants, especially young people from the surrounding rural and other towns for seeking jobs and learning opportunities (Anteneh and Associates, 2004).

As mentioned earlier that the city is found at the center of the country and it is a place where there are high business activities, the large numbers of establishments like hotels, bars, restaurants and brothels have the potential to attract many women/girls to be employed there.


One of the reasons for large number of commercial sex work in Adama is the high rate of migration to the city. According to Anteneh and Associates (2004), there is a high number of female migrants to the city. Of 83,879 migrants to the city in 1999, 43,540 or 52% were female while male accounted for 40,339 (48 %). The same document stated that a number of migrants are coming to the city due to different causes such as looking for job, drought, to visit relatives, need for education and this in turn also increases the number of commercial sex workers.

**Map 1**  
**Map of Adama City**

INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH  
 ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
 CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN ECONOMIC AND  
 INFORMATION FOR WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT  
 CETWID



Source: Adama City Administration, 2007.

 Study Area

## **4.2 Characteristics of the Sampled Population**

### **4.2.1 Demographic Characteristic of Respondents**

A total of 300 commercial sex workers were participated in the study. As it is seen in table 4.2 the majority 62.7% of the respondents are with the age range of 18-24. And 17.3% of the respondents were between 25-29 years of age while the remaining, 6.7% of them were 30 and above years of age. The median age of the respondents was 21.6 and the mean age was 20 years. This indicates that most of the commercial sex workers in the study area are very young females in their reproductive age and grouped under active and potential work force of the country. If they are properly deployed their contribution for the development of the country would be very high. With regard to their birth place, the majority (62.7%) of the respondents were born out side Adama and moved to the city from other parts of the country, while the remaining (37.3%) of the respondents were born in the City. On the other hand, a non-negligible number (13.3 %) of the respondents were exposed to the life of commercial sex work as early of age 18 and before they are physically or emotionally mature.

Concerning the marital status of the respondents, the never married made up 65% of the sample population, while only 35% of them have been ever married. The mean age of the respondents at first marriage was 15.7 years. As it is observed from table 4.2, 79 out of 105 (75.2 %) of the respondents were married at the age of less than 18. In this case, a number of girls were forced to carry family responsibility, managing home, raring and raising children at their early age. Only, 26 out of 105 (24.8%) of the respondents were married at ages 18 and above. This indicates that many girls who joined commercial sex work are victims of early marriage. One of the reasons for high prevalence of early marriage in Ethiopia is the fact that, parents regarded marriage as an end in itself; and thus wish to see their daughters married as early as possible (NCTPE, 1999). This in turn became a great obstacle for future advancement of girls.

Respondents were also asked whether they give birth to child or not. As it is indicated in Table 4.2, 37.7% of them were gave birth to a child, while 56% of them reported that they did not give birth to a child. As far as the time when they gave birth to their child is concerned, the majority 66.4% of the respondents gave birth before they engaged in commercial sex work. This implies that some of the respondents may join such activity to support their offspring of which they are the sole breadwinner-single parent

**Table 4.2 Frequency and percent of Respondents by their Demographic Characteristics**

<b>current age</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<18	40	13.3
18 – 24	188	62.7
25 – 29	52	17.3
30+	20	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Place of Birth</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Adama	111	37.0
Out of Adama	188	62.7
No Response	1	0.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Never Married	195	65.0
Currently Married	4	1.3
Separated	30	10.0
Divorced	57	19.0
Widowed	14	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Age at First Marriage</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Less than 18	79	75.2
Greater or equal to 18	26	24.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Have children</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	113	37.7
No	168	56.0
No Response	19	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Time of birth</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Before engaged in CSW	75	66.4
After engaged in CS W	21	18.6
Before and after engaged in CSW	16	14.2
No Response	1	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

## 4.2.2 Socio Economic Characteristics of Respondents

As it is shown in Table 4.3, the majority (81.3%) of the respondents were followers of Orthodox Christianity, while 10% are protestant, and 7.0% are Muslim, and the remaining 1.7% are Catholic. Though, the study area is surrounded by followers of Islamic religion, the majority of the respondents are found to be Christian. The ethnic composition of the respondents indicated that (38.7%) are Oromo, followed by Amhara (35.7%), Gurage(12.6%) and Tigre (12%).

**Table 4.3 Frequency and Percent of Respondents by their Socio-Economic Characteristics**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Orthodox	244	81.3
Muslim	21	7.0
Catholic	5	1.7
Protestant	30	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Oromo	116	38.7
Amhara	107	35.7
Tigre	36	12.0
Gurage	38	12.6
Other	3	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Educational Background</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Illiterate	62	20.7
≤ 4 Grade	38	12.7
5-8 Grade	154	51.3
>9 Grade	46	15.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Marriage Arrangement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Parents	38	36.2
Myself	49	46.7
Parents & myself	13	12.4
Other	5	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

In terms of educational attainment, the majority 238 (79.3%) of the commercial sex workers had an opportunity to attend school, while (20.7%) of them never been to school. Of those who had an opportunity to attend school, 12.7% of them were attending first cycle (≤ 4 grade) while the

majority 51.3% of the respondents were in second cycle (5-8 grade) and the rest 15.3% attained grade 9 and above. However, though the majority had an opportunity to attend school, as it is seen from the data, the majority discontinued their education. This may be due to the fact that girls face a number of social and economic problems in their life. According to results of the current study, lack of education and skill appears to limit the chance of getting employment opportunity and for this reason they tend to engage in commercial sex work activities where education and skill is not required.

As it is depicted in Table 4.3, 49 (46.7%) out of 105 of the respondents got married by their own consent. As this study shows, girls have got right to decide whether they want to marry or not. However, the significant number 38(36.2%) out of 105 respondents getting marriage by parents arrangement. Thus, this indicates that, a number of girls had no right and say whatsoever in the choice of their partners which are arranged by their parents. As the data shows, the power of choosing one's sexual partner lies on the family to the effect that their children will marry.

#### **4.3 Characteristics of Respondents' parents/Guardian Background**

As far as the educational status of the respondents' parents/guardians is concerned, the majority of respondents belong to uneducated family. Both mothers and fathers of 53.7% of the respondents were illiterate. The, mothers of 57% of the respondents never attend school. This indicates that most of the respondents have illiterate mothers. And this in turn has direct relation with girls' education and has significant association with girls' entry to commercial sex work.

**Table 4.4 Parental Characteristics of Commercial Sex Workers**

<b>Parents/Guardians Educational Status</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Both illiterate	161	53.7
Both literate	77	25.7
One of them literate	62	20.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Parents'/Guardians' Monthly income By the time the Respondents join CSW</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Less than or equal to 100	69	23.0
101 – 200	57	19.0
201 – 400	45	15.0
More than 400	33	11.0
No Response	96	32.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Have contact with parents/guardians</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	114	38.0
No	186	62.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Parents/guardian know your engagement in CSW</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	30	10.0
No	270	90.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Reaction of parents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Accepted	11	36.7
Refused relation	19	63.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

As it can be seen from the above table, ( 23%) of the respondents' parents/guardians earn a monthly income of less than or equal to 100. This shows that majority of the respondents came from low economic background family. And 19% of the respondents' parents, guardians earn the monthly income of 101-200, while 15% of them earn the monthly income of 201-400 birr. Only 11/% of the respondents' parents/guardians earn a monthly income more than 400 birr. Thus, from this data one can conclude that almost all of the respondents belong to poor families.

Respondents were also asked whether they made contact with their parents' guardians or not. The majority (62%) of the respondents replied that they didn't have any contact with their parent/guardians. The remaining 38% of the respondents were reported that they make contact

with their parents/guardians. The respondents were further asked whether their parents/guardians know about the way by which they make their living as a commercial sex worker. As it is portrayed in the above table, 90% of the respondents replied that their parents/guardians do not know the way of their living. This is due to the social stigma attached to commercial sex work. The women who are involved in the activity of commercial sex work fear not to be isolated, hated, and undermined by their families, relatives and neighbors. As a result, they do not tell what they do. Only 10% of the respondents disclosed their engagement in the sex business.

With regard to the reaction of those who already know about the way by which the respondents make their living as a commercial sex worker, the majority 63.3% of the respondents replied that they are rejected by their parents/guardians. Only 36.7% of them are accepted and continued to have relation with them.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CAUSES FOR ENTERING INTO COMMERCIAL SEX WORK

As one of the objectives of this study is to identify some socio-economic factors that influence women/girls to enter into commercial sex work, this chapter presents some of the major causes that push women/girls to this 'profession'.

Different studies (Lackech, 1991; Hashim, 1995; Brock and Thistlethwaite, 1996) revealed that there are many factors that forced women to join sex business. As stated in ILO report (1998), these factors comprise economic, social and political issues/matters. In many cases, sex work is often the only viable alternative for women living in countries coping with poverty, unemployment and early marriage.

Similarly, the present study revealed that women/girls are involved in commercial sex work for different reasons. These include lack of employment opportunities, economic need (the desire to earn more), urge to support family, marital disruption, parental death, and peer initiation. Each of these causes is presented hereunder.

#### **5.1 Unemployment**

As the research findings indicate, lack of employment is one of the major causes for women/girls to be involved in commercial sex work. Unemployment implies the lack of availability of any other form of employment (Thanh-Dam, 1990). When one looks at the characteristics of commercial sex workers, most of them (62.7%) are migrants moving to the city from other parts of the country. The main reason for coming to the city is to look for a job. As it is indicated in Table 4.1, the majority 57% of the migrants came to the city due to lack of employment. However, as they could not be employed in the occupation of their interest they are forced to join commercial sex work.

**Table 5.1 Main Causes of Migration to Adama City**

<b>Main Causes of migration</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Look for Job	107	57.0
To live with relatives	13	7.0
To continue education	9	4.8
Divorce	29	15.4
Parental Death	14	7.4
Displacement	5	2.7
Friends initiation	7	3.7
Other	4	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

In each of the focus group discussions, most of the participants stated that unemployment opportunity leads many women/girls to join commercial sex work. According to them, most of the migrant women are new for urban areas. As they come to the city, they want to find a job to survive. The majority of them have not been educated. Even to get a job as a housemaid, the employer requested them to present somebody to be a guarantor or a sort of fixed assets. When they could not do that, they make contact with a broker. Most of the time the vacant place that brokers can find is to serve as a waiter in drinking houses, hotels, bar and restaurants. As a result, they start working in these places in different positions like cleaners, assistant cooks, etc. with very little payment, for won't have any other option. However, gradually the working condition in this environment forced them to be acquainted with different men. In addition, they start to see other older women who work at the same place, wearing 'good clothes, shoes and the like'. At this moment they are attracted by these things and started to go with men to improve their life and gradually end up in the commercial sex work.

As previous studies show, in many developing countries women migrate from rural areas to urban to look for work. For instance, in Thailand about 50% of female migrants moved to the city to look for job (Archavanitkul and Guest, 2000, cited in Bekele, 2003). In the absence of job opportunities these women take up commercial sex work which is the only job available to be taken very easily.

Similarly, the study undertaken by Ofreneo and Ofreneo (1998) indicated that in Philippines a number of women/girls get engaged in commercial sex work due to unemployment, poverty and low income.

The majority of interviewees also reported that lack of employment opportunity leads many women/girls to join sex business. Similarly, some of them have the same experience to enter into commercial sex work. For instance, the experience of one of the interviewees could explain how lack of employment at her places of origin/previous residence and even at Adama forced her to join the commercial sex work

### **Case-1**

She was born in West Hararghe, Gelemso woreda. She is now 23 years old. She quit her education from third grade. She had nine siblings. Her mother and father are separated. Unfortunately, she could not agree with her step mother. As a result, she left home with the consultation of her female friend to look for a job.

As she said, one day Case 1 and her female friend discussed to leave the house of their family and look for job. As per their plan, they went to DireDawa and took train to Djibouti. But they couldn't get any job there. As a result, they come back to DireDawa after a few days. Then she moved to Adama and started to look for a job as a house maid. However, since she couldn't have any guarantor to serve as a house maid, she was compelled to be a waitress in one of the hotel, with the salary of forty birr a month. She described the condition of her work as a waitress that turned her to commercial sex work like this:

*While I was working as a waitress, sometimes I break glasses, some times I may not receive bills from customers, and all this amount of money gets deducted from my salary. As a result, it becomes difficult for me even to feed myself. Finally, I started to go out with men and joined commercial sex work.*

Unemployment is not only the problem of migrants. Female students who dropped-out of school or completed high schools, in Adama have also difficulty in getting job due to lack of

qualification and experiences in vocational training. As a result, they start to involve themselves in the activity of commercial sex work.

The lack of employment is one of the phenomena for developing countries for both women and men. However, women suffer more from getting job opportunity especially that needs education and qualification. This is because women are denied equal opportunities to attend school, training, information and skill which in turn enable them to be competitive in the world of work.

## 5.2 Economic Need

Economic need (the desire to earn more) is another reason why women/girls prefer to enter into commercial sex work. The findings of this study indicate that commercial sex workers expected to obtain an income better than they could earn in other occupations. For instance, those who were working as a housemaid said that they earn 70-80 birr per month. And they complain that this amount of money is not enough to help themselves and their parents, siblings and children. As a result, they prefer leaving this low paid job and enter into sex business to earn better income.

In this study, respondents were also asked whether they had any job before joining commercial sex work or not. As it is shown in Table 5.2, about 27 percent of the respondents were reported that they were engaged in different types of occupation, while the greater majority (73.3%) did not have any job. In response to why they left that job, the majority, (71%) of them replied that they engaged into commercial sex work since the income they earn through other business is not sufficient to enable them to survive (See Table 5. 3).

**Table 5.2 Pre- Commercial sex work Occupation of the Respondents**

Previous occupation	Frequency	Percent
No job	220	73.3
Petty trader	23	7.7
Housemaid	27	9.0
Daily laborer	18	6.0
Waitress	7	2.3
Other	5	1.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

**Table 5.3 Reasons for Leaving the previous Job**

<b>Reasons for Leaving previous Job</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
To earn more money	57	71.0
Getting bored with serving as house maid	13	16.0
Loss in business/trade	8	10.0
Termination of work	2	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey; 2007.

Some of the participants in all focus group discussion also reported that women/girls join commercial sex work, since working as commercial sex work is better than any other job for its better payment and the life has enabled them to support themselves and their dependents. Similarly, most of the interviewees also explained that they entered into this business due to financial constraints they face to survive. An experience of one of the interviewees explains how women enter into commercial sex work as they suffer from insufficient means of income.

#### Case - 2

Case 2, now 42 old was born in Arsi Zone Sagure Woreda. Her farmer father had 17 children from nine different wives. She was the first daughter of the ninth wife of her father. While attending school she was good in her education. However, she did not have the support of her mother. Explaining the situation she said:

*Though my father sent me to school, my mother was not happy with my education. Because as usually practiced in our community, my mother wants me to help her in household chores like other girls do. For this reason, my mother nagged me always after school. She never gave me a minute to do my homework and study my lessons. She treated me like a step-mother. As a result, I could not continue my education smoothly. This situation irritated me and gradually I developed mental problem which became a reason to move to Adama City for medical treatment.*

This shows that girls are discouraged to attend schooling in patriarchal system where women are expected to be good mothers and submissive wives for their husbands. Women always entitled

for household chores responsibilities while public is for men. That is why Case 2 is confronted resistance from her mother not to attend school.

Case 2 said that she was especially good in sport. While she was in grade seven she was selected from her school for the athletics competition, made between schools at the Awraja level. But, her mother refused to allow her to participate in that sport competition. As a result, her mental problem was getting serious. Then her father brought her to Adama where her uncle lives, for medical treatment. After a one year time of treatment, her health was getting better and then she continued her education up to grade 11<sup>th</sup> staying with her uncle. However, her uncle's wife was not happy with her. Due to disagreement between Case 2 and her uncle's wife, she decided to quit her school and looks for a job. Leaving her uncle's house she got a job as a housemaid. Her employer was a bachelor. One day the man for whom she was working unveiled her honor. Case 2 being unprepared for the consequences of his actions she became pregnant and had a daughter after nine months. She said that, "though, we were not legally married (Case 2 and her employer), since then we started living together like husband and wife and had son after one year and half." Her husband's being unemployed and deserting the family forced her to join commercial sex work.

Case 2 described her story of entering into sex work as follows:

*My ex- husband was a factory worker. Due to a structural change of that factory he was dismissed from his work. He became unemployed for about six months and finally he left me at home with two children and moved to his birth place. By that time, I didn't have any money to feed my babies and my self. Therefore, I compelled to give my children to my parents who live in Sagure and came back to Adama and started look for work. I had got a job as a daily laborer. Having worked for one and half year, I quit the job and joined the commercial sex work for it could help me generate more money to support myself and my children. I have been in this work now for the last five years.*

### **Case-3**

She is 30 was born in Arsi Zone at Arbagugu wereda where her family lives as a farmer. She is the third child in the family. She was sent to school nearby their village. In that school she attended her education up to grade six. Then she transferred to the small town called *Kofele* where her grandmother lived, and continued her education.

When she was at grade nine, her father and mother were divorced due to disagreement between them. She decided to stay with her father to help him in household activities. After a year, she was requested for engagement, and the request got acceptance by her father. Though her aim was to continue her education, she was pressurized by her father into accepting the engagement. After few months, the wedding was prepared and she was married to the son of another farmer family in the nearby by village. Before the engagement, her fiancé had promised to help her to continue her education. But after the marriage he did not keep his promise to send her to school. In the mean time she gave birth to a daughter. By the time her daughter was five months old; she divorced her husband and moved to Assela town where her aunt lives. She spent a few months there and moved to Adama town where her other aunt lives. Case 3 and her child spent two years in her aunt's house. But gradually she couldn't agree with her aunt. And then she left the house of her aunt and started working as a house maid. Having left the job of house maid, she joined commercial sex work. When she explained why she left that job, Case 3 said:

*I continued living working as a house maid for two years. However, life became difficult to me to continue with what I earned through this work. Though I tried my best, unfortunately I couldn't get any better job. Finally, I decided to involve myself in to commercial sex work to get enough money to support my daughter and my self.*

Thus, from this data one can conclude that many women/girls join commercial sex work to minimize financial constraints that they face through working low paid jobs like daily labor and housemaid. According to them joining commercial sex work enables them having better income that enables them to help themselves, parents, siblings and children.

### **5.3 Marital Disruption**

Marital disruption is found as another reason that leads women to commercial sex work. Marriage can be disrupted due to a number of reasons. It could be due to divorce, separation and death of spouses. As far as divorce is concerned, different studies reveal several causes. It comprises social and economic factors. Those women who have problems with their husbands, run into towns to escape unhappy marriage. When they can not find job opportunities or what they expected in the towns, they enter into commercial sex work.

According to the study undertaken by Sulistyarningsih and Hull (1998) in Indonesia, one of the reasons for commercial sex work is divorce. Eighty eight percent of the commercial sex workers in Indonesia were divorced. The same study revealed that the major causes of divorce were early marriage, marriage without the consent of girls and a tolerant attitude towards divorce as a way out of an unsatisfactory marriage. In this study, the participants of focus group discussion forwarded their opinion as to why marriage is disrupted and became causes for women to enter into commercial sex work.

As the focus group participants stated, women dissolve their marriage, when their husbands became alcoholic and extravagant i.e. they spend their income unwisely instead of improving their life. They added that, some men are jealous and always nagging, beating and undermining, and insulting their wives severely. As a result when this becomes frequent, the women run out of patience and decided to dissolve their marriage. They also said that some women are forced by their parents or guardians to marry the one whom they do not like to live with. Hence, their life would not be happy, and this kind of marriage ends up with divorce. Similarly some women are abducted and it is often concluded in marriage, this also creates disagreements between the women and their husbands. This disagreement may be due to different reasons, for example the abducted girls may have lover, and some may want to have a wedding ceremony as their friends did, as a result, when they loose all these things they may not get peace of mind in their life. Some participants also pointed out that one of the reasons why women dissolve their marriage is when they have disagreement between the relatives of their husband's like mother in laws and others family members. Besides, when husbands cheat on wives, it creates conflicts between the two which leads to divorce. After their marriage is dissolved, some women turn back to their families and some of them run away to some where far from their original places and start to find job to help themselves. Unfortunately, when they couldn't find the job they need, they are forced to engage into commercial sex work (FGD, 3).

Besides, the interviewees participated in this study have explained that women who dissolved their marriage often joined commercial sex work, after they migrate to far distances to hide themselves from their former husbands.

The experience of some of the interviewees is presented as follows:

#### **Case -4**

##### **Marital disruption due to marital discord**

Case 4 is now 33 years old. She has been in the commercial sex work for about six years. She came to Adama from Bale Zone where she was born, due to the dissolution of her marriage. As she arrived at the city, a woman found her while she was crying in the street and asked for help. Then the woman told Case 4 that she could find her a job and took her to her house. As case 4 explained that woman was an owner of a small drinking house where *Areke* (local alcoholic drinks) and *Tela*( local beer) is sold. After few days the woman influenced her to start business with men. Though, she disliked what she has been told to do, the owner forced her to involve in the activity of commercial sex work by threatening her that, if she refused, she would be accused of having stolen her money.

While explaining the reason of her marital dissolution that led her to commercial sex work, she said:

*Me and my ex husband loved each other. We were married with the consent of ourselves. However, he has 'bad' behavior. He is extremely 'jealous'; he never allowed me to get out of home. He was not happy when I even communicating with his own brothers and neighbors. When he found me doing this, he heavily beat me and insulted me. This made me leave him and exposed me to the life of commercial sex work.*

#### **Case- 5**

##### **Marital disruption due to "Cheat" on wives**

Case 5 was also involved in the business of commercial sex work due to the disruption of her marriage. She is 22 years old. She was born in Adama City. She had two sisters and three brothers. Her driver father died when she was fifteen years old. One year after her father's death, she got married, though the marriage did not last long.

She explained her marriage life that dissolved early and put her in sex business as follows:

*I love my husband; I married him with my consent. Our marriage for the first two years was very happy and we had a daughter. However, my husband was secretly consorting with the housemaid and she became pregnant. That really irritated me and I decided to leave home.*

Therefore, for Case 5 this was the turning point to leave home and migrate to Metehara. There, she found a job as a waitress with the help of her female friend and gradually drifted into commercial sex work.

#### **Case -6**

##### **Marital disruption due to extravagant husband**

Case 6 was born in West Showa Zone, to a peasant family. She is now forty years old. Since her mother and father had not legal marriage, she was brought up by her grand mother. She never attended school. Though, she got married at age 17, her marriage life was not good. When she expressed the life of her marriage that leads her to the world of commercial sex work, Case 6 said:

*My husband was an extravagant person. He spent what we earned on drinks, and spent much more money for nothing things. As a result, we used to quarrel each other every day. Finally, I left him and moved to Addis Ababa. In Addis I found a job as a house maid with a salary of 20 birr per month. My employer did not pay my salary monthly. Then I get offended and left that house and with the help of my friends I moved to Adama to look for better job. However, what I got was the hose of selling Areke. Though,, I did not like working there, since I didn't have alternative I continued working there. Gradually, the owner of that drinking house influenced me to sleep with different men. Then I started the work of commercial sex. It is now about ten years since I got engaged in this business.*

The above stories show that, a number of women become victim of commercial sex work as a result of marital disruption. This also indicates that women are economically dependant on their husbands. If they have their own income, they may not necessarily enter into the sex business. Therefore, from this, one can infer that, divorce is one of the major causes that lead women to join commercial sex work.

#### **5.4 The Urge to Support Family**

One of the causes that push women/girls into commercial sex work is the obligation that they have to support their family, siblings and children. In many developing countries where poverty is prevailing, a number of families live with little or no income. So, this condition makes life very difficult to survive for the majority of them. As a result, women/girls are obliged to generate some sort of income to help their family and themselves. For this purpose they are engaged in

commercial sex work. For instance, in Philippines 60% of the commercial sex workers joined the business to support their parents, siblings and children (Ofreneo and Ofreneo, 1998). Geday, (1994) also argued that, the overwhelming majority of women/girls get into commercial sex work to support themselves and their families. Extreme poverty at home also forces some girls to leave home in order to ease the family burden. And obligation to support the family (parents, guardians, siblings and children) financially and the extreme constrained labor market in the city force women/girls to join commercial sex work.

The study also indicates that many women entered into commercial sex work to support their families, siblings and their children. The interviewees and the majority of focus group participants identified that most of the women/girls join commercial sex work to support their family and themselves.

The participants in all the focus group discussions also stated that women/girls engage in commercial sex work to support their families, siblings and children. As they pointed out, in our society many families are found in a low standard economic condition, some have little amount of income to support the whole family, some do not even have secured income or fixed income to feed their family. So this kind of living conditions force women/girls to earn some sort of income to help themselves and other members of the family. As a result, they join commercial sex work.

Some of the interviewees also agree with the idea that many women/girls join the job of commercial sex work to help themselves and their parents as well as their siblings and children.

The experience of some interviewees is also presented below.

### **Case -7**

Case 7 was born in Assela town. She is 35 years old. Her father died when she was nine years old. She had five siblings and all were females. Her mother was responsible for the family.

While she was in grade 7, her mother was very sick. So it was difficult to feed all the family members, as a result, she quit her education and moved to Adama to look for a job. She got a job as a house maid. However, she left this job and joined commercial sex work after three years of services. She explained why she left her previous job as follows:

*I have worked as a housemaid for continuous three years. What I earned was very little, and I shared it with my family. And finally, I began to think what my future would be in this kind of life. Then I decided to look for a better job. But what I found better was the job of waitress in a bar. While I was working in the bar, I started to go with different men, and gradually got engaged in commercial sex work.*

## **Case- 8**

Case 8 is now 24 years old. She was born in Tigray region Adawa town. Her mother died when she was two months old. She did not know her father. She was brought up by her aunt who lives in Metehara. While she was in grade four, her aunt moved to another place and she was given to another relative of her aunt's husband who lived in other small town, known as Dhera. Then, life became miserable for her and she decided to move somewhere. She described her entry to commercial sex work as follows:

*As I decided, I came to Adama, and found a job as a housemaid. After I served for about five months in the house of my employer, one of my aunt's daughters who came from abroad took me to live with her. Her residence was also in Adama. Since I want to continue my education I became very happy. But, the daughter of my aunt did not allow me to attend school. She rather, made me her servant. As a result I became very angry at my fate. Meanwhile, I felt in love with a man. Then we agreed to live together. After few months I became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. While my baby was nine months old the father of my daughter has been selected for National Service and sent to the war front. We remained alone with my little daughter. I did not have any money to feed myself and my child. I tried to look for a job but I didn't succeed and I began to curse my fate. Finally with the help of a broker I started working as a waitress in a bar. Then gradually I engaged in commercial sex work to safe the life of my baby and myself.*

## **5.5 Parental Death**

In this study, parental death is found as one of the reasons to join the job of commercial sex work for women/girls. If one or both of the parents who are the bread winner of the family is lost, children are forced to help themselves and their siblings to survive. As a result, they get involved in any kind of activities that is available to them. Especially older girls become the primary victims, since they are obliged to take the responsibility of supporting their siblings (FGD 2 and 4).

The study conducted in Southeast Asia by Najarau and Yahya, (1998) and Ofreneo and Ofreneo (1998) indicated that in addition to the low income background of the family, death of parents leads many women/girls to enter into commercial sex work.

Similarly, in this study, it is indicated that parental death forces girls to enter into commercial sex work. In each focus group discussions many participants stated that girls are involved in commercial sex activity, to support themselves and their siblings and all the family members when one or both of their families pass away. Of course, as they pointed out this is happened when they left with no support to survive. Likewise, some of the interviewees explained that they joined the business due to the death of one of the bread winner of the family. The experience of some of the interviewees is as follows.

### **Case- 9**

Case 9 is now 31 years old. She was born in Assela town. Since her mother and father were divorced, she grew up with her mother and five siblings (two sisters and three brothers). She is the older of her siblings. Her mother was supporting all family members with the meager income earned from selling 'Tela' (local beer). She attended school up to grade six.

Her mother died while she was in six grade. So life became difficult for herself and her siblings. They left alone with no help. As a result, she was forced to quit her education and moved to Adama to look for a job in order to help her self and her younger sisters and brothers. Then she got a job as a house maid. Though, what she was paid was very little amount of money, she helped her siblings for some years. After two years, she quit her job as housemaid and started the activity of commercial sex work to support the destitute that she was parenting.

### **5.6 Peer Group Initiation**

Peer group initiation is also found to be one of the reasons for the involvement of women/girls into commercial sex work. Some women/girls are motivated by their peer groups to do something that they feel it is good. For instance, some want to be self supportive rather than being dependent on others. The feelings of independence come from the desire to be self-supporting which are created as a result of immaturity. As it is stated in Hashim((1995), the

dominating majority group of young people that are victimized by this particular cause are school dropouts at various levels of the school system.

Misinformation about the city life is also often indicated as a factor for the migration of many women/girls. Women/girls are misinformed by their friends about the life of urban. As a result a number of women/girls leave their home. On the contrary, what they are informed by their friends and what they came to see for themselves regarding city life happens to be so different. The experience of Case 10 is presented as an example.

#### **Case -10**

She was born in Assela town. Her father was a daily laborer and her mother earned income by selling small items in 'Gulit' (a small informal open market place). She has three siblings (two brothers and a sister). Her father died when she was 10 years old. She dropped out of school from grade six, due to financial constraints faced by her family. When she explained her entry into commercial sex work, she said:

*One of my female friends who used to live in Adama told me that she can find me a job at Adama and she brought me to the city. First she didn't tell me what kind of job she can find for me; but up on arrival in the city she told me that the job was to serve in the bar. As I didn't have any option I started working as waiters in that bar, and gradually I drifted into commercial sex work.*

Similarly, many focus group discussion participants have stated that a number of women/girls enter into commercial sex work by the initiation of their friends. They said some women/girls tell their friends that they could improve their life if they join the business.

The results of the study also indicated that the initiation of peer group leads women/girls to join commercial sex work. Respondents were asked how they entered into commercial sex business. As it is shown in Table 5.4, 39.3% of the respondents were replied that they get into the activity of commercial sex work with the initiation of their friends. This shows that peer group influence has great impact on women/girls to join commercial sex work. About a third (32.7%) of the respondents also entered into the business by the initiation of intermediaries such as brokers. A quarter (26%) of the respondents arranged the work by their own initiative, while; only 1.7% and 0.3% of the respondents get the job arranged by employer and their parents, respectively.

**Table 5.4 Recruitment into Commercial sex work**

<b>How started CSW</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Own initiative	78	26.0
Friend's initiative	118	39.3
Intermediaries	98	32.7
Employer agitation	5	1.7
Parent's	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007

## **5.7 Abduction**

In this study forced marriage/abduction also found to be one of the causes that lead women to the job of commercial sex work.

Abduction is unlawful kidnapping or carrying away of a girl/woman for marriage. In most of the cases, rape follows abduction since it is taken as a guarantee that the abductor will most likely succeed in marrying the girl after negotiation with her parents through local elders (NCTPE 1999).

However, the end result of marriage by abduction is divorce, which leads women to turn away from their original place and eventually migrate to cities in search for a better life and end up living on the street or as a commercial sex work (NCTPE 1999).

In this study, some of the interviewees revealed that they were the victims of abduction. Participants of focus group discussions also stated that many women who are abducted forcefully, do not have happy life. As they said, in most cases, these girls/women do not know their abductor. For instance, some of the girls who are abducted from school are forced to drop out of school. They may have lover whom they want to marry in the future. As a result, they do not be happy to continue living with the man who abducted them, and then they left their home and go somewhere to look for better opportunities. Unfortunately, when they do not have any better choice they engaged in commercial sex work. The experience of Case 11 best explains the situation.

## Case -11

She is now 33 years old and was born from a peasant family, in East Shoa Zone Lome wereda in a small village called Chefe. She had four siblings (one sister and three brothers). She is the oldest of all her siblings. She never attended school. She was abducted by a man whom she never knew. After a year she has given birth for a son. When she expressed her life, she said that:

*I never liked the man who abducted me; we used to quarrel every day for very simple things'. My family also did not want him to be my husband. One day, as I came to know that I was pregnant for the second time, I moved to my grandmother's house and abort the fetus with out consulting any member of my family. As a result, I seriously get sick and I have been admitted to a hospital. After getting better I came back to my grandmother's house.*

*After few days my husband suspected that my family arranged the process of terminating the pregnancy. As my parents heard the rumor of the plan that they are to be accused by my husband, they determined to keep me out of his sight in distant 'kebele' with our relatives. However, I did not want to go there. And then fearing what would happen to me and my family, I decided to move somewhere. Per my plan, I came to Adama and with the help of a broker I found a job in a house where Areke and Tela is sold. After a year, I left that house and became waitress in the bar. It is now about four years since I involved in this activity. She said that '...abduction had darkened the direction of my life. I wish I was died at the time it happened to me'.*

Evidences documented above showed that a number of girls became the victim of abduction which finally end up in divorce and lead women to get involved in business of commercial sex.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONSEQUENCES OF COMMERCIAL SEX WORK

This chapter deals with the repercussions/end results of commercial sex work. The activity of commercial sex work has tremendous effect on women involved in it in particular, and that of the society in general. It exposes them to different physical and sexual abuses, social stigma, sexually transmitted infections (STI) and psychological problem (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998, Muluembet, 2000, Bekele 2003). This idea is also confirmed by others researchers (Renzetti, Edleson and Bergen 2001) who held that, in commercial sex activities sexual and other physical violence is the ‘normative experience’ for women.

Similarly, this study has also shown that women in the sex work suffer from different challenges in their daily life. To this effect, respondents were asked whether they face problem or not from their clients. As it can be seen in Table 5.1, 33.8% of the respondents replied that they face physical abuse from their clients. The majority 57.9% of the respondents reported that they were insulted by their clients. And about one forth (23.5%) of them responded that they are sexually abused by their clients. This shows that those women who are involved in the commercial sex work are suffering from different sexual, physical and psychological problems. The results also depict that they are denied their human right despite being citizens of a country. The act is against the constitution of the country and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) that the country signed. On the other hand, it reflects the patriarchal ideology that emphasizes male superiority over the female sex where women are expected to be submissive in sexual relationship and should satisfy the interest of male at any circumstances including sexual intercourse.

**Table 6.1 Problems faced from clients**

Problems faced from clients*	Frequency	Percent
Physical abuse	102	34.0
Insult	175	58.3
Sexual abuse	71	23.7
Other	8	2.7

\*Multiple Responses

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

## 5.1 Physical Abuse

One of the major problems that commercial sex workers face in their daily life is physical abuse. In the life of commercial sex work, physical abuse is common (Renzetti, Edleson and Bergen 2001). Almost all women who are involved in the activity of commercial sex work are subjected to experience of physical abuse like beating, slapping, kicking, battering, hitting and injuries resulting from violence and degrading (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005). Thus, a number of women who are engaged in commercial sex work are suffering from physical consequences which in turn have a long term effects in their future life. The physical abuse on commercial sex workers arises under different circumstances, such as, when there is no consensus between the clients and the commercial sex workers not to have sex without condom, when the clients refuse to pay what was agreed on or when they reduce the amount of money that had to be paid for the service.

Similarly, all of the interviewees participated in the study explained that they have been beaten, insulted and threatened by their clients so many times. Among these interviewees, some of them narrated their experience in the following manner.

### Case 2

#### **Physical abuse for not allowing to have sex with out condom**

The physical abuse for Case 2 is due to the conflicts created between the client and the victim. Case 2, whose background is stated in chapter four, got abused physically, by client who wants to have sex without a condom for refusing/not cooperating to the proposal. She expressed the incident as follows:

*I and my client negotiated to spend a night together, and then he took me to his place. After we have reached there, he insisted that he wants to have sex with out condom; but I strongly resisted his idea and replied 'you can do whatever you want, even you can kill me, I will never do sex without condom'. Then, he became aggressive and tried to use force and started slapping me, and then I screamed. Finally, he beat me severely and threw me out in the middle of the night. As a result, I could not go to business for many days as I have suffered a lot from the wounds. This is the one thing that I won't forget for the rest of my life. From that day on I fear to go with men far away from my working area, fearing that the same violence may happen again.*

## **Case11**

### **Injuring for resisting abnormal sex**

Her case of physical abuse was injury for resisting abnormal sex. She explained the incident as follows.

*After I agreed with my client, we went to a room. As we get in bed he insisted to have abnormal (anal) sex. I told him that I have a problem and could not do it. But he didn't trust me and started to use force. I tried to protect my self. We were struggling a lot. He finally gave up hope and he kicked me and broke my leg. As a result, I suffered a lot.*

Likewise, the focus group discussions participants agreed that women in this activity often suffer from different kinds of physical abuse such as beating, slapping battering etc. Some of them said that:

*We are abused by most of men; clients force us to do very abnormal/harmful or unsafe sexual intercourse and treat us as non-human beings. Some of our clients refuse to pay after they satisfy their sexual interest. They consider us a 'sex objects'. Having paid for it, they want to do what ever they like. If the woman refuses, she will be beaten, insulted and/or undermined by the clients.*

## **Case 12**

### **Physical abuse due to refusal of payment**

She is now 24 years old. She was born in Adama City. Her father was a soldier and her mother was a petty trader. Her parents had three children and she was the eldest. When she was only five years old, her mother and father got divorced. Due to the break down of her family, she has been given to her grand mother and she continued her education there. When she was in grade six, her grand mother died and she continued living with her aunt at the house of her grandmother. However, as she grew up, she found it difficult to cover some of her expenses for some of the things she needed. To cover her expenses she started selling *Jebilo*(tissue paper, cigarette, etc). Doing this, she could not attend her classes most of the time. As a result, she was dismissed from school. Rather she found a job a waitress with the help of a broker and finally got involved in commercial sex work.

The reason for physical abuse for Case 12 is due to the refusal of the clients to pay the money that he agreed to pay. She expressed the incidents as follows,

*My client was a middle aged man; we agreed that he takes me for over night and agreed to pay me 60 birr. Accordingly we spent the night together, but he offered only 30 birr when morning came. I refused and kept on asking hem to pay what has been agreed. He said that's all he's got and he left the room just throwing 30 birr to me. I followed him and demanded the remaining amount. He started walking out side. As I tried to hold him back, he gave me a strong kick on my eye and I suffered a lot. My eye did not heal for about a year even though I have taken a medical treatment.*

## **5.2 Sexual abuse**

Sexual abuse is very common among commercial sex workers. Though, they are the primary victims of sexual abuse, women involved in commercial sex work do not report the cases. This could be due to the lack of awareness about their right and fear of being stigmatized by the existing structure, starting from their family up to the community at large. As indicated in a number of studies, women's silence about sexual violence emanates from "...fear, embarrassment, self-blame, confusion and ignorance of their legal rights".. (Original et al., 2004).

In this study, the participants of all the focus group discussions stated how they suffer from sexual harassment. The participants identified four major points as the causes for the sexual abuse. These are resistance to use condom, inappropriate use of condom, intensive sexual intercourse and demand for abnormal sex performances.

### **i. Resistance to use Condom.**

Participants in each focus group discussion stated that refusal of their clients to use condom is one of the problem they encounter in this business. As they said, some of their clients refuse to use condom after their negotiation, and compelled them to have sex with out condom. The participants also explained that the reason why their clients refuse to use condom is that they think that it "reduces their sexual satisfaction".

Most of the interviewees also share the same idea with the focus group discussions participants. Some of them stated that the main cause for the conflicts between them and their clients are due

to refusal of using condom by men. They also added that some of their clients just come to them, to have sex in the manner they like it. They said that men (their clients) consider them as any kinds of “commodity” as far as they pay for it. In this study respondents were also asked, whether they use condom or not as a prevention mechanism. As it is seen in Table 6.2, the majority 87.3% of the respondents replied that they always use condom, while, 10% of them reported that they use condom occasionally, and the remaining 2.7% of the respondents replied that they never use condom when they have sex with their clients.

When they answered for the reasons why they didn’t use condom always, 71% the respondents reported that they are forced by their clients to have sex without condom. About one fourth (23.7%) of them were replied that they do not use condom in order to get more money from their clients who want to have sex without condom. This indicates that there is a great possibility to transmit sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDs among commercial sex workers and their clients. This contradicts the findings of some studies related to commercial sex workers and their conclusion that commercial sex workers are responsible for any sexually transmitted infections. Here, as it is identified by the respondents a number of clients are found to be the motivating group that forced women to be exposed to different sexually transmitted infections. This indicates that there is a great possibility to sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDs among commercial sex workers and their clients.

**Table 6.2 Refusal to use Condom**

<b>Use condom</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Always	262	87.3
Never used	8	2.7
Occasionally	30	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Reasons for not using Condom</b>		
Refusal from the client	27	71.0
To get large amount of money	9	23.7
No response	2	5.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

## **ii. Inappropriate use of Condom**

Some of the participants reported that, some of their clients use condom, but they purposely cut the tip of the condom without their knowledge.

## **iii. Intensive Sexual Intercourse**

The focus group participants also identified that, some of their clients want to have restless intercourse (active clients) which causes painful feelings.

## **iv. Abnormal Sex Performance.**

Some of the focus group discussants also identified that many of their clients forced them to have 'abnormal sex' (anal and oral). The participants also explained that there are different clients with deviant sexual behaviors and that these acts affected them heavily. Some complained about the disturbance of their health as a result of deviant sex practiced by men. Due to abnormal and restless sex some of them reported that they get sick for longer periods of time.

Most of them have reported that when they refuse to have sex without condom and to do abnormal intercourse they have been beaten. The participants added that, a number of their clients think that 'they can do whatever they want to do as long as they pay for it.' They treat them so badly as if "it is their right since they pay them". Most of the participants hated being sex objects. They said that the idea of being used by anyone who had money irritates them.

Similarly, about one fourth (23.7%) of the respondents reported that they experienced sexual abuse (See Table 6.1). Thus, it can be concluded that women in the sex work extremely suffer from sexual violence by their clients.

## **Measures taken by Commercial Sex Workers to Withstand Abusers**

In this study, respondents were asked whether they report or not when they face any kind of problem. As it is shown in Table 6.3, 53.3% of the respondents replied that they reported for concerned bodies usually the police station and *Kebele* administration while, nearly half (45%) of the respondents answered that they don't take the case any where. This may be due to the reasons such as these women do not know where to go and what to do; or they might be considered themselves as a "criminal", since they are involved in the activity of commercial sex work and due to the stigma that comes along with to it.

**Table 6.3. Measures taken by CSW to Withstand the Abusers**

Reporting/ appeal during problem	Frequency	Percent
Yes	160	53.3
No	135	45.0
No Response	5	1.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Reporting Body</b>		
Kebele Administration	44	27.5
Police Station	197	66.9
Other	9	5.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

Members of the focus group discussions also stated that though, they reported their cases to the concerned bodies like police station and *kebele* administrations, they are not of help to them when they encounter violence from their clients. Some of the participants also complained about the unfair treatment of the police men and *Kebele* administration staff. As the participants said, the police station and *kebele* administration do not often give them with appropriate support. This idea is also supported by many interviewees who explained that the support they get from concerned bodies is discouraging to report their cases as they usually do not get immediate justice. One of the interviewees described what has happened to her while she reported her case to the police station in the following manner.

#### Case -9

*My client and I negotiated to spend a night together. As we get on bed he told me that he wants to have sex with out condom, but I refused, then he tried to use force and slapped me on my face, then I screamed and the security guard of the hotel came to us. We went to the police station with the help of that guard. As we reached the police station, my client reported that I have stolen his eight hundred birr. Even though, I tried to tell the truth to the police man he couldn't believe me. He then released the man and made me stay at the police station for five days without any charge.*

This goes with what Original and colleagues (2004) argued. “Women’s voices are silenced-not only by the discrimination and violence they face, but also by the failure of the state to protect them, investigate abuses and punish perpetrators.” Although respondents replied that they

relatively get some help from police and *kebele* administration, the existing literature and previous research findings indicate that most of the women who became the victim of sexual abuse do not get appropriate treatment due to several reasons specially that of discrimination against women.

### **6.3 Social Stigmatization**

In this study, social stigma is found as one of the major problems that commercial sex workers suffer in their life. It refers to the negative connotations like badness, shame and guilt that is given to the commercial sex workers by the society (Health Resources and Services Administration 2003 as cited in Hanna 2007). This stigmatization has a long lasting effect on the life of commercial sex workers.

In the study, some of the interviewees Case 12 and 13 have explained that they never go to their families and relatives due to fear of the stigma attached to their activity. Like wise, most of the participants in all of the focus group discussions have explained that they are discriminated, hated, undermined, neglected by their family and community. They said that families think that commercial sex workers could influence their children, hence the majority, neither gives them the respect nor the acceptance as human beings. They rather think that they are useless, hopeless, not good, etc. Some said that people do not see them in the same way they see others and this make the subjects to hate themselves and loose their confidence. This study also indicated that the majority (62%) of the respondents did not have any contact with their family (See Chapter 4, Table 4.4). This also shows that these women do not make contact with their family, and isolate themselves from their relatives because of fear of stigma.

It is not only commercial sex workers that suffer from the stigma attached to this activity; but also their children, families and other dependents of them. They are undermined, insulted and degraded by their friends, neighbors and others. From data collected through FGD, some participants explained that their families and children are undermined and insulted by their neighbors and friends. For instance, one of the participants said that her daughter dropped out of school for being insulted repeatedly by her friends as ‘የሽርምብ ልጅ’ meaning; daughter of a sex hooker’ (FGD.1). This also indicates the connotation of the stigma attached to commercial sex work. As the daughter of this woman consider herself that she belongs to the one whom the

society undermines, she feels inferiority in front of her friends. By virtue of this complexity she could not follow her education freely. Consequently, she refused to go to school and darken her future. As she drops out of the school, it is not difficult to guess about this girl's fate. It may not be different from that of her mother.

#### 6.4 Psychological Depression (Loss of Hope)

The result of this study indicates that the negative reaction of the society and the nature of the work made the commercial sex workers to develop negative feelings towards themselves. Since they are considered as inferior to the rest of the society, they lose their self confidence, become hopelessness; this in turn affects their psychological make up.

The following sayings, expressed by the focus group discussions indicated the case of psychological effects of which women engaged in commercial sex work suffer from.

Respondents' Saying	Literal meaning
እኛ ከቆሙት በታች ከሞቱት በላይ ነን	We are below the living and above the dead.
ማጣት ከሰው በታች አደረገን	Poverty made us below others
ከእኛ ይልቅ ሞቶ የተቀበረ ይሻላል	The dead and the buried are better than us
ረሃብ አስገድዶን ነው የተዋረድነው	Hanger, made us to lose our honor
ይህ ተግባር የመጨረሻ ዝቃጭ ሥራ ነው	It is the worst of all jobs
ገላን ሽጦ ከመተዳደር የቀለለ ሕይወት የለም	There is no other life worse than selling once own body

Therefore, all the above sayings indicate the strong negative feelings that commercial sex workers have towards their activity. In most of the cases, this kind of feelings leads them to lose their hope. Because, in one hand the community already have not good concern for them on the other hand the victims also develop an idea that they are good for nothing. These feelings also forced them to loose hope, which in turn darken their future life. That is why they mostly prefer to isolate themselves and choose to be alone from their family and relatives. According to them, the mere fact that they involve in the commercial sex work, they feel that they have lost the

respect, love, care and attention of the people. They do not want others to know that they are involved in the life of commercial sex work.

## **6.5 Risk of HIV/AIDS and STIs**

Nowadays, HIV/AIDS is not only the problem of health, but also a serious problem for social and economic development. In Ethiopia as in many African countries, HIV/AIDS is transmitted through heterosexual contact (Ministry of Health, 2006). As already discussed in chapter I, commercial sex workers are one of the vulnerable groups with a high risk that are exposed to different kinds of sexually transmitted infections like Syphilis, Gonorrhea, and the deadly HIV/AIDSs.

The current study also revealed that some of commercial sex workers in the study area are found to be HIV/AIDS infected. Some of the interviewees, who participated in the case study, explained that they have been infected by HIV/AIDS after they joined the job of commercial sex work. Focus group discussion participants also gave their witness that their friends have passed away due to infection with HIV/AIDS. Some of them also reported that some of their friends are sick being infected by the virus.

While describing their experiences of how they were infected by HIV virus some of the interviewees make the following note:

### **Case 10**

Case 10, who worked as commercial sex worker for about nine years told that she and her seven years old son are now living with HIV Virus. She described how she could become victims of the virus as follows:

*When I started this work I was ashamed of asking and insisting on the use condom. I'd just simply accept what they need, I agree up on what my clients have said. I had sex with a number of clients with out using condom. I had the virus from one of my clients, and may have infected others too. I regretted what had happened in the past...I would not spoiled my life, if it were not for the lack of understanding about the good or bad things.*

### **Case-7**

She confirmed that she has been infected by HIV. When telling how she is exposed to HIV/AIDS, she said *“As I started this business, I used to go with different men. Some of my clients asked me to have sex with out condom, I did as they wished, and I believed what they told me.”* Even though she has a son she didn’t state the status of her son on whether he is infected or not.

### **Case 4**

Continuing from her story in chapter four, after being threatened by the owner to either be accused of theft or do what she’s been told, the victim did the latter and kept on doing it for the money. Unfortunately, she became pregnant with in few months she gave birth to a baby girl. After the delivery she had her blood tasted for HIV and she turned out to be positive. And she said that she has become a victim of HIV/AIDS.

## **6.6 Alcohol and Drug Addictions**

Addiction to different substances like consuming alcohol, chewing chat, smoking cigarette and using other drugs is very common in the life of commercial sex work (Phoenix, 1999). The present study also reveals the same result. Most of the respondents developed a habit of taking different drugs as they stay longer in the job of commercial sex work.

The focus group discussants also reported that substances like chat and alcoholic drinks are consumed by most of the commercial sex workers. According to them the addiction to these substances are due to different factors. For one, the nature of the work itself, demands the subjects to do what their clients like most. Some of the clients are happy when the woman does what they do. A man who likes to drink alcohol for example invites the woman to take the same. As a result, the women gradually get addicted to these substances. Some also identified that in this business, different substances are taken as entertainment. For example, as there is a coffee ceremony there is also a “chat chewing ceremony” in which all women participate. In the study, respondents were also asked whether they use any kind of substances or not. As it is depicted in Table 6.4, the majority (64.1%) of the respondents reported that they have the habit of chewing chat, 57.3% of them replied that they have the habit of consuming alcoholic drinks, while only

18.3% of the respondents have the habit of smoking cigarette. Thus, it can be concluded that most of the women who are engaged in commercial sex work are at least addicted to one of the substances.

Similarly most of the interviewees said that they have a habit of using at least one of the substances. This in turn has negative impact on their health like TB and cancer (Phoenix, 1999).

**Table 6.4 Type of substances used by the respondents**

Substance Use*	Frequency	%
Drinking Alcohol	172	57.3
Smoking	55	18.3
Chewing chat	191	64.1

\* Multiple Responses

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

## 6.7 Exploitation by Establishment Owners

Commercial sex workers are exploited by different bodies like owners of the establishments, intermediaries and others. Sex workers are vulnerable to exploitation at their workplaces and to violence at the hands of management, customers, law enforcement officials and the public (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998).

In this study, respondents were asked if owners of the establishments take percentage of money they get. As shown in Table 6.5, the majority (61.7%) of the respondents said that owners of the establishments got some sort of benefit. But only 38% of the respondents reported that they do not share it with the owners. Further, a question about who benefited more from this business was asked. Replies to this question show that a large number (63%) of the respondents reported that the establishment owners benefited more from the job of commercial sex work.

In focus group discussion, participants also stated that, most of establishment owners are concerned about how they maximize their profit rather than caring about them. They added that even though the commercial sex workers suffer a lot to get money, the owners are more beneficiaries at the expense of their life. They explained their exploitation by the owners

complaining that,” *we serve them with out payment. We are also requested to pay some amount of money ‘leave-fee’ when we leave with clients. The amount to be paid for the owner is some times half of what we get. The owners are the most beneficiaries from the whole thing.*”

Similarly, most of the interviewees assured that the establishment owners have exploited them in different ways: a) They influenced them not to create disagreement with clients for what ever reason; b) They initiate them to be attractive for men in the manner of their wearing and acting; and c) They motivated them to drink with clients. All these and others appear to show how most of the women who have involved in the business of commercial sex work suffer from multifaceted challenges in their life.

**Table 6.5 Share of money between Respondents and Establishment owners**

<b>Share amount earned for establishment owners</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	185	61.7
No	114	38.0
No Response	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>who benefit more</b>		
Myself	67	22.3
Owner of establishment	189	63.0
No Response	44	14.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: DISSCUSION OF MAJOR FINDINGS**

In this chapter, the main findings gained through analysis are discussed.

### **7.1 Commercial Sex Work as a Means of Earning Better Income**

The activity of commercial sex work is considered by a number of women/girls as an option to earn better income to improve their life and the life of their parents, siblings and children. In mentioned earlier, women are deprived of getting opportunity to education, training and skill that enable them to be employed in a professional occupation. As a result, the only option they have is to be employed in the low paid job like daily labor, housemaid and petty cash. But sill, they are responsible to support their family members and children.

For the development of any nation, the contribution that women have in production and reproduction is paramount importance. However, due to the patriarchal system prevailed in the world; women remain marginalized for several decades. Even though, gender inequality has been an issue all over the globe, the problem has multi-dimensional effect on the lives of women of the developing world than women in the developed countries. Women of the developing countries are severely suffering from chronic poverty, ignorance, disease and many other complex socio-cultural and economic problems which expose them to various forms of miserable life.

In order to survive and resolve their problem many women get involved in any kind of occupation that is available to them. This is basically due to the fact that women are responsible not only for themselves, but also for family members, too. As a result, they suffer from financial constraints to survive. This also indicates that women have an obligation of supporting their families as well as their children which in turn requires them to scarify a lot to maintain this obligation. As this study revealed, about 27 percent of the respondents were engaged in different types of occupations like petty trade, housemaid, daily labor and other kinds of jobs before they enter in to commercial sex work. Accordingly, the majority (71.3 %) of the respondents left their previous job and entered to commercial sex work as a better alternative that enables them to survive than occupations of low economic positions. The main reason for shifting to sex

business is to earn better income. For example, Case 2 in this study has tried to live on different kinds of occupations to help herself and her children. However, she was not able to live with the meager amount of money she gets through the job of daily labor. Since she is the only person to help her children she is obliged to engage in the activity of commercial sex work to overcome her financial constraints. Thus, for many women who are involved in the sex business it is just the only means by which they minimize their financial constraints.

## **7.2 Buying Sex is Tantamount to Purchasing Goods**

Commercial sex work is considered as a 'transaction' made between two persons, i.e., the commercial sex workers and their clients. The commercial sex workers receive some amount of money from their clients for the services they render. So, most of the men who visit commercial sex workers think that, they have 'full right' to do what they want to do as they have paid for it. If the woman refuses to do what is asked by her clients she will be subjected to different kinds of physical abuse like beating, hitting, battering, and slapping (refer to the experience of Case 2, 11 and 12) as well as sexual abuse including abnormal sex (anal and oral) and suffering from intensive sexual intercourse which is painful. They are also raped by their customers and exposed for different kinds of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS. The thought that customers have full right, makes the situation worst for commercial sex workers to be violated by their clients.

In the sex business, the customer sees commercial sex workers as a market in which women sell themselves and violence can even be justifiable (Anderson 2003 as cited in Monzini, 2005). For instance Anderson puts the assumption of a client towards sex business as follows.

When there is violence; it is mostly the commercial sex worker's fault. I am going to buy something. If I am satisfied with what I am buying, why should I be violent? I will be violent when I am cheated, when I am offered a substandard service, when I am abused or ill treated. Sometimes violence is because the commercial sex worker wants the client to use a condom. They force it on the client... He will be naturally disgruntled, and there will be altercations."

So, this thinking indicates that the customer can do whatever he wants to do and the woman who sells her body has no right even on her own possession.

In the study, many interviewees and focus group discussants revealed that, some of their clients just come to them, to have sex in any manner they like. According to them men (their clients) consider them as any kind of “commodity” as far as they pay for it. Consequently, all women engaged in commercial sex work are denied their dignity.

Because they are involved in the commercial sex work, they said that they have lost the respect, love, care and attention of the society. They do not want others to know that they are involved in the life of commercial sex work. The negative attitude of the society in turn imposes negative impact on the psychological makeup of the commercial sex workers.

### **7.3 Selling Sex-An immediately Available Job for Women**

To day it is observed that a number of young women are involved in the sex business. As different studies show, these women are school drop outs, divorced, widowed, and unmarried. The reasons why they enter into such business varies. Some join it due to economic problem while others for some social crises. In the current study, it is also realized that women engage themselves in commercial sex work for many more different reasons.

Many of the focus group discussion participants stated that they enter into commercial sex work because, it does not require them any kinds of qualification and other collaterals as other types of jobs required skill, education, training and experience. So in order to get immediate response for their need of employment, a number of women/girls get into it easily. Most of the interviewees also share the idea with the focus group discussants. Some of them explained that they entered into the business, simply by communicating with a broker as they found it difficult to get any other job. This implies that women are attracted to enter into this business so easily because they are not requested to present any testimonies unlike other occupations. What is needed here is only to be attractive physically and to be ready and prepare one self to be in it. It is as simple as that. Drinking places, hotels and restaurants are the sposts where most of the migrant girls/women that came into the city from different parts of the country hide themselves. They are also places where those who suffer from looking for other jobs get ‘position’ as an employee at ease but with a lot of scarification later on.

The extreme limited labor markets in towns, and the larger number of women without education skill and training, make the situation so worst for women. As a result, they forced to be engaged in any job available for them. This, goes with what De Beauvoir (1976, pp.51) said. “...the truth is that in a world where misery and unemployment prevail, there will be people ready to enter any profession that is open.”

In case of Adama where there are many establishments with a number of clients, it is not difficult for girls to join this business.

#### **7.4 The Back Lash of Commercial Sex Work**

Though, a number of women involved in the job of commercial sex work, the stigma attached to the business made them to be a person of hopelessness. The negative reaction of the society and the nature of the work made the commercial sex workers to develop negative feelings towards themselves. It deters the interaction they have with their families, relatives, neighbors and friends. For instance, in this study, Case 12 and 13 explained that they have never visited to their families. This is because they fear not to be discriminated, hated, undermined, and neglected by their families, community and friends. The family and the society consider them as ‘bad’ since they think that the commercial sex worker could influence their children. As a result, the majority of relatives and friends neither respected nor considered them as human beings.

The reflection of negative attitude of the society towards commercial sex worker forced them to develop negative attitude towards themselves and ultimately give up hope. Because, in one hand, the community does not have good feeling for them and on the other hand, the victims also develop an idea that they are “good for nothing”. This feeling also forced them to be hopeless and consider themselves as a person who doesn’t have a bright future to change her/his life. They prefer to isolate themselves and detach their communication from their families and relatives.

#### **7.5 The Regrets of Commercial Sex Workers**

It has already been said that, a large number of women/girls are found involved in commercial sex work. However, many of these women have broken hearts and bad feelings having found themselves in this business. As the findings of this study indicated, the participants in focus

group discussions, the interviewees and about 93 percent of the respondents to the questionnaire confirmed that they are not happy or they dislike this business. But, they said that they are forced to be in it and still stay within the business due to lack of any other option.

These women are in the state of regret for being commercial sex workers. Some of the interviewees expressed their feeling with deep sorrow. For instance, Case 5 was a married woman with a daughter before she joined commercial sex work. Her marriage was dissolved as her husband started consorting with the housemaid and made her pregnant. As a result, she left her house and enters into commercial sex work. When she narrated her experience, a feeling of sadness was observed from her facial expression. Her eyes were filled with tears. She said, she feels sad when she looks at her friends and schoolmate who are now employed in different governmental and non governmental organization and leading better lives. She regrets that her decision to dissolve her marriage was wrong and expressed her sad feelings by saying, “ትዳሪን የፈታሁበትን ቀን ዘወትር እረግማለሁ” literally meaning, ‘I curse the day that I decided to dissolve my marriage.’

Similarly, Case 10 who entered into the commercial sex work to support her mother and siblings and became victim of HIV/AIDs for she used to practice sex with her clients without condom expressed her regrets, “If it were be now when I understand every thing good or bad, I would not have spoiled my life.”

Thus, from the aforementioned feelings of women one can conclude that commercial sex workers are persons who need help of others not only in terms of finance but also psychological make up. One has to understand them that although they join the business for one thing or another, life treats them there differently. Some regret for what they did in the past, some suffer from missing their relatives, others from being exposed to different sexually transmitted infections and diseases including HIV/AIDS.

## **7.6 Suggestion of Respondents: A forwarding way out**

Participants of this study asked to give their opinion as to what should be done in order to alleviate their problems. Regarding this issue, in each of the focus group discussions participants have stated that they need help from governmental and non-governmental organizations to

improve and change their life. Some of them recommended that they want to organize themselves like other women. Some also said that they want to participate in the countries overall development activities if they are given an opportunity.

Likewise all the interviewees forwarded similar opinion that they want to change this life style if they get an alternative. To this end, they suggested that governmental and non-governmental organizations should give attention to commercial sex workers as they do for other parts of the society. Some also recommended that if they could get initial/start capital they want to start their own businesses (Table7.1).

**Table 7.1. Main Suggestions of Respondents to Resolve the Problem**

<b>Main Suggestions</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Skill Training	36	12.0
provision of initial capital	95	31.7
Create employment opportunity	108	36.0
Non response	61	20.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Data from the field survey, 2007

According to the suggestions made by the respondents, 36% of them wish employment opportunity be created for them, 31.7% require provision of seed capital while, 12% suggested that they need skill training to engage in productive activities. Given the interest of the women engaged in commercial sex work to get out such activity, efforts need to be made to provide them with micro finance services.

Besides, some of the focus group discussion participants complained that either governmental or the non-governmental bodies do not have concern for commercial sex workers. They expressed their complaint by saying “*we are forgotten citizens, no body considers us as part of the society*”. Most of the participants suggested that they want to change their life and leave this business if they have other alternative. Thus, this is a clear indication that much is expected to be done by governmental and non governmental bodies to minimize the challenges of commercial sex workers in the city in particular and at the national level in general.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **8.1 Summary**

Commercial sex work is one of the phenomena in the social life of human beings that has been practiced in the world for a longer period of time. It is interwoven with economic, social and political conditions of a country. For one thing or another, a number of women involved in this business and suffer from different challenges. This study is aimed at assessing the situation and problems of commercial sex workers in Adama City. To this end, the researcher employed both qualitative and quantitative research methodology. For qualitative data collection in-depth interview and focus group discussion techniques were used while cross-sectional survey method was applied to collect quantitative data.

Qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were translated into Amharic (the language in which the interview is made) and then translated into English. The data is then arranged in themes for further analysis. Quantitative data collected through structured questionnaire was fed into a computer and categorized, coded and analyzed using SPSS software. Frequency and percentage distributions were used to describe the socio-economic and demographic profiles of the sampled population. Finally, the analysis was made by integrating the results of qualitative and quantitative data.

Results of the study showed that there are a number of reasons for women/girls to join commercial sex work. These include both economic and social factors. The study also revealed a number of challenges faced by women who are involved in the sex business. Major causes for joining commercial sex work and its consequences are discussed below.

#### **A. Causes for joining commercial sex work**

In this study, many causes that lead women to commercial sex work were identified. One of the major causes is found to be unemployment. Due to lack of alternative job opportunity, a number of women/girls are forced to join sex business as it doesn't require any qualifications like education, training, skill and work experience.

Another cause for the involvement of women into commercial sex work is found to be economic need (i.e the desire to earn more money). As it is indicated in the study, women involved in this business with the expectation that they earn better income than they could earn through other low paid jobs like daily labor, housemaid and petty trading. The reasons that they mentioned is that, they found it difficult to support themselves, families, sibling and children with the meager income earned from the aforementioned low pay jobs. As a result, women join the sex business mainly to minimize their financial constraints.

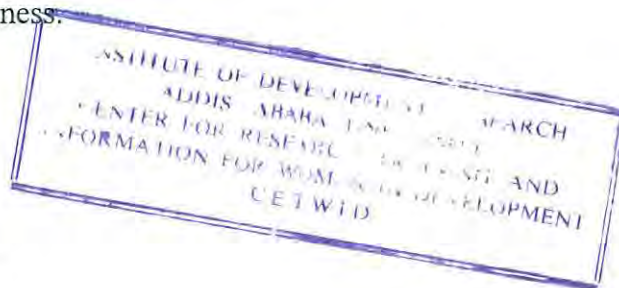
The study, also identified that the urge to support family is one of the reasons that leads women/girls enter into the sex business. These women/girls enter into the business while their family, siblings and children are in need of their support.

In the study marital disruption is also found to be one of the factors that cause women to engage in commercial sex life. Women, who are beaten, insulted, undermined by their husbands repeatedly are compelled to dissolve their marriage. As a result, they ran away to distant places to look for better life. Unfortunately, when they could not get what they thought they would they get trapped into commercial sex work to survive.

The study also indicated that girls/women engaged in the job of commercial sex work, when one or both of their parents pass away. These women are forced to join the business when they do not have any support to survive as they lose their bread winner. In this case, they are obliged to help siblings and other family members who need support from them.

Peer influence and misinformation about the city is also indicated as a factor for involvement of many women in commercial sex work. It is found that 39.3% of women/girls join the business by the initiation and misinformation of their friends.

The results of the study also indicated that abduction is one of the causes for the involvement of women/girls in to commercial sex work. Women who are abducted forcefully are not happy with their marriage. Therefore, they run away from their home and look for better life; unfortunately, due to lack of job opportunity they join the sex business.



### **b. Challenges faced by commercial sex workers**

This study also found that women in the commercial sex work suffer from so many challenges: social, psychological, sexual, physical, and sexually transmitted disease including HIV/AIDS. These challenges are summarized below.

1. Physical abuse: All commercial sex workers suffer from physical abuse like beating, hitting, battering, slapping, and kicking in their daily life.
2. Sexual abuse: It includes refusal to use condom, intensive sexual intercourse, in appropriate condom using and abnormal sex demand from clients.
3. Societal Stigmatization: That includes discrimination, isolation, undermining, degrading and neglecting are found to be some of the challenges in the job of commercial sex work.
4. Psychological depression: Lack of confidence, hopelessness, depression and fear are also some of the negative effects that women face in sex business.
5. Risk of HIV/AIDS: - The commercial sex workers are also found to be victims of HIV/AIDS. For instance, three interviewees participated in the study reported that they are now living with the HIV/AIDS virus.
6. Denial of payments: - The study identified that some of the clients of the commercial sex workers refuse to pay after they satisfied their sexual desires.
7. Alcohol and Drug Addictions: - The study revealed that commercial sex workers are addicted to substances like chat, cigarettes and alcoholic drinks, which in turn have negative impact on their health and income.
8. Exploitation by Establishment owners: - In this study it was also found out that commercial sex workers are exploited by the establishment owners in many forms. These include rendering service without payment; paying “leave fee” when they go out with their clients, entertaining the clients with out their interest to attract more customers.

## 8.2 Conclusions

The main objective of the study is to assess the causes and problems of commercial sex workers in Adama City and identify some socio-economic and socio-cultural factors that causes the involvement of women into sex business.

Causes that lead women to commercial sex work include unemployment, economic need, the urge to support family, parental death, divorce, peer influence and abduction. Above all, the outstanding case is the economic problem that women face in their life which forces them to engage themselves in the sex business. A number of women/girls enter into the business due to the absence of other jobs. Factors such as eagerness to earn more income to be self supportive and provide financial assistance to their families are the major causes for the involvement of women/girls in the commercial sex work.

Women's responsibility to support members of family particularly siblings and children, upon parental death is major factor that forces some of the women to join the life of commercial sex work. Forced marriage like abduction has also a great contribution for the involvement of many women in the sex business.

Women who are involved in the sex business are exposed to tremendous challenges like physical, sexual, psychological, and social stigma. They are also exposed to different sexually transmitted disease including HIV/AIDS. These women have been found to suffer from hitting, beating, and injuries by their clients. They also face sexual abuse in their daily life. In short, women in this business are denied of their human rights for they are involved in sex business.

The thought of clients that they have full right over commercial sex workers, make the situation worst. In most of the cases clients see themselves as if they have full right as far as they pay for it. They consider commercial sex workers as 'sex subjects'.

The social stigma and physiological damage of commercial sex work also appears to make women to deter their social interaction. It affects their self confidence and makes them hopeless and darkens their future life.

Women who are involved in the commercial sex work are victims of social stigma. They are isolated, neglected and discriminated by the society in general. The negative attitude of the society towards commercial sex workers made them to be isolated from social interaction they have with their families, relatives, neighbors and friends. Isolation and stigmatization are also reflected even in the government structure like *kebele* administration and police station. Commercial sex workers complained that they do not get fair justice and protection from concerned bodies when they face problems. Exploitation by owners of the establishments in the form of providing free services and sharing their income was also documented.

### **8.3 Recommendations**

Based on the findings of the research, the following recommendations are forwarded.

1. Since a number of women/girls are involved in the commercial sex work just to survive due to lack of employment, alternative job opportunities and provision of training should be created for girls/women that enable them to be engaged in productive activities which have multifaceted advantages both for women as well as the development of the country.
2. As the women who are involved in the sex business, suffer from physical, sexual and psychological challenges in their daily life, they have to be protected legally. Besides this, most of the commercial sex workers do not take their cases to the concerned bodies; this is due to lack of awareness of these women about their rights. Therefore, awareness creation program on women's right and human rights should be given for women in the sex business.
3. The impact of commercial sex work on women needs great attention from all concerned bodies. Currently it still is not getting the attention it deserves. A strong commitment and collaborative efforts are thus needed by concerned government, non-government and civic society like women's and youth association to combat the problems of the women engaged in commercial sex work.
4. Since the issue of commercial sex work is interrelated with economic, political, and social condition of the country, further research is paramount important to future intervention.

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## Appendix A

**Addis Ababa University**  
**Institute of Gender Studies**  
**Questionnaire Responded by Commercial Sex workers**

### A. Personal Background

1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ Year
2. What is your religion or believe?
  1. Orthodox
  2. Muslim
  3. Catholic
  4. Protestant
  - Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
3. What is your ethnic group?
  1. Oromo
  2. Amhara
  3. Tigre
  4. Gurage
  - Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
4. What is your place of birth?
  1. Adama City (Escape to Q # 6)
  2. Out of Adama City
5. If it is out of Adama City.
  - 5.1. From where did you migrate? \_\_\_\_\_
  - 5.2. Why did you come to Adama? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Have you ever attended school?
  1. Yes
  2. No
7. If your answer for Q# 6 is Yes, What is your highest grade? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Are you currently attending school?
  1. Yes (Escape to Q # 11)
  2. No
9. If your answer for Q# 8 is No, why did you stop schooling?
  1. Completed high school

2. Drop out

10. If you drop out, what were your reasons?

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11. Have you ever married?

1. Yes

2. No (Escape to Q # 16)

12. If your answer for Q # 11 is 'Yes', What is your current marital status?

1. Currently married

2. Separated

3. Divorced

4. Widowed

13. If your answer for Q# 11 is ever married, your marriage is:

1. Arranged by my parents

2. Arranged by myself

3. Arranged by my parents and myself

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

14. What was your age when you got married for the first time? \_\_\_\_\_ Year.

15. If your answer for Q# 12 is divorced, what is the reason for divorce to your marriage?

1. Infertility

2. Economic problem

3. Conflict with my husband

Other specify \_\_\_\_\_

16. Do you have children?

1. Yes

2. No

17. If your answer for Q # 16 is 'Yes 'how many children do you have in live? \_\_\_\_\_

18. When was you give birth to your children

1. Before I am engaged in commercial sex work

2. After I am engaged in commercial sex work

3. Before and after I am engaged in commercial sex work

## B. Socio-economic Background

19. Who brought you up?

1. Mother
2. Father
3. Both

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

20. What is your parent's/guardian's educational status?

1. Both are illiterate ( Escape to Q#23)
2. Both are literate
3. One of them is literate

21. What is your father's /guardian's educational attainment? \_\_\_\_\_

22. What is your mother's/gurardian's educational attainment? \_\_\_\_\_

23. What is your parent's occupation?

1. Mother \_\_\_\_\_
2. Father \_\_\_\_\_

24. What is your parent's monthly income by the time you join commercial sex work?

\_\_\_\_\_ Birr

25. Do you have any contact with your parents/guardians now?

1. Yes
2. No (Escape to Q # 27)

26. If Yes, how often?

1. Daily
2. Weekly
3. Monthly

Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

27. Do your parents/guardians (or any one of them) know that you make your living as a sex worker?

1. Yes
2. No (Escape to Q # 29)

28. If your parents/guardians (or any one of them) know about the way by which you earn your living, what is their reaction?

1. They have accepted it

2. They refused to continue their relation with me

Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

29. Do your childhood friends know about your practice?

1. Yes

2. No (Escape to Q #31)

30. If your answer for Q# 29 is yes, what is their attitude to you afterwards?

1. They have accepted it

2. They refused to continue their relationship with me

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

31. Did you experience any type of sexual violence like (completed rape, attempted rape and the like) before you join commercial sex work?

1. Yes

2. No

### **C. Present situation**

32. What was your major reason to join commercial sex work?

1. Due to economic problem

2. Lack of education and skill to engaged in other activities

3. Un employment

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

33. How did you start this activity?

1. In my own initiative

2. Influenced by friend

3. Influenced by intermediaries

4. Influenced by employer

5. Influenced by my parents/guardians

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

34. Do you have any other job before you join this commercial sex work?

1. Yes

2. No

35. If your answer for Q# 34 is yes,

1. What work did you do? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Why did you leave that job?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

36. At what age do you start commercial sex work? \_\_\_\_\_ Year.
37. How long since you have been engaged in commercial sex work? \_\_\_\_\_
38. What is your average monthly earning? \_\_\_\_\_ Birr.
39. With whom do you live now?
1. With friends
  2. Rented house myself
  3. In a hotel/bar
- Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
40. Are you supporting any one financially?
1. Yes
  2. No
41. Are you happy with your occupation?
1. Yes (Escape to Q # 43)
  2. No
42. If your answer for Q # 41 is No, what is your reason? Possible to respond more than one answer.
1. Because it is challenging
  2. It is not liked by the society
  3. It exposes to different diseases
- Other specify \_\_\_\_\_
43. If you are not happy in your present work, have you ever tried to change?
1. Yes (Escape to Q # 45)
  2. No
44. If your answer for Q # 43 is No, Why not?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

45. In your opinion what should be done by the Government or non-governmental bodies to solve problems that encountered by commercial sex workers?
1. Provision of training
  2. Provision of initial capital to engage in other activities
  3. Create employment opportunity
- Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

46. What kinds of problem do you face from your clients?

1. Physical abuse
2. Insult Sexual abuse
3. Rape/sexual abuse

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

47. What kinds of problem do you face from your employer?

\_\_\_\_\_

48. Whenever you face any problem do you report/appeal for any body?

1. Yes
2. No

49. If your answer for Q# 47 is Yes, for whom do you report/appeal?

1. Kebele administration
2. Police station

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

50. Did you get the necessary support when ever you report/appeal?

1. Yes
2. No

51. Do you share the amount you earn from sexual services for establishment owners and others (if there are any)?

1. Yes
2. No

52. If your answer for Q # 51 is 'Yes', who benefited more from that amount?

1. Owner of the establishment
2. Myself

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

#### **D. Health and Caution related situation**

53. Are you in the habit of:

1. Drinking alcohol
2. Smoking cigarettes

3. Chewing chat

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

54. Do you know about Sexually Transmitted Disease including HIV/AIDS?

1. Yes

2. No

55. Have you ever had a problem of STDs?

1. Yes

2. No

56. From where did you get medical treatment very often?

1. Governmental health institutions (hospitals, health centers, clinics)

2. Private hospitals/clinics

Other specify \_\_\_\_\_

57. Do you use condom during intercourse with your clients?

1. Yes I use condom always

2. I never use it

3. I use it occasionally

58. If your answer for Q # 57 is No. What is your reason?

1. Refusal from my client

2. To get a large amount of money

Other specify \_\_\_\_\_

Thank You

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## Appendix B

### Brief Description of Case Studies

Case	Age	Place of Birth	Educational Level	Duration in the Business
Case -1	23	Hararghe	Grade -3	4 Years
Case-2	42	Arsi	Grade- 11	5
Case-3	30	Arsi	Grade- 9	4
Case-4	33	Bale	Illiterate	6 Years
Case-5	22	Adama	Grade- 7	3
Case-6	40	West Showa Zone	Illiterate	10
Case-7	35	Arsi	Grade-7	5
Case-8	24	Tigray	Grade-4	4
Case-9	31	Assela	Grade-6	5
Case-10	32	Assela	Grade-6	9
Case-11		East Showa Zone	Illiterate	4
Case-12	24	Adama	Grade-7	3
Case-13	18	ArbaMinch	Grade-7	1

## **Appendix C**

### **Themes/ guidelines for Focus Group Discussion**

#### **1. For migrants**

1. In your opinion what are the possible reasons behind women`s /girls migration from rural to urban areas?
2. What are the major problems migrant women/girls faces in urban areas?
3. Why migrant women/girls engage in commercial sex work?
4. How migrant women/girls join commercial sex work? Do you tell me any experience of you or your friends?
5. What do you feel about the activities of commercial sex work?
6. What should be done by governments, non-government organization and others to alleviate the problem of commercial sex workers?

#### **2. For Non-migrants**

1. Why do women/girls join commercial sex work?
2. How do they join in such activities?
3. What major problems are being encountered by women in such activity?
4. What is the attitude of families/societies towards commercial sex work?
5. What do you feel about the activities of commercial sex work?
6. What should be done by governments/ non-government organization and others to alleviate the problem of commercial sex workers?

#### **3. For Ever Married Women**

1. Why did married women dissolve their marriage?
2. How do they join commercial sex work?

3. What major problems are being encountered by women in such activity?
4. What is the attitude of families/societies towards commercial sex work?
5. What do you feel about the activities of commercial sex work?
6. In your opinion, what should be done by governments/ non-government organization and others to alleviate the problem of commercial sex workers?

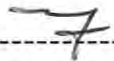
#### **4. For ever married women**

1. Why did girls leave their home/parents/guardians?
2. How do they join commercial sex work?
3. What major problems are being encountered by women in such activity?
4. What is the attitude of families/societies towards commercial sex work?
5. What do you feel about the activities of commercial sex work?
6. In your opinion, what should be done by governments/ non-government organization and others to alleviate the problem of commercial sex workers?

## DECLARATION

The thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Worknesh Bekele

Signature 

Date 23/08/07

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor.

Eshetu Gurmu (Ph.D)

Advisor

  
Signature

23/08/07

Date