

**Physical Violence Victimization among Street Female
Commercial Sex Workers in Arada sub city**

By: Haregewoin Yohannes Mussie

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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Addis Ababa

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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 attempts to assess the different violence experiences of street commercial sex workers, the type of physical violence they encounter, the perpetrators of such acts along with the coping mechanisms of violence survivors. The study employed phenomenological qualitative study design. The study is conducted in selected hot spot areas of Arada Sub City, with eight street based commercial sex workers, aged 18-35 who are survivors of physical violence offence. In order to collect the desired data, the researcher used in-depth interviews with primary participants and key informant interviews with concerned stakeholders. The study finding indicates that street based sex workers face mild to severe forms of physical violence repeated times from regular clients, police and even intimate partners and other sex workers. Such violence victimizations are usually associated with alcohol/drug, pornographic movies, client refusals, nature of working site of street sex workers and the stigmatization and discrimination of sex workers. The coping mechanisms of survivors after violence encounters seem to be immature and ineffective. Victims do not report their cases to legal authorities because of the lack of trust on police measures, absence of supportive evidence, fear of client retaliation, and failure to trace their perpetrators. The study concludes that violence against sex workers is intensified by the ambiguous legal status of sex work in the country and the stigmatized attitude towards the profession, which necessitates improvement at individual, societal and structural levels. It is recommended that further research should be conducted in the area to understand the different features of sex work, added to the recurrent focus on the health aspect.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

CAWN	Central American women's organizations
DIC	Drop in Center
FSW	Female Sex Workers
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HIV	Human Immune Virus
MARPs	Most at Risk Populations
MoCYA	Ministry of Women, Children and Youth
NASW	National Association of Social Workers
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
SWAN	Sex Workers' Rights Advocacy Network
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
VAW	Violence against Women
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background Statement

Gender based violence is one of the most prevalent and pervasive violations of the rights of women and girls (Crowell & Burgess, 1996). Worldwide, women are vulnerable and at risk, enduring emotional and psychological trauma whether in the form of physical, sexual, emotional or economic assault that can result chronic health consequences even death (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). Violence against female sex worker is not distinct from violence against women. It is based primarily on gender inequality, especially the patriarchal order, with power relations and hierarchical constructions of maleness and femaleness (Balfour & Allen, 2014).

Female commercial sex workers, are defined in the 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 homes (MARPs Guideline, 2011). Prostitution market is segmented between the indoor and street venues and they differ from each other by working conditions, risk of victimization, job satisfaction and self-esteem. As for the street prostitution, it is defined as one of the lower levels of sex work industry (Weitzer, 2010, cited in Burduli, 2015). Due to the nature of their work site, street based female sex workers are susceptible to various types of violence from partners, gangues, police members, etc. (SWAN, 2015) Victims of physical abuse are at high risk of severe and long-lasting health problems,

including death from injuries and physical damage, deep laceration or abrasion/inflicted injury and psychological trauma (Belayneh, 2014).

Violence against women occurs in different forms in different communities. Some of the commonly practiced forms of violence against women include physical, sexual, and psychological abuses. Regardless of the various forms and intensity it takes, evidences show that female sex workers are commonly victims of various forms of abuse which undermines not only their safety and dignity, but the overall health status, and human rights (SWAN, 2015). One of the commonly practiced forms of abuse against female sex workers is physical violence, which can be defined as the intentional use of physical force for causing injury, harm, disability or death of women. (MoWCYA, 2013)

In Addis Ababa commercial sex work is believed to be started since late 19th and early 20th centuries (Pankhurst, 1974) and has been a highly expanding profession through the years. Today, the proportion of formal female sex workers in Addis Ababa to the women in the reproductive age is about 1.2% (PSI/E, 2012 p.37). Prostitution itself is not explicitly criminalized in the Ethiopian context. However, procurement and solicitation in public places is often times illegal, rendering it nearly impossible for street sex workers to legally engage in prostitution. This ‘hybrid’ legal status may force street sex workers to move into more dangerous and clandestine areas to shield clients, thus making it more difficult for necessary aid to reach sex worker populations (Mgbako & Smith, 2011).

The marginalization of certain groups due to their lifestyle exists in every society. Violence towards female sex workers is linked to their low status, lack of power and limited social capital (Bartlett, 2014). ‘There are special slang words, which society calls them and

victimization experiences they face are not accepted adequately. These attitudes create motives for their future victimization and the offenders are tolerated and acquitted.’ (Fattah, 2003, p.774-775) Due to this marginalization, female sex workers not only face violence assaults, but also many interlocking barriers to get services; seeking legal service, health care and psycho-social services as coping mechanisms after the act of violence (Belayneh, 2014).

Although the topic of violence against women has received a great deal of attention, little research has been conducted within the context of the sex industry. As a result, this qualitative study attempts to review the existing evidence on violence against women paying particular attention to the physical violence against street-based female sex workers in Addis Ababa. This research will help understand the underlying factors and survival strategies practiced among victims, as well as suggest working mechanisms that can help improve the overall situation of violence in the country.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The topic commercial sex work grabs the attentions of researchers from various fields. While looking for related studies, I came across several researches and articles. For long, research on female sex workers tended to focus on reducing the risk behaviors of sex workers, condom-use experiences; risk for sexually transmitted infections, HIV, and other health issues. In addition to the health aspect, other repeatedly researched thematic areas include reasons for entering this profession, exit strategies, and economic strengthening activities for female sex workers.

Researches that focus on health related behaviors of sex workers include; HIV/AIDS related risk behavior of commercial sex workers in licensed, non-brothel establishments assessed by Tenaw Awoke (2007) and risk perception of commercial sex workers towards HIV infection, by Asamnew Abayneh (2005). Another researcher, Belete Dejene (2014) conducted his study on HIV/AIDS related risk behavior and condom use skill among female commercial sex workers in Addis Ababa. Researches pertaining to HIV/AIDS continue with Sibnath Deb (2008) studying the mental disposition on HIV/AIDS by understanding the level of condom use and its determinants among sex workers. Another study that focuses on the sexual behavior and experience of sex workers was undertaken by Woldemariam and Annabel (2009).

Other thematic areas covered by researchers about commercial sex workers include, the socio-economic impacts of commercial sex work in Addis Ababa women in Hayahulet area by Dawit Samuel (2011). This research was important in pointing out the different social and economic effects commercial sex work results on themselves and how these results relate with the larger society. Lijalem Getaneh (2014) also conducted a study on sex tourism in Addis Ababa. The researcher identified motivating and driving factors that lead Ethiopian females to engage in sex business in Addis Ababa and the grand problems they face at work.

Tilahun Abegaz (2010), in his qualitative study, explored factors that lead women to enter into commercial sex work in Sebeta town. In his finding, the researcher identified different community level, economic level, social, cultural and demographic level factors and other personal related factors that impulse women to enter in to commercial sex work. Similarly, Elsa Mekonnen (2006) conducted another research to explore the risk factors of transition in to commercial sex work: implication to building prevention strategies. In this particular study, the

researcher divided the risk factors that lead women to sex work as economic, social psychological and other situational factors.

Pertaining to the topic of violence, Misganaw and Worku (2013) studied the rate of high sexual violence victimization among female street adults in the town of Bahir Dar. In the study, the researchers revealed that women who live or work on the streets, especially during the night time are far more likely to experience violence of all sorts than women in general. Likewise, Yohannes (2008) studied the causes and consequences of gender based violence among off-street female sex workers in Gondar town and identified that violence is a frequently encountered problem in the lives of commercial sex workers. The researcher also identified the different causes and consequences of the different forms of violence against establishment based sex workers.

As the above listed studies indicate, in Ethiopian context research works that are conducted about violence against female sex workers in Addis Ababa are very scarce to an exception, of Kevin Lalor's study in 2000. In his study, Lalor (2000) focused on the victimization of juvenile prostitutes in Ethiopia. Even though this study is essential in showing the prevalence of violence among commercial sex workers, the study result is hardly generalizable as it only focuses only on commercial workers who are below 18 years of age while this study incorporates street based commercial sex workers who are aged 18-35.

Although limited number of studies are available in the global level about the issue of violence against commercial sex workers, the results of these studies and their application in different cultural and social context of Ethiopia is doubtful because the context of commercial

sex work highly varies among different locations. For instance, in 2012, Dimoldenberg, Bush and Robert (2012) studied violence faced by sex workers in Westminster and indicated that violence faced by sex workers is found to be the most pressing public health and community safety issue; and found evidence that sex workers are a group of people who are extremely vulnerable to violence including rape, sexual assault, and other physical violence and there are only a few reports of these incidences.

Francisca Lima, Edgar Haman Margarita Urdaneta, Giseli Damacena and Célia Szwarcwald (2017) conducted a study on factors associated with violence on female sex workers in selected ten Brazilian cities and demonstrated that the prevalence of different kinds of violence among female sex workers was far higher than among women in the general population. Another study on the violence against female sex workers was conducted in Nigeria, Abuja in 2014 by Fawole and Dagundrouo. In their study finding, the researchers indicated that many young female sex workers suffer from psychological, sexual, physical, social and economic violence and female sex workers, like other professions have rights which should be protected and enforced.

The role of stigma and marginalization on violence against female sex workers is studied by Burduli (2015). In his qualitative study, the researcher stated that marginalization and stigma play the significant role in the high risk violence victimization of female street prostitutes. According to the researcher, stigmas have their influence on the society in general, on the potential offenders, on the police and on the street prostitutes themselves.

Other areas covered in relation to violence against women in Addis Ababa include violence among different social groups. For instance, intimate partner violence among married

women by Mekides Eyouel (2007), sexual violence among female night school students by Medhanit Asfaw (2011), violence against women with disabilities by Hiwot Moges (2015), violence against children by Mistire Dessie (2016) and work place violence against nurses by Solomon Oljira (2017).

As the above evidences demonstrate, research works regarding violence against women that clearly display the problem among street female sex workers is scant in Ethiopia. Even the limited research works either focus on sexual form of violence or located outside of Addis Ababa. For that reason, to fully understand the experiences of street based commercial sex workers towards violence, to pinpoint common perpetrators of the act, along with the major coping mechanisms street sex workers practice, this area is found a socially worth subject to conduct a study on. This paper looks at the dynamics of the commercial sexual encounter in terms of the exercise of power between prostitutes and their clients and the potential for violence to arise. Therefore, this study is conducted to give adequate answers for the following research questions;

- What are the contextual factors that leave street female sex workers in Arada sub city vulnerable for being victimized by physical violence?
- What are the types of physical abuse faced by street female sex workers in Arada sub city?
- Who are the perpetrators of physical violence among street female sex workers in Arada sub city?
- What are major coping mechanisms of physical violence victim street sex workers in Arada sub city?

1.3 Objective of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to identify factors associated with physical violence among street female sex workers and understand the major perpetrators of the act along with the coping strategies of violence victims after the incidence in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- To comprehend the major reasons that put street female sex workers in Arada area at high risk of physical violence attack.
- To understand the nature and types of physical violence faced by female sex workers in Arada sub city.
- To identify common perpetrators of physical violence among female sex workers in Arada sub city.
- To find out the major coping mechanisms of female sex workers in Arada sub city after the act of physical violence.

1.4 Scope of the study

Commercial sex work has many types and forms in different places of the world. Similarly, in Addis Ababa, commercial sex work exists in different settings, but due to time and financial constraints, this study profoundly focuses on street based commercial sex workers who work on the streets of Arada sub city area. Correspondingly, women in general face a multitude of violence incidences throughout their lives, and as many literatures agree, the problem of

violence highly amplifies when it comes to female sex workers. However, due to the above listed reasons and for specificity purpose, this qualitative study focuses on the physical form of gender-based violence.

This study employed a qualitative method to gain the lived experiences of people, but this method is limited as study results cannot be generalized. Nonetheless, using the qualitative method, this study will attempt to give ample explanation regarding the contexts of violence among street level sex workers.

Interviews were held with only a small number of participants (eight) and each participant was only interviewed once. A larger sample size, repeated interviews and an extended period over which data could be collected would possibly have induced potentially richer data. However, due to the limited scope of this study and sensitivity of the issue, it was not possible to include more participants.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study attempts to reveal the different dynamics related with high burden of violence against sex workers. In doing so, the study will help increase evidence-based calls to make violence against female sex workers a prioritized human right, health, and policy agenda in the nationwide level. The findings of this study will inform professionals working with sex workers on their struggles, needs and subjective reality. The results of this study appeal to different governmental and non-governmental organizations, associations, social workers, policy makers, the police and other stakeholders to better document and respond to the contextual factors

shaping violence against female sex workers. Furthermore, this study will also serve as a reference for further research works in the areas of violence against female sex workers.

1.6 Challenges encountered during the study

A major difficulty faced while conducting this study is lack of local reference materials on female sex workers, especially pertinent to female sex work and violence, as the vast majority of literatures about commercial sex workers focus on its health related aspect. Contrary to the attention that has been paid to violence against women in recent years, it is woeful that there are no adequate research works conducted to understand violence against female sex workers, especially in Addis Ababa.

This study attempts to uncover two sensitive issues, (commercial sex work and violence attack) that are not very common to be discussed out in the open setting. Commercial sex work, being a highly glowered profession in our country, approaching commercial sex workers for research purposes and gaining their complete trust was not easy. Additionally, the seasonal and mobile nature of street level sex workers made the burden higher. Since discussing past violent history is highly likely to awaken suppressed memories from the past, another difficulty was finding a commercial sex worker, who is willing to discuss her traumatic experience of violence for a complete stranger.

Commercial sex workers spend a much considerable time of the night on the street looking for their source of income (clients) and a large segment of the daytime on sleep. Henceforth, due to their lack of free time and high expectation of money in return, it was challenging to find an appropriate time and an eligible sex worker who would be willing to cooperate for no apparent incentives.

In the course of doing this research, another challenge was managing my personal emotions. I found myself experiencing ranges of emotions like sadness, anger, anxiety and concern for the safety of the participants. I was tempted between keeping my professional distance and sharing the problems of the victims as a woman.

1.7 Theoretical Frame Work

This study is embedded on the theoretical perspective of a feminist theory by focusing on gender dominations as a result of patriarchal society. According to Creswell (2007), a feminist research sees gender as a basic organizing principle that shapes the conditions of women lives. The major question that feminists pose is also related to the centrality of gender in the shaping of our consciousness (Creswell, 2007).

As the central theme of a feminist research focuses on gender domination with in a patriarchal society, this study relies on this theory with an assumption that the already existing patriarchal system of the society and sex role of women shaped the female experience and has its impact on violence faced by commercial sex workers. This study also aimed that by exploring those risk factors and showing its implication on prevention interventions it will assure that the correction of both the invisibility and distortion of female experiences in way to ending those risks caused because of women's sexual orientation. I did not engage in the research process from a neutral position. Although I did not deliberately work from a feminist framework, my own understanding of the power inequalities embedded in gender relationships, informed and influenced the analysis of the data.

1.8 Definitions of Basic Terms

Female sex worker (commercial sex worker) –refers to a female individual who is paid money in exchange for sex.

Street-based sex workers –female sex workers who solicit clients on the street or in public places such as bus stands, market places or cinema halls; clients of street-based sex workers typically receive services inside vehicles or at short-term hotels or other premises near the point of solicitation.

Clients of female sex workers: - men who have bought sex from female sex workers, for which they have paid in money or in kind.

Violence against women-physical, visual, verbal, or sexual acts that are experienced by a woman or a girl that have the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or taking away her ability to control contact (intimate or otherwise) with another individual

Physical violence -refers to behaviors that threaten, attempt, or actually inflict physical harm which includes fracture or broken bones, teeth and nose abrasion/bruises/lacerations, Puncture/cuts, kicking/dragging, burns on purpose, use of weapons (gun, knife and other objects) and use of restraints, one's body, size or strength against sex workers

Victimization- refers to actions that include various forms of harm, theft and client refusals to pay or use condoms which might not necessarily be included as "violence."

Zig Bet or “Hidden House” - The private living quarters of FSWs who retain some anonymity within the community; usually clients for Zig Bet-based FSWs are identified through pimps or other closed referral systems and services are rendered on the premises.

Red-light house – Usually, a single room for residence and for commercial sex rented by FSWs within areas known to contain high concentrations of FSWs, where clients can solicit FSWs directly and receive services on the premises.

Hotspots – An area generally characterized by a high density of FSW venues where there are high concentrations of FSWs.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature review

2.1 The History of sex work in Ethiopia

The beginning of sex work in Ethiopia has various assumptions in different literatures. Although the exact time of its beginning remains uncertain, the different literatures agree sex work is one of the oldest professions. Some sources associate the beginning of sex work with the movement of kings, nobles, war lords, and the establishment of cities with the emerging trading activities in the country (Andargachew, 1988; cited by Lijalem, 2014). In his journal, Richard Parkhurst, mentions a Portuguese priest named Francesco Alvaro, who witnessed many sex workers who were then named ‘*Amarit*’ as old as the time of Emperor Libne Dingil (1508).

After the founding of Gondar as the capital city of Ethiopia, with the flourishing of commercial activity and emergent market, prostitution began to expand through different regimes. Sex workers then, had many names in the local language including *galamota*, *wushema*, *dengetsur*, *mahababaya* and *zama*. (Pankhurst, 1974)

Although sex work has been practiced in different parts of the country before the 19th century, the profession has not attracted the attention of foreign travelers until the time of Italian invasion.

‘The establishment of the Italian colony of Eritrea, and the coming of large number of soldiers, officials and colonists, in most cases without their wives led to a considerable growth and commercialization of sex work which soon reached

unprecedented proportions...and registered prostitution grew by leaps and bounds with the full approval of the colonial administration...the Italian troops, who were among the prostitutes' best customers have made the use of the Arabic term *sarmuta* for a prostitute'. (Pankhurst, 1974 p. 167)

After the founding of Addis Ababa as the capital city of Ethiopia, the practice of prostitution and the number of prostitutes highly expanded in major Ethiopian towns and seized an essential role in the colonial life. One manifestation of this fact is shown in the plan of the fascist government to build new 'mobile brothels' that will help expand the service to serve Italian workers all over the country. In order to accomplish this plan, the colonial government converted many places in to 'pleasure gardens'. Pankhurst cited a writer named Diel who witnessed, in 1938, approximately fifteen hundred women, each of whom occupied a house for herself, were reserved exclusively for Italian nationals. This number did not include the numerous street prostitutes, who officially had to be in possession of a permit and were medically examined three times a week (Pankhurst, 1974 and Nick, 2006).

The legacy of the then expansion of sex work continued up to the present time, and size of female sex workers in Ethiopia is increasing through time. Currently, in Addis Ababa, a substantial proportion of sex workers are found. Unlike the situation a few decades ago, sex work has increasingly become an occupation of women born and brought up in the city. Studies show that more than 50% of the women who are engaged in commercial sex work are born and grew up in the city. According to a mapping and census conducted by Population Service Ethiopia (PSI/E) in 2012, the number of female sex workers in Ethiopia is 11632 (PSI/E, 2012).

As large as this figure is, it is likely to be an underestimation of the total number of females involved in prostitution as the sample did not include those less than eighteen years of age.

2.2 The different Types of commercial sex workers in the world

Commercial sex work takes place in many parts of the world, even though the trends and functions vary from country to country mainly due to the variation in socioeconomic, cultural and political situations. The majority of countries in the world have punitive laws against sex work. All countries' laws and policies have affected the way sex workers function. For instance, some of the African countries laws prohibit and criminalize any form of sex work while others have developed guidelines to regulate the sex work (Scorgie, Vasey, et al, 2013).

Different organizations and authors classified commercial sex workers in different ways. UNAIDS (2002) categorized commercial sex workers either formal (organized) or informal (not organized). Formal sex work is establishment based and managers and pimps act as clearly defined authorities and intermediaries between sex workers and clients. This kind of sex work is often found in places where establishments such as brothels, night clubs drinking houses and massage parlors are venues for commercial sex transactions or activities. Informal sex workers, such as streetwalkers, and self-employed call girls or boys usually find their clients independently (Tilahun Abegaz, 2010).

According to Ditmore (2006) occasional sex workers are categorized under informal sex work because they may sell or trade sex in order to meet short-term economic needs. This type of sex work predominates in most African settings where sex work is likely to be full time occupation. He classified sex workers based on sites they work such as brothels, night clubs and

massage parlors, or more informally by commercial sex workers who are street-based or self-employed (Cited by Tilahun, 2010).

Furthermore, Balfour & Allen (2014) classified African sex workers. The researchers classified West African commercial sex workers based on geographical location as rural or village commercial sex workers, junction town or track park commercial sex workers, urban or city commercial sex workers and international commercial sex workers. On the other hand, they classified central and East African sex workers based on working conditions such as outdoor and indoor commercial sex workers. This type of categorization includes streetwalkers, individuals who roam East African coastal branches, juvenile sex workers, and subtler forms of commercial sex workers such as transactional sex and concubines (Balfour & Allen, 2014).

2.3 The classification of female sex workers in Ethiopia

Commercial sex work in Ethiopia exists in different places and forms. It is hard to find a hard and fast classification that would apply in all cases, but a relatively recent categorization of female sex workers in Ethiopia was conducted by Population Service Ethiopia in 2012.

According to the mapping results of this survey, based on the reliance on sexual act for income generation, female sex workers are classified in two broad groups; formal and informal sex workers.

Formal sex workers- Are women who perform sexual acts in exchange for money as their primary source of income and who self-identify themselves as sex workers.

Informal sex workers—are women who perform sexual acts in exchange for money, but not as their primary source of income. These women may not self-identify themselves as sex workers.

They often work out of known venues for sex work and have professions such as waitresses, hairdressers, tailors, massage girls, street vendors, or beer promotion girls, supplementing their income by selling sex on an irregular or transactional basis.

2.4 Categories of Formal sex workers

Formal sex workers are further categorized into three major groups based on their place of work. These are;

Establishment (venue)-based sex workers — refers to commercial sex workers who are associated with, or located at working establishments such as hotels, bars, nightclubs, groceries and restaurants to make contact with and solicit their clients.

Home-based sex workers— are female sex workers who primarily make contact with and solicit clients at their places of residence, and usually also render sexual acts at the same location. This category is largely comprised of sex workers who sell low-cost local alcoholic drinks (*Tella, Araki, Tej*) or *Shisha* at their residences; those commercial sex workers who live in a single rented room in known “Red-light” areas; as well as sex workers living in private homes (“*Zig Bet*” or “hidden houses”).

Street-based sex workers - refers to those who could be located along main streets in the city and solicit clients on the street or in public places such as bus stands, market places or cinema halls; clients of street-based sex workers typically receive services inside vehicles or at short-term hotels or other premises near the point of solicitation. (PSI/E mapping, 2012 p. 4-5)

2.5 Defining Violence against Women

There is little consensus among different fields of studies on exactly how to define violence against women. Researchers in such fields as sociology and criminology tend to prefer definitions that narrowly define violence, definitions that can be operationalized. In contrast researchers in such fields as psychology, mental health, and social work frequently consider "violence" to cover a wider range of behaviors (Crowell& Burgess, 1996).

Different organizations define the term gender based violence in different ways. The World health report on violence (2002) defines Gender-based violence as an act of violence that includes, but is not limited to: acts of physical, sexual, and psychological violence by intimate partners, dating partners or family members; sexual assault, sexual harassment; and forced prostitution. The different forms include physical violence (e.g. slaps, punches, kicks, assaults with a weapon, homicide); Sexual violence (e.g. rape, coercion and abuse includes use of physical force, verbal threats, and harassment to have sex, unwanted touching or physical advances, forced degrading acts that often persist over time and are accompanied by threats on part of the perpetrator); Psychological violence (e.g. belittling the woman, preventing her from seeing family and friends, intimidation, withholding resources, preventing her from working or confiscating her earnings) (Krug, Et al , 2002).

As defined by the United Nations, the term "violence against women" refers to any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (United Nations, 1993).

Central American women's organizations use the term 'femicidio' as a legal and political term to refer to the murder of women. It is an extreme form of violence against women linked to discrimination, poverty and a backlash against women. Both feminicide and femicide indicate the killing of women because they are women, as opposed to homicide, which is gender neutral. Femicide, or feminicide, can be broadly defined as the murder of women just because they are women, and stands at the extreme of a continuum of VAW that ranges from verbal threats, insults and aggressive bodily gestures to physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence and rape (CAWN, 2010).

The Ministry of Women, children and youth affairs of Ethiopia defines the concept violence against women to refer to 'an act of violence that is directed specifically against a woman because she is a woman, or affects women disproportionately. Violence against women includes, but is not limited to, 'physical, sexual and psychological harm (including intimidation, suffering, coercion, and/or deprivation of liberty within the family or within the general community)' (MoWCYA report, 2013, P. 3).

2.6 Forms of Violence against Women

Even though different writers classified the different forms of violence against women, for the sake of this study, the researcher used the classification by the ministry of women, children and youth affairs office. According to the ministry's 2013 report, various factors are taken into account to categorize violence perpetrated against women. The setting/ place where the violence occurs is one basis for classification. Accordingly, types/forms of violence against women can be categorized into family violence, community violence and state violence.

Family violence refers to an act of violence that takes place in the domestic context. The common forms include intimate partner violence such as battery and marital rape, sexual violence, incest, dowry-related violence, sexual abuse of female children in the household, non-spousal violence. The other form of violence based on setting is community violence. Violence is dubbed as community violence when the violence occurs outside of household in the general community. It constitutes violence directed against women in their neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, religious institutions as well as in other social institutions fall under this category. Finally, state violence refers to violence perpetrated by state actors like the police, members of the armed force, and other officials working in government offices.

Apart from the settings, based on the nature of the violence, forms of violence against women are classified in to physical, sexual, and psychological violence.

2.6.1 Physical Violence:

This type of violence refers to is any action implying the use of force against women of any age in any circumstances which can manifest in the intentional use of physical force for causing injury, harm, disability or death of women. Common forms include kicking, slapping, punching, pushing, bites, slaps, spanking, scratches, abdominal injuries, throwing of objects, pushes, stab wounds and any other act against their physical integrity, producing marks on their body. According to Heise (1999) physical violence is the most evident type of violence against women. Almost all female sex workers are subjected to some form of physical violence once or more times in their lives. (Heise, 1999 cited by Yohannes, 2008)

Physical violence is most commonly measured by the Conflict Tactic Scales (Straus, 1979, 1990) or some modification of it. Such scales ask about the occurrence of various representative behaviors. For example, the Conflict Tactic Scales list nine physical violence items as follows

‘Threw something at you; pushed, grabbed, or shoved you; slapped you; kicked, bit, or hit you with a fist; hit or tried to hit you with something; beat you up; choked you; threatened you with a knife or gun; and used a knife or fired a gun. The last six behaviors in this list are considered to be severe physical violence’ (Crowell & Burgess, 1996 pp. 14).

2.6.2 Sexual violence

Sexual violence understood as any behavior that forces the woman to witness, maintain or participate in sexual intercourse, by means of intimidation, threat, coercion or the use of force; that induces the woman to commercialize or to use, in any way, her sexuality, includes unwanted kissing or touching or making a woman do something that she doesn’t want to do or enforcing them to watch like pornography without their willingness. (Healey, 2013, cited by Hiwot, 2015) The definition of sexual violence can be further broadened to include

‘Sexual penetration of any type, including vaginal, anal, or oral penetration, whether by penis, fingers, or objects; focusing on the offender's behavior rather than the victim's resistance; and restricting the use of the victim's prior sexual conduct as evidence’ (Crowell & Burgess, 1996 p. 12).

This form of violence refers to abusive sexual contact, making a woman engage in a sexual act without her consent. This is the most commonly experienced form of violence among female sex workers. It also extends to sexual contact towards women that are not able to give their consent such as a woman who is ill, disabled, or under the influence of drugs, that includes all unwanted or non-consensual sexual act, touching or exploitation that are achieved through force, threat, or intimidation and coercion (Yohannes Mersha, 2008).

2.6.3 Psychological Violence

Psychological violence includes behavior that is intended to intimidate and persecute women, or that aims at degrading or controlling the woman's actions, behaviors, beliefs and decisions, by means of threat, humiliation, manipulation, threats of abandonment or abuse isolation, constant surveillance, insult, ridiculing, confinement to the home, surveillance, and threats to take away custody of the children, destruction of objects, isolation, verbal aggression and constant humiliation (SWAN, 2015).

As opposed to the physical type of violence, psychological violence is the most difficult to observe and prove. Victims of this type of violence often think, what happens to them are not sufficiently severe and important enough to denounce their aggressors. (Crowell & Burgess, 1996) Research has repeatedly shown a strong association between psychological abuse and physical and sexual violence. It has been suggested that ridicule may undermine a woman's self-worth, making her less able to cope with both physical violence and psychological abuse (MoCYA, 2013).

2.7 Factors Associated with Violence against Women

Although there are no clearly demarcated causes for violence, research has sought causal factors at various levels of analysis, including individual, dyadic, institutional, and social. Early on, many researches were focused upon biological theories, which concentrated on the physical differences between men and women and invariably included references to testosterone, neuro-chemicals linked to impulsivity, and the greater muscular strength of men (Botoos, 2007). More commonly, however, cultural and/or socialization theories have dominated the literature on gender differences in violence. Pivotal to these theories is the differential socialization of men and women, where men are rewarded for violence and women punished and taught to suppress any aggressive impulses (Dasgupta, 2002).

2.7.1 Individual Level Factors

The physiological or neuro-physiologic correlates of violence and aggression associate violent behaviors with the functioning of steroid hormones; the functioning of neuro-transmitters such as serotonin, dopamine; neuro-anatomical abnormalities and brain dysfunctions that interfere with cognition. According to this theory, 'changes in hormonal, neurotransmitter, and neuro-physiological processes may be consequences of violent behavior or victimization, as well as being causes of those behaviors' (Reiss and Roth, 1993 cited in Crowell & Burgess, 1996 p.53) Another literature review showed that there appears to be a correlation between testosterone levels and aggression. For example, low levels of serotonin; have been found to be correlated with aggressive behavior, impulsivity (Linnoila et al., 1989).

Studies have also looked at brain abnormalities and violent behavior. Accordingly, 'neuropsychological deficits in memory, attention, and language, which sometimes follow limbic system damage, have been found to be common in children who exhibit violent or aggressive behavior' (Linnoila et al., 1989 p.54). The biological explanation of violent behavior also revealed that reduced impulse control and personality changes following head injury, may lead to an increased risk of battering (Crowell & Burgess, 1996).

Alcohol/drug consumption has also been repeatedly mentioned as a cause for violence at the individual level. The relationship of alcohol/drug use to violence is a complex one, involving physiological, psychosocial, and socio-cultural factors. The exact effects of alcohol on the central nervous system remain in question, but non experimental evidence indicates that alcohol may interact with neurotransmitters, such as serotonin, that have been associated with effects on aggression (Linnoila et al., 1983). Alcohol/drug consumption may interfere with cognitive processes, in particular, social cognitions. Recent studies suggest that men under the influence of alcohol/drug are more likely to misperceive ambiguous or neutral cues as suggestive of sexual interest and to ignore or misinterpret cues that a woman is unwilling (Crowell & Burgess, 1996).

Yet another explanation of violence and violence behavior is addressed to the sex and power motives of abusers. Violence against women is widely believed to be motivated by needs to dominate women. This view conjures the image of a powerful man who uses violence against women as a tool to maintain his superiority, but research suggests that the relationship is more complex. 'Power and control frequently underlie intimate partner violence, but the purpose of the violence may also be in response to a man's feelings of powerlessness and inability to accept rejection' (Browne and Dutton, 1990). According to Lemma, the Amhara male view, the

dominance and masculinity of a man is usually manifested by his use of physical strength for dominating women through violence, and a violent man is usually portrayed as a hero in his society (Lemma, 2005, cited by Yohannes Mersha, 2008).

2.7.2 Institutional Factors

Other factors that are external to the individual and highly influential in predicting violence risk can be found in the institutional level. The major institutions that have been implicated in contributing to socialization of human behavior are family and religion. Some also include media as a prominent institution in shaping violent behavior.

Studies conducted on violent criminals, revealed that violent offenders are more likely than other adults to have had poor parental childrearing and likely to have witnessed violence in their homes growing up, most often between their parents but also between and against siblings. (Babcock et al., 2003 cited by Bottos, 2007) From a social learning perspective, men learn their behavior by observing others' behavior and learn whether or not to practice that specific behavior based on the consequences set to that behavior. Individuals learn aggressive solutions to problems via parental modeling and, since relationships play a more prominent the social development. 'Parents socialize daughters to resist sexual advances and sons to initiate sexual activity' (Crowell & Burgess, 1996 p.61).

Similarly, religion is another Institution known to propagate masculinity and reinforce sex role stereotypes that breed male-dominance attitudes, which eventually leads to condone the use of violence (SWAN, 2015). In contexts where religion plays a strong role in everyday life, it is the religious institutions and leaders that have an impact on norms and beliefs around

masculinity. Overseas development institute, (2017) cited evidence of the ways in which religion can be misused to perpetuate violence against women. For example, they cite the work on Christian evangelism's emphasis on wifely submission that encourages pastors to counsel women to stay with their abusers. They also report on work in Arab and Islamic countries, where 'selective excerpts from the Koran could be used to prove that men who beat their wives are following God's commandments' (Overseas development institute, 2017 p.40).

Another influential institution in shaping behavior, especially since recent times is the media. Many feminist writers contemplate that television and movies are filled with scenes of women being threatened, raped, beaten, tortured, and murdered. Those who are exposed to television and cinema violence may also become desensitized to real world violence, less sensitive to the pain and suffering of others, and begin to see the world as a mean and dangerous place (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005).

Radical feminists condemn pornography because it encourages the 'objectification' of women and endorses sexual aggression towards them. Exposure to pornography under laboratory conditions has been found to increase men's aggression toward women, particularly when a male participant has been affronted, insulted, or provoked by a woman. (Hall, 1990) Even exposure to non-explicit sexual scenes with graphic violence has been shown to decrease empathy for rape victims. It appears that it is the depiction of violence against women more than sexual explicitness that results in callousness toward female victims of violence and attitudes that are accepting of such violence (SWAN, 2015).

2.7.3 Societal Level Factors

At the societal level, risk factors that drive male perpetrators to commit violence against women fall under social/cultural norms and attitude that define masculinity (Stitch and Straus, cited by Mekdes Eyoel, 2007). Rigid constructions of masculinity stemming from traditional gender ideologies have been identified as a risk factor for violence. For instance, behaviors such as showing physical aggression or emotional stoicism are desired and expected in order to be considered masculine. Characteristics that are included into these ideals of manhood that are considered normative include violence and aggression, stoicism (emotional restraint), courage, toughness, risk-taking, adventure and thrill-seeking, competitiveness, and achievement and success (Overseas development institute, 2017).

According to the social learning theory, male violence against women endures in human societies because it is modeled both in individual families and in the society more generally and has positive results: 'it releases tension, leaves the perpetrator feeling better, often achieves its ends by cutting off arguments, and is rarely associated with serious punishment for the perpetrator' (Crowell & Burgess, 1996 p.61). Social norms and gender roles are socialized from a social group that same trend will pass from generation to generation. In our patriarchal society where women have subordinate position in marriage and relationships, the norm makes women highly vulnerable to violence (Jewkes, cited by Mekdes, 2007). Social Justification model, posits that the more a community feels that violence against women is justifiable, the more the perpetrator is likely to feel that he/she is right when committing the abuse (Bottos, 2007).

Ethnographic and anthropologic studies determine the critical role that socio-cultural mores play in defining and promoting violence against women. Anthropologists have found cultural differences and acceptability of intimate partner violence vary in different societies (Counts et al., 1992). A review of 14 different societies found that physical chastisement of wives was tolerated in all the societies and considered necessary in many societies, but the rates and severity of wife beating were found to range from almost nonexistent to very frequent. These differences seem to be related to negative sanctions for men who overstepped "acceptable" limits, sanctuaries for women to escape violence, and a sense of honor based on nonviolence or decent treatment of women (Campbell, 1992).

2.8 Magnitude of Gender Based Violence among Female Sex Workers

Violence against female sex workers is a segment of the various forms of violence against women. Violence against female sex workers is a manifestation of the stigma and discrimination towards them. In all societies, sex work is highly stigmatized and sex workers are often subjected to blame, labeling, disapproval and discriminatory treatment (Burduli, 2015).

Physical, sexual and verbal violence are common experiences for many sex workers. The large majority of studies indicate that violence is a prominent feature in the lives of sex workers in almost all sex work settings. Some, such as Spice (2007), argue that physical violence is the single greatest threat facing sex workers. A study by Harding (2005), which examined the experiences of female sex workers in Nottingham, found that all of the women interviewed had experienced some form of violence, whether physical, emotional or sexual (Cited by Balfour & Allen, 2014).

The prevalence of violence against women globally varies considerably. According to WHO, 2005 multi-county study 15% to 71% of women had experienced physical or sexual partner violence or both in their lifetime (WHO, 2006). A study conducted by WHO in India indicates that 70% of sex workers in a survey reported being beaten by the police and more than 80% had been arrested without evidence. Another study in India shows that sex work is illegal and sex workers are stigmatized and labeled as 'immoral'. Sex workers are afraid of reporting crime to the police for fear of being arrested and subjected to further extortion re-victimized (WHO, 2006).

In 2007, the sex workers' rights advocacy network (SWAN) undertook a sex worker-led community based research project on police raids, detention and physical and sexual violence. Sex workers and allies interviewed 238 female sex workers for what became as known as the "Arrest the Violence" report. At the time, in all 13 out of 15 countries where the research took place, sex workers interviewed reported alarmingly high levels of physical or sexual violence. Forty-one point seven percent of sex workers reported having experienced physical violence in the past year and 36.5% of sex workers reported having experienced sexual violence in the past year (SWAN, 2015).

More recent studies also reveal high levels of violence. A study by Bindel et al (2012), found that two-thirds of the sex workers they interviewed experienced violence, whilst another study by Sanders-McDonagh and Neville (2012) claims that many sex workers have experienced increasing levels of violence and complained of harassment by police. Reporting of violent crime is low among sex workers.

A study conducted in four African countries (Kenya, Uganda, South Africa and Zambia) shows a picture of profound exploitation and repeated human rights violation by police and related authorities. Among the violations, unlawful arrests and detention, violence, extortion, and exclusions are a few to mention. This situation has had an extreme impact on the physical, mental and social wellbeing as well as on the everyday lives of female sex workers and on their social interactions and relationships (Scorgie, Vasey et al, 2013).

Research in Kampala, Uganda has also discovered slaps and shoves are very common violence by most sex workers, and are expected from benevolent bar-owners as well as by their own boyfriends and clients when disagreements arises. Rape without condom by multiple assailants was most commonly described as the worst form of violence experienced by sex workers. Female sex workers, who fear violence, are less able to protect themselves from HIV infection. The power to negotiate on the use of condom, refusal of having unwanted sex, testing for HIV and seeking treatment after infection is found to be low among sex workers (Mbonye, Nalukenge, 2012).

In Dares Salaam, Tanzania, among female sex workers presenting for voluntary counseling and testing (VCT), 65% were likely to have been in a physically abusive relationship in their lifetime, and more than twice as likely to be in a currently abusive relationship. In Ghana, the nature and extent of various abuses by the police officers are very high; 34.3% female sex workers had experienced unprotected rape and 14.5% had paid in kind a bribe demanded by the police. These figures show the extent to which women in sex work are vulnerable to violence because of the conditions of their work and their marginalized status (Moboya, Beati, 2011).

In Ethiopia, finding the extent of violence against female sex workers is very challenging because of the absence of studies pertinent to this issue, but different studies indirectly show that violence experienced by female sex workers is an emerging pervasive public health issue and social problem. Female sex workers are vulnerable to violence from a range of sources including from their clients, employers, and community members. Despite the problem, study shows that disclosure of cases is not very common. Out of the total 406 street females, 96 were victims of sexual violence and of these violence victims, only (26.05%) disclosed their case to someone including legal bodies. The remaining, (73.95%) didn't report the case to anyone else. Among 25 victims who disclosed their case, only (24%) reported it to legal bodies (police and court). The majority, (56%) have reported to their friends only. Whereas, the remaining, (16%) and (4%) reported it to their relatives and street leaders respectively (Misganaw & Worku, 2013).

Laws governing prostitution and law enforcement authorities play a key role in the violence experienced by sex workers. In most countries, sex work is either illegal or has an ambiguous legal status (e.g. prostitution is not illegal, but procurement of sex workers and soliciting in public is illegal). Sex workers are therefore, frequently regarded as easy targets for harassment and violence for several reasons. They are considered 'immoral' and 'deserving' of punishment. 'Criminalization of sex work contributes to an environment in which, violence against sex workers is tolerated, leaving them less likely to be protected from it. Many sex workers consider violence "normal" or "part of the job" and do not have information about their rights' (Mgbako, & Smith, 2011).

Because of the assumption that violence as part of the job, female sex workers are often reluctant to report incidences of rapes, attempted (or actual) murders, beatings, molestation or

sexual assault to the authorities. As Andrea Smith delineates, ‘because their bodies are “dirty,” they are considered sexually violable and “rapable,” and the rape of bodies that are considered inherently impure or dirty simply does not count’ (Westminster report, 2013 pp.22).

2.9 Perpetrators of Violence against Female Sex Workers

Sex workers are surrounded by a complex web of "gatekeepers" including owners of sex establishments, managers, clients, intimate partners, healthcare providers, law enforcement authorities and local power brokers who often have control or power over their daily lives. Some gatekeepers may exert control through subtle means such as holding a debt, emotional manipulation or through overt means such as threat and actual sexual and physical violence, physical isolation, threat of handing them over to legal authorities and forced drug and alcohol use (Lalor, 2000).

A study conducted in the US revealed that pimps and customers are the most frequent abusers of juvenile prostitutes in the United States. For example, Silbert (1980) reported that 66% of her sample experienced physical abuse by pimps. Fifty per cent of them were beaten “regularly” or “constantly.” The reasons for this violence included disrespect, failure to earn enough money, departure or threatened departure and expressions of jealousy (Weisberg, 1985). Similarly, 70% of Silbert's (1980) samples were victimized by customer rape or clients going beyond the work contract.

The sex workers’ rights advocacy network (SWAN) conducted a community-based research project of the sex workers’ rights advocacy network among 238 sex workers in 15 countries of central and eastern Europe and central Asia in 2015 and revealed that the most

common category of physical violence perpetrator among sex workers was “assailants posing as clients, or clients”(50.8%) and almost a third (29.4%) of incidents of physical violence and a tenth (10.8%) of incidents of sexual violence were attributed to spouses. It is also only a partial picture of the violence sex workers face because a large number of perpetrators reported as “other” were non-spousal family members (SWAN, 2015 p.52).

According to a study conducted in Nigeria, Abuja, the major perpetrators of violence among female sex workers were mainly their clients, committing 56.4% of physical violence, 63.5% psychological, and 64.3% economic violence. Other perpetrators of sexual violence included brothel staff (13.3%) and police officers (6.3%). The perpetrators of childhood sexual abuse were mainly family friends such as neighbors, father’s friend, brother’s friend and relatives (22.1%) (Fawole, Dagundrouo, et al, 2014).

In the Ethiopian context, there is lack of aggregated data regarding perpetrators of violence against sex workers. A study conducted by the federal Ministry of Health Ethiopia in 2011, states of all female commercial sex workers who face violence, seven percent experience violence from non-paying partners; 10% report that at least one of their last five clients was violent (MARPs guideline, 2011).

In the interest of dispelling misconceptions, it is important to recognize that not all violence against sex workers is committed by clients, the majority of who are identified as male. One focus of this study therefore, is to identify the primary perpetrators of physical violence in the lives of street female sex workers of Addis Ababa.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methods

3.1 Study Design

Qualitative research methods are extremely useful to researchers and advocates interested in violence as this method provides greater insight into motivation, meanings, and dynamics of violent relationships (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). In addition to this, the qualitative method is a preferred method to collect data about human life realities and experiences (Creswell, 2009). Since this study is conducted to tell the experiences of violence victims, this particular method is employed because of its flexible and interactive nature.

In this study, phenomenological qualitative study design is employed because this method is important in bringing to the fore, the experiences and perceptions of individuals from their own perspectives. Phenomenological approach is also powerful for understanding the 'subjective experience, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom' (Beverley, 2002 p. 61). Since this study aims to identify the living situation and violence experiences of street female sex workers, the researcher opted to use the phenomenological study.

As this research requires multiple data sources, in order to adequately answer the research questions, the researcher employed more than one data collection instruments for data collection. In-depth interview with violence survivor sex workers is the primary tool to get the desired information about the study subject. Additionally, key informant interviews were conducted with different stakeholders. The study participants were located primarily by word-of-mouth with the

help of a local non-governmental organization and traced by using the snow-ball sampling technique. Data collection is supplemented with audio recording, which later on was transcribed and analyzed to answer the research questions.

3.2 Study Site

This study is conducted at selected hot-spot areas of Arada Sub City, Addis Ababa. According to a mapping and census of female sex workers conducted by Population Service International (PSI) Ethiopia in 2012, in terms of the number of female sex workers dwelling in the area, Arada sub city is identified to be one of the largest hot-spot areas in Addis Ababa. The study revealed that there are more than 1904 self-identified female sex workers in the sub city. With this number, the sub city stands third in female sex workers concentration next to Kirkos and Addis Ketema.

This site is selected purposively due to the researcher's knowledge about the area and the availability of high proportion of commercial sex workers. The presence of informal and small-scale business activities is the typical characteristic of the area. According to PSI census (2012) there are nine major hotspot areas in Arada sub city where female sex workers are expected to dwell in high concentration. These are; *Doro manekia*, *Serategna sefer*, *Eri bekentu*, *Gedam sefer*, *Talian sefer*, *Datsun sefer*, *Sholla*, *Zebegna sefer* and *Dejach wube sefer*. These areas, especially the ones around Piazza, are known to be 'places of lust' since olden times (Pankhurst, 1974). There are more red-light houses than residential houses in these areas (FHI, 2002). Local drink houses (Araki bets, Tella bets, Teji bets), bars, hotels, night clubs, local liquor houses), *shisha* bets, *yejebena buna* bets, and cafes are highly concentrated in the area. According to FHI

study (2002), the above mentioned places are identified to be the potential venues for female sex workers (FHI, 2002).

3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Commercial sex work is not a legally recognized 'profession' in Ethiopia (family health international, 2002). It is also difficult to estimate the population of commercial sex workers which in turn creates difficulty of drawing the actual participants from the entire populations. Due to the lack of reliable sampling frame and since the main focus of this study is not representation, the researcher chose qualitative method of study for conducting this research.

In order to trace eligible study participants, snowball sampling technique was used for this study. This technique was applied in such a way that study participants who have had experience of physical violence were first identified with the help of a local NGO that works with sex workers. The first case /study participant or seed was identified by using the researcher's social network. If selected participants were found willing to participate, the researcher made appointment during the day time for interview which was convenient to them. At the end of each interview session; the researcher requested interviewees if they know someone who has had similar experience, and would be willing for interview. In other words, those identified respondents were asked to provide or link to other street based female sex workers who were survivors of severe form physical violence. The researcher's previous experience of working with commercial sex workers had a great contribution in the selection process.

A total of eight female sex workers, who were potential survivors of physical violence on their work, participated in the study. The selection was conducted considering heterogeneity of information and availability of study participants. Moreover, to gain comprehensive understanding of the research questions, key informant interviews were conducted with a total of four respondents. One police officer from the sub-city police command post, two community members who know the community very well, and representative of one non-governmental organization that works with female sex workers were selected and interviewed. This sample size was primarily based on the availability of similar stories, and on the level of saturation of ideas where no newer information was able to be obtained from the data collection.

3.4 Study Participants

The primary study participants of this study includes all street based female commercial sex workers, who are engaged in sex work business on the streets around Arada Sub City during the time of study and those who have been victims of physical violence offence before are included.

3.5 Method of Data Collection

3.5.1 In-depth Interview

In-depth interview is one of the most common means for collecting qualitative data. Talking face to face with respondents on such sensitive matters as violence requires sensitivity, skill, and the ability to interpret and respond to both verbal and nonverbal cues. Semi-structured interview questions, were prepared in a way that can enable the interviewer to elicit information

regarding violence survivors' experience. The interview guide was prepared in English, and then translated in to Amharic. Eight female sex workers who have been survivors of physical violence were selected for interview. In order to maintain participants' privacy and autonomy, interview was conducted in participants' convenient time and during the day time in a secured interview room from a local NGO. All interviews were tape recorded. In addition to recording the content of the interview, interviewer kept a field log, where interviewer's own observations, reflections, feelings, and interpretations were kept. The average interview time with a participant was 50-90 minutes. After the completion of the interview, each interview was transcribed and translated in the form of narrative with the support of a qualified and experienced qualitative data collector, who has had previous experience in verbatim transcription and translation.

3.5.2 Key Informants Interview

The other phase of this study involves key informant interviews with four different entities. Concerned stakeholders were carefully selected and interviewed in order to gain understanding of potentially unique risk factors, barriers to effective risk management, safety planning and strategies currently being used with these vulnerable groups. Accordingly, one police official from the sub-city police command post, two community members who know the community very well are selected for the interview. Additionally, one representative from a non-governmental organization that works with violence victims is interviewed. The above mentioned people are selected because they are largely associated in the assessment, risk management, and safety planning concerning female sex workers.

3.6 Data Quality Assurance

Data quality is the heart of all good research (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). Hence, in order to enhance the trustworthiness of the data, the researcher used a set of data quality measures throughout the research process. Starting from the selection of study participants, the primary measure was making sure that sampling plan and screening criteria are representative of the target group. In the course of the preparation of data collection instruments, maximum effort was exerted to ensure that all research objectives are addressed in the data collection instruments. Interview questions were prepared in an interactive way to boost respondents' engagement. Questionnaires were also pre-tested for rationality and comprehension. In addition, the forward and backward translation of data collection instruments was done in a professional manner.

Trustworthiness is a term used to refer to the criterion that is used to evaluate the truth value of qualitative studies (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). In order to ensure trustworthiness in this research, the researcher made sure that data collection was assisted with tape-recording conversations with participants. Audio records were labeled for subsequent storage, transcribed verbatim and translated in to English for analysis. Field logs taken during the time of interview were reviewed thoroughly to make sure relevant ideas are not missed in the course of data analysis. Processed data is then checked against raw data. As a final point, the final report is reviewed to ensure all research objectives are effectively addressed.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

The primary step in data analysis was transcribing data recordings from the interviews. The raw data gathered from in-depth interviews and key informant interviews was transcribed

verbatim and translated in to English. Personal identifiers were removed and replaced by unique identifiers to protect participant's identity. Field logs were typed, and data was sorted and arranged in to different types depending on the sources of information. After transcription, the researcher read and re-read each set of transcript until the content is considerably immersed.

The next phase in data analysis was data coding where the researcher took the different cases and then looked for common themes and categories that exceed the case and selected multiple cases with the same understandings. In the process, the researcher first provided detailed description of each case and themes with in the case followed by a thematic analysis across the case and finally interpreted the meanings of each theme. This process made it easier to compare and contrast each participant's substantive data. Simultaneously, an investigation of the derivative and original meaning of the words used to label the major thematic categories was undertaken to assure that the theme category was a conceptual fit for the substantive data. After the raw data was simplified in to different thematic areas, the final step in data analysis was interpretation or conclusion drawing. The themes were represented sequentially, and finally the research findings were interpreted.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

As social work's fundamental principle lies in preserving the inherent dignity and worth of people, it is a social worker's professional mission to work in accordance with these major principles. In many ways, researching violence against women is one of the highly sensitive topics because there are issues of confidentiality, problems of disclosure, and the need to ensure adequate and informed consent involved in it. The principle of respect for persons incorporates

two fundamental ethical principles: respect for autonomy and protection of vulnerable persons. (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). These are commonly addressed by individual informed consent procedures that ensure respondents understand the purpose of the research and that their participation is voluntary.

In doing this research, a key ethical issue was the avoidance of emotional harm caused to participants. The type of information that was collected during the study was personal and emotional in nature. There was the possibility of opening up traumatic experiences and thereby upsetting the participants. The emotional impact of the research was expected given that I was discussing experiences of violence. In the event of strong emotional responses was important to differentiate between personal feelings about situations and the experiences participants are actually describing from their perspectives. I gave due consideration for the issue of making the study participants well informed about what is going on and for what purpose the information is used as the primary task of the research. Participants were informed on the purpose and relevance of the study, and the voluntary nature of participation. The consent form is read by interviewer in a private setting to the study participant's the risks and benefits of participating in the study was made. Particularly, participants were informed that participating in the research has no a special benefit or health risks. Participants were also told that they could end the interview at any time or skip any question they did not want to answer. Moreover, prior to data collection, the researcher assured participants that all collected information will be kept and used in such a manner that confidentiality, anonymity and privacy of all participants is maintained; bearing in mind the sensitivity of the topic.

As the NASW code of ethics clearly states on article 1.07 (i), ‘Social workers should not discuss confidential information in any setting unless privacy can be ensured. ‘Social workers should not discuss confidential information in public or semi-public areas such as hallways, waiting rooms, elevators, and restaurant.’ (NASW, 1999 p.16). Henceforth, all interviews and discussions were conducted in places where the privacy and confidentiality of information were not compromised. Participants were assured that any records will be deleted by the interviewer immediately after the completion of the study. All personal identifier information was removed and replaced by unique code from the record, and all of the hard and soft data was kept in safe and secured place. In this study, participants were not paid for their participation except offering birr 50.00 to cover expenses due to travel to an arranged interview site.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data presentation

4.1 Biography of Study Participants

Hanna

Hanna is a 19-year-old girl from Gojjam. She was born and brought up by a poor family. Her parents lacked the financial capacity to raise Hanna and her eight other siblings well, so Hanna's aunt, who lived in Addis Ababa brought to raise and educate her. After coming to Addis Ababa, Hanna did not get what she was promised by her aunt. She could not continue her education as she hoped, rather she was left at home to look after her cousins and nieces and do all household chores. As the household responsibility exceeded her capacity, Hanna decided to leave her aunt's home without her consent. She contacted brokers who helped her get hired in the house of newlyweds as a housemaid. After working only for four months, an incidence forced Hanna to leave the house; her employer attempted to rape her. Hanna left the house empty handed; without even receiving her four months' salary. It was after a long walk that Hanna was able to reach around Arat Kilo, where she met three 'business girls', who advised her to join them after hearing her story. Not quite knowing what the word 'business' held, Hanna agreed and went with a client who offered to pay her 300 Birr, but only gave her 150 after a painful sexual intercourse. 'Everything was very painful as it was my first time, but the money was good for a poor girl like me', said Hanna. With the help of her seniors, Hanna learned the business in a short time. The best part of sex work, for her is 'the good money'. Hanna has a future plan to resume her education in the night program and eventually leave sex work.

Mekides

Is a 26-year-old street based sex worker around Piassa, *Datsun sefer*. She came to Addis Ababa leaving her much older, abusive husband whom she was forced to marry at the age of 14. Mekides stole some money from her husband and came to Addis Ababa. Her uncle, who occasionally comes to visit her family in Kibremengist, used to tell her about city life. He also gave her his phone number, just in case her family needed it. Mekides called her uncle as she arrived to Addis Ababa, who took her to his home around Saris. She lived at her uncle's home for seven years. Mekides told that her uncle's wife was 'horrible' to her all the time. She used to insult and beat her often times and made her eat spoiled food. Mekides had to endure everything as she had nowhere to go and nobody to turn to. Mekides' uncle used to rent houses in his compound and she eventually approached and made friends with one of the residents who came from the same district as that of Mekides. The neighbor was very sympathetic towards her. 'I used to wonder what she does for a living as she spends the whole day at home, but leaves at night looking beautiful', said Mekides. It was later on that she knew their neighbor was a sex worker. Observing Mekides' predicament at her uncle's home, the neighbor offered her to live with her in another area and do business with her. Mekides hesitated at first, but finally agreed and left with her friend to do business. For Mekides, 'business life' with all its difficulties, 'is much better than living at her uncle's home' as she now earns her own money and is 'the best she can do with no educational qualifications.

Betty

Betty is a good looking 22-year-old FSW from Debre Birhan. She left her hometown because of a sexual abuse by her stepfather. Following the tragic rape on her, Betty's mother was not as supportive of her as she was supposed to; she rather blamed Betty for acting provocatively towards her stepfather. Mekides could not tolerate living under the same roof with her rapist, so she left to Addis Ababa. In Addis, life was not all flowery for Betty; she had to sleep on the streets before she finally got a job as a waitress in a small café. Waitressing opened the opportunity for Betty to meet with different men who gave her money and presents to sleep with them. With the insufficient salary and unsatisfactory tip, Betty could not manage to pay her house rent and cover other expenses, so she eventually started sleeping with some of her customers for extra money. Before she knew it, Betty was swamped in the seemingly glittery sex work market. It was in this business that she met her current partner, who was a paying client at first, but gradually started living with her. With the money she earns from sex work, Betty pays her house rent, covers household expenses and additional chat and shisha expenses of her and her partner all by herself, as her partner currently has no job. Life with her partner is mostly good for Betty, except for his jealousy, which causes frequent disagreements between the two of them.

Rahel

Rahel was born and brought in Addis Ababa, around Addisu gebeya area. The now 30 years old, used to live with her parents until her father left her mother for another woman at the age of 16. Rahel had to quit her education to support her sick mother and 3 other siblings. She engaged in different mediocre jobs for years to sustain her family. She worked as a daily laborer,

janitor and cashier to earn a living, but the income was 'in no way sufficient to feed five family members and buy medication for her relentlessly ill mother.' Things got worsened when Rahel's mother died of her chronic illness. Now that Rahel was left alone by herself to raise her siblings, things became very demanding of her at home too. This is when Rahel started thinking of a well-paying job with flexible working hours. With her level of education, finding such kind of occupation was impossible, so Rahel had to join the inevitable sex work market. Now Rahel is raising her siblings with the 'relatively good' money she makes out of sex work. The biggest fear for her is, of her siblings finding out her true occupation as she told them that she is a night shift janitor in a Hospital.

Liza

Liza is a 35-year-old woman from Diredawa city. She used to lead a happy married life, until her childhood husband died nine years ago, leaving her all by her own to raise her two children. It was very tough for the single, uneducated mother to raise her children alone, so she had to sell her belongings and leave her birthplace to come to Addis Ababa with her children. She rented a small house in the city corner and started sex work without having to look for other jobs, because 'she needed the money badly and that was the only profession she could join without credentials.' At first, Liza used to do only 'short-term' business with clients to get back to her children, but such clients are not always available. Now that her children are much older, Liza also does night business. She told her two children that she found a job in a bed sheet factory so that they do not get suspicious because of the fact that she spends almost every night out of her home. In order to make sure her anonymity, Liza makes sure that she does business as far away as possible from where she lives. Getting use to the 'filthy' sex work life was very

challenging, for the 35-year-old widow, as she 'never faced any difficulty when she was living with her husband'. In addition to all the challenges of sex work, the worst part of this profession for her is, 'not being able to spend as much time with her children.'

Helen

Helen is a 22-year-old sex worker around Piassa. She had lost her mother when she was 11 and her father remarried after two years. Helen had never been in good terms with her stepmother as she used to insult and beat her for no apparent reason. The obvious discriminatory treatment between her and her stepsisters made Helen resent her father, stepmother and even her siblings from time to time. As she grew older, Helen became very defiant of her parents' instructions. One day, Helen went to meet her boyfriend after school, as she always does, but got back home much later than her usual time. Her father threw her out of his house after beating her badly. Helen went back to her boyfriend, who 'was not very pleased' with her decision. Helen then found out the bitter truth that her boyfriend was a married man with two children. Not wanting to go back to her violent home, Helen started sleeping on the streets. A few days later, she met other sex workers who used to do business around where she slept, and joined sex work at the age of 16. Things were not that dreadful at first, for the young and beautiful Helen, she rather felt very independent and grown up. After a few years, Helen met a street boy and the two started living together. She continued working as a sex worker. Shortly after she started living with her partner, she got pregnant. Her partner told her to get rid of the pregnancy as he was not sure if the baby was really his. Helen's pregnancy was too far along by the time she knew, so she decided not to terminate it. Her partner left her as a result of her decision. Now Helen lives in a plastic house on the streets with her 18 months old daughter. Helen tells that sex work life had

become much more difficult than she expected after she had her baby, as it involves leaving her toddler alone at night for hours. As a result of this, nowadays, she only does ‘short term’ business with clients. In the future, Helen has the prospect to leave this ‘horrible’ business and find any daytime job once she managed to send her child to school.

Almaz

Almaz was born and brought in Ambo. She attended her education until grade 10, but then her parents decided to give her hand in marriage. Almaz refused the marriage because she wanted to finish her education, but her parents did not change their mind. They told her she had to get married and drag them out of such a poor living. Almaz’s husband promised to let her continue her education, so she had no choice but to comply. Almaz continued her education, but could not get pregnant even after two years of marriage. This became a point of argument for her husband. Her husband’s behavior changed from time to time and started beating her, calling her a ‘mule’. One day, he commanded her to leave his house as he got another woman pregnant and wanted to marry her. Almaz did not want to be a disgrace to her poor parents, so she decided to leave Ambo. She came to Addis Ababa and accidentally met a rich man who owned *injera* supplier firm around Saris. The man was very moved by Almaz’s story and promised to give her shelter and job and took her to the firm to introduce her with his wife and other coworkers. The man’s wife was not welcoming for Almaz. She felt very suspicious and started interrogating Almaz about her relationship with her husband, as he never brought an employee to their firm. She then threw her out of the firm at 10 PM at night. Almaz had to spend the night at a bus station. The next morning, Almaz found a job at a hotel as a dish washer, but she had no place to sleep at night. For a few weeks, Almaz slept in a bus station, but the hotel owner offered to hire

her as a waitress (*ashashach*) and let her live inside the hotel with other 'waitresses'. Later on, Almaz learned that the job was nothing but sex work. However, she did not complain as it was better than sleeping on the street, fearing something is going to happen any minute. The hotel owner used to take most of the money Almaz used to make, that she was not able to help her parents in Ambo. After a year of working in the hotel, Almaz decided to work on the streets to get better money to send to her parents. Almaz goes to visit her parents occasionally. She told them that she finished her education and found a well-paying job to make them proud. In the future, Almaz wants to join college and study accounting, and get married if possible, but she fears that her name and history of being a prostitute will follow her wherever she goes. She also fears to being not able to have any children, which was the major cause for her first marriage to fall apart.

Misrak

Misrak, a 32-year-old sex worker, was born in Dessie. After losing both her parents at early age, she was raised by her poor grandmother, who raised her with love. She came to Addis Ababa because she passed her entrance exam and was allocated in Addis Ababa, school of commerce. Her poor grandmother used to send her 200 birr every month, but that was not enough for Misrak, to fulfill her requirements. She sometimes, used to borrow money from her dorm-mate, who 'always had a lot of money for a student'. Misrak's dorm mate advised her to 'go on dates with rich men' and make money as she does. Misrak did not hesitate to agree, as she was tired of being seen inferior to her fellow students. Things indeed changed for Misrak, economically. She started earning money she never dreamt of. With the money she earned, she used to buy her necessities and even send some to her grandmother, who she told she found a

part-time job after school. This situation did not continue for very long for Misrak, as she found out that she was 16 weeks pregnant. She was not even sure who the father of her child was. As her pregnancy became visible, she decided to quit her education in fear of what other students might say. She withdrew her education, and started street sex work until she gave birth. Things got complicated for Misrak after she became a mother. She had to leave her baby to a complete stranger in the neighborhood to look after, paying birr 50.00 every day. Misrak plans to continue her university education in the future, and earn a living doing a day time job, but for the moment, she believes this is what she can do best, under the circumstances.

4.2 Major Challenges of Engagement in Commercial Sex Work

As exhibited in the above story of participants, each of them had their own unique push factors to engage in sex work business. Despite all the unfavorable conditions involved in sex work life, they managed to stay in business because there are also some benefits attached to the profession. One participant said the greatest advantage of sex work, is that *'it doesn't require any educational qualification for engagement and the money (which is relatively good) gets to your hand right there unlike other jobs in which you have to wait for a whole month to get salary'* (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

On the other hand, different studies that focus on commercial sex work mostly indicated the extremely hazardous nature of sex work business. Participants of this study revealed that their lives are full of adventures and challenges, 'almost like a movie', as one participants said. The repeatedly mentioned challenges of engagement are the following: rape, physical abuse, and clients demand for deviant sexual positions.

4.2.1 Rape

Rape has been mentioned as a great challenge in the lives of street sex workers. Study participants described experiences where they had come to an agreement to have sex with a client, but upon arriving at the venue, discovering several other men waiting to join in and have sex with them as well. These instances of gang rape were distressingly common. Two participants described this situation by saying.

Men usually come to us wanting free sex, as if it's their rights and when you refuse to comply, or in situations you can't escape, you end up being raped...sometimes, some clients pay to take you to their home, then invite their friends for a group sex without your consent. When that happens, you have no other choice but to have sex with all of them. The pain is unbearable, but you get paid from only the first client or sometimes none at all. (Liza, December 29, 2017)

Rape is one of the main challenges that street sex workers face regularly. Such incidences are there since they hadn't had the proper protection and some clients believe that having sexual intercourse with sex workers is not rape even if it is against her will. Hence, listening to rape stories from street sex workers is quite common. Apparently, condoms were seldom used in instances of rape, by gangs or otherwise. One of the respondents explains her rape situation as follows.

It was one Easter eve; I was standing around Giyorgis area for business. I stood there for very long hours to no avail. Then I felt the urge to urinate and I went to a relatively darker corner of the street. It was even before I finished urinating that I felt a firm hand

grabbing me from behind...before I had the chance to look back, one guy showed me a scalpel and said I rather 'give him free sex, or he will stab me.' He said he would wear a condom if I agreed not to shout. He didn't even give me the chance to say 'yes' or 'no' ...he just pushed me forward and started raping me from behind...he was holding my mouth with his hand so that I don't scream...in the middle of all of this, I saw two other friends of his waiting for their turn...I couldn't keep quite any more so I bit my rapist's hand with my teeth. He then stabbed me on my shoulder and left. He wanted to stab me on the neck, but I tilted...at least I saved myself from those two other men. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

In addition to gang rape, street commercial sex workers often face rape by their clients. This type of rape is the least recognized type of rape by the police, offenders and even the sex workers themselves. When a client forces a sex worker to have intercourse with him in his terms, it is seldom regarded as rape because of the belief that the sex worker is already engaged in selling sex. According to study participants, such incidences are very common in sex work life. One participant describes this situation as follows,

...Sex work life by itself is a rape for me as we don't get any sexual gratification from it...we encounter a lot of rape incidences, once we got in to a bed room with a client, we are defenseless...some pay us only for one round sex and end up raping us the whole night, some agree to pay but finally refuse to do so after the sex...it is very common in business life, that we no longer consider it as a rape anymore. (Rahel, December 27, 2017)

Rape assault in sex workers' life is more often committed without any protection. This leaves sex workers being in high risk of HIV, other STIs and unwanted pregnancy. One participant shared her experience regarding this issue.

The primary issue that results in us being raped is condom use. We are almost all the time raped without any protection. I don't do business without condom but there were dozens of incidences where I was forced to. That's how I got pregnant with my baby. I had had so many such experiences that I don't even know who the father of my child is. I have had two abortions since then. I was treated for STIs countless times, that's why I'm afraid to get tested for HIV. Most of my friends have aborted at least one time as a result of such incidences. I also have friends who got HIV because of unprotected rape.

(Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

4.2.2 Physical Abuse

Another equally mentioned problem in sex work life was physical abuse. Participants indicated that physical abuse is almost an everyday occurrence for them. Many of them survived different forms of physical abuse from different people, majority of whom, were men.

Respondents showed me scars and marks on different parts of their bodies that were exhibits of violent physical attacks towards them. Hanna (19) describes her situation like this;

One Friday night, as I was out for business, there was this guy who claimed to love me...that day, he suddenly came on to me with a knife on his hand. He said 'you whore; I have asked you to be my girlfriend repeatedly but you didn't listen. Now you leave me no choice except for this (he showed me the knife), if you don't agree to give it to me (sex). I

was horrified...as I tried to run, he stabbed me on the arm and laid me on the ground with one punch, then he raped me right there on the streets. After that incidence, I had no choice but to be his girlfriend.

Experiences of having been physically beaten several times or threatened with firearms were reported by virtually all sex workers interviewed. Participants reported having been physically abused in their attempt to secure client compliance. It seems as if physical assault is a norm in sex work life. Due to repeated traumatic experiences, physical safety was found to be one of the participants' main concerns.

Study participants had been exposed to varying levels of physical violence which ranges from minor slapping, to extreme forms of punching, kicking, and stabbing. Participants encountered physical assault more than once in their business life.

In my business life, I was beaten by a lot of people...clients, police, and hooligans...they think it's ok to beat a prostitute...you ought to expect beatings if you say no to their demands... I have friends who can no longer do business because of their injuries. I have been beaten several times that I can't even recall most of the incidences now. . (Mekides, December 26, 2017)

The physical assault results temporary bruises, scratches and swellings to permanent scars broken nose, teeth, legs and even the loss of an eye in some. One participant elucidates her experience of physical assault;

It was two years ago...the guy was my regular client, he considers himself as my boyfriend...he pays me when he has money, and if he doesn't have money he promises to pay me some other time (like a loan) and we have sex. That night, we went in to the hotel

room as usual, we were both drunk. We always use condoms but that day, he said we shouldn't use one as we are now familiar with each other. We had a heated argument because of this. Finally, as I was about to open the hotel door, he broke a bottle and stabbed me from behind...If it wasn't for the hotel staffs, I could have bled to death that day. (Helen, January 1st, 2018)

4.2.3 Clients' Demand for Deviant Sexual Positions

The other difficult part of this business, as mentioned by participants was clients' demand for deviant sexual acts. Clients expect sex workers to be experts of different sexual positions. However, there are many sex workers who are not familiar with sexual positions and consider some positions as a deviant acts. The women defined their own boundaries of comfort for physical acts. For them, sex work was not about selling unrestricted sexual access to their bodies. Without considering their interest and exposure, some clients demand sex workers to do the act in different positions. In addition, there are also clients who have different sexual habits. Almaz, states this by saying

Some clients offer to pay you a nice chapa (means money) for abnormal sex. Some of them don't really want to have actual sex with you, rather they just want to see you dance naked or just sit in front of them naked, with your legs wide open. Some clients have extraordinarily huge sex organs and want to have sex with you. Such kinds of clients are very scary. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

In addition to the above mentioned challenges, another frequently mentioned challenge of street sex work engagement was the hustle from police. Although prostitution is not illegal in

Ethiopia, the activities associated with it such as soliciting are. Respondents indicated that they were beaten, chased and arrested by the police repeatedly. “*The police always hit us with the soles of their feet or with their metal stick if they find us standing on the street for business, so we start running to avoid being beaten and arrested.*” (Hanna, December 27, 2017)

4.3 Contributing Factors for Physical Abuse

4.3.1 Alcohol/Drug Use

Alcohol/drug consumption as a factor for abuse has two sides; the sex workers’ and the clients’. Remarkably, all study participants in this study reported they consume some kind of alcohol/drug (usually *chat* and *shisha*) on daily basis before sex in order to enhance their sense of power and control by ‘building confidence’ and easing the shift in character from their ‘ordinary self’ to ‘professional self’. In addition to its benefit of boosting confidence, respondents said they use alcohol/drug in order to cope with the cold weather that awaits them outside, while standing on the streets for several hours to solicit clients. Alcohol and drug use in some areas of the sex trade is not simply a personal decision but also an integral part of the work culture and sometimes even a workplace requirement. One participant remembers how she decided to use alcohol and *shisha* in this way;

I remember the first time I slept with a guy, he gave me 200 birr for my service. After we were done, the bar owner told me to get ready for another client. I told her that was my first time to have sex and I couldn’t sleep with another client because I was in so much pain. I still remember how she hit me. She said the golden rule in sex work business, is a ‘whore’ can never, ever say ‘no’ to a client’s request. She also advised me to go and take

some strong alcohol to suppress the pain. That is how I learned my first lesson. I used to abhor alcohol and chat, but there was no way I would have sex with a man more than five times a day with my regular self. A million types of men come to us, so how can you serve all of them without alcohol? (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Substance and alcohol use problems of street-level sex workers is also closely associated with violence as it leaves the sex workers vulnerable to engage in high-risk activities out of desperation (e.g., going with clients they would normally avoid because of a need for money, shelter, or drugs). On the other hand, participants confirmed that the fact that they were drunk, or were under the influence of drugs during the time of violence made them less able to defend themselves from perpetrators and even unable to identify their perpetrators in some cases.

Most perpetrators who attempted violence attacks on participants of this study were reported to have been under the influence of alcohol or drugs. One participant explains the effects of alcohol/drug use on clients as follows;

Men who used alcohol and chat take prolonged time to have sexual orgasm, which is very painful for us...drunken clients don't listen to you when you tell them you are in pain. They rather become very aggressive...when a client is drunk, he usually refuses to use condom, but it is like an unwritten rule for sex workers and our clients to get drunk before sex. We usually drink together. (Betty, December 30, 2017)

On the contrary, another participant mentioned going out with a drunken client occasionally has some benefits attached to it.

When some clients get extremely drunk, they tend to be very sleepy. In the middle of having drinks, I manage to receive my payment forward and let the client get drunk...some of them just fall asleep the minute we get in our room or only after one round sex. When a sex worker meets such clients, she considers herself very lucky.

(Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

Sadly, many of the study participants were not that lucky. Study participants reported that their attackers rather become very aggressive and violent when they are under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

4.3.2 Pornographic Movies

While pornography appears to influence the relationship between men and women in general, research suggests that those who are most affected by its harmful effects are primarily women who are abused by men. As survivors of violence attacks, participants of this study revealed that it is very common for their clients to watch, or make them watch pornographic movies.

Most of my customers, especially the elder ones like to watch pornographic movies on their phones...they say it helps them for sexual arousal...some of them show me and ask me to do the same. I agree sometimes...If I find the sexual act acceptable. But you know...I will never be willing to some deviant sex acts... One day one of my clients showed me a pornographic movie, in which three men were having sex with one woman and asked me if I am willing to have such kind of sex with him and his friends. I shouted 'no!' and threw his mobile on the ground. He punched me on the face saying I broke his

phone, and then took back the money he gave me and left. I was happy that at least he didn't force me in doing what I saw in the movie; said the 28-year-old Almaz.

Watching pornographic movies is not a problem by itself. The greatest danger comes when a client demands to perform such acts on the sex workers. Participants' willingness to obey to such client requests depends on the 'acceptability' of the act to them. One participant describes an incident that happened to her as a result of this;

One good looking client came to the place I was standing and asked me to go with him to his home. I usually avoid going to clients' home because of the potential danger but that day I agreed, because it was very late and I needed money to pay my children's school fee. We went to his home and we drunk a little. Meanwhile, the guy opened a sex movie on his TV. In the movie, a woman was slapping a naked man with a belt like piece and he was screaming very loud. I was very terrified because I've never seen such a thing...then my client told me that he gets sexual satisfaction from being beaten like that. He said he would pay me three fold of what I get paid for regular sex but that was beyond my mind so I said no and asked to leave his house. At first he begged me then he just changed and started getting angrier. Then he hit me on the mouth with his shoe. My lips cracked and my upper front teeth broke. He told me the actual sex wouldn't have been this painful if I agreed, and all I had to do was be naked and hit him with his belt, so I eventually said ok. I did what he asked with my whole body shivering in fear. It was a very traumatic experience for me...I didn't know such people really existed...he then gave me 3000 birr after we were done and I left...the money was good you know...but it was disturbing.

(Liza, December 29, 2017)

4.3.3 Client Refusals

The issue of condom use is the commonest cause of disagreement between sex workers and their clients. Most of the respondents reported that they abide by the ‘no condom, no sex’ policy, but said only under some circumstances, they break their own rules. Some participants indicated that they would have sex without condom if offered good money, but others said they wouldn’t agree to unprotected sex under any circumstance. Participants said they faced violence for refusing unprotected sex repeated times. Some clients, who are aware of their firm stand on condom use rather than explicitly demanding unprotected sex, sometimes sabotaged safe sex, by reportedly breaking condoms or secretly removing condoms before sex. Participants revealed many instances of violence attacks that were results of condom use issues.

This guy came to do business with me. We agreed on the price and condom use then went to his room. I don’t usually trust clients’ condoms so I gave him mine...I swear I saw him put it on...then he turned the light off and we started having sex... I immediately knew he took off the condom, so I pushed him off of me...how dumb was he to think that I wouldn’t know how a sex without condom feels? He said it might have slipped out, but I didn’t buy that shit...condoms just don’t slip out...then he said he would pay me more if we have sex without condoms...I said hell no and then he slapped me, grabbed me and threw me on the bed...I struggled with all my power, but that only made him hit me harder, so we had unprotected sex...he didn’t even give me the extra money he promised.

(Betty, December 30, 2017)

Similarly, Almaz explains her violence experience because of the issue of condom use as follows;

Four months ago, this guy approached me and said he wanted sex. I told him only with condom and we agreed. But once we got in to the room, he begged me to have sex without condom... he also said he is HIV negative and showed me a medical certificate (which is fake I am sure). I asked him if he didn't care about my HIV status and he said he trusted me. I got very suspicious and refused...that nice guy immediately changed and started beating me. He punched me on the face and I lost one tooth. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Another refusal that was reported to cause disagreement between sex workers and clients was clients' refusal to pay after sex. Participants reported that clients often refuse to pay them for their services or trick the sex worker into accepting smaller payment. Some clients say 'I have spent a lot of money for our drinks, food and room rental, and refuse to pay extra money for the sex.' Helen's violence experience was related to this;

It was two years ago...a client requested a 'short' time sex and we agreed. We were both very drunk at that time...we went to a hotel room and had one round sex as we agreed. Later, I asked him to give me my payment but he refused to do so. He said he spent a lot of money for drinks and room rental that he did not have any money to pay me. We got in to dispute as a result of this and I started insulting him, then he punched me on the eye and just picked up a bottle and hit me on the face. I fell on the ground and passed out immediately. When I woke up, my face was covered with my own blood and I

have already lost two teeth. My attacker was nowhere to be found. I was in so much pain that I couldn't even shout for help. (Hanna, December 27, 2017)

Theft by clients was also mentioned by most of the participants. In order to avoid refusal for payment after sex, most of the respondents said they ask to be paid up front, but some clients demand their money back after sex or steal it from them when they fall asleep. In order to In order to avoid theft by clients, some participants reported that they hide their money in unpredictable places. *"I put my money either in my bra or sometimes I even hide it inside my vagina"* said one respondent.

4.3.4 Stigmatization of Sex Work

Prostitution is a despised profession in many societies and sex workers are often viewed as disgraceful and dishonorable. Interview participants reported various experiences of social isolations by family, neighbors and community members at large. Reasons for the high incidence of violence among sex workers can be considered in the context of the social stigma attached to the profession. The inherent reasons for most violence attacks perpetrated upon them pertain to (stigma-related) attitudes and degraded position given to sex work. There is a general perception that gender-based violence is part of sex work and not a crime from which they should be protected. Some people believe that it is their responsibility to punish sex workers for their sinful act. Mekides explains the stigmatized view for sex work and sex workers as follows.

The society views us as dirt. It's amazing how people think we got into this business in thirst for sex...everyone hates us, even the men who sleep with us... the men just want to show their power on us...some want to punish sex workers for the sins of other women...I

think men mostly beat us just to prove that we are defenseless. We have no guardian except for God. (Mekides, December 26, 2017)

Such stigmatized attitudes are occasionally manifested in the misogynistic actions of some clients. Rahel further elaborates this situation with an incidence she encountered six months ago.

One night, I met a client who invited me drinks and took me to his house. Then he started telling me how he married a sex worker and gave her a decent living, but he eventually caught her cheating on him with his best friend on his own bed. He said 'all women are cheaters and cunning' and there is no other way to avenge his predicament than beating one of their own...he didn't give me the chance to speak...he shouted at me 'shut up you whore!' and started to beat me everywhere. He was in so much anger...he said something like 'women are like parasites...they always end up hurting their host...he punched my nose repeatedly and my nose broke instantly. He hit and hit me until he got tired and then gave me only 20 birr and threw me out of his house in the middle of the night. His wife cheated, so what? What did I do? Why would I get beaten up for her mistake? You see, people just hate us. (Rahel, December 27, 2017)

It appears that one of the primary effects of this stigma is to prevent them from "coming out" about their work. They did not want their family members to know the truth about their occupation to avoid shame and stigma on and from them. None of the respondents revealed the about their profession to family members in fear of the consequences and preferred to work very far from of the where their family lives.

The attitude of family and community members was one of overt stigmatization of sex workers, who were often unambiguously despised. Many participants expressed lack of support

from nearby community members during violence incidences on them. Most community members were indicated to be very uncooperative during such times.

Can you believe it? No one in the community is willing to help us during violence victimizations...some hear us scream but do not dare to come and help us and some come out, (crying)...but immediately turn back when they see it is a prostitute being beaten or raped...some even say 'it's you again?' and just walk away...they think we kind of deserve it. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

This attitude was further confirmed through an interview with key informants who live around Datsun area. Informants displayed their abhorrence towards sex work and their respective responses at times of violence against sex workers who cause 'public nuisance' to their neighborhood. A 52-year-old key informant confirmed participants' allegation as follows.

I hear prostitutes scream almost every night but I never come out to help a them because prostitution is a sinful act...how can one prefer to engage in such immoral thing when there are a million other means to get money? How is it possible that a woman is out on the streets on such ungodly hour: and not get beaten or raped? It is their choice...it never ends unless God sends some kind of punishment to them. (Key informant, January 5, 2017)

Social isolation by community members was further indicated to intensify violence attempted on street sex workers as it encourages perpetrators to inflict more harm without having to worry about someone barging in for defense.

Our perpetrators know very well that neither the community nor the police will come to rescue us so they beat and rape us with full confidence...they just know that nobody holds

them accountable for beating or raping a prostitute, so they do whatever they want.

(Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

4.3.5 Nature of Work Site

Sex work market is segmented between the indoor and street venues. According to Sanders (2004) the so called 'occupational hazards' towards female street prostitutes consists of two types of risk factors: public risk and private risk. The public risk refers to the very nature of the work set up, being outdoor, makes sex workers victims of violence and harassment from clients, pimps, dealers police and other community protesters. And the private risk of street female sex workers encompasses stigmatization and marginalization of female street prostitutes, which is quite stressful for the women, because they fear that family members, friends or intimate partners may reveal the fact of their activity

Interview participants confirmed that outdoor commercial sex work is more dangerous than indoor sex work, primarily because of the fact that their business location is limited to the streets, more precisely, outdoor venues. As a solution to escape police hustle, street FSW prefer to work in places that are less patrolled by the police, which intensifies their chance of being victimized.

Street business girls are way more vulnerable to violence than those working in bars or hotels because security guards know them well and will quickly respond if they call for help...another benefit is that an indoor sex worker can put her belongings like mobile and money inside her dormitory before entering a room with a client, which decreases the chance of theft and 'return my money back' argument with clients. To avoid such

risks, we street girls don't bring our mobile phones with us and put our payment money in our bras and underwear...mobiles are very important you know...to call your friends if something happens to you but we usually don't bring it with us.” (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Another reason for greater victimization of street sex workers was the high chance of street sex worker to go far with a client. Having to travel to unknown places, which sometimes includes clients' homes puts street sex workers in danger and predisposed to abuse.

Hotel sex workers don't need to go faraway with their clients for business because they have rooms where they work, but in our case, we are forced to go wherever our clients find suitable sometimes even to their homes because we don't have the right to decide the setting. This is what makes us very susceptible to different assaults. (Liza, December 29, 2017)

Another respondent further reinforced the apparent difference in risk among street and indoor sex workers.

Hotel/bar managers and security guards are very protective of the sex workers under their roof and the clients know that very well so they usually don't attempt violence towards them...they come to us because they know that there is no one that claims a street sex worker...I have friends who worked in hotels/bars for many years but haven't been assaulted even once, but rape and beatings are like every day adventure for us working on the streets. (Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

Circumstances show that street level sex workers have less opportunity to assess their clients, and usually draw on their intuition to determine the potential threat the client poses. They also have little opportunity to set the terms of the sex transaction (what services the person is willing to provide, how much they will charge) and unsatisfied clients may be more likely to react violently if disappointed.

4.3.6 Clients' Request of Deviant Sex Positions

General Strain Theory indicates that the act of soliciting prostitution is used as a behavioral coping mechanism with the aim to get an excitement and fulfill the blocked sexual desires of men.) Interview participants revealed that most men solicit sex workers in order to experience those types of sex that they could not experience with their conventional partners because most of them claim they were 'tired of the usual peno-vaginal sex.' Such client requirements, according to the respondents, were reported to often cause disagreement between them which usually leads to physical violence.

One interview participant describes her situation by saying;

Last year, I went out with this guy... as we were about to get down to business, he said he didn't like regular mom-dad sex and demanded to have anal sex instead. Of course I didn't agree as I have never done such kind of sex with anyone before, so I said I would rather return his money and leave. He said anal sex work was as normal as vaginal sex once I got used to it, but I heard people who practice anal sex had problems of incontinence so I persisted. He then started beating me. He punched me on my left eye with his ring and my eyebrow tore. When I screamed for help, some hotel staffs came and

surrounded me. In the middle of this hustle, my perpetrator managed to escape, I'm sure with the help of one of the maids.” (Mekides, December 26, 2017)

Another respondent said it is quite common for a client to request anal/oral sex.

Most clients request anal/oral sex but we don't agree. When you refuse to perform such deviant sex positions, they say 'If I wanted the usual mom-dad sex style, I would have done it with my wife...I'm paying you to get something new.' ...such demands cause disagreement between us and they end up beating us. (Betty, December 30, 2017)

Rahel also reported she always experiences clients who request irregular sex positions, which are often found unacceptable by her.

Some of them say they want to have sex with your breast some say they want us to just fold our leg with our thigh and want to fuck our legs...but the most common of all is clients' request of oral sex ... most people think a prostitute would do anything for money but we have limits too...I don't even let an irregular client kiss my lips let alone suck his dick (with disgusted face) ...I do such things with the one I love...I always get in dispute for refusing such things, so be it!”

Even with the regular peno-vaginal sex, some participants reported that some clients take quite prolonged time to finish sex. When a client takes such extended time during intercourse, it causes injury to the sex worker. Some also said when the sex becomes too painful, they sometimes say ‘time is up!’ before a client finished and this causes disagreement between clients and FSW.

Some men don't ejaculate that easily...especially the ones who chew chat...this causes injury to the sex worker because all of us force our bodies to have sex. We don't have the natural physical drive for it. I can swear that no sex worker in the world experiences real sexual orgasm with a client. The friction during prolonged sex makes our sex organ very dry and even cause flaking which makes the sex even more painful...when a client takes too much time to finish, and, we have no choice but to stop the sex when the pain becomes unbearable ... sometimes I offer to give them back their money...you can imagine what a man can do when you disrupt him in the middle of sex...I was badly beaten so many times because of this. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

4.4 Perpetrators of Violence against Street Female Sex Workers

4.4.1 Irregular (New Clients)

Irregular clients (men who visited study participant FSW for the first time), were the most frequently mentioned perpetrators of violence against them. Participants reported that as they stand on different street corners to solicit clients, the chance of meeting new clients every business encounter was high. They pointed out that, issues like money, condom use, or request for rare sex positions are most likely to pose danger when it is with a first time visitor. Regular clients on the other hand, appeared to be 'much more sentimental' than new clients.

Participants of this study reported that, first time clients commonly ignored them when they expressed their wishes and preconditions, or when they indicated they were in pain.

Most of the time, new clients are the ones that commit violence on us. Regular clients, don't usually attempt violence on us because we know each other's circumstances very well, and if they did something to harm us, they fear we are able to identify them. (Helen, January 1st, 2018)

4.4.2 Police

Among participants of this study, police was mentioned to have committed a great deal of physical violence against street sex workers. Study participants recognized their 'illegality' and in most instances justified police assaults. Many of the respondents reported having been insulted, humiliated, chased, arbitrarily arrested, beaten and in some instances raped by the police several times.

The police hate us. They don't even consider us as human beings...they beat us every chance they get...I have been beaten with police stick, metal pipe and with the soles of their feet countless times. We know for sure that we will get beaten or arrested if a police came at night, so we always run when we see one. (Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

Participants also reported many instances of harm when they were attempting to escape from the police. Most of them revealed they usually fall, tumble, hit objects and sometimes fall in to a well in an attempt to escape the police. Almaz's shared her experience with police

One night, my friends and I were standing for business around Datsun and suddenly, the police approached us. When we saw them, we all started running in different directions. As we were running, a friend of mine was hit by a car and died right before my eyes...she was trying to escape from the police that she didn't even see the car coming.

Another participant further described this situation as follows;

There is this policeman who always hustles sex workers. One night, he took off his hand and started chasing us. We started running towards Arat Kilo direction. Most of them managed to escape, but I was caught at last. He gave me one slap and said he will arrest me if I didn't sleep with him. I didn't want to be beaten or arrested, so I agreed. He took me to a darker place on the streets and had sex with me. He then let me go free after giving me a serious warning not to tell anyone about what happened. (Hanna, December 27, 2017)

Having to bribe the police in order to avoid arrest and beatings were repeatedly expressed by respondents. The bribe usually comes in two forms; money, and free sex. Sex workers are usually caught by the police while they were still looking for a client, which implies that they would not have money at hand, so often times they are forced to use the latter option. One participant said; 'Once they caught us, police demand money or free sex and sometimes both, to have mercy on us. If a street FSW bribes a police officer with one of these, the police, not only let her go free, but sometimes even take her phone number and alert her to leave that site before they round for arrest.' (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Police, on the other hand, denounces such allegations by street sex workers. One key informant from the sub city police command post indicated that 'police maintain a watchfulness over the sex worker districts primarily because of a concern to limit the potential for illegal activity such as drug dealing or violent crime such as robbery, rape or assault.' The informant also indicated that the expansion of street sex working prostitutes causes volatility which can create a tense and sometimes threatening atmosphere for the community and that is the only reason behind frequent police patrol around street sex workers' quarters. The informant also

added that 'sex workers should report if they found police officers engaging in abusing them in any way.' (Key Informant, January 8, 2017)

4.4.3 Intimate Partners

Participants reported to have been exposed to varying levels of physical violence in their intimate relationships too. Partners of sex workers are known as 'baluka' (which is close to saying the hubby) in sex worker slang. In most cases, balukas were previously paying clients who eventually turned in to lovers, or sometimes street hooligans, who were approached for the sake of protection. Participants pointed out the importance of having someone to protect them when working in the streets. "When you are a street sex worker, danger comes to you from different directions. So you need someone to protect you at least from theft and rape on the streets. If you befriended a famous 'hooligan' you will be more respected on the streets."

Unfortunately for some participants like Hanna, violence becomes unavoidable, even with their intimate partners.

My boyfriend was a street hooligan. He has no other job than to be my 'guardian'. He forced me in to becoming his girlfriend in many ways and finally I gave in...he usually beats me and I was so tired of that, so I broke up with him. He always threatens to 'disfigure my face' if I left him. This year, on New Year's Eve, I was drinking with my friends in a bar and he came and asked to 'have a talk' with me outside...he was drunk...he begged me to forgive him and promised to become a better partner in the New Year. I said it was over and demanded to get back to my friends...then he punched me on the mouth and my tooth fall out...I didn't expect that...I remember grabbing his shirt...as

I was screaming for help, he took out a razor blade and shredded my face four times. I was in so much pain to fight back...he tried to escape, but my friends came and called the police.

Betty also expressed her similar violence experience with an intimate partner like this;

I met my current baluka in business life. He was one of my regular customers. Then we decided to live together. He has no job, so we use the money I make for our expenses, which include his daily chat and cigarette intake. He even steals from my purse several times. Despite all of my effort, we usually quarrel because of his jealousy. He beats me...sometimes I try to hit back...it is very paradoxical; he wants me to make decent money to cover his expenses but gets very jealous when I go out for business. One day, condom broke in the middle of sex with a client. It was later on, that we noticed it was ruptured...such accidents sometimes happen in sex business. I was very worried how to tell my partner about it. When I got home, I told him about the incidence and proposed that we better use condom until I get tested for HIV in three months. He said I must have fallen in love with another client and started beating me. He then broke a glass and ripped my face. He said now no one wants to be with me. Our neighbors heard my unusual scream and came to rescue me. I am sure he would have killed me that day if they hadn't come.

4.4.4 Other sex workers

In some cases, participants also reported that they sometimes face violence from one of their own. Such disputes are usually caused by mundane disagreements and bickering among sex

workers that later on changed to seeking retaliation by those who claimed to be victims. Another 'bigger' cause of violence among sex workers, is accusation of stealing each other's clients, and personal belongings. Such disputes sometimes get resolved easily, but at times end up causing physical violence to sex workers. One participant describes her violence situation as follows;

My friends and I spend the day time at a local NGO drop in center, where we are able to sleep, cook, and do laundry and other services. When sex workers get the chance to get gathered at one place, we laugh, and have fun, but also quarrel for every possible reason we find starting from 'you stole my shoe/cloth, make up, food' to 'you stole my boyfriend' allegations. One day a sex worker, who was like my best friend at the time, accused me of stealing her boyfriend. I did not know they were together, the guy paid me and I had sex with him. I tried to tell her that but she started insulting me. I was mad at last and said 'he doesn't like you. He likes me more.' I didn't mean that, and then she threatened to kill me once we went outside, as no fights are allowed in the DIC. The next morning, she came with two street boys and cut my face with a blade. The other boy burned me on the cheek with a cigarette he was smoking. They threatened me not to ever get near her and left. I didn't keep quiet, I told what she did to me to other street boys I know, and they disfigured her face like she did mine. They didn't mention my name but I am sure she knew it was from me.

In addition to their fear of violence from customers and other men, in some conditions street sex workers also had to be watchful of violence attacks coming from their fellow sex workers.

4.5 Types of Physical Violence Faced by Sex Workers

Study participants reported to have experienced mild (which includes being bitten, slapped, hair pulled, punched, pinched, kicked, spanked, had clothes ripped, had something thrown at them, robbed, burnt with cigarette, spit on, or threatened with a weapon) to severe forms of physical violence by clients, their partners and the police. The researcher observed irreversible and long-lasting injuries including deep scar and disfiguration of the face and other parts of the body with knife, razor blade, broken glass, burning with cigarette as well as broken nose and fallen out teeth from violence attacks on them. One client reported to have lost one eye as a result of assault by a client.

Participants revealed the physical consequences of such assault on them as follows. Twenty eight year old Almaz explains what she faced as a result of the physical assault by a client.

I went to a dental clinic to get checked, but faced even sadder news. I was told that if I wanted to replace my fallen out tooth with an artificial one, the other two teeth will fall out too as they have already been shaken because of the attack. I can barely find the money to cover my house rent and chat expense, let alone to afford three artificial teeth. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Victimization on the job causes minor temporary injury in some, and permanent damages in others. The 19 year old Hanna woefully explains how that incidence affected her life by saying “*He got what he wanted; he disfigured my face and managed to get away with it. I have now lost my beauty and my self-confidence. Clients don’t find me attractive anymore.*” Another

participant who has lost one eye as a result of physical violence inflicted upon her said *“Now that my left eye is blind, sometimes it is difficult to see well in the dark with only one eye.”*

(Mekides, December 26, 2017)

Added to their physical harm, Participants allude to long-term psychological consequences of repeated trauma which is manifested in the forms of poor self-esteem, hopelessness, frustration, isolation, depression, anxiety, phobia, alcohol and drug abuse, and attempt to commit suicide.

After the loss of my teeth, I look myself in the mirror and cry a lot. I feel ashamed to laugh in front of people... Before, people used to identify me with my beautiful body posture, but now they call me ‘welaqo’ implying that I have lost my teeth. This hurts me a lot. Sometimes, I plan to drink poison (berekina) and die (with tears falling down her cheek) ...but then I think; ‘what if it doesn’t kill me immediately? What if the poison leaves me with yet another chronic disease?’ this is what usually stops me from doing it...In order to forget my pathetic life, I get drunk every day. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Similar suicidal thoughts are also exhibited in the narratives of the following three participants. *“If it wasn’t for my three siblings, I would have killed myself a long time ago. But I don’t want them to suffer as I am all they have in this world”* said the 30 year old Rahel.

Similarly for Liza, even though the ‘heaviness’ of her life has led her to suicidal thoughts, she has a much bigger reason to keep herself on the track. *“Often times, I get so depressed and want to just die, but then again, I think of my children and find the courage to strive again...they are the only good thing I have in my life”*. (Liza, December 29, 2017)

Misrak's words also provide insight into the deep levels of traumatization that are likely experienced by many sex workers. *"My poor grandmother thinks that I graduated and found a job in the city...she doesn't know that I am a prostitute, a single mother and a drug addict. You know? Sometimes, even death is a luxury for some of us."* (Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

Although the study did not set out to capture the long-term psychological consequences of experiencing of ongoing abuse and public humiliation, participants made reference to them in their narratives. Many participants gave acknowledgement to the individual costs of the abuse they had endured. They frequently referred to their physical wounds, bodily deterioration, emotional pain, humiliation and the anger they experience towards men. Participants' inability to build relationships of trust with men on a broad spectrum can also be understood as one of the long-term consequences of the abuse they endured at the hands of men.

After my face was disfigured, I tried to kill myself by drinking rats' poison but one of a friend accidentally came and saved me. I can't believe that I have such big scars on my face... I hate men! All of them! They are like animals to me...I don't want to live...there is nothing good about our lives...we were never considered as human beings in the first place. So what do we have to lose? (Hanna, December 27, 2017)

The other equally and commonly reported impact of violence by survivors was its negative repercussion on their business. Those survivors who endured facial disfiguration or old scar on their face reported losing their beauty (Aesthetic value) which in turn reduced their demand from customers. Few of them also reported abandoning their sex work for a period of months because of sickness or chronic pain as a result of the violence, and faced serious economic problem/survival problem.

Despite the everyday adventures they have to endure, participants somehow opted to keep on working on the streets for different compelling circumstances. Hanna told, “*After what happened to me, I want to change my working site, but there is no safe place on the streets. Now I hide from my perpetrators like I am the one who attacked them.*” Another participant revealed the reason that hinders most street sex workers not to engage in ‘in-door’ sex work, which they identified to be a lot safer than the streets.

Many of us work on the streets because we have children to support at home which makes it impossible to live exclusively in one bar/hotel. Besides, no once a sex worker is identified as a ‘street girl’, mostly, managers are not willing to hire her because they believe she brings trouble with her. (Mekides, December 26, 2017)

4.6 Response to Abuse and Coping Strategies of Violence Victims

4.6.1 Self Defense

Participants were asked of on their reaction following the act of physical violence inflicted on them. Almost all the study participants reported that they did not expect that their perpetrators will cause such level of harm they actually endured following the conflict with their perpetrators. It was in very rare instances that FSW literally physically fought back against their abusers. Respondents reported that they were caught unprepared, physically and psychologically by the abrupt and aggressive attack. As a result, majority of them reported an immature and ineffective or even aborted attempt to escape or fight back the perpetrator during the incidence. Many respondents mentioned being under the influence of alcohol/drugs, which according to them resulted being physically out powered by their perpetrators that in normal circumstances.

Everything happened so quickly...as I have realized that I have lost my tooth, I got the power to fight back. I grabbed a bottle and hit him on the head with all the power I had left. He started bleeding instantly...that was when people arrived and we were both taken to the police.” (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

I was throwing objects at him to protect myself, but once he managed to get closer to where I was standing, I couldn't hit him even once, because he was very huge and I was a little drunk...I remember scratching his face and chest with my fingernails then he punched me in the eye and everything went dark. (Mekides, December 26, 2017)

Some participants also indicated they were unconscious after the incidence which opened a window of opportunity for their perpetrators to escape.

I tried to hit him with a bottle, but to no avail, then he gave me one good punch and I was knocked out on the hotel floor. When I woke up, I was all alone, soaked with my own blood and my two teeth lying on the floor next to me. (Helen, January 1st, 2018)

Participants reported screaming for help as a first response to violence attack, which often times does not seem to be as helpful as it seems. People tend to ignore sex workers' call for help as it is believed to be part of the job.

It is very common for hotel staffs to hear a sex worker scream for help. So people mostly don't come for help unless the noise extraordinarily disturbing. Even if they come, our abusers refuse to open the door for them...but majority of help comes after we got hurt badly. (Rahel, December 27, 2017)

4.6.2 Seeking Medical Treatment

Seeking medical treatment after physical abuse was the most immediate coping mechanism considered by most of the respondents. After the incidence of violence, participants reported they have sought for medical treatment. Majority of them reported to having received only primary healthcare services in nearby health center in the next morning because of financial constraint to get comprehensive health services. Mekides reported;

After the incidence, my friends took me to the nearby governmental health center early in the morning. My eye was closed with blood. The nurses only cleared my wound and gave me painkillers to suppress the headache. Then I was referred to Minilik hospital for a better treatment, but I had no money to go to a hospital, so I had to wait until my ekub money arrived; which took almost seven months. By the time I went to the hospital, they told me it was too late to save my left eye.” (Mekides, December 26, 2017)

Because of financial constraints, participants frequently visit nearby governmental health centers instead of private ones, after they faced violence. Apparently, the chance of obtaining comprehensive health services in such facilities is very low. As a result of this, survivors usually do not get adequate health assistance. Mekides explains her situation as follows;

My client left without even paying me, so I did not have the money to go to a private or dental clinic. I didn't want to go to the health center because I went there repeated times. I live on the streets, in a plastic house, where can I find thousands for artificial teeth? So I just stayed home until the wound healed, which took around two weeks then I got back to business.

Respondents also described many instances of poor treatment by healthcare providers particularly those in public clinics and hospitals when they became aware of their work.

After I was anally raped by a street hooligan, I was ordered by the police to bring medical evidence. I went to Gandhi hospital to get the test done. I was not sure where to get the required service, so I told a health worker about my case. She literally insulted me! She said I brought that to myself by engaging in such a horrible business. She also said such medical evidences are meant for 'innocent' rape victims, not prostitutes who could encounter such incidences every day. I was so pissed, that I insulted her and left."

(Hanna, December 27, 2017)

As a result of such discouraging circumstances, some sex workers generally avoided going to health facilities. Such participants forwarded that they prefer using alcohol and chat to suppress the pain to medications prescribed by physicians. *'Doctors always prescribe amoxicillin for everything, so I rather drink a strong alcohol to kill the pain. That way, I can also forget this ugly life for some hours.'* (Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

4.6.3 Seeking Legal Services

Violence is an issue which is not easily spoken about amongst most women, especially commercial sex workers. It is commonly assumed that the primary step violence victims would take is reporting their cases to the authorities. Sadly, that is not the case for most women engaged in sex work.

Respondents indicated that it is in very rare circumstances that they report violence incidences to the police. Some never attempted to report their abuse to the police at all, because of different reasons, and others did report, but were not able to press formal charges. In most cases, participants explained that they usually would not seek redress because of a sense of futility about the outcome. Consequently, there were very few instances where sex workers actively sought redress for violations they had experienced.

4.7 Barriers to Reporting Abuse

4.7.1 Fear of police inaction and mistreatment

The police appear to have adopted a regulatory role in their dealings with street working prostitutes. Participants indicated that they have faced neglect and mistreatment from police in several instances. The level of animosity between street based sex workers and police officers was unanimously cited by all respondents as a deterrent factor for not reporting the cases. Participants revealed that, some police officers often harassed, mistreated and humiliated them but some of them managed to report their repeated violence cases to the police despite such discouragements. In such instances, participants reported to have been mocked, ignored or given unnecessary lectures by the police.

After the incidence, my friends called the police and my attacker was taken to the station. I was bleeding heavily so my friends took me to a nearby clinic, but the clinic was closed as the time was late at night. I had to wait until morning for treatment. Then I went to the police station to press charges, but I was told that my perpetrator was already released because I did not appear to press charges timely. I tried to tell them I was getting medical

treatment but one police even told me that it is better if I reconciled with my partner, who was also my attacker. My attacker knew some policemen in that station and I think he also told them that I was his wife. They were not willing to help me...they rather started humiliating me for engaging in sex work and advised me to quit selling my body. I was very disappointed and left. (Hanna, December 27, 2017)

Participants accuse police of being ‘too reluctant’ to take measures regarding violence cases towards FSW. Sex workers have reported to often not been believed by police and service providers when they say they have been raped because mainstream society considers the bodies of sex workers undeserving of integrity and violable at all times.

After I was stabbed and raped, I went to a nearby police station right away; blood was all over my cloth. I told them what happened and asked them to send a police officer to go with me to the area to catch the perpetrators. It was pitiful what they responded. They told me to go find and tell my case to patrol police around the area I was assaulted. They have seen me bleeding...That was like a pure no to me...so I went to a clinic instead. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Survivors concluded that ‘even though the law was supposed to stand equal for all, when sex workers went to report to the police, they mostly favored to clients.’ Participants mentioned that in some instances clients bribe police officers and go free.

...So he broke my tooth and I hit him back with a bottle. Then we both went to the police. My abuser said I attacked him first, but I showed them my tooth. We were both arrested for the night. In the morning, I was released. When I requested to press charges, they told

me that my attacker was bailed out and they would find him by his address if I brought sufficient evidence. I went back to the station a couple of times, but I was told that they could not find my attacker by the address he gave them. I am sure he bribed them...they accept bribe money from poor sex workers, let alone a wealthy man. I had no money, no power... it was pointless to try so I halted it all. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

Police on the other hand, claims that sex workers lack the stamina to settle their violence cases before the court because of their apparent nature of lacking patience.

Sex workers are often reluctant to report their violence cases to the authorities, and even if they did, they usually lack the determination to finalize their charges because of anxieties about the court process. Most sex workers impulsively come to us to report their cases right after violence incidence on them but then eventually drop their charges to avoid a lengthy court process. Most sex workers prefer to reconcile with their attacker for a little money or because of fear of client retaliation.’ (Key informant, January 8, 2017)

4.7.2 Absence of sufficient evidence

Legal reporting requirements appear to be the major reason that discourages victims to report their abuse to legal authorities. Despite the heterogeneity of their violence experiences, study participants indicated the difficulty of obtaining ‘sufficient’ evidence in the stigmatized world of sex work.

I went to the police twice, to report violence. Each time, I was told that I needed medical evidence and eye witness to press charges. Yes, I did go back to the place I was attacked and begged people to tell the police what they have seen. I couldn't find a single person who was willing to testify...who wants to testify in favor of a helpless prostitute, who gets beaten every other day? Not even my friends...I don't blame them...they fear that the attackers might find them tomorrow and harm them too...I don't have the stamina to go to the police anymore. (Almaz, December 26, 2017)

In some instances, sex workers face insults and clobbering comments from health care providers, who ought to give them the required medical evidence for their charges. One participant reiterated that

After I was severely beaten and anally raped by a hooligan, I did not want to go to the police in fear of the predicament, but social workers of a drop in center I usually spend the day at, saw me and asked what happened to me and I told them. With their help, I managed to press charge against my attacker, but I was told to bring medical evidence to confirm that I was raped anally. The healthcare provider at the hospital condemned me a lot instead of helping me. It was beyond my patience, so I insulted her and left. (Hanna, December 27, 2017)

The police, on the other hand indicated that the legal process requires supportive evidences such as eye witness and medical certificate, because they faced many instances where complainants claimed to have been victimized, but vindicated to be the criminals. One key informant said;

Violence cases on street sex workers come to our station almost every day. Sex workers come to press charges for being beaten, but when we further investigate, they are found to be the criminals. Sometimes, they steal clients' money when he falls asleep and hide it in their sex organs... they fabricate false accusations, so we require strong evidences that support their cases. (Key Informant, January 8, 2017)

4.7.3 Threat from Perpetrators

Another commonly observed problem to reporting violence cases to the police is fear of retaliation from perpetrators. Respondents reported to repeatedly being threatened by their perpetrators after the incidence. As a result of this, they fear, reporting their case would only trigger another danger from their perpetrators, as the law does not consider violence against sex workers as a serious matter. Hanna describes this situation as follows

When my attacker heard that I went to the police, he started threatening to kill me. He said he would be arrested for a few days, but would make my life miserable once he is released. In addition to his threat, a woman one day came to me and told me that she is my attacker's wife. She begged me not to press charges against him because her children would starve if he got arrested. This whole situation left me in despair and I had to halt my complaint.

In some cases, perpetrators use the lack of empirical evidence in the hands of the sex workers to discourage them from reporting. Liza's case was no different than this;

After he was done, he gave me some money, and told me that if I brought the police to his house, he would deny that he ever met me. He also said I had no evidence to prove anything...all he had to do was give some money to the police to shush them. It is true...who would believe a prostitute over a rich man? So I didn't go to the police. (Liza, December 29, 2017)

4.7.4 Failure to Trace Perpetrators

As confirmed in this study, most of violence attacks against sex workers were committed by first time clients. Many of them confirmed to have only met their attackers that night. In some cases, participants revealed that they were unable to find their perpetrators after the attack, because they were unconscious from the physical abuse they encountered. Another commonly mentioned factor was victims' alcohol intake at the time of the incidence. Participants reported to have been 'too drunk to recognize their abusers'. Helen revealed her situation; *'I did not go to the police because by the time I woke up, my assailant had already left and there was no way I was able to trace him. I was very drunk that night and I don't even remember his face well.'*

Mekides also revealed similar effect of alcohol in her violence incidence.

I went to the police after what happened to my eye, but I was not able to give them enough information on the guy to help them catch the perpetrator. I had too much alcohol, so I couldn't remember him clearly.

4.7.5 Fear of false accusations

In addition to the above mentioned discouraging reasons, participants fear that reporting violence presents the risk that perpetrators will counter-accuse them of fabricated charges and that they- not the perpetrators- will be found guilty. Liza voiced this by saying ‘the police don’t believe us. They say we make up stories to accuse other people in order to cover our own crimes.’ Misrak further affirmed this by mentioning an incidence on her.

I went to business with this guy who refused to pay me my money. We got in to an intense argument and he hit me. As we went to the police, he said I stole money from his purse and hit me because I refused to give it back...I tried to tell that he was the one who refused to pay me, but he said ‘why would I bring her if I had no money to pay her?’ I was very angry so I insulted him bad words...they all blamed me for stealing his money and searched my whole body but they didn’t find any, then my client said I must have handed it to one of my friends on the way to the station...after a lot of hustle, the police told us to solve it ourselves. You see? I was the criminal just because I was a prostitute. Such things also happened to my friends. Nobody believes a prostitute.

4.7.6 Refusal to Press Charges out of sentiment

Sometimes, victims refrain from reporting their violence cases to police because of their affection towards perpetrators. This usually happens when the perpetrator is an intimate partner. Study participants, who were victims of abuse by their intimate partners actively tried to cope with their ambivalent feelings of love towards their partners by altering their perceptions of the abuse.

Yes, he always beats me, and even disfigured my face, but I don't want him to get arrested because I love him very much...sometimes, I wish if he gets arrested for a day or two, so that he would get scared and stop beating me, but then I leave it all because I am sure he will kill me when he is released. (Betty, December 30, 2017)

As a result of all the above factors, respondents expressed resentment and dissatisfaction towards the existing legal services. Participants reported that they have been intimidated, embarrassed, attacked, chased away, arbitrarily detained, insulted and humiliated by police officers at least once while they are standing on streets. These bad experiences with police officers were repeatedly recited upon failure to pursue the cases of violence to legal bodies.

4.8 What should be done; sex workers articulated their suggestions

Study participants emphasized on the need for change that can practically minimize violence victimization of sex workers across the country. Primarily, respondents stressed on their need of police assistance. As police has been blamed of 'not being supportive' of sex workers, survivors called for 'sympathetic ears' of the police and the community. Almaz uttered the following;

The police and the community should recognize that we are human beings, we have feelings too. If it wasn't for different compelling factors, we would not have chosen to engage in such a degrading profession.... We hate this life too, but we can't simply cease it, as all of us have different reasons...nobody knows the adventures we have to face every day... even if we are living by selling our bodies, that doesn't give the right for anyone to abuse us...I want to ask police and the community to respect us, listen to us, be

our ally during such misfortunes. Instead of blaming us for being victimized, they should listen to what happened to us and assist us to find justice.

Participants also admitted the risks of using alcohol and drugs before business. All study participants disclosed their use of alcohol and drugs on a daily basis, which not only leaves them vulnerable for abuse, but is also harming their economy badly as they spend a considerable amount of their earnings on alcohol and chat. One participant stated the need for change as follows;

In order to forget this ugly life, almost all of us drink, chew chat, smoke cigarette, shisha or weed. That is what we do every day after waking up from our sleep. We spend almost all of the money we make on chat, shisha and cigarette. It is usually clients who buy is drinks...I spend more than 200 Birr every day for chat and shisha. Imagine this doesn't include house rental, food and cosmetic expenses. This is the major reason sex workers cannot save their money and cease this job. Honestly, we earn more money than a degree holder, but we don't save it. Sex workers' money is doomed! So at least we have to learn to cut on our addictions and save some money to change. (Helen, January 1st, 2018)

In order to reduce the likelihood of being victimized, participants also suggested the avoidance of going with clients to their houses or unknown places. Rahel suggested the following; 'If possible, we should not go with clients to their houses. Instead, it is better if we take them to a hotel/pension that we know very well so that we can get help in case something happens.'

At the structural level, several participants made appeals that were directed at organizations currently working with sex workers. They accused most sex worker organizations of being ‘report-oriented’ and ‘superficial’ in their engagement and called for practical approaches to bring sustainable changes.

Most NGOs are not genuinely working for sex workers. They just want to steal in our names. They mostly focus on daily based oral trainings about HIV and STIs, which is something we have heard a million times. We know the theory very well, what we need is a permanent remedy like long-term vocational trainings that can help us improve our skills and help us cease sex work profession for good. Some organizations give us money that doesn't even pay a one-month house rent, and want us to stop sex work, but that is not possible. We agree until we accept the money, and then disappear from that organization. We need the skill more than the money (Misrak, January 1st, 2018)

In terms of addressing barriers to accessing healthcare, many sex workers called for ‘sex-worker friendly’ facilities and services. The expansion of such facilities benefits in reducing stigmatization of sex workers by community members and health providers in some health facilities. This in turn increases sex workers’ clinical uptake and their access to comprehensive healthcare. One participant articulated the need like this;

When we go to some public health facilities, providers insult and judge us. But if sex worker-friendly clinics are expanded, we will not feel ashamed to go there recurrently or tell the providers what really happened to us. There was one such facility around Piazza, but now they have moved to Saris area, which is very far away from here. (Betty, December 30, 2017)

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Discussion, Conclusion and Implications for Social Work

5.1 Discussions

The study results confirm that physical violence is a common adventure in the lives of street sex workers. Sex workers faced violence once or repeated times while working on the streets. Street sex workers encountered different forms of physical abuse at different times. Survivors sustained different forms of physical violence including fractured bones, broken nose and teeth, bruises, deep laceration, abrasions or disfiguration on their face by bottles and knives, burn with cigarette. Added to the physical trauma, survivors also encountered psychological and behavioral disorder in the forms of poor self-esteem, hopelessness, frustration, isolation, depression and anxiety and finally attempt of suicide.

This study identified four major perpetrators of violence attacks on street sex workers. Irregular, paying clients were known to be the primary abusers of sex workers. Such onetime clients were responsible for majority of abuses against street working sex workers. Regular (nonpaying) partners of sex workers on the other hand, also committed violence against them. The need for protection and belongingness, drive street sex workers to get involved with nonpaying partners, who also end up being their abusers. This study further found evidence that police, is also involved in violence against sex workers. It was in rare instances that police did actually cause physical harm on sex workers posing as a client, rather, physical and sexual violence by police largely occurs in the course of arrest and detention. Sex workers also faced minimal injuries to death, in their attempt to escape police hustle.

Based on the findings of this study, factors associated with physical violence on street based sex workers are aligned with those in the literature review. However, unlike what is stated in some literatures, (Crowell & Burgess, 1996 Linnoila et al., 1989) individual level factors take the lions' share in serving as a cause for physical abuse against street level sex workers than the institutional and social level factors. At the individual level, clients use and abuse of alcohol and drugs appears to be a major cause of violence against sex workers. Alcohol/drug consumption by clients had pervasive effects on the sexual performance and aggression of men in their relationship with sex workers. The use and abuse of alcohol and drugs had also undeniable impact on sex workers' ability to defend themselves during violence attacks. Clients requests of sex without condoms, painful and delayed sexual orgasm due to drug and excessive alcohol intake and demand of sex beyond their agreement (short sex, commonly one times) were also the common causes of disagreement resulting physical violence against sex workers.

Based on the study findings, another principal factor in street sex workers' violence victimization was clients' addiction to pornographic movies. Such habits often lead to clients' request of non-customary or offensive and abusive sex positions that later ends up causing disagreements followed by physical abuse on the sex worker. Study result also recognized the stigmatized and discriminated nature of sex work profession in the community contributed as a factor that intensifies violence committed against street working prostitutes. In addition to the above factors, the study findings also indicated that the location of street sex work being in the open-air leaves sex workers predisposed to different forms of violence.

The study result on perpetrators of violence against street working sex workers is comparable with different sex workers' violence studies in the global level. However, the

primary data is different from other studies on the point that in addition to other men, street level sex workers also encounter physical violence from each other. Although not as common as the violence caused by male perpetrators, street based sex workers also face physical harm by other street working companions.

Regarding the coping mechanisms employed by violence victims, the study result indicates that survivors experienced physical violence multiple times but only very few survivors actually fought back to defend themselves from harsh physical attack. This study finding revealed that majority, if not all survivors went to health institutions as an immediate coping mechanism. The finding pointed out that majority of survivors went to public health facilities because of financial issues. In such facilities, survivors faced insufficient treatment, unwelcoming and mistreating health care providers. Insufficient medical services in public facilities resulted in severe form of physical injuries in some instances. This study finding relates to a comparable study conducted in four other countries; Kenya, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Survivors were denied proper health services because of the frowned up on nature of sex work in their community. (African sex worker Alliance, 2011)

On the topic of reporting violence cases to the police, the study finding indicates that most of the survivors of physical violence did not report their cases to the police and among the very small number of FSW who actually reported, none of the cases resulted in a court trial, conviction or public inquiry of perpetrators. This study result differs from SWAN's study conducted in 15 countries of central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, where sex workers reported and convicted their perpetrators.

This study identified several factors impeding sex workers from reporting their violence cases to legal authorities. Sex workers exhibited various instances of mistreatment by police, which inhibits them from reporting in fear of inaction. Difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence to support their complaint was also another deterrent factor among sex workers, to reporting their abuse. The study also revealed that threat from their perpetrators also hampered victims from pressing charges against their abusers. Another restrictive factor was perpetrators' escaping after committing the act. An additional barrier to reporting abuse among sex workers is their fear corrupted policemen who favor their abuser and end up accusing victims for being criminals. Moreover, in some cases, sex workers abstained from going to the police because of the sentiment they feel for their perpetrators in cases of violence by intimate partners.

The results of this study shows victims drawing on historic discrimination and maltreatment by police, doubt that police would take their complaints seriously. Victims were dissatisfied and frustrated on police erroneous intention to help and support sex workers. This might be an indication that serious responsiveness is not given for street based sex workers by the police side.

The victimization experienced by street-based sex workers around the world has led some researchers to argue that prostitution is inherently dangerous. (Dworkin, 1993; Farley, 2004; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Raymond, 2003) However, the findings of this study assert that prostitution is not always violent, but also has apparent benefits to those earning a living from it. Although not always consistent, the income generated from sex work and the flexible working hours are some of the advantaged observed in the study.

5.2 Conclusion

This study attempted to uncover how much violence and other kinds of victimization occur in the lives of off-street sex workers. The findings indicate that sex work is a highly risky activity as it involves everyday contact with strangers. As depicted in the findings, physical violence against sex workers is not only an end by itself, but is correspondingly committed as a means to commit other types of crimes, be it theft or sexual violence. It seems that repeated violence victimization on sex workers, sadly made participants less sensitive to other less-evident forms of violence like being insulted, spit on, humiliated, mocked and even being slapped. As exhibited from this study, violence is not part of sex work life, rather an immense hindrance to it.

It appears that sex workers do not have a clear knowledge about the legal status of sex work in Ethiopia. Most of them are convinced that sex work is a criminalized activity in Ethiopian law and they are able to work on the streets because of police courtesy. Such belief has inhibited sex workers from reporting different forms of violence they face from to the police. Even in the minimal reporting of sex workers, the very fact of being a sex worker has declined the credibility accorded to their allegations. In general, the finding shows that the 'quasi-legal status of prostitution in the country is increasing sex workers' vulnerability to abuse.

The study finding denotes that violence against street based sex workers is further intensified by the overlapping stigmatizing and discriminating attitudes that fundamentally emanate from gender and social inequalities concealed in our social norms. Such erroneous attitudes are also engrained in police engagement, which highly affects the outcome of violence

reports. Such flawed attitudes also have impact on the provision of healthcare service to sex workers. As clearly shown in this study, despite the widely held belief of seeing prostitutes as ‘spreaders of HIV and STI’, sex workers are seen striving to protect themselves and others from such diseases by insisting on consistent condom use, which is one reason for their victimization.

Coping strategies of victims appear to be immature and usually come after the incidence had already happened. The apparent power difference between victims and perpetrators leaves sex workers unable to effectively handle the situation. Psycho-social and counseling services are found to be less known and hardly accessed services to most of the survivors. Considering the emotional toll of severe form of physical violence and the long-lasting effects, professional counseling and ongoing therapeutic session are areas awaiting huge intervention.

5.3 Social work implications

Implications for practice

As far as practical endeavors are concerned, not much has been done to bring about sustainable transformation to the lives of female sex workers, especially from governmental organizations’ side. The researcher witnessed that concerned governmental organizations in the sub city (women and children affairs office, labor and social affairs office) have not yet made significant practical efforts to improve the livelihoods of commercial sex workers in recent times. Even the minimal activities concerning commercial sex workers are being undertaken by nongovernmental organizations. Hence, both governmental and nongovernmental organizations should work jointly to bring about sustainable change to the lives of those engaged in

commercial sex work and protect the rights of those who are engaged in commercial sex work elsewhere.

In attempting to address the structural causes of such violence, women's organizations should seek to empower women through human rights education, credit programs, and linking women to larger networks. It is crucial that women's advocates continue to lead the process, particularly in playing a monitoring and accountability role, and that governments increase partnerships with them.

The study finding shows that violence against sex workers is usually unreported, or underreported which renders perpetrators to stay immune from censure or prosecution. In order to encourage victims to report their cases, it is recommended that an independent violence advisor for sex workers should be designated at police stations. One of the key advantages to having such violence advisor for commercial sex workers is that they would have the appropriate time to support the victim and link with all relevant bodies, thereby escalating prompt investigations of reported cases of violence against sex workers.

The rationale behind entering this risky profession is primarily financial. Sex workers opted to stay in this line of work because of the lack of other viable economic means. Therefore, organizations already engaged with the sex worker community should give due focus to expanding skills of sex workers by providing different technical and vocational trainings and assisted with micro-finance schemes like credit support in order to promote exit strategies in the long run.

In order to ease the stigmatized attitude towards sex work by the community and other state actors, sensitization meetings should be held with community members and police to raise the public awareness about the nature of off-street sex work and vulnerability of street based sex workers. The existence of such platform, not only minimizes the discriminatory treatment towards sex workers, but will also improve the quality of services provided to these highly vulnerable segments of the society.

Physical violence not only leaves tangible physical scars on survivors but also causes significant psychological strain. Hence, governmental and nongovernmental organizations should provide shelters and relief support for survivors of violence, as well as medical, psychological and other counseling services.

Policy implications

Despite the different measures taken by the government of Ethiopia to tackle the problem of violence against women in accordance with international human right instruments, evidences show that the problem still persists to the highest degree. It is obvious that violence against women is part of the larger picture of gender and economic relations. Hence, reducing violence against women primarily demands change in the inherent patriarchal ideology and harmful stereotypes that are being used to justify the problem. This requires policy measures to empower women to and ensure their participation in leadership positions, enactment of laws that can change the mindset of the society. Hence, policy makers should give due emphasis to develop sound policy frameworks that can address basic gender inequalities and discriminations out of which violence against women breeds.

Regarding violence specifically aimed at commercial sex workers, despite well intentions and efforts by some policy makers, advocates, and sex workers themselves, there is no rational policy for prostitution as long as gender discrimination exists. It is evident that current policing strategies neither eliminate prostitution nor protect the safety of commercial sex workers. Evidences show that the lack of protection for sex workers by state actors like the police has detrimental effect on the ongoing violence faced by commercial sex workers. Laws that are intended to protect the wider community from different crimes have instead been abused to incarcerate and hustle sex workers arbitrarily. Therefore, a major review of such laws and strategies is needed. It is recommended that existing laws that conflate sex work with other crimes should be modified or eliminated and the legal status of sex work should be clearly stated and oriented to those in charge of implementing it. This not only improves the protection of sex workers from violence assaults but also encourages victims to come forward for evidence when needed.

Physical violence and sexual violence were statistically associated with a higher risk of being HIV-positive for female sex workers. This is very harmful to public health efforts by governmental and non-governmental organizations to prevent the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. Attempts to combat HIV epidemics with a focus on sex workers mostly embed in the assumption that sex workers have the potential to infect others. But the reality shows that, having to deal with physical violence followed by rape recurrently, commercial sex workers themselves are in as much risk of HIV and other STI as that of the general population. Hence, commercial sex workers' needs for treatment care and support should be prioritized. Government ministries, the police, health authorities and community and should

actively engage in ensuring the health and safety of sex workers. In order to expand comprehensive health services, government needs to improve current policy and practice frameworks relating to the provision of health services for sex workers by expanding sex worker-friendly health facilities for commercial sex workers to meet their health needs in large scale and sustainable manner.

Implications for Research

Taking policy measures to end violence against commercial sex workers requires accessibility of sensible aggregated data on the prosecution and conviction of offences. Such data can be gathered only through continual research in the area. A number of researches have been conducted regarding commercial sex workers, but most research works are often focused on the health aspect. Violence against street level sex workers have not been considered as part of violence against women. Therefore, it is recommended that further research should be conducted regarding the various aspects of the commercial sex industry, prior to any legislative reforms.

This study profoundly focuses on the physical form of violence faced by street level sex workers. In order to have a wider understanding of the problem, further research should be conducted on the other forms of violence like sexual violence, emotional (psychological) violence. Additionally, the different aspects of off- street sex workers (hotel based, home based) sex work should also be the focus area of future research.

Academic and research organizations should address the chronic lack of statistics on violence against sex workers that acts as a barrier to policy change on this issue. The lack of adequate data and documentation about violence against women reinforces governments'

silence. In the absence of concrete data, that can show the extent of the problem, responsible bodies cannot be able to undertake their responsibility to address, such violence.

Finally, for coordinated efforts by health and human rights groups, there is an urgent need for research of this nature to construct a reliable body of knowledge that can enlighten advocacy and policy-making decisions. Reliable data on the magnitude, consequences, and the economic and health costs of violence against sex workers will help to place the issue on the policy-makers' radar screen to prioritize legal and policy reform and implement scaled-up social and public health interventions to improve the lives of sex workers.. Greater collaboration is required between research and academic institutes, women's organizations, NGOs, and service providers when conducting research to deepen understanding of the causes of violence against commercial sex workers, and its physical and psychological impact on victims. Such research needs to be fed back to the community so that it can lead to awareness and transformation.

Implications for social work education

Social workers should serve their clients free from victim blaming attitudes and harmful stereotypes. Social workers will encounter different types of clients in the practice world, and inappropriate or ineffective response by social workers could significantly affect their clients' choice. For this reason, the school of social work should equip its students with basic knowledge and skills to serve a multitude type of clients. The school should integrate courses about violence against women into either the classroom or field education experience as a requirement for graduation.

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Appendix I

Informed consent for study participants

My name is Haregewoin Yohannes. 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. I am conducting a study on victimization of street based sex workers for physical violence. This information sheet and the consent form is prepared by the investigator whose main aim is to study the major factors behind physical violence among street based FSWs in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to identify the reasons and factors associated with physical violence among street females and understand the major coping mechanisms of violence victims after the incidence. Therefore, the finding of this study will give insight on the issue which helps programmers to develop evidence based communication and intervention mechanisms and strengthen GBV prevention and responsiveness efforts to reduce and prevent the act of physical violence among sex workers.

Procedure

In order to gather information about factors associated with physical violence among street based FSWs in Addis Ababa, we invite you to take part in our study. Your selection to participation in this study was based on your willingness. I want to assure you that all the responses given by the participants and results obtained will be kept anonymous and confidential using coding system whereby no one will have access to your responses. I will not keep a record

of your name or address. There are no right and wrong answers. Your participation is completely voluntary but your experiences of coping mechanisms could be very helpful to other young sex workers in the country. If you are willing to participate in this study, you need to understand and sign the consent form. For this semi structured discussion guide based study, participants are street based FSWs who have been victims of physical violence once or more times. I want you to be honest and truthful in answering our questions. Your interview results will be combined with other and will be reported in aggregate.

Risk and /or Discomfort

By participating in the research you may feel that it has some discomfort specially on wasting your time (60-90 minutes) but this may not be too much as you are going to contributing much for your health as well to the larger sex workers comparing to the time you will waste for the interview. The most significant risk is breach of confidentiality; if people find out the information you share about your experience of GBV, this could lead to social, legal and possible physical risks from clients or community. To protect you from a breach of confidentiality, I will keep all personal information about you in a locked cabinet. I will never link your response to your name. We will conduct the interview in a private place so others cannot hear. At the end of the data collection, I will permanently destroy any data that could identify you, including the audiotapes.

Benefits

If you participate in this research project, you may not get direct benefit; however, the information you give will contribute will help in assessing the gaps and to improve the lives of street based FSWs in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Incentives You will not be provided any incentives to take part in this project.

Rights of the Informant

Some of the questions I will ask you may feel too personal, but your participation is completely voluntary, so you have the full right to refuse from participating in this research (you may choose not to respond some or all of the questionnaires) if you do not wish to participate, you have the right to withdraw from this study at any time you wish.

Confidentiality

The information that we will collect from this research will be kept confidential. Information about you that will be collected from the study will be stored in a file, which will not have your name on it, but a code number assigned to it. No one will have access to this information except the principal investigator. 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:

Name: -----

Signature: -----

Date: -----

Informant:

Name: -----

Signature: -----

Date: -----

Telephone: +251-911-239149

E-mail: harvine13@gmail.com

Appendix II

Study Participants' Screening Criteria:

1. How old are you? (If < **18** and > **35** years old **STOP**.)
2. In the last 12 months have you worked as a street based sex worker (sold sex for money)? (If no, stop.)
3. Have you experienced any form of physical violence in your life time while working on the street (If yes, check against the operational definition which includes fracture or broken bones, teeth and nose abrasion/bruises/lacerations, Puncture/cuts, kicking/dragging, burns on purpose, use of weapons (gun, knife and other objects) and use of restraints, one's body, size or strength against sex workers (WHO)

(If respondent is eligible for interview, administer informed consent.)

Appendix III

In depth Interview guide for primary participants

This interview is intended to gather data on violence experiences of street-based sex workers in Arada Sub city. 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.

1. Socio-demographic questions

Name_____

Age_____

Educational status_____

Marital Status_____

Number of Children _____

Time span of working as street FSW_____

2. Tell me about your work/business for living.
3. Could you tell me the challenges of your engagement if any?
4. What are the major challenges you have been facing while you are in this business?
5. Tell me about the sources of your challenges/problems?
6. What are your coping strategies while facing the problems you are telling me?
7. Have you ever reported a physical violence to the law enforcement? (If no, what are the barriers)
8. Is there anything you would like to tell me regarding what we have been discussing?

Appendix IV

Interview questions for governmental and non-governmental organizations that work on violence victims and female sex workers

1. What kind of services does your institution render?
2. Who are the targets of your organization?
3. What are the major challenges your organization faces while working with these target groups?
4. What should be done to mitigate violence against female sex workers, and to expand services for violence victims?
5. How common is the incidence of violence among street female sex workers? (specific to Pro Pride Drop in Center)

Appendix V

Interview questions for police officials

1. How common is violence among street female sex workers?
2. How often do victims of violence come to your station to report the incidence?
3. What are the major barriers (problems) street based female sex workers usually encounter in reporting their violence cases?
4. Who are the common perpetrators of violence against female sex workers?
5. What are the major causes and contributing factors that put street female sex workers at risk of physical violence?
6. How does the Ethiopian legal system view commercial sex work?
7. What should be done to mitigate this problem and by whom?

Appendix VI

Interview questions for community members

1. What is the attitude of this community towards commercial sex workers?
2. How often do you notice violence attack among female sex workers who work around your area?
3. What do you usually do when you see a violence incidence occurring around your area?
4. What are the reasons that are commonly mentioned as a cause for the abuse?
5. What do you think should be done to reduce violence against street female sex workers?
6. Do you think sex work should be legal/illegal in Ethiopia? why?

አባሪ አንድ

የምርምር/ጥናት /ማብራሪያና የስምምነት መግለጫ ቅጽ

የምርምር ፕሮጀክቱ ርዕስ:- በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ አስተዳደር መንገድ የወሲብ ንግዱ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች ደንበኞቻቸውን በመጠበቅ ጾታዊ አካላዊ ጥቃቶች ካጋጠሟቸው በኋላ ምን እንደሚያደርጉ ለማወቅ የሚደረግ ጥናት ነው ።

የዋና ተመራማሪ ስም:- ሀረገወይን ዮሐንስ ሙሴ

የድርጅቱ ስም:- አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የሶሻል ወርክ ትምህርት ክፍል

የስፖንሰሩ ድርጅት ስም : በራስ ወጪ የሚሰራ

ይህ ማብራሪያና የስምምነት መግለጫ ቅጽ የተዘጋጀው በአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የሶሻል ወርክ ትምህርት ክፍል የድህረ ምረቃ (ማስተርስ) ተማሪ አማካኝነት ነው ።

መግቢያ

የዚህ የምርምር ማብራሪያና ስምምነት ቅጽ አላማ አሁን እርስዎ እንዲሳተፉበት የምንጠይቀዎትን የምርምር ጥናት ምንነት ማብራራት ነው። በዚህ የምርምር ፕሮጀክት ለመሳተፍ ከመወሰንዎ በፊት ይህንን የማብራሪያ ቅጽ በጥንቃቄ ካዳመጡ በኋላ ጥያቄዎች ካሉዎት ይጠይቁ፤ በተጨማሪም በጥናቱ መሳተፍ ከጀመሩ በኋላ በማንኛውም ጊዜ ጥያቄዎች ካሉዎት መጠየቅ ይችላሉ።

የምርምር ፕሮጀክቱ ዓላማ

በመንገድ ላይ በመቆም የወሲብ ንግድን ለመሥራት በሚደረገው ሂደት አካላዊ ጉዳት ለሚደርሱባቸው ሴቶች ጥናት ተባባሪ እንዲሆኑ እርስዎ ተጋብዘዋል። በጥናቱ ተሳታፊ ለመሆን በእርስዎ ሙሉ ፈቃደኝነት ላይ የተመሠረተ በመሆኑም የዚህ ምርምር ፕሮጀክት ዋና ዓላማ በአዲስ አበባ ከተማ በሴተኛ አዳሪዎች በተለይም ደንበኞቻቸውን ከመንገድ በመቆም ለሚፈልጉ የሚደርስባቸውን አካላዊ የድብደባና ሌሎች ጥቃቶች ምን እንደሚመስል ለማወቅ የሚደረግ ሲሆን

በተለይም ችግሩ ካጋጠማቸው በኋላ ምን እንደሚያደርጉና በምን መልኩ እንደሚወጡ እንዲሁም የጥቃት አድራሾቹን ማንነት ለመዳሰስ የሚደረግ ጥናት ነው። ከጥናቱ የሚገኘው መረጃም ለእቅድ አውጪዎች በዚህ ስራ ለተሰማሩ ድርጅቶቹ አካላዊ የድብደባና ሌሎች ጥቃቶች ለመቀነስ ግባት ይሆናል ።

የአሰራር ሂደት

ይህ ጥናት በመንገድ ላይ በወሲብ ንግድ ስራ ተሰማርተው አካላዊ ጥቃት ስለሚደርስባቸው ሴቶች መረጃ ለመሰብሰብ ሲሆን እርስዎ እንዲሳተፉ ጋብዘንዎታል። በዚህ ጥናት ውስጥ ለመሳተፍ ከተሰማሙ ስምምነቱን በደንብ መረዳትና እንዲሁም መፈረም ይገባዎታል። ከዚያ በመቀጠል በጥናቱ መረጃ ሰብሳቢዎች ለሚጠየቁት ጥያቄ እንዲመልሱ ፈቃደኝነትዎ ይጠየቃል። በጥናቱ ለማሳተፍ የእርስዎ ሙሉ ፈቃደኝነት ላይ የተመሰረተ ሲሆን የሚሰጡን መረጃም በእውነት ላይ የተመሰረተ መሆን አለበት። ደንበኞቻቸውን መንገድ ላይ የሚጠብቁ ሴቶች አዳሪዎች በዚህ ጥናት የሚሳተፉት ሲሆኑ የሚሰጡት መልስም ሆነ የሚገኘው ውጤት በሚስጢር ይጠበቃል ።

ሊከሰቱ የሚችሉ ስጋቶችና ምችት መጓደሎች

በዚህ ጥናት መሳተፍዎ ምናልባት ጊዜዎን ሊሻማብዎ ይችላል ይሆናል። ወደ ኋላም ተመልሰው የተፈረጠብዎትን ችግር እንዲያስቡ ሊያደርግዎት ይችላል ነገር ግን የጥናቱ ውጤት ወደፊት በሕይወት የመኖር ጉዳይ ከሚሰጠው ጥቅም አንጻር ይህን ያህል አይደለም። ምንም አይነት እርስዎን የሚገልጽ መረጃ አንወስድም የተወሰደው መረጃም በጥንቃቄና በቁልፍ ተቆልፎ ይያዛል። ጥናቱ ካለቀ በኋላ ሙሉ በሙሉ መረጃው ይጠፋል። በዚህ ጥናት በመሳተፍዎ ምንም አይነት ስጋት / ችግር / አያጋጥምዎትም።

ጥቅሞች

በዚህ ጥናት በመሳተፍዎ ያለውን የመረጃ ክፍተት ይቀንሳል። ችግሩን ለመቀነስ ስትራቴጂዎችን ለመቅረጽና ለመተግበር ይረዳል።

ጥቅማጥቅም

በዚህ ጥናት በመሳተፍዎ ምንም አይነት ጥቅማጥቅም አይሰጥዎትም። ነገር ግን በጥናቱ በመሳተፍዎ ምስጋናችን ከፍተኛ ነው ።

ሚስጢር ስለመጠበቅ

ከዚህ ጥናት የሚገኝ መረጃ በሙሉ በሚስጢራዊነት ይጠበቃል። ለዚህ ጥናት የሚሰበሰበው እርስዎን የሚመለከት መረጃ በማህደር የሚቀመጥ ሲሆን ማጎደሩም በስምዎ ሳይሆን በተለየ ኮድ ሲቀመጥ ኮዱ ከዋናው ተመራማሪ ውጭ ለማንም አይገለጽም።

በጥናቱ ያለመሳተፍ ወይም ራስን የማግለል መብት

በጥናቱ ባለመሳተፍ ከፈለጉ በዚህ ጥናት ያለመሳተፍ ወይም ከአንድ በላይ ወይም ሁሉንም ጥያቄዎች አለመመለስ ይችላሉ። በዚህ ጥናት ባለመሳተፍዎ ወይም በከፊልም ሆነ በሙሉ ጥያቄዎችን ባለመመለስዎ የሚያጡት አገልግሎት አይኖርም።

የሚገናኝቸው ሰዎች

በጥናቱ ዙሪያ ማንኛውም ጥያቄ ካለዎት ከሚከተሉት ውስጥ ማንኛውንም ሰው በሚፈልጉት ጊዜ ማነጋገር ይችላሉ ።

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ይህንን ቅጽ አንብበውት ወይም ተነቦልዎት ከሆነና አሁንም ሆነ በሌላ ጊዜ ጥያቄ የመጠየቅ እድል ተሰጥቶዎት ከሆነ ወይ ም ይህ ቅጽ ተነቦና ተብራርቶሎዎት ከሆነ ለመሳተፍ ከተስማሙ እባክዎ ስምዎንና ፊርማዎን ከዚህ በታች ያስቀመጡ ።

የተሳታፊ ስም -----ቀን -----

የስምምነት ተቀባይ ፊርማ -----ቀን-----

አባሪ ሁለት

በመንገድ ላይ በመቆም የሴተኛ አዳሪነት ሥራ በሚሠሩት የደረሰባቸውን አካላዊ ጉዳት

በተመለከተ ምን እንደሚያደርጉ አንድ- ለአንድ ጥልቅ ቃለ መጠይቅ ለማካሄድ የሴተኛ አዳሪዎች መመልመያ ጽሁፍ

ተ.ቁ	የመመልመያ መስፈርት	ውሳኔ ለመረጃ ሰብሳቢው
1	ባለፈው አንድ ዓመት ውስጥ ለገንዘብ ወይም ለአይነት ጥቅም ወሲብ ፈፅመው ነበርን?	1. መልሱ አዎ ከሆነ ወደ ስምምነት ቅፁ ይቀጥሉ 2. መልሱ አይ ከሆነ ተጠያቂውን በማመስገን ያሰናብቱ
2	በዚህ የወሲብ ንግድ ሥራ ከተሰማሩ ጀምሮ ከሥራዎ ጋር በተያያዘ ከባድ አካላዊ ጥቃት ደርስዎብዎት ነበርን?	1. መልሱ አዎ ከሆነ አካላዊ ጥቃቱን ይመልከቱና ያረጋግጡ (አይነቱንም ይለዩ፡ ድብደባ፣ መርገጥ፣ ማቃጠል፣ በጨቤ መውጋት፣ በሽጉጥ ወይም በጠመንጃ ማጥቃት/ማስፈራራት፣ ወዘተ)
3	የጥናቱ ተሳታፊ ያሉበት የጤንነት ሁኔታ ጥናቱን ሊያሳትፍ የሚችሉ መሆኑን በምልክታ አረጋግጥ?	መልሱ አይ ከሆነ ተጠያቂውን በማመስገን ያሰናብቱ

አባሪ ሰብት

መንገድ ላይ ከሚቆሙ የወሲብ ንግድ ተዳዳሪዎች ጋር መወያያ መመሪያ

1. መሰረታዊ መረጃዎች

ስም _____

እድሜ _____

የትምህርት ደረጃ _____

የጋብቻ ሁኔታ _____

በወሲብ ንግድ ስራ የቆዩበት ጊዜ _____

- 2. ስለምትሰራው ስራ ብትነግሪኝ
- 3. ወደዚህ ስራ እንድትገቡ ያስቻሉሽን ምክንያቶች ልትነግሪኝ ትችያለሽ
- 4. በዚህ ስራ ላይ ምን አይነት ችግሮች ገጥመውሽ ያውቃሉ
- 5. የነዚህ ችግሮች መነሻ (ምክንያት) ምንድናቸው
- 6. ችግሩ ካጋጠመሽ በኋላ ምን አይነት እርምጃዎች ወሰድሽ
- 7. በዚህ ስራ ላይ የደረሱብሽን የአካል ጥቃት ለህግ አካላት አሳውቀሽ ታውቂያለሽ. መልስሽ አይ ከሆነ ምክንያቱን ልትነግሪኝ ትችያለሽ
- 8. በመጨረሻ በተወያየንባቸው ጉዳዮች ዙሪያ እኔ ያላነሰኋቸውና የምትጨምራው ነገር ይኖራል

ለዚህ ውይይት ጊዜዎትን በመስጠትና ልምድዎትን በማካፈልዎ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ፤ በእርስዎ በኩል በውይይቱ ዙሪያ የሚያነሱባቸው ጥያቄዎች ወይም ነጥቦች ካሉ መግለጽ ይችላሉ;

አባሪ አራት

በሴቶች ጥቃት ዙሪያ ለሚሰሩ መንግስታዊና መንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ተቋማት ተወካዮች የቀረቡ ጥያቄዎች

1. ድርጅታችሁ የሚሰጣቸውን አገልግሎቶች ቢያብራሩልኝ
2. የድርጅታችሁ ዋነኛ አገልግሎት ተጠቃሚዎች እነማናቸው
3. በአገልግሎት አሰጣጥ ሂደት የሚያጋጥሙ ዋና ዋና ችግሮች ምንድናቸው
4. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች የሚደርሱባቸውን ጥቃቶች ለመቀነስ እና አገልግሎቶችን ተደራሽ ለማድረግ ምን መደረግ አለበት ይላሉ
5. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች ላይ የሚደርሱ አካላዊ ጥቃቶች ምን ያህል የተለመዱ ናቸው (በተለይ ለፕሮ ፕራይድ ሰራተኞች)

አባሪ አምስት

ለፖሊስ አካላት የቀረቡ ጥያቄዎች

1. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ ላይ በተሰማሩ ሴቶች ላይ የሚፈፀሙ አካላዊ ጥቃቶች ምን ያህል የተለመዱ ናቸው?
2. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች አካላዊ ጥቃት እንደደረሰባቸው ለማመልከት ምን ያህል በተደጋጋሚ ይመጣሉ?
3. የተፈፀመባቸውን አካላዊ ጥቃት ለማመልከት እንቅፋት የሚሆኑባቸው ምክንያቶች ምንድናቸው?
4. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች ላይ አካላዊ ጥቃት የሚፈፀሙ አካላት እነማናቸው?
5. በወሲብ ንግድ ላይ በተሰማሩ ሴቶች ላይ ለሚፈፀሙ ጥቃቶች ዋነኛ ምክንያቶች እና አስተዋፅኦ የሚያደርጉ ሁኔታዎች ምንድናቸው?
6. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶችን በተመለከተ የኢትዮጵያ ህግ ምን ይላል?
7. ይህንን የጥቃት ሁኔታ ለመቀነስ ምን መደረግ አለበት ይላሉ?

አባሪ ስደስት

ለአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ አባላት የቀረቡ ጥያቄዎች

1. የዚህ አካባቢ ማህበረሰብ በሴተኛ አዳሪዎች ላይ ያለው አመለካከት ምን ይመስላል?
2. በዚህ አካባቢ በሚሰሩ በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች ላይ አካላዊ ጥቃቶች በተደጋጋሚ ይፈፀማሉ?
3. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ በተሰማሪ ሴቶች ላይ ጥቃት ሲፈፀም ሲያዩ እርስዎ ምን ያደርጋሉ?
4. በብዛት ለጥቃቱ መንስኤ ተደርገው የሚወሰዱ ምክንያቶች ምንድናቸው?
5. በመንገድ ላይ የወሲብ ንግድ ላይ የተሰማሩ ሴቶች ላይ የሚፈፀሙ ጥቃቶችን ለመቀነስ ምን መደረግ አለበት ይላሉ?
6. በአገራችን የወሲብ ንግድ ህጋዊ/ህገወጥ መሆን አለበት ይላሉ? ለምን?