

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN IN YEKKA
SUB-CITY OF ADDIS ABABA

BY
ENDRIS JAFER

JUNE 2009
ADDIS ABABA

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SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN IN YEKKA SUB-CITY
OF ADDIS ABABA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL
ANTHROPOLOGY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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Acknowledgement

I gratefully acknowledge all those individuals and institutions for their contribution to the completion of this thesis. First and foremost I would like to express my sincere thanks to my thesis advisor Dr. Melese Getu for his valuable and constructive comments, suggestions, pieces of advice and encouragement he gave me throughout the thesis work.

My heartfelt appreciation and sincere thanks are extended to all participants of this research: the victim children and their parents, child protection unit workers in Yekka Sub-city and Addis Ababa Police Commission, workers in the Police Commission's Central Intelligence Department, and other key informants and FGD participants. My special thanks also goes to the professionals at various NGO's, like IFSO, FSCE, OPRIFS, CHAD-ET, ANPPCAN, ACPF, EWLA, and Organization against Gender Based Violence, for their valuable support.

I am indebted to *Ato* Nebiyu Mehari who assisted my contact with the NGO's mentioned above and for his valuable suggestions.

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Acronyms

ACPF	African Child Policy Forum
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
CHAD-ET	Children Aid Ethiopia
CPU	Child Protection Unit
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
EWLA	Ethiopian Women Lawyers' Association
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FSCE	Forum on Street Children Ethiopia
HIV	Humane Immune Virus
IFSO	Integrated Family Support Organization
NGO	Non Government Organization
OPRIFS	Organization for the Prevention, Rehabilitation and Integration of Female Street Children
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Abstract

In developing nations like Ethiopia many children are vulnerable to different types of abuses. The sexual abuse of children is said to have been the most ignored and unaware type of child abuse. It is also the most under reported form of abuse due to its complex nature. Studying the contributing factors may help to deal with how to alleviate the problem.

The overall objective of this research is to assess the socio-cultural and economic factors that contribute to such social evil. The research is designed to answer questions such as: what factors contribute to the sexual abuse of children? What are the characteristic features of perpetrators? Which social settings contribute much to the problem? What are the major types of sexual abuses perpetrated in the area? What are the reasons for under reporting of the sexual abuse of the children?

The methods employed for data collection were document review, in-depth interview, FGD, and questionnaire administration. The participants of this study were thirty two victim children.

The findings of this study reveal that the most contributing factors to the sexual abuse of children in the area were poverty, lack of awareness about the problem within the community in general and the family in particular, the living situation of the children, and the cultural taboo on talking about sexuality. The findings further reveal that children who came from the countryside either to live with relatives or to be employed as domestic maids were the most vulnerable groups.

The majority of the perpetrators were those who were engaged in low paid jobs or they were jobless. Most of them have experienced bad habits. However, individuals with better income and those who were free from bad habits were also found to be abusers of the children. The findings also reveal that the measures taken by the perpetrators after the abuse, the negative attitudes of the community towards victim children, and the problem on reporting some forms of abuses such as incest and anal insertion helped the sexual abuse of the children to stay hidden. Therefore, such factors exposed the children to repeated sexual abuse.

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CHAPTER ONE

Background and Methodology

Background

1.1 Introduction

In developing countries, many children are vulnerable to different types of abuses like abandonment, neglect, emotional abuse, physical abuse and sexual abuse. The sexual abuse of children is a very serious problem in Ethiopia (Tedla, 1996:58). "It has been one of the most pervasive but carefully ignored features of social life" (Davis, 2005; in Meron, 2006:1). A study by ACPF (2006: 55) indicated that the sexual abuse of children is highly prevalent in Ethiopia. It is believed that the interrelated and complex socio-cultural and economic factors contribute more to the problem. Richter et al. (2004) pointed out that accurately estimating the prevalence of sexual abuse and violence in developing world is difficult due to the limited amount of research done on the subject.

Studies (Taylor and Stewart, 1991:202; Kelly, 1988:60; Flowers, 1986:75; Getnet 2008:35; and ACPF, 2006:59) indicated that the majority of pre-pubertal children are reported to be sexually abused by intimate adults. These include parents, relatives, neighbors, teachers and other adults responsible for the care of children. Generally, most people believe that sexual abuse is a crime committed only by adult male. However sexual abuse can also be perpetrated by the children themselves. It happens in every age, class, race and profession. Children are sexually abused in different social settings such as neighborhood, household, day care centers, and schools.

Social and cultural factors contribute to the prevalence of sexual abuse of children. Therefore, it is important to study the socio-cultural and economic factors contributing to child sexual abuse if we are to understand the problem. "Children constitute their ideas and understanding their social skills and their individual selves in interaction with people in their social network. Focusing on these interactions will not only tell us about the lives of children but also give us valuable information about the society as a whole" (Borke, 2004: 12).

The most contributing social evil to child sexual abuse is poverty. Children who live in absolutely poor families are forced to engage in riskiest jobs such as street vending, domestic maid, and prostitution. These children also lack adequate supervision from their parents. They are also exposed to various threats due to their living conditions in overcrowded families. Children are also left alone for long periods when parents go away from home so as to secure some income for the family. All these conditions expose children to sexual abuse.

Some researches (Richter et al., 2004:173; Getnet,2008:28) pointed out that widespread poverty which forces children to engage in riskiest jobs so as to supplement the family income; the increasing rate of divorce and remarriage which forces children to live with single parents, step fathers or mothers, siblings; increased number of orphaned children who live either on the street or day care centers; the rapid growth of tourism; increasing production and distribution of pornography and child sex industry on the internet are contributing factors to the sexual abuse of children.

The aim of this study is to explore the different factors that contribute to the prevalence of child sexual abuse. The study contains five chapters. The first chapter introduces the need for conducting the study and the methodologies employed to generate data. The second chapter presents the review of related literature. The third and the fourth chapters present the result of the study using both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data through descriptive and thematic analysis techniques. The last chapter summarizes and concludes the findings of the study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In a recent study on child sexual abuse, Hailu (2007:46) indicated that there was high prevalence of child sexual abuse in Addis Ketema, Kolfe Keraneo, and Yekka sub-cities in 1998 E.C. He further stated that in this year, Yekka and Addis Ketema sub-cities recorded the highest number of male victims each with 6 children. He also pointed out that a total of 21 children (13 females and 8 males) found to be victims of atypical sexual abuse in Yekka Sub-city from 1996 E.C. to 1998 E.C. It was the highest in comparison with the rest of the sub-cities.

However, Hailu's study tends to focus on victim children aged between ten and eighteen years. The first reason for selecting these children, according to Hailu, was the assertion that they can express themselves very well. Secondly, he couldn't find recorded statistical data by CPUs and Addis Ababa Police Commission Central Intelligence Department in their age group (Hailu, 2007:6). Therefore, there is a need to include children under age ten in this study.

Most of the sexually abused children, according to Hailu (2007:47) are those aged between 9 and 15 years. He found out that female children between the age of 9 and 15 were more vulnerable in most of the sub-cities. A study on male children's sexual abuse in Addis Ababa by Debebe (2007:33) also refers to this age category as the mostly abused. According to Debebe, there is high frequency of abused children in the age category of 10-14 years.

The role of parents in protecting children from any kind of danger is important. Work with children who have been abused suggests that abuse could be prevented in many instances if children had had prior instruction. Lack of knowledge or uncertainty about norms of behavior often plays a role in child's victimization. Information about child sexual abuse is more meaningful and effective when it comes from a parent. Yet it seems that parents neglect this responsibility and opportunity. "The parent study was a golden opportunity to assess just what kind of prevention information gets exchanged in most households, and what seem to be the obstacle to a more effective exchange" (Finkelhor, 1984:25). Therefore, more can be learned from the experiences of parents of victim children in openly discussing sexuality with their children.

In a study conducted in the Boston metropolitan area in the year 1981, only 29% of the parents said they had talked with their children about sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1984). According to Debebe's study of sexual abuse of male children in Addis Ababa (2007:36), children who never had discussion with parents about sexual matters accounted for 66.7% of the cases.

There is the assertion that the characteristics of children's parents may contribute to the victimization of children. For example, Finkelhor (1984:25) stated that children who live with their biological parents are less vulnerable to sexual abuse than those who live with

non-biological parents. According to Finkelhor, girls who live with their step fathers are at much higher risk. They are not only victimized by their step fathers but also by some one else because of lack of protection. Debebe (2007: 34) also found that only 14.3% of the children were living with their biological parents when the abuse occurred to them.

Although children are sexually abused by force or 'consent' most studies tend to focus on forced sexual abuse. In fact children are incapable of consenting to sex with adults due to their immaturity. But adults use various mechanisms to get them to comply with sexual requests. For example, young girls are targets of the 'sugar daddies' because they prefer them hoping that they will avoid HIV infection (Richter et al, 2004). Therefore, it is not fair to simply blame children for cooperating for sex. Moreover, many people see very young girls capable of engaging in sexual activity with older partners under conditions of consent without it automatically being a form of abuse.

Deepening poverty exposes children to sexual abuse. Unemployment also encourages perpetrators to abuse children. In a study of male children sexual abuse, Debebe (2007:38) stated that individuals who were unemployed and students together constituted 57.2% of the perpetrators. Therefore, detailed analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of victims and perpetrators helps to understand the prevalence of sexual abuse of children.

Many of the sexual abuses of children remained unreported. According to Amnesty International (2000:13), "many cases of sexual torture and abuse go unreported and unpunished, because the girls are too ashamed to tell any one what happened to them." However shame on the part of victims is not the only reason for not reporting abuses. Other reasons which keep victims and their parents from reporting abuses must be explored.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In view of the facts mentioned above, the general objective of the study is to explore the socio-cultural and economic factors contributing to the prevalence of child sexual abuse in Yekka Sub-city of Addis Ababa.

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Identify the different forms of child sexual abuse;
- Describe the family characteristics of abused children;
- Assess the reasons for under reporting of sexual abuses;
- Identify factors that contribute to child sexual abuse; and
- Examine the characteristic features of perpetrators.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study provides interested people with information on the situation of sexually abused children and encourages further studies on the subject matter. It can also help community workers and service providers better understand the seriousness of the problem in the area.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

This study delimits itself to Addis Ababa particularly to Yekka Sub-city. The researcher found it difficult to conduct interviews with perpetrators. Therefore, the information on the characteristic features of perpetrators is obtained from the victims and their parents, neighbors of the perpetrators, and the police. The limited sample size can also be taken as another delimitation of this study.

1.6 Operational Definition of Terms

Child: anyone under the age of 18 (CRC, 1989).

Sexual Abuse: “Can involve fondling, masturbation, vaginal, oral and anal contact and is therefore not limited to sexual intercourse. Sexual abuse may also involve the use of a child for prostitution, pornography or exhibition” (UNFPA, 2004:3).

Child Sexual Abuse: “any sexual contact between an adult and a sexually immature child for purposes of the adult’s sexual gratification; or any sexual contact to a child made by the use of force, threat, or deceit to secure the child’s participation; or sexual contact to which a child is incapable of consenting by virtue of age or power differentials and the nature of the relationship with the adult” (Richter et al, 2004:99).

Rape: “rape is defined as non-consensual penetration of vagina, mouth or anus by the penis” (Cotterill, 2007:2).

Abduction: “is the forcibly, fraudulently or deceitfully taking away of a woman with intent of seducing her or to illicit sex or compelling her to marry a person against her will” (Ahuja, 1987).

Incest: “sexual intercourse between relatives within the prohibited degree of relationship defined by the law” (Flowers, 1986:8).

Methodology

1.7 Research Design

The different methods that are appropriate to undertake this research are described below. The overall objective of this study is to explore the socio- cultural and economic factors that contribute to the sexual abuse of children. Thus in order to meet the research objectives both quantitative and qualitative research methods are used. The quantitative research method is used to examine the socio-economic characteristics of the victim children and the perpetrators. It can also be used to understand the prevalence of child sexual abuse in the ten sub-cities. On the other hand qualitative research method is found to be valuable so as to learn more from the experiences of the victim children, their families, the perpetrators and members of the community as well.

1.8 Data Sources

In this study, both primary and secondary data sources were used. Primary data were gathered through in-depth interviews with victim children and their parents, key informant-interview with various professionals, and FGDs with child protection unit workers and community leaders. On the other hand, secondary data were obtained from

documents, journals, books, files, reports and data sets. With regard to information on sexually abused children, Richter et al. (2004:21) stated:

Child sexual abuse varies by features of the event, the experience of the child, the circumstances under which the abuse takes place, and the effects of the abuse on the child and the family. This more precisely specified knowledge about child sexual abuse resides in police files, in the notes of service organizations, in whispered disclosures between friends and family, and in the memories of children and perpetrators.

1.9 The Study Area

Yekka Sub-city is one of the ten recently established sub-cities of Addis Ababa which is located in the eastern part of the city. It is bounded by Oromya Regional State in the north and east, Bole Sub-city in the south, Kirkos Sub-city in the south-west, Arada Sub-city in the west, and Gulelle Sub-city in the north west. The sub-city has an estimated total area of 8,546.43 hectares. It is divided in to eleven *kebeles* that also include some rural *kebeles*.

According to Addis Ababa City Administration Population Profile (2006), Yekka Sub-city has a total population of 355,575 of which 165,691 are males and 189,884 are females.

The reason for selecting this sub-city as a research site is out of the assumption that it is one of the sub-cities which have high prevalence rate of child sexual abuse.

1.10 Participants of the Study

Thirty two victim children, 25 female and 7 male, participated in this research. Out of this, the researcher interviewed 23 children while 9 children filled the questionnaire themselves. Fifteen parents (guardians) of the victim children also participated in the in-depth interview. Eleven individuals from different organizations such as IFSO, FSCE, ACPF, Yekka Sub-city CPU, and Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU were used as key informants. Some community leaders, CPU workers and NGO professionals have participated in the FGDs.

1.11 Data Collection Techniques

Document Review

In order to determine the prevalence of child sexual abuse in Addis Ababa, the data on victim children from the ten sub-cities were collected from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU. The statistics on children between age 16 and 18 was obtained from the Police Commission's Central Intelligence Department because the CPU did not have complete data for this age category of children. The information on the sex and age of victim children and perpetrators as well as the major types of sexual abuse is reviewed. Available literatures on the subject matter were also reviewed. These include books, research reports, journals and reports of NGOs.

Sampling

The police files of Yekka Sub-city CPU indicated that a total of 131 female and 12 male children sexual abuse cases were reported to the CPU from 2005/6 to January 2008. This total number of victims was taken as a sampling frame and a sample of 32 victim children, 25 female and 7 male were selected using purposive sampling method. A questionnaire was used in order to collect the necessary information from respondents. The victim children were contacted through the help of Yekka Sub-city CPU workers.

In- depth Interviews

Describing child-centered research techniques, Wayness (2006:45) stated, "Conversational techniques are central to a qualitative approach, for they highlight the respondents' understanding of themselves and their social world." Merriam (1988; in Meron, 2006:36) also stated, "This format allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging world view of the respondents, and new ideas on the topic." Therefore, open ended questions were prepared in order to allow the interviewees to express themselves more freely.

Interview guide was used and the interviews were tape recorded after the consent of the participants was secured. In cases when the children were too young or too shy to speak, parents (guardians) were involved to describe the incidents. All the interviews were

conducted in a flexible manner. The interviews verbatim were immediately transcribed while the researcher was in fresh memory. Field notes were also taken in the process.

The interviewed victims and their parents (guardians) were contacted through the help of Yekka Sub-city CPU workers and professionals from some NGOs.

Focus Group Discussion

This method is found to be valuable so as to triangulate and exhaust disputable issues. Information was also gathered through FGD with the concerned bodies such as workers of child protection units, the policemen, community members and some parents of the victim children. In describing its advantage, Flick (2002; in Meron, 2006:37) stated, "In FGD corrections by the group concerning views that are not correct, not socially share or extreme are available as means for validating statements and views." In this study three FGDs were conducted using FGD checklist. The main points of the discussion include the major contributing factors to the sexual abuse of children, the societal views towards victim children, and reasons for under reporting of sexual abuses.

Cases studies/Life histories

Case histories from sexually abused children help us to know much about the problem. Emphasizing its importance, Yin (1984:23) stated, "case study research excels as bringing us to an understanding of a complex issue or object and can extend experience or add strength to what is already known through previous research". Therefore, Cases of eleven children, 8 females and 3 males were presented. These cases were selected from the major types of sexual abuses. This information shades light on the contributing factors to the sexual abuse of children.

1.12 Procedure of Data Collection

Two stages of data collection procedures were followed.

Pilot Study

In the first stage of the study the necessary interview guides, questionnaires, and FGD checklists were prepared. Then the researcher carried out a pilot study with two victim children, one incestuously abused girl and a boy who experienced anal insertion. The guides and checklists were later developed and translated into Amharic for the purpose of safe and easy communication. Some professionals were also consulted in order to share their knowledge on the topic.

Main Study

The researcher had prior awareness that many of the sexual abuse cases are found in the police files. Accordingly, in order to have access to the various sources of information, the researcher first went to Addis Ababa Police Commission and secured permission. Then different individuals from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU and Yekka Sub-city CPU were contacted.

Through the assistance from Yekka Sub-city CPU workers the victim children and their parents (guardians) were contacted. The sampling method used to select victim children was purposive. The children and their parents (guardians) were asked if they were willing to participate in the study. The in-depth interviews were conducted with their full consent. The CPU workers also showed their willingness to participate as key informants.

Individuals from different NGOs were also contacted in order to use them as key informants for the study. The NGOs include IFSO, ACPF, CHAD-ET, OPRIFS, EWLA, ANPPCAN, and Organization against Gender Based Violence. These NGOs provided the researcher with secondary data related to the topic of the study. Some of them also helped the researcher to get victim children for in-depth interview. Some professionals of these NGOs participated in the FGDs.

Close rapport had been established with all participants of the study before the interviews and FGDs were conducted. In the interviews and FGDs process, field notes were also taken.

The questionnaire was distributed to the victim children and was later collected by the researcher.

The data collection process took a total of two and half months. Finally, the collected data was prepared for analysis.

1.13 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Generally, descriptive statistics were used for the analysis of the quantitative data.

The qualitative data obtained through in-depth interviews and FGDs were first transcribed and translated in to English. The shorthand jottings in the field notes were also converted to full field notes. After repeated reading the data were prepared and organized. Finally, the data were analyzed using thematic analysis method and triangulation technique.

1.14 Ethical Considerations

Since the topic is sensitive, the issue of ethics must come in to consideration. Before any step of primary data collection, the researcher secured the consent of all the participants of the study. Firstly, research objectives were articulated verbally and in written form to the participants. Secondly, the participants were asked if the researcher could tape record the interviews. Hand writing method was used for those who were not willing to be tape recorded. The interviews were also conducted in places where the participants wanted to be interviewed. Finally, pseudonyms were used for the presented case histories so as to protect and respect the privacy of the victim children and their families.

1.15 Challenges

The researcher has experienced some challenges throughout the field work. One of these challenges was finding sexually abused children. This is due to the fact that the topic of the research is sensitive. Some parents (guardians) were not interested to allow their children to participate in the research. Some NGOs also showed reluctance to allow the children in their safe house to participate in the interview. The other challenge was that due to busy working hours and meetings it was difficult to contact some key informants and FGD participants on time. Sometimes the researcher had to rearrange appointments for key informants and FGD participants.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Literature

2.1 Definition of Child Sexual Abuse

Richter et al. (2004:58) emphasized the importance of definitions. According to these authors, too narrow definitions may deflate figures of incidence and prevalence. They also restrict clear understanding of the problem. On the other hand, too broad definitions may inflate figures of incidence and prevalence and also spoil our understanding of the problem.

There is an agreement among some researchers that the use of different definitions create difficulty on interpreting and comparing various research findings on child sexual abuse. Having pointed out lack of agreement on its definition, Milner (1998; in Richter et al., 2004:58) tried to distinguish between contact and non-contact child sexual abuse. According to Milner, contact sexual abuse is where there is physical contact between the abuser and the abused. It is a kind of non-genital and genital touching as well as vaginal and/ or anal sexual intercourse. On the other hand, non-contact sexual abuse may include exhibitionism and exposing children to pornography or prostitution.

The Federal Ministry of Health (2008:14) also divided child sexual abuse into penetrative and non-penetrative. Exhibitionism, fondling, use or exposure to pornography and solicitation to engage in sexual activity are non-penetrative acts. Similarly, Costin et al. (1996:5) explained non-contact sexual abuse as pornographic photographing of a child involved in sexual acts as well as permitting or encouraging a child to engage in offenses against public morality.

Some writers defined child sexual abuse in relation to consent. According to Taylor and Stewart (1991:211), children cannot consent because they do not really know what sex is. Moreover, they do not have the power to say 'no'. Young children cannot experience sexual feeling in the same way that an adult does because of sexual immaturity. Even children who are engaged in sexual activity cannot understand what the adult get out of it. On the other hand children are socialized to respect and obey their elders so they may feel that they cannot say 'no' to an adult. Children are also dependent on adults for so many

things and due to this dependency they are not free to say 'no' to the adult. Adults also have the power and authority to make the children obey. Driver and Droisen (1989:4) also stated that lack of knowledge and experience as well as legal or psychological freedom on the part of the children prevent them from refusing consent. The Federal Ministry of Health (2008:13) stated, "Even if the minor was agreeing to the act, she/he cannot legally consent due to her/his age."

Therefore, all the above explanations on consent lead us to the definition of child sexual abuse as "Any sexual activity with a child irrespective of the consent of the child" (Finkelhor, 1979). Tomison (1995, cited in Richter et al, 2004) put Kempe and Kempe's definition of child sexual abuse as "The involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities which they do not fully comprehend, are unable to give informed consent to and that violate social taboos of family roles."

Many authors defined child sexual abuse as a sexual contact between an adult and a sexually immature child. For instance, Taylor and Stewart (1991:200) stated that "child sexual abuse is when someone bigger or older than the child encourages the child to engage in sexual activity." On the other hand, some literatures indicate that the sexual abuse of children by each other is treated as unimportant. For example, Driver and Droisen (1989:6) indicated that boys under fifteen are found to be abusers of small children. Sometimes very young boys may abuse not only children but also adult women.

2.2 Different Forms of Child Sexual Abuse

Rape

Rape has two forms. The two forms of rape, according to Flowers (1986:77), are statutory rape and forcible rape. Statutory rape is a kind of sexual intercourse between an adult and a child below the age of 16 or 18 through the 'consent' of the child. On the other hand, forcible rape of children is a sexual intercourse between an adult and a child through the use of force. The most important characteristic feature of forcible rape is that most rapists as well as victims are young.

Original (1996:35) has put the following explanation concerning rape:

Rape is believed to be increasing all over the world. It is considered a shame to the victim and rarely reported. Sometimes when an adult girl is raped it is said, 'she asked for it.' But when it comes to children that justification cannot apply and the shock should reverberate. The debates about 'resistance' or 'consent' on the part of older victims do not serve for children. Hence rape against a child is one of the most heinous crimes that one can imagine. It is believed that the primary objective of rape is to humiliate and subjugate the victim thus bolstering the feelings of 'power, superiority and masculinity of the offender.' Others blame it on pornography, while young boys consider it as an adventure they want to practice.

According to the Federal Ministry of Health (2008:13) rape in general can be any act of non-consensual sexual intercourse (penis-vagina or penis-anus). With regard to the behavior of perpetrators, The Lutheran World Federation (1987:23) stated, "psychological tests of known rapists show no different personality traits from other men except for an inability to control anger." The overwhelming majority of rapes are of a male upon a female; a few are of a female upon a male. Rape also can be homosexual, which is by a member of one sex upon the same sex (Ronald and Juliette, 1982:45).

Incest

The word incest derives from the Latin word 'Incestum' meaning haste and low (Flowers, 1986:8). According to Encyclopedia Britannica, incest is divided into parental incest and sibling incest. Parental incest is a type of sexual abuse offended by parents of either sex on children of either sex. Sibling incest is a kind of consensual sexual intercourse between brothers and sisters of the same age. In connection to parental incest, Prendergast (1993:31) stated, "In parental incest the main characteristic is that due to their biological connection, the offender(s) develops a perception that he/she owns the children and that the child/children owe him/her something in return for bringing them into the world, feeding and clothing them, etc. By their realizations, the abuser therefore has a natural right to use them in any way he/she chooses, including sexually."

Some defined incest in terms of power relation. For examples, The Lutheran World Federation (1987:21) defined incest as "a sexual act perpetrated by an adult against a child who is dependent and lives under the power and control of the adult." However, many writers defined incest in terms of blood relation. According to the African Child Policy Forum (2006:13), incest is the type of sexual abuse perpetrated against girls

younger than 18 years by closely related family members. Boston Women's Health Collective (1989:177; in Taylor and Stewart, 1991:202) also stated, "Most sexual abuse of children within the family is incestuous and involves older male relatives and young female children, in families of every class and color."

Incest is said to have been the most under reported form of child sexual abuse. According to ACPF (2006:14), "it is difficult to determine its prevalence particularly in African families. Incestuous abuse goes unreported due to the relation between the perpetrator and the victim and the concern of parents and other family members to protect the honor of the family rather than protecting the right of the victim."

Child Pornography

Flowers (1986:82) defined child pornography often called "Kiddies porn" and "Chicken porn" as "photographs, films, books, magazines, and motion pictures that depict children under a certain age (primarily under age 16) involved in sexual explicit acts, both homosexual and heterosexual, with one another or with adults."

According to Finkelhor (1986:8), changes in sexual attitudes and behaviors have contributed to the problem of sexual abuse. Earlier taboos of sexual acts have been eroded partly due to the availability of popular pornography. In Finkelhor's words, "The world of pornography always needs new frontiers to conquer to promote new sales. This medium has been quick to exploit the theme of sex with children."

There is consensus among many scholars that the sexual abuse of children is assisted by pornography. The perpetrator shows pornographic films or photos to the child either before or during the assault in order to initiate the child for such activity. Children who live in a house where pornography is widely used are not safe from sexual abuse (Driver and Droisen, 1989:191).

A study by Getnet (2008:71) indicated that there is an increasing demand for watching pornographic video films in Addis Ababa. The study further suggested that the number of underground video houses is increasing in different corners of Addis Ababa. These pornographic videos are readily available and even children are involved in selling these films and other pornographic materials. Baker (1992; in Schwarth and Dekerdy,

1997:85) stated, "Pornography tells men that women secretly enjoy rape.... The constant repetition of false information is a key part in the maintenance of any oppression: the more it is repeated, the larger the number of people (even in the oppressed group itself) who are likely to come to believe it is true."

With regard to the production and distribution of pornographic materials, Richter et al. (2004:147) wrote the following:

At the time of their study, Maree and Vander Marwe discovered about one million Internet users in Africa. According to these researchers, there were 80,000 pornographic sites on the net, with 200 more being set up everyday. Some of these sites contain child pornography and also facilitate ongoing commercial sexual exploitation of children. They also wrote that there is clear evidence of child sex being arranged over the Internet.

Pedophilia

Flowers (1986:76) and Driver and Droisen (1989:13) stated that pedophilia, also known as child molestation, is a term used to describe circumstances in which men preferred children for sex rather than adults. According to Flowers, it is the most common form of sexual abuse which also includes non-violent sexual contact between an adult and a child. This form of sexual abuse may consist of genital viewing or fondling, orogenital contact, penetration, and any other immoral or indecent behavior using the sexual parts or organs of children. Richter et al. (2004:30) also stated, "Children are frequently drawn into and maintained in quasi-egalitarian sexual acts with pedophiles through a combination of enticement and threat."

In the 1970's there was a group of pedophiles in Britain that campaigned for the right of adult men to have sex with children. Later on, the group changed direction and instead of campaigning for the right of adult men to have sex with children, it campaigned for the right of children to have sex with adult pedophiles (Driver and Drosen, 1989:14).

Exhibitionism

"Exhibitionism refers to the intentional, inappropriate exposure of male genital to either a woman or child. Children are also victims of this form of sexual abuse. It most frequently happens in places such as parks, streets, theaters, etc. However, when a child is the

exhibitionist's target, the act of exposure most frequently occurs in or near schools and/or playgrounds and in cars" (Flowers, 1986:80).

Abduction

The dictionary definition of abduction, according to Andargachew (1996:10), is an "unlawful carrying away of a woman for marriage or immoral intercourse. The word kidnapping or capture is sometimes used interchangeably with abduction." Studies by Original (1996:38) and Andargachew (1996:12) associated abduction with rape because in most cases abduction is followed by rape.

There are various reasons for abducting a young girl. One is when the girl's parents refuse to betroth their daughter to the young person who would like to marry her. Secondly, when parents decide to give their daughter in marriage to someone else and the girl shows preference to another person she later abducts her. Thirdly, when a girl has a lover but she knows that her parents decide to give her in marriage to someone else, she suggests to her lover that she would like to elope with him so that he abducts her. Finally, abduction occurs when the parents of a would be husband cannot arrange a marriage feast. The person who abducts the girl may rape her in the process (Andargachew, 1996:12).

Child Marriage

Child marriage is also considered as a form of child sexual abuse because there are instances at which the child brides are victimized. In most cases child brides perform sexual intercourse when they would be old enough for sex. Commonly, child brides stay with their parents until they would be physically mature for sexual intercourse. However, in cases where the girl is sent to live with a would be husband before she reach puberty, there might be a risk of some kind of sexual abuse (Taylor and Stewart, 1991: 205).

Original (1996:35) also stated that child brides may sometimes become wives of polygamous men and suffer. These brides who are not ready for marriage face medical problems or runaway to big cities and become prostitutes. There are also parents who give their daughters to wealthiest persons due to a system of dowry. Girls are also given in marriage as a payment of debt.

Child Sex Tourism and Child Prostitution

A study by Getnet (2008: 73) indicated that there are individuals who connect young girls with foreign visitors. Most of these individuals are taxi drivers and brokers who are engaged in giving services for foreign visitors. They are also very close to many child prostitutes. In connecting attractive girls with foreign tourists, they generate good amount of money from sex tourists and the girls as well. UNICEF (2001: 11) stated that boys are also targets of sex tourists in many parts of the world.

Child prostitution is also a form of child sexual abuse. "In developing countries it may be partly associated with the growth of tourism. Developing nations such as Thailand, Sirilanka, Philippines, and India have the largest incidence of child prostitution" (Tedla, 1996:59).

Flowers (1986: 80) defined child prostitution as "the use of or participation by children under the age of majority (usually age 16) in sexual acts with adults or other minors where no force is present." According to Flowers, child prostitution differs from statutory rape and incest in that it involves payment, usually in money as well as enticements to the child or the child's pimp. Flowers further stated that even children who are too young are occasionally sold by parents who are involved in sex-for-sell industry.

With regard to the factors that force children into prostitution, Flowers (1986: 81) wrote that many children leave home because of violence, abuse, neglect, loneliness and lack of attention. Richter et al (2004: 145) also stated that the high proportions of children involved in prostitution have sexually and physically abusive backgrounds. Although many authors broadly defined child prostitution, others identified some problems with the definitions. For example Richter et al. (2004: 147) stated:

Many children who are sexually abused by members of their family do not disclose the abuse or flee from their home precisely because they fear losing the protection and resources associated with their home and family. In an overly broad approach, this could also be viewed as a form of commercial sexual exploitation, as could girls who agree to have sex with teachers to have their outstanding school fees ignored.

2.3 Factors Contributing to the Sexual Abuse of Children

2.3.1 Socio-cultural Factors

Finkelhor (1984:25) stated that the characteristic of the child's parents is strongly associated with child sexual abuse. According to Finkelhor, girls with step fathers are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than those who live with biological fathers. These girls are victimized not only by their step fathers but also by someone else because they get little or no care from their step fathers.

Girls whose mothers are absent or unavailable are also highly vulnerable to sexual abuse. Finkelhor further stated that mothers play a pivotal role in the protection of daughters. Girls whose natural mothers are distant have many unmet emotional needs. They are at higher risk partly due to a lack of adequate supervision. Such girls are more susceptible to the ploys of a perpetrator. Mothers are also important in teaching sexual matters to their children. In line with this, Finkelhor (1984: 27) stated, "Victimized girls were much more likely to have mothers who were punitive about sexual matters. These mothers warned, scolded and punished their daughters for asking sex questions, for masturbating, and for looking at sexual pictures much more often than usual."

The failure of parents in openly discussing sexuality with their children also put the children at risk. Studies (Finkelhor, 1984) and Debebe (2007:36) indicated that only very few parents discuss sexuality with their children. Lack of awareness on sexual matters is the riskiest factor that lay the ground for the victimization of children. In some cultures discussing sexuality is prohibited. For example, Getnet (2007:2) stated, "In the context of the Ethiopian socio-cultural system, it seems that even talking openly about heterosexuality is a social taboo, let alone male sexual abuse."

Richter et al. (2004:103) emphasized patriarchal structure of society as contributory factor for child sexual abuse:

Patriarchy leads to the subordination of women causing the historical patterns of systematic violence directed against females. Although feminist expositions vary, they have a central unifying factor that violence against women and children is about male control over women. When attempting to understand child sexual abuse, it is important to explore its connections with the everyday sexism, which

is embedded in the patriarchal structure of society and ensures that the experiences of women and girl children are silenced and made invisible. The root of adult patriarchy lies in child socialization practices. For example, boys learn that it is socially approved to control and to be masculine, while girls are implicitly thought and learn to accept gender-based inequality as normal. Moreover, the language used for girl children encourages feelings of inferiority and submission. Studies show that the kind of socialization girls and boys undergo during childhood contributes to maintaining gender inequality and abuse.

Another issue related to socialization and child rearing practices, according to Richter et al. (2004), is that of children's silence. Children are culturally thought to obey and respect their elders. Therefore, they do not report when they are abused by adults because they may be punished. If the perpetrator is a member of the family and most often a breadwinner for the family, children never tell their abuses because they may lose economic provision. Under this situation, the sexual abuse may continue for a long period of time. Therefore, children's socialization into obedience and silence may contribute to their violence.

Changes in sexual attitudes and behaviors from time to time also contribute to the problem. Finkelhor (1984:8) argued that these changes have aggravated the problem but are less likely to create it. According to him, traditional and externalized controls over sexual behavior are eroded by the newly emerging sexual attitudes. In Finkelhor's words, "Forces such as the religion, parental authority, and tradition no longer have as much norms as in the past. One result has been that many people are confused about the state of sexual norms. What are permissible and what are taboos types of sexual behavior? Standards are unclear and in flux."

Studies by Getnet (2008:4) and The African Child Policy Forum (2006:8) indicated that some cultural practices also contribute to the sexual abuse of children. Traditional practices such as child marriage and FGM increase the number of runaways who migrate from rural areas to urban centers in order to escape such cultural practices. These children become highly vulnerable to sexual abuse after they join city life in search of a job. According to ACPF (2006:8), "Early and often forced marriages, the payment of a bride

price and polygamy are all synonymous with violence against girls, who are reduced to sub-human assets belonging to men."

The only available employment opportunity for young girls who migrate from rural areas to urban centers is domestic work. Girls who are employed as house maids are highly vulnerable to sexual abuse which is perpetrated by male house hold head of the family or their male children (Getnet, 2008:3).

Traditional beliefs, myths and cultural norms in some cultures also expose children to sexual abuse. For instance, the belief that sexual intercourse with a young girl can cure HIV/AIDS has led to an increase in cases of sexual violence against girls in some parts of Africa (ACPF, 2006:8).

2.3.2 Economic Factors

In fact poverty and poor socio economic conditions are not absolute causative factors for child sexual abuse; however, their contribution to the prevalence of sexual abuse is very clear. For example, ACPF (2006:12) stated, "Poverty does create the conditions of helplessness, lawlessness and vulnerability that provide a perfect climate for violence against children."

Many children are separated from their parents because of the increasing rate of divorce particularly in the urban areas. Family break down which is partly a result of deepening poverty forces children to live with single parent families or their non-biological parents that cause lack of basic parental love and protection which make them easy targets of sex offenders. Children from broken families are also vulnerable to streets which exposes both girl and boy children to different forms of sexual abuse. There are instances by which girls from broken families are employed as housemaids. In such cases the girls may receive sexual requests from brokers. Even they are exposed to sexual abuse by their employers due to hierarchical nature of relationship between housemaids and employers (Getnet, 2008:28)

Another link between poverty and sexual abuse is that poor families are forced to live in overcrowded conditions. Dawes (2000; in Richter et al., 2004:71) stated, "Over crowding limits the possibility of separation between sexualized adults or teenagers and children.

Additionally, in these situations, co-sleeping is often necessary and may provide additional opportunities for sexual abuse." Debebe (2007:61) also put the assumption that if opposite sexes live in congested setting and share the same bed, the situation creates opportunity for the perpetrator to commit sexual abuse.

Children who are engaged in riskiest jobs due to deepening poverty are vulnerable to rape because in most cases these children stay out late or travel very early for hawking (Richter et al., 2004:135). These authors further stated that poverty also forces parents to leave alone their children for long periods so as to attempt to secure some income for the family. Children whose parents are away from home mostly spend as much time as possible away. Both these conditions increase children's vulnerability in the neighborhood. Also many children do not attend school and spent most of their time outside the school compound due to the inability of parents to pay school fees and provide schooling materials for their children. This situation also contributes to children's vulnerability to sexual abuse.

Generally, poverty forces parents to go and work for longer period of time away from their children. It also contributes to family breakdown which in turn Push children to engage in riskiest jobs such as domestic maid, street vending, prostitution, etc. All these conditions contribute to the prevalence of child sexual abuse.

2.4 Child Sex Offenders

In the majority of cases, sexual abuse is perpetrated against girls and boys by male (Kelly, 1998:60). Very few women are identified as abusers of children. With regard to women perpetrators, Driver and Droisen (1989:9) Stated, "Women rarely abuse children and yet, in the few cases that have come to light, public outrage against female abusers reflects society's contradictory expectations of women." These authors also stated that in some instances the mother over stimulates a male child in the absence of the father from the family.

Young boys are also found to be abusers of small children. However, the abuse of children by each other has been treated by many researchers as unimportant (Driver and Droisen, 1989:6). These writers further indicated that boys may assault not only children, but adult women that include even their mothers when the boys grow older.

Many literatures indicated that most children are sexually abused by intimate adults such as parents, relatives, lodgers, neighbors and other adults responsible for the care of the children (Flowers, 1986:75; Finkelhor, 1984:4; Kelly, 1988:60; Richter et al, 2004:101). In a survey study in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, ACPF (2006:59) indicated that 35% of the rapes against girls were perpetrated by immediate family members or another male relative.

Other than family members and neighbors, children are also at risk by trusted individuals such as teachers, doctors, baby sitters, priests or other men in authority they trust. These individuals as well as family members and relatives are usually trusted persons in a position of authority over the child. Trust and authority create opportunity for them to be alone with the child and to persuade or force the child to agree for sexual activity (Taylor and Stewart, 1991:208; Richter et al., 2004:101).

Finkelhor (1984: 7) stated that children who live with a step father or mother's boyfriend are at higher risk than those who live with their natural father. Children's Vulnerability to sexual abuse may have increased these days due to their exposure to more step fathers, mother's lovers and boyfriends as a result of increasing number of divorce and re coupling.

The vulnerability of children to strangers is much less than the persons known to them. In line with this the Boston Women's Health Collective (1989: 168 cited in Taylor and Stewart, 1991:202) stated, "Despite popular myth, ' Stranger danger' pose much less threat to children. Yet parents teach children to expect danger from strangers, not from trusted authority figures, and the violation of this trust is often confusing and frightening."

With regard to the employment status of perpetrators, Original and et al (2004:157 cited in Save the Children Sweden, 2006:18) stated that the majority of perpetrators are jobless and those attending secondary school. According to Save the Children Sweden (2006,13), "low income earners with lower educational level for their being unaware of the consequences of their acts and lower moral standing are in the highest category of offenders." Kelly (1988:60) also stated that the poorest and most affluent groups are among the highest perpetrators of children.

The other important issue is the way perpetrators use to subdue children or make them to cooperate for sexual activity. According to Getnet (2008: 31), the most frequent mechanisms used by child offenders to abuse children include deception, invitation to recreational places, gifts and other material offers, using force, threatening, using power, and snatching properties. Sometimes perpetrators also use friends or intermediaries to subdue young girls for sexual intercourse. Taylor and Stewart (1991:198) also indicated that the perpetrator might simply abuse his power over the child, or the child's trust, love, need for affection and approval, or innocence of sexual matters. With regard to the strategies used by perpetrators, London Rape Crisis Center (1984: 91; in Taylor and Stewart, 1991:2008) stated, "Like all men who rape women, men who sexually assault girls do not do so out of some sudden uncontrollable sexual desire. They plan in advance what they are going to do, and when the opportunity arises they carry out their plan. They normally do it while the girls' mother is away, say in hospital, or on shift work, while they are left in sole care of the girl."

2.5 Reasons for under Reporting of Child Sexual Abuse

As far as reporting sexual abuses is concerned, the survey study in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda by ACPF (2006:60) indicated that 83.6 percent of the girls in Ethiopia did not report their abuses to anyone. "In the small number of cases where the incident was reported, the girls usually told siblings, relatives or friends. In very few cases was the incident reported to the police."

The main reason for under reporting of sexual abuses, as indicated by some studies (Elliot et al., 1995:590; in Cossins, 2000:201; Richter et al., 2004:66; Taylor and Stewart, 1991:212), is the action taken by perpetrators. Perpetrators also use different mechanisms after they abuse children so as to keep the children from reporting their abuses. According to Nyandiyi-Bundy (1986:2; in Taylor and Stewart, 1991: 198), adult men who sexually abuse children give rewards of sweets, pocket money or threats of violence to keep the secret guarded. In such cases the sexual abuse may continue for a long time and if identified it is through STD or in the resulting pregnancy.

The other reason which allows the sexual abuse of children to stay hidden is the unconscious fright by parents. The fright is out of the interest to keep the very foundation

CHAPTER THREE

Characteristics of Victim Children and Factors Contributing to Child Sexual Abuse

In this chapter the characteristics of victim children like sex and age composition, family characteristics as well as the factors contributing to the sexual abuse of children will be presented and thematically analyzed based on the data collected from the field and from Addis Ababa Police Commission records.

3.1 Characteristics of Victim Children

3.1.1 Sex of Victim Children

In this section attempt is made to show the prevalence of child sexual abuse and which sex is the most vulnerable. According to the data from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU, the total number of female victims compared with the male shows that sexual abuse is more a problem of female children than male children.

Table 1: Sex of Victim Children by Year

Sub-city	1998(2005/06)		1999(2006/07)		2000(2007/08)		2001(2008/09) half year		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Addis K.	6	72	10	58	11	92	6	26	281
Arada	2	34	11	22	2	35	3	21	130
Yeka	6	60	3	59	2	82	4	25	241
Kolfé K.	1	81	3	112	4	70	1	12	284
Akaki K.	-	21	3	26	2	26	1	11	90
Gulele	3	34	7	67	6	91	4	37	249
Bole	1	26	2	44	3	78	2	24	180
Lideta	2	31	3	26	14	39	3	27	145
Nifasilk L.	1	30	1	44	4	45	1	18	144
Kirkos	11	60	11	48	14	71	2	21	382
Total	33	449	54	506	62	629	27	222	1982

Source: Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU

Taking the total number of victim children for each statistical year, the highest figure (691) is recorded in 2000 (2007/08). The next high number of victims is recorded in the year 1999 (2006/07) which is 560. The figure for the year 1998 (2005/06) seems to be almost similar to that of 2001 (2008/09) if the complete figure for this year is expected to be double.

The same is true if we separately compare the figure for male victims and female victims for each statistical year. The highest figure (629) is again recorded in 2000 (2007/08) followed by 1999(2006/07). The number of female victims in 2001 (2008/09) is almost closer to that of 1998 (2005/06).

The table also shows that the number of victim children is in an increasing rate for both sexes except for the year 2001 (2008/09). Because the data for this year is not complete, we cannot tell whether the number of victims will be higher or lower than other statistical years. The number of male victims in 1999 (2006/07) increased by 21 cases (38.9%) from 1998 (2005/06). The number of female victims is also increased by 57 cases (11.3%). Comparing the number of male victims in 1999 (2006/07) to that of 2000 (2007/08), the number of victims for 2000 (2007/08) increased by 8 cases (12.9%). The number of female victims also increased in 2000 (2007/08) by 123 cases (19.5%). However, when we compare the data of 2000 (2007/08) with a half year data of 2001 (2008/09), assuming that the complete data for this year will make double; the number of victims in 2001 (2008/09) is lower.

In terms of sub-cities distribution in 1998 (2005/06), the highest number of victim children is recorded in Kolfe Keraneo which is 82 cases (17%). Addis Ketema ranked second by 78 cases (16.2%). Kirkos follows Addis Ketema by 71 cases (14.7%). The lowest number of cases is reported in Akaki Kaliti in 1998 (2005/06) which is 21 (4.3%). Regarding the highest number of female victims the same pattern is observed i.e Kolfe Keranio ranked first and Addis Ketema second while the figure for Yekka is similar to that of Kirkos which is the third highest case. Regarding the number of male victims, Kirkos with 11 (33.3%) recorded the highest followed by Addis Ketema and Yekka each with 6 (18.2%) victims. The lowest case of male victims is recorded in Kolfe Keraneo, Bole and Nifas Silk Lafto each with 1 (3%).

In 1999 (2006/07) the highest number of cases of victim children was again reported to Kolfe Keraneo CPU which is 115 cases (20.5%) followed by Gulele 75 (13.2%) and Addis Ketema 68 (12.1%). The lowest case was reported by Arada which recorded 33 cases (5.9%). Regarding female victims, Kolfe Keraneo holds the first rank by 112 cases (22.1%). Yekka ranked second by 59 cases (11.7%) followed by Addis Ketema 58 (11.4%) of the cases. Arada with 22 (4.3%) is the lowest in female victims in 1999 (2006/07) followed by Akaki Kaliti and Lideta each with 26 (5.1%). In terms of male victims, Arada and Kirkos lead by 11 cases each (20.4%) followed by Addis Ketema 10 (18.5%) and Gulele 7(13%). The lowest number of male victims is that of Nifas Silk Lafto which is only 1.

The figure for 2000 (2007/08) is totally different for the sub-cities. In terms of total number of victim children, Addis Ketema took the lead from Kolfe Keraneo which was the leading sub-city for the years 1998 (2005/06) and 1999 (2006/07). In 2000 (2007/08), the total number of victim children in Addis Ketema is 103 (14.9%). Gulele ranked second by 97 children (14%) followed by Kirkos (12.3%). In terms of female victims, the ranking order is Addis Ketema, Gulele, and Yekka. This year also witnessed high number of male victims in Lideta and Kirkos sub-cities. Each of these sub-cities recorded 14 (22.6%) of the total male victims. Addis Ketema with 11 cases (17.7%) follows Lideta and Kirkos. The lowest number of male victims is reported to Arada, Yekka and Akaki Kaliti each with 2 cases.

The half year data of 2001 (2008/09) also tells us about the prevalence of sexual abuse of children. Within six months period, a total of 249 cases of victim children is recorded in the police files in Addis Ababa. The highest number of this is reported to Gulele sub-city CPU which is 41(16.5%) of the cases followed by Addis Ketema, Lideta, and Yekka which holds 12.8%, 12.% and 11.6% respectively. Regarding female victims, Gulele is the highest 37 (16.7%) and Akaki Kaliti is the lowest 11 (4.9%). Addis Ketema with 6 (22.2%) is the highest in male victims. Kolfe Keraneo, Akaki Kaliti and Nifas Silk Lafto are the lowest each with 1 (3.7%) male victims within six months of the year 2001(2008/09).

In the aggregate, the highest female victim is recorded in Kolfe Keraneo sub-city which is (15.2%) compared with the lowest number of victims in Akaki Kaliti (4.6%). On the other hand, the highest male victim is recorded in Kirkos Sub-city for all years which make up 21.6% of the total. Akaki Kaliti has the lowest (3.4%).

Female victims out number male victims, and one police officer from CPU stated the following:

Our society by in large is heterosexual and the sexual abuse of male children is a new phenomenon in the city. Moreover, female children are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than male children due to various socio economic and cultural factors. The reporting of abuses also differs between the two sexes. The abuses of girl children are better reported than that of boy children. This is because of the societal view on sexual matters. The abuse of a girl child is considered as 'normal' and that of a boy child as abnormal. If a male child is raped his parents consider it as if death happened to him. Even if the abused child is psychologically strong and wants to report the case to the police his parents prevent him from doing that. Male victims are also considered by the community as homosexuals.

The above observations and the qualitative results from other key informants reveal that the sexual abuses of male children are mostly under reported. According to Belay (2008:1), "The problem of sexual abuse and exploitation of boys in Ethiopia is denied, under reported, and in many cases it is considered a taboo." Sexual abuses of boys are not reported by parents on time due to fear of stigma and discrimination on their children. Those who even report the cases later do not follow up the case (Debebe, 2007:66). Generally, the data from Addis Ababa Police Commission shows that the sexual abuse of children is prevalent in the city.

3.1.2 Age of Victim Children

Data on age of victims is important to examine why a particular age group is more vulnerable to child sexual abuse than others. The data from the participants of this study

as well as from Addis Ababa Police Commission show that children between age 9 and 15 are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than other age groups.

Table 2: Age of Victim Children by Year

Sub-city	1998(2005/06)			1999(2006/07)			2000(2007/08)			2001(2008/09) half year			Total
	Under 9	9-15	16-18	Under 9	9-15	16-18	Under 9	9-15	16-18	Under 9	9-15	16-18	
Addis K.	9	41	28	11	23	34	32	34	37	7	14	11	281
Arada	5	13	18	6	13	14	2	9	26	1	15	8	130
Dekeba	19	26	21	5	37	21	17	34	33	5	15	9	241
Kolfe K.	16	23	43	23	39	53	11	28	35	2	9	2	284
Mekki K.	10	4	7	6	12	11	-	17	11	3	7	2	90
Gulele	11	10	16	15	29	30	16	38	43	14	14	13	249
Bole	12	8	7	8	20	17	11	48	22	4	14	8	180
Medija	9	17	7	5	11	13	21	20	12	8	17	5	145
Bole Silk	7	13	11	7	25	13	9	26	14	2	7	10	144
Bole K.	27	35	9	13	14	32	13	41	31	7	8	8	238
Total	125	190	167	99	223	238	132	295	264	53	120	76	1982

Source: Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU

Table 2 above shows which age group of children is mostly victimized. The table reveals that children within the age range of 9-15 are more vulnerable than other age categories. The number of victims under this age category is 190 (39.4%) for 1998 (2005/06), 223 (39.8%) for 1999 (2006/07), 295 (42.7%) for 2000 (2007/08) and 120 (48.2%) for the half year of 2001 (2008/09). There were also many victim children in the age range of 16-18. The inter sub-city distribution shows that the number of victim children in the age category of 9-15 is higher than other age groups in most of the sub-cities except for Arada, Kolfe Keraneo, and Gulele. In these sub-cities there were more victim children in the age category of 16-18 than other age groups. The number of victim children under age nine is less than other age groups.

Study participants also identified the age category of 10-14 as the mostly victimized group.

Table 3: Age of Victim Children by Level of Education

Educational Level	Age				Total	%
	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-18		
KG	1	3	-	-	4	12.5
1-4	-	8	10	-	18	56.3
5-8	-	-	5	5	10	31.2
Total	1	11	15	5	32	
%	3.1	34.4	46.9	15.6		100

Concerning education, the majority (56.3%) of the children were in the educational level category of 1-4 when the sexual abuse occurred to them. Those in the educational level category of 5-8 constitute 31.2%. The rest (12.5%) attended kindergarten. Table three also gives us information on the age of the sexually abused children. The percentage of children in the age category of 10-14 is (46.9%). Children aged between 5 and 9 ranked second by 34.4% followed by those between 15 and 18 which is 15.6% of the cases. The total percent of victim children who are below the age of 14 years is 84.4 %.

Researchers on sexual abuses of children came up with differing conclusions as to which age group of children is the most vulnerable. A study by Save the Children Sweden (2006:8) found out that the age category between 11 and 18 is the most vulnerable group while another study (Original et al., 2004:155; cited in Save the Children Sweden 2006:8) indicates that girls between 16 and 18 are highly vulnerable. On the other hand, Hailu (2007:45) maintains that female children between the age of 9 and 15 years are more vulnerable than other age brackets. Debebe (2007:33) also shows that male children in the age category of 10-14 years are highly vulnerable. Similarly, the quantitative data of this study show that children between age 9 and 15 were the most vulnerable. However, most of these studies may refer to the reported cases from the CPUs, courts or medical reports to come up with such results. In line with this, a key informant stated the following:

The cases of young girls between 16-18 years old are the most under reported. There is the view among our community that these girls are old enough for sexual intercourse. Therefore, their victimization is not well recognized by the community. The children themselves do not tell their abuses because they see it as normal. Even if they tell it is seen as if they 'consented' for it.

In connection to the above mentioned view, Finkelhor (1984:119) stated, "as children get to be 15 and 16 people see them capable of engaging in sexual activity with older partners under conditions of 'consent' without it automatically being a form of abuse." Richter et al (2004:135) also indicated that many young girls are sexually abused by 'consent' due to the rewards they get from the 'sugar daddies.'

In a concluding remark a key informant maintains that children below the age of 15 are highly vulnerable due to physical and mental immaturity and their trust for adults. But if the underreported cases are included young girls above 15 years are found to be the most vulnerable to sexual abuse.

3.1.3 Origin of Victim Children

Table 4: Victim Children by Place of Birth

Place of birth	Frequency	Percent
Addis Ababa	15	46.9
Outside Addis	17	53.1
Total	32	100

Table 4 indicates that the majority (53.1%) of the children were born outside the capital while the origin of 46.9 % of the children is Addis Ababa. It is obvious that these children came to Addis Ababa due to various socio-economic reasons.

During the in-depth interview, the victim children put three reasons for their coming to Addis Ababa. One reason was that some of the biological parents of the children are not alive. The second reason for rural-urban migration of the children was that some of the parents are separated. Thirdly, some of the children came to Addis Ababa because their

parents are very poor. All these situations forced the children to join city life. These points are further strengthened by one FGD participant, a police officer:

Children migrate from rural to urban areas due to socio economic and cultural factors. These children are encouraged by individuals (mostly relatives) to join city life. These relatives promise parents that they will send the children to school. However, they never send them to school. They use them as housemaids for themselves. Even if they allow them to attend school it is in the evening. Some relatives persuade the children to be employed as housemaids elsewhere but they take the salary for their personal use.

During the data collection period most victims told the researcher that they had been brought to Addis by their relatives either to live with them or to be employed as housemaids. Children who live outside their place of origin are found to be among the vulnerable groups. A number of studies proved this fact. For example, Getnet (2008:3) indicated that the situation of children migrating from rural areas to urban centers due to various reasons is challenging.

Case 1: Maregua

I was born in Gonder. I am eighteen years old now. I came to Addis in 2004 to live with my aunt because my parents are very poor. After some months stay with my aunt, she took me to someone's house to be employed as a babysitter. My employers allowed me to attend school in the evening. But one day they told me to drop out of school for the reason I don't know. I was sexually abused in September 2008 while I was looking for another job.

One afternoon I went to a broker's house. But he was not in the house. I met someone at the gate. He is a friend of the broker. I guess he was in his late thirties. He said to me, "what do you want?" I told him that I was looking for a job. He promised me that he would find me a good job. Then he took me to his house. As I entered the house, he immediately locked the door. When I asked him why he did it, he said to me, "Sit and take some rest. Then I will take you to the place where I can find you a job." I refused to sit

but he persuaded me. He also invited me to a cup of tea. Then he displayed a pornographic video. I told him to stop but he refused.

He asked me to have sex with him. I told him to let me out. He tried to deceive me saying that he would marry me if I consented for sex. But I refused. "Sit down," he shouted at me. I told him that I would shout unless he permitted me to go. He then threatened me by a small knife. He also ordered me to take off my clothes. I did so. He pulled down his pair of trousers and lay me on the bed. Then he raped me. When he stopped he gave me some tablets and I swallowed them. Finally, he gave me five birr and said, "Go home." I went to my employers and I told them what happened. They took me to a police station and I reported the case. Finally I went to the broker's house with two policemen and the perpetrator was arrested through the help of the broker.

3.2 Factors Contributing to Child Sexual Abuse

3.2.1 Familial Factors

The family plays pivotal role in protecting children from any kind of danger. Therefore, discussion on the family characteristics of the victim children enables us to understand the sexual abuse of children. Finkelhor (1984:25) stated that the characteristics of parents are strongly linked to the sexual victimization of children. The data at hand also complement this fact.

Table 5: Living Situation of Victim Children During the Abuse

Living situation	Frequency	Percent
With both biological parents	11	34.4
With biological mother alone	3	9.4
With biological father alone	1	3.1
With biological mother and step father	3	9.4
With biological father and step mother	1	3.1
Guardian who is a relative	10	31.2
With employer	2	6.3
On the street	1	3.1
Total	32	100

Children who lived with their biological parents when the abuse happened to them make up 34.4% of the responses. Those who lived with one of their biological parents account for 25%. There is also high percent of children who lived with guardian (s) who is a relative (31.2%). Those who lived with employers were 2(6.3%), and only 1 child lived on the street.

The living situation of children might put them at risk. According to Finkelhor (1984), children who live with their biological mother are less vulnerable to sexual abuse than children who live without their biological mother. The data on the living situation of the children in table 5 indicates that nearly 50% of the children had lived without their natural mother when the abuse happened to them. The qualitative information obtained from FGDs and various key informant interviews reveal that these types of children are at higher risk because they lack protection and adequate supervision. However, this does not necessarily mean that children who live with their natural mother are safe. Rather, it minimizes the risk of victimization.

Some mothers also bring opportunistic men into their houses. These men abuse children after they join the family. Finkelhor (1984:25) stated that children who live with their step father are among the most vulnerable groups. The reason is that step fathers are more abusive than biological fathers. Also stepfathers give little care for their daughters than biological fathers. Therefore, these children, according to Finkelhor, are victimized by someone not necessary their stepfather. During the interview with key informants, one police officer from CPU noted a case of ten years old girl who was raped by her step father as follows: "A man of fifty nine married to an old woman. His plan was to inherit the house of the woman after her death. The woman is a guardian of the girl. She brought her from the countryside. The man, the woman and the girl used to sleep in the same bed. This man finally raped the girl."

The level of education of parents of victim children is also an important factor. There is a strong assertion that the more educated the parents of the child, the less the vulnerability of the child. This is due to the fact that better educated parents or guardians are better in

caring for their children than those who are less educated (Finkelhor, 1984:27). The data obtained from the field also strongly complement this assertion.

Table 6: Educational Characteristics of Victim Children’s Parents

Educational characteristics	Frequency	Percent
Parent (s)/guardian (s) have no any kind of education	18	56.3
Both parents/guardians have primary education	4	12.5
Only male parent/guardian has primary education	3	9.4
Only female parent/guardian has primary education	2	6.2
Both parents/guardians have secondary education	2	6.2
Only male parent/guardian has secondary education	2	6.2
Only female parent/guardian has secondary education	1	56.3
Total	32	100

The educational characteristics of parents/guardians of victim children show that the majority (56.3%) have no any kind of education. Children whose parents/guardians have primary level of education account for 12.5%. Children who reported that one of the parents/guardians has primary level of education constitute 15.6%.

The issue of discussing sexuality with children is strongly associated with the level of education and awareness of parents. During the data collection process from the field, parents/guardians who responded that they had ever discussed sexuality with their children were found to be those who have some kind of education. The data from the field indicated that, only 9.4% of the families had ever discussed sexuality with their children. Finkelhor (1984) in his study of Boston families and Debebe (2007:36) in his study of male children sexual abuse in Addis Ababa also found out that few parents discuss sexuality with their children. In fact, poor or low level of education is not the only factor which prevents parents from discussing sexual matters with their children. Different reasons were forwarded by parents during the in-depth interviews. Some parents said that they never thought that their children would be sexually abused. With regard to this idea, one FGD participant stated the following:

Many people are not aware of the sexual abuse perpetrated on children. Even those who have the awareness understood it only as a problem of girl children. Some parents who came to the police to report the case of their victim girls blamed themselves of having girl children. But when we told them that male children are also victims of rape these parents were amazed.

The other reason forwarded by most of the parents was that they find it difficult to discuss sexuality with their children because of the tradition. A Study by Getnet (2007:2) indicated that in the Ethiopian tradition sexuality is not openly discussed because of the social taboo.

Children and their parents/guardians were asked if they have ever discussed sexuality in their home. The majority (90.6%) responded that they have never discussed sexuality at home. The frequency of parents/guardians who have discussed sexuality with their children is only 3(9.4%).

Another factor related to the victimization of children is the behavior of parents. During the in-depth interview most (37.5%) of the children told the researcher that their parents (guardians) neglect them. The qualitative information from FGD also confirms this idea. According to most participants of the FGD, children who have neglecting parents are vulnerable to sexual abuse. These parents do not follow up the day to day activities of their children. Debebe (2007) also found out in his study of male children's sexual abuse in Addis Ababa that there are quite a good number of neglecting parents. Although some parents neglect children due to lack of intimacy and partly related to economic reasons, there are parents who neglect their children while they are at home. Case number 2 below may support this view.

Case 2: Alehegn

Alehegn's mother was a child bride in Gojjam. She got married when she was seven. She began to live with her husband's family when she became thirteen. However, she quarreled with her husband due to his bad character. Finally, she run away and came to Addis. After she stayed with her sister for five years, she got married to her present husband who is a guard. They live in a small rented room in Ferensay Legasiyon. She

gave birth to Alehegn in 2005. Alehegn's mother tells what happened to her four year old child last December.

The man who raped my son is our neighbor. I guess he is a thirty two-year-old adult. He is mentally retarded. I took Alehegn to a nearby KG for registration. When we came back I had got sever headache. My land lady invited me to coffee. After the coffee I went home to take a rest. My son was playing at the court yard. I fall asleep. A man in our neighborhood took my son promising to buy him sweets. Then he took him to a nearby river. He raped and left him in the river. My land lady saw my son lay in the river while she threw garbage. She didn't realize that he was raped. She brought him home and woke me up. He was crying. She blamed me of not caring for him.

I asked him what happened. He kept crying. When I looked at his hands I found twenty five cents. I said to him. "Who gave you these cents?" He told me the name of the perpetrator. When I asked him why he cried he pointed to his buttock and kept calling the name of the perpetrator. When I took down his pair of trousers and looked at his anus I saw some semen. I was so afraid that my son would get HIV virus. I immediately washed his anus using soap and lemon.

I then went to the house of the perpetrator. He was not in the house. I met his older brother and I told him the case. He tried to persuade me not to tell anyone else. He also told me that the family would compensate for what had happened. I didn't agree with him. I went to the police station and reported the case. Two policemen came with me and put the perpetrator under arrest.

Children whose father is alcoholic are also identified as the vulnerable groups to sexual abuse. During the in-depth interview some victim children told the researcher that their fathers are alcoholic. As one councilor from IFSO stated, "some alcoholic fathers do not care for their children. Even these parents are found to be abusers of their own children." In connection to this, one police officer during the FGD noted the case of a girl who was raped by her own father due to his alcoholic behavior. "The girl was ten years old. She lived with her biological parents and her 12 year old brother. Her father always came in drunk and quarreled with her mother. After long patience the woman left the house.

Once, the man came in drunk as usual. Then he chased the twelve year old boy away from the house and raped the girl.”

The case of a girl who was repeatedly raped by her alcoholic father is presented below. It strengthens the idea that some alcoholic fathers may sexually abuse their own children.

Case 3: Birtukan

I was born in Jirru. I am twelve years old now. After the death of my mother I came to Addis Ababa with my father three years ago. My father was a beggar. I used to live with him in a plastic shelter near a church around Kotebe. I was sexually abused for the first time in 2005.

Once, my father came in drunk very late at night. I was waiting for him in the plastic shelter. He entered into it and lay next to me. Then he asked me if I wanted to eat. When I agreed he took some banana from a plastic bag and I ate them. He also gave me 'tella' and I drunk it. Then we slept. After few minutes my father began to touch me in a sexual manner. He also pulled the blanket off me and tried to take off my underwear. I said, "No, dad, please do not do that." He warned me to remain silent. I was so afraid I could not talk. He then pulled my legs and he lay on top of me so I could not breathe. I cried for him to stop but he kept saying "keep quiet or I will beat you." Finally he raped me. He woke up early in the morning and washed in my private parts and took me with him for begging. I was nine years old at that time.

Three years later, my father started another job. He became a daily laborer. He also rented a single room house with 35 birr. He got married to a woman. Every night he came drunk and beaten her up. Finally she left the house. My father married to many women but his marriage ends up with divorce because he quarreled with them when he took too much alcohol. After he divorced his last wife my father raped me for the second time in October 2008.

One night he came drunk as usual. I was in the house of my neighbor. He called me and asked me why I went there. I told him that I was so afraid to stay alone. He insulted me. He refused to eat dinner and slept without taking off his clothes. I ate my dinner and slept

next to him. In the midnight he took down his trousers and lay on top of me. I cried for him to stop. Our neighbor next door heard when I cried but she thought that he was punishing me. He raped me for the third time. He woke up early in the morning and said, "You must not tell anyone about this." Then he left the house. I locked the door and cried. A girl from our neighbor heard me and came. She said, "What is wrong with you. Why are you crying?" I told her everything because I decided not to live with my father. I planned to run away.

The girl told the case to her elder sister. They took me to the police station and I reported that. The policemen told me that they would put him under arrest. Then they took me to a rehabilitation center. Now my father is in jail.

The qualitative information from FGD also indicates that some measures taken by parents put children at risk. One FGD participant said, "Some children with alcoholic fathers are vulnerable to streets. Even at normal times parents chase away their children from their house as a punishment for showing bad discipline. Therefore, these children become more susceptible to the ploys of perpetrators."

3.2.2 Economic Factors

Different writers refer to poverty as a contributing factor to child sexual abuse. For example, Flowers (1984) and Richter et al. (2004) stated that the majority of child sexual abuse occurs in low income, low occupational and low educated families. The data obtained from participants of this study also strongly complement this assertion.

Table 7: Family Income of Victim Children

Monthly Income In Birr	Frequency	Percent
<400	15	46.9
401-600	7	21.9
601-800	6	18.7
>800	4	12.5
Total	32	100

The monthly income of the family of victim children helps to assess their economic situation. Therefore, during the data collection process, the parents (guardians) of the

victim children were asked to estimate the monthly income of their family. Accordingly, those who earn a monthly income of less than 400 birr constitute 46.9%. Another 21.9% lies under the income category of 401-600 birr per month. The families who fall under the income category of 601-800 birr per month account for 18.7% of the response. The rest (12.5%) earn more than 800 birr per month. In aggregate, those who earn a monthly income of less than or equal to 600 birr per month constitute 68.8% of the responses.

As indicated in table 7, most of the families fall in the lowest income category. Moreover, the qualitative data obtained from victim children and their parents indicate that most of the children's parents (guardians) have low paid jobs. These parents spend most of their time on work.

Finkelhor (1984:26) said, "Daughters of mothers who worked were not at higher risk, so it is not simply a matter of a mother's not being around the house." However, the data obtained from the field never confirm this assertion. On the other hand, Dawes (2002; cited in Richter et al. 2004) wrote, "children may be left alone for long periods due to the need for their parents to attempt to secure some income for the family usually away from home." Therefore, the data obtained from the participants of this study complement this idea. Most of the interviewed children responded that their parents (guardians) were on work when the children were sexually abused. The working condition of parents creates opportunity for perpetrators to abuse children. Getnet (2008:28) stated that girls with single mothers are insecure when their mothers are away from home in order to secure income.

Victim children and their parents were also asked to tell whether the parents were around during the abuse. Accordingly, 81.2% of the victims responded 'No' to the question. Only 18.8% of the parents of victim children were around when the children were abused.

The difficult working conditions of parents also contribute to the sexual abuse of children even if the parents take the children with them. In connection to this one FGD participant indicated the following:

I know the case of a recently raped child. She is eight years old and lives with her mother. They live by collecting firewood. Her mother used to

take the girl with her because the girl helped her mother in collecting firewood. Once while collecting firewood few distances away from her mother, someone gagged her mouth and raped her. Finally she became HIV positive.

Moreover, a key informant from IFSO noted a case of the mother whose children had been raped as follows:

The woman is a daily laborer. She has two daughters aged five and seven. A year ago she took them with her to wash clothes for someone who was a bachelor. While washing in the compound of the man, he took the children inside saying that they would watch TV with him. Then he performed oral, anal and vaginal sex to both of them and bathed them. At the end he warned them that they would be slaughtered if they told their abuse. Later, the mother identified the abuse and reported to the police.

A Study (Richter et al., 2004:135) indicated that children in poor families particularly those in deepening poverty may engage in risky activities. These children stay out late or travel very far for hawking. The data obtained from FGD and key informant interviews also complement this idea. One FGD participant stated, "Children from poor families spend most of their time on the street selling *kolo*, cigarettes, chewing gums and the like. These children can easily be deceived or kidnapped by perpetrators."

Children who migrate from rural areas to urban centers due to poverty, family breakdown and death of parents are also targets of perpetrators.

In relation to poverty, lack of facilities in the living places also contributes to the sexual abuse of children. During the in-depth interview with the victim children and their parents, two children told the researcher that they were raped in the neighborhood when they went to watch TV. Some living places particularly slum areas are also dangerous for children. The case of two girls presented below further illustrates this point.

Case 4: Melat and Beza

Melat, nine, and Beza, eight are sisters. They live with their grand parents at a place called Shola. Their grandfather is a guard. Their grandmother is a housewife. Melat is a

student of grade four and Beza is in grade three. The man who raped both of them was a guard in a kindergarten which is closer to their house. Their house is without a toilet. The family uses the toilet in the neighborhood. Members of the family have walk and pass through a KG where the perpetrator worked. Melat narrates what happened to her and her sister in 2007.

I was going to the toilet located some distances away from the KG. The guard who stood at the gate of the KG called me and took me into the guard room. He gave me a loaf of bread and stayed until I ate. Then he locked the guardroom and gagged my mouth. He lifted me to the bed. He pulled my clothes roughly and raped me. When he stopped he took an old pair of trousers and cleaned the blood from my private parts. The situation was so painful that I urinated on the bed. He took me down from the bed and said to me, "You must not tell anyone. If you tell, your father will kill you." He also promised to buy me sweets. Then I went home but I didn't disclose the abuse to anyone.

Another day, the man called me again and gave me biscuits. He then told me to play in the guardroom. I refused because I was so afraid that he would rape me again. He promised me he wouldn't. I tried to run away but he lifted me to the guardroom. When I shouted he gagged my mouth. He lay me on the bed and raped me for the second time. When he stopped he gave me one birr to buy sweets.

A week later my younger sister and I went to the toilet. He called both of us. He gave us sweets. He told me to wait at the gate and watch for people around. He took my sister into the guardroom and locked the door. After some minutes he opened the door and called me to join them. He gave us two birr to buy sweets. He said, "Don't tell anyone. It is shameful." He also promised to keep buying us sweets.

The man raped us many times. He raped us in the guardroom as well as in the class rooms. He also raped other children after buying them sweets. He hunted us while we went to the toilet which is located next to the KG. My sister and I were so afraid to tell our grandparents because they would beat us.

One afternoon, my aunt who lives with us saw the guard taking my younger sister to the guardroom. She was on her way to the toilet. She immediately entered into the KG and knocked at the door of the guardroom. When the guard opened the door she asked him

why he took her inside. He lied to her saying he was to play with her. My aunt didn't believe him. She brought my sister to our home and beaten her up. My younger sister told my aunt that the guard raped both of us. She slapped me at my face. In the mean time my grandfather came back from work. He asked my aunt why she had beaten us. She told him the case. Our grandfather also had beaten us with belt. He became nervous. He immediately took us to the police station and reported the case. We went to the KG with two policemen. They put the man under arrest.

Table 8: Housing Situation of Victim Children's Families by Family Size

Housing situation	Family Size								Total	
	1-3		4-6		7-9		10-12			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
One room	7	21.9	9	28.1	0	-	3	9.4	19	59.4
Two rooms	4	12.5	3	9.4	3	9.4	0	-	10	31.2
Three rooms	0	-	2	6.3	0	-	0	-	2	6.3
> Three rooms	1	3.1	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	3.1
Total	12	37.5	14	43.7	3	9.4	3	9.4	32	100

Information is also gathered on the housing situation of the children and their families. Accordingly, 59.4% of the children and their family members live in a single room housing unit, 31.2% in two rooms, and 6.3% in three rooms. There is only one family that lives in a housing unit with more than three rooms. The table also shows that 37.5% of the children have 1-3 persons in their family, 43.7% have 4-6 persons, 9.4% have 7-9 persons, and another 9.4% have 10-12 persons. Generally, those who have more than four persons in their family (37.5%) live in a housing unit with a single room.

The housing situation of the victim children's families and their sleeping arrangements were also concerns of this study. There is the assumption that sharing the same bed between male and female members of the family creates conditions for sexual abuse particularly incest. In fact, poor economic conditions forced most of the families of the victim children (59.4%) to live in a housing unit with a single room. However, of the three cases of incestuously abused girls only one girl shared a bed with her father (see

case 3). The other two girls did not share beds with the perpetrators (see case 7 and case 8). Therefore, although sharing the same bed creates conditions for incest, this does not necessarily mean that all cases of incest are as a result of living in a congested setting and sharing the same bed.

3.2.3 Socio-Cultural Factors

Richer et al. (2004:102); Getnet (2008:4); and The African Child Policy Forum (2006:2) show that some cultural practices such as early marriage, FGM and abduction are contributing factors for child sexual abuse. The qualitative information from the participants of this study also strongly compliments this view. The sexual abuse of children is associated with such cultural practices. In connection to this view, a key informant from Yekka Sub-City Police CPU stated the following:

Children, particularly young girls migrate to urban centers in order to escape such cultural practices. Most of these girls are welcomed by the brokers who deceive them to accept sexual requests. Moreover, many cases of girls who were raped by their employers were reported to the sub-city's CPU last year. On the other hand, early marriage also influences the reporting of the abuses. Some mothers who get married at an early age do not report when their children are raped. Experiencing sexual intercourse during childhood, these mothers take the abuse of their children as normal.

Table 9: The Time When the Abuse Was Known

Time when the abuse was known	Frequency	Percent
After six months	3	9.4
After three months	7	21.9
After two months	4	12.5
After one month	4	12.5
After a week	5	15.6
Immediately	9	28.1
Total	32	100

Different factors prevent children from reporting the abuse. According to most victim children, actions taken by perpetrators after the abuse, the socialization of the children and also some societal views towards victim children and their families kept them from immediately reporting the abuse. As indicated in table 9, only 28.1% of the children immediately reported their victimization. The other children (15.6%) reported the case after a week. Most of the children (56.3%) didn't tell the abuse for more than a month.

Another socio-cultural factor that contributes to the sexual abuse of children is the practice of socialization of the children. In line with this view, one police officer stated, "In our culture, children are socialized to be shy. This makes the sexual abuse of the children to stay hidden for a long period of time. Children are also socialized to simply accept what their elders tell them. Therefore, the perpetrators tell them to keep the secret guarded."

Table 10: Duration of the Sexual Abuse on the Children

Duration	Frequency	Percent
Only once	19	59.4
Repeated for less than a month	5	15.6
Repeated for less than three months	6	18.7
Repeated for less than six months	2	6.3
Total	32	100

Most of the children (59.4%) were sexually abused only once. The children who were abused repeatedly for a period of less than one month account for (15.6%). The rest of the children (25%) were sexually abused repeatedly for more than a month.

Finkelhor (1984:27) wrote, "A mother's importance may lie in the specifically sexual messages that she transmits to her daughter. Victimized girls were much more likely to have mothers who were punitive about sexual matters. These mothers warned, scolded, and punished their daughters for asking sex questions, for masturbating and for looking at sexual pictures much more often than usual." Although threat from the perpetrators took the upper hand, quite a good number of victim children during the in-depth interview said that they didn't report their abuses because they had felt shame about it. Due to this

reason children are raped repeatedly. One FGD participant suggested, “Mothers who are responsible for the socialization of their children should play a significant role in teaching sexual matters to their children.”

Most of the children who were interviewed responded that they were so afraid to tell their abuses because their parents (guardians) would beat them. A five year old girl’s case reported by a police officer from Yekka Sub-City Police CPU during FGD supports this fact:

One time a girl’s mother came to report to the police that the man who rented her house tortured her daughter. The police sent the girl to a clinic for treatment. But the doctors proved that the girl had been raped in addition to the torture. When the police asked the girl why she didn’t tell the rape to her mother she answered that her mother would beat her.

A key informant from IFSO also stated the following:

Most victim children do not tell their abuses directly to their family members. Some of the abuses are identified after the victim children faced medical problems such as bleeding, bad smell and psychological depression. These abuses are investigated mostly by parents, neighbors, teachers and doctors.

The above view is further illustrated in Table 11 presented below.

Table 11: Description of how the Abuse was Identified

How the abuse was identified	Frequency	Percent
After the child told to a friend or neighbor	13	40.6
Investigated by a family member	9	28.1
After medication	1	3.1
After the child directly told to a family member	6	18.7
Others	3	9.4
Total	32	100

Only small number of the children (18.7%) directly reported the case to their family members. In most cases (40.6%), children preferred to tell their abuse to friends or neighbors. Abuses that were indirectly investigated by family members constitute 28.1% of the cases. In the category of 'others' (abuses that were directly observed by passers by), there is 9.5% of the cases. The rest of the abuse (3.1%) was identified after the child was taken to a medical center because a symptom of sickness was observed by a parent. Case number 5 below may better illustrate it.

Case 5: Henok

I was born in Addis Ababa. I am ten years old now. My father is a guard and works for a private clinic. My mother is a daily laborer. Now I am a student of grade seven in Atse Naod School. I was sexually abused in February 2005. I was seven years old when a man of about thirty performed anal sex on me. He used to live in a house near to our home.

One afternoon, the perpetrator called me into his house from where I was playing. There were four young men in the house. I think they are his friends. They were chewing chat. They were also watching pornographic video. The perpetrator took me into the room next to the salon. When I entered he immediately locked the door. Then he ordered me to pull down my pair of trousers. When I refused he threatened me by a small knife. He said "pull down your pair of trousers or I will kill you." I did so. He also ordered me to kneel down on the mattress. Then he penetrated his penis into my anus. When he stopped he showed me the knife again and said, "I will cut off your head if you tell this." Finally he permitted me to go.

When I reached home I lay on the sofa. My mother was at home. She said, "What is wrong, Henok?" I could not tell her because I felt too sick. Moreover, I was so afraid that she would beat me for what had happened. So I said I had a headache.

I did not go to school for three days. I became seriously ill and my mother took me to Yekatit 12 Hospital. I got sever pain in my stomach and at my back. After treatment the doctor told my mother that I was raped. She became nervous. She asked who did it to me. I didn't tell her because the perpetrator said he would cut off my head. My mother and the doctor persuaded me to tell them. Finally, I told them. Then my mother dialed to my

father to come and look after me and she went to the police station to report the case. Now the perpetrator is in jail.

There are people who stigmatize victim children due to misconceptions. This view was supported by the CPU police officers and social workers who participated in the FGDs. A social worker during FGD summarized it in the following way:

The victim girls are blamed due to loss of virginity. Even the community sees victim boys as homosexuals. These children are also seen as HIV carriers. The society does not accept the cases of the victim children as problems. Most of the time, the reaction of neighbors is stigmatizing the victim children and their families. Due to this reaction from neighbors, parents prefer to keep the abuse secret. Sometimes the victim children are insulted by neighbors. These neighbors use the name of the perpetrators to call the victim children.

The qualitative information collected from children and their parents as well as various key informants indicate that parents warn their children not to tell their abuse to others. Reactions from the community such as blaming the victim due to loss of virginity, considering the victim child as someone who lives with HIV and others are the main reasons that influence parents to keep the secret guarded. On the other hand, as Driver and Droisen (1989:175) put it, abuses are kept guarded because “one case of child assault may pose questions that threaten the very foundations of our social hierarchies and family structures.” In line with this view, a police officer from Yekka Sub-city CPU stated the following:

Rich families in particular do not want to report when their children are raped because they think that it lowers down the status of the family. I know the case of a girl from rich family who was raped by their guard. Her parents know the case but they kept it secret. The girl finally told the case to her teacher and the teacher brought her to our office. Most of the cases are identified by teachers, friends and neighbors. Children should be encouraged through the media in order to enable them report their abuse

on time. The girls' club in schools should also encourage children to report their abuses.

Davidson (2001:62; cited in Richter et al., 2004:131) stated, "There is a curiously persistent and widespread belief that a man who suffers from venereal disease can get rid of it by having connection with a virgin." This view was also a point of discussion during the FGDs. Concerning the view, one social worker from FSCE stated, "Few people accept the wrong belief that sexual intercourse with girl children cures HIV/AIDS. Such kind of belief encourages people with HIV virus to commit rape on children." In line with this, another FGD participant, a police officer from Yekka Sub-city CPU, noted the case of a father who committed attempted rape on his twelve year old girl after he was told by a witch that he would be free from HIV infection if he had sex with girl children:

The man got mental problem after he tested that he is HIV positive. He lived with his two daughters and his wife. Once, his wife went to buy vegetables leaving the girls at home. The man first tried to rape his eldest daughter who was fourteen. When she realized that he was to rape her she escaped the rape. Then the man turned to his twelve year old daughter. He lay her on the bed by force and pulled down his pair of trousers. When he was trying to insert his penis into the girl's vagina, the neighbors encircled him and saved the girl after they had been told by the eldest daughter who escaped earlier. Now the man is in jail.

CHAPTER FOUR

Characteristics of Perpetrators and Major Forms of Child Sexual Abuse

4.1 Characteristics of Perpetrators

4.1.1 Age of Perpetrators

Information on the age characteristic of perpetrators is important to understand which age group is the most abusive. Therefore, the quantitative data obtained from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU as well as from the field study is presented below.

Table 12: Age of Perpetrators

Age of perpetrators	1998 (2005/06)	1999 (2006/07)	2000 (2007/08)	2001(2008/09) half year	Total
9-15	67	59	76	17	219
16-20	126	146	147	64	483
21-30	195	224	308	96	823
31-45	64	90	110	51	315
>45	26	27	39	16	108
Un identified	4	14	11	5	34
Total	482	560	691	249	1982

Source: Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU

Table 12 shows that the highest number of perpetrators belongs to the age group category of 21 and 30 followed by those between 16 and 20. The third age category is between 31 and 45 followed by those between 9 and 15. The last group of perpetrators is those in the age category of above 45 years. In terms of percentage share also, the age category between 21 and 30 accounts for 40.4% for the year 1998 (2005/06); 40% for 1999 (2006/07); 44.6% for 2000 (2007/08); and 38.5% for 2001 (2008/09) followed by age category of 16-20 which is 26.1% for 1998 (2005/06), 26% for 1999 (2006/07), 21.3% for 2000 (2007/08) and 25.7% for 2001 (2008/09). In aggregate the perpetrators who were less than 21 years old accounted for 35.4% of the cases for all years compared to the lowest figure of perpetrators who were above 45 years old which is only 5.4%.

Table 13: Age of Perpetrators based on Data from Respondents

Age Category	Frequency	Percent
15-19	4	12.5
20-24	3	9.4
25-29	5	15.6
30-34	7	21.9
35-39	3	9.4
40-44	4	12.5
45 & above	6	18.7
Total	32	100

Table 13 shows that adult perpetrators between age 25 and 39 accounted for 46.9%. Young offenders between 15 and 24 constituted 21.9% of the cases. The frequency of perpetrators between ages 40-44 is 4 (12.5%). The percentage of offenders who are 45 years and above is 18.7 %.

In fact, it is difficult to exactly tell which age group of perpetrators is highly engaged in the sexual abuse of children by referring only to reports from police, courts and medical centers. This is partly due to the fact that the results are overshadowed by the under reported cases. However, based on table 12 and 13 as well as the qualitative data collected from various key informants, it is possible to say that many children are sexually abused by adults. In a survey study, Getnet (2008:23) also stated, "The fact that there is wider age gap between the victim and the abusers clearly shows that a significant number of abuses are committed by adult men than their age mates." According to a key informant from IFSO, young persons between age nineteen and twenty four are among the mostly abusive.

It is also important to note that young children between age 9 and 18 are among the perpetrators. In line with this, Driver and Droisen (1989:6) stated that young boys are found to be abusers. However, the abuses of children by each other have been treated by many researchers as unimportant.

4.1.2 Educational Status of Perpetrators

Knowledge of the educational status of perpetrators is important to understand the characteristic features of child offenders. It helps to know the degree of awareness of the offender about his acts (Save the Children Sweden, 2006).

Table 14: Distribution of Perpetrators by Level of Education

Level of education	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	8	25.0
1-4	4	12.5
5-8	5	15.6
9-12	11	34.4
BA	1	3.1
Un identified	3	9.4
Total	32	100

Educational status of perpetrators shows that 34.4% of them are in the educational level category of 9-12. This figure is followed by those who do not have any kind of education which accounts for 25%. Perpetrators who are in the educational level category of 5-8 make up 15.6% and those who are in the educational level category of 1-4 constitute 12.5%. Only 1 perpetrator has got his BA from a higher institution. In aggregate, those who have low level of education and the uneducated make up 53.1% of the responses.

There is the assumption that the majority of child offenders are the uneducated and those who have low level of education (Save the Children Sweden, 2006:11). The result of this study also proves this basic assumption (See table 14). Various key informants also indicated the following:

Persons with low level of education are mostly engaged in the lower status of employment. Therefore, these individuals experience poor living conditions which are one of the contributing factors for child sexual abuse. Moreover, most of the uneducated persons are unaware of the outcomes of their acts.

4.1.3 Employment and Marital Status of Perpetrators

Table 15: Occupation of Perpetrators

Type of Employment	Frequency	Percent
Daily laborer	7	21.9
Guard	4	12.5
Civil servant	1	3.1
Driver	4	12.5
Teacher	1	3.1
Priest	1	3.1
Self employed (business)	3	9.4
Student	2	6.3
Unemployed	6	18.7
Un identified	3	9.4
Total	32	100

The data on perpetrators' occupation shows that most (21.9%) of the perpetrators are daily laborers. Unemployed persons also took the second large percentage (18.7) followed by guards and drivers each with 12.5%. Self employed individuals (business persons) constitute 9.4%, and students hold 6.3%. The last groups are civil servants, teachers and priests each with 3.1%. Table 15 also illustrates that most of the perpetrators are those in the lower status of employment and the unemployed persons.

In the previous chapter we discussed how poverty and poor socio-economic conditions of the victim children and their families contribute to child sexual abuse. The same is true for the perpetrators. It is indicated in some literatures that most of the perpetrators are jobless and low income earners (Save the Children Sweden, 2006; Debebe, 2007). The information obtained from the participants of this study also supports this view. In connection with this, a police officer from Yekka Sub-city CPU stated the following:

Anyone can be abuser of children. But the majority of the abusers are jobless and those who earn very low income. Most of the time these

individuals feel hopelessness and get into different kinds of addictions which push them to commit crimes. Other key informants and FGD participants also suggested that hopelessness, having ample time, bad habits, and poor living conditions on the part of the perpetrator may encourage him to abuse children.

Table 16: Distribution of Perpetrators by Type of Addiction

Type of Addiction	Frequency	Percent
Chewing chat	7	14.6
Drug/substance	2	4.2
Cigarette	7	14.6
Alcohol	16	33.3
Watching pornographic videos	4	8.3
Free from addiction	9	18.7
Un identified	3	6.3
Total	48	100

Table 16 shows the type of addiction to which the perpetrators are categorized. The majority (33.3%) of the abusers are found to be those who are addicted to alcohol. Those who chew chat and push drug/substance together accounted 18.8% of the perpetrators. Abusers who smoke cigarettes take up another 14.6% of the responses. 8.3% of the abusers have the habit of watching pornographic videos/photos. Those who are free from any kind of addiction constitute 18.7% of the abusers. The table also indicates that some of the perpetrators experienced more than one kind of addiction.

With regard to the social relationships of perpetrators, Cossins (2000:168) stated, "Child sexual offenders are believed to be socially immature and to lack the necessary social skills to initiate and maintain relationships with adult peers and, because of their consequent social isolation and need for intimacy, turn to children as substitutes for adult intimacy." However, the data on the marital status of perpetrators in table 17 below disproves this view. We can understand from the table that the frequency of perpetrators who were married (13) and those who were not married (14) is more or less the same.

Moreover, the fact that children are sexually abused by their own fathers and step fathers contradicts the view that perpetrators are socially immature.

Table 17: Marital Status of Perpetrators During the Abuse

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Married	13	40.6
Unmarried	14	43.7
Divorced	2	6.3
Un identified	3	9.4
Total	32	100

4.1.4 Relationship of the Victim Children to Perpetrators

Information on relationship of victims to perpetrators is very important because it helps to know about the identity of child offenders. Obviously knowledge of the perpetrators' identity may help parents to protect children from sexual abuse.

Table 18: Relationship of the Victim Children to Perpetrators

Types of Relationship	Frequency	Percent
Parent/ guardian	4	12.5
Family member who is a relative	4	12.5
Family member who is not a relative	3	9.4
Neighbor	10	31.2
Teacher	1	3.1
Knowledge of the person physically	7	21.9
No knowledge of the person	3	9.4
Total	32	100

The data on the relationship of victims to perpetrators tells us that 31.2% of the children were perpetrated by their neighbors. Incestuous abusers (parents and other close relatives) constitute 25% of the abusers. 21.9% of the children were abused by individuals whom they only know physically. Family members who are not relatives share 9.4%. Only three

children were sexually abused by strangers. In general, the majority (68.7%) of the children were sexually abused by people to whom they have close relationship.

Many authors: Taylor and Steward (1991: 208), Kelly (1988:60), Flowers (1986:75), 75), A C P F (2006:59), Richter et al. (2004:101), to mention only few, support the view that much sexual abuse is perpetrated by men known by the child like parents, relatives, neighbors, family friends and other intimate adults. The finding of this study also perfectly complement this view. According to the qualitative information collected from key informants and FGD's participants, the majority of the children are sexually abused by neighbors. Supporting this point, one FGD participant from FSCE said the following:

Parents who highly trust their neighbors simply leave their children alone when they are away from home due to various socio-economic matters. Some careless parents also stay out for many days. Therefore, people who are closer to the children like neighbors and family friends pose danger to these children.

The case of a girl presented below may strengthen this point.

Case 6: Mestawet

I was born and raised in Dessie. I am twelve years old now. My parents are separated because my father got married to another woman. My mother is a physically handicapped person and unemployed. So I came to Addis in 2007 to live with my aunt who is a waitress. I was sexually abused in October 2007.

One night my aunt took her baby and went to visit her mother leaving me alone. I ate my dinner and slept. At about 9:00 Am the perpetrator knocked at the door. I opened the door because I thought that it was my aunt. The perpetrator is a friend of my aunt's husband. I guess he is in his late thirties. He used to come to our house every Sunday to enjoy with us. He entered the house and sat down on the chair. When I asked why he came late that night he said he wanted to play with me. I was so afraid. I said to him, "you must go now. I have to sleep." He stood from the chair and sat on the edge of the bed. When he touched me in a sexual manner I told him to stop. When I shouted once, he took out a piece of sock from his pocket and gagged my mouth so I could not breathe. He

also threatened me by knife. He took off my panties and raped me. He deflowered me. When he stopped, he said, "Go and wash. I will kill you if you cry." When I washed I saw some blood and I was feeling sick. I think he was sure that my aunt would not come back that night. He raped me the whole night. When it gets down he warned me not to tell anybody and left the house.

After the rape I got severe pain around my private parts so I couldn't walk properly. But my aunt didn't observe it. I used to urinate on the bed. My aunt always insulted me of it. I was also a victim of STD. I didn't tell my aunt because I was so afraid that she would beat me. Finally, I disclosed the issue to a woman in my neighborhood because I couldn't resist the pain. The woman told to my aunt and we went to the police station to report the case.

Driver and Droisen (1989:176) wrote, "In many cultures the incest taboo holds far greater stigma for the person who reports the act than for the one who commits it." A significant number of children are abused by family members and relatives. Supporting this point, a key informant from Yekka Sub-city CPU stated, "There are many children who are raped by their fathers, step fathers and brothers but few of these cases are reported to the police. The reason is that sexual abuses within families are highly guarded." In a further idea on incestuous abuse, one FGD participant from FSCE stated that most of incestuous victims are children who came from the countryside to live with relatives. Concerning incestuous abuses, another FGD participant also stated the following:

Quite a number of children are sexually abused by relatives who frequently visit the family of the children. I know the case of a fourteen year old girl who was raped by two relatives who had visited the family at different times. The girl lived with her mother alone. The first person who raped the girl was her uncle. She didn't tell her abuse. The girl was raped for the second time by the husband of her aunt who is a physically disabled person. She told this one to her mother but her mother warned her not to tell anyone. Finally the girl went to the police and reported what had happened to her.

The qualitative data from participants of this study also indicated that children are at higher risk by other men who are closer to them like teachers, priests, tutors, etc. A key informant from IFSO stated that some parents (guardians) tell their children to keep themselves from strangers. This makes children to trust people who live with them. Case 7 and case 8 below may shade light on this.

Case 7: Haymanot

I was born in Minjar. I am fifteen years old now. I came to Addis in 2004 following the death of my mother. I used to live with my aunt and her two sons. I was raped by my cousins in 2006.

My cousin who raped me first was 26 years old. One night he ordered me to go and bring his jacket from his bedroom. When I went to his bedroom to bring the jacket for him, he came in and caught my right hand. He also lay me on the bed. Then he locked the door. I said, "What are you doing?" He didn't answer my question. He said, "Take off your panties or I will take them off by force." I beg him to leave me. "Shut your mouth," he shouted. Then he took off my panties by force and raped me. When he stopped, he said, "Go and wash." I felt sick. I left the room and washed my private parts. Then he came out of the room and said, "I will cut your body into pieces if you tell anyone." From that day on he repeatedly raped me. I didn't tell anyone because I was so afraid that he would kill me.

Another night while I was cooking dinner the younger brother who was twenty two years old called me into his bedroom. There was no one in the house. I went to his bedroom and stood at the gate. I was so afraid. He ordered me to come in and sit next to him. "Do you know how much I love you," he whispered. I was so shocked. I kept silent. He kissed me repeatedly catching my neck. When I said I would shout he gagged my mouth using a piece of sheet and raped me by force. He raped me repeatedly like that of his elder brother.

I didn't tell anyone because they said that they would kill me. My aunt would chase me away from the house when she heard about it. I couldn't also tell because it is a family secret. The two brothers raped me for a long time so I couldn't resist the rape. Finally, I decided to disclose the case to their eldest brother who lives with his wife in Kebbenna.

When I told him he warned me not to tell anyone else. He also gave me some money and told me to go back to Minjar.

I agreed to go to Minjar and went to my best friend's house to say good bye. When she asked me why I go to Minjar I told her the case. She told it to her mother. The girl's mother took me to my school and she told the case to the school director. The director and two other teachers advised me to report to the police. They took me to Yekka Sub-city CPU and I reported the case. Then the policemen took me to a rehabilitation center.

Case 8: Mekedes

I am fourteen years old and an eight grade student. I used to live with my cousin and her husband around Kazanchis because both of my parents are not alive. I was raped by my cousin's husband in January 2008. He was forty years old.

One afternoon, I came back from school. It was at about 1:00 pm. My cousin was on work. Her husband was in his bedroom. I put my school bag on the table, changed my school uniforms and sat at the gate of the house. After few minutes my cousin's husband called me inside. He told me to sit on the chair next to his bed. Later he caught my right hand and pulled me to the bed. When I realized that he would rape me I tried to run away. But he strongly caught my hands and lay me on the bed. He lay on top of me that I couldn't move. He was so fat that I couldn't escape him. I beg him to stop. He kissed me repeatedly. He unclosed my shirt and sucked my breasts. He pulled down my panties and raped me. When he stopped he said, "I will chase you away from this house when you tell this." He raped me repeatedly for about five days. I didn't disclose the abuse to anybody for about a month.

After a month I went to my uncle who lives in Gerji. Then I disclosed the abuse to him. He immediately took me to Yekka Sub-city CPU and reported the case. Finally, the CPU workers took me to a rehabilitation center because my uncle is very poor to live with.

Concerning places of abuses, Getnet (2008) stated that currently there is no safest place for children. This idea fits the result of this study. The data collected from the participants of this study show that every environment is abusive for children. Table 19 below

indicates that most of the children (31.2%) were sexually abused in their living home. The children were also exposed to sexual abuse in the neighborhood (21.9%). This implies that children are mostly abused by people who are very close to them. The percentage of the children who were abused in schools is 9.4%. Even some schools are not comfortable for children. Table 19 also shows that a girl was raped in the church (see case 10). This indicated that every social setting is abusive for children. A significant number of children (15.6%) were raped in the forest and (9.4%) in the river. The best explanatory reason, according to a key informant from Yekka Sub-city CPU, is the location of the sub-city. Yekka Sub-city has some rural *kebeles* which are covered by dense forests and rivers.

Table 19: Places of the Sexual Abuses

Place of Abuse	Frequency	Percent
At home	10	31.2
Perpetrator's house (neighbor)	7	21.9
Perpetrator's house (not neighbor)	2	6.3
School	3	9.4
Church	1	3.1
In the forest	5	15.6
River sides	3	9.4
On the street	1	3.1
Total	32	100

4.1.5 Means Used by the Perpetrators and Actions Taken after the Abuse

Obviously, perpetrators use different approaches to get the child to co-operate for sexual activity. These include forces, threats, tricks or bribes. Perpetrators also abuse their power over the children.

Table 20: Means Used by Perpetrators

Means used	Frequency	Percent
Using physical force	11	34.4
Threatening by using knife	9	28.1
Verbal threat	6	18.7
Bribes or tricks	6	18.7
Total	32	100

The data on means used by perpetrators show that 34.4% of them used physical force against the children. Those who threatened the children for sexual gratification whether it is verbal pressure or by using knife constitute 46.8% of the respondents. Only 18.7% of the perpetrators bribed or tricked the children to have sex with them.

Identifying means frequently used by perpetrators was also a point of discussion with various key informants and FGD participants. Summarizing the means used by perpetrators, one FGD participant stated the following:

In the case of small children, perpetrators use cents, sweets, toys, games and the like to get the children to co-operate. Some perpetrators also kidnap these children and rape them. On the other hand, if the girl is young the perpetrator first tries to subdue her by providing gifts and when she refuses the next step is mostly using force. Threat is another mechanism employed by most of the perpetrators. Verbal threat, let alone showing knife to the child, is enough to get the child to co-operate. Sometimes adults who are trusted by children take young girls into drinking houses and rape them after they invite them to alcohol.

Supporting her view by what she learned from a seminar, another FGD participant added:

Some perpetrators use quite a different means. If the girl is younger the perpetrator uses a false claim that she is his child or girlfriend or wife. I

heard the case of a seventeen year old girl who was raped this way. The girl was on her way to home from school. The perpetrator who was in a mini bus taxi simply pulled her out of the taxi. When she cried he said to the passengers, “she is my daughter.” The people in the taxi didn’t help her. Finally, the man took her to his house and raped her.

Table 21: Actions Taken by Perpetrators After the Abuse

Action taken by perpetrators	Frequency	Percent
Threatening the child by showing knife	13	40.6
Verbal threat	11	34.4
Persuasion	3	9.4
Nothing	5	15.6
Total	32	100

Perpetrators use different methods both before and after they abuse children. Table 21 shows how the perpetrators prevented the victim children from reporting the abuse. The most commonly taken action by perpetrators after they abused the children was threatening which accounts 75% of the cases. Table 21 also shows that some perpetrators (15.6%) did not threaten or persuade the children. Only 3 (9.4%) of the perpetrators persuaded the children not to tell anyone.

Various key informants and FGD participants also stressed that threat is the most frequently taken action by perpetrators after the abuse. Most of the perpetrators told the children that they would kill them if they reported their abuses. In line with this, a key informant from IFSO emphasized the following:

Threat brings psychological depression to the child in addition to the physical damage. In my opinion, the court system is discouraging. The court requires three witnesses to prove the case of the victim. The perpetrators do not even slap the child let alone rape when people are around. Also many of the identified perpetrators are not well punished by

law. Weak court procedure let the victims and others to see reporting of abuses as useless. It also encourages other men to abuse children.

4.2 Major Forms of Child Sexual Abuse

The data on the major types of sexual abuse obtained from the police files of CPUs contain rape (including loss of virginity), attempted rape, anal insertion, and abduction. In this section incest is treated separately based on the qualitative information collected from the victim children and their parents (guardians), key informants and FGDs participants.

Table 22: Major Types of Sexual Abuse

Sub-city	1998(2005/06)					1999(2006/07)					2000(2007/08)					2001(2008/09) half year				
	Rape	Attempted Rape	Abduction	Anal Insertion	Total	Rape	Attempted Rape	Abduction	Anal Insertion	Total	Rape	Attempted Rape	Abduction	Anal Insertion	Total	Rape	Attempted Rape	Abduction	Anal Insertion	Total
Addis Ketema	71	1	-	6	78	58	-	-	10	68	89	3	-	11	130	25	1	-	6	32
Arada	30	3	1	2	36	21	1	-	11	33	34	1	-	2	37	19	2	-	3	24
Yekka	37	18	5	6	66	52	5	2	3	62	74	7	1	2	84	17	8	-	4	29
Kolfe Keraneo	66	13	2	1	82	91	21	-	3	115	54	11	5	4	74	8	4	-	1	13
Akaki kaliti	14	7	-	-	21	25	-	1	3	29	21	-	5	2	28	6	4	1	1	12
Gulele	32	-	2	3	37	67	-	-	7	74	82	6	3	6	97	34	2	1	4	41
Bole	24	1	1	1	27	40	2	2	2	46	61	10	7	3	81	20	3	1	2	26
Lideta	31	-	-	2	33	25	-	1	3	29	39	-	-	14	53	10	17	-	3	30
Nifas Silk L.	26	3	1	1	31	38	5	1	1	45	36	7	2	4	49	15	3	-	1	19
Kirkos	37	20	3	11	71	44	4	-	11	59	63	8	-	14	85	15	6	-	2	23
Total	368	66	15	33	482	461	38	7	54	560	553	53	23	62	691	169	50	3	27	249

Source: Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU

4.2.1 Rape and Attempted Rape

The data on types of sexual abuse show that the most common type of sexual abuse to which many children are vulnerable is rape. Compared with other forms of sexual abuses for each statistical year, it is much higher by 76.3% for the year 1998 (2005/06); 82.3% for 1999 (2006/07); 80% for 2000 (2007/08) and 67.9% for a half year data of 2001 (2008/09). On the other hand, attempted rape accounted 13.7% for the year 1998 (2005/06). The percentage of attempted rape for the years 1999 (2006/07) and 2000(2007/08) is 6.8% and 7.8% respectively. High cases of attempted rape were also reported in 2001 (2008/09) which is 20% for a half year.

In terms of sub-cities distribution in 1998 (2005/06), high percentage of rape incidents is reported in Addis Ketema which is 71 cases (19.3%), Kolfe Keranio 66(17.9%) and Kirkos 37 (10%). In the year 1999 (2006/07), the ranking order for rape is Kolfe Keraneo (19.7%), Gulele (14.5%) and Addis Ketema (12.6%). In 2000(2007/08) Addis Ketema leads by (16%) followed by Gulele (14.8%) and Yekka (13.4%). The figure for 2001 (2008/09) made Gulele first with 20.1% followed by Addis Ketema and Bole with 14.8% and 11.8% respectively. In attempted rape, Kirkos, Yekka and Kolfe Keraneo ranked first, second and third respectively in the year 1998 (2005/06). The highest incidents of attempted rape in 1999 (2006/07) is witnessed in Kolfe Keraneo whereas Addis Ketema, Akaki Kaliti, Gulele and Lideta had no cases of attempted rape for this year. In the year 2000 (2007/08), the ranking order is Kolfe Keraneo, Bole, and Kirkos. In 2001 (2008/09) Kolfe Keraneo leads by 17 cases followed by Yekka and Kirkos with 8 and 6 cases respectively.

According to the Lutheran World Federation (1987:23), rape happens in all socio-economic groups, all professions and in all ethnic groups. It is highly reported than other types of sexual abuse. Flowers (1986:77) categorized rape into statutory, which is committed after the adult gets the consent of the child, and forced rape. According to Flowers, Statutory rape is given considerably less priority than forced rape. Statutory rape was a point of discussion during the FGD. The FGD participants emphasized that many children are raped after the perpetrators secure the 'consent' of the children. Supporting this view, a police officer from Yekka Sub city CPU said, "Even some of the perpetrators

do not see it as a crime. Some parents also blame their children rather than reporting the case to the police. There are many hidden cases of rapes committed by the 'consent' of the children."

Therefore, based on the idea of the police officer, it is possible to conclude that most of the reported cases of rape are forced. Moreover, if cases of statutory rape were reported in the same way as forced rape, there would be much higher cases of rape.

As indicated in table 22, there were few reported cases of attempted rape. The best explanatory factor for lower cases of report, according to a key informant from Yekka Sub-city CPU, is that many people do not see it as an offense and few cases are reported although there are many cases of attempted rape in the city. The cases of a girl presented below shows that some attempted rapes are damaging for the children both physically and psychologically.

Case 9: Aberash

I was born in Addis Ababa around Megenagna. Currently, I live with my mother and my stepfather around Ferensay Legasiyon. My mother is a daily laborer and my stepfather is a weaver. Now I am fourteen years old and a student of grade three in Yeka Terara School. I was sexually abused in January 2007.

I was on the way to my mother who was baking 'enjera' for her employers. A man of about thirty five came to me and ordered me to stop walking. He used to live in my 'kebele.' He told me to go with him. When I refused he slapped me twice at my face and pushed me into a near by forest. I shouted for help but there was no one around. He threatened me that he would cut out my tongue if I shouted again. But I didn't stop shouting. Then he took a stone and put it into my mouth. He also ordered me to pull down my pair of trousers. When he tried to unzip his pair of trousers I ran away and jumped in to someone's compound which is located near the forest. The dog in the compound barked at me and I immediately entered into the house. I couldn't even talk to the people in the house because the stone was remained in my mouth. When a woman in the house took the stone out of my mouth, blood flew through my nose and my mouth. Then two women took me to the house where my mother was working. My mother cried when she

saw me. I told her what had happened. She immediately took me to a clinic for medication. Finally, she reported to the police and the man was arrested three days later.

4.2.2 Abduction

According to the data from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU, high cases of abduction were reported in the year 2000 (2007/08) although the figure for this type of abuse is much lower for other statistical years.

The inter sub-city comparison tells us that the highest cases of abduction were reported in Bole Sub-city which is 11 cases (22.9%) for all years. Yekka ranked second with 8 cases (16.7%). Akaki Kaliti and Kolfe Keraneo followed Yekka each with 7 cases (14.6%).

Abduction, which is the taking away of a girl for marriage is a common practice in Ethiopia particularly in the rural areas although the practice is in sharp decrease these days (Save the Children Sweden, 2006:17). The data from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU show that the practice is currently extending to some sub-cities. The data also indicate that a total of 48 cases of abduction were reported within 3 and half years. According to a key informant from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU, this form of sexual abuse is highly prevalent in sub-cities with some rural *kebeles*.

The findings also show that some men abduct young girls from the countryside and bring them to the city. This gives much freedom for the perpetrator to rape the girl. A study by Original (1996:39) associated abduction with rape because in most cases abduction is followed by rape. The case of a young girl presented below supports this view.

Case 10: Fantaye

I was born in Debre Markos town. I am 15 years old now. I used to live with both of my parents. One morning I was to school with my younger brother. In the mean time six men came and ordered us to stop walking. I know one of them. He was a deacon and lived in Debre Markos. I guess he was a thirty-year-old adult. Once he came to my house with some elderly persons and asked my parents to betroth me to him. But my parents refused to do so.

The men lifted me turn by turn to the town of Dejen. They also threatened me that I would be slaughtered if I shouted. Then they took me to a single room house. I think they rented it. We stayed there for two days.

The next morning four of them went back to Debre Markos. The deacon and one of the men brought me to Addis. We reached Addis around 6:00 PM. They took me to a hotel and we stayed there until 8:00 AM. After we had had dinner they took me to a small room in Yekka Michale church. Later the man went out leaving the deacon and me in the house. The deacon ordered me to sit on the bed. When I refused he slapped me at my face. Then he said, "Go and sit on the bed." I was so afraid. I did so. He also ordered me to take off my clothes but I sat on the bed without taking off my clothes. He took off my clothes by force and ordered me to be under the blanket. He also took off his clothes and lay next to me. He deflowered me. The next morning he locked the door and went out leaving me on the bed. When he came back he bought me bread for lunch and dinner. He treated me this way for about two weeks.

One night he went out to buy something. He did not lock the door as usual. I think he had forgotten it. Then I run away from the church. I stood on the street and cried. A man on his way to work came and asked me what happened. When I told him the case he took me to a police station and I reported there. Finally, the CPU workers took me to a rehabilitation center.

4.2.3 Anal Insertion

Regarding anal insertion the data from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU show that in 1998 (2005/06) this form of abuse make up 6.8% of the major forms of abuses. The percentage of anal insertion in the year 1999 (2006/07) and 2000 (2007/08) is 9.6% and 9% respectively. In 2001 (2008/09) 27 cases of anal insertion were reported in the half year which is 10.8% (assuming that the figure for each form of abuse will be double for the full year). In terms of sub-cities distribution, the highest cases of anal insertion were recorded in Kirkos which is 38 cases (21.6%), Addis Ketema 33(18.7%), and Lideta 22(12.5%). Akaki Kaliti is the lowest with 6 cases (3.4%).

The data for each statistical year indicate that the sexual abuse of male children is highly prevalent in most of the sub-cities. The qualitative information from various key

informants and FGD participants also shows that some parents fail to report anal insertion due to the stigma. Case 11 below shows how the mother of a victim of anal insertion failed to report the case.

Case 11: Tariku

I am now fourteen years old and a student of grade seven. I live with both of my parents around Megenagna. My father is a guard and my mother is a house wife. The sexual abuse happened to me on April 2006.

That day my mother ordered me to buy some medicine. I told my friend to accompany me and we went to the pharmacy. On the way a man of about thirty five years old came and greeted us. He was highly drunk. My friend knows him but I had never seen him before. After we walked some distances the man ordered my friend to go back. When he refused he chased him away. He caught my left hand and said, "Let us go." I refused to go with him but he told me that he would beat me. When we come closer to the forest he showed me a knife and ordered me to enter into the forest. It was about 7:00 pm in the evening.

I was so afraid. I thought that he would take from me the money my mother gave me to buy medicine. I never expected that he would rape me. After he pushed me into the forest he took down his pair of trousers and ordered me to perform oral sex. I beg him not to do that. He said, "Suck it!" I did so because I was so afraid that he would cut me by the knife. Then he ordered me to unbuckle my belt, to lower my pair of trousers, as well as my under panties. Finally, he penetrated his penis in to my anus. The situation was so painful that I decided to run away. When I pushed him back he easily lay on the ground because he was too drunk. Then I run away out of the forest.

On the way to home I met two policemen. I told them what had happened to me. They said, "It is not our business. Go to the police station and report there." I didn't know where to report. I immediately went home and told to my mother. My mother failed to report. She warned me not to tell anyone else. But I told to my father when he came back from work. He became nervous. He said, "Let me kill the person and put myself in jail!" But my elder brother told him to cool down and report the case to the police. The next morning we reported to the police. Now the man is in jail.

Table 23: Distribution of Victim Children by Type of Abuse

Type of sexual abuse	Frequency	Percent
Rape	15	35.7
Anal insertion	7	16.7
Attempted rape	2	4.8
Incest	8	19.0
Abduction	1	2.4
Oral sex	6	14.3
Showing pornographic films/photos	3	7.1
Total	42	100

Table 23 shows that the majority (35.7%) of the girls were raped. Girls who were victims of incest make up 19% of the responses. Male children who experienced anal insertion accounted for 16.7%. The total percentage of the children who experienced oral sex is 14.3%. Table 23 also indicates that attempted rape and abduction were reported by 4.8% and 2.4% of the girls respectively. Children who responded that they were either forced or persuaded to watch pornographic films or photos constitute 7.1% of the responses. The frequency of the children who experienced more than one type of abuse is 10 (31.2%).

4.2.4 Incest

Incest is the most risky type of all the abuses. Children who experience sexual abuses within the family suffer severe psychological damage (ACPF, 2006). In connection to this point, a key informant from IFSO stated the following:

The psychological impact of incest is very high. In cases when the perpetrator is not put in jail, the child may live with him. Children who live under the same roof with the perpetrators are highly stressed particularly when the perpetrator is a father. Even those who live in the rehabilitation center prefer to substitute their fathers name by the name of their sponsors. Also when the offending father is set free from prison the relation between the victim child and the offender becomes worse. Most children do not want to live with the offending father.

According to one FGD participant from FSCE, incest is the most under reported type of sexual abuse because of the stigma that follows it. The attitude of the society towards incest victims and their families prevent them from reporting the abuses. Some neighbors insult the children who are raped by family members. Therefore, many incest victims suffer in silence.

Incest also put the family at risk if the perpetrator is a bread winner for the family. This is particularly when the case is identified and the offender is put in jail. In cases when the children's mother live with them she has to be strong enough to go out and make a living for the family. In most cases, however, the children themselves have to come out to the streets so as to supplement the family income. These children are vulnerable to additional abuses from the outsiders (FGD participant from Addis Ababa Police Commission CPU). Therefore, incest victims are at risk whether the mother is present or absent. In a further idea on the consequences of incest, a key informant from Yekka Sub-city CPU stated the following:

In cases when the mother is absent and the offending father is put in jail some relatives persuaded the children to sell the property of the family saying that it is for the survival of the children. However, some greedy relatives share out of it. On the other hand, some families get happy when the offending father is put in jail. This is particularly when the perpetrator is jobless, authoritarian, alcoholic and neglecting.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Summary

The reported cases from the ten sub-cities indicated that except the difference in frequency, the sexual abuse of children, both male and female is prevalent in Addis Ababa. Also children in the age category of 9 and 15 are found to be more vulnerable. But it is difficult to tell which age group of children is mostly vulnerable to sexual abuse based only on the reported cases from the CPUs, courts or medical reports. Some key informants and FGD participants suggested that if the unreported cases are added the most vulnerable age group of children seem to be those in the age range between 16 and 18 years. The quantitative results from the sub-cities also show that the number of victim children is in an increasing rate.

Children who came from the countryside due to various socio-cultural and economic reasons found to be the most vulnerable groups to sexual abuse. Most of these children were brought by their relatives after being promised that they would live a better life with them. However, after they came to the city the children lacked the necessary care and protection. These children were at higher risk not only from the family members but also from the outsiders. Children who lived with their relatives were exposed to miserable life. In some instances the children were employed as domestic servants and were raped by brokers and male employers or their young sons.

Although the children who lived away from their biological parents were more vulnerable to sexual abuse due to lack of the necessary care and protection, children who lived with their biological parents were not free from exposure to sexual abuse. This was mostly when parents stay away from the children for various socio economic reasons. Even some parents who were closer to the children failed to give the necessary care and protection for their children.

Parents (guardians) failed to give prior awareness to their children because they find it difficult to talk sexuality with children due to the social taboo. Moreover, most of the parents (guardians) of the victim children never expected that small children are raped.

The general view among the parents (guardians) was that sexual abuse is an adult-adult crime. Illiterate parents or parents with very low level of education were found to be weak on matters of child care and protection. Some parents (guardians) also failed to protect their children even after the sexual abuse occurred to their children.

The difficult working condition of parents and the children themselves created opportunity for perpetrators to sexually abuse the children. Parents (guardians) left their children alone and stay away from home for long period in order to secure the family income. The children who lacked parental care and protection were easy targets of perpetrators. They were tricked, bribed, forced and threatened to cooperate for sexual activity with the adults.

Factors such as the socialization of the children which shape the children to be shy and always respect elders, actions taken by the perpetrators after the sexual abuse, and the negative attitudes of the society towards the victim children and their families prevented the children from immediately reporting their abuses. As a result, quite a good number of the children were sexually abused repeatedly.

The majority of the perpetrators were those who have low level of education and the illiterate. These individuals were also engaged in low paid jobs or they were unemployed. Most of them have experienced bad habits like chewing chat, pushing drug/substance, drinking alcohol, smoking cigarette and watching pornographic videos. However, this does not necessarily mean that lower income earners, people with anti-social behavior and those with low level of education or the illiterate were the only groups of perpetrators. The findings of this study show that being well educated, having higher or middle income, being free from any kind of addiction, and maintaining relationship with adult peers does not keep individuals from sexually abusing children. Identifying unique characteristics of perpetrators is a difficult one.

This study reveals that many children were exposed to sexual abuse in their own home and in the neighborhood. This shows that much sexual abuse is perpetrated by men known by the children like parents, relatives, neighbors, family friends and other intimates. Places such as schools, churches and streets were also found to be where the

sexual abuses happened. The existence of areas covered by forests and rivers in Yekka Sub-city also exposed quite a number of children to rape.

The children were vulnerable to different types of sexual abuse. The most common type of sexual abuse to which many children were exposed is rape. On the other hand, there were few cases of attempted rape because people rarely report it. Although abduction is a common practice in the rural areas, it is currently extending to the city particularly to those sub-cities with many rural kebeles, for example, Akaki Kaliti and Yekka. Except the difference in frequency the findings indicate that the sexual abuse of boys is prevalent in the city. Incest is also found to be the most widespread form of sexual abuse. It is the most risky type of all the abuses due to its consequences. It is also the most under reported form of sexual abuse. Some children were also forced to perform oral sex and to watch pornographic videos.

5.2 Conclusion

In the Ethiopian cultural context boy children are socialized into being superior over girl children. This situation makes females the absolute victims of sexual abuse and males the dominant abusers. However, the fact that sexual abuse is a problem of both males and females keeps us from concluding that the sexual abuse of children is a result of the patriarchal order of the society. Rather patriarchy contributes to high number of female victims than male victims; and high number of male perpetrators than female perpetrators.

There are many factors that are responsible for the prevalence of the sexual abuse of children. However, the sexual abuse of children seems to have been strongly associated with poverty. Poverty influences the sexual abuse of children in many ways. In the first place, it prevents parents from fulfilling the basic needs of their children. Secondly, it forces parents to spend most of their time on work leaving their children alone. Finally, poverty forces children to engage in riskiest jobs that make them vulnerable to sexual abuse. However, it is important to note that the sexual abuse of children occurs in every economic class. When the problem appears within rich families it is rarely reported out of the interest to guard the status of the family. The sexual abuse within poor families is

better reported particularly when families seek support for their victim children from NGOs such as IFSO.

It seems that the concerned bodies like the government and NGOs failed to create public awareness on the problem. Government medias failed to give a better media coverage to initiate families, individuals and institutions to provide special attention and protect children from sexual abuse. The role of NGO's seem to focus much on helping victim children rather than creating conducive environment to alleviate such a social evil. Lack of awareness on the sexual abuse of children within the community in general and the families in particular contributes to the problem. If the concerned bodies worked much on creating awareness within the community, the prevalence rate would be much lower.

Many parents failed to shape the behavior of their children. They do not teach discipline to their children. As a result many children are engaged in anti-social behavior. Young boys spend most of their time in alcohol houses and in underground video houses. These situations initiate the boys for sexual activity and most of them are becoming predators of young girls particularly around schools.

Some societal views such as looking boy victims as homosexuals, considering very young girls as capable of engaging in sexual activity, stigmatizing victim children in relation to HIV/AIDS or STDs keeps the children from reporting their abuses on time and expose them to repeated sexual abuse. Such views also encourage the perpetrators to stay with their abusive acts.

The fact that most of the children are sexually abused by people to whom they are closely related creates difficulty for understanding the magnitude of the problem. Moreover, the strategies used by perpetrators both before and after the abuse make the sexual abuse of children to stay hidden. Therefore, identifying perpetrators and punishing them is becoming a serious challenge. Even if the perpetrators are identified they may not be well punished due to weak court procedures. This encourages perpetrators to repeatedly abuse children and also allows other individuals to engage on similar activity.

Although all types of sexual abuse are damaging to the children, incest is found to be the most risky one due to its consequences. In most cases incest victims live with the abusers and this creates stressful situation to the victim. Incest victims have much limited

opportunity to report their abuses and they are more vulnerable to repeated sexual abuse. In cases when the abuser is a bread winner for the family, the victims and other family members face economic problems when the abuser goes into jail. In such cases the children are forced to engage in riskiest jobs in order to supplement the family income and this situation exposes them to additional abuse. Incestuous abuse may also cause conflict within family members and relatives when it is identified.

Children can be protected from other forms of sexual abuse but in the case of incest it is difficult because the children are abused by individuals who are responsible for the protection of the children.

Generally the findings of this study reveal that children who came from the countryside either to live with relatives or to be employed as domestic maids, children who live in neglecting families due to poverty, and children whose parents are uneducated or have low level of education were the most vulnerable groups to sexual abuse.

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Annex 1: Introduction and Consent Statement

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Endris Jafer. I am a student at the Graduate program in Social Anthropology in Addis Ababa University. I am going to conduct a research. The research is being conducted in partial fulfillment for the masters Degree in Social Anthropology. The purpose of this research is to reveal the socio-cultural and economic factors contributing to the sexual abuse of children. Therefore, I need to collect information through interviews with victim children and their parents (guardians).

I promise you that whatever you tell me about your personal life will be confidential. Your name will never be mentioned in any of my works. You can be selective on issues that you are going to answer. Also the interviews will be conducted in places where you would like to be interviewed. What you are going to tell me is valuable for the understanding of the subject matter and encourage further research on the topic. This research is a difficult one to be completed without your honest and full participation. Our conversation will be tape recorded only through your permission. I will take notes if you do not allow me to tape record our conversation. Are you volunteer to participate in this research?

Yes

No

Thank you very much for your interest to participate

Annex 2: Interview Guide for victim children

Date: _____

Time: from _____ to _____

Background information

Kebele _____

Age _____

Sex _____

Grade _____

Religion _____

Place of birth _____

Probe: If your place of birth is outside Addis, reasons for coming to Addis

- Living situation during the abuse
- Current living situation
- Educational status of female parent (guardian)
- Educational status of male parent (guardian)
- Occupation of female parent (guardian)
- Occupation of male parent (guardian)
- Monthly income of the family
- Number of family members
- Number of employed family members
- Housing situation
- Do your family members discuss sexuality at home?

Information on Exposure to sexual Abuse

- When did the abuse happen?
- Place of the abuse
- Form of sexual abuse
- Duration of the abuse
- Were parents (guardians) around during the abuse?
- How did the abuse happen?

Probe: Tell me the overall incidents

Information on perpetrators

- Relationship with the victim
- Age of the perpetrator
- Educational status
- Occupation
- Marital status
- Kind of habit (addiction)
- Approach used by the perpetrator
- Actions taken by the perpetrator after the abuse
- Do you live with the perpetrator under the same roof?

Probe: Tell me your feeling about living with the perpetrator

Reporting abuse

- To whom did you first report?
- Reason for reporting or not reporting
- How soon did you report?
- Reaction of significant others up on report or not
- Support received from significant others

Annex 3: Questionnaire for Victim Children

I. Background Information

1. Address: Kebele _____
2. Age _____
3. Gender _____
4. Place of birth _____
5. If your place of origin is outside Addis, why did you come to Addis?
 1. Disagreement with the family
 2. Looking for a job
 3. To live with a relative
 4. Poverty situation of parents
 5. To flee harmful traditional practices
 6. Others (specify) _____
6. Which grade are you attending now? Grade _____
7. Are your parents alive?
 1. Both are alive and live together
 2. Both are alive but divorced/separated
 3. Mother alive
 4. Father alive
 5. Both dead
 6. Don't know
8. With whom did you live when the sexual abuse happened to you?
 1. Both biological parents
 2. Mother alone
 3. Father alone
 4. Mother and step father
 5. Father and step mother
 6. Relatives (specify relations) _____
 7. Employers
 8. Alone
 9. Others (specify) _____

9. Number of family members

1. Male _____

2. Female _____

10. Occupation of parents (guardians); (male parent/guardian _____,
female parent/guardian _____)

1. Civil servant

2. NGO worker

3. Merchant

4. Daily laborer

5. Farmer

6. Unemployed

7. Others (specify) _____

11. Number of employed members of the family

1. Male _____

2. Female _____

12. Estimated total monthly income of the family in birr _____

13. Number of rooms your family living in _____

14. Educational status of your parents (guardians); (male parent/guardian
_____, female parent/guardian _____)

15. Parenting style

1. Authoritative

2. Authoritarian

3. Permissive

4. Neglecting

5. Others (specify) _____

16. Have your parents (guardians) ever discussed sexual matters with you?

1. Yes

2. No

17. If your answer to Q. 16 is 'no', what do you think is the reason? _____

18. Are you employed in any income generating activity?

1. Yes

2. No

19. If your answer to Q 18 is 'yes', what is the type of your work?

1. Street vending
2. Domestic maid
3. Shop attendant
4. Daily laborer
5. Others (specify) _____

II. Information on the sexual abuse and the characteristics of perpetrators

20. When did the sexual abuse happen to you? _____

21. What form of sexual abuse did happen to you? (more than one answer is possible)

1. Vaginal penetration
2. Anal insertion
3. Attempted rape
4. Abduction
5. Oral sex
6. Forced to watch pornographic videos/pictures
7. Used for pornographic films/pictures
8. Molestation
9. Forced /threatened/ persuaded to touch or look at someone's sexual organ
10. Others (specify) _____

22. Where did the sexual abuse happen to you?

1. At home
2. Neighborhood
3. At school
4. On the street
5. Café, hotel, bar, etc
6. In the forest
7. In the river
8. In the orphanage
9. Others (specify) _____

23. For how long did the sexual abuse happen to you?

1. Only once

2. Repeated for about one or two weeks
 3. Repeated for less than a month
 4. Repeated for less than two months
 5. Repeated for less than three months
 6. Others (specify)_____
24. Were your parents (guardian) around when the sexual abuse happened to you?
1. Yes
 2. No
25. If your answer to Q. 24 is 'no', where were your parents (guardians) at that time?
1. On work
 2. To visit relatives
 3. On a meeting
 4. Others (specify)_____
26. Sex of perpetrator
1. Male
 2. Female
27. Age of perpetrators_____
28. Type of relationship with the perpetrator
1. Biological father
 2. Biological mother
 3. Step father
 4. Step mother
 5. Brother
 6. Sister
 7. Guardian
 8. Relative in household
 9. Relative (gust)
 10. Neighbor
 11. Friend
 12. Teacher
 13. Student in school
 14. Employer

15. Others (specify) _____
29. Educational status of perpetrator _____
30. Occupation of perpetrator (more than one answer is possible)
1. Civil servant
 2. NGO employee
 3. Merchant
 4. Daily laborer
 5. Street vendor
 6. Farmer
 7. Police
 8. Teacher
 9. Unemployed
 10. Others (specify) _____
31. Kind of habit to which the perpetrators is addicted
1. Chewing chat
 2. Pushing drug/substance
 3. Drinking alcohol
 4. Watching pornographic videos
 5. Others (specify) _____
 6. No any kind of addiction
32. What is the marital status of the perpetrator?
1. Married
 2. Never married
 3. Divorced
33. What means did the perpetrator use to abuse you? (more than one answer is possible)
1. Forcing
 2. Threatening
 3. Verbal pressure
 4. Providing gifts
 5. Using position of authority

6. False promise

7. Negotiation

8. Others (specify) _____

34. What measures did the perpetrator take after the abuse? (more than one answer is possible)

1. Verbal threat not to tell anyone

2. Threat by showing knife

3. Provide gifts so as to keep it secrete

4. Others (specify) _____

35. Do you live with the perpetuator under the same roof?

1. Yes

2. No

36. If your answer to Q. 35 is 'yes', what problems have you encountered as a result of living with the perpetrator? _____

37. Have you ever reported the abuse to anyone?

1. Yes

2. No

38. If your answer to Q. 37 is 'yes', to who did you first report?

1. To family members (including father, mother, brother, sister)

2. To a friend or friends

3. Teachers or others in school

4. Relatives

5. Police

6 Others (Specify) _____

39. If your answer to Q. 37 is 'yes', how soon did you report?

1. Immediately

2. After a week

3. After one month

4. After two months

5. After three months

6. Others (specify) _____

40. If you answer to Q. 37 is 'no', what keeps you from reporting? (more than one answer is possible)

1. Fear of harm from the perpetrator
2. Fear of beating from parents (guardians)
3. Felt shame about it
4. Didn't know where to report
5. Fear of stigma
6. I thought it was useless
7. I thought it was normal
8. Others (specify) _____

41. If your answer to Q. 37 is 'yes' what reaction did you face from the person you reported the case?

1. Warned me not to tell to others
2. Failed to trust me
3. Advised me to go and tell to the police
4. Told me to take it easy
5. Beaten/Insulted me
6. Gave me the necessary support
7. Others (specify) _____

42. Do your parents know about the abuse?

1. Yes
2. No

43. Do you know any other sexually abused children?

1. Yes
2. No

44. If yes, how many? _____

45. Did your parents (guardians) take any measure after the abuse in order to keep other family members from such abuse?

1. Yes
2. No

46. What do you think was the main reason that exposed you to the sexual abuse?

1. Economic problem
2. Respect for the abuser
3. Love and affection of the abuser
4. The negligence of parents (guardians)
5. Others (specify) _____

47. If you currently live away from your biological parents, do you have a plan to go and live with them?

1. Yes
2. No

48. If your answer to Q. 47 is 'no', what is your reason?

1. I don't know where my parents are
2. My parents are not alive
3. They are elderly so they can't help me
4. They are poor
5. Others (specify) _____

Annex 4: FGD Checklist

1. Factors contributing to the sexual abuse of children
2. public awareness on the problem of sexual abuse of children
3. The family characteristics of the victim children
4. The attitude of the community towards victim children
5. The characteristic features of perpetrators
6. The most widespread types of child sexual abuse
7. The most vulnerable group of children
8. The social settings that are responsible for child sexual abuse
9. Reasons for the under reporting of child sexual abuse
10. The measures that should be taken to alleviate the problem.

DECLARATION

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

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

CONFIRMATION

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

Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____