

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

**CLIENTS OF GIRL CHILD PROSTITUTES:
REALITIES FROM SOME SELECTED AREAS OF
ADDIS ABABA**

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ADDIS ABABA
JUNE, 1998

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REALITIES FROM SOME SELECTED AREAS OF
ADDIS ABABA**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN REGIONAL AND LOCAL
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

BY

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JUNE, 1998**

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*Clients of Girl Child Prostitutes: Ethiopian Perspective and Realities, a
Case Study on Some Selected Areas of Addis Ababa*

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DEDICATION

To Tsehay Assefa, my wife and Genet Zelalem, my sister.

ACKNOWLEDGEMNT

This thesis indicates the nature and motives of clients of child prostitutes in some parts of Addis Ababa. The study depends on diverse sources namely, questionnaires, interviews, and observations. An attempt is made to explore the types and motives of clients of child prostitutes in this thesis.

In the course of the research for this thesis, I have benefited from the help and assistance of many individuals and institutions.

My deepest gratitude goes to no other person than Dr. Yeraswork Admassie, my advisor and mentor, whose inspiration and encouragement have been invaluable. Without his relentless criticism, the completion of this paper would have been hardly possible. To him, I owe a lot.

I am indebted to Professor Andargachew Tesfaye for his invaluable assistance in guiding me to bring the study into the right perspective. His encouragement and too critical but constructive comments helped me a lot to reach the completion of the study.

I extend my gratitude to Radda Barnen - Ethiopia for their invaluable support, without which the success of this study could have been otherwise.

I am also thankful to Forum on Street Children - Ethiopia, Hope Enterprises and Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association for their contribution to the completion of this project in one way or another. I would like to extend my gratitude to Doctor Taye and Ato Getenet Tizazu for their assistance in editing this thesis.

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ACCRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
APAP	Action Professionals Association for People
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
CYAO	Child and Youth Affairs Organization
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution from Asian Tourism
FSCE	Forum on Street Children - Ethiopia
HRI	Human Rights Internet
ILO	International Labor Organization
ISPCAN	International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
NGO	Non-Government Organization
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
US	United States

ABSTRACT

Knowledge of the clients of prostitutes has long-been recognized as an important means to combat against prostitution in many countries. In Ethiopia, to date, very little is known about the types of clients and their motives to go to prostitutes, in general and child prostitutes, in particular.

The present study was conceived to partially fulfill this knowledge gap through an exploration of the nature of clients of child prostitutes. Three groups of informants have been used to collect data for the study: girl-informants, procurer-informants, and client-informants. In addition, non-participatory observation has been made. This paper summarized some of the empirical findings of the survey. Throughout, emphasis has been directed towards providing insights into the nature and motives of clients of child prostitutes.

The analysis of the profile of clients showed that most clients are young and middle-aged men, from all social and economic groups. Great variation is seen in terms of the motives why clients go to child prostitutes. Clients are pushed and pulled by a lot of factors to go to child prostitutes. Based up on their reasons for going to child prostitutes seven typologies of clients have been identified: virginity predators, exploitative perpetrators, opportunistic perpetrators, illusory egoist perpetrators, infirm perpetrators, sexual-aim rapists, and protective perpetrators. The sex related practices of clients implied a trend of change from penetrative sexual intercourse to non-penetrative sexual outer course. The lenient enforcement of the law encourages clients to go to child prostitutes. These findings support the view that the preference for younger girls to commercial sexual services spread child prostitution.

Definition of Terms

In order to define the term "girl child prostitute," it is essential to look into the conceptual definitions of the word "child" and "prostitute." Good (1973:94) defined the term child in the broadest sense, a boy or girl at any age before maturity. Marshall (1996:52) also defined a child as either an offspring or someone who has not reached full economic and jural status as an adult in a society.

These definitions may indicate that the term child is anyone who does not reach the age of maturity or economic and jural status. However, this definition does not indicate the specific age of maturity or economic and jural status of a child. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child defines the term child as every human being below the age of 18 years, unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (Article 1 of the Convention). The Ethiopian civil code defines a minor as a person of either sex who has not attained the full age of eighteen.

Hence, the term child can be defined as either sex who does not attain the full age of eighteen years and does not reach economic and jural status.

The term prostitute is defined as a male or female that exchanges sexual favors for money (Francoeur, 1995:460). Andargachew (1988:273) defined a prostitute as a woman who engages in promiscuous sex relationship for pay and is emotionally indifferent. Hence, the term prostitute can be defined as a male or female who exchanges sexual favors for money and is emotionally indifferent.

From the preceding concepts, "girl child prostitute" can be defined as a female who exchanges sexual favors for money before attaining the full age of eighteen years. However, in the Ethiopian civil code, article 581(1) allows emancipation of right of a woman who attained the full age of 15 years by marriage contract. Any woman who is emancipated by marriage is considered as part of the majority in all the

management of her pecuniary interests. Thus, one can see some gap between the maximum age limit of a child, i.e., eighteen years and the age of a woman to emancipate by marriage, i.e., fifteen years in the Ethiopian civil code.

This is due to this gap I prefer to use sixteen years as a cut off age. Since there is no precise record on the birth date of children in most part of the population, what is being reported by girls is usually based upon their estimation. In addition, there is a practice by most children to report not the full age that they have attained rather the one that they are starting or about to start.

Therefore, for the purpose of this study *girl child prostitute* is a female who exchanges sexual favors for money before attaining the full age of sixteen years. In the course of the discussions in the paper, the terms child prostitute and girl child prostitutes are used interchangeably.

Procurer is defined as someone who obtains customers for a prostitute (Francoeur, 1995). As long as a procurer is an intermediary between prostitutes and clients, for this thesis the term *procurer* is defined as an intermediary who procures prostitutes to clients and/or who obtains customers for prostitutes.

Pander is an intermediary in satisfying someone else's sexual needs or desires, by supplying a prostitute for a client (Francoeur, 1995).

Brothel is a house of prostitution (Francoeur, 1995). For this thesis the term *brothel owner* refers to a person (usually a woman) who owns/rents a brothel.

Client is a person who is receiving the services for a payment (Stein, 1996). Some men may go to prostitutes regularly and some others may not pay frequent visit to a certain prostitute. For this thesis, regardless of the frequency of visit *client* is defined as a man who receives sexual services of prostitutes (child or adult) for a payment.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Many individuals, government agencies and non-government organizations have studied prostitution in Ethiopia as a social problem.¹ These studies show that prostitution in Ethiopia flourished phenomenally with the Italian invasion of 1935 and further developed in different forms, such as child prostitution due to a lot of push and pull factors. In addition, they ascribe the lenient law enforcement as a factor for the spread of child prostitution.

1.1.1. Historical Genesis of Prostitution in Ethiopia

The origin of prostitution in Ethiopia can be traced back to the 17th century. Pankhurst (1974:159) indicated that prostitution existed in royal camps of the Middle Ages, in the 17th Century City of Gondar as well as in commercial centers on the periphery of the empire. Mayer (1962:1-2) associated prostitution with tradition and a way of life of the society. He explained that "prostitution as it is generally understood does not exist in that it is not regarded as a dishonorable profession by either the individual or society." In the commercial centers there were divorcee women whose lives were affected by the unstable marriage custom and engaged in selling local drinks. These women also catered for the sexual needs of caravan traders and in return received different articles and gifts from their clients. Such a relationship was maintained secretly. Since the exchange of sexual services for favours and gifts between the women and their clients

¹ Some of these studies are: Mayer, 1962; Pankhurst, 1974; Laketch, 1978; Andargachew, 1989; Mekdes, 1993; Baardson, 1993; Hashim, 1995; Habtamu, 1996; Fasil 1996; CYAO & FSCE, 1996; Konjit, 1996; Almaz, 1996; Alemayehu, 1996; Kassahun, 1996; Abainesh, Fasil and Tsehai, 1997.

was not the primary purpose of their relationship this type of relationship can be described as a traditional form of prostitution.

In Ethiopia, prostitution went through several stages of development during the 20th century. As indicated by Hope Enterprises (1997:2), at the initial stage, all the prostitutes were divorcees called *galemotas* or widows - who operated behind closed doors. Later on many of the women managed to elevate their business into bars becoming, thus madams.

The modern type of prostitution emerged along with the development of towns. Most of the towns in the southern part of Ethiopia were established as garrison towns. The construction of the Ethio-Djibouti railway made many men migrate in search of jobs. Many small towns were founded along the railway. In order to cater for the sexual needs of the military forces and laborers a lot of women started to operate prostitution from bars, hotels and local drinking houses.

However, World War II gave impetus to the expansion of prostitution in the country.² Pankhurst (1974:167) wrote that the Italian occupation forces that came to Ethiopia played a major role in the "growth and commercialization of prostitution." During the Italian invasion many young men who were "bread winners" left their wives and children to join the resistance forces to fight for independence.

² It was reported that by 1938 there were approximately 1,500 Ethiopian prostitutes in the city [Addis Ababa]. During the 1960's the increase in the number of bars and nightclubs in the capital was dramatic. Around 1960 there were thought to be about 6,000 registered drinking places with approximately 9,000 women working in them. By 1967 the number grew up to 8,781 cafes, taverns and 16,080 employees. With a few exceptions, most had prostitutes attached to and working in them. By 1975 a random sample survey of Addis Ababa concluded that 13.02% of the women population were either part-time prostitutes engaged in bar and liqueur houses or full-time prostitutes in the trade (Pankhurst and ILO cited in Alemayehu, 1996).

The easiest option for wives and children of those young men who joined the resistance forces for independence was to migrate to towns in search of employment. Most of the women did not have marketable skills; therefore, they engaged in selling local drinks and food and this ultimately pushed them into discharging sexual services since vending their brews did not fully meet their needs for subsistence (Hope Enterprises, 1997:2). CYAO & FSCE (1996:4) stated that although prostitution gained prominence during and after the Italian invasion of 1935, the problem has been aggravated during the last 20 years [since 1970s].

A new form of prostitution, i.e., child prostitution, is spreading faster. Hope Enterprises (1997:2) noted that from what is seen in broad day and moonlight, the number of child prostitutes in Ethiopia is certainly in the thousands, with Addis Ababa claiming the lion's share. The same source estimated that out of the female street children [the total number of male and female street children is estimated to be over 100,000 in Ethiopia (Habtamu 1996:6)] about 28% are prostitutes. A local NGO called APAP estimated that there are 6,000 child prostitutes in the country (Abainesh, Fasil and Tsehai, 1997:33). Habtamu (1996:5) maintained that in 1996 there were over 90,000 prostitutes in Ethiopia, out of these perhaps about 18-20% are children aged 12-18 years old.

The reasons why women and girls go into prostitution are many. Andargachew (1988:283) associated the development of small trades and population movement to the increase in prostitution. A study made by CYAO & FSCE (1996:4) identified the major factors behind the increase in prostitution as rural to urban migration, poverty, a high rate of unemployment, family breakdown, natural calamities, traditional practices (primarily early marriage), and even more important, the low status of women in society.

The possibility of earning income without access to capital, skills training or education drew many women to prostitution (Hope Enterprises, 1997:2). Baardson (1993:51) also identified the need to make enough money, to be independent, to meet additional financial obligations and for maids to escape the exploitation, as the main factors that push girls into prostitution. Habtamu (1996:5) also believed that the overwhelming majority of children go into prostitution for economic reasons - to support themselves and their families.

Mekdes indicated that women/girls went into prostitution due to their earlier life experiences, emotional deprivation, lack of jobs and the inability of women to compete in the hard manual labor market (cited in Alemayehu, 1996:9).

The role of pimps in Ethiopia also accelerated the expansion of prostitution. Hope Enterprises (1997:2) maintained that aged madams recruited younger women and children for prostitution. Hashim identified four types of procurers who expedite the spread of prostitution: landladies, bar owners, guides and contract taxi drivers (cited in Alemayehu, 1996:9).

By referring to different reports of guidance counselors of schools, a study made by CYAO & FSCE (1996:13) indicated that students, as well as hotel and bar owners solicited female students to prostitute for adult clients. Similarly, Habtamu (1996:7) maintained that bar or hotel or nightclub owners, brokers, and peer prostitutes encouraged and facilitated the situation for children to become prostitutes.

Although prostitution is not a crime, in Ethiopian law, performing sexual intercourse with a minor (under the age of eighteen years) and younger person (under the age of fifteen years) constitutes a criminal offense. Articles 594(1) and 595(1) of the Ethiopian penal code indicates that whosoever has a sexual intercourse with a minor or younger person is held criminally liable and is punishable with simple and rigorous

imprisonment respectively. However, the enforcement of the legal sanctions is limited, which allows various sexual abuses and rape. Hope Enterprises (1997:11) more explicitly showed that with the lenient law enforcement, men have been free to engage in sex with children. In urban centers the culture of overlooking occasional visit of adult men to young girls also seem to contribute to the spread of child prostitution. The laxity in this regard also encouraged tourists as well as many others.

1.1.2. Historical Genesis of Clients of Prostitutes in Ethiopia

The types of clients who go to prostitutes represent different social, economic and psychological groups. In traditional Ethiopia where prostitution was confined to royal camps, clients of prostitutes were middle-aged high-class men within the circles of the ruling class. During the Italian occupation, soldiers and laborers who came to Ethiopia without their wives were the clients of prostitutes (Pankhurst 1974:159-167).

As prostitution spread clients took different forms and appeared from among the general public. A 20-year old prostitute explained that many of her clients told her that they were "Tsehafees" (clerks in government agencies), soldiers and officers (Mayer, 1962:Annex 4). She also described her clients as young people from the age of 20 to 30 or 35 and they looked modernized. Andargachew (1989:313) sees men/clients that constantly visit prostitutes as greatly wasted people who suffer from consumption of alcohol, are irresponsible, likely to be corrupt and get involved in embezzlement.

Another study described clients as young boys who are lured into trying out sex before marriage; adult men who perform indiscriminate sex both with adults and children; and adults who want to demonstrate their sexual power on vulnerable and powerless individuals including children (CYAO & FSCE, 1996:6-7). The same source also highlighted the existence of paedophiles and sadists that have a sexual interest in children and receive satisfaction by inflicting pain on others. Habtamu (1996:7)

maintained that the customers of child prostitutes are young and middle-aged married and unmarried regular persons. Hope Enterprises (1997:11) noted that the clients tend to be quite mobile men like truck drivers, passerby and tourists who are on the road a lot for one reason or another.

From this brief survey of the genesis of clients of prostitutes in Ethiopia it seems that the diversification of clients in terms of socio-economic background brought about an increase in the demand for commercial sexual services.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Studies on the demand side of commercial sexual activity are scanty. As far as I could learn, no in-depth study has been carried out on the demand side - the clients of prostitutes - in Ethiopia except descriptive statements given by a 20-year old prostitute in a study by Mayer (1962:Annex 4). This could be due to difficulties in getting reliable data on pull factors or due to the old belief that supply creates its own demand. Hence, efforts were limited only to preventive and curative measures of the supply side. But the genesis of prostitution and its persistence and proliferation are surely because of the existence of the demand itself (Sikka, 1984:217).

Prostitution is seen as a necessary evil by many people and has been the concern of many sociologists, psychoanalysts, social researchers, etc. In spite of the legal and moral controls, the proliferation of child prostitution is continuing at an alarming rate. Child prostitution (i.e., boy and girl prostitution) can be seen as a new product in the sex industry.

Despite the multiple-faceted efforts to mitigate the problem of child prostitutes, no significant attempt has been made to see the problem from the users' perspective. Therefore, any project that aims at mitigating the problems of child prostitution could

be more effective and more comprehensive if the issues of clients of child prostitutes are also addressed. It is this view that motivated this study to explore the profile of clients of girl child prostitutes, identify their motives to buy sexual services and to examine the situation in some parts of Addis Ababa. Although there are some indications to the existence of boy child prostitution, this study focuses on clients of girl child prostitutes with the belief that in Addis Ababa, the most common type of child prostitution is girl child prostitution.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to identify and explain the nature of the clients of girl child prostitutes in some selected areas of Addis Ababa.

The specific objectives are:

1. To explore about the profile of clients of girl child prostitutes and to investigate the reasons why they go to girl child prostitutes.
2. To identify and explain the factors that affect the demand for commercial sexual activity.
3. To assess policy and legal instruments designed to discourage commercial sex in Ethiopia and to identify intervention points for voluntary action groups, the community and the government.

1.4. Methods, Procedures and Sources of Data

This study was designed to identify the age, economic status, social group, and motives of clients. In order to conduct the study, I used two major sources of data.

The first sources were studies of other researchers. I reviewed different studies that were conducted by individual researchers, government agencies, and non-government

organizations. The data in these sources helped me to describe the situation in Ethiopia and other countries. For this purpose I reviewed different journals, books, reports, dissertations, essays and other documents.

The second source of data was primary data. In order to generate reliable data I identified three groups of informants using a convenient sampling technique. The first group of informants consisted of 30 girls. This group in turn, consisted of two sub-groups of informants. The first sub-group of informants comprised 25 girls who were under the age of 16 whereas the other sub-group consisted of five girls who were above the age of 16. The responses of these two sub-groups of girls helped to collect information about clients of child prostitutes.

In terms of geographic location, girl-informants were selected from Merkato, Giorgis, Piazza, Stadium, La Gare, and Bole areas. These areas are located in Wereda 01, 02, 07, 18, and 21³. In these Weredas there are a total of 325,081 urban dwellers that represent 16% of the total urban dwellers of Addis Ababa (Central Statistical Authority, 1994:11). In selecting these geographic areas I considered the relatively high density of population and the proximity of the transport stations (i.e., the bus station, the railway station, and the airport).

Regarding the specific place of work two of the girls were working in bars, two girls in brothels and the remaining 26 girls operated from the streets.

The second group of informants consisted of sex procurers. This group was further divided into two sub-groups. The first sub-group consisted of three male panders whereas the second one comprised three brothel keepers. In terms of geographic location of the procurers there were three sub-groups. The first sub-group consisted

³ In order to know about the geographic location of these areas see the map of Addis Ababa (Appendix 7).

of three brothel owners who operated from Merkato area. The second sub-group consisted of two panders who operated from Piazza area and the last pander was from the Stadium area.

The third group of informants consisted of ten clients of child prostitutes. In terms of occupation they were divided into three sub-groups. The first sub-group consisted of five civil servants. The second sub-group comprised three businessmen whereas the last sub-group consisted of two daily laborers. In terms of marital status five of the clients were married men whereas the remaining five were unmarried men.

In order to collect the data I used four tools of data collection. The first tool consisted of three sets of questionnaires. I designed three types of questionnaires that consisted of 71, 47 and 44 items to address to girl-informants, procurer-informants, and client-informants respectively.

The second tool of data collection consisted of three types of interview questions. I planned to interview five girl-informants, three procurer-informants and six client-informants.

The third tool of data collection was a focus group discussion. A focus group of five girls was made to discuss about their clients and their experiences.

The fourth tool of data collection was a non-participatory observation that I made by myself. I used this method to learn about the personal appearance of clients, the time when most clients go to child prostitutes, and some of the places where clients take child prostitutes for sexual gratification.

I went through the following procedures to generate data from those three sets of informants (i.e., child prostitutes, procurers, and clients) using the above stated tools.

To obtain information from child prostitutes, I identified first three dark corners where several child prostitutes were gathered. These three dark corners were located in Merkato, Giorgis and Stadium areas. Then, I approached a group of child prostitutes in the Giorgis area. After winning their confidence, I selected one key-informant to persuade other girls to take part in an interview and discussions. Then, I established links with other groups of child prostitutes who operated from other geographic areas including those who operated from bars and brothels.

Then, I arranged interviews for one or two child prostitutes a day. Informal discussions were found necessary to develop confidence, to test the readiness of the informants and to decide on whether to continue the interview or not. If child prostitutes were willing, I filled out questionnaires and took down notes. If child prostitutes objected to any kind of note taking, I filled out questionnaires and took down notes immediately after each discussion. Among the 30 girl-informants I selected five for an in-depth interview based on their ability to describe incidents and their willingness to get their voice recorded. Then, I transcribed the recorded interviews into 44 pages of note and compiled them together. In addition, a focus group of five girls was made to discuss about their clients and their experiences

To collect information from procurers, I used two approaches. Firstly, I approached one pander and another brothel owner as if I was a client. After several visits I managed to win their confidence. This rapport gave me the opportunity to obtain valuable information from them. I approached another pander as if I was a tour operator that gave guiding service to tourists. I asked him to bring child prostitutes for the foreign clients whom I gave a guiding service. I approached the other three procurers directly by explaining the purpose of the study.

To gather information from clients of child prostitutes I followed different procedures. On the one hand, I visited brothels where liqueur is served and studied the

relationship between a certain child prostitute and the men in the houses. After identifying two clients (the two daily laborers indicated in the study) I approached them, established rapport and gathered data from them. On the other hand, I made my observation on some dark corners where clients picked child prostitutes and identified the personal appearance of some men and the identity of child prostitutes as the incident took place. Then, I established a contact with child prostitutes that have been identified with the customers. This, procedure helped me to follow-up on clients and personally approach them. This was followed by informal discussions to extract information that are relevant to the study.

Responses obtained from the three sets of interviews and personal observations were analyzed using quantitative and case analysis methods. These methods helped me to explore the nature of clients and their motives to go to child prostitutes. Therefore, the result of the study shows the nature of clients of child prostitutes in the study area, in particular and perhaps the nature of clients in Addis Ababa, in general.

In the process of writing this thesis, I encountered with several problems. Firstly, the literature on clients of prostitutes, in general and clients of child prostitutes in particular, was scanty. Secondly, the data collection was time consuming and too costly. As far as the problem of time is concerned, I had to devote much time to win the confidence of informants. In addition, child prostitutes that were already communicated and scheduled for interview abruptly disappeared from their area of operation. In terms of financial cost the payments to entertain child prostitutes, especially at the initial stage of contact until I got their trust was too much. Similarly, the amount of payment spent for entertainment with clients in accordance with their manner of entertainment and ability to pay were extremely expensive.

Above all, the suspicion of informants, especially clients and procurers on me, made the data collection effort too difficult.

1.5. Research Questions

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

1. What are the relationship between the demand for child girl prostitutes and the following factors?
 - a) Economic and demographic factors: the rural to urban migration of children, the mobility of labor force, poor family planning and lack of capacity of parents to support their children, etc;
 - b) Cultural factors: the practice of early marriage, the desire to find a virgin girl, etc;
 - c) Behavioral factors: lack of sexual satisfaction with a partner, motives to have new experiences, deviant sexual behavior, etc;
2. What is the profile of clients of girl child prostitutes?
3. Why clients prefer to go to girl child prostitutes?
4. What is the attitude of clients of girl child prostitutes towards the use of condom?
5. What is the role of intermediaries in spreading child prostitution?
6. What is the role of the law in curbing child prostitution?

1.6. Significance of the Study

This study is expected to make contributions in the following areas.

1. Since no in-depth study of this kind has been carried out in Ethiopia on clients of child prostitutes, it is hoped that the findings of this study will generate information on the clients of girl child prostitutes and broaden our knowledge about the nature of clients and their demand for commercial

sex. Further more, it serves as an addition to the body of the research on the clients of girl child prostitutes.

2. The study will help generate vital information to address one of the ever-worsening social problems and to combat against the spread of AIDS. Unless such kinds of social problems are controlled the overall development efforts of the society cannot be fulfilled. It is also aimed at indicating policy makers, NGOs and the community at large, to identify their way of intervention against the problem.

1.7. Organization of the Study

The first part of this study consists of an introduction. The introduction deals with the back ground, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, methods, procedures, sources of data, research questions, significance of the study and definition of terms. The second part contains theoretical background and literature review. The third part presents, the empirical evidence of the study. The third part of the study discusses the profile of clients of child prostitutes, their reasons for going to child prostitutes, their sexual practices, access to get child prostitutes and the law and clients of child prostitutes in Ethiopia. Finally, summary and conclusions are presented in the fourth part.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Theories on Sexuality

In the literature there are three groups that view sexuality from different perspectives. The first group consists of M. McMillan (1981), E. Shorter (cited in McMillan, 1981), P. Branca (cited in McMillan, 1981) who believe in man-woman companionship through marriage for both sexual gratification and sexual emancipation. The second group contains M. Deraismes (cited in Barrett, 1984), Kate Millet (1971) who regard any form of heterosexual relationship between the sexes resulted in women's suppression by men. The third group consists of Simon and Gagnon (cited in Barrett, 1984) which is referred to as interactionists which see sexuality as learned behavior.

2.1.1. Heterosexual Relationship for Man-woman Companionship through Marriage

Authors like M. McMillan (1981), E. Shorter (cited in McMillan, 1981), P. Branca (cited in McMillan, 1981) believe in man-woman companionship through marriage for both sexual gratification and sexual emancipation. They see sex education, especially for men, as a means for satisfying the sexual needs of wives. In this theory there are two sub groups: social historians and family system theorists.

Social historians such as Branca view modernization as a concomitant relationship between the sexes. Branca maintained that concomitant relationship between the sexes can be achieved through marriage. Marriage, in turn, is the sharing, caring, understanding, a sexually fulfilled union and the stepping-stone toward female emancipation (cited in McMillan, 1981:30). McMillan (1981:30) noted that during the

16th and 17th centuries marriage was based on property considerations, i.e., sexual relationship between the sexes was not given the first priority. But from the 18th century onwards there was a shift to romantic love that improved the status of women/wives within the home and in society at large.

On the other hand family system theorists tend to blame extra-marital sex on the inability of wives to satisfy their husbands sexually. For them, the men turn to minors, even in some cases to their own daughters, for gratification. The concept of family dysfunction is widely used to put the blame and responsibility for sexual abuse not on the man who commits the crime but on the woman. The main argument is that the couple has a bad sexual relationship that creates unrelieved sexual tension in the abuser (Li, West and Woodhouse, 1993:211-212). Sociological and psychological analysts view male sexuality and the stress of the male role as factors central to the production of prostitution. They presume that men go to prostitutes because their wives are unable to satisfy them in some way or because men want to respite from their stress (Davis, 1993:26).

2.1.2. Heterosexual Relationship for the Suppression of Women

Authorities such as M. Deraismes (cited in Barrett, 1984), Kate Millet (1971), Adrienne Rich (cited in Barrett, 1984) believe that any form of sexual relationship between the sexes results in women suppression by men. They argue that women's emancipation from men's domination (patriarchy) can be achieved through separatism that includes a shift from vaginal orgasm to clitoral orgasms leading to the emancipation of women from dependence on men for sexual gratification. Adherents of this view are referred to as radical feminists.

Radical feminists, such as Kate Millet (1971) equate the concept of patriarchy with the oppression of women by men. They concluded (*in The Red Stockings manifesto*,

1979) that male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression ... are extension of male supremacy All men have oppressed women (Jones 1966, Li, West and Woodhouse 1993:213).

Adrienne Rich, another radical feminist, view the normal heterosexual/penetrative sex as poignant. She argues that the act of penetration represents the colonization of women's body and is, literally, a collusion with the enemy (male oppressors) (cited in Barrett, 1984). Hence, radical feminists propose the transformation of women's sexuality from vaginal orgasms (which they believe benefit men) to the pursuit of clitoral orgasms or lesbian sexuality (for which men are not needed). For them it is only lesbian sexuality that allows women the freedom to emancipate from patriarchy and to express their emotional selves - a solution known as separatism (Jones, 1966).

For radical feminists who believe in sexual politics as the core of their struggle, the disillusionment about sexuality is a means to knock men down to size and to turn the character of sexuality from the personal to political. They argue that the ideology of romantic love entails the brutal facts of rape, domestic violence, pornography, prostitution, a denial of female sexual autonomy and horrifying practices such as clitoridectomy (Barrett, 1984:42-43). They also believe that patriarchy sustains the twin image of women: the sexual property of men and chaste mothers of their children. Hence, for them the Madonna/whore dichotomy is to ensure both the ownership of women as wives by men and the assignment of household chores to women i.e., inheritance of their families and their extra-familial sexual pleasure (Barrett, 1984:45).

The works of radical feminists, influenced by Marxist ideology, allege that capitalism (cutting women off from the production process and creating a well-defined sexual division of labor) reduced women to economic dependence upon men (McMillan, 1981:29). This view turns to the direction of the underlying causes of women's subordination role from masculinity to capitalism i.e., its economic order.

Radical feminists interpret what is referred to as family dysfunction differently. They argue that there is no reason why wives should be responsible for satisfying the sexual needs of their husbands, and no reason why men's sexual desires must be gratified (Li, West and Woodhouse, 1993:212). In addition, they argue that as far as prostitution is essentially sexual transaction, it serves to reinforce the notion of power differentials between prostitutes and clients (Davis, 1993:26). As Li, West and Woodhouse (1993:211) pointed out an important element in the feminist theory; sexual abuse of children is part and parcel of the male attitude that females and children are man's property.

2.1.3. Sexuality - A Learned Behavior

Interactionists view sexuality as a learned behavior. Simon and Gagnon argue that sexual behavior is learnt rather than biologically given (cited in Barret, 1984:52-53). They describe that sexual behavior follows the dramaturgical analogy - one learns through social interaction, when a sexual script is acted out where appropriate. They argue that male homosexual identity and behavior are learned (Barrett, 1984:52-53).

2.2. Theories on Prostitution

In general, two dominant theoretical approaches are found in most of the literature on prostitution. The first group consists of theories that support the decriminalization of prostitution as an institution whereas the second group includes theories that reject the decriminalization of prostitution as an institution. Theories that support the decriminalization of prostitution as an institution again consists of two sub-groups: pragmatic social science theorists and conservatives.

2.2.1. Theories that Support the Decriminalization of Prostitution

The pragmatic social science theorists and conservatives support the decriminalization of prostitution (i.e., they do not consider prostitution as a criminal act). Pragmatic social science theorists regard prostitution as a necessary evil.

Their reasoning is based on the notion of male incontinence - the inability of men to control their sexual urges. Thus, prostitution is an acceptable outlet for male sexual needs.

Proponents of this theory believe that eradication of prostitution would result in the rise of rape and other sexual offenses (Ong, 1993:249). For these theorists prostitution cannot be eliminated without removing the causes. They also argue that such causes cannot be speedily removed. Their program involves segregated districts, public licensing through medical inspection, the protection of prostitutes from exploitation by irresponsible third parties, and appropriate public health education and measures (Barnes and Teeters, 1961:94).

The other view in the mainstream of pragmatic social science theory is economic. This view suggests that, if supply and demand match, then the only control requirements are fair play and protection for society and prostitutes alike (Ong, 1993: 259). Like in other services, the demand for and the supply of sex that traditionalists overlooked, plays a great role in the perpetuation of prostitution, in general, and child prostitution, in particular. Vendey (1996) noted that sexual activity can be understood as particularly good in so far as it meets the needs of a particular person at a given place and time.

Pragmatic social science theorists accept the commercialization of sexual activity as a fact of life and focus on the socio-economic welfare of prostitutes. Hence, this

school limits itself to the improvement of the conditions for prostitutes rather than eliminating prostitution as an institution.

Similarly, many conservatives more or less explicitly and punitively favor women's exclusion from the public sphere for they willingly accept male protection which radical feminists refer to as male domination. They do favor respect for women and condemn rape, sexual abuse and sexual exploitation. But they argue that women who willfully place themselves at sexual risk get what they ask and must accept their proper places (Fox-Genovese, 1991:92). This school provides a theoretical underpinning for prostitute users who claim that their acts are "right" since prostitutes opt for the profession for their own benefit (ECPAT, 1996).

Generally, the argument of pragmatic social science theorists and conservatives includes: 1) decriminalization would end the meaningless and degrading system under which prostitutes repeatedly are arrested, fined and released to go back to work; 2) decriminalization would free the police and the courts from involvement in a victimless crime and allow greater enforcement efforts against serious threats to public safety; and 3) there would be a considerable reduction in police corruption and intrusion into areas of private behavior. In line with this argument, reformers try to turn discriminatory laws around, replacing them with permissive or protective legislation (Davis, 1993:ix).

2.2.2. Theories that Reject the Decriminalization of Prostitution

Traditionalists and radical feminists reject the decriminalization of prostitution. Traditionalists include moralists, puritans and Victorians. They vehemently strove for the elimination of prostitution without considering the underlying causes of the problem or the complex consequences of their measures. They closed up segregated districts and threw streetwalkers in jail (Barnes and Teeters, 1961:94). In this respect, Mayhew

(1951:25) noted that Victorians assumed, like puritans, an aggressive attitude that affect the commerce of the sexes and a fetish of feminine purity as their underlying belief toward commercial sexual practices.

Traditionalists failed to achieve their purpose because they did nothing to remove the underlying causes of prostitution. Hence, prostitution has been almost a constant unsettling feature in society (Barnes and Teeters, 1961). Laws that were passed and enforced against traffic in women were not able to eliminate the evil . On the contrary to the abolitionists' contention, the regulatory system maintained important links with organized crime and the underworld (McMillan, 1981:176).

Muzvidziwa (1997) noted that in Zimbabwe prostitution was never legal during the colonial period and despite attempts to control it by using Vagrants Act, it continued to thrive. In his study, Muzvidziwa revealed that prostitutes see themselves as no different from other women who struggle to eke out a living. Hence, prostitution is viewed as another survival strategy. Where there is no effective control and inspection on prostitution, it does not only spread but also it becomes an ideal field for syndicates, such as brothels and rings of pimps (Barnes and Teeters, 1961).

Radical feminists view prostitution as a crime against women, in the same way as mandatory heterosexuality, job discrimination, rape, etc. (Fox-Genovese, 1991:93). They regard prostitution as forced-sex and an institution of gender inequality. Like traditionalists, modern- radical feminists believe in the eradication of prostitution for it plays a central role in creating and maintaining the civil inequalities of the sexes and it constitutes a violation of women's civil rights. In Western societies, there is a shift from social pathology model to a feminist or social problem model of the prostitute as a victim of inequality due to either male authority or economic dislocation or both (Davis, 1993:x).

According to radical feminists the remedy to address the problem of prostitution is to ban pornographic materials on the grounds that they constitute an infringement of women's civil rights. This proposal complies with the International Convention on the Rights of Children to protect them against any kind of abuse, of which child prostitution is phenomenally growing. However, radical feminists are criticized with the supposition that their proposed remedy limit men's freedom of thought and action.

Therefore, they feel that the immorality of prostitution justifies its designation as a criminal offense. They believe that decriminalization of prostitution would encourage more persons to enter prostitution and it goes hand-in-hand with other crimes, such as assault and theft. They argue that by arresting and harassing prostitutes, possible incentives would be eliminated to end their career and the police can reduce the occurrence of more serious crimes. Thus, conservative elements pursuit in downgrading or ignoring the legal intent on prostitution and continue coercive policies (Davis, 1993:ix).

The conceptual analyses and empirical evidences on prostitution derived from all these schools, in general, are subsumed as uni-dimensional and supply driven approaches. All these theories which are pro or against the decriminalization of prostitution, in one way or another limited their efforts to study and to provide a remedy for prostitutes - which are suppliers of sexual services. Thus, studying the demand side of the problem - clients of prostitutes, help view the problem from the other dimension and propose remedy.

A recent development in this trade in sex is the large influx of children. Narvesen (1989) has indicated the form of commercial sexual exploitation best known today, and which is usually referred to as child prostitution, is a relatively recent phenomenon. The relatively limited and quite traditional business as some people call it "the oldest profession" is now taking new and diverse forms that spread at a faster rate.

2.3. Prostitution as a "Profession "

The emergence of prostitution has been attributed to several factors. Some societies, like traditional Indonesia and South Africa, required young girls to prostitute as a puberty rite or as a means of acquiring a dowry. Some religions also have required prostitution of a certain class of priestesses⁴. In Europe, during the Middle Ages prostitution was not merely tolerated but also protected, licensed, and regulated by law for the extraction of large amount of public revenue. For example, at Toulouse the profits were shared between the city and the university and in England the bordellos were originally licensed by the bishops of Winchester and subsequently by Parliament. In most large Western cities prostitution is tolerated. Law enforcement agencies are more concerned with regulating the crimes associated with prostitution (Good, 1973:153).

The outbreak of war, where most soldiers separated from their families, is another reason for the spread of prostitution. For example, in France during the First World War soldiers and officers came to spend the forced savings of several months at the front in the company of chance female acquaintances. The existence of forced savings and the restrictions by authorities on soldiers not to see their wives and

sweethearts but prostitutes increased the demand for prostitutes during the war. This

⁴ In culture where virginity is sacred, it is the god, operating through a priest who is believed to deflower the maidens. In Indonesia and South Africa cultures, finger defloration is performed on infant girls. In India ceremonial defloration is usually done by squatting on a lingam or stone penis symbolizing Shiva, the god of sex and reproduction. In Africa and near East cultures where female circumcision, is practiced, defloration may be done by an old female, a tribal leader, or female relatives of the groom to document the virginity of the bride (Good, 1973:153).

situation not only kept the on-going prostitutes but also necessitated new-recruits to the profession (McMillan, 1981:106).

Prostitution was also viewed as a means to maintain the social order or social-accommodation. D. Kingley noted that prostitutes served the army of strangers and perverts which otherwise threatened to overwhelm respectable society (cited in Davis, 1993:4-5). They offer the criminal justice and welfare bureaucracies a steady supply of offenders to maintain organizational quotas, while reinforcing moral boundaries for respectable members of the society.

Still others associated prostitution with demographic factors such as rural to urban migration, growth of urban industrial centers, family disintegration, and the migration of the labor force (End Child Prostitution from Asian Tourism, ECPAT: 1996:7-8). A report from a group of Canadian researchers identified that continual fighting or arguments and continuous fighting in the family when growing up were the most important factors for run aways to be thrown out from home (Davis, 1993:70). As Sikka (1984:213) noted, there have always been men who have not been able to restrain themselves until marriage or whose sexual needs could not be satisfied by means of marriage alone, and the existence and persistence of prostitutes is attributed to this demand for premarital or extra marital sex.

A group of authors also relate the growth of prostitution to modernization, increased industrialization and economic openness. Mayhew (1951:32) viewed that the number of prostitutes is swollen every year, for prostitution is an inevitable attendant upon modernization or industrialization and population growth. Ren (1993:87) noted that despite the communists' victory against vice in China from the 1950s, prostitution surfaced again in the 1980s. He associated the resurgence of prostitution with economic profits (from prostitution), flourishing economic openness and the development of a special capitalist enclave in the Southern regimes.

As Davis (1993:ix) pointed out, society and law are often opposed in conflict arenas especially in the case of social control of prostitution. However, the trend of prostitution is changing in contemporary societies. This change (sexual revolution) includes: reforms in laws, globalization of trade in sex and views of women in sex trade.

In many contemporary societies, conservative laws based on coercive policies against prostitution are being replaced by reform directed permissive or protective legislation (Davis, 1993:ix). It is this kind of change that draws a lot of efforts from governments, communities, and non-government organizations to envisage rehabilitation programs.

The current commercialization of sex stems from a wish to ensure that women have the means to live a life-style in which consumerism has become the norm. According to Ong (1993:259), today in countries of growing economies large income differential exists between conventional jobs and what can be earned through prostitution. Thus, women decide on their comparative advantage of different occupations, rather than concerns about social stigmatization.

A new development in the contemporary status of prostitutes is the creation of a clearly defined split between the private self and the public self. Prostitutes have worked out an ingenious, complex psychic process to protect themselves from being invaded and destroyed by customers while working as prostitutes. They use several ways to protect themselves: avoid kissing and caressing - to keep certain parts of the body for use other than prostitution; make sexual contact quick - not to have too much time to think about it; to hide one's private life, such as names and clothing; and create anonymity to avoid attractive customers (Finstad and Hoijard, 1993:211).

The other trend is that sexual relations in prostitution take new forms. Escort services, Eros centers, sex holidays, sex therapy centers, telephone sex calls, and dating

services represent some of the newer business forms. Traffic in women/girls for prostitution is also carried out through legally sanctioned overseas employment agencies and international mail-order bride agencies. The effect of this highly organized sex trade on women shows that multiple power relations that have developed and have linked sexual labor to a wide range of vested interest (i.e., profit) at national and international level (Davis, 1993:2). The same kind of change is observed from the routinization of brothel system to other transactional systems: streetwalkers (including child prostitutes), massages parlors, call girls, etc. (Davis, 1993:x).

Generally, prostitution developed and was sustained due to: a) cultural factors like puberty rite, acquiring a dowry, religious services, and the demand for pre-marital and extra-marital sex; b) economic factors, such as industrialization, economic openness and a means to extract public revenue; etc). Political factors where men who stayed long in war fronts find a means of releasing their sexual desires by having access to prostitution; and d) demographic factors like population growth and mobility of labor force.

All these changes in the business indicate how prostitution is spreading and becoming more sophisticated in its operation and diversity.

2.4. Girl Child Prostitution: A New Strand

There is no study on prostitution that indicates the definite time as to when child prostitution came into existence. In some traditional societies such as India, young girls were forced to prostitution (Good, 1973:153). Those practices were not for young girl prostitution per se but as a puberty rite or as a means of acquiring a dowry. Different sources indicate it is a relatively recent development in the sex industry. Narvesen (1989:21) noted there are strong indications that the form of commercial

sexual exploitation/child prostitution is a relatively recent phenomenon. He further described that today child prostitution and pornography are the worst forms of child exploitation.

Narvesen (1989:21) indicated the commercial sexual exploitation of children in the Philippines to a large extent developed in the 1970s and 1980s. Lowman (1993:57) wrote that public and police reports revealed street prostitution and juvenile prostitution grew in major Canadian cities in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Hooja (1970:189) explained that in Rajasthan, India, the society has moved from a hierarchy of public prostitution to a period of widespread of clandestine prostitution with family, women and teenagers coming to the forefront.

In Laos, trafficking children began at the end of the 1980s when it opened its boarder to implement a market economic order. A study prepared in conjunction with Labor and Welfare Ministry of Laos indicated that the number of children lured into the sex industry and working under slave-like conditions has increased since 1991 (Barnen & Vi, 1996:14). Reports of field studies conducted in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Philippines showed the great increase in child prostitution in connection with the increasing incidence of Western pedophile sex tourism (Barnen & Vi, 1996:16). In his detailed case study of Thailand, Truong showed the expansion of tourism in southeast Asia since the 1960s resulted in an increased diversification of the entertainment business and affiliated form of prostitution that included child prostitutes (largely drawn from run away and homeless population) (cited in Davis, 1993:2). In Bogota, Columbia, the number of sexually exploited street children has increased 500 percent in seven years (between 1988 and 1995).

Children in certain African countries, such as Kenya and Mozambique were affected by sex tourism in the 1990s (Barnen & Vi, 1996:16). In Tanzania, child prostitution has spread since the expansion of modern education. The diminishing role of initiation

rites and the longer time gap between puberty and marriage lead many teenage girls to unwanted pregnancy. For any pregnant girl is not worth a cent to the father, the family often rejects her. Thus, for many girls, the only solution is a life on the street as a prostitute (Barnen & Vi, 1996:30-31).

Factors that contribute to the expansion of child prostitution are many in number and complex in nature. As indicated in CYAO and FSCE (1996:3), unhappy childhood, broken homes, poverty, lack of opportunities for learning and early abusive and traumatic experiences push and increase the number of women and girls into prostitution. The larger groups of girl child prostitutes were drifted to prostitution other than simple economic reasons. As some studies (Hagner, 1996:11, Davis, 1993:2) indicated, young girls as little as eight to ten years have been tempted, lured, and rejected by family members with the expectation of economic support from child prostitutes. In addition, trafficking children as a lucrative venture has contributed to the increased magnitude of child prostitution.

Moser (1998:9) noted that in Chawama (Zambia) and Cisne Dos (Ecuador) children are sent out for hidden labor (that includes prostitution) in poor households where adult workers are not able to earn enough to keep the family. In Laos reports about orphaned children living with a single parent indicate orphaned children are among those with the greatest risk of ending up in the sex industry or as forced labor (Barnen & Vi, 1996:15).

In some cases culture also has played a large role in aggravating child prostitution. For example, in traditional Thailand men were encouraged to take many wives and a man's wealth and standing in society often determined the number of female sexual partners he had; thus, many wealthy men kept minor wives (ISPCAN, 1996:38). In some Asian countries like China and Singapore defloration has been seen as hit the

red, i.e., hitting the jackpot in a lottery game (good fortune) and the red - the virgin's blood has a cleansing effect or draining off any venereal infection (Long, 1993:342).

Another source associated premature and exploitative sexual practices with home environment. Deprived and chaotic homes are background characteristics for many prostitutes. Low social standards and general neglect exposed children prematurely to adult sexuality. Domination, drunkenness and physical abuse are linked with sex from the start in which conditions coercive or precocious sex is part and parcel of a home environment where personal relationships are often uncaring, violent or exploitative (Li, West and Woodhouse, 1993:13-14).

Another study on 228 female prostitutes and 200 street prostitutes, respectively asserted that incest, premature sexual advances, forced intercourse, and early sexual trauma, contributed significantly to their decision to turn to prostitution (Li, West and Woodhouse, 1993:12). The problem of early sexual encounter is not only limited to its effect on child prostitution, but also promotes lesbianism and other deviant behavior. According to Kinsey's study, females who had intense sexual contact with older males in childhood show a trend towards lesbianism (cited in Li, West and Woodhouse, 1993:15). Similar studies of specialized penal and clinical samples of neurotics, the sexually disordered, prostitutes, homosexuals, pedophiles, and drug abusers have all found a remarkably high prevalence of histories of child - adult contacts supposedly partly responsible for the current deviant behavior or symptomatology (Li, West and Woodhouse, 1993:11).

Prostitution is also considered an urban phenomenon. Blanc (1994:45, 336-37) indicated that his cross sectional study on child prostitution asserts the potential for young girls (and boys) to be enforced, to slide, or to be enticed into prostitution is very real. Some countries have a longer tradition of urban poor prostitution than others do. On the other hand, in some cities like Manila, Philippines, the rise in the number of

migrants and the deterioration of industrialized urban services like school and health services turn most children to prostitution.

Narvesen stated rapid urbanization, the colonial legacy, a wide spread machismo, foreign military base, international trade and tourism, as well as the increasing number of female supported house holds as major causes of the rapidly growing problem of female and girl - child prostitution (cited in Blanc, 1994:44).

In Eastern Europe, the spread of sexual exploitation of children is associated with the political transformation of countries from severely controlled plan economies to an extreme-market economy (Barnen & vi 1996:11).

Authorities and professionals of different countries seem to index their fingers with one another as the cause for the proliferation of child prostitution in particular and child exploitation in general. HRI described the speeches delivered by representatives of industrialized and non industrialized countries on the First World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Stockholm, Sweden, in the following manner.

Although the speeches were intended to be politically neutral, there was an under-current of blame - the more stereotypical child sex tourist havens (Thailand, Nepal) subtly pointed toward the West, implying that without Western demand for child prostitutes there would be no supply. Conversely, the West pointed to the lure of the East: without the pools of young prostitutes in the sex tourist havens, a wealthy, powerful American businessman would have nowhere to go (HRI, 1997:9)

As indicated in ECPAT (1996:7-8) commercial sexual exploitation of children is described as various activities through which children are exploited for their commercial value such as prostitution, trafficking and pornography. It refers to market

elements (i.e. supply and demand) that evolve the push and pull factors. Factors that are identified by ECPAT as push and pull factors are summarized in table one.

Table 1

Push and Pull Factors of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

PUSH FACTORS	PULL FACTORS
Economic conditions: especially rural poverty fueled by economic development policies and the erosion of the agricultural sectors	Criminal networks who organize the sex industry and recruit the children
Rural to urban migration; growth of urban industrial centers;	Corruption of authorities in the child sex trade;
Gender inequality, discriminatory practice;	Child labor practices including bonded and forced labor;
Responsibility of children to support families;	Traditional land cultural practices including the demand for virgins, the cultural practices of men prostitutes, intergenerational patterns of girls entering prostitution;
Move from subsistence to cash based economy;	The demand of sex tourists and pedophiles;
Increase of consumerism;	The international promotion of the child sex industry through information technology;
Family disintegration	The demands of foreign sex industries creating international trade in girls and women;
Growth in the number of homeless children;	Fear of AIDS leading to customers demanding younger prostitutes;
Lack of educational , employment and vocational opportunities;	Arranged marriages of child brides sometimes only to be sold into brothels after marriage;
Lack of laws and law enforcement	Military presence creating demand for child prostitutes;
Discrimination against ethnic minorities;	Demand from the migrant labor force;
AIDS - the death of family income earner forces children into the sex trade.	

Source: Adapted from ECPAT, 1996: 7-8

By the impetus of all these underlying causes, the magnitude of child prostitution is quite astonishing. According to HRI (1997:9) a reasonable estimate to the number of children in prostitution range between 2,000 in Cambodia and 500,000 in India. In many countries like China, India, Philippines, and Thailand prostitutes under the age of 18 years are referred to as child prostitutes.

Generally, child prostitution could be seen as a new product in the trade in sex industry, which is growing at a fast rate in different countries. The reasons for the spread of child prostitution cannot be easily singled out. They range from household economic problems to the international trade and tourism. They constitute reasons that vary from simple casual conflicts with family members up to complicated traumatic and psychological effects of premature sexual encounter with adults. All these variations on causes for prostitution indicate to the dynamic nature of child prostitution

Recommendations to arrest the increase in child prostitution have been made by different authors. Attempts to reduce the supply of child prostitutes failed in many countries like Thailand, Japan and Taiwan because it was not possible to decrease the demand. Hence, they tend to recommend the creation of more recreation facilities to develop healthy and happy families and ensure migrant workers have the chance to live with their families (ISPCAN, 1996:39).

A joint study by CYAO and FSCE (1996:7-8) presented the following recommendations to curb child prostitution. Improving the economic condition of the country, raising awareness and understanding of families and community leaders about the problem, promulgate and enforce laws and rules against child prostitution, strengthening family ties and better morality, and sex education.

Blanc (1994:337) gave the following specific recommendations for an effective intervention against child prostitution. He pointed out the requirement of an alternative

income generating activities for the girls, a shelter/home for temporary transitional periods for sexually exploited girls, the availability of non coercive specialized health facilities, emergency support of the family and reinforcement of other alternatives, such as education and job training to promote opportunities for better jobs.

These recommendations generally include measures against child prostitution at international, national, local and household levels. In addition, they constitute preventive and corrective measures to control child prostitution. Mutual cooperation between governments and societies is quite important to take any kind of measure against child prostitution. It is not the perfection of programs that matter now, but it is the timing to implement any kind of program that can curb, if not stop, the flood of child prostitution.

2.5. Clients of Prostitutes

The emergence and development of prostitution as an institution obviously involved the participation of prostitutes and their clients. As sources indicate (Hooja,1970; Ren, 1993; Barnes and Teeters, 1961; and Hatty, 1993) clients of prostitutes consisted of men who represent different socio-economic classes. Their reasons for visiting prostitutes are also quite diverse.

According to Ren (1993:88) pimps often brought prostitutes and their clients in ancient China together into a secure, structured brothels where music, dancing and dining services were provided. Upper-class men patronizing prostitutes were supported by Chinese traditions, customs and laws and were accepted as a class privilege. On the other hand, for the lower-classes sex outside of marriage was suppressed by social mores and authorities. Thus, most of the clients were affluent upper-class men.

During the medieval period when kings, princes, and jagirdars governed the various states of Rajautana, India, there were three groups of clients whose needs were catered for by different prostitutes. The first group consisted of the rulers whose sex needs were catered for by beautiful girls and young women who were trained for this purpose in the palace. The second group of clients consisted of commoners whose sex needs were catered for by young girls who joined the profession because of various reasons such as poverty, destitution, unhappy marriage and family life, desertion by husband, kidnapping, deception, ignorance, desire for easy life, and indifferent upbringing. They were recruited by pimps, touts, procures and brothel keepers. The third group of clients constituted men such as truck drivers, travelers, school and college students whose needs are catered for by known prostitutes from about six tribes (Hooja, 1970:189).

Barens and Teeters (1961:93) noted that prostitution flourished during the 19th century with the growth of the Eastern industrial cities and the rise of Western mining town, in both of which there was a large contingent of unmarried males.

Many cross-sectional and longitudinal studies indicated that clients represent men from diverse social classes and economic background that attribute many factors to their visit to prostitutes.

In terms of the marital status some of these studies (Finstad and Hoigard, 1993, Barens and Teeters, 1961, and Hooja, 1970) revealed that most of the clients are single. On the other hand other studies (Hatty, 1993, de Graaf, 1995, Lowman, 1993 and Millet, 1971) disclosed that most of the clients of prostitutes are married. However, in all studies although the numbers vary, clients constitute both married and single men. As far as the age of clients is concerned the study of Finstad and Hoigard (1993) indicated that 75% of the clients are between the age of 15 and 25. The same conclusion was made by Hooja's study. Other studies (de Graaf, 1995, and Lowman,

1993) showed that most of the clients are between the age of 20 and 40. Millet (1971) and de Graaf (1995) noted that men as old as sixty-seven years are among the clients of prostitutes.

The occupation structure of clients constitutes men who are travelers, school/college students, truck drivers, commoners, and even authorities (Hooja 1970, Hatty 1993).

The reasons why men go to prostitutes for buying sexual services are many. Most of the above stated studies identify similar reasons for going to prostitutes, such as:

- dissatisfaction in sex with wives;
- lack of alternative sexual outlet;
- perversion.

In terms of sexual practices, most clients of prostitutes perform similar practices.. Clients give some food, cigarettes, candy or sometimes money to girls for their services. The sexual act, usually oral sex, is performed in some corner of the station areas in a car outside or perhaps in bushes (Hagner, 1996:11).

According to a detailed study on prostitutes, customers by the Taipei City Administration of Taiwan in 1983, there was a clear indication that only a few men visited sex businesses exclusively for the purpose of sexual release. However, most customers claim that their visits were primarily for social and entertainment purposes (McCaghy, 1993:290).

The other important finding of the study by Finstad and Hoigard (1993) is of all Norwegian men who paid for sexual contact with prostitutes about 80% bought sex only abroad which shows the strong association between the trade-in-sex and international travel.

According to Hatty (1993:41), over the past decade the shift in male sexual practice has been recorded in Australia by the increase in demand for fellatio (without ejaculation), sodomy and bondage and discipline (sadoomasochism). Though regular clientele which often preclude the necessity to advertise is developing, the client varies according to the specific material and sexual conditions of contemporary prostitution. Another study by Lowman (1993:74-75) noted that some of the men who patronize prostitutes are dangerous individuals with potential for rape, robbery and assault.

2.6. Clients of Girl Child Prostitutes

Child prostitution is a recent and fast growing offshoot phenomenon from the sex trade. Apart from the push factors that drive out children from the home and the role of middlemen who facilitate the recruitment of children into prostitution, understanding about the users is of paramount importance.

As indicated in a study carried out by Radda Barnen (1996:175) any concern about the commercial sexual exploitation of children shares the same concern about all prostitutes users. Therefore, any questions about the identity and motivations of child sex exploitation are also necessary questions about prostitute users in general. Hence, care should be taken not to generalize that clients of minor girls are quite separated from the general category of prostitute users.

A study by ISPCAN (1997:38) indicated in Thailand most migrant workmen who have exploitative traditional attitudes towards sex couldn't come to urban centers with their families. Thus, they increase the demand for sex services, which lead to trafficking younger girls into prostitution. In addition, wealthy men spend more money on sexual entertainment with adolescent girls, aged 15-17 who are considered fresher than older, more experienced commercial sex workers do.

Narvesen (1989) noted the people who exploit children sexually are both local people from the child's own environment and strangers who come to the area. The customers are predominantly men who mainly influence children to a service provided on a single occasion for payment. In terms of their behaviors many of the children reported that there were brutal and sadistic customers.

Looking at organizations, regimes and attitudes Ray concluded that most men who abuse children in Thailand and the Philippines are not pedophiles but are ordinary people like everybody else (cited in Radda Barnen, 1996:181).

Offenders are another group of clients in girl child prostitution. A study conducted by Radda Barnen (Art. No. 97-1093:20-21) about the sexual abuse of children with disabilities (which is also true for other children) categorized offenders as service providers, acquaintances, neighbors, family members, peers, members of foster families, step relatives, dates, and transport providers.

Feminists who work on rape stress the fact that virtually all perpetrators of child sexual abuse (the majority of victims are young girls) are male. They always use physical violence, threats, entertainment, or a combination of these to coerce the child into submission, as well as to force her to keep silent (Li, West, and Woodhouse 1993: 211). In their publication feminists explain their understanding about men as any man, no matter how much he is trusted, is capable of sexually assaulting a girl (Li, West, and Woodhouse 1993:143).

In his study de Graaf (1995:136-138) noted that the choice of a certain type of prostitution depended above all, on the characteristics of the different types of clients. For example, men who visited window and street prostitutes indicated that they found it convenient to make a choice between the various women/girls available. The relatively low cost charged by these types of prostitutes is also regarded as an

advantage. De Graaf noted that one of his respondents used street prostitution because the client thought that he could have the upper hand over the prostitutes.

Judith regard customers of child prostitutes as human beings with human needs and questions the prevailing public attitude that support targeting of clients for action by law enforcement (cited in Radda Barnen, 1996:177-78). In line with the same belief from 1992 to 1995, ECPAT monitored the activities of pedophiles and sex tourists in Asia and documented the names and details of 160 foreign men (the overwhelming majority are from Western countries and few from Arab and African countries) who had been arrested by Asian police for sexually abusing children.

On the other hand, in East Europe most of the customers of street prostitutes are their own countrymen. These clients are poor men who prefer adult women but turn to little girls between the age of eight and ten years for they cannot afford for the cost of adult women (Barnen, 1996:11).

Generally, clients of girl child prostitutes are ordinary people like anybody but go to child prostitutes to satisfy various needs. Some men enjoy seeing what they want to buy, others go to buy the sexual service at cheaper cost, many others go for safe sex and practice defloration, still others go to exercise their perverse acts. Hence, it can be said that going to child prostitutes is a purposeful activity to some part of the male population.

2.7. Facilitators of Prostitution

The role of intermediaries in selling girls or their services, would be traced back to the oldest traditions of different societies. In traditional India the Devadasi system - dedicating a girl from a family to a deity to sing and dance in worship at the temple and vowing to remain unmarried for life - was considered highly auspicious for the donor

family and was held highly rewarding for any other person to purchase girls and dedicate them to temples. The transactions (the practice is still prevalent in certain border areas of Maharashtra and Karnataka of India, where about 5,000 to 6,000 girls are dedicated every year) take place behind the facade of a religious ceremony. Priests, their families and older devadasis who have taken to prostitution, act as middlemen in selling these girls to procurers for the flesh market (Sikka, 1984:215).

The further development of brothel operation has been considered as an urban problem. Khan and Singh (1987:445) describe the situation as follows:

Previously, there used to be brothels and houses but following the action by law enforcement agencies, they have changed into dancing joints and marriage houses. Young and attractive girls, mostly from the rural and tribal areas, are trained in the area before being offered in the market. Some of them are coerced, even mentally and physically tortured. Not only do madams and bhaiyas manage these establishments, but also the local musclemen oversee these. Besides, there operates a chain of pimps and touts. Consequently, the woman selling her body is not the sole beneficiary. Several others, including sometimes by unscrupulous law enforcement officers share her earnings. Such an organization or system is inconceivable in a rural setting.

In time brothel operation was undertaken even in the modern and legitimate businesses. As Sikka (1984:217) indicated many shady massage parlors, health centers and dancing schools have sprung up like mushrooms in big cities and carry on the flesh trade under the cover of the license obtained for legitimate business. Most of their female employees are said to be hired from brothels.

Brothel keepers coerce their contract girls to exploit in every possible way. Mathur and Gupta noted that purchased girls are made to work hard in entertaining the maximum number of customers (cited in Sikka, 1984:221). Physical violation and starvation are used to break their resistance and to control them thereafter. Similarly Rao and Rao

stated the brothel keepers to compel the woman to embrace the profession (cited in Sikka, 1984:221) resort to the methods of physical and mental torture

McCaghy and Hou (1993:288) generalized that brothel women are illiterate, naive villagers who are exploited by the owners. Their workload is high where they have to cater for low-class males with no choice about refusing service to customers. They are carefully supervised by guards or madams, even to the point of being escorted on trips outside the brothel. Most strikingly, girls between 12 and 16 have to receive between 30 and 50 customers a day.

Millet (1971:67) described pimps and their exploitation against girls as follows:

...pimps really do nothing. They do not get your dates. They provide no service at all and do nothing at all day. They gamble, they drink, and they beat you up. They ride around in them Cadillacs. They look pretty. They stink from perfume. Pimps don't do a damn thing for you. They spend all your money. That's what they do for you. They will bail you out of jail only cause you re their money. But you can bail yourself out of jail and you can keep your own money. You do not need a pimp.

Generally, stakeholders in facilitating prostitution and worsening sex exploitation are of different groups. Sex exploiters are not only prostitute users but also suppliers and protectors that include pimps, brothel owners, parents, government officials, local politicians, the police and domestic workers employers and agencies (Radda Barnen, 1996:184).

Studies (McCaghy and Hou, 1993:296, Davis, 1993:xii, Sterk-Elifson and Campbell, 1993:193, Ong, 1993:247) indicated lot of efforts have been made by the influence of the feminist wave, the Calvinist religion (in The Netherlands) and movement in good districts (in Singapore) but were not able to render effective results. For example, in The Netherlands there was a special prison for pimps until mid 1980s to arrest them

with the assumption that prostitutes would leave their profession if pimps were not able to recruit them (Sterk-Elifson and Campbell, 1993:193). However, Davis (1993:xii) noted that efforts to punish pimps and clients have been only moderately effective because neither enforcement customs nor public out cries support prosecuting men.

A study by Radda Barnen (1996:176) regarded intermediaries as part of the general group of exploiters who participate in exploitation before and after entering prostitution.

Prior to entry into prostitution society, those who have the political and economic power and the family are exploiters of prostitutes. After entry into prostitution, the exploiters include the collective of traffickers, pimps, brothel keepers, clients and employers of domestic servants.

To sum up, facilitators of child prostitution are those who use different means to make profit at the expense of the lives of young girls.

2.8. The Law and Clients of Prostitutes

Prostitution has been long standing and not yet settled debatable public issue. Women involved in prostitution are assumed: to have a life of degradation and servitude, being immoral, exposed to exploitation, to live in fear of violence, brutally assaulted, subject to sexual and physical abuse, psychologically mistreated, and exposed to the danger of HIV/AIDS infection (Kassahun, 1996:13). Early concern over the health aspect of prostitution, such as transmission of venereal disease from prostitute to client, now manifests itself as a concern over the spread of AIDS (Hatty, 1993:17).

The United Nations also showed concern for commercial sexual exploitation of children and recognized the right of children to protection against sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (The Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989: articles 34 & 35).

Generally, in various legal systems there have been two major approaches concerning prostitution: prohibitionist and permissive approaches.

Prohibitionist approach uses prohibition or repression as the way to deal with prostitution per se. Proponents of this approach view prostitution as a moral and social evil. For example, Lutheran and Calvinist religions in USA violation of moral norms (i.e., all emotional needs are to be satisfied in marriage alone) is ascribed to prostitution (Brrigs, 1962:718). Other reasons for the prohibition of prostitution is the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases and also related crime activities such as robbery, assault, narcotic use and public decency (Kassahun, 1996:20-24). Historically, humanists view prohibition as reclaiming prostitutes from a life of sin and degradation (Davis, 1993:xi).

On the other hand, the permissive approach focuses on attacking the root causes of prostitution. Fletcher views prostitution (although it is for hire) as a private matter where there is no compelling public interest. Accordingly, it considers any interference and regulation of law as a violation to the right of privacy thus discriminating against the prostitute. This approach argues that the law should not plug its hands into private matters and if it does it will not succeed (cited in Kassahun, 1996:21-22).

Both approaches prohibit prostitution-related activities such as pimping, procuring letting a house for the purpose of prostitution, etc., despite their varying stands on the very practice of prostitution. Their methods of regulation include licensing, segregation and prohibition of solicitation (Kassahun, 1996:15-26).

Traditional (Prudish) societies are more likely to opt for detention and resocialization everywhere the evidence suggests that such coercive mechanisms have little success in changing prostitutes lives (Davis, 1993:xi). According to J. Gray the success of a concerted campaigns waged against the white slave trade by Christian moral reform

associations in Canada, social purity movements in Britain, and the US is difficult to assess (cited in Davis 1993:66). Davis (1993:viii) also noted that capturing the state of the art, or an understanding of prostitution today from an international perspective, suggests we now enter a highly inflammatory domain where debate in invariably rancorous and status quo policies yield risky outcomes.

Explanations given for the failure of legal control systems are diverse and represent different views on prostitution. Most critiques center their argument on the uni-dimensional and discriminatory nature of laws themselves and powerful interest groups behind them.

Briggs explained that all provisions and court rulings penalize only the supply side of the act leaving demand side untouched (cited in Kassahun, 1996:19). It is only the prostitute who in most instances is coerced into this life by factors beyond her control. Similarly, Davis (1993:viii) opined that the selective, gender-biased, and hierarchical nature of control often exploits and damages women. Still others view regulatory proposals as degrading the human rights of the prostitutes and are stigmatizing (Kassahun, 1996:27). In some countries like Singapore where there is age-specific legislation for sexual contact, the failure of regulatory approaches is attributed to the exceedingly complex nature of legal controls (Ong, 1993:252).

The counter argument for all these failures is given by Wolfenden report .

If it were the law's intention to punish prostitution per se on the ground that it is immoral conduct, then it should provide for the punishment of the man as well as the woman. But that is not the function of the law. It should confine itself to those activities which offend against public order and decency or expose the ordinary citizen to what is offensive or injurious, and the simple fact is that prostitutes parade themselves more habitually and openly than their customers, and do by their continual

presence attracts the sense of decency of the ordinary citizen. (quoted in Kassahun, 1996:27).

The other approach to curb prostitution focuses on curtailing the supply and demand side of the market. According to Finstad and Hoigard (1993:221-222) the supply must be curtailed by sexual and socio-political initiation not by legislation. Criminalizing those who demand the services can also restrict the demand. Proponents of unilateral customer criminalization argue that most women are recruited from lower working class groups thus lawbreaking is for material and cultural reasons, deeply integrated in their life-styles. On the other hand, most customers have other roles by which they define themselves, such as employee, husband, father and uncle. The majority of the customers does not resemble normal violent criminals but are integrated into society. When the perpetrator is enmeshed in his way of life, punishment and deterrence have a positive effect. The whole purpose of customer criminalization was to disappear a portion of the prostitution market and to limit the total volume of prostitution.

In line with this argument, another most acute area for intervention is commercial sexual exploitation of children. According to Human Rights Internet (1997:7) The First World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children calls all the states in cooperation with national and international organizations and civil society to accord high priority to action against the commercial sexual exploitation of children; to prevent children from entering the sex trade, criminalize the commercial sexual exploitation of children; and penalize all those offenders involved, review and revise laws, policies programs and practices to eliminate the commercial exploitation of children.

Contemporary intervention policies in countries take different forms depending on their own objective conditions. For example, in Brazil the new institutions have risen, such as the women's police stations (that are lead by women lawyers, judges, social

workers and police) whose emphasis is on intervening in violence against women (Kosorski, 1993:53-54). During the 1980s, in Australia, the principal mechanism of intervention with prostitutes was the Australian Prostitutes Collective. It operates on AIDS - related funds to provide a number of services, such as AIDS prevention and education within prostitution, workshops on safe sex, advice to workers and clients, and needle and syringe exchange (Hatty, 1993:38). Challenging the structure of international trafficking in women/children through Human Rights initiatives and giving priority to international, national and local endeavors to transform from a victim into a prostitute survivor, is another approach to help relieve human sufferings (Davis, 1993:10).

Generally, the nature, form and magnitude of prostitution and partakers are coming to be more complex and more sophisticated. Hence, the legal and policy interventions which limit and control the size of prostitution of a given society, should be more integrated, prioritized with short and long term goals, and based upon the specific context of a society in question.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIN

The analysis of data is made based upon the responses of three groups of informants. The first group consisted of 30 girl-informants, the second group, 6 procurer-informants, and the third, 10 client-informants.

The first group, that of the girl-informants, had in turn two subgroups of informants. Twenty-five of the informants were child prostitutes under the age of 16 whereas five of the informants were prostitutes above the age of 16. This mix of informants helped to obtain information about clients of child prostitutes.

The second group of informants consisted of six procurer-informants (i.e., three male panders and three women brothel owners). This group of informants provided information about the clients from the perspective of the intermediaries.

The third group of informants was clients that were interviewed based upon their availability during the study.

Taken jointly their responses are expected to shade some light on the identity and other attributes of child-prostitute clients. Responses obtained from these groups of informants are analyzed using a quantitative and case study methods.

3.1. Profile of Clients of Girl Child Prostitutes

In this section it is attempted to present the profile of clients in terms of their age, marital status, occupation, income, permanent residence and other attributes. This is done on the basis of responses obtained from girl-informants, procurer-informants and client-informants themselves.

Asked to rank clients from one to three based up on their age categories the three groups of informants gave the following responses. In reporting the age of their clients, girl-informants themselves used three classifications: young, middle-aged and old men. Due to the difficulty of getting universally applicable age categories for these classifications of the girl-informants, the preceding qualitative classifications are used both for the data collection and analysis. Whereas 19 girls ranked young men as their most frequent customers nine girls ranked young men as their less frequent clients. In addition, 12 girls ranked middle-aged men as their most frequent clients and other 12 girls ranked middle-aged men as their less frequent clients. Old men were ranked as most frequent clients and less frequent clients by two and five girl-informants respectively. If both the first and the second rankings made by girl-informants are taken jointly, young men totaled 28 and middle-aged men numbered 24 while old men totaled only seven. Accordingly, in terms of age categories the two major groups of clients seem to be the young and middle-aged men.

Similarly, four of the six procurers ranked young men as most frequent clients, five procurers ranked middle-aged men as less frequent customers, and three procurers ranked old men third.

Although the client-informants were randomly obtained depending on their willingness to be interviewed, their age classification coincides with the responses maintained by girl-informants. Six of the ten clients reported that their age categories are under the

age of 30, two clients are between 31 and 40 and other two are between 41 and 50 years old.

Taking the responses of the three sets of data together in to account, in terms of the age categories, one may say that young and middle-aged men are the two important groups of clients. This finding is consistent with the findings of de Graaf, 1995; Lowman, 1993 and Finstand and Hoijard, 1993.

The three groups of informants were also asked to rank clients in terms of their marital status. Out of the 30 girl-informants, whereas nineteen girls have surprisingly ranked married men as their most frequent clients only 11 girls ranked unmarried clients as their most frequent clients. Ten girls ranked married men as their less frequent clients and 17 girls ranked unmarried men as their less frequent customers. The total number of first and second ranks given by girl-informants to married clients seems slightly higher than unmarried ones. A 14-year-old girl described her clients in terms of their marital status as follows:

...most clients are not even in their 30s but more old men with gray hair. They are married men who have children. Their being old men itself can tell you that they have children. Yes! I see engagement rings on their fingers...

The girl-informants also reported that certain preconditions and preferences of men indicate to them about the marital status of men. Two girl-informants maintained that some clients often tell them to wipe off their lipsticks and to keep their hair tucked away from the clients. The men obviously require these in order that they may not take incriminating material from their encounter. Two other girl-informants said that some clients did not take them if they wear perfume.

The responses given by the procurer-informants were more or less consistent with what is reported above. Five procurers ranked married clients first, whereas only one procurer ranked unmarried clients first. However, unmarried men were ranked second by five procurers. A 21-year-old pander-informant indicated that married foreigners do not only go to child prostitutes but also deceive their wives using subtle techniques. The pander-informant described his noteworthy experience as follows:

...while he [the foreign client] lived here in Ethiopia, he used to take photos of myself and that of a girl [whom I brought him]. After he returned home, I received a letter from a woman who identified herself as his wife. In her letter she described that me and my sister [i.e., his regular child prostitute friend] as the good colleagues of her husband. You see! this is the way in which married men deceive their wives.

Among the 10 clients who were willing to cooperate, five of them reported that they were married men whereas the remaining five said they were not married.

The three sets of data together indicate that at least half of the clients of child prostitutes are married men. Thus, one may say that clients of child prostitutes are both married and unmarried men; in terms of their number married men seem slightly higher than those unmarried men. Accordingly, this finding is consistent with the findings of de Graaf, 1995; Lowman, 1993 and Millet, 1971.

The type of occupation of the clients was another attribute considered to study their profile. The girl and procurer-informants were given nine occupational categories and a tenth category for indicating an unknown occupation. The next discussion presents their responses.

In order to learn about the occupation of the clients of child prostitutes each one of the girl-informants was asked to rank from first to fourth place from nine occupational

categories plus a tenth for an unknown category. Accordingly, eleven and nine girl-informants ranked civil servants and businessmen from Addis Ababa as primary and secondary respectively. Civil servants and businessmen from Addis Ababa were ranked second by five and eleven informants respectively. If the first two rankings are taken together, businessmen from Addis Ababa numbered 20 and civil servants totaled 16.

Students, foreigners, daily laborers, businessmen from out of Addis Ababa, and taxi and truck drivers were ranked from first to fourth by 13, 10, 9, 4, and 3 girl informants, respectively. In due course of the study the researcher came across child prostitutes who reported that they had clients who were thieves by "profession." Hence, as far as occupation is concerned, one may say that clients do not represent a certain specific occupation. A 17-year-old prostitute described one of her clients as follows:

...[I have] also encountered a thief as a client. ...he was a thief and he asked me to be his wife, but I left him after two or four days. Since then very old men used to come to me with car ... to date me.... I think, some of them were private business owners and some others were civil servants....

Procurer-informants reported the occupational categories of clients a bit differently. Considering being a foreigner as an occupation, those of the six procurers rated it as first. Civil servants were ranked first only by one and ranked second by two procurer-informants. One procurer-informant ranked businessmen from out of Addis Ababa as the primary clients. From the procurer-informants perspective, foreign clients, civil servants and businessmen from out of Addis Ababa were the important groups of clients.

Also, five of the ten client-informants were civil servants, three client-informants said that they are businessmen and two said that they are daily laborers.

As could be understood from the three sets of data, clients of child prostitutes seem from various occupations. Even clients from two occupational categories, i.e., civil servants and businessmen from Addis Ababa appear to stand out. Since Addis Ababa is the prime city of the country and the land use pattern of the study areas is basically commercial, it is not surprising to find out businessmen and civil servants as the most outstanding clients of child prostitutes. This finding is a bit different from the findings of Hooja, 1970 and Hatty, 1993. This may be attributed to the domination of people who are engaged in the two occupations in Addis Ababa.

The ten client-informants were also asked about their source of income and number of dependents they had. That was done to know their level of income and the volume of their expenditure. All of them reported that they had reasonable source of income. And a close look at their responses revealed that income ranges from Birr⁵ 400 and Birr 3,000. One client-informant reported that he earned Birr 400 per month. Three said they earned between Birr 501 and 1,000. Two of the clients responded they earned between Birr 1,001 and 1,500. The other three were found to be earning between Birr 1,501 and 2,000. The last informant maintained that his monthly earning is about Birr 3,000. Accordingly, the reports of the client-informants indicated that their mean monthly income is about Birr 1,300 which may imply that by the Ethiopian standard they could be grouped among the top 4% of upper-class civil servant earners⁶.

In reporting the number of dependents under their custody client-informants gave different responses. One of the ten client-informants said that he had six dependents,

⁵ US \$ 1 is equivalent to Eth. Birr 7.00. The currency of Ethiopia is known as Ethiopian Birr.

⁶ According to the Federal Civil Service Commission Personnel Statistics, (1996 and 1997) it is only 4.43% of the Ethiopian civil servants earn more than Birr 1,000 of monthly income.

other three clients maintained that each of them had four dependents while two clients reported that each of them had only one dependent. On the other hand, four client-informants maintained that they did not have any dependent. This implies that most of the clients have only one dependent or they do not have any dependent.

The foregoing discussions seem to indicate that great majority of client-informants that were covered in the study had relatively higher monthly income and had fewer numbers of dependents. Hence, one may say that men who have proper sources of income are part of the client population. This finding supports the findings of Ren who wrote that in ancient China the affluent upper-class men visited prostitutes.

Asked about their permanent residence of clients, ten of the 30 girl-informants reported that most of their clients were permanent residents of Addis Ababa. Three girl-informants said that they encountered foreign tourists who did not permanently reside in Addis Ababa. Four girl-informants also said that some of their clients are businessmen from out of Addis Ababa. Still other three girl-informants reported that they encountered truck drivers.

Three of the six procurer-informants reported that foreigners constitute the major group of clients. One brothel owner reported that some of the clients who went to child prostitutes were businessmen who came from out of Addis Ababa. All of the ten client-informants that were covered in the study were permanent residents of Addis Ababa.

From the preceding set of data, it may be concluded that although most of the clients are permanent residents of Addis Ababa, foreign tourists and drivers also go to child prostitutes.

Asked about the number of their friends and whether their friends know about their visit to child prostitutes, clients gave the following. The number of friends reported by

client-informants has shown greater discrepancy. Three client-informants maintained that they have between two and four friends, whereas six client-informants said that they have between five and ten friends. Only one client-informant responded that he did not have any friend. Hence, one may say that most clients have at least two friends.

In relation to the knowledge of friends about clients' relationship with child prostitutes, eight client-informants reported that their friends did not know about their visit to child prostitutes. All of the five married client-informants maintained that their friends did not know about their visit to child prostitutes. Also, three unmarried client-informants reported that their friends did not know about their going to child prostitutes.

These responses seem to indicate that the discussion on the practice of going to child prostitutes is taboo not only among married men but also among most of unmarried men. Not surprisingly, going to child prostitutes is thus seen to be a shameful act by almost all kinds of clients.

Concluding Remarks

Based up on the preceding discussions the profile of clients of child prostitutes has been investigated looking into different factors. Accordingly, the findings of the study are summarized as follows:

1. In terms of age, most of the clients of child prostitutes seem to be young and middle-aged men. This may imply that the most energetic and economically active part of the population in the study area is involved in sustaining and perhaps spreading child prostitution.

2. As far as marital status of clients of child prostitutes is concerned, the study revealed that they are both married and unmarried men; as regards their number married men seem to be slightly higher than unmarried. This may indicate that a substantial number of already established families are susceptible to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.
3. In terms of occupation, although men from different walks of life go to child prostitutes, the city's businessmen and civil servants are found to be the most important groups of clients. This may imply that the two major forces, i.e., propellers of the economy (the businessmen) and propellers of the state machinery (the civil servants) participate in child prostitution. In addition, foreigners appeared to be the major groups of clients who use the services of panders. This may indicate the international nature of child prostitution.
4. Since many of the clients are married men who permanently reside in Addis Ababa it may be possible to ascribe this situation either to the fact that most married men might have unrelieved sexual needs, or to the reason(s) other than the mere desire for sexual outlet.
5. Although sound generalization cannot be made based up on the mean monthly income of the ten client-informants, (i.e., Birr 1,300), the data seem to indicate the economically upper-class men take part in child prostitution.
6. The relationship between clients and child prostitutes is maintained secretly both among married and unmarried men. Hence, one may say that clients keep their secrets perhaps because they feel that it is a shameful act.

3.2. Reasons of Clients for Going to Girl Child Prostitutes

There are several reasons for clients to go to child prostitutes. The reasons discussed here are, however, the major ones. The reasons include: financial cost, personal qualities of child prostitutes, pressure from friends, substance abuse, the preference for virgin girls, the belief that child prostitutes are safer, and the perverse nature of clients themselves. Although these factors will be summarized in a push and pull factor model, each of these factors is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Financial cost appeared to be one of the factors of clients preference for child prostitution. The girl-informants were asked about the amount of payment they received to examine whether clients pay a higher amount or not to child prostitutes.

According to the reports of girl-informants, the amount of payment they received vary depending on place of operation, whether the clients are Ethiopian nationals or foreigners, and the age of child prostitutes.

As indicated in Table two, ten of the 30 girl-informants reported that in Bole and Piazza areas the payments received by child prostitutes from local and foreign clients are higher than other areas. On the other hand, six girl-informants reported that in Merkato area, where child prostitutes operate both from the streets and from the brothel houses, the amount of payment received by girls is the lowest. Reports of girl-informants from the streets of Stadium and Giorgis areas indicate that the amount of payment received by child prostitutes is slightly higher than the payments received by child prostitutes in the Merkato area. They also reported that foreign clients pay much higher than the payments of national clients.

Table 2

Payments for the Services of Child Prostitutes by Place of Operation (in Birr)

Duration	Place of Operation								
	In Bar	On the Streets							
	La Gare	Bole	Giorgis	Piazza		Merkato		Stadium	
				Nationals ¹	Foreigners	Nationals ²	Foreigners	Nationals	Foreigners
Brief	40-50	150	5-30	5-30	50-300	3-10	50	5-30	80-150
Overnight	70-80	150	10-60	15-35	50-300	10-30	50	20-40	80-150
No. of Informants	1	1	4	9		6		9	

¹ Only one girl-informant maintained that she received Birr 60 for brief and Birr 200 for overnight. This may indicate the existence of luxurious type of child prostitutes in the Piazza area.

² The amount of payment received by child prostitutes who operate from the streets and from the brothels.

Based on the responses, some observations could be made. Firstly, it appears that child prostitutes who operate from similar mode of operation, such as on streets, received different amount of payments due to the variation to the place of operation. Hence, it seems that the more the affluent the neighborhood the higher the amount of payment received by child prostitutes. Secondly, though comparison is not possible between a bar and other areas of operation, the fact that the amount of payment received by prostitutes in a bar is relatively high may indicate that child prostitutes who operate from bars maximize their bargaining power on the amount of fees for there could be a chance to select clients. Thirdly, child prostitutes who operate from the streets seem to charge lower fees for their sexual services. Finally, the fees charged by child prostitutes who operate from the brothels appeared be the lowest.

The relationship between the age of child prostitutes and the amount of payment they received is quite interesting. Table three shows the positive relationship between the age category of child prostitutes and the amount of payment they receive. As indicated in the table, a 12-year-old girl-informant reported that she received between

Birr 5 and 9 for a brief and Birr 25 to 30 for overnight sexual service. Four prostitute-informants who are above the age of 16 have, however, reported that they received between Birr 10 and 150 and between Birr 30 and 150 for brief and overnight services, respectively.

In terms of the amount of payment, therefore, it can be said that child prostitutes are not only least paid but also the lowest-aged girls are the most exploited ones. Hence, one may say that clients prefer child prostitutes to others perhaps due to the fact that child prostitutes charge lower fees for their sexual services. This finding is consistent with the findings of Barnen, 1996 and de Graaf. 1995.

Table 3

Payments to Child Prostitutes by National Clients by Age Categories (in Birr)

Child Prostitutes		Payments Received By Girls	
Age	No. of Informants	Brief	Overnight
12	1	5 - 9	25 - 30
13	1	5 - 10	20 - 25
14	7	3 - 5	10 - 35
15*	16	3 - 30	15 - 60
16	1	10 - 20	25 - 35
17 & over	4	10 - 150	30 - 150

- One girl-informant reported that she used to receive up to Birr 60 for a brief and up to Birr 200 for overnight.

Personal qualities of child prostitutes seem to be some of the factors that make clients to go to child prostitutes. Of the 30 girl-informants, 16 reported the reasons that their

clients happened to tell them were related to their (child prostitutes) personal qualities. In reporting what their clients have told them for visiting child prostitutes, of the 16 girl-informants six said that some clients go to child prostitutes because they like kids. Two other girl-informants said that politeness of child prostitutes make clients to go to them. Charming qualities and posture were also reported by three and two girl-informants, respectively. Another girl-informant has reported obedience as a factor. Sometimes the desires of clients are expressed in forceful ways. In this respect, a 14-year-old girl-informant described her experience as follows.

I had a young regular client. He used to take me for his sexual gratification and threaten me not to go with other clients. But, I said no because I had to make money to survive. Finally, he told me that he fell in love with me. Again, I said that I did not mind about his love.... Few days later, he caught me on the street and slashed my face using a blade. As you see now, I have a big scar on my face....

One of the six procurer-informants also maintained that some clients had the preference for young girls. Two of the ten client-informants on their part reported that they went to child prostitutes because child prostitutes are obedient to their demands.

From the preceding reports of the three informant groups, one may say that some of the clients were attracted by the personal appearance of child prostitutes and some other clients preferred child prostitutes perhaps because child prostitutes are easy to maneuver to do whatever clients like. These special preference of some clients for child prostitutes by some clients may imply the existence of pedophiles.

Another reason for clients to go into child prostitutes appeared to be peer pressure. Two girl-informants said that some of their customers visited child prostitutes being pressurized by their friends. One of them, a 21-year-old prostitute who operated from a bar described her experience as follows:

...one night I slept with a new customer but he did not require me to perform any sexual intercourse. That was surprising to me.... When I asked him the reason why he did not require me to perform sexual intercourse on the next morning, he said that he had a fiancée. He said he slept with me simply because his friends who went to other prostitutes forced him to do so.

Although the responses given by the girl-informants indicate the likelihood of such incidents, it is difficult to make any inference on this factor.

Concerning the substance that clients abuse girl-informants and client-informants themselves were asked to indicate among four substances plus a fifth for others to give their scoring. Accordingly, twenty-nine girl-informants said that they met clients who drink alcohol at least once in a week and 28 girl-informants said that they met clients who smoke cigarettes while 24 girl-informants reported that they met clients who chew chat at least once in a week. In addition, three girl-informants reported that they encountered clients that use drugs.

Reporting on their habits of taking substances, all of the ten client-informants maintained that they drank alcohol at least once in a week. Also, two of the client-informants said that they chewed chat at least once in a week.

In addition to these sources, the researcher made a careful observation in the Merkato area on clients regarding their use of either of the substances. During the observation, men who went to brothel houses, bars and those men who approached child prostitutes on the streets were carefully noticed. Hence, it is found out that most of them were drunkard and smokers. Great majority of them walk lonely staggering on the streets, about a third of those men under the observation were either talking to themselves or scolding others, while about one-fourth of the men looked dizzy and in deep thinking.

The foregoing set of data show that great majority of clients of child prostitutes use at least one type of substance per week. Although it is very difficult to establish direct relationship between drinking alcohol and going to child prostitutes, one may say that a person arranges the conditions by taking alcohol to any kind of offensive acts including going to child prostitutes. This finding is consistent with the findings of Andargachew, 1989.

The enjoyment from defloration of virgin girls was also identified as a factor that make clients go to child prostitutes. The following discussion will show the responses of the three groups of informants about the clients preference for enjoying defloration.

Two of the 30 girl informants maintained that some of their clients told them that they go to child prostitutes in search of virgin girls to enjoy defloration. The following citations from two girl-informants describe the situation better.

A 15 year old girl-informant described her first time sexual experience as follows:

A 40-year-old man approached me through a fellow child prostitute. One evening he took us to a hotel with a big compound and parked his car under a shade. Then, my friend told me to take off my clothes and to put on those brought by the man. As I took off my clothes the man gagged my mouth, laid me on the back seat and deflowered me.... From that day onwards he was my regular customer. But, later on, one day he asked me to search for him another virgin girl.

Another 16-year old girl informant explained the way her prostitute friend got deflowered in the following manner.

One day a tourist from a certain Arab country approached us through a translator who was with him in a car and asked us to bring him a virgin girl and showed his readiness to pay Birr 1,500. Then we agreed to provide him with one of our friends who was virgin. But the tourist required us to provide a proof of her virginity. After getting her examined by an old

woman who is known for her traditional expertise in this matter, we offered the tourist our virgin friend. Before we could collect the money we had to pass the night in a hotel room next to the one occupied by the tourist and our virgin friend. The next morning the tourist thanked us and paid us the sum.

The preceding citations of the girl-informants seem to indicate that some clients (both nationals and foreigners) approach child prostitutes exclusively to enjoy defloration.

It is also worth noting that all of the six procurer-informants reported that some clients have asked them to bring virgin girls. Similarly, one of the client-informants reported that he visited child prostitutes in search of virgin girls.

Since most of the clients were appeared to be young and middle-aged married men, there is little possibility to trace their going to virgin girls to family dysfunction for the process of defloration may not result in ejaculation, i.e., sexual gratification. Also, the need to hunt virgin girls through victim child prostitutes could be seen as an indicator to the perverse and deliberate act of some clients. The selective approach of clients to virgin girls indicates the resurgence of the old belief that virginity is worth a thousand tales of gold. This finding goes consistently with the reality in Singapore (Long, 1993).

The belief that child prostitutes are safer may also be another reason for some clients to go to child prostitutes. The three groups of informants were asked whether clients go to child prostitutes to have safe sex from HIV/AIDS and other venereal diseases. Their responses are presented below.

Of the 30 girl-informants, seven, of them reported that their clients confided in them that they went to child prostitutes with the belief that child prostitutes are safer. They

maintained that clients try to minimize the risk of being infected with venereal disease in general and the HIV virus in particular by seeking young child prostitutes.

Four of the six procurer-informants maintained that clients go to child prostitutes to have safe sex, i.e., to be free from any kind of venereal disease infection including HIV/AIDS. Two of the ten client-informants said that they went to child prostitutes for safe sex.

From these sets of data, it may be said that some clients go to child prostitutes with the belief that child prostitutes are safer. Nonetheless, one can see the gross error made by these group of clients. They assume child prostitutes may have only little sexual experiences that guarantee safe sex to them. These types of clients do not mind whether they themselves have HIV/AIDS and the possibility of infecting child prostitutes. Hence, one can see egoistic attitude on these group of clients.

The perverse nature of clients seems to be a factor that make them go to child prostitutes.

In terms of the prevalence of rape, 14 girl-informants reported that they had been raped. Among them, seven girl-informants maintained that they were raped before they started prostitution. But five girls said that they were raped after they started prostitution at least once. Almost all of the girl-informants said that they encountered a lot of rape attempts but managed to escape. The girl-informants cited some group of rapists as daily laborers, touts, and, surprisingly enough, policemen. A 17-year-old former child prostitute described her experience as follows:

A certain policeman called and took me to a police station. Then he dragged me to a dark room and requested me for sexual intercourse. I strongly resisted his request and said no. He exercised different methods (both forceful and polite approaches) to

persuade me. As I continued to resist, he [the policeman] put off my jacket and T-shirt and dismissed me from the dark room with my naked body. Then I brought the case to a certain NGO to get their help for legal actions.

Some rapists also trap little girls who cannot defend themselves. One of the girl-informants maintained that while she was walking on the street to deliver a message from her mother to a relative, a certain tout dragged her to a hotel room and deflowered her at the age of eight. Still other types of men trap run-away girls at bus stations and in different places while they are in a state of confusion. A girl-informant explained her first time sexual experience as follows:

As I reached Addis Ababa from Awassa, a 30-year-old man approached and took me to a hotel room. At that time I had no choice to say no, except going with him. He did not do that for the sake of me but to indulge sexual intercourse with me. Since that was a new experience to me, I remained silent when the man deflowered me.

From the foregoing discussions, it may be possible to deduce that some clients go to try out their sexual desires or have the habit of deflowering girls. Still others could be referred to as opportunistic clients who trap those run away girls who are in a state of helplessness. This goes consistently with the conclusions made by Radda Barnen, 1996; Li, West and Woodhouse, 1993 and de Graaf, 1995.

Concluding Remarks

The reasons of clients for going to child prostitutes have been discussed in the preceding section. It is found out that there are various reasons ranging from simple financial costs up to the complicated psychological factors, such as frustrated sexual life. However, the following push and pull factor model could be designed to depict the salient reasons for clients' preference for child prostitutes.

Table 4
Push and Pull Factors for Clients to go to Child Prostitutes

Push Factors	Pull Factors
Preference for virgin girls Maximization of safe sex The need for novel sexual experience The habit of (getting hooked to) going to young girls Frustrated sexual life Forced by substance abuse To overcome sexual problems	Personal qualities of child prostitutes: politeness, obedience, age, solicitation, etc. Lower price for sexual services Active sexual Exercise (more labor of child prostitutes) Maintain anonymity and secret sex Accessibility Weak law enforcement

Based up on the preceding discussions on the reasons of clients for going to child prostitutes one can draw the following typologies of clients.

- a) **Virginity Predator Clients:** Clients under this group can be divided in to two subgroups:
 - i) Clients who search for virgin girls for the thrill and enjoyment of deflowering girls.
 - ii) Clients who search for visiting child prostitutes in order to have safe sex with the belief that virgins are uncontaminated.

- b) **Exploitative Perpetrators:** These group of clients approach child prostitutes to get sexual gratification at a lower price. Whether they can pay a lot or not these group of clients go to child prostitutes and offer them the lowest payment.

- c) **Opportunistic Perpetrators:** This group of clients argues that they perform sexual intercourse with girl child to help them . These clients may be seduced by child prostitutes or other girls who are in the state of helplessness. But, taking advantage of these opportunities these clients tend to exploit child prostitutes and young girls.
- d) **Illusory Egoist Perpetrators:** This group of clients goes to child prostitutes with the belief that they are safer. These clients are egocentric because they go for their own safety but they do not mind whether they contaminate child prostitutes. On the other hand, they are illusory because they do not recognize that child prostitutes go with others too.
- e) **Infirm Perpetrators:** These group of clients are those who go to child prostitutes due to the pressure from peers or influenced by substance abuse, especially alcohol.
- f) **Sexual-Aim Rapists:** These group of clients are those who go for their sexual gratification. They threaten and force child prostitutes for their satisfaction.
- g) **Protective Perpetrators:** These group of clients are those among the regular clients who are referred to as husbands by child prostitutes. Their relationship is mostly based up on the exchange of sexual services for favors, such as giving protection from any threat. Sometimes, these clients themselves are threats to child prostitutes.

3.3. Sex Related Practices of Clients of Girl Child Prostitutes

The clients' sex related activities could explain more about their threats, and the methods they use to gratify their needs. The sex related practices discussed in this section include: the time that clients meet child prostitutes, the kind of relationship between clients and child prostitutes, the places where clients prefer to go with child prostitutes, their condom use and their sexual practices. Analysis of these factors may give more insight into the nature of clients of child prostitutes.

The time preference that clients of child prostitutes show their concern about the secrecy of their visit to child prostitutes. To identify their time preference for visiting child prostitutes, clients and girl-informants were asked to give their responses. Twenty-eight out of 30 girl-informants maintained that their clients met them in the evening (between 6:01 and 10:00 p.m.). Three girl-informants said that their clients met them in the morning (6:01 - 12:00 a.m.), four girl-informants reported that their clients met them in the afternoon (12:01 - 6:00 p.m.) while three girl-informants reported that their clients meet late at night (10:01 - 6:00 p.m.). Also, eight out of ten client-informants reported that they meet child prostitutes in the evening while only two client-informants said that they met child prostitutes in the afternoon.

The foregoing two sets of data indicate that great majority of clients visit child prostitutes in the evening. Usually in the evening (i.e., 6:01 - 10:00 p.m.), most of the city dwellers run back home and night clubs, liqueur houses and bars get crowded with people. Thus, one may say that clients take this advantage to do whatever they like in the dark corners.

This situation was well noticed by the researcher during the study in the Giorgis area. One evening, at about 8:30 p.m. a gentleman came by car and drove around the traffic

island several times, and parked his car about 100 meters from the center. Presently, a child prostitute (one of the street girls standing with her peers) entered the car and left the area.

The fact that four girl-informants reported that they got their customers late at night but no client-informant maintained this response refers to the prevalence of foreign clients. This fact is confirmed by the report of two girl-informants who said that they used to meet foreign clients when they walk on the streets late at night. It may thus be concluded that clients prefer to go to child prostitutes in the evening and late at night to maintain their anonymity.

The kind of relationship between clients and child prostitutes appeared to be an important factor to describe the sexual practice of clients. The two groups of informants were asked about the number of their regular customers. In reporting on the number of their regular customers, three girl-informants said that each of them had between one and two regular customers, four girls said that each of them had between three and four regular customers while seven girls maintained that each of them had between five and six regular clients. In addition, three girl-informants said that each of them had more than seven regular customers while 13 girl-informants reported that they do not have any regular client.

Eight of the ten client-informants maintained that they have regular child prostitutes of whom four said that each of them had one regular child prostitute. Two client-informants also reported that each of them have two regular child prostitutes and two clients said that each of them had more than two regular child prostitutes while two client-informants maintained that they do not have any regular child prostitute.

The preceding set of data implies that an overwhelming majority of child prostitutes go with more than one regular client for sexual activity. Similarly, majority of the clients

goes to more than one child prostitutes. Hence, one can infer that there is great possibility of spreading sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS to one another.

The place where clients take child prostitutes is also a factor to learn about the sexual practices of clients. In terms of the places where clients take child prostitutes for their sexual gratification, three groups of informants gave their responses.

Twenty seven of the 30 girl-informants reported that their clients took them to hotel rooms while 14 girl-informants said that their clients took them by car to some selected hotels with wider compound and gratified sexual needs of their clients in the cars. Only three girl-informants said that their clients took them to their homes. A 16-year-old child prostitute described the salient features of the practice of in-car sexual gratification of clients as follows:

...most of my car-owning clients take me to some selected hotels which are located in Giorgis area, in Eri-bekentu area, in Kazanchis area...in the evening. These hotels have big premise that can park between 25 and 30 cars at a time. The parking lots are partitioned by eucalyptus and coniferous trees. When cars go to these hotels they are supposed to turn off their lights. There is no outdoor electric light in the car park. As a car arrives the hotel, a waiter gives an instant service and never return until the motor engine starts (which is a code to a waiter to receive payments and collect glasses). The prices of services are about one third [35%] more than the regular prices for the same service in other hotels. In the car in addition to normal sex [vaginal orgasm] most of my clients inquire me to perform oral sex, anal sex, body massage and other non penetrative sex...

From the preceding citation of the girl-informant a lot of things could be learnt. Primarily, clients who prefer in-car sexual service do as such for this practice let them do whatever they like quickly and do not require them any further arrangement. Secondly, all activities (beginning from picking up a child prostitute up to the final good

byes) are performed in the dark and help them to remain anonymous. Thirdly, these clients incur relatively lower costs for clients do not rent hotel rooms. Finally, this may indicate their deviant sexual behavior for there is a higher possibility to sexual outer course, which is referred to as out of normal sexual practice. This finding is closely related with the finding of Hanger, 1996.

All of the six procurer-informants, also maintained that child prostitutes that operate from their brothel houses go with clients to hotel rooms. But two of the three brothel keepers reported that child prostitutes also go with clients by car.

Five client-informants reported that they take child prostitutes for sexual gratification to hotel rooms while five client-informants said that they use child prostitutes to gratify their sexual needs in their cars.

The three sets of data may indicate that though most of the clients take child prostitutes for their sexual gratification to hotel rooms, about half of the clients use child prostitutes to gratify their sexual desires in their cars.

The condom use of clients while they perform sexual intercourse with child prostitutes is found to be another factor to have insight into the sexual practices of clients.

Reporting about their use of condom, as may be expected, 24 of the 30 girl-informants maintained that they use condom seldom. Five girl-informants said that they started using condom regularly right after defloration. Exceptionally one girl-informant said that she does not use condom at all because she has got only one client (whom she called a husband).

The two most important reasons for their seldom use of condoms as reported by 16 and 11 girl-informants are coercion by clients, and going with regular customers/ husbands respectively.

Describing one of her experiences in relation to forced abandoning of condoms, a 16-year old girl informant had this to say,

...initially as he [the client] approached me for sexual service, I disclosed my position on the use of condom [no condom no sex]... but after we entered a hotel room he changed his idea and tried to force me to perform sexual intercourse without condom. As I continued to resist his pressure, he picked up a bottle which was full of water and fractured my head... after the policemen arrived, I brought another bottle and fractured his head too...

Concerning the condom use of their clients 27 of the 30 girl-informants reported that some of their clients do not want to use condoms. Ten girl-informants said that some of their clients do not want to use condoms because it does not give them full sexual satisfaction. Other eight girl-informants reported that some of their clients do not want to use condoms because they lose their interest while they wear it.

Six client-informants maintained that they use condoms regularly. But four of the ten client-informants reported that they use condom seldom. Two client-informants said that the situation they do not use condoms include: when they meet their regular child prostitutes. Two other client-informants maintained that they do not use condom when they feel that a girl is safe, and when they perform non-penetrative sexual practices.

These two sets of data show contradicting responses between the two groups of informants. On the one hand girl-informants reported that most of their clients coerce them not to use condoms. On the other hand, most of the client-informants said that they do not use condoms only when they meet their regular child prostitutes, when

they think that a child prostitute is safe from any STD and when they turn to practice non penetrative sexual practices.

From these conflicting sets of responses one may deduce the following. Firstly, the one who claims that a certain child prostitute is his regular child prostitute may not necessarily referred him as a regular client. Secondly, clients may have great misconception, i.e., the younger the girl is the safer she could be. Thirdly, a shift of clients from normal - penetrative to non-penetrative sexual practice does not guarantee the person to be safe from HIV/AIDS for there could be a great possibility of bleeding from the external friction.

Concluding Remarks

In this section of the analysis the sex related practices of clients of child prostitutes have been discussed. Thus, based upon the findings of the discussion the following concluding remarks are made.

1. Most of the clients go to child prostitutes in the evening (6:01 - 10:00 p.m.) supposedly for two major reasons: most of the clients could be workers, on the one hand, and want to maintain their anonymity in the dark, on the other.
2. The fact that both the girl-informants and client-informants maintained that most of them have more than one regular customer and yet they do not use condoms while meeting the so-called regular clients. This may indicate a great possibility of infecting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS with one another.
3. In terms of places where clients take child prostitutes the following deductions could be made.

a) Pedestrian clients and child prostitutes seem to prefer to go to the nearest possible hotel rooms perhaps because clients want to maintain anonymity whereas child prostitutes may wish to maximize their security.

b) Many car-owning clients prefer in-car sexual gratification most likely for its quicker services. Nonetheless, the clients sexual desire to thrill with child prostitutes, on the one hand, and their desire for quicker service may indicate their role conflict, i.e., being client of child prostitutes, on the one hand, and head of a house hold, on the other.

4. There seems a shift from penetrative and sexual practice with condom to non-penetrative and sexual practice without condom by some clients. This may show to the prejudice of some men against the use and importance of condoms and the prevalence of deviant sexual practices.

3.4. Access to Girl Child Prostitutes

The way clients meet can give a good insight into the men's preference for child prostitutes. In order to investigate about the access to child prostitutes the three group of informants were asked different questions such as: how clients get child prostitutes, how virgin girls are obtained, whether there is special payment for virgin girls, and whether there is payment for services of intermediaries. Below are the responses obtained from the three groups of informants.

Asked where they get their clients, 26 of the 30 girl-informants maintained that they get their clients on the streets whereas two girl-informants said that they get their customers in the bar. These data indicate that most of the child prostitutes get their clients on the streets. However, as it is revealed in the previous discussion, 26 of the 30 girl-informants operate from the streets while two girl-informants operate from the

bars. Hence, one can say that the place where child prostitutes get their clients is directly related with their place of operation.

Eight of the ten client-informants maintained that they get child prostitutes on the streets. Two client-informants said that they meet child prostitutes in brothel houses. Although five of the eight client-informants who reported that they meet child prostitutes on the streets were approached after they were identified as clients of child prostitutes during the researchers observation, the remaining three client-informants were discovered in the process of endeavors to approach the already identified clients of child prostitutes. Hence, one can say that clients get child prostitutes on the streets and in the brothel houses.

From the preceding two sets of data one can say that clients get child prostitutes on the streets, in bars as well as in brothel houses. Hence, it could be concluded that child prostitutes are ubiquitous.

Whether clients directly approach child prostitutes and virgin girls or they use the services of intermediaries is another factor worth considering learning about the clients' access to child prostitutes. The three groups of informants were asked whether clients use intermediaries to get child prostitutes or not.

Out of the 30 girl-informants, only four maintained that they get their clients through intermediaries. The remaining 26 girl-informants reported that they get their clients directly coming to them. Even though two of the 30 girl-informants operate from the brothel houses, so that they found their clients through brothel owners, the report of other two girl-informants indicate that child prostitutes who operate from the streets or from the bars could also use the services of intermediaries. Since most of the girl-informants were street prostitutes the report of most of the girl-informants, i.e., they get

their clients directly coming to them, imply that the role of intermediaries is relatively insignificant for street child prostitutes.

However, a surprising response obtained from nine girl-informants is that they were deflowered by men through some kind of arrangement between their prostitute friends and those men who deflowered them. Of the nine girl-informants, only three child prostitutes reported that they were consulted on the arrangement whereas the remaining six girl-informants maintained that each of them was taken by their prostitute friends to be deflowered by men without their consent. A 12-year-old girl-informant who has migrated from Alaba (Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region) described the incident as follows:

One evening, a businessman of about 40 year old who was a client of my prostitute friend came by car and took me and my prostitute friend to a hotel room. Three of us slept together in a single bed. First, the man performed sexual intercourse with my friend. Then, he turned and deflowered me. Although the man paid Birr 30 to each of us, my friend took the whole sum.

The responses of six of the procurers, whether clients use their services to get child prostitutes or not, were unanimously yes. However, in terms of the types of clients who need their services, they gave two different types of responses. The three male panders reported that they procure girls to foreign clients. On the other hand, the three brothel owners said that clients who ask their services are nationals. From these responses one may say that the types of clients who use the services of panders are foreigners whereas clients who use the services of brothel owners are nationals.

All of the procurer-informants were asked how they get child prostitutes in general, and virgin girls in particular. The responses of brothel owners and panders indicated different methods and sources of getting child prostitutes and virgin girls.

Concerning the way they get child prostitutes the three brothel keepers reported that they use free lancers⁷ to trap run-aways and migrants. One brothel owner also reported that she got child prostitutes from domestic employment agencies, whereas another brothel owner reported that she herself involved in trapping child prostitutes.

In terms of getting virgin girls the three brothel owners reported that virgin girls are found among those trapped girls. A 15-year old girl informant described her experience with a certain brothel owner in the following manner.

As I left my home at the age of 12, a certain woman approached and asked me whether I wanted to be employed. A brothel owner to whom I was taken for employment asked me whether I had prior sex experience. I maintained that I did not have. Then, the brothel owner let me to live with her freely for about two months. During that period she used to tell me to learn about what other prostitutes did. Finally, after two months, she asked me whether I have understood what others did or not. I responded yes! Then, the woman ordered me to go with a man whom she knew, and he deflowered me.

Two pander-informants, on the other hand, maintained that they solicit schoolgirls to bring them to customers. The most common reason they use to convince young girls is that foreigners will take them abroad.

⁷ Free lancers are those women who trap "run-away" and migrated girls from any place and take to brothel owners, and in return, receive Birr 10 per girl. These women could be any ordinary neighborhood residents, brothel owners, adult prostitutes, or even street prostitutes. Free lancers identify "run-aways" and migrated girls by the luggage or "festals" that girls carry and by studying their state of condition. The most common reasons given by free lancers to girls is to ask whether the girls want to be employed.

Of the ten client-informants only two said that they use the services of procurers. These two client-informants were the daily laborers who get child prostitutes through brothel owners.

From the preceding three sets of data one can say that:

- a) Child prostitutes are accessible to customers regardless of their place of operation.
- b) Clients get child prostitutes either directly by themselves or through the services of intermediaries. However, street child prostitutes are easily accessible to clients to get them directly.
- c) Brothel owners give their intermediary services to nationals.
- d) Panders give their intermediary services to foreigners.
- e) Clients get access to virgin girls through brothel owners, panders and even through street prostitutes. This finding is consistent with the findings of Habtamu, 1996 and CYAO & FSCE, 1996.

The payment differential for virgin girls increases the number of hands that are put on the destiny of many young girls. Whether clients' request for virgin girls and pay more money for them girl-informants and procurers have been asked. Two of the 30 girl-informants reported that clients made special payment for girls. One of the two girl-informants said that she received Birr 100 for her being deflowered. The other one maintained that she received Birr 1,000. In addition, the two-girl informants maintained that the men who deflowered them were a national and a foreigner respectively. Six girl-informants reported that they did not receive special payment whereas other 12 girl-informants said that they were not received any payment at all.

Of the six procurer-informants, five reported that clients pay special amount for virgin girls. However, their responses indicate that there is great discrepancy on the amount

of payment between national and foreign clients. The three brothel owners maintained that local clients pay between Birr 100 and 400 to deflower a girl. The two pander-informants, on the other hand, reported that foreign clients pay between Birr 2,000 and 4,000 to deflower a girl.

These two sets of data indicate that insignificant number of girls receive special payments from clients as they get deflowered. On the other hand, clients usually pay special amount to girls that they deflowered. Hence, one may say that intermediaries make a lucrative business by deceiving helpless child prostitutes, on the one hand, and among child prostitutes virgin girls are most likely offered to those clients who can afford special payment.

Concluding Remarks

Generally, clients have access to child prostitutes in different ways. The preceding discussion revealed how clients get access to go to child prostitutes. Based up on the foregoing discussion the following concluding remarks can be given.

1. The ubiquity of child prostitutes in bars, in brothel houses and even on the streets may make the access for clients to child prostitutes easier.
2. Among child prostitutes who operate from different places, street prostitutes seem to be easily accessible to clients without being exposed to others.
3. Whereas brothel owners and street prostitutes seem to be the two means for national clients to reach child prostitutes panders are the serve foreign clients to get child prostitutes.
4. In the commercial sexual activity, defloration of virgin girls seems to be a privilege to economically upper-class clients for defloration of a girl requires higher amount of payment.

3.5. Discussion

Clients of child prostitutes have been described from different perspectives using three sources of data, namely girl-informants, procurer-informants and client-informants. From the analysis and interpretation of the data, the profile of clients, their reasons for going to child prostitutes, their sex related practices and their access to reach child prostitutes have been discussed.

In this section, the relationship of those factors will be described using a four-dimensional model of client typologies and a flow chart that shows the role of intermediaries in facilitating child prostitution.

The fact that clients of child prostitutes came from different age, social and economic classes seem to indicate not only the spread of child prostitution but also the change in sexual attitude of clients. This change in sexual attitude is observed in different ways. The practice of extra-marital sex seems to be considered a norm by some married men. There is also a tendency to move from sexual intercourse into sexual outer course, etc.

Based up on clients reasons for going to child prostitutes, the study revealed that there are about seven main types of clients: virginity predators, exploitative perpetrators, opportunistic perpetrators, illusory egoist perpetrators, infirm perpetrators, sexual-aim rapists, and protective perpetrators. In addition, though the data were extracted only from girl-informants, there are some clues for the existence of pedophiles.

Each of these groups of clients does not, however, represent a homogenous group. They greatly differ in age, marital status, source of income, permanent residence and nationality.

Though it is quite difficult to come up with an exhaustive list of reasons for adults' preference to child prostitutes, it is possible to forward some major reasons. The reasons could be divided into two major groups: push factors and pull factors. Push factors are those factors that drive clients out to go to child prostitutes. The preference for virgin girls, maximization of safe sex, the desire to novel sexual experience and the like are some of the push factors. On the other hand, clients are pulled by the personal appearance of child prostitutes, the lower price for sexual services, the possibility of maintaining anonymity, accessibility of child prostitutes and weak enforcement of law to give effects on child sexual perpetrators.

Although it is difficult to establish a one-to-one function between the types of clients and each of their primary reasons one can see closer relationship between the types of clients and some of the factors that push or pull them as the most describing ones. Accordingly, the following table shows the types of clients based upon their reasons for going to child prostitutes and their major attributes. Nonetheless, it does not necessarily mean that each group of clients is identified only by one attribute.

Table 5
Types of Clients and their Major Attributes

Types of Clients	Major Attributes
Virginity predators	Enjoyment from Defloration
Exploitative perpetrators	Lower price charged by child prostitutes
Opportunistic perpetrators	Helplessness of Child prostitutes
Illusory egoistic perpetrators	The belief that child prostitutes are safer
Infirm perpetrators	Pressurized by peers and substance abuse
Sexual-aim perpetrators	Accessibility of child prostitutes and weak enforcement of law.
Protective perpetrators	Accessibility

The following four-dimensional model of client typologies illustrates that clients are pushed or pulled by one or more factors to go to child prostitutes.

Table 6
A Four Dimensional Model of Client Typologies

Push Factors (1)	Typologies							Pull Factors (2)
	Virginity Predators	Exploitative Perpetrators	Opportunistic Perpetrators	Illusory Egoist perpetrators	Infirm Perpetrators	Sexual-aim Rapists	Protective perpetrators	
Virginity	1	2	1, 2					Personal qualities of child prostitutes
Safe sex	1	2		1		1	1, 2	Low cost
Novel sex		2				1		Active sexual practice
Habit of going to child prost.	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	2	2	2	2	Maintain anonymity
Frustrated sexual life	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Accessibility
Substance abuse					1			
Sexual problem		1						
	Defloration	Low price for sexual service	Helplessness of child prostit.	Child prostitutes Are safer	Pressurized by peers & subs.	Accessibility & weak law enfor.	Accessibility	
Main Attributes (reasons) of Clients								

Note: Number 1 and 2 represent push and pull factors indicated across the same line in the left and right columns of the table, respectively.

Since child prostitution is a tripartite act, looking into the role of intermediaries in facilitating child prostitution may give a good insight into the access of clients to child prostitutes.

Clients go to child prostitutes directly or through intermediaries. Clients find child prostitutes in different places of operation. In order to cope with the clients' preferences for child prostitutes, intermediaries procure girls from different areas.

They recruit migrants, housemaids, run-aways, and school girls. These recruits are made to operate from brothels, bars, and streets or engage in part time prostitution. These prostitutes seem to have two chances: continue with the practice of prostitution or going back to domestic employment agencies (if they can not pursue the practice). Those who pursue the practice of prostitution may have two other chances; either to own houses or continue to operate from different places. Those who manage to own houses have the opportunity to run brothels. Only insignificant number of prostitutes successfully reach the higher level in the sex industry, i.e., becoming brothel owner. Similarly, only few prostitutes get chance to escape from prostitution.

The majority of prostitutes, who feel under the control of intermediaries never get out of the lower stratum in the sex industry. Intermediaries bring prostitutes (adult and child) from any place of operation to clients. The following flow chart may illustrate this process.

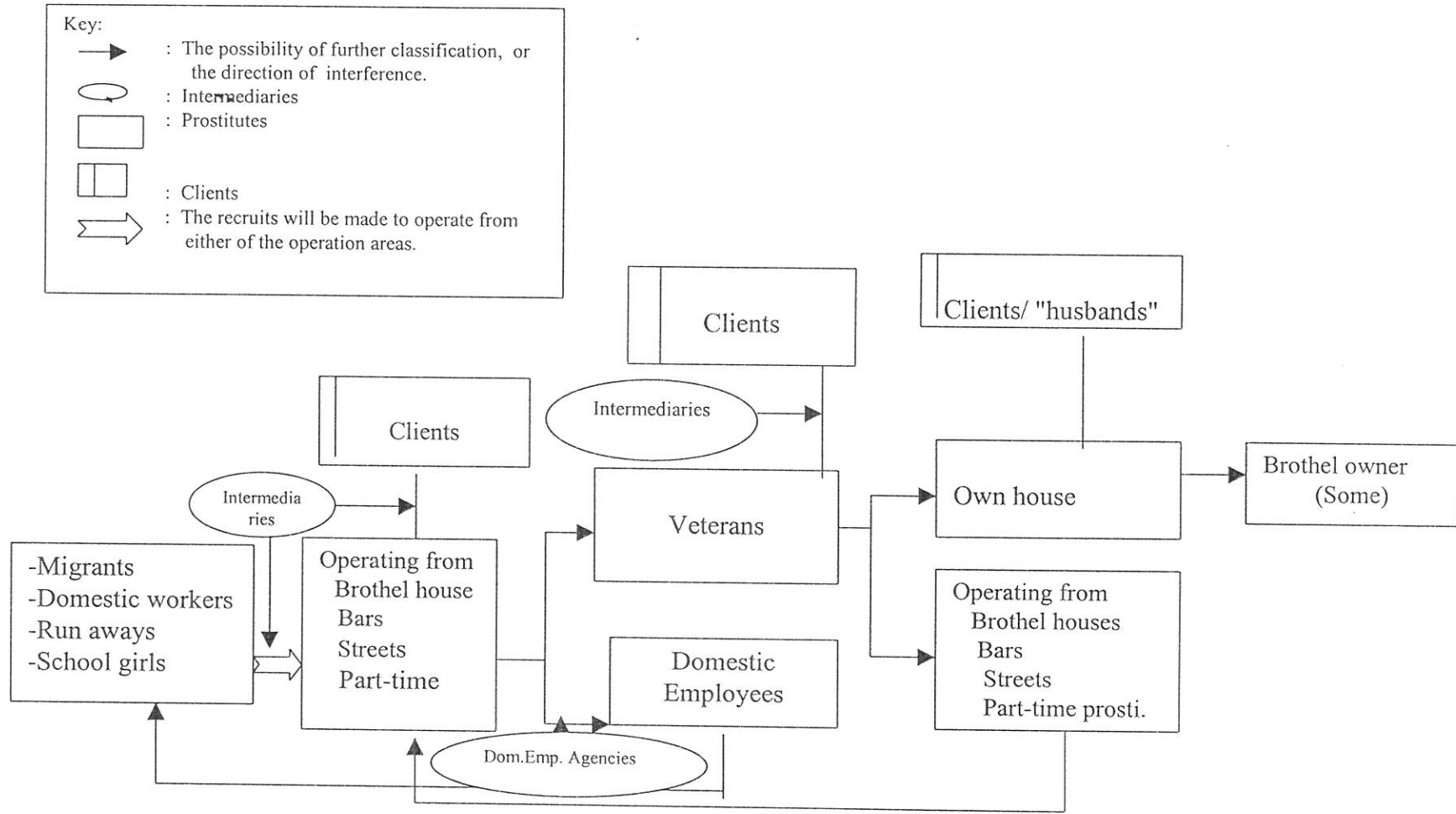


Figure 1. A Flow Chart of the Role of Intermediaries

3.6. The Law and Clients of Child Prostitutes in Ethiopia

The legal notice 150 of the 1943, the penal code of the 1957, and the civil code of 1960 have covered the right of the child to legal protection against exploitation. These legal instruments have set provisions regarding the minimum age limit of females to perform sexual intercourse. These legal instruments also restrict locations to practice prostitution, trafficking infants and procuring females for prostitution, and a maximum age limit of men who are not allowed to go to prostitutes.

The age limit of females for performing sexual intercourse is found to be an important factor to investigate the legal framework. Articles 594(1) and 595(1) of the Ethiopian penal code, indicated that whosoever has sexual intercourse with a minor (under the age of eighteen years) or younger person (under the age of fifteen years) is held criminally liable and is punishable with simple and rigorous imprisonment, respectively.

On the other hand, article 581(1) of the civil code of Ethiopia allows emancipation of right of a woman who attains the full age of fifteen years by marriage contract. This article allows performing sexual intercourse with a woman between fifteen and eighteen years old through marriage contract. However, according to the penal code of Ethiopia performing sex with a minor under the age of eighteen years constitutes a criminal offense. This conflict between the two age limits could be one of the factors for men to show reluctance on the age level of prostitutes. A female emancipated through marriage and considered majority at the age of fifteen may be divorced before reaching the full age of eighteen. Performing sexual intercourse with such divorcee entail criminal responsibility resulting in a gap that has no provision in the law.

As shown in the forgoing discussions, despite the existence of some controversial articles, the lenient enforcement of legal sanctions is another factor that needs to be studied. Abainesh, Fasil and Tsehai (1997:70) maintained that child prostitutes with

complaints are not trusted by policemen, most strikingly the policemen are reported to themselves frequently demand sexual services before accepting complaints. Original (1996:27) noted that abusers who are found to be below 15 years old and tried to juvenile court are not punished with imprisonment. During the study the researcher came across many appeal records presented to Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association to get their legal advice. Then, about three recent cases were selected to find the offenders while they were imprisoned at Wereda 10 and 17. However, as the researcher went to those police stations it was found out that the suspects were freed. Hope Enterprises (1997:11) more explicitly showed that due to the laxity in enforcing the law, men have been encouraged to engage in sex with children. The leniency in this regard served to have encouraged tourists as well as many others.

In terms of men, rule number 12 of the legal notice number 150 of 1943 prohibits prostitutes to have sexual intercourse with young men under the age of 20 years. This implies that any man who is above the age of 20 years is not legally liable for his going to prostitutes.

From these articles one can see that men above the age of 20 years are not prohibited from going to prostitutes except to minors and younger persons. But the problem lies on the effective application of these legal restrictions in two different ways. Primarily, it is quite difficult to prove whether an individual is above 20 years old or not for there is no systematic recording and way of checking the age level of any person. Secondly, a man who claims to be above the age of 20 years may go to any place where prostitutes operate and probably meet a minor or younger girl. In such cases how can the law guarantee that the man does not breach the law. Therefore, one can infer that in terms of age restriction there is no systematic means by which the law can be enforced on sexual perpetrators.

Places where child prostitutes are taken for sexual gratification appeared as one of the factors to examine the Ethiopian law. The legal notice number 150 of 1943 rule number 13 identified places where the practice of prostitution is prohibited. Rule 13 reads as follows:

It is prohibited to practice prostitution in the immediate vicinity of public worship, a church or a sacred place or a school or any other public places and on premises where intoxicating liqueur are sold or consumed or on any premises connected therein.

This rule prohibits the practice of prostitution on premises or places where intoxicating liqueurs are sold. Since almost all of the hotels that give room services in Addis Ababa are engaged also in selling alcohol drinks, hotels could be classified among places where prostitution is prohibited. What is happening in practice is, however, quite the reverse.

Out of the 30 girl-informants 27 reported that their clients took them to hotel rooms for their sexual gratification. In addition, 14 girl-informants maintained that their clients made them gratify their sexual desires in their cars. Only three girl-informants said that their clients took them to their homes.

Also, all of the six procurer-informants reported that most of the child prostitutes go with their clients to hotel rooms and five client-informants maintained that they took child prostitutes for sexual gratification to hotel rooms.

Sometimes hotel rooms are used not only for the practice of prostitution but also for defloration of young girls. As reported by a 17 year-old prostitute, some hotels seem create conducive situations for such illegal acts.

In order to enjoy from defloration some men take virgin girls to hotel rooms that have bath services. To get a room service clients should agree with a cashier or a waiter/waitress to deposit money for the payment of girls and for laundering service of the bed sheets. Clients pay between Birr 10 and 40 for the laundry service. As long as the client pays the service is always there...

In addition, another 16-year-old girl-informant cited different hotels located in Giorgis, Kazanchis, and Arat-Killo areas where there are car parks. In these car parks clients are allowed to stop their cars in the dark under the shade. Such places are deliberately made dark. Since car parks could be regarded as public places, the absence of any body to enforce the law and to prohibit such kinds of unlawful practices again imply the laxity in enforcing the law.

Prohibition of trafficking and procuring females for the purpose of benefiting from the sexual practice appeared to be another important issue to see the extent of the law's enforcement. In Ethiopian penal code of 1957 article 605 (a) and (b) read as follows:

Whosoever, for gain or to gratify the passion of another:

- a) *"traffics in infants and younger persons, whether by procuring them or otherwise inducing them to engage in prostitution, even with their consent," or*
- b) *"keeps such a person in a disorderly house or to let her out to prostitution," is punishable with rigorous imprisonment not exceeding five years and a fine not exceeding ten thousand Birr.*

These articles of the law refer to the prohibition of benefiting oneself by luring others to prostitution. However, the enforcement of these articles is being crippled by the use of other means of luring adult and young females to prostitution. Although domestic employment agencies have great role in bridging the employers and domestic employees, such as house maids there seem exist no control whether they involve in recruiting females for prostitution or not. In addition, brothel owners who make profits using females for prostitution including minors and younger persons with the pretext

of selling local drinks are not seen tried to the court. Hence, one can see some loophole in this area that let intermediaries to engage in trapping minors and younger girls for prostitution under the pretext of employment.

The other legal instrument that protect children from exploitation is the Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) ratified by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia on December 9, 1991. The convention has become a part of the legal system of the country by proclamation number 10/1992. The proclamation empowers the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs to oversee the implementation of the terms of the Convention in Ethiopia. In the convention article (9) and (34) prohibit the exploitation of children. These articles read as follows:

Article (9)

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age: he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Article (34)

States parties undertake to protect the child from all form of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purpose states parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

- a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;*
- b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practice;*
- c) The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.*

These articles of the Convention have wider scope in giving more protection to children against any kind of exploitation. The ratification of the Convention may call for the

revision of some of the domestic laws such as the age limit of a child to be part of the majority. The implementation of laws such as the Convention and our domestic laws require the full commitment of prosecutors, police, and the general public.

In line with this effort, the Ethiopian government has set up a harmonization committee to relate the provisions of the higher laws to the existing civil and penal codes with the likely of amending some laws which do not cope with the new developments (Hope Enterprises, 1997: 7). However, lack of awareness on the rights of children and the problems of capacity to do monitoring work to grass root levels tend to have adverse effect on the enforcement of the law despite the existence of supportive legal and policy frameworks.

Generally, the Ethiopian law has legal provisions, though it needs some improvements, that can curb, if not stop, child prostitution. However, the leniency of different law enforcement agencies and the general public, hamper the role of the law in curbing child prostitution.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The major assumption of the study was that child prostitution as a new strand of prostitution could spread because of the existence of the demand for child prostitutes. Hence, studying the identity and motives of clients as well as factors that affect the demand for the sexual services of child prostitutes is of paramount significance to envisage any intervention area. Different sources have been used to study about clients of child prostitutes. Analysis and interpretation of data were done using both the quantitative and case study methods. Accordingly, the findings of the study and the conclusions made based on the findings are presented in this section.

4.1. Summary

The data gathered from three groups of informants and through the non-participatory observation of the researcher have been analyzed and interpreted in the preceding chapter. In this section the findings of the study are presented.

4.1.1. Profile of Clients of Child Prostitutes

- a) In terms of age, the study revealed that most of the clients of child prostitutes are young and middle-aged men.
- b) It is discovered that clients of child prostitutes are both married and unmarried men, however, in terms of their number married men seem slightly higher than unmarried men.
- c) As far as occupation is concerned, businessmen from Addis Ababa and civil servants are found to be the most important groups of clients. In

addition, foreigners appeared to be the major groups of clients who use the services of panders.

- d) The mean monthly income of clients indicates that the economically better off men also go to child prostitutes, in addition to the lower-class economically weak men.

4.1.2. Reasons of clients for going to child prostitutes

- a) The study indicated that the lower the age of child prostitutes, the lower the amount of payment that clients pay.
- b) Personal qualities of child prostitutes that attract clients are those related to their personal appearance and their being easy for maneuvering.
- c) The study revealed that most men who go to child prostitutes drink alcohol, smoke, and chew "chat."
- d) It is discovered that some men go to child prostitutes exclusively to enjoy defloration of virgin girls.
- e) The study also revealed that some clients go to child prostitutes with a belief that child prostitutes are safer from sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.
- f) It is also learnt that some men trap child prostitutes and too young girls for their mere sexual gratification.
- g) The study indicated that clients go to child prostitutes due to a lot of push and pull factors.
- h) Based up on clients' reasons for going to child prostitutes, the study revealed seven main typologies of clients. They are virginity predators, exploitative perpetrators, opportunistic perpetrators, illusory egoist perpetrators, infirm perpetrators, sexual-aim perpetrators, and protective perpetrators.

4.1.3. Sex related practices of clients of child prostitutes

- a) The study revealed that most of the clients go to child prostitutes in the evening (6:01 - 10:00 p.m.)
- b) The study indicated that most of child prostitutes and their clients don't use condom if they are regular partners.
- c) It is also discovered that the most important places where clients take child prostitutes are hotel rooms and the clients' cars.
- d) The study indicated that some clients tend to shift from penetrative sexual intercourse to non-penetrative sexual outer course.

4.1.4. Access to child prostitutes

- a) The ubiquity of child prostitutes in bars, in brothels and even on the streets make the access to child prostitutes easier.
- b) Among child prostitutes that operate from different places, street prostitutes are easily accessible to clients without their being exposed to others.
- c) Brothel owners and streets prostitutes serve national clients to reach child prostitutes whereas panders serve foreign clients to get child prostitutes.
- d) In the commercial sexual activity, defloration of virgin girls is a privilege to economically upper-class clients for deflowering a girl requires a higher amount of payment.

4.2. Conclusions

In terms of the profile of clients of child prostitutes, the study revealed that clients do not represent a homogenous group. Though men from all age categories go to

prostitutes, the study revealed that the young and middle-aged men are the most important groups of clients. The study also showed that clients are both married and unmarried men. In terms of occupation clients represent almost all of the occupational categories and others who do not pursue any occupational career. However, civil servants and businessmen are found to be the most important groups of clients. Regarding permanent residence, the study revealed that most of the clients are permanent residents of Addis Ababa. However, businessmen from out of Addis Ababa and truck drivers are also part of the client-population. As far as nationality is concerned, although most of the clients are Ethiopian nationals, the study revealed that foreign clients (both residents and tourists) also go to child prostitutes.

If clients of child prostitutes come from different age, social and economic groups, the motives for their going to child prostitutes will be quite diverse. These different interest groups of clients may compete with each other to influence the supply of the sexual service in such a way that it meets their special preferences. Such kind of rivalry among clients may lead to the introduction of new types of products within the trade in child prostitution. Therefore, one may conclude that the diversity of clients not only spreads child prostitution but also create specialization and new forms of trade that make the problem worse.

The reasons of clients for going to child prostitutes appear to be too many to list. However, the study revealed seven important typologies of clients based up on their reasons. The types of clients identified in due course of the study are virginity predators, exploitative perpetrators, opportunistic perpetrators, illusory egoist perpetrators, infirm perpetrators, sexual-aim rapists, and protective perpetrators. The major, but not exclusive, attributes to each of these types of clients are enjoyment from defloration, lower price charged by child prostitutes, helplessness of child prostitutes, the belief that child prostitutes are safer, pressure by peers and influence by substance

abuse (alcohol), accessibility of child prostitutes and lenient enforcement of the law, and easy access to child prostitutes respectively.

These major attributes are also divided as push and pull factors of clients to go to child prostitutes. Clients could be pushed or pulled by one or more factors to go to child prostitutes. Even though the study identified that the accessibility and ubiquity of child prostitutes as one of the pull factors, many other push and pull factors played a great role in drawing many men to child prostitutes. Hence, one may conclude that it is the demand for sexual services that nourishes and cultivates the development of child prostitution.

As far as the sex related practices of clients is concerned, the study revealed that most of the clients go to child prostitutes in the dark and mostly take them to hotel rooms or gratify their sexual desires in their cars within the compounds of selected hotels. Most of the clients and child prostitutes show lax attitude about the use of condom when they meet the so-called regular clients and/or "husbands." Some clients also tend to shift from the penetrative sexual intercourse to non-penetrative sexual outer course.

Since most clients go to child prostitutes in the evening under the shade of the darkness, the lax attitude of clients toward the use of condoms could be attributed to the influence of alcohol, in addition to their belief that child prostitutes are safer. The practice of non-penetrative sexual outer course performed by some clients may indicate the change in their sexual behavior. In addition, the prevalence of such a kind of perverse sexual practice on child prostitutes may be attributed to the resistance of old prostitutes. Thus, it seems possible to conclude that child prostitutes are used to exercise one's perverse sexual acts.

The study also showed that the role of intermediaries in luring girls to child prostitution as well as initiating clients to go to child prostitutes is of paramount significance. Had

it not been for the facilitating role of the intermediaries some of the clients could not be channeled to child prostitutes.

On the other hand, intermediaries, especially brothel owners, hotel madams, domestic employment agencies, and free lancers play great role in increasing the supply of sexual services.

Therefore, it may be concluded that although intermediaries have some contribution to create the demand by stimulating some clients to go to child prostitutes, their primary role is increasing the supply of sexual services.

Regarding the legal environment, under the Ethiopian law there are provisions that prohibit clients from going to minors and younger persons. On the other hand, the government of Ethiopia ratified the international Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and made it a part of legal system by Proclamation number 10/1992

Since there is the legal and policy framework that protects the right of children, i.e., prohibit clients from exploiting children, one may say that the legal and policy environment is supportive.

The lenient enforcement of the law under the supportive legal and policy framework may indicate the lack of pressure groups, excessive centralization of authority and lack of awareness of the public, in general, and children, in particular. Therefore, one may conclude that the rights of children are denied not because of lack of legal provisions, but because of the lenient enforcement of the law.

Generally, this study found out that child prostitution is proliferated, if not created, due to the existence of diverse groups of clients. Therefore, it can be concluded that the

reality in the study area supports the argument that the increase in demand also increase the supply of sexual service.

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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
QUESTIONNAIRE - 1
(To be Responded by Child Girl-Prostitutes)

Introduction

This questionnaire is designed to study about the child - girl prostitutes and their clients. Your responses are quite important for the success of the study. Hence, you are kindly requested to give your responses by selecting your answers among the alternative choices or by describing your opinions. Your responses will be used exclusively for academic purpose. By no means your name or any other specific information will be divulged to others. I would like to thank you for your cooperation.

A. PERSONAL DATA

1. Name _____
 2. Present residence : Wereda Kebele House No.
 3. If migrated to Addis Ababa from where? _____
 4. If migrated to Addis Ababa When?
 5. Age
 6. Place of Birth: Region _____ Wereda _____ Village/town _____
 7. Education background (Illiterate=99, only read=88, read and write=77, For grade complete enter the year)
 8. Marital status (never married=1, married=2, divorced=3, widowed=4, separated=5)
 9. If divorced, separated, or widowed, at what age did you marry?
 10. If separated or divorced, reasons for separating from husband(s), give two major reasons.
 A) _____
 B) _____
 11. If you have a child (children) indicate the number
 12. Current working area / "Sefer" _____ If possible Higher Kebele
 13. Place of operation (from bars=1, from streets=2, from brothel houses=3)
 Other (specify) _____
- B. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND**
14. If your father is deceased, at what age were you then?
 15. If your mother is deceased, at what age were you then?
 16. Do your parents live together? (Yes=1, no=2)
 17. Address of living parents:
 Mother: Region _____ Wereda _____ Kebele _____
 Father: Region _____ Wereda _____ Kebele _____
 18. Who brought you up? 1) _____ 2) _____
 19. Number of siblings
 20. At what age were you separated from those who brought you up? _____
 21. Reasons for separation? (Give up to two only)
 A) _____
 B) _____
 22. Occupation of parents/guardians 1) Male _____
 2) Female _____
 23. Estimated total annual income of your parents/guardians in Birr

24. Do you have any contact with your parents/guardians? (Yes=1, no=2)

25. If yes describe briefly the nature of your contact.

26. If yes to question number 24, describe the frequency of your contact.

27. Do they (or any one of them) know that you make your living as a sex-worker (yes=1, no=2)

28. If they (or any one of them) know about the way by which you earn your living, describe briefly their reaction/position.

C. PRESENT SITUATION

29. Where do you normally sleep? (Can select up to two)

(At a friend(s) place=1, as an individual lodger=2, as a group lodger=3, as a lodger in a bar=4, on the street=5)

Other (specify) _____

30. Has your mother ever engaged in the same profession as you? (Yes=1, no=2)

31. Have you ever had friend(s) or close acquaintance(s) that practised prostitution before you yourself joined that profession? (Yes=1, no=2)

32. Are you supporting anyone financially? (Yes=1, no=2)

33. If yes to question 32, which are your relations to the person(s) you support?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

34. Number of dependents under your support.

35. How did you earn your living before you become involved in this practice?

36. Do you have supplementary income source(s)? (Yes=1, no=2)

37. If you have which are they? 1. _____

2. _____

38. Where did you start prostitution? Region _____ Wereda _____

39. When did you start prostitution in Ethiopain Calendar?

40. How did you start this work?

(All on my own=1, influenced by the advice of a friend=2, influenced by an employer=3)

Due to pressure from others (specify) _____

41. Do you change the area where you operate? (Yes=1, no=2)

42. Where do you get your customers? (Select as many)

(On the street=1, Through pimps/"balukas"=2, In bars=3)

Other (specify) _____

43. When do you usually get your customers?

(In the morning (6:01 - 12:00)=1, In the evening (6:01 - 10:00)=2, In the afternoon (12:01 - 6:00)=3, Late at night (10:01 - 6:00)=4)

44. How many customers do you get per week?

45. How much do you receive?

1) per contact Birr

2) per week Birr

46. If you pay for pimps how much do you pay for them per customer? (In amount or percentage) Birr Or %

47. If impossible to say per customer then per day Birr Or %, per week Birr Or % or per month Birr Or %

48. How do you spend your money?

1) Individual consumption %

2) Group consumption %

3) Save part of it %

49. Do you yourself, use any of the following substances at least once a week? (Can select up to two) (alcohol=1, Chewing Chat=2, Smoking=3, Sniffing benzine=4)

Other (specify) _____

50. Do you use condom? (Regularly=1, seldom=2, not at all=3)

51. If seldom, describe situations when you donot use condoms. _____

52. If not at all, why not? _____

D. PROFILE OF CLIENTS

53. How many regular customers do you have? (00 for none) %

54. Age of customers (indicate percentage or 00% for none)

1) under 25 years old %

2) between 25 and 45 years old %

3) over 45 years old %

55. Marital status of your customers (indicate percentage or 00% for none)

1) married % 2) single % 3) unknown %

56. Types of customers (give rank of order from 1 for most frequenting to 10 for least frequenting)

1) students

2) truck drivers

3) businessmen coming from out of Addis Ababa

4) businessmen from Addis Ababa

5) migrated workers

6) higher officials

7) residing foreigners

8) Foreign tourists

9) unemployed

10) unknown

57. Have your clients ever told you the reasons for them to come to you?

(Yes=1, no=2)

58. If yes, which are the most frequent reasons that you have been told? (Maximum of 3)

1) _____

2) _____

3) _____

59. Where do you go with your customers for the purpose of their sexual gratification?
 (Hotel rooms=1, to their homes=2, cars=3)
 Other (specify) _____
60. Do your customers prefer to use condoms? (Yes=1, no=2, some=3)
61. If some, what percentage of the total prefer to use condoms? %
62. Have your customers ever told you the reasons why they don't use condoms?
 (Yes=1, no=2)
63. If yes, which are the most frequent reasons that you have been told? (maximum of 3)
 1) _____
 2) _____
 3) _____
64. How many deviant "sexual" requests do you encounter on the average per week?
 (One or two times=1, three to four times=2, five or more times=3)
65. How many physical abuse did you encounter on the average per week?
66. Have you ever been raped? (Yes=1, no=2)
67. If yes, when were you raped? (Before you started prostitution=1, after you started
 prostitution=2, both before and after=3)
68. If you have been raped after you started prostitution how many times were you raped?
69. Rank your customers by the substance abuse they frequent.
 1) drink alcohol 2) smoking 3) chewing chat 4) sniffing benzine
 5) other (specify) _____
70. What is your general opinion about your customers?

71. Would you mind describe the situation how you lost your virginity?

INTERVIEWER'S ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
QUESTIONNAIRE - 2
(To be Responded by Clients of Child Girl-Prostitutes)

Introduction

This questionnaire is designed to study about the child - girl prostitutes and their clients. Your responses are quite important for the success of the study. Hence, you are kindly requested to give your responses by selecting your answers among the alternative choices or by describing your opinions. Your responses will be used exclusively for academic purpose. By no means your name or any other specific information will be divulged to others. I would like to thank you for your cooperation.

A. PERSONAL DATA

1. Name _____
2. Age
3. Residence: (Addis Ababa=1, another town other than Addis Ababa=2, rural dweller=3, out of Ethiopia=4)
4. If you reside in Addis Ababa, the nature of employment:
(government employee=01, businessman=02, student=03, daily labourer=04, diplomat=05, employee of international org.=06, employee of NGO=07, unemployed=08)
other (specify) _____
5. If you reside in another town other than Addis Ababa, in rural area, or out of Ethiopia, what is the purpose of your visit?
(employment =1, business=2, tourism=3)
other (specify) _____
6. Marital status: (married=1, divorced=2, single=3, widowed=4)
7. If married, age of your spouse at marriage
8. If divorced describe the reason(s) for divorce (write the two major reasons).
1) _____
2) _____
9. Nationality (Ethiopian=1, non-Ethiopian=2)
10. Educational background: (Illiterate=99, read only=88, read and write=77, for grade completed enter year)

B. SOCIO - ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

11. Do your parents live together? (Yes=1, no=2)
12. If your parents don't live together, reason for separation:
1) _____
2) _____
13. How many friends do you have? Or
14. What is the employment status of your friend(s) (Maximum of two)
1) _____
2) _____

15. What is the marital status of your friend(s) (Maximum of two)
- 1) _____
- 2) _____

C. PRESENT SITUATION

16. What are your hobbies (can select up to two)
 (Sports=1, watch video=2, reading=3, sitting and chatting=4, listening music=5, outdoor recreatin=6)
- Other (specify) _____
17. If you watch video, what kind of film(s) you enjoy? (Can select up to two)
 (Action film=1, love story=2, detective story=3, science related=4, historical films=5, sports films=6)
- Other (specify) _____
18. If you read, what kind of reading you enjoy? (Can select up to two)
 (Science fiction=1, educational materials=2, love stories=3, historical readings=4, detective stories=5)
- Other (specify) _____
19. Do you use any of the following at least once a week? (Can select up to two)
 (alcohol=1, chewing chat=2, smoking=3, sniffing benzine=4)
- Other (specify) _____
20. Do your friends know about your relation with your customer?
 (Yes=1, no=2, don't know=3)
21. How do you meet your customer? (You by yourself=1, through friends=2, through pimps=3)
- Other (specify) _____
22. Where do you meet your customer? (Select as many)
 (on the streets=1, in bars=2, through pimps/"balukas"=3)
- Other (specify) _____
23. When do you meet your customer?
 (in the morning (6:01 - 12:00)=1, in the afternoon (12:01 - 6:00)=2, in the evening (6:01 - 10:00)=3, late at night (10:01 - 6:00)=4)
24. Where do you take your customer for the purpose of sexual gratification?
 (To your home=1, hotel rooms=2, cars=3)
- Other (specify) _____
25. Do you have regular relationship with any girl(s)? (Yes=1, no=2)
26. If yes, with how many girls do you maintain regular relationship?
27. How much do you pay for your girl per contact (in Birr) Per day in Birr
28. How much do you pay for pimps per customer? (in Birr or percentage) Or %
29. How often, per month, do you visit your regular partner (total)?
30. Do you have any source of income? (Yes=1, no=2)
31. If yes, how much money do you earn per month from the above source? (In Birr)
32. Do you have dependent(s)? (Yes=1, no=2)
33. If yes, describe the nature of the relationship.
- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

D. MOTIVES TO GO TO CHILD PROSTITUTES

34. In your opinion, why do some men go to child prostitutes instead of going to common prostitutes?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

35. In your opinion, do married men go to child girl prostitutes?

(Yes=1, no=2, don't know=3)

36. If yes, describe the reasons why they go to child prostitutes?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

37. Do you use condoms? (Yes=1, no=2, sometimes=3)

38. If sometimes, describe the situations when you do not use condoms.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

39. If no, why not?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

40. Do you frequently quarrel with your girl(s)? (Yes=1, no=2)

41. If yes, describe the causes for quarrel?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

42. What do you do with the girls as you quarrel with them?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

43. What is your opinion about your girls?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

44. What is your opinion about people who go to child girl prostitutes for sexual gratification.

- 1) _____
- 2) _____
- 3) _____

INTERVIEWER'S ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
QUESTIONNAIRE - 3
(To be Responded by Pimps)

Introduction

This questionnaire is designed to study about the child - girl prostitutes and their clients. Your responses are quite important for the success of the study. Hence, you are kindly requested to give your responses by selecting your answers among the alternative choices or by describing your opinions. Your responses will be used exclusively for academic purpose. By no means your name or any other specific information will be divulged to others. I would like to thank you for your cooperation.

A. PERSONAL DATA

1. Name _____
2. Sex Male Female
3. Age
4. Residence: Wereda Kebele House no.
5. Place of birth: Region _____ Wereda _____ village/town _____
6. Educational background (illiterate=99, literate=88, for grade completed enter year)
7. Marital status (never married=1, married=2, divorced=3, widowed=4, separated)
8. If separated or divorced, reasons for separating from your spouse?
 - 1) _____
 - 2) _____
 - 3) _____

B. SOCIO - ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

9. Have you ever been engaged in prostitution? (Yes=1, no=2)
10. If yes, how long do you work as a prostitute? Years
11. How did you start to work as a pimp?

12. Why did you start to work as a pimp?

13. When do you start to work as a pimp?

C. PRESENT SITUATION

14. Do you yourself currently engaged in direct sex work? (Yes=1, no=2)
15. If yes, how many customers do you get per week?
16. If no, what is your source of income?

17. Are there sex workers who live with you? (Yes=1, no=2)
18. If yes, on average how many sex workers work under your control or with your "help"?
19. How did those sex workers come to you?
 - Sex worker 1 _____
 - Sex worker 2 _____
 - Sex worker 3 _____

- Sex worker 4 _____
 Sex worker 5 _____
20. How do those sex workers get their customers?
 Sex worker 1 _____
 Sex worker 2 _____
 Sex worker 3 _____
 Sex worker 4 _____
 Sex worker 5 _____

21. Which are the most common places where sex workers go with customers for their customers' sexual gratification? (Maximum of three)
 1) _____
 2) _____
 3) _____

22. How much, on the average, does a sex worker earn per week?(in Birr)
 23. Do they give you a portion of their earnings? (Yes=1, no=2)
 24. If yes, what percentage (on the average) %

D. PROFILE OF CUSTOMERS

25. Do customers approach you to provide them with sex workers? (Yes=1, no=2)
 26. Describe the kind of sex workers your customers prefer? (Maximum of three)
 1) _____
 2) _____
 3) _____

27. Has any of your customers ever requested you to provide him with a girl under the age of 15?
 (Yes=1, no=2)

28. If yes, which do you think are the reasons for the special request? (Maximum of three)
 1) _____
 2) _____
 3) _____

29. Has any of your customers ever requested you to provide him with a virgin girl?
 (Yes=1, no=2)

30. If yes, which do you think are the reasons for the special request? (Maximum of three)
 1) _____
 2) _____
 3) _____

31. How could you find virgin girls to provide to you customers? (Maximum of three)
 1) _____
 2) _____
 3) _____

32. Do customers pay special amount for virgin girls? (Yes=1, no=2)

33. If yes, how much is the minimum in Birr the maximum in Birr

34. Marital status of customers (indicate percentage or 00% for none)
 1) married 2) single 3) unknown

35. Types of customers (give rank of order from 1 for most frequenting to 10 for least frequenting)
 1) students 6) higher officials
 2) truck drivers 7) resident foreigners
 3) businessmen from out of Addis Ababa 8) foreign tourists
 4) businessmen from Addis Ababa 9) unemployed
 5) migrated workers 10) unknown

36. Do customers pay you for your brothel operation? (Yes=1, no=2)
37. If yes, how much do you earn: Per sex worker in Birr Or %
Per week
38. From your experience, the number of prostitutes
(decreases over time=1, same=2, increases over time=3)
39. If the number is increasing, which age group of prostitutes increase?
(Under 15=1, 15-25 years=2, 26-45 years=3, over 45=4)
40. If the number of prostitutes is increasing over time what are the reason(s) (maximum or three)
1) _____
2) _____
3) _____
41. If the number of prostitutes is decreasing what are the possible reason(s) for it (maximum or three)
1) _____
2) _____
3) _____
42. From your experience, the number of customers
(decreases over time=1, same=2, increases over time=3)
43. If the number of customers increases, which age group of customers increase?
(Under 25 years=1, 25-45 years=2, over 45 years)
44. If the number of customers increases over time, what could be the probable reasons?
(Maximum of three)
1) _____
2) _____
3) _____
45. If the number of customers decreases over time, what could be the probable reasons?
(Maximum of three)
1) _____
2) _____
3) _____
46. What is your opinion about sex workers?

47. What is your opinion about customers?

INTERVIEWER'S ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Themes for Discussions with Girl-informants

1. Could you tell me about your family background?
2. What is your educational background?
3. How could you leave you parents/guardians?
4. How could you join this practice (prostitution)?
5. Do you have a habit of taking any kind of substance?
6. Could you tell me about your relationship with your peer prostitutes?
7. Could you tell me about your clients? For example, about their age, marital status, nationality, the amount of payment they give you, places where they take you, etc.
8. How did you get deflowered?
9. Could you tell me any of the problems you encountered with your clients?
10. If you use the service of intermediaries, could you tell me about the type of agreement between you and the intermediaries, and other things?
11. Could you tell me the major types of problems that you encountered?

Themes for Discussions with Procurer-informants

1. Could you tell me about your family background?
2. What is your educational background?
3. How could you join this practice (prostitution)?
4. How many sex workers are there with you?
5. Could you tell me how you recruit sex workers?
6. Could you tell me about clients? For example, about their age, marital status, nationality, the amount of payment they give to prostitutes, places where they take prostitutes, etc.
7. Could you tell me whether clients approach you to bring them prostitutes?
8. Could you tell me about the types of sex workers that the clients ask you to bring them in terms of age, and any other special preference?
9. If you have been asked to bring virgin girls from where would you recruit them?
10. According to your observation is the number of clients increasing or decreasing?
11. Could you tell me the major types of problems that you encountered?

Themes for Discussions with Client-informants

1. Could you tell me about your family background?
2. What is your educational and marital background?
3. What is your occupation?
4. Could you describe your friends in terms of occupation, marital status, etc.
5. Do you have a girl friend?
6. If you have ever gone to prostitutes could you explain about: the prostitutes' age, frequency of your visit, the prostitutes' and your condom use, the time when you meet your prostitutes, places where you took them, etc.
7. If you have ever been used the services of intermediaries could you tell me the kind of agreement between you and the intermediaries?
8. If you encountered a virgin girl could you tell me your experiences?



DECLARATION

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

Name: Yohannes Zelalem

Signature: 

Place: Addis Ababa

Date: June, 1998

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

Yeraswork Admassie (Doctor)

June, 1998