

**The portrayal of commercial sex workers in
television dramas:
Implications on creating
awareness about HIV/Aids**

By
Mesfin Demessie

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Advisors: Ato Amare Asgedom and Dr. Øyvind Økland

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By
Mesfin Demessie

Approved by the Examining Board

Chairman, Department Graduate Committee

Signature

Internal Advisor

Signature

External Examiner

Signature

Internal Examiner

Signature

Addis Ababa University

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Acronyms

PMC – Population Media Center

CSA – Central Statistics Agency

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

MOLSA – Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

Abstract

This study examines how commercial sex workers are portrayed in television dramas. It also suggests the implications the portrayals have in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS and related issues.

Both qualitative and quantitative research methods are employed. Data was gathered through quantitative content analysis from 10 Ethiopian television dramas. In-depth interviews were conducted to gather data from scriptwriters, directors, commercial sex workers and an expert in entertainment education drama. SPSS package was used to analyse the data gathered through content analysis. The study reveals that commercial sex workers are positively portrayed but they are under represented in the dramas. This research is the first of its kinds in Ethiopia.

Thus, the research findings can contribute for the improvement of the dramas concerning commercial sex workers and HIV related matters.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

It appears that researchers have perceived commercial sex work as a social problem (Bethlehem, 2005, Lacketeh, 1991, Mahlet, 2002, Yosef 2004). Mahlet (2002:8) describes commercial sex work as “a basic threat to family life”. Another researcher (Mikias 2002:2) wrote, “[commercial sex work] is becoming a main receptacle to other social problems, as theft and burglary....” In addition, other researchers assert that commercial sex work is the major means for the transmission of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (Yosef 2004:3, Mahlet 2002;8 and Mikias 2002).

Beside the researchers' conclusion, the Ethiopian people also consider commercial sex working as 'immoral' and the women involved 'deviants' from culture (Mahlet, 2002;9) Contrary to the Ethiopian peoples' view towards commercial sex work and the researchers conclusion, commercial sex work is still a business that employs many women (Laketch, 1991, MOLSA, 1996, CSA1994).

In describing the huge extent of sex work in Ethiopia, Teshale Tibebe (1995:143) wrote, “prostitution is to urban Ethiopia what apple pie is to America. “ and he added, “Hardly a male adult grows in urban Ethiopia without Knocking at the door of a prostitute, which is always open “(Ibid)

As we can understand from the aforementioned statements, commercial sex workers and their clients are numerous in number and this would be a threat to the welfare of the Ethiopian society, since commercial sex work is considered as the main reason for HIV transmission.

To minimize these problems, education would be an important tool. However, according to Myers (1996:1-9), the education should not give prominence to leaflets and posters, since many people in Africa are illiterate. She posits that education should be accompanied by entertainment which she calls edutainment (Ibid). Many other researchers are also proponents of the use of entertainment for education (Tuft 2003:1, Obregon 2005:252, palmer et. al, 1997: I).

Some governmental and non-governmental organizations are sponsoring for Entertainment-Education programs especially, television dramas to bring a change in social attitudes and beliefs (some of them are Menschen fur Menschen, a non-governmental organization, Addis Ababa HIV/AIDS Secretariat and Amhara Region HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Council).

The main issue in this study however, is to examine what the entertainment programs in television (specifically television dramas) are informing the Ethiopian people (the audience) about commercial sex work and the implications such representations (portrayals) would have in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS issues in general.

1.2. Statement of the problem

As stated in the preceding section, this study tries to explore how commercial sex work and the women involved are portrayed in Ethiopian television dramas and what implications can be inferred from the portrayals in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS issues among the Ethiopian people.

Many studies have been conducted by social science researchers concerning commercial work and the women involved. The works of (Andargahew, 1988, Bethlehem 2005, Lacketch, 1991, Mahlet, 2002, Mikias 2002) can be examples here. The findings of their study are more or less similar though their angles of study are different. For example, Andargahew's (1988) study discussed commercial sex work together with crimes and other social problems. Bethlehem (2005) studied her subjects to point out solutions to the problems they face and the problems created on the society's welfare because of their job. Other researchers like (Mikias, 2002) and Mahlet (2002) study about commercial sex work relating it to non-governmental organizations that work on issues of commercial sex workers in Addis Ababa.

As I stated in section one of this chapter, the findings that came out of the works of these researchers were more or less similar. All of them agree that commercial sex work is a social problem which needs attention from the government and non-governmental organizations. Their studies also show that commercial sex work is highly related with sexually transmitted diseases, especially with HIV/AIDS.

However, none of them conducted studies on commercial sex work and the women concerned vis-à-vis the media. There are many entertainment programs that are made to address social issues to the Ethiopian audience through television dramas. (Drama programs of *Siniq*, *Filega*, Addis Ababa city council TV program known as *Mescot*, and the weekly 120 television entertainment programs can be examples here.)

In many of the above stated programs, dramas are made focusing on commercial sex workers. However, as far as the researcher's knowledge is concerned, no study was made in Ethiopia concerning media portrayals of commercial sex workers and HIV/AIDS issues together.

Many studies are conducted however, about the portrayal of women in advertisements, news and other media programs (Pretorious, 1999, Tufte, 1995, Tuchman, 2004, Kenaw 2007). Among these studies, only Kenaw's (2007) research was made on the Ethiopian context concerning the portrayal of women in Advertisements, in Ethiopian television. Some other studies were also conducted concerning HIV/AIDS in relation to the media (Myers, 2002, Obregon, 2005, PMC, 2005), and HIV/AIDS in relation to commercial sex workers (Mahlet 2002,) separately.

The focus of this study will be different from the others which are discussed above, in that it combines the issue of commercial sex work with HIV/AIDS and media health campaigns to curb the spread of the disease. Among the media health campaign programs, television dramas can be cited as an example. In this study, I will examine how commercial sex workers are portrayed in television dramas and the implications it has in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS among the public by raising four research questions.

1.3. The Research questions

The research questions of the study are:

- Q1. How are the commercial sex workers portrayed in television dramas?
- Q2. On what bases do scriptwriters or directors of the dramas portray the commercial sex workers?
- Q3. What do the commercial sex workers feel when they watch the way they are portrayed in the television dramas?
- Q4. What is/are the implication (s) the portrayal of commercial sex workers in the television dramas have in creating awareness about HIV/ AIDS and related issues?

1.4. The objectives of the study

The objectives of the study are:

- **General Objective:**

To examine how the commercial sex workers are represented in the Ethiopian television dramas and the implications it has in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS among the public.

- **Specific Objectives:**

- a. To explore in what way the commercial sex workers are portrayed in Ethiopian television dramas.
- b. To examine the bases for scriptwriters and directors of the dramas for portraying/representing commercial sex workers in their works.
- c. To understand the feelings of commercial sex workers towards their portrayal in television dramas.
- d. To investigate the implications of portraying commercial sex workers in television dramas in creating aware about HIV/AIDS issues.

1.5. Significance of the study

Since the study is directly related to dramas made for social change (particularly on HIV/AIDS issues in relations to commercial sex workers), it will attempt to provide some important ideas to HIV/AIDS related dramas that involve commercial sex workers as characters. Some of the beneficiaries will be:

- Sponsors of the dramas- (mainly Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) like Menchen fur Menchen and governmental organizations like Addis Ababa City Council HIV/AIDS Secretariat and Amhara Region HIV/AIDS Prevention

and Controlling Office.) After the results of the coding sheet, I came to discover that eight out of the ten dramas are sponsored by the above stated organizations.

- Drama producers- All of the dramas are made by Africa and Zewge Theatre and Promotion organization. So that, the study can help them find new ways in producing the dramas made concerning the research subject.
- Writers or directors or media personnel who are interested in making stories about the relationship between HIV/AIDS and commercial sex work can apply valuable ideas in their productions out of the research findings.

1.6. Organization of the study

The study is composed of five parts. Part one deals with introductory discussion on the subject of the study in general, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, significance of the study and limitations of the study.

Part two presents more detailed issues concerning the subject of study. This part deals with discussion of the extent of HIV/AIDS, peoples knowledge about issues related to it, commercial sex work and the women involved, Entertainment-Education with particular emphasis on television dramas and finally theoretical issues that are directly related to the subject of the study.

Part three provides detailed information concerning the methodology employed in the study. Some issues are discussed in detail to provide a

clear picture about the steps followed from gathering the data to the stage of interpreting and analyzing it.

Part four is concerned with the research findings, and presents the interpretations and analyses made based on the findings.

In part five a short conclusion is given discussing the main issues of the subject together with the findings and the interpretation and analysis given to them.

1.7. Limitation of the study

The study is conducted within a four years boundary, i.e. from January, 2003 to January 2007 excluding the year 2005. The rationale behind limiting the study within a period of four years is primarily to reduce the amount of information, which otherwise could go beyond the researcher's capacity. The year 2005 is excluded from the study because there are no dramas that are produced concerning commercial sex workers in the *Sinq* and *Filega* entertainment programs in the given year.

Moreover, I have only used the television dramas made in *Sinqe and Felega* entertainment programs because I had access to the video archives of the producers of the dramas (i.e. Africa and Zewge Theatre and Promotion Organization) who dominantly provide ETV with television dramas for more than a decade.

The study is also limited to the dramas made with the national language, Amharic; excluding other dramas made with other Ethiopian languages, since Amharic is the only domestic language that the researcher can understand.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature Review

This chapter is organized into three major parts. The first part deals with Commercial Sex Work and the women involved in relation to historical backgrounds. Secondly, Entertainment-Education will be thoroughly discussed with particular emphasis to television dramas in Ethiopia. In addition, critical arguments and theories that are related to media portrayal and representations concerning commercial sex workers in Ethiopia are included.

Introduction

One of the aims of this paper is to examine the implications of the portrayal of commercial sex workers in television dramas in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS. Thus, to understand the implications better, it would be appropriate to discuss the current status of HIV/AIDS and its extent in Ethiopia and the levels of people's knowledge toward some of the issues related to the disease. After this discussion, it would be easy to understand why discussions about television dramas would be important in the efforts of HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns.

Over 70 percent (about 28.1 million) of people living with HIV/AIDS are found in Sub Saharan Africa (Myers, 2002: 2). Not surprisingly, many Ethiopian adults do not have accurate knowledge about the ways the AIDS Virus can and cannot be transmitted (EDHS, 2005:182). Many of them believe that the AIDS virus can be transmitted through mosquito bites and only 51 percent of women and 69 percent of men know that "a healthy looking person can have (and thus transmit) the virus that causes AIDS" (Ibid, 2005).

To change these views, education is needed. But, what kind of education will be viable? Myers (2002:3) said, “It would be futile to rely on disseminating information through leaflets and posters since many are illiterate in Africa”. In addition, “teaching people who have less power to negotiate safer sex with their partners [women who are dependent on men for a living or commercial sex workers who are dependent on their clients] would make not much difference in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS” (EDHS, 2005:189; Myers, 2002:3).

Thus, the solution according to Myers (2002:3-4) will be teaching people (especially those who have money like husbands and clients of commercial sex workers) through entertainment. For her, formal education will have effective results for the highly educated audience. Therefore, since many are illiterate in Africa, Entertainment- Education would be preferable to create awareness about HIV/AIDS.

Among many forms of Entertainment-Education, television drama will be the focus of this research paper. In the selected television dramas, I will study how commercial sex workers are portrayed and what implications it would have in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS within the wider Ethiopian society (or an audience). My research will be based on some discussions stated in the following three themes: (1) The institution of commercial sex work in Ethiopia and the women in it ;(2) the role of Entertainment education and television dramas in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS and (3) theoretical underpinnings concerning media representations and portrayals.

2.1. Commercial Sex work in Ethiopia

Commercial sex work these days is becoming a preferable name to prostitution. I want to use the term for two reasons. First, it is because the women in the job prefer the term themselves (IPS, 2002:64). The

Second one is because "The term [Prostitution] evokes the image of the shameless, loose and corrupt woman who has chosen to live a public life of promiscuity in full defiance of social morality," (Bethlehem, 2005:26), which also makes me uncomfortable employing it in my study. Therefore, I will use the term commercial sex work and Commercial Sex Workers except quotations that use the terms 'prostitute' and 'prostitution.'

2.1.1. Historical Background

Commercial sex work is not new for Ethiopians. It has been practiced through different forms and expressed in different terminologies for a long time. In the middle Ages when there was no settled capital city of Ethiopia, the Emperors used to move from one region to the other setting temporary camps with their soldiers. Many of the soldiers used to move with their Emperors leaving their families behind. It was the Emperors and some of their officials who could move with their families anywhere they settled. Commercial sex workers used to settle around the temporary camps of the Emperors and the soldiers to provide service to the soldiers (Pankhurst, 1974:159).

After the country has founded its first settled capital city, i.e., Gondar in 1636, the practice of commercial sex work continued in the city. The European explorers were astonished to see the commercial sex workers not considered as sinful in Ethiopia as they were in the European countries. One of those explorers, Blanc (Quoted in Pankhurst, 1974: 162) also wrote "They [the commercial sex workers] are highly considered there [in Ethiopia]; rarely will they condescend to marry even a great chief or a rich man...."

It was however, the invasion of the Italians (1935-41), which led to the beginning of commercial sex work in a massive scale in Ethiopia [Sbacchi 1973:311]. In giving reasons for this, he wrote, "There were over 300,000 Italian men in Ethiopia during the occupation, of whom more than 90 percent did not have their families with them"(Ibid, 1973).

Though the Italian invasion led to such a large scale commercial sex work, it did not stop after they left the country (Teshale, 1995: 140). Teshale (Ibid: 1995), said "... prostitution gained a life of its own and spread like a wild fire [after the Italians left out of the country]". Laketch Dirasse in her PhD dissertation about the Socio-Economic Position of women in Addis Ababa (1978: IV, 1), said that commercial sex work was practiced in a large extent few years after the fall of Emperor Hilasselase in 1974. She said, "Among the estimated 335,000 commercial sex workers in the country, 80,000 were living in Addis Ababa and constituted 28 percent of the adult female population of the city. (Ibid)

2.1.2. Types of commercial sex work

It would be very crucial to include this discussion in this paper for the following reasons: - First, the discussion will inform my inquiry of the types of commercial sex work that are more stressed by the selected television dramas in the Ethiopian media.

Secondly, the type of commercial sex work is directly related to the rate of prevalence of infection with HIV/AIDS (Bethlehem, 2005:139). Thus, the discussion will help us to question whether or not the television dramas that are made based on educating the public about HIV/ADIS are focusing on the more vulnerable types of commercial sex works which expose the women and their clients more easily to the virus than the other types. Thirdly, in discussing the types, we will examine the basis for the classification, which are directly related to the way

commercial sex workers are living in Ethiopia. This in turn will help us compare and contrast the lives of commercial sex workers discussed here together with their portrayal in the television dramas.

Based on the works of Laketch (1978, 1991) and Andargachaw (1967, 1968) and many other Sociologists, another researcher Bethlehem (2002: 75-109) has divided the types of commercial sex work into seven parts. Her classifications are based on the women's background, the circumstances of their entry into sex work, the terms and conditions of their work and their residence and the degree and form of their relationship with the Ethiopian society.

According to Bethlehem's classification, the first type of commercial sex work is known as '*Fixed rate- Akafay Sex work*'. It means 'one that shares' or 'sharing'. In this type of commercial sex work, there are madams or owners (of a house) who control the works of commercial sex workers and regularly check the amount of money she received from her client. The madams rent their house to a commercial sex worker so that she can use it for 'business'. Then, the commercial sex worker has to pay a certain amount of money to the madams or the owners in any given period of time (Ibid: 77).

To get more money regularly (fixed amount of money that the commercial sex worker pay for the madams/owners of the house per each client), the madams/the owners may compel the commercial sex workers either to chew *khat* (a stimulant leaf widely used in Ethiopia) or drink a large quantity of coffee in order to make them alert to work all the night. The Madams may also force the commercial sex worker to accept any kind of appeal from a customer. As one focus group interviewee told Bethlehem (2002:78) "there are women [madams] who would want to hang you if

you said no to a man even if that was because the man asked for sex without condom."

The second type of commercial sex work is '*sex-work on equal share*'. It is more or less similar to the first type but it has its own distinctive features. Here, the madams share equal amount of money with the commercial sex worker per each contact of the commercial sex worker with a client. For example, if the client gives 20 Birr (1 USD=Birr 8:80), for the commercial sex worker, then the madam will take 10 birr for herself. Most of these commercial sex workers do not rent the house; they rather live together with their madams "In the same room or quarters separated one from another by curtains or material like card board." (Bethlehem, 2005:82). Like the first type of commercial sex work, madams in this type of sex work may force their commercial sex workers to chew *khat* or accept any unfair deal that comes from the men.

The third type is '*independent home-based sex-work*'. In this type of sex work, the sex worker owns her own house, which she rented from a *Kebele* (government administration bureau in Ethiopia) or from anyone else. In this type of sex work, no one will share the earnings of the commercial sex workers. Here there is nobody who forces the commercial sex workers to do things without their will (for instance, having sex without condom with clients). Therefore, they are potentially secured from disease contraction like HIV/AIDS. Most of the women here are rural women migrated to cities like Addis Ababa, and they are the third largest in number next to *fixed rate- Akafay* and the *Asphalt sex workers*. Most of the time, these commercial sex workers, live with their children and do their job in a single room. Bethlehem (2002:85) explains this marvelously as follows: -

On one side of the room would sleep a person who had rented a bed for a night [only to sleep, not to have sex]; in another corner the woman might be sleeping with a client. Still in another corner (if possible fenced off by some cloth or card board) a child or children might be sleeping.

The fourth type is '*Asphalt sex-work*'. Most of the women here are high school or elementary dropouts and some of them are still attending school. Most of their parents know what their daughters are doing but 'deliberately turn a blind eye' (Bethlehem, 2002: 93). This type of sex work is more dangerous than the others. The women can be, beaten either by gangsters or policemen. They may always be forced to have sex without condoms by their clients. To tackle such problems they would have men who can protect them against all the odds on street whom they call 'husbands' or normally known as 'pimps'. Though the women knew about HIV/AIDS very well, most of them sleep with their pimps without using condoms either because they trust them or are forced. (Ibid)

The fifth type is '*Hotel and night club sex work*'. Many of the sex workers here, pretend to be non-sex workers and many of them could be "office workers who are engaged in sex work on part-time basis (Bethlehem, 2002: 96, Mamitu, 1980:10)

The sixth type is '*sex work out of Bars*'. Here the women are employees in the bars either as a cashier, waitress or any other duty with a monthly salary. But they can exercise sex work hand in hand with their duties.

The seventh one is '*sex work out of drinking places*'. Here the commercial sex workers live with madams working domestic activities and helping to sell traditional liquor [Taj, Tella or Katicalla). However, they work sometimes as commercial sex workers when a client asks beyond the liquor. (Baardson, 1993:51,Bethlehem,2005:97)

2.1.3. Images of Commercial Sex Workers among the Ethiopian Society

As stated above, commercial sex work was not degrading and sinful as it is now (Pankhurst, 1974:162). In Europe, before the coming of Christianity commercial sex workers were given a high status and considered as women who have a calling of gods (Ibid: 1974). It was Christianity, that made commercial sex work promiscuous and sinful (Bethlehem, 2005: 27, 28). Having this concept of 'sinful act' in the mind, the European society later began to associate commercial sex work with sexually transmitted diseases (Ibid: 2005, Mahlet, 2004:8-9)

Africans also do not have different views towards commercial sex workers. They consider commercial sex workers as 'cultural rebels', the 'decadent' and 'loose women', 'poor migrant women' and 'sex entrepreneurs' (Bethlehem, 2005: 28).

Just like the Europeans, the Africans and the rest of the world, the view of Ethiopian society towards commercial sex workers has passed through different stages. At the early stages (Middle Ages), they were not considered as sinful creatures as they were seen in the Christian Europe. Christianity was introduced in Ethiopia in the 4thC. However, the concept of considering commercial sex work as a sinful act might not be deeply integrated within the Ethiopian society as that of Europe. This is because, commercial sex workers were generally respected among the public (Pankhurst, 1974:160, 162). But through time it became accepted that commercial sex workers are not only sinful but also sources of sexually transmitted diseases and social problem (Mikias, 2003:2, Grima, 2003:21, Alemayehu, 1996:10-16).

There are possibly two reasons for such outrageous images of commercial sex workers among the Ethiopian society. The first one might be lack of knowledge of the reasons why women are engaged in commercial sex work. People think that the women are doing the job willingly, which is contrary to the truth (Bethlehem, 2002; Mamitu, 1980). According to Mamitu (1980: 13, 14), the women in this commercial sex work are compelled to do the job because of economic, cultural and environmental reasons, which are beyond their control. Low standard of living, hard household and field work tasks and inability to run poverty stricken families are some of the economic reasons. Contrary to the widely stereotyping of them as 'irresponsible' and 'immoral' women (Howell, 2003:15), many of the commercial sex workers have their families or children or any other dependent which they have to take care for (Teshale, 1995; Bethlehem, 2002, Howell, 2003).

In addition to economic reasons, cultural factors encourage the women to engage in sex work (Mamitu, 1980:14). According to her, in some parts of Ethiopia, marriage at early age is common. Teenagers who do not either ready to be engaged or who do not know each other well are forced to conclude marriage through the agreement of their families (Ibid: 1980). These unwillingly engaged teenagers, unable to bear family responsibilities, usually end up their marriage in divorce. This is one cultural cause for rural women to migrate to urban areas and engage in commercial sex work. Ill-treatment of wives in many households is also another cause that exacerbates the problem (ibid, 1980).

When Teshale Tibebu (1995:143) writes about the widely entrenched institution of commercial sex work, he said, "prostitution is to urban Ethiopia what apple pie is to America." And he added, "From the smallest town of a few hundred people to the largest city of over a million, prostitution has penetrated deep into the very fabric of urban Ethiopia

society" (Ibid). According to Teshale, it is not only the number of commercial sex workers that is numerous, but also the number of their clients.

Hardly a male adult grows up in urban Ethiopia without knocking at the door of a prostitute, which is always open. The transition from boyhood to adulthood in Urban Ethiopia now takes place through the modern initiation rite called prostitution (Ibid: 146).

From the above discussion, we can suppose that talking about or making a research on commercial sex work and the women in it is not limited only to matters of the women; it would rather be relevant to many Ethiopians since there is an extensive interaction with the commercial sex workers. The Commercial Sex Workers are many in number and so are their clients who are mainly youths that constitute the largest working forces of the country. If Ethiopians accuse commercial sex workers for the transmission of diseases specially HIV/AIDS, then it would be important to discuss on the situation of commercial sex workers and their relation with the society.

The media is one way of doing such discussions. Among many health campaign strategies the media run, Entertainment- Education (like television drama) is the main one. Thus, it would be appropriate to discuss how the television dramas are communicating facts of HIV/AIDS by involving (or presenting/portraying) commercial sex workers as their characters.

2.2. Entertainment- Education

2.2.1. Definition and Historical Background

Entertainment- Education is educating an audience about any social issue (e.g. About HIV/AIDS) through different entertainment programs. Some people call it edutainment (Myers, 1996:1-9) and others call it Enter-Educate (Palmer, et.al:1997). Whatever the nomenclature, the notion of Entertainment- Education is similar. Singhal and Rogers (quoted in PMC 2005: 20) define Entertainment-Education as:

... the process of purposely designing and implementing a media messages to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change over behavior.

Some scholars also define the term as "any communication presentation that delivers a pro-social educating message in an entertainment format" (Palmer et. al, 1997: I)

Education through entertainment can include a broad range of programs. The entertainment format can be single films and videos, variety shows, television and radio spots including narratives, street theatre, community radio, indigenous storytellers, drama contents, popular songs and music videos (PMC, 2005:20-21)

The concept of educating people through entertainment is not new. Coleman (2002: x) argues that in every culture there was a tradition of using entertainment for development and education for a long time. In giving examples on how entertainment was used for education in earlier times palmer and his associates (1997: I) Say:

Myths have served important functions in societies around the world. Parables have been used by prophets to illustrate religious tenets. Fables have been used to demonstrate the validity of moral teachings.

In recent years the mass media are using entertainment for educational purposes. Some people also argue "The use of mass media and particularly television series and radio dramas to spread social messages is far from any new idea" (Tufte, 2003: 6). However, it became widely accepted as an important means of teaching the public on social issues after the works of some media personnel and researchers like Sabido. (Palmer, et. al, 1997: x)

According to Obregon (2005:252) organizations involved in health communication related work are "increasingly relying on entertainment based strategies to promote healthy life styles and behaviors." And he added, "One of the key vehicles of these health campaigns is television drama."(Ibid)

Tufte (2003:1) also posits that entertainment education has become a "working tool" in North America, Latin America, and Asia's health communication "including the gradually more intensified struggle against the spread of HIV/AIDS"

From the preceding discussions, we can understand that many health campaigns are relying on entertainment based media programs to disseminate their message. Ethiopian Television (the only TV station in the country) has also pursued the same route. It usually transmits television dramas to address social issues among which HIV/AIDS is the main one. But what is the reason for the wide acceptance of

Entertainment- Education to address social issues? I will discuss the 'why' of Entertainment-Education in the next section.

2.2.2. Why Entertainment –Education?

Many people argue that Entertainment- Education works much better than other forms of education in addressing social issues. For instance, for Myers (2002:5) it works better because "facts alone are not enough" to teach people. For her, facts have to be combined with emotions or characters to create identification among the audience. (Ibid)

According to Pilrow (quoted in Palmer, et. al, 1997: ix), there are several reasons why Entertainment-Education works better. According to her, Entertainment- Education is: -

- Pervasive – it reaches everyone, everywhere, via media, local events, music or drama.
- Popular- people like and enjoy entertainment.
- Persuasive – people are persuaded because they can see and copy role models.
- Profitable- it generates revenues and pays for itself.
- Passionate- evoking emotions that help to stir, recall and action.
- Personal – enabling individuals to identify strongly with depicted characters.
- Participatory- providing opportunities for many people to join in simple entertainment.
- It prompts to action- through a variety of specific reminders and cues.

- Proven effective- in a number of different evaluations through the world, which show that Enter- Educate approaches really do influence people's attitudes, intentions and behavior.

The most important foundation of Entertainment-Education is Albert Bandura's social learning theory (PMC, 2002: 70). According to this theory people can learn through observing others and taking their behaviors and activities as model (PMC, 2002: 70, Palmer, et. al, 2002:1). Supporters of Entertainment- Education strategy claim that because obtaining pleasure and emotional activities are involved, it would be easy to convince an audience on issues addressed in the programs. They believe that "emotional content lasts longer in the memory than intellectual information" (PMC, 2002: 43). Therefore, it would mean that the contents of television dramas that are engaged on commercial sex workers and HIV/AIDS issues would last longer in the minds of the audience because of the dramas emotional content. This means, "Influenced by the phenomenon of modeling, or imitating the behavior of characters with which they identify, the audience [will] begin to think, believe, and act in healthier and more pro-social ways." (Ibid: 45)

Though many governmental and non-governmental organizations are applying entertainment for education, its results in either reinforcing or bringing the aspired change among the audience's attitudes or behaviors are still arguable. Obregon (2005:255) observing the works of Latin American communication and media researchers, stated, "... the notion of active audience has led to a widespread rejection of the existence of direct potential effect of media messages upon audiences..." These researchers questioned the extent of attitudinal and behavioral changes resulting from the exposure to entertainment education. However, Obregon (Ibid: 254) argues, "They [the researchers] do not find enough

evidence to dismiss the potential role of telenovelas [one form of Latin American entertainment education dramas] as for social change either.”

Some people also argue, "societies are constantly changing and many factors affect an individual's attitude and behavior," therefore, it would be very difficult to document the influence of mass media campaigns on the audience's behaviors and attitudes (PMC, 2002: 42)

In an attempt to reconcile the two arguable sides McAnany quoted in (Palmer, et. al, and 2002:3) has written the following:-

---- An audience is an active audience. They are not simply passive receivers of the messages. These are people out there with a set of values who watch these programs and make comment on them. They don't take them simply at face value, but work them over in terms of their own lives. What we find is that parents, for example, watching television with their children, make comments on the characters. "Oh well, that was a bad thing to do, she made a mistake." In other words, there is an education going on between parents and children, and between spouses or adults who are talking about what they're seeing.

Thus, we can get one important point from the above arguments. Even though it is hard to measure the influence of television dramas on the audience's attitude or behavior, it is however, believable that it would indirectly encourage communication among viewers. In addition to this, if the dramas are needed to change or shape the outlooks and manners of an audience, then they have to be presented repeatedly (Ibid). According to McAnany, one cannot do a single message and expect change (Ibid).

Using the above stated discussion as a framework, I will question in what ways the scriptwriters or directors of the selected dramas believe that

their portrayals of commercial sex workers in the dramas create awareness about HIV/AIDS prevention among the society.

2.3. Theoretical Underpinnings

In discussing how the television dramas portray women commercial sex workers and the implications on HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns, it would be important to discuss some theories, which focus on representations and portrayals of a subject in the media. Now, I will briefly discuss theories on 'representation,' 'stereotyping,' 'dramatic realism' and 'symbolic annihilation.'

2.3.1. Representation

The Oxford English Dictionary in defining representation, says,

1. To represent something is to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal... to place a likeness of it before us in our mind.
2. To represent also means to symbolize, stand for, to be a specimen of or to substitute for....

Hall (1997: 17) defines the word giving emphasis to its link with language. He wrote,

Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language, which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects people and events.

According to the above two definitions of representation, any program in media is transmitting some version of things in a way that can give concepts to all audience on what the things or peoples and their behaviors, look like. In addition, the audience can construct its own

meanings towards those mediated things by relating it to its own experience in the 'real' world. Most of the time, according to (Baker quoted in Media studies, N.D: 3), “we do not know people or things mediated in the media.” However, he added, " the media are in business of describing things and representing people and types of people to us, so that we end up feeling that we know what they are really like"(Ibid).

In discussing representation, there are three widely known approaches. These are the *reflective*, the *intentional* and the *constructionist* approaches. According to the reflective approach of representation, "when we represent something we are trying to take its 'true meaning' and trying to create a replica of it in the mind of our audience- like a reflection" (Media studies, N.D: 3-4). We can take news as an example for a reflective approach.

The intentional approach argues that when something is represented, an audience is receiving the presenters' version of the thing. Here "... the words or images that they [the presenters] use mean what they intend them to mean" (Ibid: 2]. Advertisements can be cited as an example for this approach.

The constructionist approach argues that representation is not only about the truth (the reflective approach) and someone's version of it (the intentional approach), because it would neglect individual and societal influences that can affect the representation of a thing (or individuals). Therefore, for the constructionists, representation is a mixture of four things: - the thing itself, the opinion of the people who does the representation, the reaction of individuals and the influence of society. (Ibid: 4)

According to the constructionists, some kinds of ideas dominate and are shared by a majority of people. If these dominantly shared ideas are views on how things and how people should behave, then they will become an ideology. Thus, according to them, an ideology that is shared by the majority of people in a culture would be a dominant ideology (Ibid).

Having the above theoretical discussion in mind, this research paper will explore whether or not the dominant ideology about commercial sex workers we discussed in part one of this chapter (i.e. immoral, irresponsible and sinful creatures), is reflected in the television dramas. We will see whether the scriptwriters and directors of the selected television dramas represent commercial sex workers in their own version of the 'truth' (some facts we discussed in part One), or based on the accepted meaning of the Ethiopian society about commercial sex workers.

2.3.2. Stereotyping

When we talk about stereotyping, we are still talking about representation. However, stereotypical representation needs its own discussion since it has unique features. Francis and his associates (2003:141) define the term stereotype as follows: -

A stereotype is a radically reductive way of representing whole communities of people by identifying them with a few key characteristics. Individual from the group who don't fit that stereotype then said to be atypical.

Similarly, but with slightly different terms, Baker (Quoted in Media Studies, N.D: 5), define stereotyping as "...a simplification that we use to make sense of real person or group which is much more complicated." In

both definitions there are some points that we can take as common in describing stereotyping, these are simplifying things and making generalization about their behavior, which is often a complicated venture.

To identify some common characteristics and use it to simplify and generalize about things and people, we (the media and people in general) usually apply some criteria. Some of these are appearance, behavior, and comparisons between the "normal" and "not ordinary" behaviors. When we say appearance, it includes physical appearance and clothing as well as the sound of the voice. Behavior refers to typical things about people in this group (in a stereotyped group) might do or perform. The contrast between 'normal' and 'unacceptable' behavior in any society is not clear. However, "...the stereotyped characters are not behaving "normally" in the eyes of the others" (Media studies, N.D: 6)

Does stereotyping in media make a difference? Sparks (2006: 103), says that it is hard to prove. However, he added, "they [depicting people in a particular way in the media] may play an important part in determining how media consumers come to think about individuals who are members of those groups". (Ibid)

Martin (1996: 1-4) also believes "The repetition of certain images in both factual and fictional media ultimately make them seem real," and she added, if it is negative stereotyping, then it ".....tends to reinforce prejudices and constitutes an assault on the dignity and diversity of an individual [or a group]".

There is also an argument on whether or not media stereotyping changes through time or remains static. For some people, stereotyping is fixed and cannot be changed because "stereotyping is designed to produce multiple copies of the same thing, over and over again" (Francis et al.

2003:11). However, Schramm, (quoted in Media studies: 140), says that when the beliefs and views of people change, the media will give response to this change at the end and change stereotyping and representation over time. Similarly, Tuchman (2004: 407) argues:

The mass media deals in symbols and their symbolic representation may not be up-to-date. A time lag may be operating more slowly than do material conditions. [However] ... as values change, we would expect the images of society presented by the media to change.

In this research, the researcher will attempt to explore whether or not there are stereotypical representation of commercial sex workers in the selected dramas. In addition, I will probe further into whether or not the media representation and stereotyping (if there are any) of the commercial sex workers changed through the time span of five years.

2.3.3. Dramatic Realism

After viewing or listening to certain programs in media, we usually ask whether or not the actions or the storyline (if it is fiction) or something represented in the story are realistic. Then, what do we mean by realistic? What are our criteria to judge the drama (or any program in the media) realistic or not? According to Burton (quoted in Media studies, N.D: 8), it should be:

1. Believable or credible- i.e., what we see or read is something which could have happened. In this case, the material [the program] should resemble the world, as we know it.
2. Plausible- what we view or read is at least possible within its own terms of reference. It means, someone could have acted in the way they [the characters in a drama, for example] did in a given story.

3. Actual - the material seems to have an immediate kind of physical reality about it, as it is really happening before us, or even as if we are really there. Documentary programs can be good examples in this case.
4. Verisimilitude- it is somehow related to actuality. It suggests that something has an authentic quality that seems lifelike.
5. Truthful- a material doesn't have to be entirely believable in a literal way to seem truthful. However, it should contain something truthful about human behavior and motivation, even when it is improbable in terms of its situation and background.

Using the above stated criteria, the researcher will examine the realistic nature of the selected television dramas in portraying the lives of commercial sex workers and in depicting the situation of commercial work in general.

Before concluding this discussion, there is a need to take notice of one thing about realism. People often say that mediated messages, (or a television drama, for example) is realistic based on the above stated criteria. However, what is our base to conclude that something is truthful, believable, plausible, actual or far from the truth?

Burton (Ibid: 9-10) again provides the answer. He said, "... All our views about what is real or truthful depend on a number of experiences." As he reports, these experiences include the following:

1. Cultural experience – we draw on years of learning through our lives about what our culture sees as real.

2. Real life experience- we may judge what is or is not real, on the basis of what we have seen, done, felt.... We might judge realism in terms of probability from our life's experience.

3. Experience from the media themselves- we will base our judgment on this second hand media experience that someone else has created. For example, if we have seen part of a documentary about American Indians, and then watch a TV drama set among Indians in New Mexico, we will judge the realism of the drama a partly in the light of the other piece of media material(Ibid: 9-10).

From the above discussion, it will be important to question on what basis the television dramas on commercial sex work are made. If they are made based on a cultural experience, then we can confirm that the society has an influence on the ways commercial sex workers are portrayed in the dramas. If the dramas are made from a real life experience of the scriptwriters and directors, than we can say that what we watch about commercial sex workers in the media is someone's (the writers' or directors') version i.e. intentional approach of representation. If the dramas are made based on the scriptwriters' or directors' previous experiences from the media themselves, then this can be given as an example for the influence of the media on the audience. To fulfill this end, the researcher will ask scriptwriters of the selected television dramas about their experiences (and bases) for portraying commercial sex workers in writing the scripts and in producing the dramas.

2.3.4. Symbolic Annihilation

In her study on the portrayal of women in the media of United States, Tuchman (2004:407) argued that women are trivialized, condemned and under-represented in the media. She concluded that women in general are symbolically annihilated in the media. To understand the term symbolic annihilation better, let us look at the following statements

which explain what Tuchman has found out about the portrayal of women:

Relatively few women are portrayed there [in the media], although women are 51 percent of the population [of USA] and are well over 40 percent of the labor force. Those workingwomen who are portrayed are condemned. Others are trivialized: they are symbolized as child-like adornments who need to be protected or they are dismissed to the practice confines of the home. In sum, they are subject to symbolic annihilation.

One of the aims of this research is also to find out whether or not the women commercial sex workers are symbolically annihilated either through condemnation, trivialization or absence in the television dramas.

Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter, I have discussed that commercial sex work is not a new phenomenon in Ethiopia. I also said that the view of commercial sex workers in the eyes of the Ethiopian society varied through time at some point.

I have also discussed their life condition by classifying their work on the basis of economic conditions and their relationship with the other members of the Ethiopian society. I discussed on all the above points about commercial sex workers, in order to use them as a guideline to judge which parts of their lives are given much emphasis in the selected television dramas. This in turn, will help us to identify what implications such portrayals will have in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS among the Ethiopian people.

I have also discussed Entertainment-Education, its historical background and the need to integrate it as an education strategy. I showed that entertainment education is a strategy of educating people about social issues using entertainment. Some people call it edutainment and others Enter-Educate. I also tried to make the point that the strategy is not new to the world, but it reached its highest peak beginning from 1980's. I have also seen that understanding the influence made by the entertainment education dramas is difficult, but it seems there is a consensus that it can encourage discussion among audiences and may ultimately induce the elements of aspired social behaviors through repetition. There is a need to discuss Entertainment-Education, because the television dramas are intended to educate the Ethiopian people (the audience) about issues of HIV/AIDS, involving commercial sex workers as characters. I have also tried to explain that this discussion will help us to discuss with some writers and directors of the selected dramas on how and why their stories and the portrayals of commercial sex workers in the dramas can create awareness about HIV/AIDS.

In the third part, I tried to reflect on some theoretical elements that are directly related to the research topic. These theories are about representation, stereotyping, realism and symbolic annihilation. It has been shown that there are reflective, intentional and constructionist approaches of representation. I have also held that this will be a base to discuss which approach the scriptwriters and directors of the selected television dramas apply to portray commercial sex workers.

It is also understood that stereotyping is simplifying things (people) and giving generalization about them in a positive or negative way. I also discussed whether or not stereotypical views about people or things are static or changeable through time. As I said, this discussion about

stereotyping will help us to question whether the selected television dramas portrayed commercial sex workers in a stereotypical ways and whether or not these stereotypical views (if any) are changed through time.

In discussing realism I attempted to show that to judge a certain material in the media (image, drama, language, storyline----) as realistic or not, one has to look at whether the material is truthful, actual, plausible and believable. Discussing about realism will help us to find out whether or not the portrayal of commercial sex workers in the dramas reflects truthful, plausible, believable and actual pictures of commercial sex workers. Based on this, I will examine the realistic nature of the mediated material (the selected television dramas) in general.

Finally, in a research conducted by Tuchman (2004:406-410) in the USA, she concluded that women are symbolically annihilated i.e., they are either trivialized, condemned or are absent in the media. As I said, this discussion will help us to question whether or not commercial sex workers are symbolically annihilated in the television dramas.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methodology

Introduction

As stated in chapter one, this study examines how commercial sex workers are portrayed in television dramas and what implication these portrayals would have in creating awareness about HIV Aids prevention among the Ethiopian society. In order to gather all-inclusive information about the research questions of this study, I have designed a triangulated two-stage research process combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. This chapter describes and discusses the two stages of this research process, including the sampling procedures and modes of data analysis. I have also discussed some methodological issues that will give explanations on the need of employing qualitative and quantitative methods in a single research design.

3.1. Triangulation

Triangulation is defined as “the use of several research methods to test the same finding” (Babbie, 1997: 110). In other words it is one kind of research approach where a researcher approaches an object of study from different angles using different methods (Grix, 2004:135). In triangulation, quantitative and qualitative methods are used to investigate the problems stated in the research.

Some researchers however do not accept combining two or more research methods for a single study. According to Bryman (quoted in Grix 2004: 135), triangulation of the two methods (quantitative and qualitative) is very difficult since both research strategies have ontological and epistemological understanding to follow. Some researchers insist that a researcher has to “pledge allegiance to one paradigm or the other” accepting to employ distinct (single) methodologies in a single research

design (Guba Quoted in Strelitz, 2005:60). In my study, I employed both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The approach selected by the researcher to answer his/her research questions depends on the goals and purposes of the study (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:46). This means questions the researcher wants to ask should guide his/her choice of methods (Grix 2004:124). In short one can employ either qualitative or quantitative research methods or both of them based on the need to answer the research questions rather than his/her personal preferences.

Using both methods will enable researches to get benefits from their respective strengths and “minimize some of the deficiencies of any single approach” (Brewer and Hunter quoted in Teshome, 1998:46). Additionally, using more than one method can contribute to the assurance of the validity of results (Ibid). The other advantage of combining the two methods is that it enables the researcher to get better instrumentation for his/her data collection approaches and to sharpen his/her understanding of findings (Kindder and Fine, 1987:Internet).

Some research questions inherently lend themselves more to one research method than the other approach (Patten 2004:21). This means if the researcher, raised questions that can only be answered through different approaches, and then it would be inevitable to combine the two approaches. In my research, one of the questions is to know on what basis script writers or directors portray commercial sex workers in the television dramas. To answer this question, I have used a qualitative research method.

On the other hand, there is a research question, which needs answer on how commercial sex workers are portrayed in the television dramas. To

give answer to this research question, it would be inevitable to analyze the drama contents categorizing major themes and coding them through quantitative approach.

Generally as Grix (2004:135) wrote, it is a good idea to try to use more than one method of inquiry to improve...chances of better, more reliable data and minimize the chance of biased findings.”

I will now discuss how I have employed this combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in my triangulated research design

3.2. Data collection methods

I have used a triangulated, two-stage approach to investigate how Commercial Sex Workers are also portrayed in television dramas and the implications in creating awareness about HIV Aids. The two stages are:

I. Content Analysis

- To examine how commercial sex workers are portrayed /represented in the television drams.
- To investigate whether or not there are major differences, among the television dramas in the portrayal of commercial sex workers within four years span of time. i.e.; from January 2003 - January 2007.

II. In-depth interview

I have conducted in-depth interviews with

- Twelve commercial sex workers to understand their feelings towards their portrayal in television drams,
- Four script writers and directors of the selected dramas to explore on what basis they portray commercial sex workers in their drama scripts

- One Associate professor at the department of Theatrical Arts in order to enrich my analysis concerning the implications of the portrayal of commercial sex workers in the television dramas to create awareness about prevention of HIV/Aids.

I will now discuss each of these research stages in detail.

3.3. Content Analysis

3.3.1. Background

Many definitions exist for Content Analysis. Among these, the most known one is Berelson's definition (1952:18) which says "Content Analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson quoted in Amare 1998:3). 'Systematic' refers to the use of "one and only one set of guidelines for evaluation throughout ... the study" (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:138). The word 'objective' in Berelson's definition refers to prohibiting interference of the personal bias of the researcher in the findings in order to get the same result of analysis if another person applies the categories of analysis to the same content (Amare 1998:3, Wimmer and Dominick 1983:138). 'Manifest content' in Berelson's definition, shows that "the content must be coded as it appears rather than as the content-analyst feels" to minimize subjectivity (Amare 1998:3). When we say content analysis is quantitative, we mean that it involves "the recording of numerical values or the frequencies with which the various defined types of content occur" (Ibid).

Relying on its features described in the above stated Berelson's definition, researchers can employ content analysis to describe communication content, test hypotheses of message characteristics, compare media contents to the "Real world", assess the way of particular

groups in society and establish a baseline to study media effects (Wimmer and Dominick 1983:140-141).

Coming to my research topic, I have employed content analysis to examine what kind of information exists in television dramas concerning commercial sex workers (hence describing the communication content.) I also have used content analysis as “reality check” in which the portrayal of commercial sex workers is checked against a standard taken from actuality. Here my standard for actuality is based on the in-depth interviews conducted with selected commercial sex workers and a number of secondary sources (BA and MA thesis and PhD dissertations including books that are written on the lives of commercial sex workers) and some of my personal experience of working as an assistant journalist for a foreign freelance journalist.

Finally, I have also employed content analysis to examine if there are any differences in the image of commercial sex workers in the selected television dramas.

I will now discuss the procedures taken to collect data using content analysis as a research technique

3.3.2. The Population

The study considers television dramas participating commercial sex workers as characters broadcast during the day and night weekly drama sessions in the *Felega* and *Sinq* entertainment programs from January 1, 2003 to January 1, 2007 excluding days from January 1, 2005 - December 30, 2005.

I could only find ten dramas in archives of both the Ethiopian television and the producers of *Felega* and *Sinq* entertainment programs. Among the ten dramas I have found there are two dramas available for 2003 and 2004 each while there are 3 dramas available for 2006 and 2007 each. However, no drama is found for the year 2005, therefore it is not included in the study.

3.3.3. Census

Since the collected dramas are not numerous, I have found that it would be necessary to include all the collected dramas in the study. If every member of a population is studied, then the researcher is conducting a census (Patten 2004:45). Thus, I have conducted a census to collect data from the available television dramas.

3.3.4. The Unit of Analysis

According to Babbie (1979: 8) units of analysis are defined as “units that we initially describe for the ultimate purpose of aggregating their characteristics in order to describe some larger group or explain some abstract phenomena.” In any kind of research the units of analysis can be individuals, groups, organizations, individual word, the sentence, and so on (Babbie 1979:88, Hansen, et.al 1998:105).

In my study each drama is the unit of analysis where the contents of each of the dramas are described in order to examine or explain what information exists in the ten dramas in general concerning commercial sex workers.

3.3.5. Constructing Categories for Analysis

Using a category system, one can classify the content of a selected text in content analysis (wimmer and Dominick 1983:147). However, the text categories that are singled out for analysis should not be arbitrarily chosen. They have to be directly related to “the overall research questions or hypotheses, which prompted the choice of content analysis in the first place” (Hansen et al: 1998: 106).

In my study I have used sixteen categories, which are divided into four major themes in order to examine how commercial sex workers are portrayed in the dramas. The categories in the coding list “can be identified from a priori ideas such as existing theories or new codes that emerge from the data as ... the researcher read it (grounded theory)” (Gibbs and Taylor, 2005:Internet). I have employed both approaches to construct categories in a coding list.

Using a priori research coding approach, I have used previous researches and writings made on the lives of commercial sex workers such as (Bethlehem’s MA thesis 2006, laketch’s PhD dissertation 1978, and many other sociological BA theses) including historical books and journals that discuss historical backgrounds of commercial sex working in Ethiopia (like Sbacchi, 1985, Teshale, 1995 and Pankhurst, 1974). Some of the categories developed in this way are about images and types of commercial sex workers including their relationships and interactions with other people and so on.

Theoretical discussions in my literature review part also contribute themes in the coding process. Some of these themes raise questions about the ‘realistic’ nature of the dramas. In order to study whether or not the directors or writers follow intentional, reflective or construction

approaches of representation of commercial sex workers and their lives in their writings or dramas.

My research questions in the study have also guided me to include some themes. For example, questions like, what kind of images the dramas give for commercial sex workers, what other jobs do commercial sex workers have been doing beside their sex work and so on

Interviews made with commercial sex workers and NGO personnel that are engaged in improving the lives of commercial sex workers, during my job as an assistant to a foreign freelance journalist has helped me to add some more themes in the coding sheet. For example, I have included conflict as a theme after I gather from the interviews that the day today lives of commercial sex workers is surrounded by rape, violence, beatings, robbery and death.

I have also used drama contents as themes in the coding categories after watching three of the dramas repeatedly. This method of using the data itself to generate themes or categories in the coding process is known as grounded codes approach (Gibbs and Taylor, 2005: Internet). Some of the themes established using the grounded codes approach are like HIV prevention messages, Responsibility themes, and the overall impressions of the dramas concerning commercial sex workers.

Once I have finished searching for themes, I started to work on organizing the questions to put them in a coding list. To do this, I have followed a hierarchical coding (free coding) style. Hierarchical coding is putting “several codes, group together as types or kinds of something ...in a list of their own, or make them sub-codes under the kinds or types of which they all represent.”(Gibbs and Taylor, 2005: Internet)

Thus, I have divided the coding list into two parts. The first part includes facts that cannot be different in any way or at any time the coders code it. Some of these are drama title, broadcasting date, duration of the drama on air and so on.

3.3.6. Coding the Content

Two graduate students coded the contents. I have trained the coders to make them familiar with categories in the code list by providing definitions and explanations and a coding book for some of the themes in order to avoid ambiguity. The coding list is arranged in a way that could allow the coders to code the data by simply putting check marks in the provided boxes. However, there are three themes that cannot be coded in a 'yes' or 'no' basis, therefore coders are expected to fill them out.

3.3.7. Reliability

Reliability means repeated measurement of the same material will result in similar decisions or conclusions (Wimmer & Dominick 1983:153). To achieve reliability for my study, I have provided examples, definitions and explanations of the categories in the coding list by preparing a coding book. Thus, the coders would understand the procedure. Additionally, the coders and I discussed the category system and instrument of coding to avoid methodological problems.

I have selected Holsti's (1969) method of calculating inter-coder reliability for its simplicity to use (Holsti cited in Wimmer and Dominick 1983:155) The formula Holsti has developed is described as follows:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding decisions by the first and second order, respectively.

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1983:156) "As a rule of thumb, most published content analysis typically report a minimum reliability coefficient of about 90% or above when using Holsti's formula." In my study, 2 drama coding -lists are randomly selected and checked for inter-coder reliability. Then, the result shows 94.5% of reliability coefficient.

3.3.8. Analysing and interpreting the data

I have employed SPSS package to analyse the data found through content analysis. The study is descriptive in nature, which necessitates explanations to the meaning and importance of the results. Therefore, I have provided the meanings of the results by comparing and contrasting themes stated in the coding list among each other and with the data found through qualitative methods (in depth interviews with commercial sex workers, drama script writers and directors including the opinion of the expert in entertainment education dramas).

3.3.9. Validity

The extent to which a research instrument actually measures what it sets out to measure is called validity (Wimmer and Dominick 183:156). Among many of the methods used to verify validity in a content analysis, I have chosen face validity technique for its easiness to explain what procedures I have followed for data collection. Face validity technique assumes the measurement achieves its purpose "if the categories are rigidly and satisfactory defined and if the procedures of the analysis have been adequately can be conducted"(Ibid). To achieve this end, I have checked and re – checked the coding list to ensure that categories do not

overlap, so that they will be all-inclusive and mutually exclusive. Inter-coder reliability is also high, which is one indication of the validity of the instrument I have used.

3.4. The In-depth interview

3.4.1. Background

In semi-structured or in-depth interview, the interviewer has a number of questions in his mind that he /she wants "to put to interviewees but which do not have to follow any specific, predetermined order" (Grix 2004:127). As I stated in the argument for triangulation, I have used in-depth interviews to enrich the data gathered through content analysis. However, my main reason to use in-depth interviews for data collection is guided by some of the research questions.

I have conducted in-depth interviews with 17 informants. I have conducted in-depth interviews with 12 commercial sex workers in order to know what feelings and views they have towards their portrayals in television dramas. I have also conducted in-depth interviews with four scriptwriters and directors of the dramas in order to assess on what bases they portray commercial sex workers in their respective scripts or dramas. Finally, I have interviewed one associate professor at the Theatrical Arts department in Addis Ababa University in order to enrich my analysis on the implication of the dramas and portrayals of commercial sex workers in them in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS among the Ethiopian people. I will now discuss how I have selected the informants for the in-depth interviews.

3.4.2. Selection of Informants

My criterion to select commercial sex workers for interview was mainly based on the themes stated in the coding list that are provided for the

content analysis. The first criterion was age. I want to interview commercial sex workers who belong to different age groups to examine whether their views about the dramas will be different going along different age lines. The second criterion was to make interview with commercial sex workers that have dependents on them for a living. This helped me to know how the television dramas address this issue.

The third criterion was based on their health conditions. I made in - depth interviews with HIV positive commercial sex workers to probe their views on how television dramas address HIV/AIDS issues particularly in relation to commercial sex workers.

The fourth criterion was selecting commercial sex workers who watch television programs. In a pilot study I have made talking to some commercial sex workers individually, I came to understand that many of them have no time to watch television since they spent the nights working and the days sleeping and preparing for the coming night.

Looking solutions for such problem, I got Dir foundation that works on helping and rehabilitating commercial sex workers by providing those houses, household equipments and other jobs. There were 24 women in the rehabilitation centre. They watch television programs and even have access to videodisc player. Discussing with officers in the centre about my criteria's for selection, I selected 12 women based on the information the centre has gathered from the women. I wanted to make a focus group discussion, but failed after I observed that the women were not comfortable to talk about some personal issues (like their health status, relationships with their family members and so on) in front of each other. Therefore, I have conducted in-depth interviews with each of them in individually.

I have selected 5 scriptwriters/ directors of the dramas included in the study. They were selected on the basis of the depth of information they gave in the dramas concerning commercial sex workers and HIV/AIDS. I have conducted in-depth interviews with four of them. Unfortunately, I couldn't possibly get hold of them though I have tried a lot to get him.

I have selected two informants who are well known in writing research materials on entertainment education dramas that are made to create influence on behaviours and attitudes among the society. I could only get a chance to interview one of them who is an associate professor at the Theatrical Arts department in Addis Ababa University. My interview with him was intended to examine the overall impression of the dramas in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS and in portraying commercial workers in general.

Obviously, as stated above informants were selected based on a purposive criterion sampling method. In this type of sampling, "individuals are handpicked to be participants because they have characteristics that make them especially good sources of information." (Orcher 2005:99)

3.4.3. Interview Setting

David Morgan (1988:60) says, "The interview site must balance the needs of the researcher with those of the participants. (Morgan quoted in Strelitz 2005:74). Thus, I have conducted the interviews with the commercial sex workers at their homes. The writers and directors of the dramas were interviewed in different places according to their wish. The interview with the expert was conducted at his office.

3.4.4. The Interview Guide

I have prepared interview guides with a semi-structured interview questions. I chose my questions to be semi- structured to let the speakers freely talk what they want but in a way that can answer the research questions in my study. All of the interviews were conducted in Amharic.

3.4.5. Recording the data

Note taking was not enough to record all of the interviews. Thus, I have used a mini disc recorder to record the interviews after asking my interviewees permission for recording.

3.4.6. Data Analysis

For analysing the data, tape recorded interviews were transcribed and then translated to English. Then I have identified the main themes and discussed each of the themes by giving examples and direct quotes of the interviews in order to give flavour for the discussion. The examples and the direct quotes are also used to substantiate the data that I have gathered through a content analysis.

3.4.7. Validity and Reliability

For Lincoln and Guba (1985): the best way to elicit the various and divergent construction of reality that exist within the context of a study is to collect information about different events and relationships from different points of view. This means asking different questions seeking different sources, and using different methods. (Lincoln and Guba quoted in Babbie and Mcyton 2001:277)

Thus, the information I gathered is found through triangulation of combined methods, using different sources for different research questions which would increase the trustworthiness of my study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings and then the analyses and interpretations given to them by the researcher. As stated in chapter one, the main objective of the research is to examine how commercial sex workers are portrayed in the Ethiopian television dramas and the implications it has in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS among the public. To fulfil this objective four questions were raised:-

1. How are commercial sex workers portrayed in television dramas?
2. On what bases do scriptwriters or directors of the dramas portray commercial sex workers?
3. What do commercial workers feel when they watch the way they are portrayed in the television dramas?
4. What is/are the implication(s) the portrayal of commercial sex workers in the television dramas have in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS and related issues?

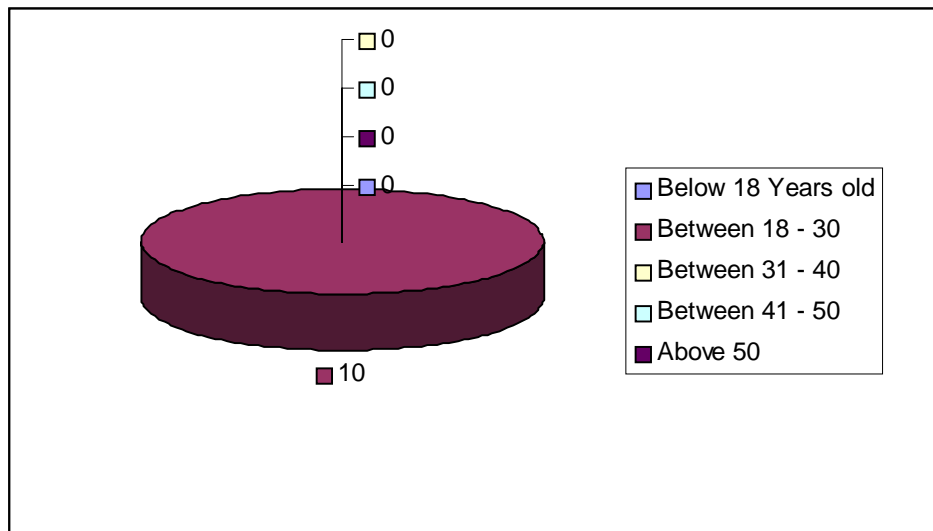
In order to provide answers for the above questions, this chapter is classified into four themes. The first one deals with the portrayals of personal information about commercial sex workers in the dramas. The second one focuses on the portrayal of the interaction between commercial sex workers and other characters in general in the dramas. The third theme is about the portrayal of commercial sex workers vis-à-vis HIV/AIDS and related issues in the dramas. The fourth part deals with the realistic nature of the dramas in relation to their educational value concerning commercial sex work and HIV/AIDS related matters. For the convenience of the discussion, each table, graph and chart

showing the research findings will be succeeded by the analysis and interpretation of the data.

4.1. Presentation of Personal Information about Commercial Sex Workers

4.1.1. Age

Chart 1. Approximate age that commercial sex workers are portrayed in the dramas



The above chart shows that in all of the dramas the approximate age of commercial sex workers is between 18-30 years old. None of the dramas portray a commercial sex worker who is above the age of 30.

It seems that the dramas have downplayed child commercial sex work which is a wide phenomenon these days in the country. According to Konjit (quoted in Girma, 2003:13), "Child prostitution at present is widely distributed and practiced in the urban centres of Ethiopia." In a survey conducted in 1996, out of 90,000 commercial sex workers in the country perhaps about 18-20% of them were children between the ages 12-18 (MOLSA, 1996, quoted in Mikias 2003:15). Another report by Habtamu

(1996:7) revealed that child commercial sex workers in Ethiopia start sex work at the mean age of 14.5. The numbers that show the extent of child commercial sex work in Ethiopia might fluctuate in different reports but there is one matter that they indicate - the existence of child commercial sex work in the country.

Some people prefer the child commercial sex worker to the adult ones for reasons which are based on myths and traditional beliefs. Some people do it because they believe that they will remove the virus from their body by having sex with 'uninfected' or 'virgin' girl (Girma; 2003:3, Mikias,2003:9). Others believe that "Sex with juvenile prostitute is safer than sex with the adult prostitutes" (Muntarhorn (1996): iii, Girma, 2003:3).

Despite the peoples' traditional belief, "sex between a man and a child girl is particularly likely to transmit HIV because, a child who is not fully grown is more easily torn or damaged by penetrative sex which makes it easier for the virus to pass into the child's body" (Girma: 2003:6).

Four of the commercial sex workers among the in-depth interviewees have started commercial sex work when they were below 18 years of age. Nunu, one of the participants in the interview said that she started commercial sex work when she was 17 after the loss of both of her parents. She said, "I've tried to work as a waitress at first but cannot survive with 60 Birr monthly salary [USD =8.88 Birr].So, I decided to engage in the 'business'"

From the aforementioned statements, it can be understood that the dramas have downplayed the fact that there is the existence of child commercial sex work, it has its causes and also it threatens to posit the transmission of HIV/AIDS.

Like the child commercial sex workers, women who are above 35 years old are also kept in low profile in the dramas. One of the participants in the in- depth interviews, Lulit, said, “I know a very old commercial sex worker who have clients, aged as young as 15 or 16 as of my son [pointing at her child playing out side]”.

Among the twelve in-depth interview participants of this study, five of them were above 45 years of age. One of them, Simegn, said:-

I know hotels that only have vacancy for old commercial sex workers because the customers' of the hotels are old men who prefer women of their age. You can take *Menaheria* Hotel and some hotels around *Habtegiorgis* Bridge and *Merkato* as an example.

One of the scriptwriters selected for the in-depth interview, Dagim, said that he focuses on the young ones because the dramas are made for the targeted audience i.e. the youth. Two of the other scriptwriters say that they never saw their writings in the age angles before the interview. (Ermias and Anteneh)

To conclude, it would be vital to balance the age portrayal of commercial sex workers in the dramas since it would state many things concerning HIV/AIDS and morality related issues that are implicitly going on among the Ethiopian society.

4.1.2. Reasons to Involve in commercial sex work

Table 1. Reasons to start commercial sex work

No	Reasons	Response	Count
1	Economic reason to start	Yes	5
		No	5
2	Cultural reason to start	Yes	0
		No	10
3	Unspecified reason to start	Yes	4
		No	6
4	Other reason to start	Yes	1
		No	9

The above table shows that half (5) of the dramas give emphasis to the economic reasons among the causes that might lead women to engage in commercial sex work. However, none of the dramas cite cultural reasons as causes of involvement in commercial sex work for women. Four of the dramas did not have information about the reasons of the commercial sex workers to engage in sex work. One drama gives a different reason for the woman in the drama to be involved in commercial sex work. I.e. because a drunken father can not administer his family properly which finally compelled his daughter to flee from home, but before she end up being a commercial sex worker her neighbours found her in a hotel and took her home back.

It is appropriate for the dramas to focus on economic reasons since poverty, unemployment and urban migration are the main reasons that lead women especially the rural ones to be commercial sex workers (Sime, 2000, quoted in Girma 2003:1, Tamene 1993:29). The dramas can remind the audience that the starting point to reduce commercial sex work and related problems with it, is fighting the cause (poverty for example) rather than the effect (commercial sex work and the women involved) (Tamene 1993:29). Also, the economic reasons in the dramas can inform the public that, “commercial sex work is an occupation in

which women find themselves unwillingly" (Bethlehem, 2005:140), which is contrary to "the public or the official perception" that these women choose to do the job (Ibid).

On the other hand, it is surprising to see the dramas saying nothing on cultural reasons that led many Ethiopian women to commercial sex work. Early marriage and abduction can be cited as an example (Andargachew, 1988:287, Girma, 2003:2, Mahlet 2004:2-3). Mahlet (2004:2-5) wrote that "Most girls in the rural areas get married between the ages of 12 and 14." According to Getachew (quoted in Girma 2003:13), 75% of women in rural communities of Ethiopia get married between the ages of 13-15. The figure appears exaggerated; however, it tells the truth that many teenagers establish a family before they end their childhood. According to Andargachew (quoted in Mahlet, 2004:2-5), "such girls become a source of suffering and they would like to run away from it in an opportune moment."

To conclude, the dramas are focusing mainly on relating commercial sex work to economic reasons overlooking the cultural reasons all in all. The harmful cultural practices would explain the causes for commercial sex work equally as that of the economic reasons if they were given emphasis.

4.1.3. Type of commercial sex work

Table 2. Types of commercial sex work portrayed in the dramas

No	Types	Response	Count
1	Fixed rate-Akafay sex work	Yes	0
		No	10
2	Sex work on equal share	Yes	0
		No	10
3	Independent home-based sex work	Yes	3
		No	7
4	Hotel and night club sex work	Yes	6
		No	4
5	Sex work out of bars	Yes	0
		No	10
6	Sex work out of drinking place	Yes	0
		No	10
7	Asphalt sex work	Yes	1
		No	9
8	The form is not identifiable	Yes	0
		No	10

As revealed in the above table, the majority (6) of the dramas are made portraying commercial sex workers working in hotels and night clubs. Three of the dramas portrayed independent home-based sex work. Asphalt sex work appears only in one of the dramas. The other four types of sex work have never appeared in the dramas.

According to Bethlehem (2005:139), the rate of prevalence of infection with HIV/AIDS increases as the type of commercial sex work becomes more dangerous. Two of the most dangerous types of commercial sex work in terms of disease contraction are *fixed-rate Akafay sex work* and the *Asphalt sex work*(Ibid:85). In *fixed-rate Akafay sex work* the madams may compel the sex worker to accept any kind of offer (like sex with out condom) from clients since they have control over the income of the commercial sex worker (Ibid: 108.) In addition to this, Asphalt sex workers also are faced with high rate of disease contraction since they

are not secured from abuse, robbery and rape by men and they have higher chance of being infected with HIV. (Ibid: 88)

Coming to the findings in the table 2, it can be understood that the focus of the dramas are almost completely shifted from showing the highly vulnerable and dangerous types of commercial sex works, which also comprised the largest numbers of commercial sex workers, to the less vulnerable and relatively secured types of commercial sex work. It seems that the dramas are produced targeting only customers and commercial sex workers around bars and hotels which exclude the majority of customers and commercial sex workers that should be a more targeted group for the health education campaigns like television dramas.

4.2. Interaction of commercial sex workers with other Characters

4.2.1. Family Members

Table 3. Relationship of Commercial Sex Workers with their families

No	Family relationships	Response	Count
1	Live with their families (parents, sisters and/ or brothers)	Yes	1
		No	9
2	Have a child/children	Yes	1
		No	9
3	Have relatives or anybody dependent on their income	Yes	1
		No	9

The above table shows that, it is in only one of the dramas that the commercial sex worker lives with her family members (with her brother in particular). It is in one out of the ten dramas that the commercial sex worker is portrayed to have a child /children. Again only it is in one of the dramas that the commercial sex worker is portrayed to have a dependent on her income.

Among the 12 women the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with, 9 of them have children. And among the nine, four have grand children. Some of the children have been living with them while others were sent to relatives.

From the above data it can be said that the dramas have given no attention to the children, parents and any of the dependents on the income of the commercial sex workers. Seven of the dramas focus only on the work of the commercial sex workers, not of their individual lives out of their work. It would be possible to say that the commercial sex workers are trivialized by the media in this case. According to Tuchman's theory of symbolic annihilation, trivialization refers to making something appear less significant or less important than it really is (Encarta Dictionary: English). Examining the portrayal of commercial sex workers in relation to their family members, children or dependents from the above table, it is easy to deduce that the relationship of commercial sex workers with people close to their lives are not given concern which would have been very important for the commercial sex workers in order to show that they have responsibilities and dependents as that of the non commercial sex workers of the society.

The stories of relationships between commercial sex workers and their close ones (parents, children, dependents - - -) are not only interesting to listen to but also morally educative. One of the in-depth interview participants, Itagu has said,

Most of us [the commercial sex workers] inherited the job directly from our mothers. We have been sleeping under the bed or on the *kot* [a compartment made below a roof] in the same room, while our mothers were doing 'business' on the bed. When our mothers retired to do the 'business', we replaced them and begin to do the

job for survival because it is the only job that does not need any qualification. Our brothers would have no choice than to be thieves.

Such kinds of stories might be helpful to the audience to look a bit closer into the lives of commercial sex workers and recognize that it is morally painful to buy sexual satisfaction out of such women. As stated in chapter two, "emotional content lasts longer in the memory than intellectual information" (PMC, 2002:43). Thus, if the dramas are meant to educate people through entertainment, then they should be "Passionate that works emotions that help to stir, recall and action (palmer, et al, 1997: ix)."

4.2.2. The Interaction of the commercial sex workers with bar owners, house renters /Madams, clients and pimps

Table 4. Relationship of the Commercial Sex Workers with bar owners, house renters/Madams, clients and pimps

No	Relationships	Response	Count
1	Forcing them to consume drugs or alcoholic drinks	Yes	0
		No	10
2	Asking them to have sex without condoms	Yes	4
		No	6
3	Forcing them to have sex without condoms	Yes	0
		No	10
4	Sharing their incomes	Yes	1
		No	9

As it can be observed from table 4, in none of the dramas one sees commercial sex workers being forced to consume drugs or alcoholic drinks and to have sex with out condoms. However, 4 of their clients have asked the women to have sex with out condom willingly. Only in one of the dramas, that there are people who share the income of the commercial sex workers.

Table 5. Responses of Commercial Sex Workers to forceful actions or concessions

No	Response for forceful actions	Response	Count
1	They say ok to have sex without condom	Yes	1
		No	9
2	They accept to consume drugs without their will	Yes	0
		No	10

Table 5 also shows that it is only in one of the dramas that the commercial sex worker has accepted to have sex without condom. And any of the commercial sex workers accepts to consume drugs since no one has forced them to accept the deal as it was resulted in table 4.

Zenebu, one of the in depth interviewees, said:-

In all of the hotels, the owners expect every commercial sex worker to sell more drinks through imploring her client to drink more and to invite her too. However, all of the owners are not similar. Some hotel owners will allow us not to drink, if we are sick or do not want to drink. But they do it on conditions. For example, whenever I do not feel like drinking alcohol, I used to fill out a, whisky bottle with pure tea and if someone invites me to drink whisky I will drink the tea and then he will be charged for a whisky price not knowing what I was drinking.

Itagu, another in-depth interviewee said that a commercial sex worker is expected to pay 'exit fee' if she finds a client who wants to take her out of the hotel. According to her, sometimes the exit fee might reach up to half of the money that the client pays for the commercial sex worker.

Based on table 4 and 5 and the stories that followed them, it can be seen that the dramas did not raise such, unfair actions of 'sexual entrepreneurs' as Bethlehem (2005:75-109) refers to the hotel owners and madams, behind the lives and incomes of the commercial sex workers.

Additionally, in table 5, the commercial sex workers are seen as insisting to use condoms except one of the woman, and as shown in table 4 no one forces the women to have sex with out condoms. However, many researchers asserted that many commercial sex workers conduct sex without condom with their clients (Alemayehu, 1996:41, Girma 2003:21-23, UNAIDS/WHO, 2002:19). For example Getachew (1996) quoted in (Girma, 2003:21) wrote , "Insisting on condom use by commercial sex worker and street girls can result in decreased earnings, loss of clients and physical abuse."

All of the women participated in the in-depth interview, also did not deny that they have conducted sex without condom with their clients. Ayalnes for example said, "We do not have hope for the future, we prefer to live each single day. Otherwise, if we insist to use condoms, we will die of hunger." Another interviewee, Kibnesh said:

HIV positive commercial sex workers might also conduct sex with out condom not only for money increment but to infect their clients deliberately as a vengeance because they think that they were infected with the virus with deliberate intentions of other clients.

Dagim, one of the scriptwriters however, said that he knows commercial sex workers who refuse to have sex without condoms, while there are others who give the choice to have sex with or without condom for the client.

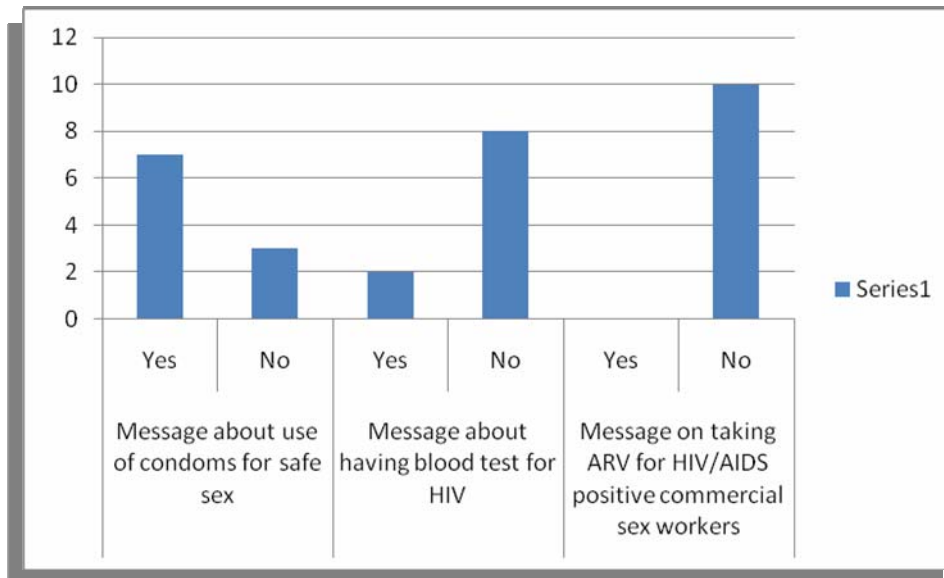
From the above discussion with the commercial sex workers, the scriptwriter and the information from the works of the stated researchers, it appears that the commercial sex workers are using condom not to have safe sex but as a means to deal for money increment. In addition to this as one interviewee, Selamawit told the researcher, each of the commercial sex worker has a lover (mainly pimps) with whom the women conduct sex without condom as a gift of love or through forceful actions.

However, in none of the dramas neither a client nor madams and pimps compel commercial sex workers to have sex without condom. According to Myers (2003:3) as stated in chapter two of this study, to teach people about HIV/AIDS in Africa, the dramas should target those who have power to negotiate safe sex, otherwise there would be no much difference on people's attitudes. Thus, it would be better for the dramas to focus on addressing HIV related messages not on economically weakened commercial sex workers but on those of economically powerful 'sex entrepreneurs', clients and the pimps.

4.3. Commercial sex workers and messages related to HIV/Aids

4.3.1. HIV/AIDS related messages

Chart 2. The existence of HIV/ AIDS prevention messages in the dramas



According to the above chart, 7 dramas are made having messages about using condoms for safe sex. Blood test messages to detect HIV were only presented in the two dramas while no drama was made concerning using ARV for HIV positive patients (characters) in the dramas.

Many of the uses of messages to use condom for safe sex were transmitted in the dramas in the form of dialogue between the commercial sex workers and their clients. In all of them, those who insist to use condoms are the commercial sex workers. Some of the dialogues are:-

Drama Title: - *Shemeta*

Commercial sex worker - Take this one (giving him the condom)

Client - No, we do not need any alien object between you and me

Commercial sex worker - no, you have to think for yourself and your family and I want to be healthy too.

Drama Title- *Yeketemewotch Weg*

Client - What is all these plastic around here for? (Pointing at the number of condoms)

Commercial sex worker - it is a shield against the virus.

Client - what are you talking about? How dare a human being prefer feasting while there is a feast to celebrate?

Commercial sex worker-If you do not want to use it I will not accept your money.

The dialogues from both of the dramas addressed a major problematic area concerning the stigmatization of condom. They exposed a widely entrenched belief among the public that consider condom as it reduces sexual spontaneity and pleasure (Population Council quoted in Girma, 2003:23).

In the dramas the commercial sex workers are portrayed as models for other commercial sex workers to imitate. There is consistency in the portrayal of commercial sex workers as ardent supporters of condom use for safe sex through all the dramas, as can be referred from table 5. All these show that helpful encouraging or constructive image is given to the commercial sex workers in the dramas.

On the other hand, it is surprising to see none of the commercial sex workers are depicted in relation to ARV medication where there is an ongoing debate among the public concerning its side effects and some people's preference for baptism in holy water to it which finally compelled the archbishop of Ethiopian orthodox church to pronounce saying "Both [ARV and the Holy Water] are gifts of God, they neither contradict nor

resist each other," in order to persuade people not to be resistant to the medication. (Plus News 25 may 2007)

4.3.2. Commercial sex workers and Responsibility for HIV

Transmission

Table 6. Taking responsibility for infecting individuals with HIV/ AIDS and being a cause for family disruptions

No	Responsibility	Response	Count
1	The Commercial Sex Workers infect their clients with HIV/ AIDS	Yes	2
		No	8
2	Family Disruption of clients because the Commercial Sex Workers infected them with HIV/ AIDS	Yes	2
		No	8
3	Clients infect the Commercial Sex Workers with HIV/ AIDS	Yes	0
		No	10
4	A family disruption because a client infected her with HIV/ AIDS	Yes	0
		No	10

Table 6 shows that out of the 10 dramas, 2 of them make commercial sex workers responsible for the infection of a client which results the final disruption of his family. However, none of the dramas show a commercial sex worker being infected with HIV/AIDS by her clients and the disruption of her family because of it.

Contrary to the positive portrayal of commercial sex workers as shown in table 5, here they are depicted as the causes for the disruptions of family and vehicles of HIV as widely believed among the Ethiopian society. However, it occurs only into two of the dramas out of the ten. So it cannot be deduced that the commercial sex workers are condemned in the dramas in a way that can fit into Tuchman's theory of Symbolic Annihilation (2004:407).

Additionally, 8 out of the 12 commercial sex workers the researcher has interviewed, were HIV positive and Itagu a 32 years old interviewee lamented that all of her friends died of HIV/AIDS, not knowing enough about the disease and unable to use the medicine (ARV) properly.

4.4. Drama techniques

4.4.1. Dramatic realism

Table 7. Realistic Nature of the Dramas

No	Reality	Response	Count
1	Believable story line	Yes	9
		No	1
2	Plausible characters	Yes	10
		No	0
3	Actual dialogue	Yes	10
		No	0

According to the findings in the above table, all but one of the dramas have believable storylines. Again, all of the dramas have plausible characters and the dialogue between them exhibits actuality.

As stated in chapter two, we can say a story is believable when "what we see or read is something which could have happened and resemble the world as we know it" (Burton quoted in media studies, N.D:8). The material is also plausible when "someone could have acted in the way they [the characters in a drama] did in a given story" (Ibid). Finally, as stated in chapter two, the material reflects actuality when it seems to have an immediate kind of physical reality about it, as if it is happening before us [the audience] or even as if we are really there" (Ibid).

Believability, plausibility and actuality are among the main criteria to judge whether or not a certain produced program in the media is realistic

(Ibid). In light of these criteria of realistic nature of a certain mediated program, it would be easy to judge whether the television dramas have portrayed the lives of commercial sex workers and depict the situation of commercial sex work in general in a realistic way.

The in-depth interviews with four of the scriptwriters and directors of the dramas also revealed why the findings concerning the realistic natures of the dramas are unanimously similar except one story line of the dramas among the ten. According to Dagim, the writer of *Yeketemewotch Wog*, his writing fulfils the criteria for realistic nature of a mediated program because he wrote it based on real life and cultural experiences. He is living around *Doromanekia* which is recognized as the hot bed of commercial sex work In Addis Ababa. According to the World Bank studies of Addis Ababa in 1985 and 1987, *Doromanekia*, was found to be amongst "the poorest of the poor in all socio economic measurements (the World Bank report quoted in Alemayehu, 1996:16).

According to Dagim, "It is common to see a father and a son quarrelling over a commercial sex worker in *Doromanekia*." And he added,

you should not be surprised to see kids having milk bottles in their hands and playing with their peers around 11 o'clock in the midnight because they are told to go out when their mothers do 'business' [sex work].

Another writer, Hana Kassaye, also claims that she wrote her story; (*Wurse*) because she saw and felt the pain of the commercial sex workers since childhood. She was born in Adama, regularly called Nazareth and used to have a friend around a shanty town known as '*kebele 07*'. According to her, whenever she went to visit her classmate, she used to see children in the neighbourhood playing outside of home while their

mothers are doing the 'business'. She also recalls seeing "a mother and her daughter doing the business in shift in a single bed."

Anteneh, the writer and director of '*Yehiwot Fetena*' maintains that he wrote his story about a commercial sex worker having seen his classmate who dropped out of college and became pregnant latter. According to Anteneh, he used the real story as a baseline to write the drama '*Yehiwot Fetena*.' Anteneh said, "Though my story is based on a real event, it was out of my imagination that I have written by relating it to commercial sex work."

Ermias Getachew, the scriptwriter of '*Latew*' drama, said that he wrote the story after he listened to the arguments of a woman and a man over money over the radio. According to him he listened to a woman saying "why don't you give me my money" to a man. Then said Anteneh,

I started to think and ask myself why the man doesn't give her the money. And immediately started to write a story based on this phrase about a man and a commercial sex worker which finally came out as a script for *Latew* drama.

Based on Ermias's story it can be easily observed that a certain message (sentence) in the media has influenced him to write a story which is broader than the phrase he has heard.

From all of the above stated interviews of writers and directors of the dramas, three of them have written their stories based on their real life experiences together with cultural experiences. The fourth writer, however, wrote his story mainly based on a dialogue he has heard from the radio which shows that he wrote his story for television drama based

on his previous experience from the media (the radio) themselves as stated in chapter two.

4.4.2. Themes of the Dramas

Table 8. Themes of the dramas concerning Commercial Sex Workers

No	Theme	Response	Count
1	Education	Yes	1
		No	9
2	Rape and Violence	Yes	2
		No	8
3	HIV/ AIDS	Yes	5
		No	5
4	Use of condoms	Yes	2
		No	8
5	Ethics to follow	Yes	2
		No	8
6	Childhood upbringing	Yes	3
		No	7
7	Marriage	Yes	1
		No	9
8	Discrimination	Yes	0
		No	10
9	Other	Yes	0
		No	10

Table 8 reveals that many (5) of the dramas have raised HIV/AIDS related issue when commercial sex workers are involved as characters. Among these, two of the dramas exclusively discussed the use of condoms. The second dominant theme relates matters of childhood upbringing to commercial sex work. Subjects on ethics, rape and violence, are the third dominant themes concerning commercial sex workers. Marriage and education are raised as themes in two of the dramas, each for a single time. None of the dramas raised discrimination issues which relate to commercial sex workers as a theme.

Hana, a scriptwriter for *Wurse* drama, has raised rape as a main theme of her story. She said that the commercial sex worker in her story is a victim of rape by the owner of the house while she was working as a maid prior to commercial sex working. Ermias, a scriptwriter for *Latew* drama has raised the issue of marriage as a main theme. Ermias said, "Ethiopians consider commercial sex workers as decadent and I want to show that there are commercial sex workers who are well disciplined and who can perform marriage like the others."

From Ermias's statements it can be said that based on the experience he has found from the media to write his story [having the idea from a radio program as stated in part 4.1.1]; he wanted to change the cultural experience of Ethiopians (that consider commercial sex workers as decadent) to a positive attitude.

Hana, the scriptwriter for '*Wurse*' drama, Dagim, the scriptwriter for '*Yehewot Fetena*', have written their stories based on their real life experience to change the cultural experience of the Ethiopian society. As stated in chapter two, real life experience refers to "what we have seen done, felt ---" and cultural experience refers to "what we learn through our lives about what our culture sees as real"(Burton in Media studies, N.D, 9 - 10).

Hana and Dagim wrote their stories based on their real life experiences (having a friend around a shanty area of '*keble*' 07 in Nazareth town and living in '*Doromanekia*' respectively). Since both of them wrote what they have witnessed, it can be said that they have applied reflective approach of representation.

Additionally, they want to change the cultural experience of the Ethiopian people toward commercial sex workers (for example considering them decadents and sinful; believing that they are doing the work willingly as widely discussed in chapter two) to constructive one. This shows that all of them have applied the intentional approach of representation since they intentionally tried to direct their audience to see commercial sex workers in the angles they saw them.

Since the writers have reflected the lives of commercial sex workers in their dramas and have intentions to change the societies view towards commercial sex workers, it can be finally deduced that all of the drama writers participated in the in-depth interviews have applied constructionist approach in representing commercial sex workers. As defined in the literature review of this paper, for the constructionists, representing something involves the thing itself (reflective), the represented version of it (intentional) and the opinions and views of a society and individuals (constructionists).

4.4.3 Overall Impression of the dramas and character position

Table 9. Character position of Commercial Sex Workers in the Dramas

No	Role	Response	Count
1	Major character	Yes	4
		No	6
2	Minor character	Yes	6
		No	4

Table 10. Over all impressions of the dramas concerning Commercial Sex Workers

No	Over all impression	Response	Count
1	Positive portrayal	Yes	3
		No	7
2	Negative portrayal	Yes	2
		No	8
3	Both positive and Negative portrayal	Yes	0
		No	10
4	Neutral portrayal	Yes	5
		No	5

As can be seen from table 8, in many (6) of the dramas the commercial sex workers are given a minor character role. In the other four, they have played a major character role.

Table 10 shows that in five of the dramas commercial sex workers are neither portrayed negatively nor positively. Three of the dramas portrayed the commercial sex workers in a way that can build their image positively. While in two of them they are portrayed negatively.

The majority of the dramas neither give positive nor negative comments about the commercial sex workers, because as can be seen from table 9, in six of the dramas they have a minor character role which means the stories do not revolve around the lives of commercial sex workers. For example, as described in table 6, the major characters in two of the dramas are seen as they are infected with HIV from commercial sex workers (which are playing a minor character role) and their family got in to trouble as a result. In three of the dramas, the commercial sex workers are portrayed positively. For example, they are the ones who insist to use condoms caring for their lives as well as to their clients. Additionally, in many of the themes of the dramas (as shown in table 8), the commercial sex workers are portrayed as victims of rape and

violence, as women who can perform marriage like the rest and as women who want to educate themselves but involve in the work for economic reasons.

In two of the dramas however, the commercial sex workers have negative images. For example, in one of the two, the commercial sex worker is seen mocking on a character who preaches the use of condom to prevent HIV/AIDS. In the other drama the commercial sex worker is portrayed as trying to make a deal with her client to deflower the virginity of a teenage girl who is employed as a maid in a hotel.

Comparing and contrasting the positive and negative portrayals of commercial sex workers in the dramas, it is the positive portrayals that occur more often than the negative ones (see table 5, table 8, table, 10 and the explanations and interpretations given to them).

In addition, all of the interviewed commercial sex workers agreed that what they watched in the dramas are reflection of their lives except some exaggerations, and absence of stories about people who have decisive power in the lives of commercial sex workers. For examples, Birtukan said, "Men are usually portrayed as if they are good to commercial sex workers in the dramas which is contrary to the act of many." Lemelem also said, "In many of the dramas, no hotel owners are involved, who share the money we receive selling our flesh."

4.4.4. Duration of the dramas and the arguments on their educational capacity

Table 11. Statistical description on the duration of the dramas

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Duration	10	7.06	64.44	25.1190

The above table shows that the maximum time each of the dramas stayed on air is around 64 minutes (1 hour and 4 minutes.) The minimum duration a drama stayed on air is around seven minutes. Each drama on average was broadcasted for 25 minutes.

Aboneh Ashagre, associate professor at the Department of Theatrical Arts in Addis Ababa University, claims that the dramas are very short and cannot bring the aspired change on HIV/related issues. According to him, the dramas could be educative when:

They are made in a series that can stay at least for two years on the media. It is in this way the audience can create identification with a positive character (protagonist model) in the drama and start to imitate the positive model.

The scriptwriters, however, have different ideas. For example, for Anteneh "there is no guarantee that there will be attitudinal change about HIV/AIDS among the society by employing dramas that stay on air for a long time". And he added, "I prefer dramas that stay on air for a short period of time since they can transmit any educational message briefly without wasting the audiences' time."

Another writer, Ermias gave a comment more or less similar to that of Anteneh. He said,

The power of the work (the drama, the writing) determines the achievement in bringing attitudinal change and educating the society through entertainment. You might not need 30 to 40 years to change attitudes; a second can be enough for that matter.

Additional to the above reason, Dagim, one of the scriptwriters, said that making dramas with a series that can stay for years is also costly. For Anteneh, scriptwriter and director, also, finding sponsors for dramas with long sessions is very hard, so it is better to stay with the short ones.

The expert's (Aboneh's), idea is similar to that of McAnany (quoted in palmer, et. al, 2002:3) who says, "One cannot do a single message [in the media] and expect change." According to MCAAnany, if there is a need to change or shape the outlooks and manners of an audience through dramas, then they have to be presented repeatedly. (Ibid)

Hana, another scriptwriter has different comment than the others. She said,

I wrote the script to show what I feel, not to teach people. If people can take lessons out of it, whether or not it is broadcasted for a short or a long period of time, then it will be good.

Aboneh strongly recommended that drama writers and producers do research before writing or making Entertainment-Education drama. He also said,

The writers' (directors') real life experiences about the lives of commercial sex workers do not mean that they know all things about commercial sex workers and many things related to them. They have to make a thorough research to teach and entertain.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Summary and Conclusion

The focus of this study was essentially to examine how commercial sex workers are portrayed in television dramas and its implication on creating awareness about HIV/AIDS and related matters. To this end, four questions were developed.

The questions led the researcher to design a convenient methodology for the study. Thus, a triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods was found to be convenient. To examine in what way the commercial sex workers are portrayed, a coding list was designed to analyze the contents of the dramas. Scriptwriters, directors and commercial sex workers were interviewed to enrich the data that was found out through content analysis.

The literature review discussed matters that are directly related to the study. The historical background and the current status of commercial sex work and the women involved are also discussed. Entertainment education with a particular emphasis to dramas also has been dealt with. Some theoretical issues were also discussed. In representation theory, reflective, intentional and constructionist approaches are discussed thoroughly. Issues related to stereotyping were also subjects of discussion. Since the study is about women, it was necessary to employ a widely known theory in portrayal studies i.e., symbolic annihilation. In addition to the stated theory, another theory that focuses on the realistic nature of mediated dramas was employed.

Having gone through the above steps, the last one was gathering the data and giving interpretations and analysis to them. In giving the analysis

and the interpretations, four themes were identified and organized in such a way that they can answer the research questions.

The first research question was raised to examine how commercial sex workers are portrayed in the dramas. The research findings show that

- The dramas give emphasis to commercial sex workers who are in the age group of 19 - 30.
- Economic reasons are the dominant reasons for commercial sex workers to engage in their jobs.
- Hotel and bar commercial sex workers are dominant in television dramas.
- Many of the dramas do not give particular attention to the lives of commercial sex workers out of their work.
- Powerful bodies behind commercial sex work (like madams and hotel owners are not acknowledged in the dramas.
- Commercial sex workers are positively portrayed as caring for the lives of others and themselves through their persistence to use condoms.
- Generally commercial sex workers are portrayed positively in the dramas but underrepresented.

The second question was raised to examine the feeling of commercial sex workers toward their portrayal in television dramas. As many of their statements show and as they it openly declared in the in-depth interviews, they are portrayed positively in the dramas. However, they have commented on two things, the first one is that the dramas do not show power relationship between commercial sex workers and their employees, clients, and pimps, which is a very important aspect in their lives. Their second comment is that in many of the dramas men are

portrayed positively as caring for the commercial sex workers which is contrary to the 'fact'.

The third research question was raised to investigate the bases for scriptwriters and directors for portraying commercial sex workers in the dramas. All of the writers, who participated in the in-depth interviews, reported that they have been influenced by both personal and cultural experiences before they wrote their stories. Since they have exhibited what they have seen to the public, it can be concluded that they have followed the reflective approach of representation. In addition to this, they have cultural experience which they draw on in writing their stories, therefore, they have been writing also from the constructionists' angle. Since Ethiopians have prejudiced views toward commercial sex workers and the writers write against it, it can also be deduced that they have also used intentional approach of representation.

Among the scriptwriters and directors it is behind that there can be attitudinal change through dramas as long as the story is appealing and not boring. However, Aboneh, an expert in Entertainment-Education dramas has argued for serial dramas to bring social change.

The final specific objective of this study was to investigate the implications the portrayal of commercial sex workers has in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS and related matters. Some of the findings revealed that,

- Child commercial sex work has never been an issue for the dramas which, however is a problem in the country. The children attract more men because of the existing beliefs in myths. Sex between male and children increase the rate of HIV

AIDS infection because, the children have no power to negotiate safe sex that can save their lives from the disease.

- The dramas mainly focus on bar and hotel sex workers. This shows that the most dangerous type of sex work (fixed rate-Akafay sex work and Asphalt sex work) are downplayed. Thus, portraying commercial sex work only in the context of hotels and bars would not address the issue of the majority of commercial sex workers and the troubles and violence that accompanied them which can be an educative issue for the audience concerning HIV/AIDS.

5.2. Further research

The study can be used as a springboard for further researches that would be made on; (a), Entertainment-Education on social issues that need to teach the public; (b), Other subjects of study (than commercial sex workers) with similar methodological underpinnings; (c), Other mediated programs (than dramas) with the same methodological underpinnings.

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Appendices

Appendix I Content Analysis Coding Sheet

This coding sheet is designed to analyze the content of 10 Ethiopian Television Dramas that show the lives of commercial sex workers. The result will be used to analyze how Commercial Sex Workers are portrayed and the implications in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS.

Instruction

Coders are expected to watch the dramas at least two times each and put a check mark against the boxes provided to code the responses. Their marks for agreement will be 'YES' and their disagreement will be 'No'

I	PART ONE		
1.	Coding Date		
2.	Name of coder		
3.	Drama title		
4.	Broadcasting date		
5.	Author's name		
6.	Duration		
	PART TWO		
No	<i>Categories</i>	Response	
I.	Personal Information about commercial sex workers		
A.	Age		
*	Is the commercial sex worker approximately portrayed as aged?	Yes	No
1.	Below 18 years old		
2.	Between 19-35 years old		
3.	Between 36-45 years old		
4.	Above 46 years old		
B.	Reasons to start commercial sex work		
*	What is the reason for the commercial worker to do Commercial Sex work?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Economic reason		
2.	Cultural reason		

3.	The reason is not specified		
4.	Other reasons (if any, please specify it) _____		
C.	Type of commercial sex work		
*	In which type of commercial sex work, that the commercial sex worker is portrayed in the drama?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	<i>Akafay</i> sex work		
2.	Sex work on equal share		
3.	Independent home-based sex work		
4.	Hotel and night club sex work		
5.	Sex work out of bars		
6.	Sex work out of drinking places		
7.	Asphalt sex work		
8.	The type is not identifiable		
II.	Relationship of the commercial sex workers with other characters		
A.	Family relationship	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Does the commercial sex worker live with her family (parents, sisters and/or brothers)?		
2.	Does the commercial sex worker portrayed as having a child/ child?		
3.	Does the commercial sex worker have any other relative or anybody who is dependent on her income for a living?		
B.	Relation with bar owners, house renters or Madams.	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is there anyone who forces the commercial sex worker to consume drugs or drink alcohol?		
2.	Is there anyone who asks the commercial sex worker to have sex without condom?		
3.	Is there anyone who forces the commercial sex worker to have sex without condom?		
4.	Is there anyone who shares the income of the commercial sex worker?		
C.	Conflict with others	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is there a client who fights against the commercial sex worker because he refuses to pay for the service she gave him?		
2.	Is there anyone who fights against the commercial sex worker because she refuses to practice 'unusual sex'?		

3.	Is there anyone who fights against the commercial sex worker because of robbery?		
4.	Is there a commercial sex worker who suffers from beating, rape, or death?		
D.	Reponses of commercial sex workers to forceful actions or concessions	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Does she say ok to have sex without condom either through forceful actions or for money increment?		
2.	Does she accept to take drugs or alcohol without her will?		
III.	Health Related information and commercial sex workers		
A.	Commercial sex workers and sexually transmitted diseases	<i>Yes</i>	<i>NO</i>
1.	Is the commercial sex worker healthy looking?		
2.	Is there any message, which shows that the commercial sex worker is infected with HIV?		
3.	It is not specified whether or not the commercial sex worker is infected with HIV/AIDS.		
4.	Is the commercial sex worker infected with any other diseases?		
B.	Responsibility	<i>Yes</i>	No
1.	Is the commercial sex worker portrayed as infecting a character in the drama with HIV?		
2.	Is there any family disruption because of HIV infection of a client (e.g. the character acting as a husband or a father) as a result of sexual intercourse with the commercial sex worker?		
3.	Are clients of commercial sex workers portrayed as infecting the commercial sex worker with HIV?		
4.	Is there family disruption of the commercial sex worker because she is infected by HIV/AIDS by her client		
C.	HIV prevention messages	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is there a message concerning use of condoms in the drama?		
2.	Is there a message about taking blood test to detect HIV?		
3.	Is there a message concerning taking anti retro viral therapy (ARV) for HIV positive commercial sex workers?		

IV.	Drama elements, techniques and commercial sex workers		
A,	Realistic Nature of the Drama	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1,	Is the storyline of the drama believable?		
2,	Are the characters (commercial sex workers) plausible to live in the 'real' world?		
3,	Can the dialogue between the characters happen actually (or can it happen in day to day life)?		
B.	Character position	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is the commercial sex worker the major character in the drama?		
2.	Is the commercial sex worker the minor character?		
C.	Theme		
*	What is the theme of the drama concerning commercial sex workers?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Education		
2.	Rape and violence		
3.	HIV		
4.	Use of condom		
5.	Ethics to follow		
6.	Childhood upbringing		
7.	Marriage		
8.	Discrimination		
9.	Other (please specify)		
D.	Overall impression		
*	What is the over all impression of the drama?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>NO</i>
1.	Positive portrayal of the commercial sex workers		
2.	Negative portrayal of the commercial sex workers		
3.	Both negative and positive portrayal of the commercial sex workers		
4.	Neutral portrayal of the commercial sex workers		

Appendix II
Content Analysis Coding Book

This coding book is designed to explain some of the categories in order to make them clear to the coders so that they can fill them out easily.

PART ONE			
I			
1.	Coding Date		
2.	Name of coder		
3.	Drama title		
4.	Broadcasting date		
5.	Author's name		
6.	Duration		
PART TWO			
No	Categories	Response	
I.	Personal Information about commercial sex workers		
A.	Age		
*	Is the commercial sex worker approximately portrayed as aged?	Yes	No
1.	Below 18 years old		
2.	Between 19-35 years old		
3.	Between 36-45years old		
4.	Above 46 years old		
B.	Reasons to start commercial sex work		
*	What is the reason for the commercial worker to do Commercial Sex work?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Economic reason-the commercial sex worker do the job because she has no income for a living.		
2.	Cultural reason- the commercial sex worker do the job because she was forced to conduct early marriage, forced to do a domestic job which is beyond her capacity, forced to leave her home for physical violence from her husband or family members.		
3.	The reason is not specified		
4.	Other reasons (if any, please specify it)		
C.	Type of commercial sex work		
*	In which type of commercial sex work, that the commercial sex worker is portrayed in the drama?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

1.	<i>Fixed rate-Akafay</i> sex work-The sex worker shares a fixed amount of money she gets from her job with the renters of the house, which she uses for doing her job.		
2.	Sex work on equal share- The sex worker shares all the money she gets from her job equally with the renters of the house which she uses to do her job.		
3.	Independent home-based sex work- The sex worker may or may not own the house she lives in but there is no one who shares the money she got from her job.		
4.	Hotel and night club sex work-		
5.	Sexes work out of bars- the women are employees in the bars either being as a cashier, waitresses or any other duty with a monthly salary. But they can exercise their sex work side by side with their duties		
6.	Sex work out of drinking places-the commercial sex workers live with Madams (the owner of the house) working domestic activities and helping to sell traditional liquor [Taj, Tella or Katicalla). However, they work sometimes as commercial sex workers when a client asks for it.		
7.	Asphalt sex work-Sex work along roads		
8.	The type is not identifiable		
II.	Relationship of the commercial sex workers with other people		
A.	Family relationship	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Does the commercial sex worker live with her family (parents, sisters and/or brothers)?		
2.	Does the commercial sex worker portrayed as having a child/ child?		
3.	Does the commercial sex worker have any other relative or anybody who is dependent on her income for a living?		
B.	Relation with bar owners, house renters or Madams.	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is there anyone who forces the commercial sex worker to consume drugs or drink alcohol?		
2.	Is there anyone who asks the commercial sex worker to have sex without condom?		
3.	Is there anyone who forces the commercial sex worker to have sex without condom?		
4.	Is there anyone who shares the income of the commercial sex worker?		

C.	Conflict with others	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is there a client who fights against the commercial sex worker because he refuses to pay for the service she gave him?		
2.	Is there anyone who fights against the commercial sex worker because she refuses to practice 'unusual sex'?		
3.	Is there anyone who fights against the commercial sex worker because of robbery?		
4.	Is there a commercial sex worker who suffers from beating, rape, or death?		
D.	Reponses of commercial sex workers to forceful actions or concessions	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Does she say ok to have sex without condom either through forceful actions or for money increment?		
2.	Does she accept to take drugs or alcohol without her will?		
III.	Health Related information and commercial sex workers		
A.	Commercial sex workers and sexually transmitted diseases	<i>Yes</i>	<i>NO</i>
1.	Is the commercial sex worker healthy looking?- is she in a good physical shape		
2.	Is there any message, which shows that the commercial sex worker is infected with HIV?		
3.	It is not specified whether or not the commercial sex worker is infected with HIV/AIDS.		
4.	Is the commercial sex worker infected with any other diseases?		
B.	Responsibility	<i>Yes</i>	No
1.	Is the commercial sex worker portrayed as infecting a character in the drama with HIV		
2.	Is there any family disruption because of HIV infection of a client (e.g. the character acting as a husband or a father) as a result of sexual intercourse with the commercial sex worker?		
3.	Are clients of commercial sex workers portrayed as infecting the commercial sex worker with HIV?		

4.	Is there family disruption of the commercial sex worker because she is infected by HIV/AIDS by her client		
C.	HIV prevention messages	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is there a message concerning use of condoms in the drama?		
2.	Is there a message about taking blood test to detect HIV?		
3.	Is there a message concerning taking anti retro viral therapy (ART) for HIV positive commercial sex workers?		
IV.	Drama elements, techniques and commercial sex workers		
A,	Realistic Nature of the Drama	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1,	Is the storyline of the drama believable? Does it resemble the world, as we know it?		
2,	Are the characters (commercial sex workers) plausible to live in the 'real' world? It means someone could have acted in the way the commercial sex workers in a drama did in the drama.		
3,	Can the dialogue between the characters happen actually (or can it happen in day to day life)? -The drama seems to have an immediate kind of physical reality about it, as it is really happening before us (the audience), or even as if we are really there.		
B.	Character position	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Is the commercial sex worker the major character in the drama?		
2.	Is the commercial sex worker the minor character?		
C.	Theme		
*	What is the theme of the drama concerning commercial sex workers?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
1.	Education –commercial sex workers and a storyline about their educational schools.		
2.	Rape and violence- Does the commercial sex worker suffer from rape and violence		
3.	HIV -the drama relates commercial sex workers with stories of the causes and preventions of HIV/AIDS.		

4.	Use of condom-Does the drama focuses matters of using condom as a safe sex practice?		
5.	Ethics to follow-Does the team preaches to follow morally acceptable values by relating it to commercial sex workers and HIV/AIDS issues?		
6.	Childhood upbringing-Does the drama relates childhood conditions for the cause of becoming a sex worker?		
7.	Marriage-Does the drama raise issues of marriage in relation to commercial sex workers?		
8.	Discrimination- Does the drama show unfair handling of commercial sex workers among the Ethiopian people?		
9.	Other (please specify)		
D.	Overall impression		
*	What is the over all impression of the drama?	<i>Yes</i>	<i>NO</i>
1.	Positive portrayal of the commercial sex workers-the drama describes commercial sex workers and their lives in a constructive way suggesting people to see them humanly’.		
2.	Negative portrayal of the commercial sex workers-the drama describes them as a threat to the society.		
3.	Both negative and positive portrayal of the commercial sex workers-Does the drama presents them in both ways described above in no one and two.		
4.	Neutral portrayal of the commercial sex workers-the drama gives neither good nor bad suggestions about them.		

Appendix III
Interview guide for scriptwriters/Directors

1. Which form of the commercial sex work is given more emphasis in your drama? Or how do you select the setting? Why?
2. From where do you get sources for your writing?
 - a) Are you writing simply based on your imagination?
 - b) Are you simply reflecting what already exists?
 - c) Is it from exposure to previous media messages?
 - d) Is there any other source for your writing?
3. Do you think there is a dominant ideology (positive or negative) concerning commercial sex worker among the people of Ethiopia?
4. What are your criteria to select the character that is working as a commercial sex worker in your drama?
5. Do you think your story line and character portrayal reflect the reality (Do you think it could happen in the real world?)
6. What is the general point (theme) you want to tell your audience in your drama? Why?
7. Who do you think is your audience?
8. Did you write the script to teach people or to entertain them?
9. Do you think your drama will change the attitudes of the audience? Why?

Appendix IV
Interview guide for commercial sex workers

1. Do you watch Television? When did you started to watch?
2. What is your view on your portrayal in the Ethiopian Television dramas?
 - Can you site some of the dramas you watch?
 - On what kind of your portrayal you agreed on and on what you don't agree?
3. How do you express the Ethiopian society's view towards commercial sex work and the women in it?
4. Who are your customers (are they of your age or above or below of it)?
5. Have you ever been involved in another job?
6. Are you HIV positive?
7. Where do you know about HIV/AIDS for the first time?
8. What is the view of your family concerning your job?
9. Do you have children or any other dependent on your income?
10. What do you think about yourself and your job? Do you feel that it is good or you want to quit it?
11. Are there Madams/ Hotel Owners/ anyone who used to share your income regularly?
12. In which type of commercial sex work you have been doing your job?
13. Did you remember why you started doing the commercial sex work?
14. On What parts of your life you suggest drama writers or script writers shall focus on to campaign against HIV/AIDS? Why?

Appendix V

Interview guide for experts in entertainment drama

1. When do we say a drama reflects reality? And how can we define dramatic reality in an ordinary language?
2. Does duration (the time span) of a drama have an effect in influencing an audience's behavior? How? Do you think the Ethiopian television dramas are efficient in this case?
3. How can one measure the effectiveness of a drama message in achieving the aspired changes the drama writers or directors look for?
4. The interviewed commercial sex workers say that they use condoms to negotiate for money increment and sometimes for revenge, not for safety. Is there any problem if such kind of message is transmitted to the drama audience?
5. In many of the dramas commercial sex workers are seen as responsible in infecting their customer with HIV Aids but not vice versa. What do you think is the reason for this?
6. Many commercial sex workers do not have time to watch TV or any other media health campaigns. What shall be done to address important health issues to them?
7. What makes entertainment dramas different from its kinds? Do Ethiopian TV dramas fulfill the essential features of entertainment drama?
8. Do you think there is a negative or positive dominant ideology concerning commercial sex workers in Ethiopia?

Appendix VI

Interview participants

I. Commercial sex workers.

- a. Etagu
- b. Lulit
- c. Zenebu
- d. Simegn
- e. Nunu
- f. Ayalnesh
- g. Kibnesh
- h. Selamawit
- i. Birtukan
- j. Lemelem
- k. Itagu
- l. Emawayeshe

II. Scriptwriters.

- a. Dagim – Yeketemewotch wog
- b. Anteneh - Yehiot Fetena
- c. Hana - Wurse
- d. Ermias - Latew

III. Expert.

- a. Aboneh Ashagere

Appendix VII
Profiles of the Dramas

Drama Title	Broadcasting Date	Duration (Minutes)
Yeketemewoch Wog	2003	8.26
Yehiwot Fetena	2006	12.20
Wurse	2003	7.06
Shemata	2004	9.02
Wedajenet	2004	8.22
Latew	2007	64.44
Aterif bai	2006	42.00
Ashara	2006	44.53
Siberet	2007	44.36
Yeletit Gemena	2006	11.10

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all the sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date of submission: _____

Place of submission: _____