

**EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF MASSAGE PARLOR SEX
WORKERS OF ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

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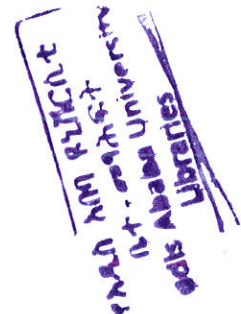
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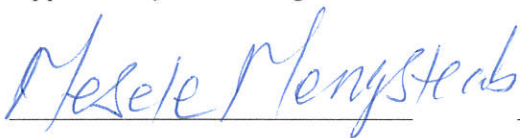
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Declaration

I the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has never been presented in this or any other university, and that all resources and materials used herein, have been duly acknowledged

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Acronyms

| | |
|---------------|--|
| AATIB | Addis Ababa Trade and Industry Bureau |
| CDC | Center for Disease Control |
| FHI | Family Health International |
| HAPCO | HIV AIDS Prevention and Control Office |
| STI | Sexually Transmitted Infections |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Emergency Fund |

Abstract

This study was done with the purpose of understanding the experience of massage parlor sex workers who work in massage parlors of Addis Ababa. The participants were twelve massage parlor sex workers. For the successful attainment of the research, qualitative research method was employed. Data were organized, analyzed and presented in six clusters. In line with these, the clusters were contained, causes that predisposed women to become sex workers, factors that attract them to remain in sex work, their common customers, their attitude toward their customers, the effect of their work on the society and the importance of the work group for the sex workers. Findings of the study showed that most of the respondents face early sexual abuse, first sexual intercourse at the age below 18 years and had many sexual partners at an early age. The majority of the research participants also disclosed that they remain working in the parlor due to the reasons like best earning compared with other establishments, companionship and helping others. The other major finding is most of their customers are married men. In line with this, the majority of the workers believed that their services as beneficial to the institution of marriage. Towards their attitude to customers, the majority of the respondents have positive attitude toward their customers. Finally in line with the implications of the finding, the researcher concluded that in the near future employment in this semi-brothels flourish in large and medium cities of the country. So as to control its expansion in breadth and width, the following recommendation and policy implications are forwarded. Among others, the concerned government organ should clearly establish a policy regarding the requirements to open legal massage parlors and systematically discourage the new opening requests by increasing the licensing fee and by setting other administrative sanctions. With regard to the existing quasi brothels, since they are typically exist below the thresholds of both state and public visibility, these premises are out of sight and out of mind and not only well escape taxation but also discard the legal parlors that provide legal massage service. Therefore strict follow up and judiciary sanctions as well as criminal measures should be followed. Finally, as a general recommendation, among others, the immediate practical solution to reduce the impact of prostitution on the community markedly, both judiciary prohibitions and social work interventions should be practiced. This is because, if we practice jurisdiction only, the actual problem becomes increasingly a judicial problem, as more and more of the problem is regulated through laws. Therefore social work interventions have also largely been devised to focus on minimizing harmful effects as well as getting women leave “the life”.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Prostitution is commonly defined as a custom of having sexual relations in exchange for economic gain (Wood, 2001). The person who receives payment for sexual services is called a prostitute.

Sex work in Ethiopia is vast, diverse and conducted openly (Overs, 2014 p.15). The Federal HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Offices (HAPCO) in its 2011 publication “new bad practices adapted from abroad,” said, the size of the sex worker population in Ethiopia is not known but it was suspected that the number of sex workers is growing.

According Overs (2014 p.15) in Ethiopia Sex workers operate in virtually all hotels, bars and restaurants and there are street workers on most main roads of towns after sunset. Throughout towns and cities sex workers and clients meet at informal bars that sell the local brew, “araki”. Both sex and “araki” is sold from single room households where women live alone or with their children. In some towns these are clustered in slum areas where sex work is practiced explicitly by most of the resident women (Overs, 2014).

Family Health International (2002) further classifies the sex worker population in Ethiopia as direct or open and indirect. Direct prostitutes are typically women who officially recognize themselves as sex workers and earn their living by selling sex. Indirect prostitutes are women for whom sex work is not the first source of income. They may work as waitresses, hairdressers, tailors, masseuses in massage parlors, street vendors and supplement their income by selling sex on the side on a regular basis or occasionally and it is difficult to reach this population of prostitutes as direct sex workers. As a consequence, the absolute size of the female

sex workers population remains largely unknown in Ethiopia (FHI, 2002). Even though the indirect prostitutes do not consider themselves as prostitutes and often work outside of known venues for sex work, in Addis Ababa and Adama, 35 Percent of the prostitutes are considered as indirect prostitutes (FHI 2002). The majority of them are aged 25–29 years old.

Among the indirect prostitution category, according to (HAPCO, 2011), a recent entrant in the Ethiopian sex work fabric is prostitution in massage parlors. As it is voiced from many residents of Addis Ababa, this phenomenon distinguished from most other forms of ordinary massage by the explicit emphasis on sensual or sexual massaging of the client genitals by additional payment.

Traditionally massage establishment have been associated with steam baths, saunas, and health clubs. The art of massage is long history and it is not only mechanism for relaxing tired muscles but is therapeutic value for victims of certain paralyses and neural disorders(American Massage Therapy Association (AMTA, 2013). However, sorting legitimate massage establishment from those operating as a source of prostitution is a serious problem that evoked sharp public debate and substantial legal activity.

According to (Farley & Davis, 2008) at present massage parlors found in many countries are fronts or substitutes for prostitution or other illegal sexual activities. The presence of these erotic massage parlors, not only represent a cancer that will grow or encourage a wide range of reprehensible sexual enterprise for profit but also these parlors morally reprehensible and offensive to community standard and diminish the meaning of sex and love (Farley & Davis, 2008).

However, there is no research evidence found on the issue, it is voiced from many dwellers of Addis Ababa that similarly the city of Addis Ababa, has, in recent years, experienced substantial social problem concerning prostitution in massage parlors. This experience may be

representatives of the extension of these erotic parlors from large to the average and medium-sized Ethiopian cities as a result of entry to massage service businesses relatively easy.

So that this study discovered and critically assessed the causes that predisposed sex workers to become massage parlors sex workers, attracting factor to remain in their work, the type of customers they commonly serve and their attitude toward their customers, the effect of their work on the community and the importance of the work group for the sex workers were explored and come up with some findings related with the issue.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Prostitution is often defined as the act or practice of cossetting promiscuous sexual activities, especially for money. Even though, it is not exactly known when and where prostitution started, it has been practiced for long period of time in the history of mankind. Some literatures indicate that it was exercised in ancient Egypt, Rome, Greece, Mesopotamia and China (Arshad, 2012 p.2).

All through ancient history there is evidence of temple prostitution across different parts of the world. Though goddess worship persisted, resistance to prostitution began in around 1200 BC when ancient Israel disapproved of erotic religions in surrounding societies (Eisler, 1995, as cited Sanders et.al., p.2). In 350 AD, Christians succeeded in prohibiting temple prostitution in Rome and, as time went on, the systematic denigration of sexuality, particularly female sexuality, engendered increasingly intolerant attitudes towards prostitutes (Sanders et.al, 2009, p.2).

When we come to its beginning in Ethiopia, the emergence of prostitution is traced back to the establishment of Emperor Lebene Dengel's Royal Camp in the City of Gondar in the 16th century (Mengste, 1999; Kefetew, 1996; as cited in Ethiopian Social Policy Reader volume 1, 2008 p.4). According to this literature, the royal camp was composed of huge number of tents and people including those special women – called courtesans, women who make sex with rich

and high ranking men (Mengeste, 1999; as cited in Ethiopian Social Policy Reader volume 1, 2008 p.4).

Prostitution has existed for centuries in Ethiopia. However, it has been expanding and increasing during the time of Italian invasion of the country (Mengiste, 1999 and Tadele, 2000). Similarly the building of the Ethio-Djibouti railway in the 20th century and the commercialization of local drinks mainly of Tej (alcoholic drink made of honey) also contributed a lot to the expansion of prostitution in Ethiopia (Tadele, 2000). However, in most societies of Ethiopia, prostitution is seen and accepted as a social ill or socially unacceptable practice; legally prostitution is neither legal nor illegal in Ethiopia (Kefetew & Wondimu, 1996).

As a result of its hidden nature and difficulty of getting exact information from commercial sex workers, the number of women who rely on prostitution is not exactly known in Ethiopia. According to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MoLSA), 1988 study , there were 78,731 prostitutes estimated in Ethiopia and were forecasted over 90,000 by the mid1990s. And another study done by MoLSA in 1995 indicates that 7% of the female population of Addis Ababa was estimated with the involvement of prostitution in which girls under the age of 18 are being the fastest growing group in the practice.

A 2002 study conducted by Family Health International Ethiopia (FHI), entitled ‘‘Mapping and Census of Female Sex Workers in Addis Ababa’’ stated that a total of 3,460 establishments in the city gave commercial sex services. Other significant numbers of sex workers were available at 1,453 red light houses. Tella and Arake (local beer and hard liquor) selling houses were also among the establishments with one or other form of sex workers. The FHI study states that there were about 8,134 sex workers by the time the study was conducted. Comparing this with present estimates, the number has almost doubled in a decade. From this

data we can understand that commercial sex work is becoming very common, rapidly expanding and women are performing it as one means of leading their life in Ethiopia.

The magnitude and nature of the problem of commercial sex has been an important and attractive topic for sociological research in Ethiopia. However, it is not well studied and most of the studies were repetitive in their themes. For example the studies of 1960s (Mayor, 1963; Andargatchew, 1967; Lema, 1968) and the studies from 1970s to 2000 (Laketch, 1978, Banchiyeleku, 1984; Ayehunie, 1987; Mehret, 1990; Habtamu, 1991; Baardson, 1993; Kebede, 1993; Tamene, 1993; Atakilt, 1994; Gedu, 1995; Alemayehu, 1996; Aklilu, 1998; Hussein, 1998; Seble, 1998; Mulumebet, 2000; Bethlehem, 2002) all displayed common characteristics in terms of themes, approaches, and conclusions.

The favorite themes or issues have been “causes of prostitution” and “consequences of prostitution” (Alemayehu, 1996; Alemayehu, 1973; Banchiyeleku, 1984; Habtamu, 1991; Seble, 1998; Tamene, 1993). The same themes have been tested over and over again with an ever-increasing number of samples. It appears that this happened partly for lack of research integration, poor archival research, and/or inaccessibility of earlier research reports. In addition to the studies thematic similarities, almost all studies considered the only places in which commercial sex takes place were bars and hotels; on streets and small establishments that sell local drinks like “Arake”. However, according to HAPCO (2011) study on “new bad practices adapted from abroad,” it is clearly stated that currently prostitution has been expanding in most massage parlors of Addis Ababa.

In addition, the city of Addis Ababa, has, in recent years, experienced substantial turmoil and civic discussion concerning sex work in massage parlors. However, prostitution in massage parlors is serious social problem in Ethiopia and more specifically in Addis Ababa and massage parlor owners using their legal massage license to camouflage this socially ill activity; little or no

effort has been made so far by social workers and other researchers in Ethiopia to study this social problem scientifically and I have not come across with any academic research conducted in the area in Ethiopia as well as in other contexts.

Though understanding this research gap, I founded that the issue was highly imperative to undertake a research on the nature of massage parlors prostitution by exploring the experience of sex workers who were working in massage parlor of Addis Ababa at the time of this study conducted. Therefore, I was encouraged to pay due attention to assess and bring qualitative facts and social work implication to culminate the problem.

1.3. Research Questions

This study attempted to address the following research questions

1. What are the predisposing factors that cause massage parlor sex workers to engage in sex work in massage parlors?
2. What are the factors that attract massage parlors sex workers to remain in their work?
3. Who are the main customers of the sex workers in massage parlors?
4. What are the general attitudes of massage parlor sex workers toward their customers?
5. How do the massage parlor sex workers define the effect of their work on the society?
6. How do the massage parlors sex workers define the importance of their work group for them?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. General Objective

The overall aim of this thesis is to assess the general nature of prostitution in massage parlors of Addis Ababa through exploring the experience of sex workers who work in massage parlor of Addis Ababa

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

Specific objectives of the study are mainly:

- To investigate the predisposing factors that cause massage parlor sex workers to engage in sex work in massage parlors
- To explore the factors that attract massage parlors sex workers to remain in their work
- To understand the main customers of the prostitutes in massage parlors.
- To assess the general attitudes of massage parlor sex workers toward their customers
- To discover the stand of massage parlor sex workers on effect of their work on the society
- To assesses the importance of their work group for them

1.5. Scope of the Study

Since many massage parlors which provide 'extra services' or sexual service mainly found in Addis Ababa and the intensity of the problem is very high here in the capital than any other parts of Ethiopia, the research site was here in Addis Ababa. Even though this underground sexual services are found in other establishments such as spas, sauna bath rooms, gust houses and gyms; this research focused and concerned on identifying the nature of prostitution in massage parlors of Addis Ababa due to the fact that more than other establishments, sex work in these establishment evoked sharp public debate and so far I have not come across with any academic research conducted in this area.

1.6. Significance of the Study

This study will give better understanding on sex work in massage parlors of Addis Ababa by giving a clear understanding on the life experience of sex workers in the parlors. Above all, the finding of this research will be used as an input for policy makers, Judicial, police department, health institutions and other decision making organs which have an authority to alleviate or reduce the problem and other local religious institutions and mass-medias which have great stake in building of the ethical standard of the community. In addition, this research may also be important in providing different insight for researchers, scholars, academicians and students who are interested in the investigation of various aspects of prostitution as a whole. Similarly, the result of the research finding will also expected to serve as an additional literature materials for helping other researchers and students who will be interested to study the same issues.

1.7. Limitations of the study

In conducting any research, the availability of relevant and up-to-dated documents on the issue plays a pivotal role for the success of the study. However, concerning the issue of massage parlors prostitution, even though the problem is seriously aggravating here in Ethiopia, I have not come across any academic research conducted in the area. Therefore, it was very difficult for the researcher to get any information from within Ethiopia and up-to-date secondary sources from other contexts. Consequently, the researcher was forced to use old books and journals as a reference in some part of this study.

In addition, despite the vigorous efforts made in carrying out this research, it has also its own limitation. The data collection methods for this study were mainly based on participants response that provided by sex workers targeted by the study. Therefore, there is some potential reporting bias which may have occurred because of respondent's level of report their emotions in a certain way. The results were not generalizable to all massage parlor sex workers, because my

purposive sample may not be an accurate representation of the total population of massage parlor sex workers in this city.

1.8. Definition of Terms

Extra service: sexual service provided by masseuse (female massage therapist) after the actual massage service

House prostitute: Includes women who work in brothels, massage parlors, hotels, dance halls, bars, and modeling studios that simultaneously engage in sexual intercourse for pay. Usually the establishment receives 50 percent of their earnings.

Masseuse: A person trained in relaxing or stimulating the body tactually.

Pimp: A person who procures customers for a prostitute, while simultaneously manages the prostitute's money and general activities

Prostitute: Women who provider sexual services for the recipient neither for love nor affection just to get reward for performing the sexual act either in monetary term or other material goods at or near the time of the act.

Regular customer: A customer that frequently returns to an establishment, usually requesting a particular girl that has previously serviced him

Session: Paid private time that a customer spends with a selected girl

Sexual deviance: Sexual behavior that violates acceptable sexual norms and this behavior results in negative labeling and social stigmatization

Sex workers: Female sex workers who provide sexual service for male customers

Sexual services: Paid activity intended to stimulate and gratify a sexual need.

1.9. Organization of the Study

The study was organized into six chapters. In the first chapter, the topic, background of the study, statement of problem, the research questions, and objectives of the study were introduced. The second chapter of this work is literature review. Chapter three deals with the methodology and discussed in detail about the method used to produce this research work. Chapter four is about the result of the study and its analyses. Discussion part of the study is presented in chapter five. Chapter six is the chapter of conclusion and social work implications.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents relevant research findings and other related literature on prostitution in general and massage parlors prostitution more specifically.

The chapter includes the following sections; definition and concepts of sex work, the origin of sex work, nature of massage parlors sex work and its origin, types of sex work, cause and roots into sex work, reasons for the sex workers remaining in their work, clients of female sex workers, consequences of prostitution on the society and international theories and perspectives related with prostitution discussed in line with different research findings and reports. These helped the researcher to identify the literature gaps in relation with previously undertaken researches and it gives information about the facts related with this research topic.

2.1. Definition and Concepts of Sex Work (Prostitution)

Prostitution is a term used to describe a wide range of activities relating to the exchange of money (or its equivalent) for the provision of a sexual service. Harcourt & Donovan (2005) compiled a long list of the different types of sexual services practiced by sex workers around the world. From this list, they grouped types of sexual services into two categories; direct and indirect sex work. Direct sex work refers to services, such as indoor and outdoor prostitution as well as escort services. This type of sex work typically involves the exchange of sex for a fee in which genital contact is common.

Indirect sex work refers to services, such as sex work in massage parlors, lap dancing, stripping and virtual sex services (over the internet or phone). Genital contact is less common in this type of sex work; however, a fee is still exchanged for the service.

Sociologists agreed on three points in defining prostitution. First it is sexual in nature, and the reward for performing the sexual act is either money or other material goods exchanged at or near the time of the act. Second the relationship between the provider and the recipient of sexual services involved neither love nor affection. Because there is an exchange of services for material reward, prostitution is either full or part time vocation. Furthermore, prostitutes are not necessarily females or adult; male and female prostitutes of various ages provide sexual services for both the opposite and the same sex.

2.2. The Origin of Sex Work

The history of sex work or prostitution is as old as human itself. It is sometimes referred to as "the world's oldest profession". Around 300 B.C., prostitutions had existed and found at temples, churches or sacred places. In Ancient Cyprus, it was the culture; every woman had to be prostitute herself at least once to any stranger that was the eligibility criteria for marriage (Benjamin, 1964).

In Ancient Egypt and Greece prostitution had been popular and prevalent throughout the history. In Greece there had been four main cults of the prostitutes. First was the upper class of prostitutions who attached themselves to the most excellent, popular and rich men. Second was whose occupation was musician and dancing. Third was who were brothel prostitutes and the fourth one was who were permanent slaves (ibid, 1964).

The 18th century is called "The Golden Age of Prostitutes". During this era, there were many places had been established where prostitutes could get training in order to get start in professional life as prostitute, the brothels like "Mme Gourdan's in Paris, "Mrs Goadsby's and Miss Fawkland's in London" (Roberts & Nickie 1992).

Evidences indicate that prostitution widely and rapidly emerging profession and prostitutes have existed in all major regions of the world. International Labour Organization

estimates that over 1.8 million youth all over the world are involved in occupation of prostitution (ILO, 2000).

2.3. Nature of Massage Parlors Sex Work and its Origin

Since the early 1970s, massage parlors have developed as a way of organizing commercial sex. Essentially, the organizational form allows a brothel to be disguised as a massage clinic in order to avoid laws against sex businesses. Bryant and Palmer (1975) suggest that this particular combination of massage and commercial sex was particularly common in Vietnam, where servicemen encountered the massage parlor while on 'Rest and Recuperation' leave during the Vietnam War. Whatever its origins, commentators have noted the decline of the brothel and the introduction of the massage parlor into American and Australian commercial sex scenes during the late 1960s and 1970s.

Currently, most massage parlors, providing “‘extra service’” or selling sexual pleasures as forefront service. The massage parlor technically complies with this legislation by selling the client massage time only. The prostitute, or masseuse, then negotiates with the client in the privacy of a parlor room for any sexual services that are required.

The prostitutes have different methods of informing the client of the prices; at one massage parlor they have a menu of prices that the sex worker can show the client, which uses such terms as 'tunnel of love massage', 'lip massage', 'extra service' and so forth (Bryant and Palmer 1975).

The point to recognize is that the reality of the massage parlor as a locale of commercialized sex is constituted to a significant degree by the customer's wishes and the extent to which he is willing to offer financial reward for the fulfillment of his wishes.

2.4. Types of Sex Work

According to Scambler (2007), there are different types of sex work which are caused by, and can result in, varying states of vulnerability. The differences between the types of sex work and the severity of vulnerability will be examined below.

2.4.1. On-Street Sex Workers

A lack of economic opportunities and debt are key reasons for the entrance of (predominantly) women into on-street sex work. On-street sex workers tend to be, with high rates of drug addiction, homelessness, mental health problems, and likelihood of having been in care following family breakdown, (Jeal & Salisbury, 2007). These factors are both a cause of street sex work engagement and a consequence of street sex work, leaving women subject to violent attacks from men including clients and police (Sanders & Neville, 2012).

According to Jeal & Salisbury (2004) there are strong links between sex work, homelessness and drug addiction, particularly in relation to on-street sex work. Another key issue which emerged from Jeal & Salisbury's (2004) study is in relation to drug addiction. All of those interviewed for the study reported current or recent drug and/or alcohol dependency; many of whom referred to the use of intravenous drugs.

The same study also highlighted other issues concerning health. All respondents reported some kind of chronic illness and reporting poor health, whilst very few reported receiving treatment for their illnesses. STIs, vein abscesses, tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases, fatigue, acute pain and stress related issues, are commonly cited in the literature on sex work to affect this group (Spice, 2007).

2.4.2. Off-Street Sex Workers

It is widely assumed that the off-street sex work setting, in brothels, flats, saunas and escort services, is a more secure and less vulnerable setting than on-street sex work (Jeal & Salisbury,

2004). They are often run like a business; rules, such as no drug taking or drinking allowed on in most brothel premises (Sanders, 2007). However, while this group of sex workers may be less vulnerable to poor health, violence and police harassment, they are still vulnerable.

In a study by Jeal and Salisbury (2007) which compared the health needs of on-street and off-street sex workers, they found off-street sex workers report fewer chronic health problems (often related to drug use among on-street sex workers) and were less likely to use injecting drugs and share injecting equipment, spending less of their income on drugs. Overall, off-street sex workers were found to display less risk taking behavior and lived healthier lifestyles than on-street sex workers; however, they are still at greater risk to poor physical and mental health than the general public.

As off-street sex workers fear being stigmatized, many prefer to keep their occupations hidden from service providers which can often prevent them from accessing the necessary services they need (Jeal & Salisbury, 2007). Furthermore, fear of judgment and discriminatory attitudes from health professionals and other service providers can result in reluctance to disclose drug use and other risky behaviors (in addition to sex work), and prevent access to necessary services.

2.5. Causes and Routes into Sex Work

The popular stereotype of entry into sex work for women is of the young girl being enticed or coerced by an older man (the traditional ‘pimp’). While this may be the case for some sex workers who enter the trade, particularly at a younger age, it is by no means the only route into sex work. As O’Neill (1997) notes, women have many different reasons for entering sex work and do so under different circumstances. While for many the prime reason is economic need, some women make independent rational choices to enter the sex industry and some may ‘drift in’ through being introduced to the option by friends who are already working, either as sex workers

or in other jobs associated with the sex industry, such as receptionists or maids in indoor establishments (O'Neill, 1997). For many sex workers, their decision to enter sex work is based on considerations of the limited alternative options available to them, particularly if they have few skills and thus only access to lower-paid work (O'Connell, 1998). Those with skills, qualifications and a history of work in the mainstream employment sector also make rational 'cost-benefit' choices to enter into the sex industry to earn more money for less time. Earning a minimum wage for many hours even in a semi-skilled profession is less favorable than working two or three days a week for greater pay. The pressures of single parenthood, living on low welfare benefits and pressures of debt are also factors that can spark trained women to turn to the sex industry as an option for making financial profit within a shorter amount of time. For street-based workers in particular, sex work may be a means of supporting their own or their partner's drug use (O'Neill, 1997). As was discussed earlier, there are examples of women who have left lower-paid professional jobs or have started to work in the industry to supplement other income, for example, to pay off debts or to support college and university education (Roberts et al., 2007). Bernstein (2007) notes an increase in middle-class women entering sex work.

While many women may take an informed decision to enter the sex industry, it is important not to downplay circumstances of coercion that occur for some women, particularly younger girls. Research documents a range of 'vulnerability' factors impacting on young people's entry into sexual exploitation, including grooming, coercion or abuse by adults, experience of the 'looked after' care system, running away from care or home and childhood abuse (Pearce et al., 2002).

For many women, the motivating factor for entry into the sex industry is economic need and for many this is a conscious choice, as it offers them more money than they could earn in mainstream employment. Some of the main reasons given for entering sex work include recognition of the potential earning opportunities, being introduced to sex work by a friend or

partner, or being approached by an older man. Some young women may be coerced into sex work, particularly those who enter at a young age, who may have a history of abuse or family breakdown. Some female sex workers may have become homeless as a result of running away from home due to bullying and exclusion from the family because of their sexuality. Some have also been in local authority care. Most respondents in Davies & Feldman's (1997) study saw sex work as a part-time job which they had entered through choice.

2.6. Reasons for Sex Workers Remaining in Sex Work

What has come to be known about how women leave the sex industry has been pieced together from research into employment histories and social work practices and interventions to assist women to leave. As the political agenda in Northern Europe has moved towards the aim of eradicating the sex industry, theories on 'exiting' have developed. To support the Swedish project of eradicating the sex industry, Mansson and Hedin (1999) developed an 'exit model' that highlights the influence of structural, situational, interpersonal and individual factors when women attempt to leave. This model concludes that it is the 'emotional commitment' of individual women that determines whether removal from the sex industry is achieved, advocating that the 'responsibilization' of sex workers should be at the core of any support services. In criticizing this model, however, others have highlighted the fact that it is not only the individual's ability to make changes that is critical in how women leave the sex industry but making transitions out of sex work also relies on social and environmental factors and influences.

Cusick and Hickman (2005) have identified strong connections between being 'trapped' in 'outdoor/drift' sex work, drug use and having criminal convictions. Drug use presents a serious barrier to moving out of sex work (Surratt et al., 2004; Williamson & Folaron, 2003). Cusick et al. (2003), in their UK study, identify 'trapping' factors that have the potential to mutually reinforce sex work and drug use, particularly for outdoor workers. Street-based workers who are

'pimped' may find this an economic constraint on their ability to move out of sex work and, where abuse is involved, may find themselves denied the freedom to make choices for themselves and forced into remaining in sex work (O'Connell, 1998).

Research on juveniles involved in prostitution in Taiwan found that young people expressed four main reasons for remaining in prostitution: financial, emotional, drug issues and identity-related factors (Hwang & Bedford, 2004). Hester and Westmarland (2004) evaluated 11 multi-agency projects across the UK and found amongst women who used outreach services that 69 per cent (128 out of 186) of street workers had attempted to leave on one or more occasion.

2.7. Clients of Female Sex Workers

Although there are clear methodological problems with estimating the proportion of the population that purchases sex, the recent statistical evidence suggests there has been an increase in buying sex. Ward et al. (2005) note there has been an increase from 1990–2000 from 2 percent to 4.2 percent of the male population men buying sex. In this survey the most notable change was an increase in men in the age group 25–34 years, although there was no association with ethnicity, social class, homosexual contact, or injecting drug use. The first thing to say about the largest group of purchasers of sex is that there is no 'type' and that men who engage with the female sex industry are from all walks of life across the population.

Other studies have suggested there could be some demographic features that potentially separate men who buy sex from those who do not. Pitts et al. (2004) found from a survey of 143 Australian men that clients were more likely to be older, less likely to be educated beyond high school, less likely to have a regular partner and more likely to have had recent casual sex. A recent comparative study of men who buy sex in the USA with men in the general population by Brewer et al. (2008) found that there were few differences between the men who visited the street

markets and those that frequented off-street venues. Nevertheless, there are no conclusive defining features that can predict which groups of men are more or less likely to pay for sex.

2.8. Clients of Massage Parlors Sex Workers

Massage parlor customer had the same motive as someone visiting a prostitute the desire for sexual exchange. Very little research exists on the clients of prostitutes. Indeed, Perkins observes that studies of men's involvement in prostitution overall, whether as prostitutes, clients or pimps, constitute less than 1% of all prostitution studies (Perkins, 1991). This may be due in part to the fact that the question of why men visit prostitutes was felt for many years to be self-evident. Instead the assumption tended to be: why wouldn't they? In the last decade more interest has been expressed in this topic by researchers, providing some understanding of the motivations underlying the buying of sex.

Just as stereotypes of 'prostitutes' exist, so too do stereotypes of their clients. Common images depict ugly, disabled and socially gauche men, or stress their sleazy, cheating natures and furtive dirty habits. The sheer numbers of men buying sexual services casts doubts on such assertions. For example when we see the case of massage parlors, the majority of customers are married men dissatisfied with their marriage, who do not want to "cheat" on their wives. Husbands can rationalize that a visit to a parlor does not constitute cheating. Nevertheless, most of the women expressed the opinion that they believed the great majority of their customers were "straight," and that they came to the massage parlor for sexual gratification as opposed to patronizing a call girl or house of prostitution because it was cleaner and safer (Clifton & Palmer 2013).

Another group of massage parlors customers includes "men who are simply stuck at a particular stage of sexual development, traveling businessman away from home and who finds himself alone and bored in a strange town, an indigenous businessman who seeks a new sensual

experience appropriate to his existential appetite and financial affluence, a man temporarily separated from spouse or female companionship and man who is seeking diversion from sexual frustration are common customers of massage parlors prostitutes (Clifton & Palmer 2013). In this connection, some of the masseuses spoke of regular customers who returned from week to week, often at the same general time of day, either on the way to or from work, or during a lunch or coffee break (Clifton & Palmer 2013).

While the customers differed in age, the majority were depicted as mature adults or early middle-aged—35 to 40, or 35 “up” as the general norm. The customers were further consistently described as businessmen, traveling salesman, or “upper middle” in occupational category. Only a very few instances of female customers seeking a massage were reported (Clifton & Palmer 2013).

2.9. Consequences of Prostitution

Sex workers are members of the society and interact with the population in which they live. As a result they impact on the various strata of the society in one way or the other. Such influences may subsequently have a multiplier effect on communities and the society at large.

Prostitution has received increased attention as a result of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. There are several reasons why prostitutes are at higher risk than the general population. Firstly, many prostitutes are drug users, and injecting drug in which one of the primary ways of transmitting HIV infection (Yarber, 2005). Secondly, prostitutes are at higher risk for HIV infection because they have multiple partners (Nzambi, 2006). Thirdly, prostitutes do not screen or encourage their customers to use condoms. Also Ladipo (2001) noted that the global HIV/AIDS epidemic has had its greatest impact on African continent. The 1997 World Bank Report estimates that about 90% of all HIV transmissions in this region are through heterosexual intercourse.

High rates of partner change and contact with sex workers have been identified as key risk factor for HIV infections in Africa. Where condoms are not used, the risk is further increased (UNAIDS, 1997). Similarly, Bongaart (1996) have demonstrated that sex industry is the most significant fact in creating a self-sustaining and expanding AIDS epidemic. According to him, frequent sexual contacts with individuals and frequent changes in partners are key determinant to the rapid diffusion of HIV. The risk for HIV infection is increased because of multiple partners and limited safe sex practices. For instance some customers are willing to pay more for a sexual encounter if they don't have to use condom. Based on research conducted by the Centre for Diseases Control and Prevention, the rate of HIV infection for prostitutes is three times higher if they smoke crack cocaine which may make them to do anything (including attending to customers without condom) in order to get their daily dosage of crack.

According to U.S Agency for International Development (USAID, 2002) AIDS deaths lead directly to a reduction in the number of available workers. These deaths occur predominantly among workers in their most productive years.

2.10. Review of Theories and Perspectives of Prostitution

There are many theories and perspectives about prostitution. Some of them focuses on explaining why prostitution persists despite effort to eradicate it; the others focuses on the individual prostitute- explaining why some women are more likely than other to become prostitutes. The next session will be discussed theories and perspectives about prostitution

2.10.1. The Functional Perspective

Theories developed from this perspective understand prostitution as an institution which exists for the purpose of fulfilling men's sexual urges or satisfying their desires for the sake of sexual pleasure but not procreation (Ringdal, 2004). This seems to explain the enduring existence of a large market for female heterosexual prostitution.

Functional theories understand marriage as an institution which offers a way to channel men's sexual drive. Nevertheless, this is not viewed as the only aim of marriage: it is assumed that through which a man should show his commitment to his family (Gilder, 2008). Conversely, prostitution is considered as an outlet for men's sexual needs. In his classic work "The sociology of prostitution", Kingsley Davis adopts a functional perspective and conceptualizes prostitution as an "uninvolved form of physical release"; the demand to buy sexual services "is the result of a simple biological appetite".

Whist prostitution is mostly understood as "the solution" for unmarried young men (Spongberg, 1997), Davis points out that many men who visit sex workers are married, and they are attracted by the characteristics of prostitution, such as: "the craving of variety, for perverse gratification, for mysterious and provocative surroundings, for intercourse free from entangling cares and civilized pretense". He further argues that the motive for prostitution will never be completely absent, but the demand for it is likely to become lessen if there is greater sexual freedom. The theory proposed by Davis focuses mainly on the "function" of prostitution: to fulfill a man's sexual desires and to protect the institution of marriage, in the sense that buying sex may channel the man's desires which cannot be satisfied in his marital relationship. This functionalist perspective understood prostitutes as deviant but also functional and which serves some important functions in terms of satisfying men's sexual needs.

2.10.2. The Feminist Perspective

The idea that "sexuality was an essential of human nature" has been critically challenged by feminists. Early work in the 1970s by Mary McIntosh (1978), for example, argues that, while it is taken as given that institutions such as marriage or prostitution are established to satisfy men's sexual needs, the needs that women may have are largely denied. McIntosh's work, along with other feminists highlights the ideology of the assumption that sexuality is natural and argues

that the institution of prostitution is shaped by social and economic factors rather than “biological appetite” which in fact refers exclusively to “men’s appetite” (Jackson & Scott, 2010).

“Oppression” is the core issue in feminism. Western feminists argue that in patriarchal and capitalist societies women are oppressed (Carpenter, 2000). It is therefore not promiscuity or the high libido of men, but inequality and sexism that shape the institution of prostitution. Consequently, women involved in prostitution are asserted to be “at the front line of patriarchal oppression”. Later work by Phoenix (2000), for instance, put more emphasis on the agency of the subject. It is argued that women are not necessarily helpless victims, though prostitution is asserted to be an oppressive institution in the social context where capitalism and patriarchy are present. Many feminists struggle between supporting a group of women who are already marginalized and opposing prostitution. Hence, some commentators suggest that prostitution presents a dilemma for feminism (Kesler, 2002).

Feminist thinking about prostitution is diverse but simultaneously polarized, in the sense that there are two dominant feminist perspectives documented in the available literature on prostitution (Sullivan, 2007). At one end of the spectrum, sex work is defined as a legitimate form of labor, and women have the right to choose to participate in the sex business. The emphasis is on the subject’s agency and rationality. At the other end of the spectrum, prostitution itself is conceptualized as “sexual slavery” or “violence against women” (Sullivan, 2007). This thinking has been largely derived from the radical perspective, which emphasizes that prostitution is structured in terms of a power imbalance between (male) clients and (female) sex workers (Overall, 1992). In this perspective, prostitution as an institution is essentially oppressive. Hence, radical feminists locate prostitution in the same category as sexual assault and rape (MacKinnon, 1987).

2.10.3. Social Psychological Theory

Under this view, a combination of social and psychological factors causes some women to become prostitutes (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014). These include predisposing, attracting and precipitating factors. Predisposing factors are factors that are struggling with parental promiscuity, parental neglect, child abuse, or other traumatic events that are more related with psychology. The second factor is attracting factor. Attracting factors the belief that a woman can have an easy life or lots of money as a prostitute. The other factor is precipitating factors. Precipitating are factors like being unemployed, meeting a prostitute friend or being pressured by a pimp to sell sex. Most psychologist stress the predisposing factors, suggesting these lead to prostitution through feeling of loneliness, unworthiness, lack of self-control and inability to establish stable relations with others. Sociologist disagrees with this assumption that prostitutes are abnormal even if they have been abused. It seem largely a matter of emotional socialization through parental abuse that teaches one to be a normal prostitute able to detach herself emotionally from anyone who treat her similarly as an object (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014).

2.10.4. Differential Association Theory

In moving from a macro to a micro level of analysis, differential association theory (Sutherland, 1960) seems to contain more explanatory power. Sutherland's premise is that a person will engage in delinquent or deviant behavior because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law. Therefore, individuals who demonstrate deviant behavior differently associate with individuals who endorse violations of the law. He identifies two major variables underlying the process: (1) priority - the earlier in one is life one is exposed to attitudes, values (definitions) favorable to committing crimes, the more one is influenced in that direction; and (2) intensity - the closer and more intimate the friends, or relatives committing the crimes are, the more one may be swayed to break the law (Sutherland, 1960).

2.10.5. Differential Identification Theory

Glaser (1956) has modified Sutherland's theory and reconceptualized it as differential identification theory. He proposes that a person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable. This may explain more than differential association theory as our identifications is often with remote reference groups or imaginary or highly generalized others. Also our own identifications may shift rapidly with the dialectical processes of role change during social interaction.

2.10.6. Cultural Transmission Theory

Cultural transmission theory deals with prostitution as largely lower class phenomena (Miller, 1958). This theory proposes that delinquent behavior reflects adherence to peer group values or family standards which are in violation of middle class norms (Lowney, 1981). These subculture theories are now considered to be quite limited, as we have discovered that most deviants join subcultures after some initial deviant behavior, or after they have been labeled deviant by others (Lowney, 1981).

2.10.7. Social Control Theories

Social control theories (Hirschi, 1962) seem capable of explaining some forms of sexual deviancy. Hirschi states that deviant behavior may occur when one's bond with society is weak or broken. This bond is composed of sensitivity to the opinions of others, fear of consequences for breaking the law, involvement in conventional activities, and a belief in the rules of society (Gray, 1973). The bonding occurs through parental love. When this is lacking, there is less motivation to bond with society. When both attachment and commitment to society are absent, deviancy is likely to develop.

2.10.8. Symbolic Interaction Perspective

The most current sociological theories utilize an interactions approach to deviance. The symbolic interactionist perspective focuses heavily upon the self-concept that emerges in interaction with others, and the social context preceding and following deviant behavior. Labeling theory is the key theory of this perspective

2.10.8.1. Labelling Theory

The major proposition of the labeling perspective is that rule breakers become entrenched in deviant roles because they are labeled deviant by others and are consequently excluded from resuming normal roles in the community (Lemert, 1951; Becker, 1963). Labeling theory has nothing to say about etiology, rather labeling may intensify or prolong one's involvement in a deviant role. Occupying a status and playing a labeled role results in the person being socialized to the role (Pfuhl, 1980).

Lemert (1951), the true father of sociological labeling theory, shifted the attention from why people break rules to the importance of social definitions and the reactions to rule breaking behavior. He delineated two stages of deviance primary and secondary deviance. Primary deviance is deviance that hasn't been reacted to or labeled. These rule breakers continue to function in their socially acceptable roles. Secondary deviance is deviance that has been reacted to by society, resulting in labeling and punishment, and in turn is the result of the deviant's reaction to society's treatment through greater participation in deviant subcultures, and perhaps commission of more serious acts of deviance (Lemert, 1951).

Lemert (1951) developed a sequential model outlining the following eight stages of deviancy: (1) primary, (2) social penalties, (3) further primary deviation, (4) stronger penalties and rejection, (5) further deviation, perhaps with hostility and resentment, (6) crisis reached in tolerance quotient - formal action taken by community stigmatizing, (7) strengthening of deviant

conduct as a negative reaction to stigmatizing and penalties, and (8) ultimate acceptance of deviant social status and efforts at adjustment on the basis of associated role.

2.10.8.2. Social Cognition Theory

Another related theory is social cognition theory (Rosenhan, 1973). It states that a label is a schema for organizing and interpreting reality, so it acts to create the reality. Information consistent with the label is processed quickly and selectively perceived to confirm the label. Information inconsistent with the label may be discounted, overlooked, or even repressed.

The social psychological consequences of labeling are quite serious. To be publically labeled as a deviant, means that deviancy becomes one's master status. A master status tends to overpower other characteristics that may run counter to it. Associated with a master status is a complex of auxiliary characteristics which are expected to compliment the master status (Pfuhl, 1980).

Labeling attempts to establish a consistent relationship between moral character and behavior and the objectionable behavior is taken as a valid representation of the essential self. A biography of the deviant is constructed through "retrospective interpretation" that validates the label assigned. The new status reflects not only what the person has done, but what he/she is predicted to do again. His/her past has been rewritten, and future preordained (Pfuhl, 1980).

If the individual is actually perceived to be the thing he/she is labeled as being, his/her identity is spoiled. Role engulfment (Schur, 1971) may occur if the deviant is responded to by others exclusively in terms of his/her spoiled identity. The stigma from this spoiled identity can spread from the stigmatized individual to others that are closely connected (Goffman, 1963). The social consequences of stigma are severe and sometimes irreversible.

The labeling hypothesis, derived from symbolic interactionism, stresses the importance of indeterminacy and "drift" in the movement towards deviancy. "Drift" is a series of forks in the road where certain choices/events channel the individual in directions conducive to deviance. Negative events create a "funnel" effect that increasingly narrows the options of alternative roles. Matza (1964) proposes an image of the deviant as caught between freedom and control; a "drift" state (James and Davis, 1982). He theorizes that drift is precipitated and maintained by events that occur in a linear process of adaptation to a negative self-image, acculturation to the expected behavior of that image supported by informal labeling, assimilation into the subculture and development of a deviant identity, and, finally, formal labeling and self-identification as deviant, with subsequent commitment to a deviant life style (Weisberg, 1985).

Rubington and Weinberg (1971) have developed the visual metaphor of a "deviance corridor" to describe this drift into deviance. They suggest that persons may enter deviance at different stages-imputed act, definition, deviant status, official processing, subculture, and deviant identity. Defining agents control access into and out of this corridor, but the rate and direction of a person's progress through the corridor are based largely on the person's responses to others' symbolic definitions of him/her. The deviant label is not an automatic pass into the deviant career. Commitment to a deviant identity entails self-definition; the person must accept the cultural and official definitions, thus confirming the initial typing (James and Davis, 1982).

2.11. Conceptual Framework

Much academic writing seems to equate prostitution with street prostitution. However, in many countries, only (10–30%) or minority of prostitutes work on the streets yet they receive the lion's share of attention, and findings on street prostitution are often presented as a feature of sex work per se (Howard, 2001). Thus, the association of prostitution and misery prevails (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001). Although more research is needed on the indoor sector, the irony is that

most research has been done on the least prevalent type of prostitution. All too often overlooked is the large population of indoor prostitutes: escort, brothel, bar, and massage parlor.

Generally, empirical analyses demonstrate a remarkable diversity of activities that fall under the term prostitution and a remarkable diversity of experiences among participants (Monto, 2004), and prostitutes experiences, situations, and circumstances differ greatly over the breadth of this highly class stratified occupation (Chancer, 1993). The diverse experiences are patterned in such a way that the prostitution market is segmented between the indoor and street sectors.

Prostitutes also vary in their access to resources for protection, their freedom to refuse clients and particular sex acts (Heyl, 1979), their risk of victimization like, assault, robbery, rape and occupational hazards and the risk of exposure to sexually transmitted diseases (Lever & Dolnick, 2000), the dynamics of the encounter with their clients, the level emotional support to clients and attitude toward their clients (Lever & Dolnick, 2000) the effect of prostitution on their self-images and psyches (El Bassel, 1997), the level satisfaction in their work and the work seating and the bondage within the deviant subgroup (Prince, 1986), and the impact or consequence their work on the community (Reynolds, 1986).

Since there is no previous research that has examined the experience of massage parlor sex workers and the everyday life of these women in our country, this study looks at the everyday life of massage parlor sex worker, operating in massage parlors to understanding the phenomenon of sexual services. Symbolic interactionism and phenomenology provide the chief sociological perspective utilized in exploring this deviant reality and to explore how such a life-world operates and how the women construct that life-world and fit themselves into it. The major substantive theories used in this research include, and labeling theory, psycho-social theory, radical feminist theory and functional theory

Therefore, based on the above sociological perspectives and substantive theories this research has critically assessed the causes that predisposed sex workers to become massage parlors sex workers, attracting factor to remain in their work, the type of customers they commonly serve and their attitude towards their customers, the effect of their work on the community and the importance of their work group for the sex workers were explored using the stated perspectives and theories main arguments.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH METHOD

In this part of the paper, the research design, research participants' selection criteria, sample size determination, tools and techniques of data collection, data analysis techniques, the ethical issues considered has been discussed briefly.

3.1. Research Design

The researcher used qualitative research method and it's important to develop concepts that enhance the understanding of social phenomena in natural settings, with due emphasis on the meanings, experiences and views of all participants (Neergaard & Parm, 2007). It also allows associations that occur in people's thinking or acting and the meaning these have for people to be identified (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Qualitative research is concerned with life as it is lived, things as they happen, and situations as they are constructed in the day-to-day, moment-to-moment course of events. Qualitative researchers seek lived experiences in real situations. Therefore, the qualitative researcher seeks to discover the meanings that participants attach to their behavior, how they interpret situations and what their perspectives are on particular issues (Woods, 2006).

This research employed qualitative techniques to understand and interpret the life experience of the massage parlor sex workers by investigating their experience, perspectives and histories from their viewpoint. The research had exploratory nature. Because, pervious research have not addressed the lived experience of massage parlor sex workers. Thus, this research explained causes that predisposed sex workers to involve in this sexually deviant behavior, the attracting factors to remain in their current work, the type of customers they serve and their attitude toward their customers, the effect of their work on the society and the importance of the

work group for the sex workers were explored. Moreover, the study used a cross-sectional method since it is a study at one point in time.

Among the qualitative research method phenomenology is employed in this research. Phenomenology is both a philosophy and a family of research methods concerned with exploring and understanding human experience (Langdrige, 2007). There are two types of phenomenological approach, among the two phenomenological techniques, this research used interpretative Phenomenology. Interpretative Phenomenology is an approach to qualitative research concerned with exploring and understanding the lived experience of a specified phenomenon (Smith, 2004). Interpretative phenomenology is therefore connected to the core principles of phenomenology through paying respectful attention to a person's direct experience, and by encouraging research participants to tell their own story in their own words (Smith, & Larkin 2009). Thus, phenomenological research paradigm is important to describe, translate, explain and interpret information from the perspectives of the massage parlor sex worker who were the subject of the research.

Generally, qualitative research method is important to investigate new phenomena in depth and the method gives a great opportunity to look things from the perspective of the person who experienced that phenomena.

3.2 Selection of Research Participants

Since massage parlors prostitution is an illegal activity in the community where the research was conducted, there were no other best sampling technique than purposive sampling technique to select sample massage parlor from the population of 351 massage parlors found in Addis Ababa.

First, I randomly selected three massage parlors and I asked an access for information from all the three parlors. Unfortunately, all of them refused to grant me an access. Finally through my best friend referral, I got one well established massage parlor and I got an information accesses for my study. However, some of the participants were suspicious to communicate with me. Consequently, about midway through the study, many of the girls began asking me when I'd be returning as they were looking forward to my visits. At this stage, since the researcher participants had been willing to participate, based on the following inclusion criteria participants were purposively selected and the study was continued. The inclusion criteria were:

- The participants must be female prostitute who were currently working in massage parlors as masseuses and who trade sex for money or any other benefit within the last two months.
- Study participants must be 18 years or older
- Participants must operate within the last six months
- Study participants must be capable and willing to provide informed consent
- Study participants must demonstrate willingness to participate in the study without any form of coercion.

Therefore, this study used non probability sampling technique as a major sampling method and purposive sampling technique was employed to select the parlor as well as the participants of the study. Because of the study population was hard to reach; all participants were selected purposively from the identified parlor only by applying the inclusion criteria stated above. Fortunately, all twelve massage parlor workers were fulfilled the inclusion criteria and included in the study.

3.3. Sample Size

Qualitative social work researchers have great interest in hard to reach populations such as homeless people, drug users, sex workers, cognitively impaired individuals, among others. Sampling in qualitative research also varies according to paradigmatic and disciplinary traditions. Phenomenological research, for example, tends to involve small samples from five to twenty five who carefully and purposively selected individuals who share a common experience, with the goal of generating detailed patterns and relationships of meaning (Mason, 2010). Creswell (2009), on the other hand suggest that there is no standard rule of sampling in qualitative studies. Rather, sample size is determined by the response of respondents reaching the data saturation stage. Accordingly, in most cases for homogenous clients such stage is reached under 6-12 respondents. Therefore, in line with Creswell suggestion, in this particular study data were gathered from 12 massage parlor sex workers.

3.4. Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

3.4.1. Data Collection Tools

For the purpose of data collection, the researcher developed an interview guide which contained a structured interview forms which used to collect data essential to study (See Annex II& III). In this study, interview guide is prepared for the massage parlor sex worker in line with the basic research question of the study. These questions are designed to allow the researcher to gain insights into the study's fundamental research questions (Elmusharaf, 2012).

Based on interview guide the research participants were asked by using probes. The interview guide was first developed in English and then translated to Amharic for the purpose of language clarity between the researcher and the research participants.

3.4.2. Data Collection Techniques

Data collection techniques allow us to systematically collect information about our objects of study (people, objects, phenomena) and about the settings in which they occur. In the collection of data we have to be systematic. If data are collected haphazardly, it will be difficult to answer our research questions in a conclusive way (Elmusharaf, 2012). In qualitative research data are obtained from a relatively small group of respondents and are not analyzed with statistical techniques. It involves detailed, verbal descriptions of characteristics, cases, and settings, and it uses observation and in depth interviewing as source of data. It differs from traditional quantitative research through its use of less structured data-gathering instruments and its use of open-ended questioning (Creswell, 2007). In this study, data were collected using In-depth interview and observation techniques

3.4.2.1. In-Depth Interview

In this study in- depth interview was held based on the arranged interview guide. Each girl was paid 150 birr for her individual time required in gathering life history data. Initially, about one-half of the girls were reluctant to get involved in such a personal process. However, as I got to know them better, all were willing to engage in more interview time without requesting additional payment. The interview time ranged from 1-2 hours per case study. The owner of the Massage parlor strongly urged the girls to cooperate with my study. Her support was very helpful.

Structured interview form was used to focus on data essential to study. As much as possible, interviews were conducted like normal conversations rather than a question and answer exchange. Tape recording was not performed in order to insure total confidentiality. Most of the girls eventually talked freely about their early life, how they defined themselves, their work, their customers, and their life worlds today. Many attempted to get some counseling from me in the

interview process. When appropriate, insights and suggestions were offered. All of the case studies in depth interview were conducted at the facility in one of the “session” rooms.

I tried to control for reactive effects by using modest methods, so I would disturb the normal processes of social life as little as possible. I never took notes except during individual interviews, and then they were minimal, to be followed by more written recording after each interview. When discovering discomfort, I would not probe deeper into sensitive areas.

An immediate denial of response was accepted and not pushed further. Most of the girls stated that they gained more self awareness or clarity about themselves from participating in the study. So rather than just giving me something, the majority of the girls indicated that they had gained something personal from the research process, so that the experience was an enriching one for their lives.

3.4.2.2. Observation

The observation time involved informal visits averaging three times per week. The total investigation period was during the 5 weeks (from last week of March to last week of April 2016). The visits lasted from 2-4 hours, depending on whether there was case study time scheduled in addition to the regular visit. Some of the visits included having meals with the girls, watching T.V., and engaging in general sessions or informal group process time. Visits occasionally included conversing with some of the customers while they were waiting for their sessions. These conversations were typically general and not sexual in nature.

As much as possible, I attempted to make unscheduled visits to the facility so that I could observe their everyday life as it happened. About midway through the study, many of the girls began asking me when I'd be returning as they were looking forward to my visits.

3.5. Data Analysis Techniques

This study analyzed the data obtained from the study participants through qualitative data analysis methods. Data collection and analysis strategies are similar across qualitative methods but the way the findings are reported is diverse and it address the importance of creating a data display and suggest that narrative text has been the most frequent form of display for qualitative data. Therefore, the results are presented in descriptive narrative form (Krueger & Nueman, 2006).

According to Karval (cited in Asefach Haileselassie Reda, 2012) qualitative methods of analysis focus on the stories told during the interview and works out their structures and their plots which contain a temporal sequence, patterning of happenings.

In this study the data collected from in-depth interview and observation were analyzed. The data collected from the in-depth interview and observation were transcribed and translated. First the data was transcribed (10 – 12 pages per interview). The transcribed data was carefully read a number of times. After the translation was finished, every data related to the research questions was coded. Next, codes that appeared more related to one another were placed, thus creating themes and cluster. These codes were presented under themes, and the themes were organized in six clusters in the finding section of this paper.

3.6. Assuring the Trustworthiness of the Data

Triangulation is typically a strategy (test) for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings. Triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods (Patton, 2002). The advantage of the triangulation of different procedures lies in the fact that the flaws of one are often the strengths of another. By combining procedures, techniques, the researcher can utilize the strengths of each while overcoming their unique deficiencies. The

trustworthiness of the information is assured through data triangulation. But this research was phenomenological research type and thus focused on the lived experience of the massage parlor sex workers. The researcher was asking the participants meaning of their stories about the massage parlor work life rather than searching for other explanations. Thus, this study does not triangulate the data found from the research participants with other sources.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

Any research that includes people requires consideration of ethical issues and human subject or participant protection from harm is imperative in the process (Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001). According to (Kreuger & Neuman 2006), social work researchers should follow proper ethical guideline even when the study participants are negligent or unaware of that.

Cognizant of ethical issues of a research, in line with research ethics I carried out the data collection process by first giving adequate information and explanation about the research, its objectives, and methodologies to all participants. The protection of participants' identity and the confidentiality of information gathered from them were included in the letter of consent. Therefore, the real name of each interviewee is replaced with pseudo names for the sake of protecting the participants' identity. All participants were informed that they had the right not to take part or withdraw from the research at any stage without any implied deprivation or penalty for their rejection.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. FINDINGS

This part of the thesis presents the findings of the study which obtained from an in-depth interviews and direct observation which were discussed in the method section. All participants who were participated in the in-depth interviews were given Pseudonyms order to maintain confidentiality. These Pseudonyms have been used throughout this write up.

4.1. Description of Participants of the Study

Demographic data collected during this study include age, sex, marital history, highest level of education, religion, years of service, home town, birth order and number of brothers and sisters the participants' do have depicted in table 1 below.

Table 1

Demographic Information of Respondents

| Respondents (Pseudonym) | Age | Sex | Marital History | Highest Level | | Home Town | Birth Order |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| | | | | of Edu. | Year of Serv | | |
| Foziya | 25 | F | Divorced | 8 th Grade | 2.6 | Harar | 1st child |
| Almaz | 20 | ' | Divorced | 1st Year college | 0.8 | Bishoftu | 1st " |
| kidist | 24 | ' | Divorced | 10th Grade | 1.8 | Addis Ababa | 2nd " |
| Lubaba | 31 | ' | Single | 8th | 4.6 | Dessie | 3rd " |
| Hirut | 27 | ' | Single | 8th | 3 | Addis Ababa | 1st " |
| Mitike | 25 | ' | Divorced | 2nd Year college | 3.5 | Addis Ababa | 6th " |
| Roza | 24 | ' | Divorced | 10th Grade | 3.5 | Dessie | 1st " |
| Lidiya | 21 | ' | Single | 7th Grade | 1.8 | Hosahina | 1st " |
| Meseret | 26 | ' | Divorced | 9 th Grade | 4 | Bahirdar | 1st " |
| Jemila | 24 | ' | Divorced | 10th Grade | 3 | Jimma | 1st " |
| Yewebdar | 27 | ' | Single | 9 th Grade | 4.6 | Adama | 1st " |
| Addis | 26 | ' | Single | 8 th Grade | 4 | Hawassa | 1st " |

The data reveal that all subjects are female, and the mean age of participants is 25 years of age, the median age also being 25, and the mode is 24 years of age. Educational data from this study reflect that seven participants have failed at the range of grade seven to grade nine, three participants are high school graduates and two participants are collage drop-out. Data collected during this study reflect that five participants have never been married, seven have been divorced. The data also reflect that most participants are from large families. There are three respondents that indicate they had been raised in families of three children or less. Four participants indicate being raised in families with four and five children, five participants with six children and above. Where the birth order is concerned, nine of the participants were first born, only one was only child. Interestingly, the participants on average came from families where there were approximately more than twice as many female as male children (Mean females per family = 2.66, a male = 1.16). Finally, the mean duration of employment as masseuses was 3.1 years. Only three of the participants have certification of masseuse from massage training center.

4.2. Description of the Study Area

The massage parlor is situated in an attractive, former residential villa around “Meskel Flower”. The building has eight rooms of which 6 rooms are arranged for massage services. The villa was served as a residence since 1971 E.C. The massage business was started in 2003 E.C. It experienced a temporary closure for two months during 2005 E.C, due to its illegal services investigated by police.

The sexual services are not advertised. Information about the sexual services is circulated through informal networks within the community, or may be offered to prospective customers inquiring about the other services available. The facility is open seven days a week 24 hours per day. For a new customer there is private room where they may select the girl who will provide

the services. Simultaneously, the customer is given a description of the services and individual prices for specific services.

The time spent in providing services is referred to as a package or "mulu agelgelot." Prior to beginning each session, the customer is required to shower in the room. The girls shower at the conclusion of each session. There are six private rooms. The rooms are partitioned lately so as to fit the purpose of the business. All the rooms are clean, freshly painted, and dim lighted, though many of the partitioned rooms have no windows. In addition far-east instrumental music is also always played with average volume.

4.2.1 Organizational Structure

To the outsider the massage parlors world may appear brutal and explosive. However, from the inside, it appears like any other social system with an organizational structure, roles, norms, sanctions, and ideology.

The owner of the business serves as leader or head of the organization. She has appointed a day and night manager under her from the existing masseuses. Their function is to supervise the assignment and provision of services and adherence to the rules established by the owner. The workers cannot use drugs or alcohol during their working hours, nor are they allowed to arrive at their place of business looking "high" or inebriated. Furthermore, they are not allowed to date the customers, after working hours though it seems difficult to control. They are strongly advised to hide their real names from the customers. In the event that the girls should encounter previous customers in a nonworking social situation, they are cautioned not to demonstrate any form of recognition.

Following each session the girls are required to take a shower and make any necessary adjustments to their hair or make-up. After these sanitation and appearance requirements have been completed the girls are required to return to the lounge area and wait to be called upon by

another customer. Permissible clothing is the common dressing code of the parlor. The use of perfume is required to be kept at a minimum, as some customers may be allergic to certain brands of perfume. Clothing is only removed in the private rooms, either by the girl or the customer. The decision of kissing customers is left to the discretion of the individual girl. Most girls choose not to kiss the customer, as this is not included in any service description.

Every girl is trained to build up regular customers. They are instructed to encourage their customers to talk and share things about themselves. The more the customer shares, the closer he may feel to the girl, and subsequently, the more likely he will return for another session. Customers are perceived as lonely men, in need of both physical and emotional contact. The girls are taught to share only what the customer may specifically want to know about them. In line with this the girls are cautioned not to disclose extremely personal things about their lives. The girls must be able to maintain mystery about them so that they can remain fantasy figures for the customers. It is deduced that it is better if the customer is able to synthesize his fantasies with the projected image of the girl, thus facilitating his individual needs.

Another crucial rule is that the girls are not allowed to “steal” another girl's regular customer. Once a girl has achieved a regular customer relationship; it is left to her discretion whether she wants to share that customer with other workers, or to turn him over to another girl. Competition for customers among the girls is sharply discouraged. In the case of new customers, the manager on duty may try to sell the customer on a particular girl who is available at that particular time. Assignments to customers are made on a rotational basis as much as possible. The general policy is that there is enough business for everyone together share. Regular customers accompanied by large tips, are what most of the girls rely upon for the majority of their money. Everyone works one of the two shifts, day or night. Usually there are six girls including the manager assigned to each shift.

4.2.2. Leadership Structure

The managers of the parlor are women. They serve in this parlor more than four years. The managers are generally respected by the girls, the day manager, assumes an unfriendly and superior position. She is definitely in control of the facility when she is on duty. Her authoritarian leadership style seems to give the girls a sense of security. The girls are tense in her presence and feel that she is judging them. Yet, they are not dissatisfied with her leadership. She is firm, consistent, and competent in handling most problem situations. They admire her strength and do not expect to receive the warmth and affection she is unable to give. It is enough to know that she can protect them, if necessary.

Unlike the day one, the night manager considered by the workers as more kind. She is not appreciated, but merely tolerated. Overall the work conditions are pleasant, cordial, and positive. She is strict, reliable, and competent in handling most problem situations.

The owner and the leader of the establishment is the primary figure who has created a warm and personable atmosphere for all who enter into her establishment. She is now 46 years old. It is difficult for her to continue her fulltime work schedule, but she is fearful of allowing anyone else to lead her business fully. She states, “someone else might turn this place into totally a whorehouse. Then I could get closed down and lose everything.” This establishment has been her life and she is very protective of it, as well as the girls who work there. She feels needed by them and she enjoys the public contact. She spends most afternoons there in her mini office.

She is extremely careful to insure that none of her employees violate the law. Periodically, she has had to fire girls’ who make appointments with customers for commercial sex outside the parlors. She believes it kill the reputation as well as the business. She knows people in the police department who tip information to her in the event that the police are planning to investigate her. She has experienced no trouble since 2005 E.C, and feels that she has

a good reputation within the community. She appears to be a sincerely kind and compassionate person. As she admits, “If I was just interested in the money, I would get rid of half my girls and replace them with teenagers.” However, she is loyal to her girls. If they develop financial problems, she helps them. If they are drinking too much, she tries to get them help. By giving strong warning she tolerate

She has never had to recruit girls haphazardly. They hear good things about her business and they fall toward her. She trains all new applicants herself; typically, by having them practice all of the services offered by the establishment on her. She encourages the girls to converse with their customers, emphasizing the importance of being good listeners. The focus is on building regular customers. About half of their business is comprised of regular customers.

4.3. Causes that Predisposed Women to become Prostitutes

In this cluster the data collected through in-depth interview are discussed based on their themes. This cluster includes three themes: early sexual experience, absence of parental love and negative labeling. These themes were repeatedly identified by the participants in one way or the other as common early age negative experience most of them faced and considered as predisposing factors for their involvement in prostitution.

4.3.1. Early Sexual Experience

Under this theme the research participants mentioned the following early sexual experiences as a common experience: early sexual abuse, first sexual intercourse at the age below 18 years, many (three and above) sexual partners at an early age. These were the common early experiences frequently mentioned by the participants.

Related with her early sexual abuse, Jemila says:

I am from Jimma. My parents were divorced when I was 6 years old, and my mother remarried one year later. At my 10 years of age, my step-father began abusing me, and at age 14, I was forced to have sexual intercourse with him. Consequently I become pregnant. My mother blamed me for the incident, and forced me to give the baby up for adoption. I was thrown out of the house by my mother and began living with my grandmother (a mother of my mother). I did not do well in school. Feeling unloved and homeless, I began drinking heavily and quit school in the 10th grade. My mother and step-father are still married, though there is little contact between us. I have a brother, five years younger, with whom I maintain minimal contact. For the most part, I am alone and I perceive Yeshe (Pseudonym of the massage parlor owner) as a surrogate mother figure.

After discussing her experience read above, she looked at the ground and remained silent for about a minute.

Another of my interviewees (Meseret) disclosed her first sexual intercourse at the age below 18 years as follows: *“my mother was in and out of mental institutions. When I was 12 years old, my parents divorced, and I remained with my mother. Since my mother had little to give, I enter into numerous relationships with boyfriends. I experienced intercourse at age 13. After I was called a ‘whore’, so I decided to act like one. No one really cared about me, so why should I have cared what people said? An early pregnancy occurred at my age 15, and I was married. However, because of my infidelity, the marriage resulted in divorce after four years.”*

Data reflect that most participants had many (Three and more than three) sexual partners at an early age. In relation to this, Mitikee says:

I experiencing sexual intercourse for the first time at age 14, I began acting out my label of “bad girl” However, I only had three sexual partners during my high school years.

4.3.2. Absence of Parental Love

This is also a theme which appears under the causes that predisposed women to become prostitutes. Under this theme the two common experiences most of the research participants mentioned are unstable (separation and/or divorce) marital relationship between the subject's parent's and poor relationship (no contact or poor association) between the subject and parent(s).

Fozia expressed her parent's poor marital relationship experience as follows:

My parents were divorced when I was 6 years old. My father was a heavy drinker and was unfaithful. At times he beat me severely. My mother never remarried and is quite bitter towards men. She has always encouraged me to remain single.

Hirut on the other hand stated her parent's prior marital relationship in the following manner: *“I was raised on a farm. My parents were divorced when I was ten, and my mother supported five children performing day labor.”*

The other experience most respondent stated under this theme poor relationship between the subject and her father and mother (independently) or both. A poor relationship is constituted by no contact or poor association between the subject and parent(s).

In line with this, Meseret, one of my interviewee, expressed her experience as follows:

I experienced a very troubled childhood. My father sexually molested me at an early age, and my parents were divorced when I was 9 years old. My mother has always blamed me for the incestuous relationship and the subsequent divorce. Following my mother's divorce, I faced many disgusting step-fathers. At the age of 13, I experienced my first sexual intercourse and began to engage in very promiscuous behavior. I was labeled a “whore” by my family and friends, as well as my school. Finally I dropped out of school at the beginning of the 9th grade. Consequently, I left home and quit any relationship with my family.

Similarly the poor parental relationship experience has shared by Roza as follows; *‘by the time I was 13 years old I had experienced intercourse with my mother’s second husband who was ten years her junior. This behavior continued for several years before I informed my mother. However she knew after some time and she decided to obtained a divorce, but ultimately she blamed me responsible for the seduction of her husband. Currently we have a poor mother-daughter relationship.’*

4.3.3. Negative Labelling

An issue raised by most research participants under this theme is negative labeling assigned by others. The research participants described such experience in the following manner:

Mitike described how she negatively labeled by others as follows: *‘I have an identical twin sister, I was the bad twin, and Nani (my sister) was the good twin. She was favored by my parents. To this day, I do not understand why I was rejected. May be someone had to be picked on and I guess I let it be me’* she mourns.

Similarly my another interviewee Addis described her experience as follows;

My parents were divorced when I was a year old. My mother remarried eight years later, and my step-father immediately began molesting me. When I informed my mother she refused to believe me, and called me crazy. Several years following the incident my mother divorced my step-father; however, the label crazy remained attached to me. I have since broken all contact with my mother.

Meseret discussed her early age labelling as follows: *‘I enter into numerous relationships with boyfriends at early age and at the same time I experienced intercourse at age 13. After that I was called a ‘whore’, so I played the deviant role attached to me and I became role deviant.*

4.4 Factors That Attract Sex Workers to Remain in Their Work

Under this cluster, three issues are frequently raised by respondents as attracting factors why they remain in their work. Categorically the issues are: money, helping people and companionship

In relation to the attracting factors Lubaba said:

I am making more money now compared to my previous work. I realize that age is the enemy to stay here makes more. Honestly speaking, we think and talk about it every day here with my friends. I can't stop the changing scenario of life. My plan is to return to hairdressing after age push me out off this work.

Lidiya, for her part, express her opinion as: *“my first job was a waitress. I was just a piece of bread compared to my current one. I have many more years that I could put into this type of work, but I still feel shamed and guilty about what I am doing. When I started having guilty feelings about my job, the possibility of returning to drugs is enhanced. ‘Khat’ will always be a potential threat to my success.”*

Related to the factors Roza said:

I am a certified masseuse (certified female massage worker), as well as a trained beautician. Currently, I maintain interest in a beauty shop business. However, the money I earned here is not comparable with the payment that beauty shops paid. So that I decided to stay with this work till I save money. When I said this, I just don't mean I will be tied down till I got older.

Hirut described the factors that attract her to remain in her current work in the following way: *“I like my work. It is better money than I ever made before, but, I enjoy the companionship of the girls more than the money I earn. And the customers treat me like I am special, like sexy and desirable it is the other important factor which motivates me to stay here. I need that.”*

Kidist remarks her opinion as follows:

I have been a drifter (vagabond) and a loner since my divorce in 2014. After I lost custody of my daughter I began using alcohol to help manage the pain resulting from that loss. I believe that working for Yeshe may provide me with the security and belongingness which I need to stabilize my life now. That is why I decided to be here for the period I can't decide for sure now.

Similarly Yewbadr explains, *“I am so glad I did. I am really contented (happy) here. It's a good atmosphere for me. The girls are fun and Yeshe is great. I don't have a plan to leave this environment because the companionship is very nice and the money which I get is more than enough to live”*

Another participant, Miteke stated that:

I feel just like a nurse. There is not much difference between nursing and what I am doing. I enjoy making people feel relaxed and getting them happy. In addition, as a hobby offering help to other makes me happy. Sometimes I feel like a sex therapist. The basic reason why I am here is to help others and reciprocally to become happy.

Meseret stated the factors that attract her to remain in this establishment as follows: *“my customers seem to respect me. Most of them are married men who do not feel like they know how to get their wives turned on. They need advice, and I give it to them. Sometimes I feel like a sex therapist. At least I can offer some help. Getting money through helping others was my aspiration before joining Yeshe.”*

Generally, some research participants (Foziya and Almaz) have the intention to remain working in the existing establishment due to the fact that working here help them to liberate relative financial freedom compared to their previous work. The rest of the research participants

(Jemila and Addis) expressed that, since the establishment is very conducive and the relationship among them is very good they work here till other superior opportunity comes to them.

4.5. Customers of Massage Parlor Prostitutes

The two issues most frequently discussed by the research participants under this cluster are: married men who are bored in their current relationship and need a variety and married men who live with dominating wife.

Related with the type of customers who are bored with their current relationship, Yewbdar says:

I feel that most of my customers are married men who are bored or dissatisfied with their marriage and they are looking for variety. Surprisingly, the majority of them do not want to “cheat” on their wives. Most of them rationalize that a visit to a parlor doesn’t constitute cheating.

Kidist also experienced that most of her customers are married men who are bored in their current relationship need and variety. She stated her customers as follows:

Most of my customers seem to need more attention and variety. For some reason they cannot be satisfied with just one woman. In addition to that, I think, so many wives are too reserved to touch their husband's penis, although they may allow themselves to be touched all over. I guess one reason that most of the customers that I served need to be touched sexually is due to the fact stated above. Therefore, I believe that there will always be a need for places which provide such service, because, people have too many sexual problems, and cannot accept their needs for sex. I do not believe that marriages should dissolve due to such minor thing and I believe there is so much more to marriage than sex.

The other category of customers most frequently stated by the research participants' are married men who live with dominating wife. Mitike expressed her experience in this regard as follows: *“Most of my regulars are married men whose wives ignore them. Unfortunately, most of my clientele came to me after they take alcohol or ‘Khat’ or both. They are starved for attention and sometimes I thought they will even pay to get it. I enjoy helping them to feel accepted and appreciated. In my three and one half experience, I am finding more and more men in this work that have no confidence and need me to take charge of everything.”*

In line with this Foziya stated:

Most of my regulars are married men who need variety of sex without any negotiation and emotional attachments. They considered this place safe and clean for them. Most of my clientele need our massage parlor for ‘extra service’ after they chew “khat” and take alcohol. Most of them dissatisfied with their current relationship as well as negotiation with other in house prostitutes.

Similarly Addis says: *“my clients are individuals who are not satisfied with their relationship due to dominating nature of their wife or girl friend. And individuals who have secretive dirty cheating habits. I am able to give them the flattery and praise they are not getting from home. I have observed some changes in clientele during the time I have been working for Yeshi. Formerly, most of my customers are Diasporas and individual who had different sexual experience abroad. Currently individuals from different sectors come to our premises to have sexual gratification. As they disclose, the beauty of this establishment sexual service is that, at the end of ‘extra service’ their emotional feeling is good and free from guilty feeling and above all the environment is clean.”*

Related with this issue my other interviewee Almaz described her clientele as follows:

During my brief time experience, I observed frequently most of my customers regardless of their status and financial power, they lack confidence. I believe that men have weaker egos and are more concerned about sex. I think it is a sign of their insecurity. They need women to tell them over and over that they are o.k. and desirable. In addition most of them are seeking reassurance and direct guidance in how to be good lovers with their wives and girlfriends. I perceive my role as that of a sex advisor or therapist.

4.6. Attitudes of Massage Parlor Sex Workers towards their Customers

Under this cluster, three categories of responses are emerged by categorizing the responses of the subjects'. Those categories include: positive attitude toward their customers, negative attitude toward their customers and neutral. However, the majority of the respondent do have positive attitude to their customers.

Almaz stated her perception as follows:

My customers seem to respect me and in return I also respect most of my customers. We all need variety. I think some of us may be extrovert and genuinely respond to our feelings and others suppress it. I believe that it is our basic difference. To tell you the truth, some of my customers come to this establishment to get some advice on how to be good lovers with their wives and girlfriends. Any ways, I give it to them genuinely. I perceive my role as that of a sex advisor or therapist and I love it.

Similarly, Hirut discloses how she perceives her customers in such a way: *'the work is degrading to outsiders, but many of my regulars are married men who treat me very well and with more respect, otherwise I wouldn't be here. Since most of my customers are kind and respectful, I enjoy helping them to feel accepted and appreciated. When I see my customers I become highly delighted because without their existence how could I get money and*

appreciation. Customers treat me like I'm special, like sexy and desirable. Rarely do I find an aggressive man here. '' She concluded.

Concerning her general attitude toward her customers, Yewbdar discussed the following:

Every day is interesting, exciting, and relaxing. I like meeting different men and enjoy talking with them. I feel that what I do is important and helpful. Generally I like my work and my customers.

Mitike expressed her attitudes toward her customers as follows: *''most of my customers come to this establishment to get love and respect. Since I know what it is like to feel lonely and unloved I try to help them. I think I do. My customers respect me and I also respect and like most of them. ''*

Concerning the issues Addis proclaims:

I don't like these dirty old married men who come around to see what other women look like. They have no respect for me. They're just looking for a new sexual gratification. They have fantasies that we are wild and sexier than other non sex worker (ordinary) women. I don't know, others may be but I just pertained. This is just a job, and they are just bodies. I have no feelings about any of them.

Jemala, for her part, expressed her attitude towards her customers as: *''I personally believe that no decent man will want our service. All men regardless of their personal behavior want to control over women and practically control us. It is highly disappointing; men have more rights over women than we should have. At least, at work I am in charge, and I have control over men''.*

Related to the issue Roza stated:

Most men are stupid I know how they are very curious about women age and beauty. I experienced many customers who systematically shift to the young masseuses leaving the older one. I believe I always been treated like a sex object by men. I have no feelings about any of them. If I lose my looks, I know no customer comes to me for service.

One of my interviewee (Mesert) admits her confusion in regards to her feelings about her customers and men in general. She says: *‘I believe, I can't live with men, and I can't live without men. Still I feel labelled by my customers, and know that some of them feel superior to me. But, there are also many innocent customers who want more than just masturbation massage and who are attached emotionally, especially after they feel comfortable with me. Sometimes I consider prostitution in those kinds of customers own premises. If I believe someone is mistress and if he isn't too possessive I always take the risk. You know the Yeshi's policy strictly forbidden contact with customers out of this establishment. Generally my attitude to most of my customer is neutral.’*

Foziya proclaims:

I do have neutral feeling to all customers. Generally what I need from my customers is the money which they pay me. To be honest, in priority, I prefer serving an old man because, they treat me with more respect and aren't selfish. Even If I ever decide to marry again, he'll be an older guy with money.’

Other interviewees (Kidist, Lubaba and Lidiya) disclosed that their attitude toward their customer varied in different situations and moods. For some they are positive, for others negative or neutral. For example kidist disclosed that: *‘the more she frequently contact with her customer the more she becomes positive to him.’*

4.7. The Effect of Massage Parlor Sex Work on the Society

All of the subjects report that their work has definite positive effect (benefits) for society. This item is demonstrated in two dimensions. The first dimension illuminates their services as beneficial to the institution of marriage, and the second dimension focuses on the ability of providing sexual services to decrease the rates of sexual assault and rape.

With regard to this one of my respondent (Addis) speaks:

I feel that my work helps many marriages to survive, and that I perform an important service. I believe that men have weaker egos and are more concerned about sex. I think it is a sign of their insecurity. They need women to tell them over and over that they are o.k. desirable and their dick is ok. Without such establishment and service I believe many marriages will break.

Similarly Foziya described her opinion as follows: *‘I believe that the work I am doing can help keep marriages together, and in some way may decrease the amount of rapes and sexual assaults which are prevalent in today's society.’*

Yewebedar stated the issue in this way:

Most of my regulars are married men. I think the service I provide help many marriages to stay alive. Because, the customers can go home not needing as much from their wives. Some women can't give too much in a relationship due to different health problem. At least such establishment is a second way out for our regular customers as sexual gratification. I believe marriage is more than sex.

Roza discussed the issue in such way: *‘I believe that the work which I am doing can help keep marriages together. Naturally men need more sex and variety. Such kind of establishment and other brothels may help as a second option for their additional sexual gratification. I also*

believe that our service in some way may not only the functionality of the institution marriage but also decrease the amount of rapes and sexual assaults.’’

Almaz gives her opinion in the following manner:

Most people understood that our service is as “the solution” to unmarried young men. However, in practice we are visited most by married men. Without such establishment do you think that most marriages survive? I don’t think so. Even rapes and sexual assaults highly aggravated.

4.8. The Importance of Work Group for the Sex Workers

Under this cluster the subjects’ responses is measured through level of the participants’ socialization with group members within and outside of their work setting. In line with most research participants conclude that they do have strong ties with their colleagues within and outside the work.

With regard to this Hirut disclose the following: *‘‘I enjoy the companionship of the girls. Without them life is lonely. We are together here in working hours and in our leisure time. I don’t have female friends except my work colleague.’’*

Kidist expressed the following:

My work group serves me as my family, and is the only place where I feel any sense of belonging. I can conclude that life is disgusting without the existence of this establishment. Our bond is strong within and outside of the work.

Jemila states: *‘‘My life revolves around my work and work group. I socialize with the girls after work, and Yeshi represents a mother figure and she is my chief advisor. I have learned a lot about men from her especially how to handle and listen to customers.’’* She remarks.

Addis explains:

I am so glad I did. I am really contented here. It's a good atmosphere for me. The girls are fun and Yeshe is great. I enjoy the companionship of the girls. They are really good sisters. Since I have met Yeshe I feel better about other women too.

4.9. Summary of the Result

The majority of the research participants are divorced women. All subjects are female, and the mean age is 25 years. The educational data reflect that majority of the participants have failed at the range of grade seven to grade nine. Most of the participants are from large families and they were first born in birth order position. Surprisingly, the participants on average came from families more than twice as many female as male children. On the average the participants stayed 3.1 years and only three of the participants have certification of masseuse from massage training center.

Most of the respondents face early sexual abuse, first sexual intercourse at the age below 18 years and many (three and above) sexual partners at an early age. In addition the majority of them commonly came from unstable (separation and/or divorce) marital relationship between the subject's parents and poor relationship (no contact or poor association) between the subject and parent(s). The other common experience of the participants is that most of them were victims of negative labelling assigned by others.

The majority of the research participants also disclosed that they remain working in the massage parlor due to the best earning compared to other establishments, companionship and helping other (married men who are bored in their current relationship and need a variety and married men who live with dominating wife). In line with this, majority of the workers believed that their services as beneficial to the institution of marriage and the society by reducing rap and

other sexual assaults. However, their attitudes towards their customer varied (positive, negative and neutral). But the majority of the respondents have positive attitude toward their customers. Overall, the majority of the participants considered their work group as a family and Yeshi as surrogate mother. And all of them disclosed that the level of the participants' socialization with group members within and outside of their work setting is strong.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. DISCUSSION

This section discussed the finding of the study based on the research questions and previous research findings. Therefore: The demographic data of the participants, the causes that predispose women to become prostitute, factors that attract sex workers to remain in their work, customers of massage parlor sex workers, attitudes of massage parlor sex workers toward their customers, the effect of massage parlor sex work on the society and the importance of work group for the sex works are the major points discussed in the following section.

5.1. Participants Demographic data Discussion

The data reveal that all subjects are female, and the mean and median age of respondents is twenty five years of age and the mode is twenty four years. There are inadequate data available to attempt validation with other studies. However, Lemert (1951) suggests the modal age of prostitution be 21-28 years of age, spending an average of 2-15 years in their profession. The researcher does not have any research data available which focuses on the average age of masseuse or massage parlor workers.

Educational data from this study reflect that majority respondents have failed in the range of grade 7 to grade 9. These statistics indicate that participants of this study are substantially higher in educational level than females within the general population that fall in the same age category. Official data indicate that, 60.7 percent of female in the same age category within the general population have no education & 26.9 percent of the general population that fall in the same age category has some primary school level and only 4.2 and 0.9 percent of female in this category has some secondary and completed secondary education (CSI, 2011).

In 2011, 11 percent of all females in the age category of 15-49 had experienced a divorce, separation or widowed of which 3 percent fall in the age category of 25 to 29 (CSI, 2011). Data collected during this study reflect that majority of the research participants have been divorced. These data suggest that these participants, collectively, are divorced disproportionately more than females in the general population of the age category.

Data collected during this study reflect that most participants are from large families. Clearly, most of the respondents were raised in large families almost proportionately with household sizes for the general population before 25 to 30 years back. Where the birth order is concerned, majority of the research participants were first born. With regard to the birth order concerned the researcher does not have any research data available which focuses on the birth order of masseuse or massage parlor workers.

Interestingly, the prostitutes on average came from families where there were approximately more than twice as many female as male children (Mean females per family = 2.66, a male = 1.16). However, the researcher couldn't find previous studies that substantiate this finding.

5.2. Causes that Predisposed Women to become Prostitutes

As in the finding part of this study stated, early negative sexual experience, absence of parental love and negative labeling are the factors most research participants faced during their early time. These data support previous research. For instance early negative sexual experience (or sexual abuse) was found in the majority of the subjects. I can infer that their more damaging life experiences increased the probability of their involvement in prostitution, or more sexually deviant behavior. This study supports all of the studies dealing with sexual abuse as a major etiological variable in sexual deviance (James & Davis, 1998). This illuminates the importance of sexual experience in the development of self-concept and female role identity.

The absence of parental love is a major factor that is considered in nearly all previous studies. However, there are some differences as to which parent is believed to be most important to a woman's sexual development. One group of theorists including (Choisy, 1961) suggests that a woman's relationship with her father is the most important in her sexual development. On the other hand, other scholars like (Greenwald, 1970) argue that a woman's relationship with her mother is most significant in the development of her sexuality. This study supports earlier research findings that parental rejection is a factor in channeling a woman towards sexual deviance

Negative labeling was also found, to a high degree, in majority of women. This suggests that labels may indeed become master traits (Becker, 1996), contaminating the entire personality. Labels, once accepted, structure the self-concept. The experience of negative labeling for those involved in sexual deviance has been reported in other studies (Gilbert & Pines, 1982).

5.3. Factors That Attract Sex Workers to Remain in Their Work

In examining the attracting factors associated with why the subjects remain in their work, the finding of the study indicated that most of the subjects remain in their occupation for reasons incorporating all of the attracting factors (money, helping people and companionship), though indicating that money is the principle factor. These findings agree with other study concerning the attracting motivator of money (Jeal & Salisbury, 2004). Money is always listed as one of the chief reasons for entering and remaining in the field of sexual services. The interesting result that indicated in this study is that most subjects define themselves as psychotherapeutic helping agents for their customers as much as sex objects. However, no other research findings corroborate the finding helping others as one factor to remain their work.

5.4. Customers of Massage Parlor Sex Workers

The finding of the study revealed that married men who are bored in their current relationship and need a variety and married men who live with dominating wife are majority of the massage parlors sex workers. This finding corroborate with other studies (Clifton & Palmer 2013). The life style of the majority of them is 'Khat' and alcohol addicts. With regard to their substance abuse life style no other research findings corroborate the finding of this study.

5.5. Attitudes of Massage Parlor Sex Workers toward their Customers

The finding of the study clearly indicated that majority of the massage parlors sex workers have positive attitude toward their customers followed by neutral attitude.

The massage parlor workers also report a higher level of job satisfaction and employment stability (based on length of time on the job). Therefore, it could be predicted that they would have more positive attitudes towards customers. There are similar findings in other studies which conclude that there is a relationship between job satisfaction and attitudes towards customers (Davis, 1997).

5.6. The Effect of Massage Parlor Sex Work on the Society

All of the subjects report that their work have definite positive effect (benefits) for society. This item is demonstrated in two dimensions. The first dimension illuminates their services as beneficial to the institution of marriage, though this may not be unusual considering that most frequent customers are married men (Armstrong, 1981) and the second dimension focuses on the ability of providing sexual services to decrease the rates of sexual assault and rape. Somewhat majority of the subjects indicate that they feel the services they provide may affect the occurrence of sexual assault and rape somewhat. Other studies fail to inquire into the subjects' perceptions of the effects of their work on threats of sexual violence.

5.7. The Importance of Work Group for the Sex Works

The finding of this research evidenced that, the participants' level of socialization with group members within and outside of their work setting very strong and even most of them considered their relationship as family relation. Even though most studies fail to indicate the separation of work and personal life in socially deviant groups, (Bethlehem, 2002) in her finding concluded that there is strong bond and socialization of other in house prostitutes' which corroborates with this study.

CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSION AND SOCIAL WORK IMPLICATION

6.1. Conclusion

This exploratory study has provided a better understanding of the general situation of massage parlor sex work by exploring the experience of sex worker who work in massage parlor of Addis Ababa, currently. Accordingly six research questions were proposed and addressed. Which are: 1. what are the predisposing factors that cause massage parlor sex workers to engage in sex work in massage parlors? 2. What are the factors that attract massage parlors sex workers to remain in their work? 3. Who are the main customers of the sex workers in massage parlors? 4. What are the general attitudes of massage parlor sex workers toward their customers? 5. How the massage parlor sex workers do defined the effect of their work on the society? 6. How the massage parlors sex workers do defined the importance of their work group for them?

In response to the first research question, what are the predisposing factors that cause massage parlor sex workers to engage in sex work in massage parlors; I found out early negative sexual experience (or sexual abuse), absence of parental love and negative labeling were the main predisposing factors that perhaps cause them to choose to become sex objects for pay. However, we do not know, with any accuracy, what percentages in the normal population of women also have experienced early negative sexual experiences, negative labeling, absence of parental love, early intercourse. In other words, we do not know how much these women may deviate from the normal in their experiences and personalities. Perhaps they are not that different from other women, but there has been a turning point experience that has increased the probability that they would turn to sexually deviant behavior. This suggests that perhaps greater penalties should be enacted for crimes of sexual abuse, rape, and incest. Since, abused women

are not only more likely to become sex role transgressors, but are also more inclined to manifest every type of self-destructive behavior.

With regard to the second research question, what are the factors that attract massage parlor sex workers to remain in their work; three factors were reported as an attracting factor. To mention them; money, helping people and companionship were the major factors. Money is always listed as one of the chief reasons for entering and remaining in the field of sexual services. This mean that their current lives all hold insecurities that keep them attracted to their work. However, the interesting result that indicated in this study is that most subjects define themselves as psychotherapeutic helping agents for their customers as much as sex objects.

Related to the third research question, who is the main customers of the sex workers in massage parlors, it was found that most of the men using sexual services are believed to be married. From this finding we may infer that the customers of the parlor should not successfully integrate love and sex in their personal lives. In addition to that, the issue of whether monogamy is possible for males emerged in this study.

Answering the fourth research question of what are the general attitudes of massage parlor sex workers toward their customers, I found out the majority of the massage parlors sex workers have positive attitude toward their customers followed by neutral attitude. From this finding we may infer that these subjects feel comfortable and satisfied in their occupational world, as they are in charge of defining this world. They decide what services the man may receive and the cost. There is a reversal of the more normative sex role transaction in which the male is typically in charge of structuring the sexual encounter.

Concerning the fifth research question of how the massage parlor sex workers do defined the effect of their work on the society, the finding report indicated that massage parlors sex workers believed that their services as beneficial to the institution of marriage. Since their main

customers are married men, this may not be unusual. The second dimension focuses on the ability of providing sexual services to decrease the rates of sexual assault and rape. Somewhat majority of the subjects indicate that they feel the services they provide may affect the occurrence of sexual assault and rape somewhat. Other studies fail to inquire into the subjects' perceptions of the effects of their work on the rates of sexual violence.

With regard to the last research question, how the massage parlors sex workers do defined the importance of their work group; the finding report evidenced that, the participants' level of socialization with group members within and outside of their work setting very strong and even most of them considered their relationship as family relation. From this one can conclude that this world breaks down some barriers and creates others. It breaks down barriers, protecting vulnerability and need, and builds up barriers around love and trust.

6.2. Social Work Implication

Based on the major research findings, I suggest the following implications; policy implications, intervention implications and implications for future research and in each implication the role of social workers is defined.

6.2.1 Implications for Policy

According to Addis Ababa Trade and Industry Bureau (AATIB) report the total numbers of massage parlors found in Addis Ababa are 351. These parlors are found in all sub cities. The intensity of their distributions varied from one sub city to the other. To illustrate their distribution: Bole 187, Kirkos 77, Nifas silk 30, Yeka 20, Arada 10, Addis Ketema 10, Kolfe 8, Gulele 5, Akaki Kality 2, Lideta 3. On average if one parlor hired 10 sex workers the total number become 3510.

Even though, these semi-brothels expanded highly, no clear policy and direction developed yet by the concerned government organs to regulate this illegal form of employment that is morally questionable, potentially risky and often associated with exploitation

So that based on the implications of the research findings, the researcher concluded that in the near future employment in this semi-brothels flourish in large and medium cities of the country. So as to control its expansion in breadth and width, the following recommendation and policy implication are forwarded. Among others, the concerned government organ should clearly establish a policy regarding the requirements to open legal massage parlors and systematically discouraging the new opening requests by increasing the licensing fee and by setting other administrative sanctions.

With regard to the existing quasi brothels, since they are typically existing below the thresholds of both state and public visibility, these premises are out of sight and out of mind and not only well escape taxation but also discard the legal parlors that provide legal massage service. So as to reduce the problem and to make things at the right order, the police should strictly work with the community as well as the legal massage parlors.

Side by side, in order to divert the massage parlors sex workers from their risky way of life and to reintegrating them back to normal life, and to restrain other new entrants, strong community awareness as well as strong advocacy is required in both raising awareness as well as influencing the government. In this regard, social workers in collaboration with the media the religious institutions should play a pivotal role.

Given off-street sex workers outnumber in most reputable estimates of contemporary sex work, the lack of attention paid by sex work researchers to home-based sex work (like massage parlors) helps perpetuate the myth that street-based prostitution remains a dominant form of sex

work, making it a particular priority for sex work support services as well as the prime focus of policy debates

However regardless of the type of commercial sex and so as to privileging heterosexual, monogamous relationships, the state and law has tended to regard commercial sex as a threat to social stability, and hence sought to discourage it. At the same time, however, sex work and commercial sexual exchange have remained valued and sought-after, meaning that the law has often recognized the impossibility of preventing prostitution, instead regulating it so that its negative impacts on communities are minimized, simultaneously sending out a message that it is not a respectable occupation.

Hence there is the need to re-examine the law on sex work. The immediate policy action recommended here is partial decriminalization. Partial decriminalization involves criminalizing the clients of sex work (persons buying or attempting to buy sex) and decriminalizing sex work for sex workers due to the fact that sex workers are the exploited group. Partial decriminalization would restrain the power of clients to threaten abuse and coerce women in sex work. On the other hand, it would increase the power of sex workers to insist on safe sexual practices and to seek help and legal redress from the law for all criminal offences committed against them and easily to get health care service from health care providers. It might also help reduce the stigma currently attached to sex work, contributing to the low self-esteem of women and their acceptance of violence as a condition attached to sex work.

In addition, I recommend the sensitization of community members, social workers and health care providers about the needs of this vulnerable group. If possible, lessons on how to provide services for the needs of vulnerable groups, especially sex workers, should form part of the training curriculum of health care providers. This will help health care providers understand and appreciate the health needs of massage parlor sex workers.

6.2.2. Practice Implication

As a possible immediate practical solution and to reduce the impact of prostitution on the community markedly, both judiciary prohibitions and social work interventions should be practiced. For example if we practice jurisdiction only, the actual problem becomes increasingly a judicial problem, as more and more of the problem is regulated through laws. Therefore, for those who practice prostitution experience, both before they begin to practice it and as a consequence of its practice, both the social work interventions in the form of awareness creation and judiciary prohibitions shall be strictly followed. Today's shifting focus and new measures aim at reducing prostitution.

The relationship between prohibitions and social responses is continually discussed, and in forming social responses we must evaluate how well they function in connection with the various prohibitions. When new laws are enacted, we must evaluate their impact on the ability of social work to carry out the tasks assigned to it. Social work interventions have largely been devised to focus on minimizing harmful effects as well as getting women leave "the life". Therefore, In order to divert the massage parlors sex workers from their risky way of life to reintegrating them back to normal life, strong community awareness as well as strong advocacy is required in both raising awareness as well as influencing the government.

6.2.3 Research Implication

Before this exploratory research, in Ethiopia, there was no priory conducted research in the area of massage parlor sex work identified by the researcher. Since this research is mainly focused on the experience of massage parlor sex workers only, further research should be conducted in the areas of the impact of their work on STIs transmission, the level of health seeking behavior among sex workers, the level of violence, stigma and labeling attached to the

sex workers and their health need should be holistically addressed. In addition the role of social workers in combating sex worker should be studied.

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Appendix I
Addis Ababa University
Graduate School of Social Work
Informed Consent for Participation in a Study

Introduction

My name is **Sisay Oda Melka** who is a second year Social Work masters student at Addis Ababa University; I am expected to work on a thesis as partial fulfillment of Master's Degree in Social Work. To this end, I have chosen to study the experience of Massage parlor masseuses (sex workers) who work in massage parlor of Addis Ababa. I strongly believe that your story is so important to understand the issue of massage parlors sex workers.

I will be gathering information through interviews and observation where participation is voluntary. Once you consent to participate, you can skip questions you do not want to answer, end the interview session or you may withdraw from the study at any time if you are uncomfortable. The interview will take sixty to one hundred twenty minutes; feel free to share what you think is relevant since there is no right or wrong answer.

Procedures:

Participation in the study involves conducting a face-to-face interview, which will last for approximately one to two hours. The interviews will be conducted by the researcher himself, audio-taped will not used and important information recorded for the purpose of later data analysis. The data which is collected in the local language will later be translated in to English language. The interview will be held in suitable place both for the researcher and the interviewee.

Risks of Participation

Be aware that there might be moments in which you feel discomfort during interview because we are talking an issue that may be painful. Well the study is not meant to hurt you or

embarrass or create pain on you. But the experience you have may have such nature and you may feel unhappy. I want you to freely express the pain or emotion you felt, I am not here to judge you, I am here to get the story right.

Rights of the Informant

You have the right not to participate if you are not willing; you have the right to ask any question that is not clear or which you feel uncomfortable any time you liked to ask. You have the right to withdraw when you feel so uncomfortable.

Confidentiality and Anonymity:

The researcher will respect your privacy and only collect information for the purpose of the study. If you face any discomfort by your participation in the study you can contact me by telephone or e-mail.

Cell phone: +251 911 22 37 38

E-mail:- sisay_oda@yahoo.com

Sisayoda945@gmail.com

Informant:

Name -----

Signature -----

Date -----

Researcher:

Name -----

Signature -----

Date -----

Appendix II
Addis Ababa University
Graduate School of Social Work
Informed Consent for Participation in a Study

**IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MASSAGE PARLOR SEX WORKERS WHO
WORK IN MASSAGE PARLOR OF ADDIS ABABA**

This Interview is intended to gather data on the experiences of women who are in massage parlor of Addis Ababa. I am a graduate student in the School of Social at AAU. I am doing this research as a fulfillment for Master's degree in Social Work. The collected data will be used for the purpose of this research only. I hereby request you to be open and honest while responding so that the research could succeed and achieve the intended goal.

I. Background information

A. Personal background (Socio -demographic information of research participants)

1. Would you tell me where you originally came from?
2. What is your age now?
3. Your educational level?
4. Religion
5. Have you had a job before you join this work?
6. Your marital status now? With whom do you live now?

B. Parental Background

1. Stability of parents' marriage
2. Parents occupation (father, mother)? Parent's income (average monthly income in Birr)

3. How many sisters and brothers do you have?
4. What is your position in birth order?
5. Tell me how you were treated by or brought up by your family? How do you describe quality of affective life with same and opposite sexed parent & Siblings?

II. Causes that Predisposed Women to become Prostitutes

1. How your Peer relationships look like?
 - a. Few/many
 - b. Close/distant
 - c. Deviant or socially acceptable group
2. Have you ever faced sexual abuse, incest, rape, molestation, etc.?
3. At what age did you start your first sexual intercourse? Was that forced/coerced or willing?
4. If it was willing how subsequently were you contact with first partner?
5. How many partners did you face at your early age? Few or many partners
6. Have you ever faced early pregnancy/abortions?
7. If yes at what age?
8. How was your School performance?
9. How was your work history? Would you share me please?
10. What level of skill do you acquired?
11. How do you define your Self-image? Positive/negative

12. Have you ever faced negative labeling experience?

III. Factors That Attract Sex Workers to Remain in Their Work

1. Why do you remain in your profession?
2. What motivates you to continue your work? What needs of yours is it meeting?
3. Have you tried to leave or do other types of work since entering your profession?
4. Has your profession changed you so that other work isn't as satisfying in some ways?
5. How long do you intend to continue in your work?

IV. Customers of Massage Parlor Sex Workers

1. Are there basic types of men that seek your services?
2. Can you describe them?
3. How do you determine what their needs are?
4. What needs do you fulfill for most of your customers?
5. Do you believe that you fulfill needs that others are unwilling or unable to fulfill?

V. Attitudes of Massage Parlor Sex Workers toward their Customers

1. What is your general attitude towards your customers?
2. What is your attitude towards men in general?
3. How do you handle negative feelings towards customers?
4. How do you handle positive feelings towards customers?

VI. The Effect of Massage Parlor Sex Work on the Society

1. Do you ever feel that you provide a valuable service or function for society through your work? What might this be?

2. How does your work possibly affect the institution of marriage?
3. Do you believe that the availability of your services decreases the rates of sexual assault and rape?

VIII. The Importance of Work Group for the Sex Works

1. What is the nature of your social relationships?
2. Who are you closest to in your work group? Why?
3. Who do you socialize with outside of work? What do you tell them about yourself?

Thank you for participating in this interview!!

Appendix III

Amharic version of in-depth interview Guide for massage parlor sex works of Addis Ababa

በአዲስ አበባ የኒቨርሲቲ የሶሻል ወርክ ትምህርት ቤት

በአዲስ አበባ ማሳጅ ቤቶች ለሚሰሩ ሴተኛ አዳሪዎች የቀረቡ ጥያቄዎች

ይህ መጠይቅ በአዲስ አበባ ማሳጅ ቤቶች የሚሰሩ ሴተኛ አዳሪዎችን የህይወት ልምድ ለመዳሰስ ያለመ ነው። እኔ የዚህ ጥናት አጥኚ በአዲስ አበባ የኒቨርሲቲ የሶሻል ወርክ ትምህርት የሁለተኛ ድግሪ (MSW) ተማሪ ነኝ። የተሰበሰበው መረጃ ለዚህ ጥናት አላማ ብቻ ይውላል። ለጥናቱ አስፈላጊውን መረጃ ፤ በግልፅ እና በታማኝነት እንዲትሰጡኝ እጠይቃለሁ።

ክፍል አንድ:- ጥቅል መረጃ

I. የግል መረጃ

1. የትውልድ ስፍራሽን ልትነግሪኝ ትችያለሽ? _____
2. እድሜሽ ስንት ነው? _____
3. የትምህርት ደረጃሽ? _____
4. ሀይማኖትሽ? _____
5. ይህንን ስራ ከመጀመርሽ በፊት በሌላ የስራ ዘርፍ ተሰማርተሽ ነበረ? _____
6. የጋብቻ ሁኔታ ብትገልጭልኝ? አሁን ከማን ጋር ነው እየኖርሽ ያለሽው? _____

II. የቤተሰብ ሁኔታ

7. ቤተሰቦችሽ(እናት እና አባትሽ) አብረው ነው የሚኖሩት ከሆነ አብራራልኝ? _____
8. የቤተሰብ የስራ ሁኔታ (እናት/አባት)? የቤተሰብ አማካኝ ወራዊ ገቢ? _____
9. ስንት እህቶችና ወንድሞች አሉሽ? _____
10. ለቤተሰቦችሽ አንች ስንተኛልጅ ነሽ? _____

11. ቤተሰብ እንዴት እንዳሳደገሽ ወይም ስለአያያዛቸው ልትነግሪኝ ትችያለሽ?
ከቤተሰቦችሽ ጋር ከእናትሽ፣ ከአባትሽ፣ ከወንድም እና ከእህቶችሽ ጋር ያለሽን ቅርርብ እንደት ትገልጭዋለሽ? _____

ክፍል ሁለት፡- ለማሳጅ ሴተኛ አዳሪነት የሚዳርጉ ቅድመ ምክንያቶች

12. ከአቻዎችሽ ጋር ያለሽ ግንኙነት ምን ይመስላል? _____

- የጓደኞችሽ ብዛት? _____
- ከጓደኞችሽ ጋር በጣም ትቀራረባላችሁ ወይስ በሩቁ ነው? _____
- እንደአንቺ አይነት ስራ የሚሰሩ ናቸው ወይስ ከዚህ ስራ ውጭ? _____

13. ወሲባዊ ጥቃት ደርሶብሽ ያውቃል? ደርሶብሽ የሚያውቅ ከሆነ ጥቃቱ ምን አይነት ጥቃት ነበር? _____

14. ጥቃታቱን የሰነዘረው ማን ነበር? _____

15. ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ወሲብ የፈፀምሽው በስንት አመትሽ ነበር? _____

16. በፍቃደኝነት ላይ የተመሰረተ ወሲባዊ ግንኙነት ከነበረ ከጓደኞችሽ ጋር በምን ያህል የጊዜ ልዩነት ወሲብ ትፈፅሙ እንደነበረ ብትገልጭልኝ? _____

17. በልጅነት እድሜሽ ከምን ያህል ወንዶች ጋር የፍቅር ግንኙነት እንደነበረሽ ብትገልጭልኝ? _____

18. በልጅነት እድሜሽ እርግዝና ወይም ፅንሰ መቋረጥ አጋጥሞሽ ነበር?

19. እርግዝና ወይም ፅንሰ መቋረጥ አጋጥሞሽ የሚያውቅ ከሆነ ለመጀመሪያ ጊዜ ስህተቱ ሲያጋጥምሽ እድሜሽ ስንት ነበር? _____

20. በትምህርትሽ ምን ያህል ውጤታማ ነበረሽ? _____

21. እስከ አሁን በምንም በምንም የስራ መስክ ተሳትፈሻል? የስራ ልምድሽን ብታካፍይኝ? _____

22. በስራ ልምድ ያካበትሻቸው ክህሎቶች በምን ያህል ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኙ ናቸው? ብትገልጭልኝ? _____

23. ስለራሽስ ያለሽ ግምት ምን ይመስላል? እራሽን በበጎ (በአዎንታዊ) መንገድ ትመክቻለሽ ወይስ በጎ ባልሆነ (በአሉታዊ) መንገድ? _____

24. በስራሽ ምክንያት ሰዎች አሉታዊ በሆነ መንገድ ፈርጀውሽ ያውቃሉ? ብታብራራልኝ? _____

ክፍል ሶስት:- የማሳጅ ቤት ሴተኛ አዳሪዎች በዚህ ስራ እንደቆዩ የሚሰጧቸው ምክንያቶች

25. በዚህ ስራ ለመቆየት ለምን ወሰንሽ? ብትገልጭልኝ? _____
26. በዚህ ስራ እንዲትቀጥይ ምን አበረታታሽ? በዚህ ስራ እያሟላሽ ያለሻቸው ፍላጎቶችሽን ብጽገልጭልኝ? _____
27. ሌላ ስራ ለመስራት ወይንም ስራውን ለመልቀቀቅ ምክርሽ ታውቁያለሽ?

28. ሌላ ስራ ብሰራ በዚህ ስራ ተቀየርኩትን ያህል አልቀየርም ነበር ብለሽ ታስቢያለሽ? _____
29. በዚህ ስራ ውስጥ ለምንም ያህል ጊዜ ለመቆየት አቅደሻል? _____

ክፍል አራት:- የማሳጅ ቤት ሴተኛ አዳሪዎች ደንበኞች

30. የእናንተን አገልግሎት የሚፈልጉ የተለያዩ ወንዶች አሉን? _____
31. የደንበኞችሽን አይነት ብትገልጭልኝ? _____
32. የደንበኞቻችሁን ፍላጎት ምን እንዴሆነ እንዴት ታውቃላችሁ ወይም እንዴት ትለያላችሁ? _____
33. ለአብዛኞቹ ደንበኞችሽ የምታሟይላቸው ፍላጎት ምንድን ነው? _____
34. ሌሎች ለያሟሉላቸው የማይችሉትን የደንበኞችን ፍላጎት አሟላለሁ ብለሽ ታምኛለሽ? _____

ክፍል አምስት:- የማሳጅ ቤት ሴተኛ አዳሪዎች ስለደንበኞቻቸው ያላቸው አመለካከት

35. ስለደንበኞችሽ ያለሽ አጠቃላይ አመለካከት ምን ይመስላል? _____
36. በአጠቃላይ ስለወንዶች ያለሽ አመለካከት ምን ይመስላል? _____
37. በደንበኞችሽ ላይ ያለሽን አሉታዊ አመለካከት እንደት ትቆጣጠራለሽ?

38. ለወንዶች ያለሽ አዎንታዊ አመለካከት እንደት ትገልጭታለሽ? _____

ክፍል ስድስት:- የማሳጅ ቤት ሴተኛ አዳሪዎች በማህበረሰቡ ላይ የሚያሳድሩት ተፅኖ

39. ለደንበኞቹ ጠቃሚ አገልግሎት እየሰጠሁ ነው በዚህም ማህበረሰቡ በእኔ አገልግሎት እየተጠቀመ ነው ብለሽ ታምኛለሽ? _____

40. የአንቺ ስራ ጋብቻ የተሸኘው ማህበራዊ ተቋም ላይ ምን አይነት ተፅዕኖ ያሳድራል ብለሽ ታምኛለሽ? _____

41. የምንሰጠው አገልግሎት የሌሎች ሴቶችን የወሲባዊ ጥቃት እና የመደፈር ዕድል ይቀንሳል ብለሽ ታምኛለሽ? _____

ክፍል ሰባት:- የማሳጅ ቤት ሴተኛ አዳሪዎች ግንኙነት

42. የማህበረሰባዊ ግንኙነትሽ ምን ይመስላል? _____

43. አብረውሽ ከሚሰሩት ሴቶች የበለጠ ከማን ጋር ትቀራረቢያለሽ? ለምን ብታብራሪው? _____

44. ከስራስ ውጭ ያለሽ ተግባራት እንዴት ነው? ስለስራሽ ምን ብለሽ ትገልጭላቸዋለሽ? _____

ስለትብብርሽ አመሰግናለሁ!