

**Exploring the Contexts of Relationship between In
House Prostitutes and Surrounding Community:
A Case in Mekabir Sefer**

By: Tarekegn Negassa Jarbo

**Addis Ababa University
School of Social Work**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Social Work, Addis Ababa University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for Degree of Masters in Social Work.**

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Declaration

I the under signed, declare that this thesis is my original work, has never been presented in this or any other university, and that all resources and materials used herein, are acknowledged.

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Abstract

This study was conducted with the purpose of exploring the contexts of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community of Mekabir Sefer in Bole Sub City Woreda 04 Administration. Participants of the study were totally eight; four from in house prostitutes and the other four from non-prostitutes member of the community of the study area. For the successful attainment of the research objectives, Qualitative research method was employed and data was gathered through observation and in depth interview. The findings are presented in five clusters of background information of the respondents, nature of prostitution in the study area, nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community, challenges faced by in house prostitutes and surrounding community, and coping strategies of in house prostitutes and surrounding community. Findings of the study revealed that in addition to the dominant in house prostitution, prostitution in clients' houses is practiced in the study area. The main clients of in house prostitutes among others are economically low class men, daily laborers, baggers, drivers and married and salaried men. Relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community is based on discrimination, avoidance and hostility. Finding of the study also reveals that in house prostitutes face different challenges from the community, from their own clients, and from police. The community also faces various challenges including exposure of children to antisocial behaviors and acts, and poor environmental cleanliness. The study concludes that the density of many young boys and girls who can contribute a lot to the society in one hand and the wellbeing of the community in the other hand will be in serious danger unless the government and other concerned bodies take timely measures. As this study is mainly concerned with exploring the overall context of relationship between the community and in house prostitutes; which is only one type of prostitution, the researcher implies that further researches should be conducted focusing on the relationship between other types of prostitution and the community.

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CBO	Community Based Organization
HIV	Human Immunity Virus
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

An understanding of the existing contexts of relationship between in house prostitutes and the surrounding community is one of the important insights that many, different researches conducted so far have failed to give focus and over looked. Thus, the main objective of this thesis is to bring a different insight in to the area of prostitution and related issues, by attempting to fill the gaps left uncovered by previous researches. The study explores the contexts of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community. In line with this, the study focused on exploring the nature of prostitution in the study area, relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community, challenges faced by, and coping strategies of both in house prostitutes and surrounding community of study area. To meet its objectives the study also briefly examined the emergence, historical background and the type of prostitution as well as the meaning, definition, and theories of relationship by adopting qualitative research method through observation and in depth interview.

Prostitution is variously described in literate as sex work, violence against “women” or "slavery". It refers to any sexual performance carried out by a person for payment of certain amount of money, or in exchange of goods and service. It is a term used to describe a wide range of activities relating to the exchange of money or its equivalent for the provision of sexual service (Meaza & Mesfin 2015).

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The nature of prostitution is of various types. This may include direct sexual contact, outdoor street- level sex work, indoor sex work in sex workers' homes, in client' homes or in commercial venues. The commercial venues may include escorts, erotic masseur, exotic dancers, BDSM .It refers to a continuum of practices and expressions erotic and non- erotic, involving restraint, sensory stimulation, role- playing, and a variety of interpersonal dynamics (Benoite & Shumk, 2015).

Different writers and researchers explain the nature and type of prostitution. Their focuses may vary according to the discipline and educational background of the researchers. According to Giddens, (1989), prostitution is the granting of sexual favors for monetary gain, the word prostitute began to come in to common usage in the late eighteenth century.

In the ancient world most purveyors of sexuality for economic reward were courtesans and concubines or slaves. Courtesans and concubines often had a high position in traditional society. A key aspect of modern prostitution is that women and their clients are generally unknown to one another. Although, men may become regular customers, the relationship is not initially established on the basis of personal acquaintance. Prostitution is directly connected to the back up of small scale communities, and the development of large impersonal urban areas and the commercialization of social relations (Giddens, 1989).

In contemporary history of prostitution, peoples' perception of prostitutes was that prostitutes were considered as having main desire of sex or as people who suffered from psychopathological disorder. In the 19th and 20th centuries, prostitution was

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understood as a “necessary evil” or disease which safeguarded women from rape due to the assumption unrestrained sexual desire of men or as a result of wide spread poverty. This view of prostitutes as materials which were there to serve men’s sexual desire shaped the relationship between prostitutes and the communities in a way that is framed in the context of fear and hostility towards one another (Ortiz, 2009; cited in Lijalem, 2015 p.23).

Prostitution and the relationship between prostitutes and the community are stereotyped in Media and among researchers, and the general public or the community. Some of these common myths are that all sex workers are victims, all sex workers are drug addicts, all sex workers are survivors of sexual abuse and, sex work is inherently violent. The problem with these kinds of assumptions according to them is failure to recognize the diversity of sex worker population. (Benoite, & Shumka, 2015).

Community’s relationships with prostitutes are also prejudiced in different ways in addition to stereotyping the practice itself. At the center of the prejudice were society’s own fear and worries rather than what it knew about the lives of women who worked as prostitutes. Prostitutes were regarded as danger to the society. They were believed to be risk to health as well as to economic and social wellbeing. In the mind of politicians, administrators, policemen and social workers prostitutes were related with pollution. They were regarded as agents spreading terrible venereal diseases. Morally also they were regarded as corrupters of men, causing such bad social conditions as crime and break down of the family. This perception among the general public resulted in poor relationships with the society in general and with neighboring communities of prostitution in particular (Whit, 1990; cited in Bethlehem, 2002).

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Some researches on the other hand revealed that prostitution has negative impacts on surrounding communities. For example, children of the community where in house prostitution is practiced are likely to grow up observing sex work and also are likely to engage in the practice in their future life. As a result, people develop negative perception towards prostitutes and their relationships would also become more of negative and based on hostility (Lijalem, 2015).

Neighboring communities of prostitution areas and prostitutes themselves are at risk of different social problems and social wellbeing due to the existing negative relationships they have and labeling of prostitutes in the part of the community. Findings of different researches show that communities of prostitution areas are becoming victims of prostitution. Many researches were conducted on areas of prostitution and prostitutes. But, these studies gave little or no attention to the contexts of relationships between prostitutes, especially in house prostitutes and surrounding communities.

Therefore, the need to protect societies from social ills associated with prostitution and maintaining their social wellbeing, as well as any action to be taken regarding prostitution requires an understanding of the existing contexts of relationships between prostitutes and the surrounding community. To this end, my research is mainly concerned with examining the existing neighborhood context between in house prostitutes and the surrounding community, and challenges and coping strategies of both in house prostitutes and community of study area by employing qualitative research method through observation and in depth interview.

1.2. Statements of the Problem

Many researches were conducted on prostitution by different researchers, organizations, agencies and individuals at various levels from many different perspectives. However, most of them directly focus either on the nature; process, and magnitude of the practice or on those who directly or indirectly involve in to the practice. Most of these studies have neglected and over looked the contexts of relationships between prostitutes and surrounding communities where prostitution takes place.

A research conducted by the UCL institute of health equity in (2014), examines three thematic issues of the driving factors which cause vulnerability, social exclusion and involvement in prostitution. The research looks at how processes of exclusion affects the lives of prostitutes and considers the different levels of social exclusion experienced by certain groups of prostitutes (The UCL institute of Health Equity, 2014). This research also deals with factors that prevent greater inclusion of prostitutes to the mainstream culture of the society and different levels of social exclusion. However, the study overlooked to look at the existing contexts of relationship between prostitutes and the community, which is a base for understanding the source of the problem; exclusion and also to promote greater social inclusion.

Under the topic of sex work and the social context of sex workers in Addis Ababa Bethlehem, (2002) explores the social life of sex workers; the social ties between sex workers and a variety of other people such as their family members, relatives, roommates, neighbors, co-workers and clients. The main focus of her work is that sex workers share the same social milieu and value system with non sex workers. She

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narrowed her research focus to the social context of relationship between prostitutes and other people who in one or another way encounter them.

The gap I observed in Bethlehem's research is a mere focus on social relationship of prostitutes; overlooking other aspects of relationship like interpersonal and institutional relationships. However, she articulated in her finding that any measure taken concerning prostitution so far has not been as successful as it has to be due to the fact that governments and others who intervene in prostitution try to eradicate the institution; they follow the abolitionist approach rather than first understanding the contexts of prostitution. They also failed to identify prostitutes from the institution/prostitution.

In house prostitution is also a cause for divorce and family breakdown. In terms of value exchanges that may exist between prostitutes and the surrounding community, in house prostitution may also impose negative moral and psychological impacts on young boys and girls of surrounding community. Children of the community are likely to grow up observing prostitution and are also likely to engage in the practice in their future life. Some women are also attracted to the prostitution due to their financial problems and these facts would finally lead their relationship to end up in divorce (Lijalem, 2015).

Researches also revealed that, young boys who grow up in communities where prostitution is common are more likely to grow up becoming pimps in their future life. In a study of consultation paper on prostitution titled, 'paying the price' (2004), nineteen young boys were interviewed. As to these informants, young boys in areas where prostitution were common tended to be involved in a wide range of criminal activity, including acquisitive crime, drug dealing, and possession of fire arms. The majority of

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these boys described problematic drug use and spent an average \$550 per week on drug. Their reasons for becoming involved in pimping included deliberate choice for some, and the perception of no choice was common for others who grew up in areas where prostitution was common (Blunkett, 2004).

Although any kind of prostitution has its own negative effects, the effect of in house prostitution seems different from other kinds of prostitution. As it is conducted within the community, in house prostitution victimizes many groups of people than other types of prostitution. In communities where in house prostitution is practiced, community members, especially children and youngsters are among the major victims of prostitution and associated anti social practices. These sections of the community are more vulnerable to the effects of prostitution than other groups of people in and out of the community. They are victims of discrimination and verbal assaults both in their living compounds and in the public like in schools. On the other hand, in house prostitutes are very visible to their neighbors and to people with whom they have close contacts/ relations, including their very own children and relatives. This fact imposes the burden of hostility and discrimination not only on prostitutes but also on their children and relatives. The impacts may not end in their living compounds; rather may continue to different social service providing organizations such as clinics, schools, police stations, religious institutions, and many others (The UCL institute of Health Equity, 2014).

From these facts one can easily observe the gaps left uncovered by previous researches; less attention to the contexts of relationships between in house prostitutes and surrounding community, and multi dimensional effects of in house prostitution on both prostitutes and the community. Therefore, my research on this issue was conducted

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aiming to fill the gaps left uncovered by previous studies by bringing the overlooked contexts of relationship between in house prostitutes and the community to the light.

1.3. Objectives

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of this research is to explore the contexts of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community of the study area.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To explore the nature of prostitution in the study area
- To find out the neighborhood context between in house prostitutes and the community
- To find out challenges faced by both in house prostitutes and surrounding community of the study area.
- To explore coping strategies of in house prostitutes and surrounding community of the study area.

1.4. Research Questions

1.4.1. General Question

What are the contexts of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community of the study area?

1.4.2. Specific Questions

- How is the nature of prostitution in the study area?

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- How is the neighborhood context between in house prostitutes and the community?
- What are the challenges faced by in house prostitutes and surrounding communities?
- What are the coping strategies of in house prostitutes and surrounding community?

1.5. Significance of the study

Interest in the topic goes back to the 19 60s, but the studies displayed common characteristics in terms of themes, approaches, and conclusions. In terms of themes, researches on prostitution in Ethiopia tended to be highly repetitive. The favorite themes or issues have been “causes of prostitution”, “types of prostitution”, and “consequences of prostitution”. The same themes have been tested over and over again. It appears that it happened partly for lack of research integration, poor archival research and/or inaccessibility of earlier research reports. Little efforts have been made to place prostitution in the context of wider socio-economic conditions, for example to understand the life of prostitutes and the contexts of relationship between prostitutes and the neighboring community (Bethlehem, 2002).

As sex work is one of the most challenging occupations, it is socially, psychologically, and morally demanding not just because it involves physical intimacy with the men to whom sexual service is provided but also it is a life of insecurity for which a system of social support of all kind is necessary. The challenges and problems which sex workers encounter may vary according to their work location in which they

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provide sex services, for example those who work in their home have greater chance of visibility by their immediate neighbors and by the surrounding communities as well. As a result of this, their relationship with surrounding community is more likely to be negative because they are engaging in a practice which is undesirable and unacceptable by the mainstream culture of the society (Benoit, & Shumka, 2015).

As briefly explained earlier in the statement of the problem, many different researches that were conducted in the area of prostitution direct their interest interims of both theme and approach to the nature, causes, and consequences of prostitution on prostitutes themselves from different perspectives. An understanding of the existing contexts of relationship between prostitutes and the surrounding community in general and the nature of prostitution, and neighborhood system in particular has a significant contribution for any action to be taken in the area of prostitution, but this issue has been given less attention and ignored or overlooked in many research conducted so far.

Based on the above facts, the significance of my research is to provide relevant and evidence based information to governmental institutions which directly deal with issues of the community like Ministries of Culture and Tourism, Labor and Social Affairs, Women and Children Affairs, and Youth and Sport. These institutions especially at local (woreda and sub city) level can use the findings of the research for their practical engagement in the community. Non-governmental organizations can also use the research finding for the same purpose. The finding may also benefit in house prostitutes and the neighboring community to build a desirable relationship and lead a peaceful life based on the practical intervention taken by both governmental and non governmental bodies. It may also be important in providing different insights in to the research area. The research

may serve as an additional literature material for students of social work and other researchers who are interested in studying related issues of the topics of this paper.

1.6. Limitation of the Study

As most of the studies conducted on prostitution and related issues so far focus on either the nature of prostitution or on the impacts of the practice on those who in one or another way involved in it, the researcher was not able to access relevant researches and evidenced based data for this particular study. Many published and unpublished documents written on my research topic and related issues largely gave attention to the nature, process, consequences, and types of the practice itself and the relationship between sex workers and their clients. These researches also see and examine prostitution from many different perspectives; for instance they focus on sex work and HIV/AIDS, sex work and STDs, sex work and human rights, sex work and child right among others. However, neither of these researches gave due focus to the contexts of relationships between prostitutes and the surrounding communities. Because of these, it was difficult and tiresome to the researcher to get relevant and appropriate data.

Respondents, particularly community members in the early stage of their acquaintances with the researcher refused to provide the needed and full information as open discussion on issues of prostitution is a social taboo. As a result, some essential data concerning the research topic might have been missed.

1.7. Definition of Terms and key concepts

- **Relationship** is the way in which two or more people, groups, countries, etc., talk to, behave toward, and deal with each other. It also refers to the way in

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which two or more people or things are connected (www.dictionary.com). In the context of this study, relationship refers to the way in which in house prostitutes of the study area connected to the surrounding community and vice-versa.

- **Prostitution** is variously described in literature as prostitution, violence against women or slavery. The root meaning of sex work or prostitution implies a transaction. It follows that prostitution perform some kind of sexual activity in exchange for money (Meaza & Mesifin 2015.115).
- **Prostitution** is a term used to describe a wide range of activities relating to the exchange of money or its equivalent for the provision of sexual services (Harcourt and Donovan 2015; cited in Meaza & Mesifin, 2015).
- **Prostitutes** are defined in Ethiopian context as females who regularly or occasionally trade sex for money in drinking establishments, night clubs, local drink houses, chat and shisha” houses , “on the street”, around military and refugee camps, construction sites, trade routes , red light districts, and at their home (FHAPCO, 2011; cited in Yohannis, 2015).
- **A community** is a group of people living in the same place or having particular characteristics in common, a feeling of ownership with others, as a result of sharing common attitudes, interests, and goals (www.dictionary.com).
- **A community** is a small or large social unit (a group of people) who has something in common, such as norms, values, religion, or identity. Often but

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not always communities share a sense of place that is situated in a given geographical area ([https://en.m.wikipedia.org/ .../](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/.../))

- **Clients** refer to men who visit in house prostitutes for sexual intercourse for payment.
- **Clients' houses** refer to the house of the men who visit in house prostitutes for sexual intercourse.
- **Consumers association** refers to a kind of public shop supported by government body and where residents who have I.D card purchase food or other subsistence with relatively cheap price.
- **Ekub** refers to a kind of informal saving association in which all members contribute money in some period interval and each receives in a rotational base.
- **Iddir** refers to a kind of community based organization in which members monthly contribute money and support each other in crisis events particularly on the death of relatives.
- **In house prostitution** refers to a kind of prostitution where sexual intercourse is conducted in prostitutes' houses.
- **In house prostitute** refers to a woman who conducts sex for payment in her house.
- **Women association** refers to association at local/woreda level formed by government bodies to which women become members and participate in social and political issues.

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- **Woreda** refers to the bottom administrative level in city government of Addis Ababa in a hierarchical order.
- **Kebele** refers to the bottom administrative level in city government of Addis Ababa in hierarchical order during/ before the transitional city government of Addis Ababa.
- **Ketena** refers to one of the sub divisions of a single woreda.

1.8. Scope of the study

There are many places in Addis Ababa where prostitution is practiced. Chichinnya in Bole, Piassa on the way from Mohamud Music Shop to Tayitu hotel in Arada, Shola Gebeya in Yeka, Sebategna in Mercato area, and Dem Sefer in Akaki Kaliti sub-cities are among the focal areas where prostitution in different forms is practiced. The practice is expanding in various areas of the city following growth and expansion of both residential and commercial areas, the number of people mainly women who engage in prostitution is growing at an alarming rate from time to time and prostitution is becoming among the top social ills of the community.

Among the different types of indoor prostitution in Addis Ababa, in house prostitution is the one that has existed since long ago. Mekabir Sefer in Woreda 04 of Bole sub-city is among the places where in house prostitution is widely being practiced. The relationship between prostitutes and surrounding communities is one of the interesting research areas that enable researchers, academicians, and others who have an interest to work on prostitution and related issues to have a clear understanding and basic

knowledge on the existing nature of in house prostitution and context of relationships between in house prostitutes and surrounding community.

To make the study more manageable in terms of both the theme and the geographical area, I limited the study to the context of relationships between in house prostitution and surrounding community in Mekabir Sefer.

Due to the social stigma attached to the practice, it would be hardly effective and successful to explore issues like prostitution using survey methods. Therefore, qualitative method of data collection will be used. The purpose of investigating the context of relationships between in house prostitution and the surrounding community is not necessarily just for the sake of knowing /understanding, rather, to critically analyze the context of relationships between the two, and to provide an evidence based data for those who will be interested to work on issues related to the topic of this research. The research also aimed at presenting the reflections of participants of the research and the researchers own observations. Therefore, Qualitative method would enable the researcher to collect more qualitative and context based data on the research topic which can answer the research questions.

1.9. Organization of the Study

This thesis consists of five chapters, the first chapter includes the over view and back ground of the study, statements of the problem, objectives of the research, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation, assumption, definition of terms, and organization of the study. Chapter two consists of the review of related literature. Chapter three is about research methodology, and procedures applied to collect

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data for the study. The fourth chapter is concerned with analysis of the research findings. Chapter five is discussion of the research findings, conclusions, and implication of the research findings.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature Review

Chapter two provides an extensive review of literature on historical back ground, nature and type of prostitution. It also explores the relationship between prostitutes and neighboring community. A brief and critical review of various literatures about the research topic is also widely dealt with.

2.1. Emergence and Types of Prostitution

Prostitution as a transaction or as an exchange for money or some kinds of goods was thought to emerge in the 4th century. The term prostitution was emerged from a Latin word and the first written document about the presence of prostitution was found in ancient Egypt in the 4th century BC. Since then, the idea of prostitution changed through time (Ordane 2006, cited in Lijalem 2014).

In the middle ages of Europe prostitution was protected, respected, licensed, and controlled by the law to gather large amount of revenues for their nations. For example, in England Bordellos (places of payment for males who need sex), where given licenses first from bishops and latter from parliament. As the practice was respected and protected by the law, in most parts of western countries, prostitution related crimes were strictly controlled by legal institutions and organizations (Mengiste, 1999; Waganeh, 2008:4).

There are different perspectives on the place and time of the emergence of sex work. Different studies reviled that there is no right evidence that shows where and when sex as a professional practice started. Sex work is globally practiced and considered as

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the oldest profession in the world and employing millions of women worldwide (Edlund & Karn, 2002 cited in Yohaniss, 2015). It has been documented in most societies throughout history, from brothels in Greece in the 4th century BC. Prostitution was also common in ancient Rome, and in the oldest testament it was accepted as a more or less necessary fact of life (Bullough & Bullough, 1993).

The sex trade is considered as a multi-billion dollar business that employs million of women and differs greatly among populations. It is classified as direct and indirect. Direct sex workers are those women who classified themselves as sex workers and earn their living primarily by selling sex. On the other hand, indirect sex workers are women for whom sex work is not the first source of income, but serves as a secondary source of income. For instance indirect sex workers may work as waitress, hair dressers, tailors, massage girl, street vendors, or beer promotion girls and supplement their income by selling sex on regular base or occasionally (Edlund & Kahn, 2002).

Harcourt and Donovan (2015), on their part classified services provided by prostitutes in to two as direct and in direct sex work. Direct sex work refers to services such as indoor and outdoor prostitutions as well as escort services. This type of sex work typically involves the exchange of sex for a fee in which genital contact is common. Indirect sex work refers to services, such as lap dancing, stripping and virtual sex services (over internet or telephone). Genital contact is not common in this type of sex work; however, a fee is still exchanged for the service.

2.2. Relationship Between Prostitutes and the Community

The broadest social circle in the context of which sex workers come in to contact with wider society is their neighbors. From interaction with neighbors, prostitutes seek to establish channels through which they could have access to social or material resources that cannot be provided to them by individuals (by their family, kin, fellow sex workers, or clients). The social resources that the woman stands in need of might include protection against violence support at time of illness or burial when death occurs. The material resources that they might obtain by draining on their neighbors might include money and/or household goods of various kinds just as net working with different kinds of individuals is prompted by the desire to overcome the limitations imposed by the work itself and by poverty. There is also networking with a community of neighbors prompted by the desire to ensure physical and social security (Bethlehem, 2005).

Prostitutes related to their neighbors both individually in an ad hoc manner (informal) and institutionally through membership in social organizations (formal). The informal interaction with neighbors take the form of social activities like visiting the sick, attending funeral or calling up on a bereaved neighbors, they include attending weddings or calling up on neighbors who has announced some happy occasion. The formal interactions take the form of membership in community organizations like iddir and equb. Iddirs range from the gender specific dinner iddirs that help assemble food item at the house of the bereaved member for several nights to neighborhood associations (called Dinkwan iddir) that organize funerals and make financial contributions to the bereaved. Likewise, iqub types range from small pools in which a few friends contribute

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and collect money in twins to large pool in which the women join in with a variety of other people (Bethlehem, 2005, p 179-181).

The form that the interaction between sex workers and their neighbors take varies considerably depending on the proportion in which establishments related to sex work are combined with residential home. In those neighborhoods where prostitution is widely practiced, the relationship between prostitutes and other people in the neighborhood tends to be smooth and integrative, while in those communities where sex workers are few and far between, the tendency is for them to be isolated or left out on a broad range of issues. To be in a social limbo in relation to certain categories of people does not mean that prostitution is a lone figure with little or no engagement with society. In fact, prostitution has been one of the most socially demanding of occupations. It is socially demanding not just because it involves physical intimacy with the men to whom sexual service is provided but also it is a life of insecurity for which a system of social support of all kinds is necessary. The best option that prostitutes have to get out of this work is to be socially connected. No woman who seeks to leave this kind of life behind can afford to narrow down her social net works and close the door of self advancement. In her finding, Bethlehem put that prostitution for many prostitute is rough work that involves insecurities and risk of all kind, however, it is also a kind of work that brings the woman in to contact with a wide range of people on daily basis (Bethlehem, 2005, p 177-178).

White argued that the community regarded prostitutes as products of social break down; they were regarded as people whose humanness was reduced; society should; therefore be sorry for them and should try to rehabilitate them. This image of prostitutes as women who are rejected, defeated and hopeless was so dominant that it completely

overshadowed the self perception of the women and the positive social role that many of them believed they were playing. (Bethlehem, 2002).

2.3. Challenges Experienced by Prostitutes

Prostitution has been difficult and challenging issue for social crusaders, scholars, feminists, government and nongovernmental organizations both at national, regional, and international levels. There have been legal, moral, and medical concerns about the challenges of prostitution. The concern raised by prostitution has to do not only with the exploitation of feminine sexuality by profiteers, but also the objectification of women's dignity. Despite their vulnerability, sex workers remained a largely invisible, inadequately served and marginalized population. The main challenges sex workers faced include health risks, violence and obstacles to gaining access to substantial health care services, legal assistance, and social services. (The journal of pan African studies, vol.3, no.1, September 2009).

Another major challenge faced by sex workers is discrimination. A study conducted by Sex work Education and Advocacy Task force (SWEAT), in May 2013, in South Africa revealed that, it was incredibly difficult for sex workers to go to a clinic and inform the care providers that they were sex workers. Many experienced humiliation and ridicule by health care personnel, including doctors and nurses. Discrimination in communities was also extremely prevalent, many sex workers facing being ostracized by community members and even facing violence when their houses were demolished (<https://www.quora.com>).

2.4. Impacts of Prostitution on Surrounding Communities

The victims of prostitution include the young boys and girls, and the men and women trapped in it. Communities are also victims as prostitution increases the general level of disorder and creates a climate of criminality. Young boys who grow in areas where prostitution is common are more likely to grow up becoming pimps in their future life. In a study of consultation paper on prostitution, 'paying the price' (2004), nineteen young boys were interviewed. As to these informants, young boys in areas where prostitution were common tended to be involved in a wide range of criminal activity, including acquisitive crime, drug dealing, and possession of fire arms. The majority of these boys described problematic drug use and spent an average \$550 per week on drug. Their reasons for becoming involved in pimping included deliberate choice for some, and the perception of no choice was common for others who grew up in areas where prostitution was common (Blunkett, 2004).

Prostitution can have devastating consequences for the individuals involved in it and for the wider community. It involves the abuse of children and the serious exploitation of adults-many of who are trafficked in to the practice. Prostitution also has close links with problematic drug use and, increasingly, with transnational and organized crime. Communities are often seriously concerned about the existence of local prostitution, especially if it is street based. The impacts may involve anti-social behavior which can include noise-verbal abuse among those involved in prostitution and from local residents-and kerb-crawling, which increases and often slows down the flow of traffic through the area (www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk).

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Another impact of prostitution is that prostitute users will often mistakenly focus their attention on other women passing by, and prostitutes on men who are not potential clients. Sexual activity can take place in public, in car parks, play grounds, and private gardens. Litter includes used condoms, dirty needles, and other dirty paraphernalia. Drug dealing is often also present. This general level of nuisance and anti-social behavior can create an intimidating atmosphere and lead to degeneration of the area, impacting significantly on the value of property and on insurance premiums. The cumulative impacts of these different factors is that an area becomes undesirable, unpleasant, and unsafe, deterring families and businesses from moving in, contributing to a spiral of decline. This can also lead to decline in public order and an increase in lawlessness (Blunkett, 2004).

Prostitution is a moral and nuisance concern for neighboring communities. The practice of prostitution is a nuisance to passerby and to nearby residents and business. It also offends citizens' moral standards and prostitutes and their clients also offend uninvolved people in the area. With regard to community health, used condoms and syringes commonly found on the ground in street prostitution areas are unsightly and potentially hazardous. Prostitutes and clients may also spread sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis, herpes, and AIDS. Prostitutes who do not have access to proper facilities may urinate, defecate, or bathe in public. Prostitution also has negative economic impact on communities. Legitimate businesses may lose customers who avoid the area because of prostitution. Prostitutes' presence may negatively affect the area economy, reducing property values and limiting property use (www.popcenter.org).

2.5. Prostitution in Ethiopia

Prostitution has been known in Ethiopia since olden time, although there are no exact data as to when and where commercial sex work first appeared in the country. Some sources associate the beginnings of sex work with the movement of kings, nobles and war lords, the establishment of cities, and the development of trade. Subsequently, towns and government offices become centers for the migration of people, particularly females from rural areas. Initially, the migrant females in *tella* and *areke* houses were helped the owners to prepare local beverages (*tella* and/or *areke*), worked as waitresses and/or entertained customers; eventually many of them become commercial sex workers. Over time, with the growth of Addis Ababa, the number of *areke*, *tela*, and *tea* houses increased (Andargachew, 1988; cited in a study by Family Health International, 2002).

Research suggested that prostitution has been practiced in Ethiopia for a long period of time since the time of Byzantine, Greece, Roman and Egyptian empires and the first evidence about the beginning of sex work in Ethiopia was identified by a Portuguese priest known as Francisco Alvarez during the sixteenth century. According to him sex work in the country was practiced around the royal camps of Gondar during the regime of Emperor Lebene Dengel in the sixteen century (Lijalem, 2015). The royal camp was a vast establishment that move around the country whenever the emperor/ruler wishes and composed of huge number of tents and people including those special women called courtesans; women who make sex with rich and high ranking men in exchange of money or other materials. These women come from different provinces of the country and are free of all ties and posses unique and extra beauty. The courtesans come to the towns to serve as princes of the country and they follow the rulers or noblemen in all their

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journeys and ignore nothing to be the center of attention for their royal favors (Kefetew, 1996. Mengiste, 1999; cited in Waganeh, 2008).

During the middle ages in Gondar, Axum, Lalibela, and in other commercial centers of the Ethiopian Empire, sex workers perform intelligence services and were the main body guard of the royal camps. Sex work in Ethiopia has long history like other countries which has been started during the sixteenth century. It is believed that prostitution widespread in Ethiopia following Italian invasion and subsequent disruption, construction of the Ethio-Dijbuti railway, growth of urbanization and urban life, divorce, and commercialization of local drinks. The practice of prostitution increased in Ethiopia as husbands of Ethiopian women left their wives to battle fields and the women seek an alternative means to earn income to grow up their children by meeting the sexual demand of the Italian troops. In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of hotels, bars, restaurants, *tella*, *areke*, & *tej* houses and other eating and drinking establishments, and the number of sex workers increased markedly. These establishments were the primary sites where clients meet sex workers. Prostitution is not a legally recognized profession in Ethiopia. However, most of the establishments where the sex works are based (hotels, bars, restaurants, night clubs, etc) operate legally with working licenses (Pankhurst, 1974).

These days, sex work in Ethiopia is both open and pervasive. During night time both in Addis Ababa and regional towns, very huge number of women sell sex service openly. A modern type of prostitution including child prostitution started because of the development of towns and urbanization. The issue of sex and sexual services are not discussed openly and freely in most Ethiopian societies. This is mainly due to culture, traditional beliefs, and public attitudes (Overs, 2011; cited in Lijalem, 2015). The context

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of relationships between prostitutes and the neighboring community was given less focus in previous researches conducted so far in Ethiopia. However, having basic knowledge and understanding in the area would contribute for any intervention in areas of prostitution and related issues.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methods

3.1. Research Design

To meet the objective of the research, the researcher used qualitative research method for this particular study, because this method helps to collect data in the field or at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. According to Creswell, (2014), qualitative researchers do not bring individuals to lab (a contrived situation), nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete. Rather, they tend to collect data in the field where participants experience the issue.

As my research title needs multiple sources of data to meet the objectives of the research, I myself collected data through in depth interview of participants and observation of the physical arrangement of residential and semi commercial houses, and other overt behaviors and acts of participants at the study site; which are the main characteristics of qualitative research, as explained by Creswell, (2014).

Based on these characteristics of qualitative research method, with which my research title and objectives fit, qualitative research techniques were employed to explore, understand, and interpret the perception and lived experiences of in house prostitutes and surrounding community of the study area, by investigating their real experiences, feelings, perceptions, and the actual events around them in the practical relationship and interaction between them.

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Among the different types of approaches in qualitative research, phenomenological research is the most preferable and appropriate one for this study as the main purpose of the study is exploring and describing the lived experiences of participants about the phenomena which they described by themselves. Phenomenological research is a design of inquiry coming from philosophy and psychology in which the researcher describes the lived experiences of individuals about a phenomenon as described by participants. This description culminates in the essence of the experiences for several individuals who have all experienced the phenomenon. This design has strong philosophical underpinnings and typically involves conducting interviews (Creswell, 2014). Accordingly, information from the perspective of in house prostitutes, and members of the community in the study area were explored, analyzed, and interpreted.

3.2. Selection of Research Sites and Participants

The idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents or visual materials) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question (Creswell, 2014). This does not necessarily suggest random sampling or selection of a large number of participants and sites, as typically found in quantitative research.

Mekabir Sefer (Woreda 04), in Bole sub-city is one of the residential areas in Addis Ababa where in house prostitution is being practiced since long ago. Observing this fact, the study site was purposefully selected. Within this study site, residential houses where in house prostitution is both practiced and not practiced were selected no randomly. Non

probability sampling techniques were employed to select, houses and participants both from prostitute, and non-prostitute members of the community in the study area.

According to Creswell (2014), there is no specific answer for the question of how many sites and participants a qualitative research should have. Creswell suggested and advised from his experiences of selecting sites and participants in many qualitative researches that the number of sites and participants vary in accordance with specific qualitative research approaches. For instance, Narrative research include one or two individuals; Phenomenological typically range from three to ten; grounded theory, twenty to thirty; ethnography examines one single culture sharing group with numerous artifacts, interviews, and observations; and case studies including about four to five case.

Considering these facts and suggestions, the researcher selected eight participants (four in house prostitutes and four non-prostitute members of the community), non randomly from the non randomly selected eight residential houses in different corners of the study site, keeping in mind that the number of participants might increase until data saturation stage is reached.

3.3. Inclusion Criteria

The two types of qualitative data (observation and in depth interview) were collected through purposive and non-random sampling techniques with the following inclusion criterion.

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- Participants from both prostitute and non-prostitute members of the community were those who regularly lived in the community relatively for longer years.
- Participant prostitutes are working currently as in house prostitutes in the study site.
- All participants were 18 years or older.
- All participants demonstrated their willingness to participate in the study without any forms of coercion.

3.4. Sample Size

With regard to sample size, there is no standard rule of sampling in qualitative studies. Rather, sampling size is determined by the response of respondents reaching the data saturation stage (Creswell, 2009). Accordingly, in most cases for homogeneous clients such stage is reached under 6-12 respondents. In line with Creswell's suggestion, data was gathered from a total of eight respondents; four in house prostitutes and, four non-prostitute members of the community in the study area. From these participants I was able to get all the essential data that could answer research questions of the study.

3.5. Tools and Techniques of Data Collection

3.5.1. Data Collection Tools

An interview guide with structured interview forms was developed for the purpose of collecting essential data for the study. The interview guide was prepared for both in house prostitutes and non- prostitute members of the community in the study area.

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This interview guide was developed in such a way that it could be in line with the objectives and research questions of the study.

According to Elmu Sharaf (2009; as cited in Sisay, 2016), questions in the interview guide are designed to allow the researcher gain insight into the fundamental research question of the study.

Using the guide, I interviewed each participant from each category and probe while they were responding to the interview questions. But, before practical engagement in to data gathering, the interview guide was pre tested with two individuals; one from each category of the main research participants. Then after, questions in interview guide were modified in such a way that they could be in line with research questions. The guide was initially developed in English language and latter translated in to Amharic for the purpose of better understanding and clarity between me; the research and participants.

3.5.2. Data collection Techniques

In qualitative research, data obtained from relatively small group of respondents and detailed verbal description of characteristics, cases and settings are presented rather than analysis of statistical techniques. Qualitative research mainly uses observation and in depth interviews as sources of data. It also uses qualitative document and qualitative audio visual (Creswell, 2014).

Taking the above facts in to consideration, data for this study was collected from both in house prostitutes and non prostitute members of the community through observation, and in depth interview with open ended questions. In line with this, due to the clandestine nature of prostitution, reaching individual in house prostitutes was very

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difficult for an outsider like me. However, getting access to houses where prostitution takes place is not as such difficult. Because of this fact, I applied snowball technique to reach participants especially in house prostitutes who have relatively longer years of experience as in house prostitutes in the study area, and who are willing to participate in the study. To this end, I used one of my friends who have been working as a counselor in an NGO closely working with in house prostitutes in my study site as an entry point. He contacted me with one of the research participants whose pseudo name is Fasika as mentioned in the latter section of this research from in house prostitutes and Bekele from non prostitute members of the community. Through these two key informants from both categories, I was able to get in contact with other potential participants and select those who fit to my inclusion criteria as mentioned earlier in this section, and collect the essential data for the research.

3.5.2.1. Observation

Observation is one of the tools for qualitative data gatherings. In qualitative observation, the researcher takes field notes on behavior and activities of individuals at the research site. In these field notes, the researcher records, in an unstructured or semi-structured way using some prior questions that the inquirer wants to know (Croswell, 2014). In this regard, data about the physical arrangement of residential and semi commercial houses, as well as overt relationships between in house prostitute and non-prostitute members of the community in the study area were systematically observed and unstructured field notes were taken.

Creswell (2014) also pointed that qualitative observers engage in roles varying from a nonparticipant to complete participant with open ended general questions to participants allowing them to freely provide their views. In this regard my role in observation was an 'observer as participant'; taking part in certain activities in semi commercial establishments of the study area like having meal and drinks with potential participants, and also having conversation with in house prostitutes. This gave me an opportunity to record information as it occurred.

3.5.2.2. In Depth interview

To obtain a detail of essential data that could answer the research questions, in depth interview with in house prostitutes and non prostitute members of the community who were participants of the research was made. Written consent was taken to avoid suspicion on the part of informants and to ensure confidentiality.

3.6. Data analysis Techniques

Data collected from research participants were analyzed through qualitative data analysis techniques. The intent in data analysis is to make sense out of text or image data. It involves segmenting and taking apart the data like peeling back the layers of an onion as well as putting it back together (Creswell, 2014).

Qualitative data analysis proceeds on two levels of the more general procedure in analyzing the data, and secondly the analysis steps embedded within specific qualitative designs. In the course of analyzing the data collected from study participants, I applied data analysis steps from the specific to the general as involving multiple levels of

analysis. In this respect, the raw data gathered from in house prostitutes, and non prostitute members of the community in the study area were organized and prepared for analysis through transcribing interviews, typing up field notes, and sorting and arranging the data in to different types depending on the sources of information; observation, and in depth interview.

Then next step I did was coding. Coding as described by (Rosman & Rallis, 2012; cited in Creswell, 2014), is the process of organizing the data by breaking chunks (or text or image segments), and writing a word representing a category in the margins. Accordingly, the arranged data from in house prostitutes and non prostitute members of the community were coded through the process mentioned above. The coding process was applied to generate a description of the study site in general and the physical arrangements of residential houses and context of relationships in the community. Participants' behavior, or feelings and actions during interview and when they are out of interview were also described based on the observations undertaken. These descriptions were also coded and themes were generated based on research questions so that I could categorize the data according to different themes consisting specific and relatively similar information. The themes were sequentially represented and finally the research findings were interpreted.

3.7. Assuring the Trustworthiness of the Data

Validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research and is based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the stand point of the researcher, the participants

or the readers of an account. Terms abound in the qualitative literature that address validity includes trustworthiness, authenticity, and credibility Creswell (2014).

As suggested and recommended by Creswell, qualitative researchers to apply one or more validity strategies to ensure the trustworthiness of their findings and validity strategy according to him is procedures in qualitative research that qualitative researchers use to demonstrate the accuracy of their findings and convince readers of this accuracy.

Among the eight primary strategies, that are organized from those most frequently used and easy to implement to those occasionally used and more difficult to implement, I found two of them as the most appropriate and easy to implement. These two strategies are: *member checking*; which is giving opportunity to participants of the study to suggest or decide that the findings' specific descriptions, or themes are accurate and the second strategy is *clarify the bias the researcher brings to the study*; to reflect on how the interpretation of the findings is shaped by researcher's personal background, such as gender, culture, history and socio economic origin. Accordingly, in the first case I read the draft of the research findings to my key informants who are also participants of the research in accordance with the information they provided in their respective categories. In the latter case, I read all the findings and descriptions and, carefully tried to check with participants' description from the recorded and transcribed data to check whether the finding is shaped with my own bias.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

Most authors who discuss qualitative research design address the importance of ethical consideration. First and foremost, the researcher has an obligation to respect the

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rights, needs, values, and desires of the informants (Marshall & Roman, 1989; cited in Creswell, 2014). Any researches that include people require consideration of ethical issues and human subjects or participant protection from harm is imperative in the process (Eisenhauer & Waynaden, 2000; cited in Sisay, 2016).

As my role in this study was as ‘a participant observer’ and the chance of observing or getting access to participants’ sensitive issues would be high and the nature of the research title by itself is highly sensitive particularly in our culture, the following ethical considerations were taken during the entire process and after the completion of the study.

- Research objectives were articulated verbally and in writing so that, they were understood by participants.
- The informants were informed about all data collection devices and activities, and also briefed on how data were gathered.
- Written permission to proceed with the study as articulated was received from informants.
- Participants’ identity and information they provide were and will be confidential.
- All informants were informed that they have the right not to take part or withdrew from the study at any stage without any implied deprivation or penalty for their withdrawal.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Findings

The 4th chapter deals with findings of the study obtained through direct observation and in depth interview as indicated in methodology part of the study. The major findings are concerned with the nature of prostitution in study area, neighbor context between in house prostitutes and surrounding community, nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community, challenges faced by in house prostitutes and surrounding community, and finally coping strategies of in house prostitutes and surrounding community. In order to maintain their confidentiality, all participants of the study were presented in pseudonyms throughout the write up.

4.1. Demographic Description of the Research Participants

Demographic data collected during the study includes respondents' sex, age, length of period/year they lived in the study area, their marital status, number of children they have, and time of their work experience as in house prostitutes (only for prostitute respondents).

There are two categories of participants in this research. The first category involves in house prostitutes currently living and working in the study site except for participant number four who moves between two houses one in the study area and the other is outside of the study area. Participants in the second category are members of the community who permanently live in study area and whose house is relatively closer to the house of in house prostitutes.

Table 1: Demographic information of respondents who are in house prostitutes

No	Respondents (pseudonyms)	Sex	Age	Years lived in the study area	Current marital status	Years lived in prostitution	Number of children
1	Fasika	F	27	24	Unmarried	8	1
2	Saba	F	30	4	Unmarried	12	1
3	Mita	F	25	20	Unmarried	10	1
4	Lomi	F	27	14	Married	14	2

The demographic data of participants in table 1 reveal that their mean age is 27 years. Regarding the number of the years they lived in the study area, participant number two spend 4 years and participant number one 24 years in the study area which are the least and the highest number of years lived by study participants. The average years respondents live in the study area is 15 years. With respect to current marital status, only one respondent is married though her husband is not living with her currently because he is out of the city for work and makes a visit to her only once a year and the remaining three are unmarried. The data also shows that the least number of years spent in prostitution is 8 years, the highest years 14 and the average year is 10 years. With regard to the number of children they have, only one respondent has two children, and the rest three respondents have one child each. Participant number three and number four started prostitution on street and worked as street prostitutes for three and five years respectively before engaging in to in house prostitution, whereas the first two participants begun as in house prostitutes and still working in the same type of prostitution.

Table 2 Demographic information of the respondents from members of the community

No	Respondents (pseudonyms)	Sex	Age	How long they lived in the study area	Current marital status	Number of children
1	Abebech	F	70	30	Widowed	2
2	Selam	F	35	25	Married	1
3	Bekele	M	62	30	Married	2
4	Zelalem	M	29	29	Unmarried	1

Demographic information of participants from community members shows that respondents are both male and female. The mean age of participants is 49 years. Regarding the number of years they lived in study area, respondent number two lived for 25 years which is the least, and the highest is 30 years by respondents number one and number three. The average years respondents lived in the study area is 28 years. Data about the current marital status of respondents show that two of them (respondent number two and number three) are currently married, respondent number one is widowed and the last respondent is unmarried. With respects to the number of children respondents have, all of the respondents have children varying between one and two. The first and the third respondents have two children, whereas the second and the forth respondents have one child each. Participants number two and number four were born and grown up in the study area, whereas the other two participants were born out of Addis Ababa, but married in the study area.

4.1.1. Description of the Study Area

Mekabir Sefer is found in Bole sub city, Woreda 04 administration; is known as Kebele 35. The area has been one of the slum areas in Addis Ababa where in house prostitution is widely practiced and relatively low income people reside. The area is situated at the back of Saint Urael Church, and is bordered by; Saint Urael church to the North, kebele 36 or Nigist Sefer to the South, Tsebel Sefer to the East, and the main road from Kazanchis to Bole medhanialem church to the West. The area is believed to have served as residential place with few farmers in 1889 with the foundation of saint Urael church. Early inhabitants of the area were believed to be followers of traditional beliefs and eventually Orthodox Christian religion began to be introduced following the establishment of saint Urael church.

Currently the estimated number of people living in the area is 11,000. Low income people living, some on sex work and majority on renting houses for women whose origin was both in and out of Addis Ababa, are among the dominant population in study area. The other dominant group of Population is women living in renting houses and engages in, in house prostitution. Priests and other people who in one or another way have relation with the church are also residents of the area.

4.2. Nature of Prostitution

Under this cluster data collected from respondents through in depth interview were presented in three different themes. These themes are types of prostitution being practiced in the study area, places where in house prostitutes solicit their clients, and the main clients of in house prostitutes.

4.2.1. Types of Prostitution Being Practiced in the Study Area

Under this theme, research participants from in house prostitutes mentioned that, prostitution in clients' houses is conducted in addition to the dominant in house prostitution in their community. Regarding this, Fasika says:

In addition to in house prostitution, which is the dominant type of prostitution in this compound, prostitution in clients' houses is also rarely practiced. Mostly we conduct sex during the night time because our clients spend the day time at work and visit us at night both for drinking and for sex. There are also some clients who either come to our houses for sex or take us to their houses or to some other places like bars or mini bed rooms. But, we don't go out with every man, but only with those who are our regular clients and with whom we build trust.

Similarly, respondents who are participants of the study from community members witnessed under this theme that; the types of prostitution being practiced in the study area are in house prostitution, and sometimes prostitution in some other place out of the community, where different men take prostitutes from their home.

In line with this, one of the participants; Bekele says, "*Prostitutes work in their own houses hiding themselves and different men also call and take them out*".

Similarly Zelalem says: *“prostitutes work in their house and sometimes outside when their customers call and take them away”*.

Data reflects that in house prostitutes conduct sex in client’s houses or somewhere outside of the community as an alternative when situations are not inviting in their houses. For example when their children spend most of the days in houses due to sickness or when they are away from school; when schools are closed, and also when important guests or relatives visit them.

4.2.2. Where and How in House Prostitutes Solicit Their Clients or Potential Clients

Where and how participants solicit potential clients for prostitution is the second theme in the first cluster. In front of their house doors and some meter away from their houses/ more generally in their living compound, in house prostitutes use seductive dressing, walking in front of passersby, and verbal talks as the three common ways of soliciting potential users of sex as mentioned by most of (three out of four) study participants. Regarding this issue, Saba and Fasika describe the following respectively: *“I solicit potential clients by standing in front of the door, moving here and there around the house dressing seductively, and raising my legs up and showing some parts of my nude to by passers. I also use verbal talks”*.

“I communicate my clients and other by passers who seem potential users of sex just by standing in front of my house door and using teething or lekefa. Informal greetings, using eye language and weaseling are also common ways that we use to solicit our clients and potential clients for sex business”.

4.2.3. Main clients of in house prostitutes

Under this theme, the two common clients mentioned by majority of respondents from in house prostitutes are men who are daily laborers and those who have wife and children. Drivers and retail merchants outside of the community also visit them. Fasika says the following about customers of herself and that of in house prostitutes in general:

My clients are merchants / retailers and drivers who have wives and children and who come from outside of the surrounding community. Community members don't come to us and prostitutes are not willing too, because we know each other and this may evoke disagreement and quarrel with men's family. Married men visit us because according to them they are not happy with their wives, they don't feel free in sex and have no satisfaction with their wives.

Lomi discloses this fact as:

Most of my clients are adults who have wife and children. They visit prostitutes because they are not happy and don't feel free with their wives. These men told us their secrets that they are not satisfied in sex with their wives, they don't freely talk about sex and are not allowed to do sex in different positions. Some also told us that their wives are nagging. Therefore, they come to us to enjoy sexual freedom.

As described by all participants, their clients like to tell their own personal and marital issues or secrets as they get closer to and build strong relationship with in house prostitutes. They might also build very strong relationship which may go to the extent of marriage. This and related issues are presented in such a detailed manner with practical experiences of participants in the preceding parts of this chapter.

Under the same theme, majority of the respondents from community members (three out of four) mention that most of the users of in house prostitution in their compound are lower class and drunker men, brokers, daily laborers, and beggars. All or

some of these individuals are frequently mentioned by all respondents as main clients of in house prostitution in the community where they live. Bekele describes this issue as:

Daily laborers, beggars, low income men, and sometimes married civil servants are costumers of prostitutes here. Prostitutes may or may not have tella and areke for sell, but they always put the symbol which shows the presence of these drinks. This mechanism lets customers to go in to prostitutes and it is also a way of calling/attracting customers to their house for sex business.

4.3. Relationship between in House Prostitutes and the Community

Eight different themes are presented under this cluster. These themes are; nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and the community, crisis events which in house prostitutes frequently face, supports in house prostitutes need from the community, mutual support and cooperation between in house prostitutes and the community, mutual support and cooperation among in house prostitutes and finally in house prostitutes' participation in community based and civic associations.

4.3.1. Nature of relationship Between in House Prostitutes and the Community

The most common issue raised by all participants from in house prostitutes during in depth interview concerning the nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and the community is that, there is no good relationship between the two and it is based on discrimination, avoidance and hostility in the part of the community because of the work of in house prostitutes and their addictive behavior, and disengagement of in house prostitutes to their neighbors as a result of avoidance and discrimination.

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Saba expresses her feeling about the nature of relationship between in house prostitutes including herself and the community as: *“Relationship between in house prostitutes including me and the community members is not good because of our work; prostitution, and because we are addicted to drinks, chat and cigarette”*.

Lomi on her part describes that relationship in the community is not good and she also tells her idea on the reason behind the existing nature of relationship between the two as:

We; prostitutes have good relationship among ourselves. But our relationship with the rest members of the community is discriminatory in the part of the community. They gossip about us due to the voice of music we use to attract customers. They complain that they were undermined and looked down because of us. Their complain is serious especially when customers come to visit us but we can't help them because there is only single gate and as a result our customers pass through their house to come to our house.

Surprisingly, participants from community members have similar explanation and understanding about the existing nature of relationship between the two. All respondents witnessed that relationship between in house prostitutes and the community is based on avoidance, hatred, discrimination, and judgment from the community. Relationship between the two is not strong and very weak in general.

Regarding this, Abebech elaborates her ideas as follows:

Relationship with prostitutes is based on hatred and discrimination in the part of the community due to their engagement in prostitution, but we have to understand them because being a prostitute is not their choice. It's obvious that people do not want their relationship; the only reason community members approach prostitutes is that they rent houses to them. They don't even have coffee together. People in the community do not want to visit prostitutes when they are sick, they do not lend them money

or borrow them certain house equipments when they are in need as they do among themselves. People in this compound do not want to see them as members of iddir and other institutions which are parts of social life.

4.3.2. Crisis in House Prostitutes Frequently Experience

The two common crisis events that in house prostitutes frequently experience as mentioned by majority participants are financial crisis and health crisis. Participants during in depth interview described that, the conditions in which they face financial crisis are times of sickness mostly related to their work. As they engage in prostitution for longer years with different men, they frequently experience sickness arising from over loaded sexual intercourse. This finding indicates that they face double burden; sickness due to long term over loaded sex, and financial crisis due to inability to work because of sickness. They simultaneously experience the two common problems and this cyclical effect makes life difficult for them. Regarding this, one of the respondents; Fasika says: *“lack of money and sickness are the main crisis that I frequently face. Neighbors don’t have care about me when I am sick except my fellow prostitutes. But the community show its generosity and cooperation when we give birth”*.

The other respondent. Mita also forward her idea concerning the common crisis events she frequently experience as; sickness and neighbors’ non-responsiveness or carelessness to reach for her.

Insults and avoidance from the community are also mentioned by some respondents as challenges frequently experienced by in house prostitutes. In line with this, Lomi says:

Lack of enough money is my frequent problem. With respect to sickness, I have no problem because I seriously take care of myself. I developed a good health seeking behavior from the trainings I took by NGO's and from lived experiences of the fellow prostitutes. But, sickness is serious problem of many prostitutes who are my friends. Most of them do not take care of themselves, they don't develop health seeking behavior; many were died while they can take timely treatment and save their life.

4.3.3. Supports in House Prostitutes Need from the Community

The three common needs of in house prostitutes from the community which are frequently mentioned by respondents are cooperation, understanding, and non discriminatory relationship by their neighbors. Regarding this, Fasica forward her ideas as:

Warm and bright gesture from the community, I need their cooperation and advice, I want them to approach and hear my problems, and I want them not to insult me with immoral and touching words. It is not my choice to work as a prostitute nor it is my destiny, I want them to cooperate and help each other in times of crisis and happiness, I also want them lend me money and goods when I am in need.

Similarly, Saba and Lomi express their feelings respectively as: *"I want the community to hear me and listen to my problems, to understand, not to avoid me and not to refuse to open the gate at night to let my customer out and to let me in some times when I go out to look for business on street".*

"I want the community to be in good relation with me and to reach for and save me from customer's beating. I also want them to take care of my child while I am with my customer".

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Regarding the needs in house prostitutes seek from the community, findings from study participants as described above reveal that, the needs of almost all participants are more of psychological and social care, support, and cooperation especially in crisis events like financial and health crisis in addition to a deep need of protection; particularly protection from their own clients' abuse.

4.3.4. Mutual Support and Cooperation Between in House Prostitutes and the Community

All respondents have similar experiences and feelings concerning the supportive and cooperative nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and the community. They all describe that people in the community have no strong support and caring tradition for in house prostitutes. Their neighborhood is based on avoidance by community members; they sometimes cooperate only in times of happiness and sorrow like birth giving and death of relatives for condolences. But in times of crisis especially sickness their neighbors completely avoid them thinking that they are carriers of diseases. Respondents from the community members also share this idea. Regarding this, Mita expresses her lived experience as she doesn't have habit of strong support and cooperation in everyday life with the community. Rather, prostitutes cooperate among themselves and support each other in all events of their life. The community avoids them especially when they are sick, neighbors do not want to approach and support them. In times of happiness like holidays they sometimes invite them to their house, but she doesn't want to go their house even though they invite her because she doesn't trust their invitation is genuine. When prostitutes are in serious trouble/ crisis like death of relatives, their neighbors come for condolence and stay with them only for a while.

In line with this, Saba describes her feelings as:

There is no cooperation and mutual support between me and the community for example, I remember a time when they blamed me as drunker while I was away for business and my house was broken by robbers. In times of death of relatives, they visit us as any distant person does. We prostitutes cooperate and support one another in times of sickness and death of relatives rather than relying on the community.

4.3.5. The Existing Mutual Help and Cooperation Among in House Prostitutes

All respondents have the similarx felling towards mutual support and cooperation among themselves. According to respondents from in house prostitutes, there is loose idea of private resource and mutual support and cooperation is so strong among in house prostitutes. They strongly cooperate among and support each other even with recently involved prostitutes with whom they haven't yet build strong relationship. Their cooperation in times of crisis especially sickness is to the extent of treating each other until they get well or die. Respondents from community members too have similar understanding on the issue of mutual support and cooperation among in house prostitutes.

With regard to this, Fasika says:

In the life of prostitution, there is no personal property or money; we share and enjoy what we have together, we are there for each other especially in times of sickness. We share both our happiness and sorrow. No one can understand a prostitute except a prostitute. Therefore, we have strong mutual support and cooperation at any time and Occasion. Our cooperation is to the extent of prioritizing the felt need of our friends considering the seriousness of their needs. One can eat and drink from friend's house and even spend some days with friends if she is in need. We contribute money and treat our sick friends, we care and treat them and

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take them back to their family even out of Addis if it is necessary. We support each other in all events of life from birth to death.

All respondents from members of the community forward that in house prostitutes in their community have a strong tradition of mutual support and cooperation among themselves than everybody else, because of their common history.

In line with this, Selam from community members describes her idea and experience as follows:

Prostitutes have such an amazing cooperation among themselves in times of both eases and crises. They share everything they have especially when one of them is in need. Their cooperation could be taken as an exemplary for other members of the community. They have no private things to use alone. They use everything by sharing. I remember once in this area, a prostitute whose origin is from Gondar got sick and her fellow prostitutes contributed money and treated her very well both in hospital and in their home, unfortunately she died. They don't know a specific place where her parents were living in Gondar, but they did great effort in searching the place and finally took her to her place of origin.

4.3.6. Participation of in House Prostitutes in Community Based Organizations

Concerning their participation in community based organizations; all respondents have the same experiences. All except one respondent from both categories forward during in depth interview that in house prostitutes do not participate in community based organizations and associations partly due to their own lack of interest and partly due to systematic marginalization in the part of the community; people in the community gossip and blame them for disrespecting and polluting religious institution like church whenever prostitutes go to these institutions.

With regard to her participation in CBOs, Fasika says:

I don't even understand the use of such things like Iddir. Frankly speaking I have never mate a prostitute joining Iddir. We have a belief that one shouldn't bother for what is going to happen after death; that is why we never become members in Iddir. With regard to Mahiber, we don't have the courage and we do not be allowed to join because of our work. Religiously it is a must for a woman to stay away from church for seven days since the day she had sex. She must be 'pure' first to go to church and participate in such occasions. I also don't have experience of participation in Ekub.

Mita gives description on the same experience as follows:

It is unthinkable for me to participate in Iddir because I don't have my own house and I don't consider myself as permanent resident, though I lived many years in the community. The concept of Iddir is also something external of a prostitute. My participation in religious activities like Mahiber is almost nothing. Of course, I can perform certain religious ceremonial activities in my house during monthly or annual holydays. I have participation in Ekub with people of my business.

Respondents from community members also have the same explanation concerning participation of in house prostitutes in community based associations. All respondents under this theme express during in depth interview that in house prostitutes have no interest and also are not members of community based associations like Iddir, Ekub, and Mahiber. Respondents disclose that the community also has no interest towards their membership to these associations, particularly to Mahiber because of its religious nature.

Only one of the respondents forwarded that, there is no problem with community concerning participation of prostitutes in community based associations except in Mahiber; to which prostitutes themselves strongly disagree to participate because of its religious nature in that, only 'pure' individuals join it.

4.3.7. The Possibility of Romantic/Marital Relationships between in House Prostitutes and the Community

With regard to the possibility of romantic relationships between families of in house prostitutes and that of the community, all prostitute participants forward their ideas that it is hard to think of such kind of relationship between the two families, but they also believe that there are situations where the relationships happen. Fasika narrates below her experience with regard to this issue:

It is very hard even to think of romantic and marital relationship between the two extreme families because it is obvious that people always prefer people of their class. Even though children of the two families fall in love with each other, those families in the part of the community would never accept the relationship. They try all their best to break the relationship at any cost; they even go to the extent of breaking their ties with their own child. But such a relationship may happen some times. I myself know a case similar to this fact I had a friend whose name is Almaz (pseudonym), she was a prostitute working in her house, she mate a boy from the neighboring family of non- prostitute. She kept on meeting the boy every day and their relationship eventually matured in to romantic one. When they hear about this issue family of the boy became very angry at both and they were disappointed and felt ashamed. They advised and even threaten their own son not to approach her, but he refused to do so. Then his family began to insult and threaten the prostitute to leave the house where she was living. As a result, she moved to Akaki but the two continue with their romantic relation at distance and finally the boy too left his parent's house and currently, they are living under the same roof in marriage.

In a similar way respondents from community members suggest that romantic or marital relationship must not exist between the two families and also they don't think this would happen because the two families are far from one another in many different aspects. Abebech forwards her stand concerning the issue as: "*Romantic or martial*

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relationship must not exist between the two families. I even throw my own children out of my house if they make such relationship with prostitutes”.

Data concerning romantic or marital relationship between the two families shows that the community never accepts and tolerates relationship with families of in house prostitutes; neither Prostitutes themselves expect the relationship. However, actual experiences of such relationship are there in the community.

4.3.8. Behaviors/ Acts That in House Prostitutes Exchange With the Community

The common behaviors of in house prostitutes as mentioned by participants from members of the community are both positive and more of negative. These behaviors include addiction, promiscuity, verbal assaults, mutual support and responsiveness among themselves. Their actions as mentioned by the same respondents also include anti normative dressing style, excessive use of make ups, and polluting their living compound with their wastes among others.

With respect to the exchange of behavior or actions between in house prostitutes and the community, majority of the respondents from in house prostitutes believe that they share some behavior from the community like proper and wise use of resources. They also believe that members of the community especially young boys and girls share some behavior and acts from in house prostitutes. Regarding this, one of the respondents; Fasika during in depth interview discloses her lived experience as follows:

Children of the community may share our work and addictive behavior however most of them learn addiction somewhere in or out of the

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community and continue with us. They build their relationship with us by simple greeting or by hiding in our house when they quarrel with their parents. Sometimes they serve us in shopping chat and cigarette, they see what we do and how we behave and eventually be attracted, especially those girls from very poor families simply follow our track because their parents can't afford to meet their needs. The girls see when we change and spend money freely, and when we change clothes and use different cosmetics and finally trapped in to prostitution. In the case of boys they are always attracted by chewing chat and smoking cigarette, and finally become addicted, but they don't have interest in sex. What attracts me from the community is that their wisdom in life; the way they wisely use their money always attracts me. They don't spend their resources unwisely. Especially after I gave birth to my daughter, I begun to use what I have very wisely, for example I began to cook in my house rather than using hotel. I also buy vegetables from the cheapest place; paisa/Atikilit tera and use it for about a month with little expense.

Contrary to the above facts, respondents from community members, suggest that, young boys and girls in the community are more likely to share promiscuous and addictive behavior of in house prostitutes. Children of the community especially daughters from poor families are likely to be attracted by what prostitutes do; like dressing well and decorating themselves with make ups. As these children cannot afford to buy or use what they like, they are more likely to be pushed in to prostitution. Whenever they quarrel with parents, they prefer to hide in prostitutes' houses and use the opportunity.

Zelalem shared his experience regarding this fact as follows:

A grade ten daughter who I know in the neighborhood escaped from her parents and engaged in prostitution due to strict control and daily nagging from parents. Prostitutes themselves send their children both boys and girls out at night to play or watch television in the neighbors' house whenever costumers come to their house. Eventually their children learn drinking alcohol, chewing chat and smoking cigarette, and sex as well.

4.4. Challenges Faced by Both in House Prostitutes and the Community

4.4.1. Challenges Faced by in House Prostitutes

Under this cluster, five different themes with specific descriptions that show challenges faced by in house prostitutes, and challenges faced by the community due to in house prostitution are presented respectively.

4.4.1.1 Challenges in House Prostitutes and Their Children Face From the Community

All of the participants have common experience and description on challenges children of in house prostitutes face from that of the community. Accordingly, in addition to discrimination and hostility against prostitutes from community, relationship between children of the two families rests on insult, avoidance, and down looking by children of the community. This situation according to respondents is very painful to mothers and it results in disagreement and quarrel between the children and between the two families.

Concerning this case Lomi says:

This is the most painful challenge for me and for prostitutes who have children, because many of the prostitutes' children do not know what their mothers do. In most cases they hear from outsiders. Their friends in school insult them as children of a whore and when this insult is repeated they begin asking and nagging us why only they were insulted as children of a whore and they also ask what it means. Then after we can't hide for long time and these facts make things worst with our children. When they understand about our work, they could even quit their ties with us and go out on street and become deviants. This story had happened here in our community. A prostitute woman next to my house had sent her only 10

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years daughter back to rural to live with her poor grandparents because of the same story I told you.

Similarly, Saba describes her experience as follows:

Children of prostitutes face different challenge like being insulted as child of a whore, child of an addicted mother and being looked down. It is very difficult for the mothers to deal with such challenges. It is very painful; children do not give up asking and nagging what does a child of a whore mean. If mothers tell the truth, then children keeping on asking why they were being insulted and whether it is true that their mothers are whores. This is really painful.

Similarly, response from members of the community who are participants of the study shows that children of in house prostitutes face different psychological and social challenges from that of the community both at school and in their compound. Relationship between children of the two families both in school and in their compound according to the respondents is based on neglect and insult towards children of prostitutes. Descriptions from respondents shows that when they are under normal circumstances the children are in good relationship whereas in times of conflict between them children from the community use derogative words and insults towards those children from in house prostitutes and their relationship finally end up in conflict between parents of both sides. With regard to this idea Selam says: *“Their relationship is good while they are in good mood and playing, but when there is disagreement and quarrel between them, children of the community insult those of prostitutes as children of whore, and there are times when their conflict reaches the extent of putting parents of the two in to serious conflict”*.

4.4.1.2. Challenges in House Prostitutes Face from Their Own Customers

The common challenges frequently raised by respondents prostitutes are frequent disagreement and beating from customers.

Saba explains her feelings about the challenges she frequently experience and she says:

Customer's loose of interest to use condom and nagging for sex without condom, beating and threatening which follows the disagreement are challenges I frequently face. Customers' refusal to pay for the sexual service they used and the associated disagreement and accusation in addition to the use of force to have anal and oral sex are also among the challenges I frequently face.

Fasika on her part supports this idea and further mentions the following:

"Disagreement with customers on different issues like sex without condom, pain from over loaded sex, and feeling of shame by what I engaged in; prostitution. I can't proudly talk of my work as others in other profession do; these are the challenges I frequently face".

4.4.1.3. Challenges from Accessibility to Social Services

In this theme, all respondents raise similar experience and ideas concerning their accessibility to different social services. All respondents witnessed that they freely access education and health care but they face serious challenges to get access to legal services especially services provided at the level of police station, though they don't mention legal services at court level. Regarding this, Fasika witnesses her lived experiences as follows:

I easily access both school and health center. I can use these two services as every citizen can do. Medical professionals accept and treat me without any problem even knowing that I am a prostitute. The problem is with police. Whenever I go to police station especially for accusation of

customer or anybody else, police officers do not treat me well particularly if they know that I am prostitute they do not even hear me, they are very judgmental, they label me and accuse me even when I am victim.

4.4.1.4. Challenges from Accessibility to Religious Institutions

There are two issues which majority of the respondents mention as barrier to access church. The first one is their own personal belief that results from religious demands not to approach church, and the second is pressure from neighbors who are not prostitutes. Regarding this issue, Saba expresses her feelings as follows: *“I have no courage to go to church nor does the community support this idea. Members of the community put pressure on prostitutes when they go to church because church is an honored place where only ‘pure’ individuals who were abstained from sexual intercourse for some days are advised to go”*.

Research participants from community members also question the accessibility of in house prostitutes to religious associations due to both religious demands and challenges from the community.

In line with this, one of the research participants from community members; Bekele says: *“Being a member of Mahiber is unthinkable both from the community and from prostitutes themselves due to the fact that Mahiber is a religious association and everyone who is a member of it, are expected to be ‘pure’ or free from sexual intercourse at least in times when member meet together”*.

4.4.1.5. Challenges Against Benefits in House Prostitutes Get From NGOs / Civic Associations and Response From Community

Under this theme all respondents present that they get benefits of life skill and vocational training with which they could support and supplement themselves. Respondents witnessed that they receive different supplementary services like trainings from nongovernmental organizations only because of the fact that they are prostitutes. In line with this Fasika shared her experience:

There are different benefits I got from non-governmental institutions. For example Pro pride (NGO) provides me with training on how to use condoms properly and in a safe manner. Another NGO, Elilita organized vocational trainings for me and my friends as well. I took practical training on cooking even though; I am not working with the training I took. But, other fellow prostitutes have already begun working based on the training they got from this NGO. For example one of my friends is working on preparing fast foods like chips. Another friends of mine was employed in burger house for 3,500 ETB salary per month since 4 years ago and currently she is living comfortably with her child and she has no reason to look back to her past life; prostitution. Though NGOs give training for many prostitutes for example Elilita provide vocational training for 25 prostitutes every six months, but not more than ten percent of them work as per trainings they took.

With respect to response of the community towards benefits she get from NGOs, Fasika discloses her feelings as follows:

The community has good response towards the benefits prostitutes receive from different governmental and non-governmental organizations. They are happy to see us engage in work outside and back home at night because they are not happy with our engagement; prostitution. Some members of the community consider prostitutes as helpless and aid seekers but on the other way they themselves ask us to take them to NGOs so that they too can get aid because they are economically poor.

4.4.2. Challenges faced by the Community Because of in House

Prostitution

Participants of the research from members of the community mention two common challenges they are facing because of the existing in house prostitution in their living compound. These challenges are exposure of children to in house prostitution; which has an all rounded and significant impacts on children from both families, and challenges in house prostitution exerts on environmental cleanliness some respondents also mention divorce and family breakdown as a result of promiscuous relationship between in house prostitutes and husbands both in and out of the community.

In line with this, Selam forwards her suggestions as follows:

Children/ young boys and girls in the community are likely to be attracted by prostitution and addicted behavior of prostitutes. Some youngsters here in the community have promiscuous relationship with prostitutes. They drink alcohol, chew chat and smoke cigarette together. The boys also have sexual relationship with the women. One of the boys in neighboring house where I was living two years ago in this compound had sexual relationship with a prostitute living alone in renting house. When his parents were aware of the relationship between the two, they advise and warn their child, but he refuses to hear and accept his parents' advice and deviate from the family and started living together with her. He leaves the house when costumers come to the house and he also used to accompany her when she left out for sex business on street.

On the same issue Zelalem says:

Children in the community cannot escape from exposure to prostitution and its devastating effects since they are living in close proximity to prostitutes. They are exposed to share different practices like sex and habits such as chewing, smoking and drinking. Prostitutes and their

customers always use children of the community to buy chat and cigarette for them. They also ask young girls for invitation and gradually impose them to follow their track and finally these young boys and girls find themselves as addicted and prostitutes. I know a grade 10 student girl in this compound who had found herself at Chechnya as a prostitute through the process I described above.

With regard to environmental cleanliness, most of the respondents forward their ideas that in house prostitution has negative impacts on environmental cleanliness because, prostitutes and their customers leave wastes of khat, cigarette, and used condom in the open and spoil the compound. Children in the community also might have contact with these wastes and as a result they would catch different kinds of disease.

4.5. Coping Strategies of in House Prostitutes and the Community

Against Challenges They Face

4.5.1. Coping Strategies of In House Prostitutes Against the Challenges They Face

With respect to challenges from the community, majority of the respondents forward two issues of being tolerant and talking with people in the community who abuse them and their children in different ways as mechanisms of coping with the challenges. Saba describes her experiences concerning this as follows: *“One coping mechanism is just ignoring and being tolerant, because they quite insulting us if we are not responding to what they say. Regarding insult from children of the community towards my child, I warn them and appeal to their parents to keep their children from insulting my child”*.

Some respondents also fulfill their children’s needs of playing materials, as the main source of conflict between their children and that of the community is playing

together which is more likely to be end up in conflict; which inturn results in immoral insults by children of the community.

Concerning coping strategies against customers' abuse and poor environmental cleanliness respondents tell that, they would rather politely discuss with customers and shout otherwise, so that neighbors would reach for them.

4.5.2. Coping Strategies of the Community Against Challenges Due to in House Prostitution

With regard to challenges they face due to in house prostitution, there are two common coping strategies by the community, and these strategies are presented below:

With respect to coping the impacts of in house prostitution on children and young boys and girls in the community, respondents witnessed that they try to tell the truth their children about what is going on in the community and advice them on problems with having contact with prostitutes for different purposes. If the advice doesn't work, respondents tell that they would warn their children.

Surprisingly, one respondent; Bekele exposes that he prefers to use beating his children as a mechanism of coping with impacts of in house prostitution up on them. He beats them whenever he sees his children with prostitutes. In line with this Bekele tells:

Concerning the strategy to resist impacts of in house prostitution on environmental cleanliness and huge volume of sound of tape recorder, Majority of respondents express that they talk to prostitutes on the problems they are facing due to heavy sound of tape recorder from prostitutes houses and settle the problem. They also added that they follow the same mechanism for problems associated with environmental cleanliness, and if they couldn't succeed in doing so, they would appeal to

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ketene leaders for the problem of disturbance, and to woreda health office and health extension workers for issues of environmental cleanliness.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Discussion

This section is concerned with discussion of findings of the study based on research questions and previous research findings. Accordingly, demographic data of respondents, nature of prostitution in study area, neighborhood context of in house prostitutes and the community, challenges faced by in house prostitutes and the community, and coping strategies of in house prostitutes and the community of study area are the major points discussed in this section.

5.1. Nature of Prostitution in Study Area

In an effort to explore the nature of prostitution being practiced in study area, finding of the study from in house prostitutes indicates that prostitution in client's house is practiced in addition to the dominant type of prostitution which is in prostitutes' house. This finding coincides with few exceptions with findings from other participants of the research who are members of the community. Research finding from this group shows that, types of prostitution being conducted in the study area are in house prostitution, and sometimes prostitution in some other places out of the community where different men take prostitutes from their home.

These findings support researches such as (Benoit & Shumk, 2015), which mentions nature and of prostitution as direct sexual contact, outdoor street-level sex work, in door sex work in sex workers' homes, in clients' homes or in commercial venues.

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With regard to where and how in house prostitutes solicit their customers or potential customers, findings from participant prostitutes indicate that in house prostitutes in study area solicit their customers or potentials using different ways. These includes, seductive dressing, walking in style in front of by passers, using verbal talks or informal greeting, and showing some parts of their nude to by passers among others. This study finding also supports previous research by Benoit and Shumk (2015).

Finding of the study from participant prostitutes revealed that married men who have children; retail merchants and drivers coming out side of the community of the study area are main clients of in house prostitutes. It also shows that addicted youngsters in the community, married men who have children and unhappy in their sexual life with their wives are among the main clients of in house prostitutes.

Finding from participant community members on the other hand revealed that main clients of in house prostitutes are low income men, daily laborers, baggers; salaried civil servant who are not doing well with their family are also among the common clients of in house prostitution. These findings in general are in lined with other studies (Sisay, 2016).

5.2. Nature of Relationship Between in House Prostitutes and The Community

Concerning the existing nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and the surrounding community, finding from all research participants (both from in house prostitutes and the community) revealed that, relationship between the two is based on

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discrimination, hostility and avoidance in the part of the community because of the work and addictive behavior of in house prostitutes.

Finding from participant community members also reveals that relationship between in house prostitutes and the community is not good and strong. It is based on hostility and judgmental attitude against the prostitutes. This according to research finding is because of some disagreement associated with the work behavior and clients of in house prostitutes.

These findings support previous researches conducted by (White 1990); Prostitutes were believed to be risk to health as well as to economic and social well-being.

Regarding crisis event/ problems which in house prostitutes frequently face and the type of supports they need from neighboring community who are not prostitutes, the study finding shows that in house prostitutes most frequently face lack of enough money and sickness. As their relationship with the community is not strong and based on avoidance and discrimination, members of the community do not show any effort and interest in supporting prostitutes when they face these challenges. This supports previous researches conducted on challenges prostitutes face by the journal of pan African studies (2009), and SWEA (2013).

The study also shows that in house prostitutes need various supports from their neighboring community. These needs include cooperation, understanding, and non-discriminatory relation with the community. Prostitutes also need care, support and good relationship with community members. They also want the community to lend them

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money and house goods when they are in need. These findings directly coincides with one of the previous research conducted by Bethlehem (2005), regarding the needs of prostitutes from their neighbors that prostitutes seek to establish channels through which they could have access to social or material resources that cannot be provided to them by individuals like by their family, kin, fellow sex workers, or clients.

Although some researchers conducted on social life of prostitution, for instance Bethlehem, (2002) revealed that the formal interaction of prostitutes take the form of membership in community based organizations like iddir and ekub, finding of this study shows that in house prostitutes do not participate in any of the community based organizations like iddir, ekub and mahiber due to the facts that neither prostitutes have an interest of membership to associations like iddir and ekub, nor the community want to see them as members to religious associations; mahiber.

The finding also reveals that the relationship between prostitutes and the community has double faces. Within the same community, in areas where little number of prostitutes is found, their relationship with the community is smoother, whereas in areas where many prostitutes are found the relationship between the two is weak and poor. Similar research has been conducted previously by Bethlehem (2005). However, her research finding is contrary to the finding of this study reveals.

The study finding also shows that due to their work, addictive behavior and suspicion to theft and carriers of diseases people in their community do not have interest to establish relationship with in house prostitutes. This finding supports a research conducted by (white, 1990).

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In terms of the possibility of romantic or marital relationship between in house prostitute and the community finding of the research clearly indicates, despite community's interest and in house prostitutes' expectation the fact on ground shows lived experiences of such relationship in the community. However, the researcher couldn't find previous studies that substantiate this finding.

The finding also indicates in house prostitute and the other people in the community share and exchange certain behavior and acts. Accordingly in house prostitutes share the habit of wise use of money and other subsistent resources in their houses. They also learn the habits of saving, cooking in their house and social life from people of their neighbors. In the other hand, young boys and girls share habit of drinking, chewing chat and prostitution. This finding supports previous researches by (Lijalem, 2015).

5.3. Challenges faced by in House Prostitutes and the Community

5.3.1. Challenges Faced By In House Prostitutes

Findings of the study show that in house prostitutes face various challenges, ranging from personal attack to denial of justice at institutional level. They experience in their day to day life challenges of insults, avoidance, discrimination and hatred by their neighbors. Children of in house prostitutes also face different insults like 'children of a whore' from their peers both at school and in their living compound. This finding supports previous researches concerning challenges experienced by prostitute conducted by Sex Work Education and Advocacy Task force (2003).

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In house prostitutes also face challenges from their customers both in their own houses and in clients' houses. The study finding reveals that challenges from customers include beatings, insults, forced and over loaded sex, and denial of money paid for sex service.

Prostitutes also challenged by their clients to have sex without condom and unwanted sex like sucking of penis and anal sex.

With respect to the challenges at institutional level, the finding of the study reveals that in house prostitutes denied their rights and justice whenever they go to police station for legal services. The finding in this research supports previous research conducted by sex work education and advocacy task force (SWEAT, 2013).

Another challenge of in house prostitutes according to research finding is denial to participate in social life and activities. The study reveals that in house prostitutes indirectly denied by the community to participate in social life like visiting each other in times of eases and crises. Since the existing neighborhood system and relationship between in house prostitutes and their neighbors is based on avoidance, discrimination and hatred, there will be no way for prostitutes to participate in social life and associations like iddir and ekub.

In house prostitutes are also denied to participate in religious associations like mahiber because of the existing religious demand, and mainly due to people's attitudes towards them considering prostitutes as if they are 'not pure'. This finding supports a study by (white, 1990). They also face challenges from their neighbors due to the benefit they receive from NGO'S. The research finding in this respect shows that some members

of the community perceive and insult them as helpless and recipients of aid living on good will of others.

5.3.2. challenges Faced By The Community Due To in House Prostitutes

The study reveals that there are various challenges faced by the community due to in house prostitutions. These challenges varies between impacts on environmental cleanliness to divorce and breakdown of families among non- prostitute members of the community.

In terms of problems on environmental cleanliness, finding of the study reveals that, in house prostitutes leave their wastages such as used chat, cigarette and condoms everywhere in the open, and as a result of this people in the community especially children are exposed to diseases. Huge volume of sound from tape recorder is another problem polluting/ disturbing community's life.

The study also shows that young boys and girls in the community are attracted by and inter in to prostitution as users of and providers of sexual services respectively. Youngsters in the community especially boys are victims of exposure to addictive behavior of in house prostitutes and their clients. They are attracted to different addictions such as drinking alcohols, chewing chats and smoking cigarettes due to their exposure. These findings support a study previously conducted by Lijalem (2015).

The study finding also reveals that in house prostitution in the community becomes a cause for divorce and brake down of families. Men who have wives and children both in and outside of the community of the study area also have promiscuous

relationship with in house prostitutes and as a result, their relationship with their children and wives end up in divorce and breakdown of their families. This finding supports a study conducted by White, (1990) and Lijalem, (2015).

5.4. Coping Strategies of in House Prostitutes and the Community Against Challenges They Face

5.4.1. Coping Strategies of in House Prostitutes

The finding shows that in house prostitutes use different strategies to cop up with challenges they face at individuals, social, institutional levels. Accordingly, they try to talk with parents of children of the community with respect to insult against their own children both at school and in their living compound. They also warn those who insult their children besides advising their own children to ignore what others say about them. Some also fulfill the needs of their own children associated with playing materials as the main cause of disagreement and insult between children of the two families is playing together. In house prostitutes also ignore the insult from others, so that they will not insult them again if prostitutes are responding. However, the researcher couldn't find any study previously conducted on this issue. With respect to challenges from their own customers, they politely discuss on issues with customers or they shout so that other people will reach for them.

5.4.2. Coping Strategies of The Community Against Challenges of in House Prostitution

To cop up with challenges they face due to in house prostitution, finding of the study shows that the community advice, warn, and terrorize its children about problems with getting in contact with prostitutes. Members of the community advice their children in telling them the truth about what is going on in the community in relation with in house prostitutes and their addictive behavior. They also warn and terrorize prostitutes to quite any contact with their children before taking serious measures against their own children.

Regarding the challenges coming from in house prostitution on environmental cleanliness and disturbance, people in the community use different strategies of coping with the challenges. For instance, they talk to in house prostitutes to reduce and control the disturbing sound of tape recorder coming out of their houses and appeal to and work with ketena leaders on ways of settling the problems. The study also shows that people in the community work together with woreda health office in keeping the cleanliness of their compound. They try to discuss with in house prostitutes to put dry wastes in a separate container rather than leaving everywhere in the compound. If the problem couldn't be resolved in the part of in house prostitutes, the community appeal to wereda health office and to extension health workers to advice and warn in house Prostitutes to manage their wastages and cooperate to keep their living compound clean. These are coping strategies by the community towards the challenges due to in house prostitution. However, the researcher couldn't find any previous researches which are in lined with these findings.

5.5. Conclusion and Social Work Implications

5.5.1. Conclusion

This study provides a general and holistic understanding of the contexts of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community. To explore the existing contexts of relationship between the two categories of people living in same community, the study deeply examines crucial issues that can answer research questions and meet objectives of the study through observation and in depth interview with research participants both from in house prostitutes and from community members. In this respect nature of prostitution in study area, nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community, relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community, and challenges faced by and coping strategies of in house prostitutes and surrounding community are the major issues raised and discussed throughout the study and intended to answer research question and meet study objectives.

The study under the first research question which is concerned with nature of prostitution in study area reveals that prostitution in clients' houses is practiced in addition to the dominant type of prostitution which is conducted in prostitutes' house. In line with this, the study shows that in house prostitutes use certain behaviors and acts like moving here and there in front of passersby whom they think are potential customers showing the some part of their nude and, eye language and whistling as a mechanism of soliciting potential customers/users of sex trade. Married and salaried men, drivers, merchants/retailers, daily laborers, and beggars are among the main clients of in house prostitution in the study area.

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With respect to the nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and the surrounding community, finding of the study reflects that neighborhood between the two is based on avoidance discrimination and hostility in the part of the community and disengagement of in house prostitutes with the neighboring community as a result of avoidance and discrimination. There is weak mutual support and cooperation between in house prostitutes and their non Prostitute neighbors, instead in house prostitutes support and cooperate among themselves in all events of their life.

Finding of the study also reflects that in house prostitutes have no participation in community based associations such as iddir, ekub, and mahiber partly due their own lack of interest and partly due to religious demands and denial of the community to certain degree.

Regarding the third research question; type of relationship between in house prostitutes and the surrounding community, the study reveals that there is a weak and distant relationship between in house prostitution and the community.

The frequent challenges in house prostitutes face comes from the community, their customers, and from police. Accordingly, neighboring community of in house prostitutes is always judgmental, discretionary, and avoidant against in house prostitutes. The challenges may reach to the extent of verbal abuse/ insult, and indirect denial of participation/accessibility to certain institutions in the community. With regard to challenges from their customers they may experience physical abuse; beating and forced use of undesired sex such as sex without condom, annul sex and sucking penis. Denial of money for sexual services they provide is another challenge from their customers.

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The community also faces different problems because of in house prostitutes. Impact of exposure of children and young boys and girls in the community who are more likely to engage in prostitution and different addition among others are major challenges that the community faces. In house prostitution is also becoming cause for divorce and family breakdown.

Poor environmental cleanliness is another challenge that people in the community usually experience because of in the house prostitution. In line with this, findings of the study reflects that in house prostitutes leave their wastages like used condoms, chat and cigarettes everywhere in their living compound and this became a cause for different kinds of diseases.

With regards to the strategy to cop up with different challenges, both in house prostitutes and the community use different mechanisms. For instance, in house prostitutes apply ignorance to insults from the community against them and their children. They also cop up with problems they face in relation with their customers' abuses either by peacefully discussing or by shouting so that people in the neighborhood reach for them.

The community on the other hand prefers to talk and discuss to settle challenges associated with proper management of wastage and huge volume of sound from tape recorder from in house prostitutes, and appeal to woreda health office, health extension workers, and to ketene leaders to warn and advice prostitutes to settle the challenges.

5.5.2. Social work Implication

Based on findings of the study, the overall implications of the research are presented as policy implication, practice implication, and research implication. In line with this the role of social workers are clearly articulated in each implication.

5.5.2.1. Policy Implication

According to the National social protection policy of Ethiopia the wellbeing of the Majority of the people of Ethiopia depends on their employability. Improving individuals' livelihoods and earnings opportunities is, to a large extent, about improving their work opportunities either by helping them to increase the returns from their current work or to move from inactivity or low return jobs in to higher productivity jobs. The policy included commercial sex workers among groups of people who are victims of social problems. It gives especial focus to commercial sex workers unlike the former social welfare development policy which categorize commercial sex workers with other vulnerable groups of the society paying less attention in such a specified manner. However, practical efforts made so far to support commercial sex workers of Addis Ababa by concerned government bodies such as Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs is so minimal. Instead, non-governmental organizations have made relatively better efforts in caring and supporting commercial sex workers particularly those who work sex business in their houses. Efforts by non-governmental organizations being made so far is a part of ensuring social protection to the target groups which in turn is an element of implementing the policy.

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Through its transformative intervention, the policy aims to protect the rights and interests of people exposed to social risks and vulnerabilities by addressing power imbalances and structural causes that perpetuate economic inequality and social exclusion, and coordinate a dialogue in society that aims to reach a consensus on how accountabilities for social protection are to be reached. Thus, the existing context of relationship between the community and in house prostitutes in the study area could be seen as a reflection of power imbalance and inequality among the society.

The policy clearly indicated that the wellbeing of people of Ethiopia in general and those of vulnerable groups in particular depends on lack of enough income/earnings, and one strategy of achieving society's wellbeing is by changing or improving the existing conditions in which vulnerable groups are found.

In this regard, based on the implication of the research findings, the researcher concluded that the destiny of many young boys and girls who can contribute a lot to the community, and the wellbeing of the society in general will be in serious danger, unless government and other concerned bodies take timely measures to improve the existing conditions of in house prostitutes and that of the surrounding communities. Therefore, to control and mitigate the possibility of future crisis, the following recommendation and policy implication are forwarded.

Concerned government body; ministry of labor and social affairs has to work on changing the existing livelihood of in house prostitutes as per policy objectives, Nongovernmental organizations that are working on issues related to prostitution need to further strength their capacity to reach considerable number of in house prostitutes, The

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government should also give due attention to raise the awareness of citizens in general and that of communities where in house prostitution takes place in particular to minimize the stigma attached to in house prostitutes, Social workers and nongovernmental organizations have to work in collaboration with government bodies that are concerned with the same issue to the practicality of the policy.

I also recommend that government has to take strict measures against in house prostitution (the institution; not the people) which is one of the various anti-social and anti-normative acts, because as the practice is taking place within the wider community where the great majority of population by far is non- prostitute, it has a significant negative impacts on young boys and girls of the community, and on marriage institution in the community as well. To this end, government /the law should prevent prostitution in residential areas, and residential places should be protected from such socially evil acts. Social workers, non- governmental organizations and other activists of the society and marginalized groups of people have to take their own parts in pressurizing the state and policy implementers to give due attention and take practical initiatives to protect and save in house prostitutes and the community who are victims of prostitution at large.

5.5.2.2. Practice Implication

As a possible immediate practical intervention to deter the expansion of prostitution in general and that of in house prostitution in particular, and also to save young members of the society from negative effects of prostitution and other social ill behaviors associated with prostitution, the concerned government bodies should pay due attention to the issue and coordinate and facilitate efforts towards mitigation of this

problem both in short and long term intervention plans to rescue the life of both in house prostitutes and the community.

In terms of short term plan, with active participation of social workers the awareness of police officers should be raised on basic human rights since the research finding reveals police abuse as one of the frequent challenges experienced by prostitutes. In the long term intervention plan, social workers in collaboration with the government should strive to include issues of the community wellbeing in to urban projects by dissociating the work of prostitution from residential area. Effort should also be exerted to rescue in house prostitutes from customer's abuse, and change their life conditions by providing them with a holistic rehabilitation services that can improve their livelihood and status.

5.5.2.3. Research Implication

Many studies have been conducted on prostitution or related issues in Ethiopia by different individual researchers, and governmental as well as non-governmental organizations. Interest in the topic goes back to the 1960s, but the studies displayed common characteristics in terms of themes, approaches, and conclusion (Bethlehem, 2002). Little efforts have been made to place prostitutions in the context of wider socio-economic conditions for example the context of relationship between prostitutes and surrounding community.

As this study is mainly concerned with exploring the overall context of relationship between the community and in house prostitutes; which is only one type of prostitution, further researches should be conducted focusing on the relationship between

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other types of prostitution and the community. Since the issue of challenge against both prostitutes and the community is raised as sub topic in this study, further research need to be conducted on the same topic.

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Appendix I

Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of social work

Informed consent for participation in study

My name is Tarekegn Negassa. I am a third year social work master's student at Addis Ababa University; I am required to work on a thesis as partial fulfillment of master's degree in social work. To this end, I have chosen to study the context of relationship between in house prostitutes and the surrounding community at bole sub city woreda 04 Mekabir sefer.

I strongly believe that your lived experience is very decisive to explore and understand the existing context of relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community. I will be gathering information through interviews and observation where participation is voluntary. Once you give consent to participate in the study, you can skip any question you don't want to answer, end the interview session or you may withdraws from the study at any time if you feel uncomfortable. The interview will take from forty minute to an hour, be relaxed to share what you feel since there is no right or wrong answer.

Procedure

Participation in the study involves conducting face to face interviews which will last for approximately from forty minutes to an hour. Both the interview and observation conducted by the researcher himself, audio taped will be used based on full consent of participants because audio tape recording will better help for latter data analysis. The data which is collected in local Amharic language will later be translated in to English language. The interview will be held in suitable places both for the researcher and the interviewees.

Risks of Participation

There might be moments you feel discomfort during interview because we will be talking about challenging moments and issues in your life, and it might be painful to remind you these moments. However, the study is not meant to hurt you or embrace or creates discomfort on you. But the practical life experience you have might hold such nature and you may feel unhappy. I want you to freely express the pain or emotion you feel, I am not here to judge you, but to get the story and experience right.

Rights of the Informant

You have the right not to participate if you are not willing, you have the right to ask any question that is not clear or with which you feel uncomfortable any time you want. You also have the right to withdraw from the interview anytime you feel uncomfortable.

Confidentiality and Anonymity:

I respect your confidentiality, and data I collect from you will be used for the purpose of my research only. If you face any problem in relation to the information you provided during your participation in the study, you can contact me through my address below and I promise to take the responsibility.

Researcher:

Informant:

Name: -----

Name: -----

Signature: -----

Signature: -----

Date: -----

Date: -----

Telephone; 0911024349

Email; tarekegnnegessa075@gmail.com

Appendix II

Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of Social Work

In depth Interview Guide for Participant in house Prostitutes

This interview is intended to gather data on lived experiences of in house prostitutes of the study area concerning the relationship between in house prostitutes and surrounding community. I am a graduate student in school of social work at Addis Ababa University. I am conducting this research as a fulfillment for master's degree in social work. The data which is going to be collected through the interview will be used for the purpose of this research only. I hereby kindly request you to be open and honest while responding to my questions so that the study could achieve the intended goal.

I. Back ground information of respondents

1. Could you please tell me how old you are?
2. For how long you lived here?
3. What is your marital status?
4. For how long you work in house sex as a business?
5. How many child/children do you have?

II. Nature of prostitution

1. What type of prostitution is being practiced in your living compound?
2. Where do you/other in house prostitutes solicit customers?
3. Who are the main customers of you/in house prostitutes?

III. Nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and the community

1. How do you explain nature of relationship between in house prostitutes and the community in your living compound?
2. What are the crises events you frequently face?
3. What support you need from the community?
4. How do you explain the existing mutual support and cooperation between in house prostitutes and the community?
5. How do you explain the existing mutual support and cooperation among in house prostitutes?
6. How do you explain the participation of in house prostitutes in community based associations?
7. How do you explain the possibility of romantic/marital relationships between families of in house prostitutes and that of the community?
8. What behaviors/acts do in house prostitutes and surrounding community exchange?

IV. Challenges In house Prostitutes face

1. How do you explain challenges you and your children/ in house prostitutes and their children face from the community?
2. How do you explain challenges you face from your customers?
3. How do you explain your accessibility to social services?
4. How do you explain your challenges of accessibility to religious institutions?
5. How do you explain challenges against the benefits you get from NGOs, civic associations, and response from the community?

V. Coping Strategies of In house Prostitutes against Challenges they face

1. How do you resist the challenges you face from the community?
2. How do you cope up with challenges from your customers?

Appendix III

Addis Ababa University

Graduate School of social work

In depth interview Guide for participants from non prostitute

Members of the community

This interview is intended to gather data on lived experiences of non prostitute members of the community of the study area. I am a graduate student in school of social work at Addis Ababa University. I am conducting this research as a fulfillment for master's degree in social work. The data which is going to be collected through the interview will be used for the purpose of this research only. I hereby kindly request you to be open and honest while responding to my questions so that the study could achieve the intended goal.

I. Back ground information of respondents

1. Could you please tell me how old are you?
2. For how long you lived here?
3. What is your marital status?
4. How many child/children do you have?

II. Nature of prostitution

4. What type of prostitution is being practiced in your living compound?
5. Who are the main clients of in house prostitutes?

III. Neighborhood context between in house prostitutes and the community

1. How do you explain neighborhood between in house prostitutes and the community in your living compound?
2. How do you explain the existing mutual support and cooperation between in house prostitutes and the community?
3. How do you explain the existing mutual support and cooperation among in house prostitutes?
4. How do you explain the participation of in house prostitutes in community based associations?
5. How do you explain community's interest to establish relationship with in house prostitutes?
6. How do you explain the possibility of romantic/marital relationships between families of in house prostitutes and that of the community?
7. What behaviors/acts do in house prostitutes exchange with surrounding community?

IV. Challenges faced by the community

1. How do you explain the impacts of in house prostitution in the community?

V. Coping strategies of the community against challenges they face

1. How do you explain community' coping strategy against challenges from in house prostitution?

