

The Situation of Sexual Abuse and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girl Children in Addis Ababa

Forum on Street Children Ethiopia
(FSCE)

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACPF:	African Child Policy Forum
AIDS:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANPPCAN:	African Network for Prevention and Protection of Child Abuse and Neglect
BA:	Bachelor of Arts
CPU:	Child Protection Unit
CHADET:	Children Aid Ethiopia
CRC:	Child Rights Convention
CRDA:	Christian Relief and Development Association
SCS :	Save the Children Sweden
DIC:	Drop in Center
EWLA:	Ethiopia Women Lawyers Association
FSCE:	Forum on Street Children Ethiopia
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFSO:	Integrated Family Service Organization
ILO:	International Labor Organization.
MA:	Masters of Arts.
MCDP:	Multi Purpose Community Development Project
MOLSA:	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
SCNE:	Save the Children Norway Ethiopia
SAEC:	Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children
SPSS:	Statistical Package for Social Science
STDs:	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TOR:	Terms of Reference
UNCRC:	United Nations Child Rights Convention
UNICEF:	United Nation Children’s Fund
WCCSEC:	World Congers on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children (1990)

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Executive Summary

Sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation is one of the serious social evils and violation of rights of girl children that needs immediate attention by duty bearers and the general public. Recognizing the importance of reliable data about the problem, Forum on Street Children Ethiopia- a national NGO, envisaged this comprehensive study on the situation of sexual Abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of girl children in Addis Ababa. The primary objective of the study is to stimulate interventions by providing valid and reliable information on the extent of the problem in Addis Ababa. This study explored a wide variety of issues conjoined with sexual abuse and exploitation such as sexual outrage (rape), sexual harassment, female genital cutting (FGC), early marriage and abduction, child prostitution (child survival sex work), child trafficking, pornography, and child sex tourism.

The assessment on sexual abuse was carried out in all sub cities while commercial sexual exploitation was particularly studied in eight sub cities of Addis Ababa. The primary sources of data for the study were girls (school girls, domestic workers, and girls engaged in commercial sex) and other key informants from concerned governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were employed to gather information through questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews with girls, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. A total of 772 informants took part in the study.

Major findings on sexual abuse

- Looking into the nature and magnitude of sexual abuse on girls in Addis Ababa, it was found out that a significant proportion of girls (66.6%) reported to have encountered different forms of sexual abuse. In other words, 6 out of 10 girls in the city face sexual abuse in one or another form in everyday life. Verbal abuse and explicit approach for sexual intercourse were mentioned as the commonly experienced forms of sexual abuse.
- Examining the distribution of sexual abuse across sub cities, the highest percentage (14.7%) was observed in Kolfe Keranio sub city followed by Addis Ketema sub city (13.0%) and Yeka sub city (12.4%). With regard to forced sexual intercourse (rape), the problem was more prevalent in Addis Ketema and Arada sub cities followed by Yeka, Gulele, and Kirkos sub cities.
- Unlike rape and other forms of sexual abuses which entail physical injuries, sexual harassment with all its varieties seem to have been widely conceived by the girls themselves in particular and the public at large as ‘normal’.
- The study found out that every setting, be it family (home), neighborhoods, schools, streets and work places seem to be unpredictably unsafe for young girls. The home setting is another hidden but emerging environment where girls face sexual abuse. It also appeared that girls are mostly abused by perpetrators whom they are familiar with, though the degree of relationship and acquaintance may vary.

- Deception by perpetrators was reported to be the main factor by the majority of the interviewed girls (56.7%) while 29.95 reported a combination of factors like peer influence, drug use and abuse, and economic problems, girl behaviors, dependence on men, etc as the reasons exposing girls to sexual abuse.
- Although all girls regardless of their background can be at risk of being sexually abused, certain vulnerable groups of girls to sexual abuse were identified. Accordingly, girls from poor families, girls from broken families, street children, and domestic workers/housemaids, girls with disability, girls lacking confidence and assertiveness and young girls below the age of 15 were listed as the most vulnerable groups to sexual abuse.
- The strategies used by perpetrators to abuse girls include deception (28.6%), inviting girls to recreational places (20.7%), providing gifts and other material offers (15.5%), using force (9.7%), threatening (7.6%), using power (7.0%), and snatching properties (3%) and using friends of girls /go between (2.4%). Qualitative data obtained from key informants and focus group discussions depicted that using power or position to subdue girls, using friends and classmates as intermediaries, inciting with gifts and other material benefits, threatening girls were the mechanisms used by perpetrators to abuse girls
- Sexual abuse of girls often takes place in different settings. Accordingly, quantitative data revealed that girls are exposed to sexual abuse in the neighborhood environment as reported by 32.3%, school (20%), streets (19.3%), home environment (13.8%), and bars/cafes (9.6%). Work places and friends' houses were reported by 4.5% and 3.3% respectively. Qualitative data also showed that schools and their families, mini-shops often called 'Arkebe Shops' around schools where *shisa*, *chat* and cigarettes are sold as places that expose many girls to sexual abuse.
- The findings of the study revealed that over half of the respondents (51.8%) kept the incidence of sexual abuse secret while the remaining 48.2% reported the cases to different people. The majority (42.4%) shared it to their intimate friends, followed by siblings (19.6%) and 11.4% reported to the legal enforcement bodies.
- The findings also highlighted that, though magnitude is low, some cultural practices such as female genital cutting and abduction (early marriage) are still practiced in Addis Ababa. This is mainly attributed to the fact that residents of Addis Ababa belong to different sub-cultures and those living in the peripheries of the city practice semi-rural lifestyle.
- The study explored different adverse effects of sexual abuse such as feeling of powerlessness and loss of trust in the relationship (31%) poor performance in school (17.7%), unwanted pregnancy and abortion (13.1%), sexually transmitted diseases (0.9%), loss of job (1.2%) and drug addiction (0.9%).

Findings on Commercial Exploitation of Girls

- The study found out that the majority of girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation (69.6%) reported to have started commercial sex work between the ages of 13-15, 22.9% of them started the work when they were as young as 12 years old (the lowest reported age),

and only 15.5% were over the age of 15 at the time of first entry into commercial sex work. Regarding the place of origin, the majority (70.5%) migrated from other regions of the country while nearly one third (29.2%) of them were born and brought up in Addis Ababa.

- The study explored the reasons for migration of children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation from their home to Addis Ababa. Accordingly, the majority (64%) migrated in search of employment opportunity in the city, 50% stated conflict with their family as a major reason, and 30.2% claimed to have been deceived by brokers or traffickers. Another 24.4% of the respondents reported death of parents and glamorous city life as major reasons.
- The study found out that domestic child trafficking is predisposing girls into commercial sex work. Data obtained from Child Trafficking Protection Unit revealed that from 2004-2007, 2243 children (66.7% females) were trafficked from rural areas and small towns to Addis Ababa.
- The study found out that migration of girls to Addis Ababa is assisted by other actors. Except 30.5% of the female children, the rest came to Addis Ababa with some one- family member, relatives or person actually involved in trafficking of children.
- The number of customers visiting girls engaged in commercial sex work varies depending on their category and place of work. Children working on the streets and brothels get more customers than those that work in hotels. The majority (57.9%) of hotel girls get 4-6 customers per week while 43.3% working on the streets and 46.7% working in brothels claimed to have slept with at least 7-10 customers per week.
- Those child commercial sex workers who operate without the knowledge of their families or relatives maintain regular contact with them in the form exchanging letters or occasional visits. Whereas those girls engaged in sex work with knowledge of their parents stated that their relationship with parents/families is either very limited or none.
- A number of factors which forced girls to begin sex work were mentioned. About 52.4% of the girls begun commercial sex work due to peer pressure. Lack of alternative employment opportunity, the role of traffickers and poverty were reported by 37.7%, 24.6% and 23.8% of the respondents respectively. In short the study revealed that economic reasons, early marriage, peer influence, and family disorganization (divorce, separation or annulment) as push and pull factors for girls to indulge into commercial sex work.
- Looking into the major problems encountered by children exposed to commercial exploitation, 75.4% of the respondents mentioned clients' refusal to use condom as the most serious problems and 64.7% mentioned clients' request for unconventional sex as a major problems. The qualitative data gathered from key informants and focus group discussion also revealed that customers' refusal to pay money, physical and sexual violence, and deception were mentioned as common problems encountered by the children exposed to commercial sex work.

- Majority (88.1%) of girls engaged in commercial sex work, claimed that they worry about HIV/AIDS in everyday life. However, when consistent use of condom and exposure to unwanted pregnancy was examined, the findings clearly indicated that unprotected sex among the sex workers is still prevalent.

The majority (74.8%) expressed regret for engaging in such stigmatizing business, 25.2% had not regretted for engaging in commercial sex work showing that child sexual exploitation has become necessary social evil. More than half of the respondents (58.1%) had the plan to change their job while another 20.5% had no plan to quit commercial sex work.

- Fragmented anecdotal evidences showed the existence of child pornography and sex tourism in Addis Ababa. The study revealed that one third (28.8%) of the girls engaged in commercial sex encountered a request from their customers (Ethiopians and foreigners) to be recorded or photographed while necked. Out of those who encountered pornographic requests, slightly below half (44.1%) of the girls reported they had agreed to the request. Concerning the frequency of sexual contact they had with foreign customers, 34.6% of the respondents had sex only once, and equal percentage of girls (34.6%) had frequent contacts (at least three times and more) with foreign customers.
- About 18.6% of the girls confirmed they had seen the pornographic films produced in Ethiopia. Key informants and focus group discussants also indicated that the demand for watching (through computers and underground video houses) has increased. Children are involved in distributing sex films and pornographic materials in open markets as well.
- It was also found out that girls engaged in commercial sex work choose foreign customers for a number of reasons (foreign customers are willing to pay large sum of money; they are considered less abusive than the Ethiopian customers; never deceive them; and the girls need to establish relationship that may lead to marriage and journey to Arab countries, Europe or America.

PART I

BACKGROUND AND METHODS

Chapter One: Background of the Study

1.1. Introduction

Sexual abuse and exploitation of children is one of the fastest growing social evils in the country. The available studies regarding the prevalence, magnitude and forms of sexual abuse and exploitation of children in Ethiopia are generally limited in coverage and usually focus on specific groups and locations. Although a number of studies, some as far back as the early 90's, have been carried out on the problems of the sexual abuse and the commercial sexual exploitation of young girls; many of these studies have not gone beyond providing a sketchy detail of the problem in some selected towns and cities in the country with no nationwide studies thus far. Let alone a nationwide study, the capital of the nation, with arguably the largest share of children subjected to such problems, has not been, as to date, the target of any comprehensive study on the extent of the problem. Even in the absence of any comprehensive studies, however, the picture painted by the sketchy and at times very limited studies that have been conducted thus far is still harrowing.

Sexual abuse and exploitation is an extremely human rights violation which needs due attention and urgent intervention. Thus, the national and international agencies working on child rights issues have been designing and implementing various activities in order to mitigate the problem. Various international and national legal instruments are also adopted and came into force in the country to protect children from all forms of abuse and exploitation. Even with the adoption of these instruments, violence - physical, psychological and sexual - is still an especially pernicious problem in the country in general and in the city of Addis Ababa in particular. Several studies showed that girls are particularly vulnerable because of physical differences, the influence of traditional values, and tolerance of domestic violence directed at them.

1.2 Sexual Abuse Against Girl Children

Several empirical evidences suggested that the sexual abuse as well as the commercial sexual exploitation of children is very rampant in Ethiopia. . One recent study conducted in five regional states (Amhara, Oromia, SNNPR, Tigray Addis Ababa) by African Child Policy Forum (ACPF) covered the state of violence against children in Ethiopia including sexual violence. The findings from this study indicate the prevalence of all types of sexual violence including rape, sexual harassment and abduction in all the study sites with limited variations between urban and rural as well as between different cultural groups (MOLSA, 2005)

In a study conducted in some selected Woredas of Addis Ababa in 1999, it was found out that an estimated number of 3 girls are raped each day in each of the woredas in Addis Ababa resulting in a total of 30,660 rape cases every year. The study also showed that 78% of the girls

in schools expressed fear of rape as they have been repeatedly threatened by male counterparts. In the same study, 74% of the girls reported that they were harassed daily (EWLA, Cited in MCDP, 2002).

A study in the city of Adama also indicates that 161 cases of sexual abuse were reported to the Adama Hospital Child Abuse and Neglect Unit alone between April 2005 – June 2006 out of which the majority of victims were young girls between the ages of 7 – 12 but in some cases, as young as 2 years old (ACFF, 2006). Another study conducted in Bahir Dar shows that 80% of the female students interviewed reported incidences of sexual harassment or abuse in schools mainly by male students (but at times teachers as well) with students forcing or threatening and enticing through gifts and the like. The study also depicted that no measures are taken against perpetrators and even where measures are taken, they often don't go beyond warnings given by the school principals or the police to the offender (FSCE 2005). Such incidents however are not limited to the school environment, as the same group of students also reported incidents outside of the school as well.

In a related development, a study conducted by the ACPF and SC-Sweden (2006) showed that Children participated in the study reported that they know of cases of abduction (60.8 percent), rape (52.2 percent), seduction (42.5 percent), sexual harassment (33.2 percent) and unwanted sexual advance (33.2 percent), experienced by other children. About 48 percent and 38.7 percent of the children indicated that they personally know of cases of early marriage and FGM, respectively. Mean while, a study in Dire Dawa (FSCE 2001) states that forceful sexual violation have been steadily decreasing mainly because female students are ready to engage in sexual activity willingly mainly for its monetary and other benefits.

Perhaps the most comprehensive evidence comes from a publication of the African Child Policy Forum (ACPF) on the state of Violence against girls, including sexual violence, in Ethiopia (2006). According to this study nearly seven out of ten girls in Ethiopia are sexually abused and three out of ten girls will be raped at least once before reaching the age of eighteen while slightly less than half (46%) of the girls in the study reported that they were raped three to ten times. In addition to this apparent multiple incidence of rape, more than 8 out of ten girls were victims of all the three most common forms of sexual abuse observed in the country; i.e., verbal abuse, child molestation (touching and fondling of a sexual nature) as well as rape – apparently the first two often leading up to the third with almost all (97%) of those who were verbally abused being raped at a later date.

According to the same study, abuses occur within the school, the home and environs as well as in the community leading one to the belief that there are literally no safe places for girls. Perpetrators of abuse are often male friends, adult male neighbors and strangers but at times, shockingly enough; close family members including fathers and brothers. The common practice of allowing male and female siblings to sleep with in the same bed, often because of inadequate spaces in the home and tradition can at times contribute to the occurrence of such sexual abuses.

1.3 Reporting of Abuses

As far as reporting abuses is concerned, ACPF (2006) indicates that an overwhelming majority of incidents (83%) went unreported and even in the few cases where there is reporting, it is rarely to the police, with victims often reporting to siblings and relatives or friends. Such evidence casts a critical doubt on the validity of using police and hospital sources for estimating the magnitude of sexual abuses since it is fairly obvious that a huge proportion of the incidents of sexual abuse often go untold. Such under reporting in turn works to exacerbate the problem by failing to ensure for the appropriate punishment of perpetrators since their crime goes unnoticed and unpunished and further complicates the severe psycho-social effects victims suffer by opting to keep the incident untold and untreated.

1.4 Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Child Trafficking

Studies conducted in some of the major urban centers of the country also present estimates that are, although a little out of date, indicative of the wide spread nature of the problem of the sexual exploitation of young girls and trafficking in young girls for commercial gain through prostitution. Quoting a study by Save the Children-Norway, the National Steering Committee on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children in its National Action Plan estimates the number of child commercial sex workers in Addis Ababa in 2003 to be 6,000.

Quite a number of other studies also show that young girls working as domestic maids are particularly prone to sexual abuse, often committed by the male house hold head of the family or their male children. According to a study by UNICEF, 60% of child domestic workers report such sexual harassment (UNICEF 2003, cited in FSCE, 2005). This rampant sexual abuse, together with the harsh and demanding nature of work as a domestic maid coupled with the poor pay is often a major push factor which leads girls to go into full-fledged commercial sex work. According to a study by FSCE (2005), 64% of the child sex workers interviewed in Bahir Dar had tried out life as domestic servants before moving into the business of prostitution. A study commissioned by Children Aid Ethiopia (CHAD-ET) on the migration routes and patterns of young girls engaged in commercial sex work also asserts that domestic service is often the first available and socially acceptable option of employment for girls migrating to cities and towns in search of a better life. But the hard and demanding nature of the work, coupled with the rampant level of abuse (both physical and sexual) that domestic maids are subjected to at their young age often drives them out to try out a life in prostitution in the absence of any other available options of survival. Ethiopia has one of the highest rates of child labor in the world and one-half of all 5 to 14 year-olds (more than 7.5 million children in absolute terms), work in some form of economic activity in the 2001 (Guarcello et al, 2006),

In most cases, domestic work is the only available employment opportunity to young girls who are often lacking in education, skills and without the benefits of familial and social networks. This apparent lack of employment opportunities for young Ethiopians, especially girls migrating from rural areas to urban centers is challenging. In a country where, according to the World Bank (2004) only about 40% of Ethiopian children complete primary education and just 13% are enrolled in secondary education means they do so with little or no potentials and

capacities for entry into the limited labor market. Perhaps this is the most important factor predisposing such girls into life choices that result in their exposure to sexual exploitation and the physical, sexual, psychological abuses and social stigma associated with it.

The high demand of clients for young girls engaged in prostitution for a variety of reasons which include the relatively cheaper costs the young girls charge for sexual services, their greater obedience, politeness and compliance owing to their inexperience and little negotiating power and the belief of some clients who are in the hunt for virgin girls or look for child prostitutes to minimize their risk of contracting HIV has further exacerbated the market for trafficking children for sexual purposes in the country (Yohannes,1998).

A national study on in-county trafficking in women and girls shows that 26.8% of children included in the study were victims of trafficking (MOLSA, 2005). Another study conducted by FSCE in Shashemene and Dilla Towns also indicated that a little under one-fifth of child prostitutes were victims of trafficking (FSCE, 2003). In both reports, children were trafficked mainly due to economic reasons. The perpetrators of the practice include owners of bars, hotels and brothels, brokers, relatives, bus drivers and etc who travel to other towns or send someone else to recruit and bring girls to work as commercial sex workers. The more vulnerable group of children susceptible to sexual abuse and exploitation include child domestic workers, street children and child prostitutes (ANNPCAN, 2003).

Some studies confirmed that even though poverty is not the only contributing factor for child trafficking, mostly children from destitute families are said to be the ones who are more vulnerable to the problem. Traffickers often take the advantage of the immaturity of the children and their low bargaining power to win them. A study conducted by IOM maintains:

Children and young women, 8 to 24 years of age appear to be more vulnerable to internal trafficking. Traffickers mostly target those who are less powerful and more vulnerable. They target these groups since they are more susceptible to be misguided and misinformed about the promises of better opportunities in destination places. In effect, they are highly demanded for the purpose of cheap domestic labor and for the informal sex industry in big cities. Moreover, they are largely considered to be docile, malleable and hardworking. In the sex trade, it is believed that children are less exposed to HIV infection as a result; many clients are beginning to prefer children to adults (IOM (2006:32)).¹

Some cultural practices such as early marriage and FGM have also contributed their share in pushing young girls to migrate to urban centers not only in search of better opportunities but also in an attempt to flee from such cultural practices. The findings of the same study on the migration patterns of children engaged in commercial sex work indicate that the bulk of the migrant girls who eventually ended up in sex work have had a test of early marriage before deciding to unilaterally divorce or separate from their spouses.

¹ IOM (2006), Assessment of Trafficking in Women and Children in and from Ethiopia, p.32

1.5 Policy and Legal Framework

The Ethiopian constitution, adopted in December 1995, is a supreme legal framework that granted overall legal protection of citizens. Article 36 of the Constitution addressed the rights of children, fully endorsing the UN Convention on the rights of the Child (UNCRC). Ethiopia ratified the UNCRC to provide the best possible legal protection for children and made it part of the law of the country through proclamation number 10/92 (FSCE 2007).² The Ethiopian Government also ratified African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child in order to address the special condition of children that need immediate measures in the African context. Among others, the convention firmly underlined the obligations of state parties in materializing the provisions for the betterment of children in every nation. For instance, article 19 stipulated that “state parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical and mental violence, injury or abuse or neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent (s) legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child”.

In light of translating these common legal frameworks into practical actions, several policies, administrative guidelines and action plans have been formulated and designed by various duty bearers endowed with the mandate to protect the welfare of children. For instance, the Social Welfare Policy of Ethiopia broadly addresses the protection of children in general and those under difficult circumstances in particular. The cultural policy of Ethiopia also addresses the issue of eradicating harmful traditional practices affecting children. Such harmful traditional practices could be the causes, predisposing factors or manifestations of SAEC (MOLSA, 2005). Besides the above policy instruments, a set of national action plans relevant to the promotion and protection of rights of children have also been prepared by the Ethiopian government and some of them are in the process of implementation. A National Action Plan against Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children was also developed for the years 2006-2010 by the National Steering Committee on Sexual Abuse and exploitation of Children (which was established in 1997 and composed of government and non government actors committed to address the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation of children in the country) The National Action Plan contains key prevention and rehabilitation strategies to curb the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation of children.

The revised criminal code adopted by the house of people’s representatives in July 2004 became effective in 2005. The provisions of the criminal code relating to the forms of sexual abuse of children have been improved compared to the corresponding provisions of the 1957 penal code. The improvements include, increased punishment for rape and sexual outrage on children including life imprisonment in aggravated cases, more protection to child victims of sexual abuse between the ages of 15 and 18 including removal of the defense of subsequent

² According to Article 34, of the UNCRC, state parties are committed to undertake efforts to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. It specifically indicates that state parties in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral, and multilateral measures to prevent the inducement, coercion of the child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity; the exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices and the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

marriage in case of rape and sexual outrage on child girls, increased punishment for abduction of children for the purpose of prostitution, and aggravation of the offence of enslavement where the victim is a child. These changes as well as the reaffirmation of useful contents of the new repealed 1957 penal code could be seen as opportunities in the content of the law available to deter and prosecute perpetrators of SAEC (MOLSA, 2005).

The new criminal code also introduces new offences, one of which constitutes trafficking of minors. Articles 635-638 of the criminal code deal with trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation. The articles stipulate,

Whoever, for gain, or to gratify the passions of another,

- a) traffics in women or minors whether by seducing them , by enticing them or by procuring them or otherwise inducing them to engage them in prostitution , even with their consent, or*
- b) keeps such a person in a brothel to let her out to prostitution ,is punishable with rigorous imprisonment not exceeding five years and fine not exceeding ten thousand birr, subject to the application of more sever provisions , especially where there is concurrent illegal restraint (IOM, 2006).*

Although the Ethiopian government has ratified the CRC, African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and adopted other national policies, the implementation appears less than satisfactory. The government report (the third periodic report) submitted to a Geneva-based committee admits a lot of the problems of implementation of the CRC. It identified problems and constraints in relation to each cluster of articles (CRDA, 2006).

Overall, sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of girls is a serious crime and violation of their rights that needs to be given serious attention by government and the general public. Though adequate and reliable information/data is often very important to facilitate and support the required endeavor, paucity of data in the country in general and in Addis Ababa in particular is a serious concern. Cognizant of this fact, FSCE found it imperative to undertake a comprehensive study on the “Situation of Sexual Abuse and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls in Addis Ababa.” This study covered a wide range of issues related to sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of girls, such as sexual outrage (rape), sexual harassment, FGM, early marriage and abduction, child prostitution (child survival sex work), child trafficking for sexual purpose, child pornography, and child sex tourism. The case of sexual abuse was studied in all sub cities in Addis Ababa while commercial sexual exploitation was specifically assessed in eight sub cities that have already been identified by FSCE and as outlined in the terms of reference.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to explore the situation of sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of girls in Addis Ababa with a view to avail an up-to-date data information about the problem. The research is basically designed to stimulate further interventions by feeding front line practitioners with empirical information about the magnitude, causes and effects of the problem and put forward viable recommendations. Specifically, the study addresses the following objectives:

- To assess the magnitude and scope of sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of girls in Addis Ababa;
- To identify the root causes of the problems;
- To understand the trend and direction of the problem;
- To identify the effects of the problem on child victims;
- To assess and identify major forms of abuses committed; and
- To come up with workable suggestions and recommendations that facilitates action-oriented activities at various levels to prevent and rehabilitate sexually abused and exploited girl children in the town.

1.7 Definition of Terms

The study adopted the following definitions of terms from various sources, and mainly as provided in the Declaration and Agenda for Action of the World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children issued in 1996 and extracted from ECPAT's information booklet, 2001.

A Child: According to article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, a child refers to a person under 18 years of age.

Child Sexual Abuse: Sexual activity involving persons younger than 18 years of age. Most often perpetrated by an adult, such activities include rape and molestation, sexual harassment, and exposure of children to the sexual acts of others (National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect Information, 1996).

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children refers to the fundamental violation of children's right that comprises sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or third person or persons. The child is treated as sexual and commercial object. The commercial sexual exploitation of children constitutes prostitution, pornography, trafficking for sexual purposes and child sex tourism (ECPAT, 2001)

Child Prostitution: The use of child in sexual activities for remuneration or any other form of consideration (ECPAT, 2001).

Child Trafficking: Trafficking consists of all acts involved in the recruitment or transportation of children within or across borders, involving deception, coercion or force, debt bondage or fraud for the purpose of placing the child in situation of abuse or exploitation, such as forced

prostitution, slavery-like practices, battering or extreme cruelty, sweatshop labor or exploitative domestic services (ECPAT, 2001).

Child Sex Tourism: is the commercial sexual exploitation of children by persons who travel from their own country to another usually less developed country to engage in sexual acts with children.(source: information booklet by ECPAT international, 2001):

Child Pornography is any visual or audio material which uses children in a sexual context. It consists of the visual depiction of children intended for the sexual gratification of the user, and involves the production, distribution and/or use of such material (WCCSEC, 1996).

1.8 Challenges and Limitations of the Study

In this study, the main data sources for studying sexual abuse were school girls (regular and evening students). This means that the study did not cover out of school girls. The inclusion of evening students (most of them house maids) enabled the researchers to get insight into the larger population of girls not attending school during regular day program. Age was another challenge encountered in selecting girls (especially those involved in commercial sexual exploitation) for interview. There was no way to verify self reported age of girls and the researchers relied on such self reports and impressionistic judgments. The other challenge encountered was reluctance and/or resistance of many respondents for interview. The enumerators involved in the study reported problems they encountered to convince school girls for interview. This was worse among sexually exploited girl children and their accomplices. For instance, information on the perspectives of bar/brothel owners (*baluka*) was barely limited for the main reason that those who were approached were not willing to share their views. A case in point was the attempt made to organize a focus group discussion (in collaboration with CHAD-ET), with women literally called *baluka* - ex-commercial sex workers who are brothel owners and make a living by renting part of their rooms for child prostitutes. The researchers did their best to conduct FGDs with them, but to no avail. Similarly, many girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation were also reluctant to be interviewed as they are fade up with requests to be informants by other similar research projects which they did not reap practical/immediate benefits.

Chapter Two: Methodology

This study used primary quantitative and qualitative data and supplemented with an extensive review of related literature. In view of obtaining valid and reliable data and entertaining wider perspectives of the issues under consideration, combinations of diverse techniques were employed. Detail description of the entire processes and procedures pursued in the execution of the study follow here under.

2.1 Preliminary Review and Preparation

At this preliminary stage, the research researchers undertook several steps to explore background information on the premise that it would facilitate the smooth and meaningful operation of the study. Before embarking on designing instruments and data collection, extensive literature (past researches on the topic of interest, workshop proceedings, relevant books, journals and other related documents) were thoroughly reviewed.

As part and parcel of the preliminary assessment a consultative discussion was held with FSCE staff on some technical aspects of the study. Moreover, the researchers attempted to familiarize themselves holding informal discussions and introductory conversations with some key informants, making transect walks in parts of the city with high concentration of commercial sexual workers and visiting Drop in Centers run by FSCE, CHADET and IFSO. This exploratory study enormously helped the researchers comprehend the existing reality on the ground and created fertile pathways in designing accurate procedures and approaches. These steps eventually led the researchers to identify appropriate sites (locations) of the study, filter out various categories of participants, and determine the sample size and design suitable data collection tools.

2.2 Identifying Locations and Participants

The main sources of information for sexual abuse were girls (under the age of 18) in Addis Ababa. Thus, it is virtually unarguable that girls under this age category live in every corner of the city. However, the challenge here was on how to reach and represent the girls in the study from all the sub cities in Addis Ababa. Schools at various levels were found to be ideal places to access as many girls as possible. Another valid rationale is that schools, mainly in the evening program, admit a large number of domestic workers, who are very difficult to reach otherwise.³ Accordingly, schools (at primary and secondary levels) and some institutions working with abused children were taken as the primary locations to reach respondents for exploring the problem of sexual abuse. While identifying the schools, a recently updated list was obtained from the Addis Ababa Administration Education Bureau and primary and secondary schools were selected from all sub cities representing four categories (clusters), i.e. private, missionary, and public and government.

³ Targeting schools was an advantage to reach as many “invisible” groups of girls (like housemaids) as possible, who are mostly vulnerable to trafficking, sexual abuse and other forms of gender-based domestic violence.

On the other hand, identification of girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation was designed differently. As understood from the preliminary assessment, there were girls who were exposed to commercial sexual exploitation in almost all sub cities. However, it appeared that some sub cities, if not all, harbor peculiar places where the practice of commercial sex and exploitation are rampant and commonly known by public at large. Places like Merkato (*Sebategna* and *Gojam Berenda*) situated in Addis Ketema sub city; Arat Kilo (*Irri bekentu*) Piasa (*Doro Manekia*) located in Arada sub city *Chechinia* firm Bole sub city; and *Kasanchis* and *filwoha* area partly from Kirkos and partly form Yeka sub city are some of familiar locations identified with high concentration of girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation. Although more emphasis was given to these particular places, some other girls exposed to the commercial sexual exploitation were identified from eight sub cities. Therefore, child prostitutes working in hotels/bars, brothels and on the street corners were identified and included in the study.

2.3 Sampling Procedure

Depending on the nature of the problem and types of instruments administered, a combination of random and purposive sampling techniques were used to select respondents. The sampling method used to identify informants for all qualitative components of the study (key informant interview, in-depth interview and focus group discussions) was purposive. Stratified random sampling was used to administer questionnaire on sexual abuse among school girls (under the age of 18 and from grade 5-10). About 500 girls were randomly selected both from regular and evening classes to respond to the structured questionnaire. A multi-staged stratified sampling procedure was followed to systematically identify a representative sample of girls from selected schools. First schools were clustered into four categories (private, missionary, public and government). As the number of schools included under these categories was not evenly distributed in the ten sub cities, the consultants realized randomization at this particular stage may not serve the purpose. Instead, a proportional and purposive approach was employed to select schools from each category. This was followed by stratification of sections from grades 5-10 in the selected schools and subsequently one or two sections were identified with a simple random sampling (using a lottery method) from each grade. Finally, the students were selected with a systematic random sampling technique (identifying every n^{th} number from the list of female students in the rosters obtained from the homeroom teachers of each selected sections). The types of schools chosen and the grades and number of respondents selected are indicated in the following table.

Table 1: Types of Schools and Grade Levels Stratified By Sub City

No	Name of school	Type of School	Sub city	Grade	Number of girls selected
1	Medhanyalem Primary School	Government	Gulele	6	50
2	Addis Ketema Secondary School	Government	Addis Ketema	10	22
3	Kality Primary School	Government	Akaki kality	5	50

4	Nazateth School	Missionary	Arada	9	37
5	Awolia Secondary School	Missionary	Kolfe kerano	10	50
6	Karamara Primary School	Public	Lideta	8	50
7	Atse Zerayakob Primary and Junior Secondary School	Public	N.Silk Lafto	7	25
8	Yelibe Fana primary school	Public	Bole	6	29
9	Fountain of knowledge	Private	Kirkos	9	17
10	School of Tomorrow	Private	Yeka	8	32
11	Yekatit 23 Secondary School	Government	Addis Ketema	10	28
12	Fnot Primary and Junior Secondary School	Public	Yeka	8	18
13	Bole High School	Government	Bole	9	21
14	Minelik Secondary School	Government	Arada	9	13
15	Agazian No.1 Primary School	Public	Nefasilk lafto	7	25
16	Dil Chora Primary School	Public	Kirkos	5	33
	Total				500

As far as the selection of girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation is concerned, the researchers relied more on the purposive approach for a couple of valid reasons. On the one hand, owing to the clandestine nature of the work, there is a dearth of information on the accurate number of child commercial sex workers in Addis Ababa as elsewhere in the country. Hence, this situation significantly makes the drawing of representative sample less likely. Secondly, because of the stigma attached to the commercial sex work and as well as fear of the legal consequences against the practice (particularly among the employers/bar, hotel or kiosk owners), approaching these girls at random was not practically feasible as many of them were reluctant to participate in the study. Taking these facts into account, the researchers resorted to use few accomplices or peer research assistants from among the child commercial sex workers, from each location and each category of girls and rapport was established accordingly. Then, it was made possible to reach girls with a snowballing method through their own connections while maintaining the representation in each sub city. Accordingly, 122 child commercial sex workers were identified from eight sub cities to respond to the structured questionnaire and additional 22 in-depth/ life history interviews were conducted. It is understandable that the sample size is not representative enough for the total population of girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation in Addis Ababa for it was difficult to locate and convince more number of respondents. Since the quantitative data is triangulated with extensive qualitative information, it is believed that the study will serve as a benchmark for those involved in ameliorating the problem of girls exposed to sexual exploitation.

2.4 Designing Data Collection Instruments

In general, five types of instruments were developed and administered to obtain quantitative and qualitative data about the themes under consideration. These include: structured questionnaire on sexual abuse, structured questionnaire on commercial sexual exploitation of girls, in-depth interview for sexually exploited girls, focus group discussion checklist for different groups of informants and key informant interview guides.

The instruments were framed in line with the objectives and core thematic areas outlined in the ToR. Structured questionnaires were designed primarily for the purpose of obtaining quantitative information and to generate a bench mark data on the status of sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation of girls in Addis Ababa. Interview and focus group discussion and key informant interview guides were developed in order to substantiate the quantitative findings with qualitative information. Furthermore, the questionnaires were pre-tested to check the relevance, appropriateness and clarity of the items in the questionnaires and the necessary modifications were made. During the entire processes of data collection, the consultants closely supervised the work of enumerators and checked the validation of the data and proper completion of the questionnaires.

2.5 Data Collection Procedures

Questionnaire Survey

As mentioned earlier, two types of questionnaires were designed and administered in order to obtain quantitative data from a sample of 500 school girls and 122 child commercial sex workers. Ten enumerators were recruited to fill out the questionnaires in ten selected schools representing each Sub City. The enumerators were all females. Some of them (four) hold BA degree in sociology, psychology and law and others (six) were graduating class students from Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology. Before the commencement of the data collection, intensive orientation was given to them on the interviewing procedures and on the contents of the questionnaires. After orientation, they were deployed into their respective sub city to interview girls in the schools assigned to them with the close supervision of the consultants. All data collectors were trained to follow the following procedures as major steps to identify and interview respondents from schools.

Steps followed to identify sample respondents from schools:

- a. Collect a supporting letter from the researchers to get permission and facilitate data collection in the school.
- b. Contact the school masters or any other authorized body in the school; explain them about the purpose of the study and the procedure on how to go about selecting the students.
- c. Select a section/s from the grade assigned.
- d. Contact and consult the home room teacher/s of the section/s chosen to get the list of female students in the class.

- e. Using the list, arrange the students name or roll number in an ascending order and select 25 female students from regular and 25 female students from evening class. (make sure that students from different age groups and same sub city are included.)

Procedures and ethical issues followed in the process of an interview: The enumerators were also oriented to stick to the following ethical issues while completing the questionnaires:

- a. At the outset, introduce oneself to the student and clearly explain the purpose and significance of the study.
- b. Obtain the consent of the respondent. If the girl is not willing, then go for another student from the same class or another section.
- c. Keep the questionnaire anonymous (no need of writing the name of the student) and inform the student that all information she provides will be handled with the greatest care and confidentiality to keep her identity anonymous)
- d. While filling out the questionnaire, keep the privacy of the student. Avoid filling out the questionnaire in a crowded or any other distracting environment.
- e. As much as possible, use convenient times (appointment agreed by the student) that may not affect class attendance.

Individual Interviews

In-depth and life history interviews were conducted with girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation. It is evident that conducting a research about very sensitive practices such as sex and sexuality presents enormous challenges as sexuality is not a subject which people feel comfortable discussing openly. However, a number of in-depth/life history interviews were carried out with girls exposed to sexual exploitation to obtain first hand information. This was made possible by recruiting peer research assistants among the girls themselves. As an insiders to the problem, these peer assistants were helpful in facilitating the rapport with fellow friends and coworkers which otherwise was hard to easily penetrate.

Unlike the survey questionnaire, which was filled out by enumerators, all the interviews were conducted by the researchers and three other research assistants one (female lawyer and one male-MA holder in sociology and another male MA student in foreign languages and communication) with extensive experience in interviewing and basic knowledge about the subject matter. While conducting interviews, it was attempted to seek divergent views and cover broader perspectives by approaching girls from various categories of child commercial sex workers such as street girls, girls working in bars or hotels and those working in brothels while living in their rented houses. Although efforts were made to approach girls working under the control of pimps and brokers, it was hardly possible to reach this group of child sex workers due to their unwillingness backed by a strong resistance from their employers. In general, from the categories of girls mentioned above a total of 22 informants (from various categories and sub cities) were interviewed and their stories analyzed and presented as cases and anecdotes ⁴. In some cases conversations were taped when agreed by the interviewee and

⁴ All the names mentioned as cases and anecdotes in this report are pseudonyms.

at times the interviewers took notes in a manner that did not destruct conversations, when they felt uncomfortable for taping.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus group discussions were held with different categories of informants, i.e. with a groups of school girls and boys including evening class students, with girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation (2 groups from street girls and one from those working in their own rented houses), CPU staff from all sub cities (social workers and police officers), teachers, brokers and community members. Each focus group was made up of 5-8 individuals except for the community groups where 15-25 individuals attended sessions held in two kebeles of different sub cities (Lideta and Addids Ketema) with the cooperation of local NGOs working on community based interventions. In total, 115 informants took part in the Focus group discussions. The community level discussion was just a community conversation session in which youth, adults (men and women including community, Idir, and religious leaders, Kebele administrators) actively participated.

While discussing with the children group (girls and boys) mainly between the ages of 12-18, different child-friendly tools such as problem tree exercise, case presentations, pare-wise ranking and daily routine exercises were used to stimulate their active participation. Involving boys in the group discussion helped the researchers to get the perspectives of male students about the sexual abuse as they spend their time together in the school and comprehend the gender aspect of sexual abuse against girls.

Interview with Key Informants

Unstructured and flexible interviews were also held with key informants from concerned government bodies, staff from non-governmental organizations and other professionals involved in prevention of sexual abuse and exploitation. Through key informant interviews, it was possible to get insight about the opinion of the duty bearers, partners involved in the prevention of sexual abuse and exploitation, assess their level of awareness and actions being taken against the problem, the level of partnership and networking, their strengths and limitations as well as opportunities and presumed threats for the future program intervention. The following are major key informants included in the interview:

Government bodies (Children and Mothers Department in the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Addis Ababa Civil and Social Affairs Bureau, Women's Affair Offices from some sub-cities, police/CPU, Prosecutor's Office, and the Courts)

Non Governmental Organizations like CHAD-ET, IFSO, FSCE, ECPAT East Africa Program, National Committee against Sexual Exploitation of Children, Joint Project of NGOs Working on Sexual Abuse and Exploitation, National Committee on Harmful Traditional Practices and Federation for Persons with Disability.

Table 2: Summary of Type and Number of Informants

S.N	Types of Instruments	Category of informants	Number of informants
1	Structured questionnaire on sexual abuse	School girls	500
2	Structured questionnaire on Commercial Sexual Exploitation	Girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation	122
3	Focus group discussion	School girls School boys Girls exposed to sexual exploitation Teachers CPU staff (police and community workers) Brokers Community groups	24 12 13 11 10 5 40
4	Key informant interviews	Governmental organizations Non-governmental (Civil Society Organizations)	15
5	Individual/life history interviews	Girls exposed to sexual exploitation	22
	Total		772

2.6 Data Analysis, Interpretation and Synthesis

As far as quantitative data is concerned, the recent version of the SPSS 15.0 software was used for data entry and analysis. The data was cleaned at two stages to maintain the quality and validity of the data. In the beginning of the data entry, all the questionnaires were manually checked for clarity. In the second stage, the database was electronically cleaned with the SPSS program to ensure proper entry of the information. Variable definition, data entry, compilation and statistical analysis were done by qualified personnel (demographers/applied statisticians) with long years of experience in data analysis.

With regards to FGDs and in-depth interviews, the collected data were transcribed and translated into English for analysis and then entered into the computer for coding. After repeatedly reading all the data, trends, patterns, regularities and contradictory explanations were identified, and the cut and paste method was used to generate coherent, meanings, themes, and issues at different levels of inference by using cross-case thematic analysis. Where necessary, the discussions and interpretation of the qualitative findings in the report were further explained and consolidated with anecdotes. Triangulation technique was also used to check the validity and reliability of the data and subsequently draw conclusions.

PART II FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Chapter Three: Findings on Sexual Abuse against Girls

This chapter provides descriptive analysis of quantitative and qualitative data on sexual abuse of girls in Addis Ababa. In the quantitative survey, a total of 500 girls (equal proportion from all sub cities) were recruited and interviewed using structured questionnaires. However, eight questionnaires were found incomplete and thus discarded. Therefore, the analysis that follows is based on a total of 492 informants.

3.1 Background of the Respondents

Table 3: Profile of the respondents

	Description	Frequency	%
Place of origin	Addis Ababa	325	66.1
	Outside Addis Ababa	167	33.9
	Total	492	100
Living arrangement	With both parents	216	43.9
	With mother only	54	11.0
	With father only	16	3.3
	With relatives	130	26.4
	Alone	11	2.2
	With friends	1	0.2
	Total	492	100
Occupational status	No occupation (not employed)	387	78.7
	Housemaid (domestic workers)	72	14.6
	Waitress	9	1.8
	Shop attendants	5	1.0
	Daily laborer	6	1.2
	Self employed	4	0.8
	Others	9	1.8
	Total	492	100

The age composition of respondents ranges from 11-18 with the mean age being 14.5. Looking into the place of origin of the respondents, the data in the table above indicates that the majority (66.1 %) were born and lived in Addis Ababa, while 33.6% of them migrated to Addis Ababa from other regions due to various reasons. Regarding the level of education of the respondents, as many as 285 (57.9%) of them attended primary schools from grade 5-8 while 207 (42.1%) attended high school from grade 9-10. Out of the sample population, a little over two third 310 (63%) of them attended regular classes and the remaining 182 (37%) attended evening classes. When we disaggregate the data by the type of school, 197 (40%) of the girls

were from government schools and 204 (41.4%) of them were from public schools. Those from private and missionary schools constituted 37(7.5%) and 54(10.9%) respectively

As far as the current living arrangement of the respondents is concerned, the higher percentage of respondents (43.9%) lived with both biological parents. A significant number of the respondents (26.4%) also lived with their relatives followed by those who lived with their employers (largely housemaids), which account for 13% of the total. About 11% of the respondents lived with families headed by mothers only while 3.3% stayed in families headed by fathers only. Data about the employment status of girls showed that the overwhelming majority 387 (78.7%), were not engaged in any occupation to earn income whereas, some 105 (21.3%) of the respondents perused their schooling while engaged in certain occupations (the highest proportion (14.6%) were employed as domestic workers).

3.2 Sexual Abuse of Girls: Its Nature and Magnitude in Addis Ababa

Respondents were asked if they experienced any form of sexual abuse so far. The data in table 4 revealed that except 164 (33.3%) of the respondents who did not report any sexual encounter, a significant number of girls 328 (66.6%) responded experiencing one or more type of sexual abuse. Closely, looking into the types of abuses encountered by this group of girls, virtually, large percentage (43.6%) of girls reported of verbal abuse or being spoken by someone in a sexual manner as one of the forms of abuse they mostly faced. Explicit request for sexual intercourse was also reported by 32.3% of the respondents. About 5.9 % encountered rape or attempted rape.. In a country where non-stigmatizing serious crimes are believed to be severely under-reported, this figure may be extremely inaccurate as expected for stigmatizing crime carried out secretly. Thus, the actual magnitude of rape could presumably be higher than reported by the respondents.

Table 4: Types of Sexual Abuses Encountered by Respondents

No.	Types of abuses	Counts	%	Valid %
1	Verbally abused/ Spoken to in a sexual manner	143	29.1	43.6
2	Explicitly approached for sexual intercourse	106	21.5	32.3
3	Encouraged or forced to expose private body parts	30	6.1	9.1
4	Encouraged or forced to look at or touch someone else's private body parts.	8	1.6	2.4
5	Touching, fondling, kissing or any other contact of a sexual nature	61	12.4	18.6
6	Encouraged or forced to have sexual intercourse (Rape or attempted rape)	29	5.9	8.8
7	Received verbal or written threats related to sexual request	67	13.6	20.4
8	Been humiliated in front of others in relation to a sexual request	13	2.6	3.9
9	Physically assaulted in connection with a sexual request	12	2.4	3.7
10	Other forms of harassment or abuse (showing vulgar signs, commenting on body posture in sexual manner, etc)	43	8.7	13.1
11	Never experienced any type of abuse	164	33.3	-

Taking the severity of the problem connected to rape into account, respondents were also asked to reflect their observations beyond the school surroundings. Accordingly, it was found out that nearly a quarter [113 (23%)] of the girls reported that they knew some children who were raped or escaped attempted rape over the last 12 month period in their community. When this figure was disaggregated in terms of the number of children they knew, 61% of them knew at least one girl, 24.7% knew about 2-5 girls and 14.3% knew as many as five children and more. Although this figure may not ensure a reliable judgment about the magnitude of rape, it gives an indication about how widespread the problem is in Addis Ababa.

Participants were asked about their age when the first sexual assault was perpetrated on them. Table 5 conveys the response of each type of abuse as cross-tabulated with the age range of participants at which they encountered first sexual abuse. According to the findings, the minimum age reported was 5 and the maximum was 18, making the average age of encounter 11.5. Further, about 20% of the responses depicted that substantial number of girls had encountered initial abuse while they were below the age of ten. Another 38.6% of the respondents indicated that they had encountered the first sexual offence when they were between the ages of 10-14, followed by 37.3 percent of older children between the ages of 15-18. On the other hand, a substantial number of respondents (5.9%) didn't remember their age at which they faced the first encounter. This situation may signify that either the children were too young to recall the first episode or have encountered a recurrent abuses of various types making it so intricate for girls to remember episodes they had encountered.

Table 5: Cross Tabulation of Type and Age at First Abuse

No	Types of abuses	Age at first abuse				Total count
		<10	10-14	15-18	Don't rem.	
1	Verbally abused/Spoken to in a sexual	33	60	41	9	143
2	Explicitly approached for sexual intercourse	22	45	36	3	106
3	Encouraged/Forced to expose private parts	12	14	3	1	30
4	Forced to look at someone's private parts	2	3	2	1	8
5	Contact/touching, fondling or kissing	10	28	18	4	61
6	Rape/attempted rape	3	14	9	3	29
7	Received verbal or written threats	2	17	43	5	67
8	Humiliated in front of others in sexual	2	6	5	0	13
9	Physically assaulted in sexual request	1	4	6	1	12
10	Other forms of abuse	0	14	25	4	43
	Total response counts	111 (17.9)	239 (38.6%)	231 (37.3)	37 5.9%	618 100%

In order to explore the recurrence of abuse, girls were asked as to how often they encountered sexual abuse over the past six month period, i.e. prior to the time of data collection. According to the data displayed in table 6, it was reported that no girl has experienced abuse in a form of exposing private parts, rape/attempted rape, humiliation in sexual request and physical assaults. Whereas, the data vividly showed that girls experienced the remaining sexual abuse types with

the frequency ranging from at least once to three times and more during the specified period. Among others, verbal abuse or being spoken in sexual manner, contact in the form of fondling, touching and kissing, as well as other forms of abuses like showing abusive signs of sexual nature or commenting on the body posture of girls etc were found to be the most recurrent forms of abuse reported by girls.

Table 6: Recurrence of Sexual Abuse Encountered in Six Months Period

No	Types of abuses	Once	Twice	Three times and more	None
1	Verbal abuse /Spoken to in a sexual manner/	39	91	77	142
2	Explicitly approached for sexual intercourse	28	41	32	5
3	Encouraged/Forced to expose private parts	-	-	-	30
4	Forced to look at someone's private parts	-	-	-	8
5	Contact/touching ,fondling or kissing	10	2	40	9
6	Rape/attempted rape	-	-	-	29
7	Received verbal or written threats	33	15	9	67
8	Humiliated in front of others in sexual request	-	-	-	13
9	Physically assaulted in sexual request			-	12
10	Other forms of abuse/harassment	5	5	23	10

The frequency of responses for each type of abuse was cross tabulated against ten sub cities and the distribution of sexual abuse was explored across the city. As depicted in the table below, from the aggregate response, the highest distribution (14.7%) was observed in Kolfe Keranio sub city followed by Addis Ketema sub city (13.0%) and Yeka sub city (12.4 %). As far as the distribution of forced intercourse (rape) is concerned, Addis Ketama and Arada sub cities were in the forefront followed by Yeka, Gulele and Kirkos sub cities. Interestingly enough, these findings somehow seem to be consistent with the statistical information on sexual abuse available in the Child Protections Units (CPUs) of all the sub cities and the Federal Supreme Court Juvenile Justice Project. For instance, aggregated data for three years (2005-2007) obtained from CPUs across the sub cities showed that Kolfe Keranio, Addis Ketema and Kirkos Sub Cities were among the top three sub cities with high rate of reported sexual abuse cases (104, 96 and 80 respectively). However, looking specifically into the data of each year, by each sub city, does not show consistent increase or decrease by sub city.⁵ This perhaps implies that there is no special sub city which is significantly and differently liable to sexual abuse of girls and the problem prevails in every sub city with very slight difference in magnitude.

⁵ See annex for a secondary data obtained from CPUs.

Table 7: Distribution of Types of Abuses by sub city

Type of Abuse by Sub City	1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*	8*	9*	10*	Aggregate	
											Count	%
Addis Ketema	26	13	4	-	13	5	10	2	1	7	81	13.0
Yeka	26	15	5	3	6	4	10	2	4	2	77	12.4
Gulele	27	12	2	-	5	4	6	1	1	9	67	10.8
K.Keranio	53	11	3	1	9	-	6	3	2	3	91	14.7
Bole	20	11	3	2	10	3	11	-	-	12	72	11.6
Liderta	26	12	2	1	7	2	8	-	2	2	62	10.0
N.S Lafto	7	10	3	-	4	-	4	4	1	-	33	5.33
Kirkos	23	8	2	-	1	4	6	-	1-	8	53	8.56
Arada	39	12	2	1	5	5	4	-	-	-	68	10.9
Akaki Kality	3	2	4	-	1	1	2	1	1	-	14	2.26
Total Count	257	106	30	8	61	29	67	13	12	43	619	100

*The numbers refer to the corresponding type of abuses as listed in the previous table

As qualitative information obtained from various key informants clearly indicate, sexual abuse of girls is not a new phenomenon in the city. Despite variations exist in the distribution of the problem in different sub cities, the prevalence rate as whole is on the rise and becoming a day-to-day incidence everywhere. Such persistent increase can be substantiated by the data obtained from some organizations such as Child Protection Units (CPUs), Regional Women’s Affairs office and some sub city administrations, which sadly attest that the magnitude of the problem is swelling from time to time. Referring to the three years’ report, one key informant from CPU main office in Addis Ababa Polic Commission indicated that 317 cases were reported in the year 2005, 379 in 2006 and 400 cases in 2007. Referring to the recent survey conducted by the office, another key informant, from Addis Ababa Women’s Affairs Office reported that about 529, 526 and 557 victims of sexual abuse were identified from the records of Addis Ababa police office in 2005, 2006 and 2007 respectively.

Expansion of places for young people to abuse substances particularly *chat* and *shisha* centers was attributed for drastic increase in the magnitude of the problem of sexual abuse. Regarding this issue, a key informant from Arada Sub City Administration stated, *in my age, young people used to chew chat in a friend’s home or hidden places. Nowadays, one can easily find places in every corner of the city furnished with private rooms for ‘shisha’ and chat services and operating as a hot cake business. In my opinion this situation is adversely contributing and creating easy accessibility of the drugs to the wider youth population in the city...we shouldn’t forget that these places also facilitate hell lots of evil deeds including sexual abuse of girls and boys....* Consistent with this idea, girls in some schools reported their worries connected to the

expansion of drug and liquor houses around the school environment,, which they literally call them places for trapping female students. It is possible that expansion of such places would increase the likelihood of girls to be trapped into it and also exacerbates the magnitude of sexual abuse in the city.

Apart from the ever increasing magnitude of the problem, certain peculiarities were also discovered in the trend of sexual abuse as narrated by many informants. Earlier, the public widely conceived that abusers were strangers or vagrants or persons having some sort of behavioral disorders and those out of family circle. Our informants claimed that the reality is different today and it is common to hear sexual offences being committed by a family member (father, brother, stepfather and other blood relatives), the very people who are entrusted to care and protect girls from any form of abuse. The idea shared by an informant from Addis Ababa Civil and Social Affairs Bureau was another major observation that associated the increasing trend of sexual abuse on young girls with the spread of HIV pandemic in the country. The expert narrated that, *in my view, an increase in the magnitude of sexual abuse of girls has something to do with the spread of HIV/AIDS. With the increasing threat of AIDS, some men seem to have shifted their preference to young girls assuming that these groups are less likely be infected with the virus.* This is consistent with the literature in many other countries as well (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/Sy2001.htm> on 21 June 2007).

3.3 Meaning, Perceptions and Attitudes

This research has also attempted to explore the views of informants, particularly girls, about the concept and meaning of sexual abuse seen from their own perspectives. Generally, the outcome of focus group discussion with girls and boys gives an impression that even though there are divergent views reflected on this issue, by and large, the level of understanding of the concept of sexual abuse seems incomplete at best and erroneous at worst. Most often, their explanations concentrated on the forms of abuse which are limited to the sexual contact or an intercourse perpetrated against the will of the girl child.

As anecdotal evidences below show, they all expressed misconceptions surrounding the term sexual abuse. For instance, in the focus group discussions held with boys and girls in Bole High School, there was heated debate among the participants, where the majority (8 out of 11 participants) had firm belief that consensual sex (regardless of the age of the girl) should not be regarded as sexual abuse. By the same token, the discussions held with girls in Saint Mary Catholic High School and Kality Primary School resulted in similar conclusions and about two-third of the participants misperceived the concept of sexual abuse. In a focus group discussion held with domestic workers (from Ethiopia Tikdem Primary School evening section) 16 year old girl said, *in my view, sexual offence happens only when the girl is raped and when that incidence exposes the girl for HIV infection or unwanted pregnancy. Since other forms of sexual offences like forced kissing, harassments ('lekefa'), etc are harmless; I would not perceive such acts as sexual abuse.*

Participants repeatedly reiterated that harassment is tolerable act and a 'normal' form of everyday interaction between males and females. Seventeen years old boy, from Kokebe Tsebah School maintained that, *...it is a day- to-day phenomenon in and outside our school.*

However, I have never thought of the case as a matter of serious concern since the girls themselves like it very much.... Surprisingly enough, similar views were also reflected from some girls. For instance, the following anecdote from a girl who attended Bole High School illustrates the prevailing perception. She said, *in my understanding, for some girls, sexual harassment could signify a sign of being loved, wanted for relationship or recognition by males. Hence, many girls, including me, are implicitly delighted when we receive harassment in the form of signaling comments on our body posture, facial complexion, etc...* Even though it is premature to generalize based on the above few and fragmented information, it gives a hint that some girls might face abuse even without being aware of the fact that their rights are violated. Moreover, it is also possible to deduce that the term sexual abuse is largely conceived as an act that results in severe consequences on victims (such as rape). Other forms of sexual abuse were perceived as trivial that should not deserve any attention.

3.4 Identity of Perpetrators

A question about the type of perpetrators was forwarded to the respondents and their responses are presented in a ranking order for each type of abuse. The findings in general confirmed that abusers appeared to be males from all walks of life. It was also understood from the data displayed in table 8 that in most of the cases, abusers seemed to be the ones who have some degree of acquaintance with the girls. Among others; friends, neighbors, teachers, strangers and family members were types of abusers most commonly reported by girls. When we look into each rank separately, the majority of abused girls, 94 (28.6%) identified friends as the first in the rank of abusers, followed by strangers and neighbors. Among those selected in the second place, neighbors took the leading position as perpetrators.

Table 8: Perpetrators in Ranking Order

Category of abusers	Girls' Response in a ranking order			Total response
	First	Second	Third	
Friends/boy friends	94	17	5	116
Strangers	82	27	-	109
Neighbors	46	70	18	134
Students in the school	28	2	27	57
Teachers	23	14	3	40
Family/relatives	-	4	8	12
Others (employers, husband, etc)	22	21	8	51

Identifying details of perpetrators was point of discussion with several key informants and FGD participants. Respondents unanimously reflected the fact that there is no ground to label a particular group of persons as perpetrators. Another issue highlighted by informants and perhaps day-to-day news these days is the case of sexual abuse in the family circle. In relation to this, some participants in the group discussion indicated that they know a number of girls who were abused by their family members or close relatives. One of the boys in the FGD indicated the following.

I know a school girl who used to live with her step-mother and biological father. There were young men who live with her in the family. Unfortunately, the girl became pregnant and she used to worry very much. She was unable to continue her education properly. In the meantime, she consulted her teacher to contact her family, but he was not willing to help her. Out of frustration she had even attempted to commit suicide by drinking poison and had been hospitalized for several days.

Moreover, a key informant from Women's Affairs Department in Kirkos sub city noted a case of a child raped by her father as follows:

There is a girl, currently 15 year old, who live with her biological parents. She is the only child for her parents. The father is the breadwinner of the family. When she was 8 year old, she was raped by her biological father. When this happened, her mother did not know the case. Each day, the child got worried much. Then, the victim child told the case to her mother, something unbelievable for her mother. Though the father [perpetrator] was well aware that his wife knew the case, he continued abusing his child –his 'second wife' for the last 7 years. The father gave warning to both of them that if any one of them exposed the case, he would kill them. Because of this, the case stayed unreported. So as to keep the case unexposed, the perpetrator designed another mechanism. One day, he told his friend to come to his home and sexually abuse his own wife giving her some drug so as to make her loose self control. He did accordingly and after a while, when she became self-conscious, she realized that she was raped by her husband's friend. Soon she saw her husband coming home pretending that he showed up suddenly. The woman got shocked about what happened and had no words to say when her husband yelled at her blaming for adultery. Later, she realized that her husband deliberately plotted such an offence in order to compensate for his immoral and illegal action and keep the crime of raping his daughter unreported. Since then, he continued consequently, threatening his wife for her deed and told her that what he did is not as worse as what she did. After 7 years of silence, the mother could not tolerate the case and reported it to our office soon. Soon we reported the case to the police and both the husband and his friend were arrested and the case is waiting for due process of law.

Examining the age of abusers, , the finding in table 9 clearly conveys that some of (28.0%) of abusers were 5-10 years older than the victims. The second majority, (25.9%) of the respondents were abused by persons who are 2-5 years older than them. A significant proportion of (15.5%) of the girls were abused by persons 10 or more years older than them. About 32 (9.7%) of respondents who had a sexual abuse experience could not remember the age of the perpetrators whatsoever. The fact that there is wider age gap between the victims and the abusers clearly shows that a significant number of abuses are committed by adult men than their age mates.

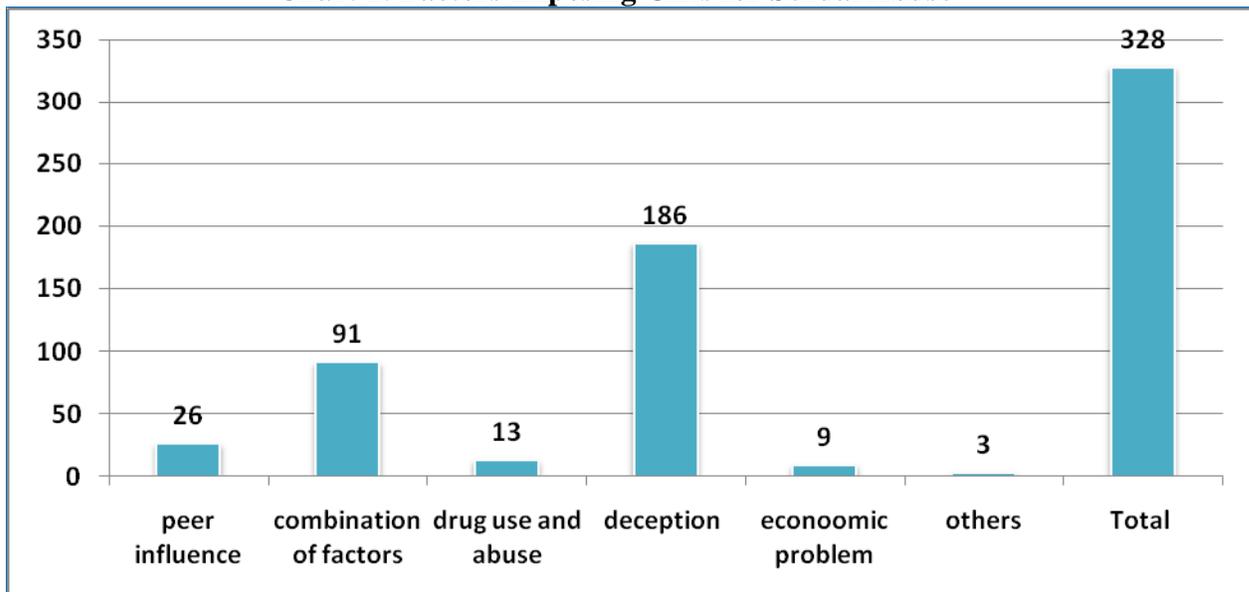
Table 9: Age of Perpetrators at First Sexual Encounters

Age of perpetrator	Frequency	%
Younger than the respondent	24	7.3
More or less the same age as the respondent	44	13.4
2-5 years older than the respondent	85	25.9
5-10 year older than the respondent	92	28.0
10 or more years older than the respondent	51	15.5
Can't tell the age of perpetrators	32	9.7
Total	328	100

3.5 Reasons Exposing Girls to Sexual Abuse

A question was posed to the respondents about the main reasons most often expose them to sexual abuse. As indicated in the chart below, deception by perpetrators was the main factor reported by the majority (56.7%) of the respondents. Another 29.9 percent of respondents reported a combination of factors included in the questionnaire. Peer influence, drug use and abuse, and economic problems were reported by 7.9%, 3.9% and 2.7% of the respondents respectively. Other reasons such as sexual urge of perpetrators, expressing masculinity and unknown reasons were reported by 0.9% of the girls.

Chart 1: Factors Exposing Girls for Sexual Abuse



Informants involved in the FGD and individual interviews also reflected their opinion about the factors contributing for sexual abuse of girls. Blaming girls squarely, some boys pointed out that sexually tempting dressing and act of girls as one of the reasons exposing them to abuse.

One FGD participant in the boys group emphasized consumerist tendency of girls and narrated the following:

When the sugar daddies come and ask to give her a ride, it is the girl herself that agrees and goes with them. In most cases, such men ask the girls for sex and most girls accept the request and go to unsafe places as they are given precious gifts. I wonder why some girls don't use their right of saying "no" to the abusers. This is something they could have avoided unless they are willing to sexual requests of sugar daddies.

Others attributed to dressing style of girls. It was repeatedly reported by discussants that those girls who wear miniskirts and others clothes that vividly expose their body and shape receive a lot of attention from men and are more likely to get sexually assaulted (insults with vulgar words of sexual nature; to the extent of being physically touched on the private parts). Commenting on this issue, a girl from Saint Mary Catholic High School said, *today, girls as young as 13-14 years old dress in such way imitating what they watched from Holly Wood and other Western film actors as a symbol of civilization. In my view, this is weird dressing that exposes girls for sexual harassments and rape.* Sharing the same view, a female teacher from Kokebe Tsebah High school pointed out that some girls like to show off in their dressing styles on the way to and from school. She said, *though they respect the rule of wearing school uniforms in the school compounds, it is common to see many girls changing their dresses right at the main gate of the school while going out or just before getting into the compound. Mostly, they get dressed immodestly exposing their body parts as a sign of modernity. These girls, in my opinion see only one dimension of their dressing i.e. drawing the attention of men but not its negative consequences.* On the other hand, counter views were also forwarded particularly from the girls group to such harsh remarks on dressing style. Some argued that men are to blame for being emotional and aggressive. According to these groups of girls, inability of males to control their sexual urge has more to do with the sexual abuse than the girls dressing styles. Highlighting on this, a girl in one of the FGDs held with students in Bole High school said, *it is nothing strange for girls to wear miniskirts, tight trousers and other clothes showing their body posture. If you go to the swimming pools, for instance, nobody bothers about exposing and we put on only swimming suit. However, when it comes to the streets, I wonder why men could not control their sexual urge...*

Dependence on others for material and emotional support was also reported by FGD participants and key informants as one of the reasons that expose girls to sexual abuse. The most illustrative explanation was the case of girls with disability. Girls with disability are said to be one of the vulnerable groups for sexual abuse. All children with disability in one way or another need the support of able-bodied persons. The helping person could be their own family member, school friend, or non-relative. In the process, the helping person raises sexual requests. And it is less likely for the girl with disability to escape the abuse due to complications related to her disability. The following story narrated by one of key informants substantiates this argument:

I know a young girl with disability who used to work around Addis Ababa Commercial College. There was a man who was used to give her a ride from her home to work and back home. She knew that he is married and has children. In the meantime, the man asked her for

sexual intercourse. If she refused, she knew that he would not give her a ride; and hence it would be difficult for her continue her work. Eventually, she accepted his request and continued the relationship. She was almost his second wife and still they are together. And I assume many girls with disability experience the same scenario.

In addition, lack of knowledge and information was also indicated as contributing factor for sexual abuse of girls. As discussed above, girls and boys expressed misperception and confusion related to sexual abuse. They also appeared to have not well informed about their rights. It was indicated that female children with disabilities, for example, have limited access to information due to their low level of participation in community affairs. It is a common phenomenon that many families keep their children with disabilities at home, giving less or no opportunity to participate in community matters such as *iddirs*, *mahibers*, festivals and other community level activities. Usually, involving these children in the family affairs is also not common; rather they are left alone at home. Because of these and other reasons, children in general and with disabilities in particular lack necessary knowledge about their rights and what constitutes abuse or not. In the end, such children are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than those well informed about their rights.

The community groups emphasized more on the problem of unemployment and the expansion of underground centers (houses) for abusing substances particularly that of *chat* and *shisha* as major predisposing factors aggravating the problem of sexual abuse in the city. Regarding the effect of unemployment, a participant in the discussion reported his observation about the fact that unemployed youngsters hanging around the main gates of schools or in the outdoors of the village shops for hunting girls for sexual purpose. He said, *as they have no jobs to keep them busy, their mind always contemplates on sexual matters. I see drugs like a triggering button of a gun that lets the bullet to shoot out when it is pressed. Likewise, youngsters addicted to one or other substances are always at high risk of being abused or becoming abusers.*

3.6 Most Vulnerable Group of Girls

Overall, the findings of this study highlighted that all girls regardless of their background can be at risk of being sexually abused due to one or another reason. However, according to the discussion with various groups of informants, it was identified that there are certain vulnerable groups of girls who, because of some peculiarities in their living conditions or their lifestyle, become more liable to sexual abuse than others. In this regard, the following table displays the summary of the list of vulnerable children as identified by various categories of informants with a prioritization exercises held during interviews. Detail explanations were also given by school girls and boys, CPU police officers and social workers, community groups and other key informants involved in the study as to why certain category of girls are more vulnerable than others.

Table 10: Categories Vulnerable Groups of Girls Identified and Prioritized by Informants

Group of informants	Major Vulnerable groups
Classification by girls and boys group	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Girls from poor families. 2. Girls from broken families. 3. Girls with poor academic performances/who have no interest in education 4. Girls with little knowledge about sexuality 5. Street children. 6. Girls below the age of 15 years.
Classification by key informants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street children Housemaids/domestic workers Girls from poor families (from destitute families) Orphans who lost both parents. Girls with disability Girls who lack confidence and assertiveness.
Classification by CPU staff (police officers and social workers)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Girls from poor families. 2. Street children 3. Girls with disability 4. Girls with habit of using drugs 5. Girls below the age of 15 years. 6. Domestic workers (trafficked girls)
Community groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street children Children from poor families Orphans and children from broken families Domestic workers Children attending kindergarten.

Based on the list of vulnerable girls identified from each group of informants, the data were analyzed by sorting out commonalities as summarized here under with a brief description of each group and the attributes that expose them to sexual abuse.

3.6.1 Girls from Poor Families

Economic well-being of the family plays pivotal role to the child’s security and positive child rearing. Family breakdown partly caused by economic insecurity is forcing young girls to engage in hazardous jobs that often expose them to different forms of abuse including sexual abuse. As one of the police officers during the FGD indicated, if someone visits brokers’ offices, he/she can find many young girls (even those who are below 18 years old) seeking employment opportunities. Many of these girls come from rural areas particularly from poor families and have little or no information on the dangers of city life. In all phases of their employment, they receive sexual requests even from brokers. Even those girls who grew up in Addis Ababa and other big towns are easily deceived by men who provide material benefits. In connection to this, FGD participant boy also stated the following:

Even the children's mothers intentionally facilitate their daughters' sexual relationship with men who are well-off. The child's mother receives material benefits and hence persuades her daughter to be a girlfriend of the man. If the girl is unwilling, her mother threatens her by saying that she will chase her away from home. Some female children from poor families are often employed as housemaids, waitresses and other low paying jobs. Others are engaged in small income generating activities such as selling 'kollo' (roasted grain) and chewing gums on the streets to supplement family income. Working on the streets and in hotels and restaurants as waitresses, they often encounter persons with varied behaviors and receive sexual requests from different men. The girls work from dawn to dusk and even spend the night in the work places and this highly exposes them to sexual abuse.

3.6.2 Girls from Broken Families

One social worker from one of the CPUs indicated that the rate of divorce is increasing from time to time particularly in urban areas and this has a direct implication to child protection. Children who live with single parent families or their non-biological parents lack basic parental love and protection. Supporting this view, a girl during the focus group discussion session indicated that the level of security and protection of girls from abuse is relatively low in single parent families (particularly in women headed families) compared to those who live with intact families. Because of precarious economic or social situation, single mothers in particular are less defensive and provide poor supervision and protection to children. Most often, girls from such families are threatened by neighbors, street boys, and passersby and they could easily be abused. In many instances, single mothers are away from home to eke out a living and the level of insecurity for girls is high when mothers are not around home.

3.6.3 Street Children

Owing to the very nature of the street life, street children (both girls and boys) are identified as one of the most vulnerable groups to sexual abuse. Girls' group during the FGD session indicted that street girls are sexually abused by street boys, passersby, sugar daddies, and poor older men. Some abusers seduce them by tricking and offering different kinds of gifts and rape them. .

Supporting this view, 16 years old boy (FGD participant) noted the following:

Street girls' vulnerability to rape is much higher during the night. As they sleep in the open air, any passerby rapes them when they are asleep. Many times, gangsters roaming around commit group rape on street girls. Older men who stayed in local liquor houses till mid nights do not have places to sleep and often resort to street children and ultimately rape them. They are targets of rape and easily reachable for sex by everybody.

3.6.4. Domestic Workers/Housemaids

Although it is difficult to give a precise figure on the number of housemaids in Addis Ababa, the day- to-day observation attest the fact that a great deal of young girls under the age of 18 and mostly migrants from the rural community are employed as housemaids in every corner of the city. They are subject to all types of abuse and exploitation due to hierarchical nature of relationships that exist between housemaids and employers. One of the FGD informants from the community group argued that *as far as vulnerability to sexual abuse is concerned, these girls are the invisible victims without drawing the attention of the public because many of them work and live in restricted environments (in compounds invisible for the public)*. Vulnerability of housemaids to sexual abuse was also clearly evidenced by the quantitative data. Out of the total respondents participated in a survey, 72 were domestic workers/housemaids attending education in the evening classes. As indicated in table 11, data on the distribution of housemaids by the type of sexual abuses revealed that, out of the 72 housemaids 31(43%) of them reported experiencing one or more forms of abuses in the list. Further, 35.5 % also experienced rape or attempted rape. When the percentage is computed out of the total (29) rape/attempted rape cases identified in the study, the distribution in the housemaids group accounts for one third 11(37.9%) of the total.

Table 11: Types of sexual abuses encountered by domestic workers

Question	Responses	Counts	%
Experiencing sexual abuse	Yes	31	43.0
	No	41	57.0
	Total	72	100
Types of sexual abuses encountered	Spoken to in a sexual manner	26	83.8
	Explicitly approached for sexual intercourse	20	64.5
	Encouraged/Forced to expose private parts	4	12.9
	Forced to look at someone's private parts	3	9.7
	Contact/touching, fondling or kissing	9	29.0
	Rape/attempted rape	11	35.5
	Received verbal or written threats	21	67.7
	Humiliated in front of others in sexual	2	6.5
	Physically assaulted in sexual matters	4	12.9
	Other forms of abuse/harassment	8	25.8

3.6.5 Girls with Disability

Girls with disability were identified among the most vulnerable groups for sexual abuse. Different reasons were forwarded by informants to substantiate as to why these girls are more vulnerable to sexual abuse than others. To begin with, children with disability are wrongly perceived by the general public for being ignorant, weak and dependant. Hence this attitude motivates perpetrators to abuse them. Secondly, many people consider children with disabilities as less exposed to HIV/AIDS because of their erroneous assumption that they are not attractive for sex by other men. Thus, some men hunt girls with disability to remain safe from HIV infection.. This situation, therefore, undoubtedly exacerbates their vulnerability to STDs, including HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancy. According to the key informants, orthopedic centers are one of the places/environments where sexual abuses take place. In

connection with this, one key informant (a girl with disability at the EFPD) narrated her experience as follows:

I was 13 years old when I encountered an accident which was a cause for my physical disability. Though I was a child, I was a member of disability movement. As you grow up and change in physical development, you have to refit your appliances. When I reached puberty, my body structure changed and hence I went to the orthopedic center to get my appliance fixed. When measured, my hips were widened, and hence I had to correct it, if not, it will harm me and aggravate my problem. The staff members gossiped about my hips. They were saying 'she was a young child. How come she grew up in such a way within short period of time? It is a dramatic improvement. She has got good hips' One of them approached me and touched my private parts of the body in a sexual manner. At that moment, I was very much irritated as I did not expect such behavior from those who were expected to teach others. I could not tolerate my temper and left the centre without my appliance being corrected. I knew that if I did not refit it, it would have a negative effect on my overall physical status and ways of walking. Even a Norwegian person who provides technical assistance to the center approached me and advised me to correct the device but I did not. This created adverse effects on my body and way of walking.

The other point highlighted in relation to girls with disability is that, their access to information is minimal. This is partly because of disability and also due to the discrimination practice inherent in the family and the community. Moreover, the issue of disability in the country is still a sidelined issue hardly mainstreamed in service provision initiatives.

3.6.6 Girls Lacking Confidence and Assertiveness

The perception one has about himself/herself is an important element for the person to successfully lead his/her own life. It was indicated by the girls group that the young girls who lack confidence and are less assertive can easily be persuaded by their own peers and other men and easily become victims of sexual abuse. If the girl does not develop confidence, proper communication, and defending mechanisms, it would be very difficult for her to argue and confront perpetrators when she receives sexual advances and threats. The low confidence and self-esteem might be an outcome of low level of awareness and knowledge about child rights, poor family support and guidance, low level of participation (at all levels) in issues that matter them. This in one or another way exposes the young girls to rape and other forms of sexual abuse.

3.6.7 Younger girls (Girls below 15 years)

As the science of developmental psychology asserts, because of their physical and mental immaturity, children need special protection from adults. Children below the age of 15 are highly vulnerable for sexual abuse because of their physical and mental immaturity.. Small children as young as 5 and 6 years completely trust adults including their parents as their guardians and protectors from any danger. However, they are easily deceived by adults and are less likely to defend or escape from the abuse. This view was supported by the CPU police officers and social workers who participated in the FGDs. They maintained that younger girls

are often raped by individuals whom they trust and rely on including family members (mostly step-fathers and even biological fathers).

3.7 Means Used By Perpetrators to Abuse Girls

Girls who were victims of one or another type of abuse were asked to highlight the means often applied by perpetrators when abusing them. Responses of girls in order of priority (in a ranking order) are presented in the table below. According to the findings, quite larger proportion (28.6%) of the girls reported that deception was the main mechanism used to allure girls into abuse. Inviting girls to recreational places was also indicated by a significant percentage (20.7%) of girls. About 15.5% of the girls said gifts and other material offers are the most frequent mechanisms used by abusers. Using force, threatening, using power, and snatching properties were reported by 9.7%, 7.6%, 7.0%, and 3.0% respectively. The remaining 5.1% of respondents highlighted other means such as using the friends of girls (go betweens), drugs and alcohols, etc.

Table 12: Means often used by perpetrators to abuse girls

No	Means of subduing girls	Frequency	%
1	Invitation to recreational places	68	20.7
2	Deception	94	28.6
3	Forcing	32	9.7
4	Providing gifts	51	15.5
5	Threatening	25	7.6
6	Using position of power relation	23	7.0
7	Snatching properties	10	3.0
8	Other means (Using go-betweens, drugs)	17	5.1
9	Missing	8	2.4
	Total	328	100

To substantiate the above quantitative data, we sought qualitative information from key informants and FGD participants. As shown below, they all expressed similar views concerning means of abuses employed by perpetrators, but noted that mechanisms mostly vary depending on the type of perpetrators.

3.7.1 The Role of Power Relation

It was reported that men sometimes use their power or position to subdue girls for sexual intercourse. For instance, teachers and employers use their power for subduing girls by putting psychological pressure on them in order to get sexual favors. Teachers often transact grades for sex. The following narrative from 17 year old boy FGD participant best illustrates this argument:

Male teachers, whether they are young or old, married or unmarried, commit rape on school girls provided that they get the opportunity. When a teacher wants the girl for sexual favors, we can easily identify his intentions from his face and interaction with the girl [most often

sexual in nature]. He often calls her in the classroom and gives extreme attention to her. Some openly ask the girl to come to office. Others invite the girls to their home or hotels and restaurants. Most often, they throw compliments to seduce the girl for sexual relationship.' In my school, I remember a girl who failed in one subject. The teacher told her that if she is willing to fulfill his request, he would give her the passing mark. Then, the teacher told her to meet him in a restaurant to discuss about the issue. Unfortunately, the girl did not go.

The idea shared by housemaids/domestic workers/ also consolidates the notion of power based abuse where employers and brokers are mentioned as the main abusers. One of the girls claimed that in order to get a job, housemaids are expected to fulfill sexual advances of either their brokers or employers. As a result of deteriorating economic situation in the rural areas and increased unemployment rate, many young girls (below 18 years old) migrate to urban areas in search of employment. They wrongly perceive that the urban environment would create better opportunities for employment and access to basic social services. However, most of them do not find what they anticipated. Domestic work is the most available job on arrival and brokers often connect them with employers. Brokers often want to sleep with them and the girls accept such requests to secure the job. Eventually, they also receive sexual requests from their employers. Some girls use it as an opportunity to get better payment. And if the girl rejects the sexual request of her employer, she may be forced to leave her job. Some informants said that employers attempt to deceive them giving false hopes of future married life and sack them when they get pregnant.

3.7.2 Using Friends and Classmates as Intermediaries

From data presented in the previous pages, the influence of peers and classmates has been underscored by informants as one of the major factors exposing girls for sexual abuse. It was repeatedly indicated by both boys and girls during focus groups discussions that school girls who are attending in the same or different schools were identified as facilitators of sexual abuse of girls. Most often, they act as '*atabashoch*' (mediators or go-between). In line with this, one of the boys during FGD in Bole High School narrated the following:

Presently, there are female students who are not interested in their schooling but play the role of mediation. Girls playing this kind of role were themselves victims of sexual abuse once in a while and they mysteriously strive day in day out to persuade their fellow friends and age mates to follow their footsteps and often act as brokers. Indeed, they receive some money from men [perpetrators]. Moreover, some of these girls do not want their mates to succeed in their schooling. The common mechanism they often use is persuading them to miss classes or deliberately plot a strategy to make them arrive late in the school so that the school guards will not allow them to enter. Then, instead of going back to their home (for fear of their parents), the girls spend the time somewhere around until the end of school hours. Hence broker girls use this opportunity to take them to the places which expose them to various forms of abuse including sexual abuse. They also persuade them to go to places where various substances are abused. These are ideal places for men to convince young girls for sexual matters. When they abuse substances it is more likely that they lose self control and easily accept any sexual advances from men.

3.7.3 Inciting with Gifts and other material benefits

Older and rich men were identified among those who are commonly involved in sexually abusing young girls. As FGD participants in the girls group mentioned, each day, when the school time ends, these men come with their fancy cars around the school compound to hunt school girls. They give a ride to the girls to their home or wherever they go. Once, the girls agree and are in their fancy cars, these men persuade the girls to go to hotels and restaurants or their homes, if they are not already married. They provide them with gifts such as gold, cell phone or cash to trick these young girls for sexual favors. These men also approach girls as young as 13-15 years pretending as Samaritans or good fathers but with hidden motive of deflowering them. One of the FGD participants narrated unacceptable behavior of such elderly men as follows:

The older men should have shown a fatherly model for children and protected them from all forms of violence including sexual abuse. As men become richer and richer, they just want to enjoy this world at the expense of next generation and they commit all sorts of immoral acts. Our culture is eroded in that our fathers are abusing us and forcing to mistrust every one. They perceive that having a young sexual partner will make them younger and increase their longevity. Our fathers are becoming our enemies.

One of the themes covered in this study was the practice and attitude of girls towards offers and gifts in return for sexual favors. As indicated in table 17 below, of the total sample, 107 (21.7%) of the girls have been given offers by men/boys in return for sexual favors. However, out of this group, only 28 (5.7%) accepted the offers while 16.1% of them didn't accept. The large majority of the respondents (77.2%) reported that they never came across gifts/offers for sex. Those who were offered material benefits in the form of cash or kind were asked about who made the offer. Accordingly, about two-third of them responded that they got offers from someone they personally know, 31.8% said from someone who they never knew before. About 0.9 % also responded receiving offers from a foreigner. Regarding reciprocation, nearly half (46.4%) of the girls reported that they didn't provide sexual favors in return to the gifts. Other 35.7% of the respondents reported the return in the form of touching/fondling or kissing, 14.3% made sexual intercourse with the person who offered them the gifts and 3.6% rewarded them by exposing their private parts.

Table :13 Distribution of Respondents By Their Experience in Offers for Sexual Favors

Description	Response	frequency	%
Ever been offered money or material benefits for sexual favors?	Yes, and accepted	28	5.7
	Yes, but refused	79	16.1
	Never offered	380	77.2
	Missing	5	1.0
	Total	492	100
Who made the offer?	Someone I know	72	67.3
	Someone I don't know	34	31.8
	Foreigner	1	0.9
	Total	107	100

If accepted, what was the sexual return?	Intercourse	4	14.3
	Touching/fondling or kissing	10	35.7
	Exposing private parts	1	3.6
	Any sexual act in front of a recording device.	0	
	No reward	13	46.4
	Total	28	100

As shown in the forgoing data, largely significant number of girls (79 out of 107) responded that they turned down the offers made by men. In order to explore the impact of their action, a question was forwarded to the girls whether their refusal caused any negative consequences. Accordingly, out of the 79 girls, 19 (24.1%) reported that their refusal caused negative consequences while the majority (75.9%) never faced any adverse effect because of their refusal. As far as the type of negative consequences, 7 girls (36.8%) encountered physical injury, 10(52.6%) faced verbal threats and the remaining 2(10.6%) suffered humiliation and intimidations as a result of their refusal. When all respondents were asked about their opinion as to whether girls should accept gifts or money in exchange for sexual favors, the large majority 393 (80%) suggested that girls shouldn't transact sex , 60 (12.2%) expressed the need to accept gifts if and only if the girl loves the person. About 25 (5%) of the girls also suggested that girls can take offers as long as they don't give any sexual offers in return while few 14 (2.8%) of the respondents were of the opinion that girls should accept gifts for sexual favors.

3.7.4 Applying Force/Threatening Girls

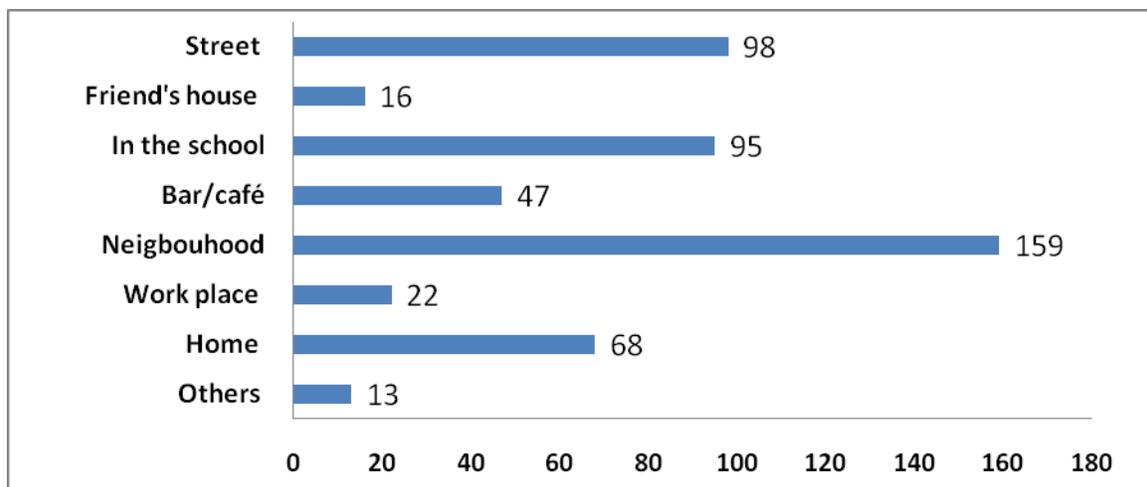
It was indicated that school boys as well as out-of-school youths are involved in committing sexual abuse on girls. Most of them are adolescents who are not good at school (school performances) and engaged in different anti-social behaviors including harassment, sniffing '*shisha*' and glue, chewing *chat* and smoking cigarettes. They often miss classes and spend the school days in chewing chat and smoking cigarettes. They often disturb students and teachers and harass girls in a sexual manner both in and out of school compounds and often use various threatening mechanisms to convince girls for sexual matters. They also force girls to go to the *chat* chewing and cigarette smoking houses where men [perpetrators] await them. Girls in the focus group discussion mentioned some threatening words ironically spoken to them by such young perpetrators such as "***Ye Hermelan film iserabishalehu, Kamilat kutir hulet yetesegne album awetabishalehu***", meaning, if you don't leave up to my request, you will face the fate of Hermela and Kamilat.⁶

⁶ Hermela and Kamilat are young women who survived the deadly violence committed on them by young men in response to refusal for a relationship. Their case is familiar to many Ethiopians for it was frequently broadcasted through media.

3.8 Environments Where Abuse Takes Place

Respondents were also asked to mention the typical environments they often encounter sexual abuse. The results as depicted in chart 2 show that girls are mostly exposed to sexual abuse in the neighborhood environment as reported by [159(32.3%)]of the respondents. About [95(19.3%)] and [98(20 %)] mentioned streets and school surroundings showing that even the school environment is not safe for girls. A significant number of respondents [68(13.8%)] also claimed home environments and bars /cafes [47(9.6)]. Work places and friends' houses were reported by [22(4.5%)] and [16(3.3%)] of the girls respectively.

Chart 2: Environments Exposing Girls to Sexual Abuse



Focus group discussion participants from the girls' group reported that currently, every setting, be it private or public, is becoming hostile for children to grow. This clearly implies that though their degree of vulnerability varies from one setting to another, children are exposed to sexual abuse everywhere. Schools as institutions have become places where sexual abuse of young girls is facilitated and committed. In some schools the existing school facilities such as toilets and unprotected compounds are unsafe places thereby exposing girls to sexual abuse. Some school compounds are very wide and not well fenced, surrounded by big trees and grasses where the abusers could easily hide and abuse young school girls. As girls in the Kokebe Tshebah and Bole High School mentioned, the school compounds are covered by dense forest behind, making it difficult for the schools to fully overview the compound. The location of the toilet facility is far from the school building. And if a girl is around the toilet area alone, she knows that it is dangerous and nobody rescues her. This place is often called '*Eri bekentu*', which means that no one will rescue you even if you cry loud. Besides, the toilets do not have doors and sometimes gangsters come to the girl's toilet and sexually abuse them. Others also added that the level of freedom children have in the school environment may

expose to sexual abuse. According to their view, schools are places where there is no family supervision and control and hence children can do what they want with their fiends.

It was repeatedly indicated that there are min-shops often called ‘Arkebe shops’ around the schools. Though the shop owners use these shops for selling various local drinks, they also use the back side of these shops as chat chewing, and *shisha* sniffing places. It is common to find gangsters and even school boys and girls in these shops chewing *chat* and smoking cigarettes and girls are often sexually abused. The shops are meeting places for school boys and girls who often miss classes and for out of school boys and girls who are engaged in anti-social activities.

Ideally, the family is the first institution where children are expected to grow in safe, secured and protected environment. However, the family environment is turning to be hostile for children. Some young girls are sexually abused by their family members whom they trust. In relation to this, one female FGD participant narrated the following:

Who is to be trusted this time? In media, it has become a daily phenomenon to hear and see that young children are raped by their family members. If we do not trust our fathers and family members, whom shall we trust? Who should protect us? How immoral are the family members to abuse girls (relatives or daughters?). In this case, it is not only abuse that is criminal act but also incest. The very characteristic of family level abuse is that it is seldom reported. And once the girl is raped, she is repeatedly abused because of her close relationship with the perpetrator.

3.9 Reporting Sexual Abuses

Existing reporting practices were investigated by inquiring the respondents on the extent to which they exposed the case of abuse to the legal bodies or guardians. In this regard, data in table 13 indicates that slightly over half (51.8%) of the respondents kept the incident secret and they never attempted to disclose it to anyone. The remaining 48.2% reported the cases but the majority (42.4%) shared it to their intimate friends, followed by siblings (19.6%) and legal enforcement bodies (11.4%) in the order of their priority. Only 4.4% of the girls reported to NGOs working on sexual abuse or to the Women’s Affairs Offices. Girls, who did not report, were asked about the reasons for not disclosing abuse to concerned institutions or to significant others. As indicted in table below, the majority (41.7%) said that they didn’t take it as a serious matter, which requires the help of others. This implies that even in the face of such serious abuse, some girls may not consider that their rights have been violated by the perpetrators. The second majority (29%) did not report the case for fear that others would blame them for the act. Another 20% of the respondents refrained from reporting the case assuming that it would worsen the situation or for fear of further abuse by perpetrators. It was also found out that some girls (7.9%) believed that discussing or reporting an abuse to someone is not worthy thing to do.

Table :14 Tendency of reporting by victims

Description	Response	Frequency	%
Have you ever reported?	Yes	158	48.2
	No	170	51.8
	Total	328	100
If yes, who did you discuss/report it?	parents	9	5.6
	relatives	16	10.1
	friends	67	42.4
	siblings	31	19.6
	police or other law enforcing body	18	11.4
	teachers	10	6.3
	others (NGOs and women's affairs)	7	4.4
	Total	158	100
If not, what was the reason?	Afraid of blame	49	29.0
	Afraid of making the situation worse	34	20.0
	Didn't think reporting would help	13	7.9
	Didn't think the case needs any help/attention	70	41.7
	Others	4	2.4
	Total	170	100

Both quantitative and qualitative data revealed that sexual abuse is rampant in its scope and magnitude in the city, but it is severely under reported. Though some fragmented reporting initiatives are underway (like the case of CPUs, some NGOs and radio programs, etc), such efforts are addressing only the tip of the iceberg. There are yet various factors that contributed to underreporting of sexual abuses. For instance, a key informant from Federation for Persons with Disability reflected her opinion that although a number of sexual abuses on children with disabilities are committed, there is no proper legal system in place to prosecute the perpetrators. She argued that families often do not report and, the police officers are not cooperative when reported. In most cases, the police do not consider sexual abuse of children with disabilities as serious and reliable on the impression that able bodied men would not commit forced sexual intercourse against female children with disabilities. Moreover, underreporting of cases of sexual abuse committed against children with disabilities is attributed to the hostile community reactions and difficulty in getting witnesses for due process of law.

The following are some of the pertinent examples which could substantiate how the interplay of different factors such as economic dependence of women, fear of further abuse by the perpetrators and fear of stigma and humiliation could hinder reporting of sexual abuse committed against girls. As the key informant from the Integrated Family Support Organization /IFSO/ reported, a father raped two of his daughters in Yeka Sub City in the year 2005. He said, *the elder girl was 12 and the younger was 6 years old. The mother preferred to keep quite simply because she didn't want to break up the marriage as her husband was the*

bread winner and the family was entirely dependent on his income. It was reported that the father had been abusing the elder daughter for over six years. Then, he started abusing the younger child. However, the case was exposed when the younger daughter reported it to her neighbor....

A key informant from Gulele sub city Women’s Affairs department reported, that in 2006, a girl, 13, was raped by a neighbor, who used the advantage of the child’s condition- chased away from home because of conflict with her mother. He offered the girl to spend the night at his home till her mother calms down but he rapped her while she was asleep. The next day, when she returned home, the girl was not willing to disclose the case because of the threat of the rapist and fear of her mother. The girl reported the case to our office when she realized that she was pregnant. A key informant from Addis Ketema Sub City highlighted the case of recent public news. He said that, the girl (13 years old) committed suicide after she was raped by her biological father. Although the daughter reported to the police, her mother didn’t appreciate the action taken by her daughter for she exposed the secret of the family out to the public and fear of humiliation by the community around. This unfortunate girl suffered further physical abuse for reporting the case. Her mother poured boiled water on her body as punishment for what she did. This situation compounded with stigma and ostracization she suffered at school precipitated her to take her life.

Participants who claimed reporting offences of sexual abuse either to the law enforcing bodies or to their close acquaintances were asked about how the reporting helped in changing the situation. A cross tabulation of results by reported bodies depicted in table 14 clearly convey that irrespective to whom they reported, about half (50.6%) of the victims of abuse responded that reporting helped them and received necessary support. Only 6.9% of the girls complained that their action complicated the situation further. However, a significant number of participants pointed out that reporting the case made no difference in the situation whatsoever. Looking deeply into each reported body, reporting to NGOs/Women’s Affairs offices, to police, friends and teachers greatly solved the situation of the majority of cases. On the other hand, those reported to parents, siblings and relatives claimed that reporting largely made no difference to their predicament.

Table 15: Opinion of Girls on Reporting and its Outcomes

Institutions/individuals victims reported	Outcomes of reporting			Total
	Solved the problem	Made no difference	Worsened the situation	
Parents	3	4	2	9
Siblings	14	16	-	31
Relatives	6	10	-	16
Friends	38	21	8	67
Police	9	9	-	18
Teachers	6	3	1	10
Others(NGOs, Women’s Affairs)	4	3	-	7
Total	80 (50.7%)	66 (41.7%)	11(6.9%)	158

3.10 Early Marriage and Female Circumcision

According to the data indicated in table 15, the overwhelming majority of respondents have never been married. Only about 6.5% of them reported experiencing marriage and; out of these, substantially larger percentage (84.4%) constitute girls whose place of origin was outside of Addis Ababa. Those girls who experienced marriage in Addis Ababa constitute only 15.6%. This finding clearly shows that, though it occurs, early marriage (child marriage) is not a serious problem in terms of its scope and magnitude in Addis Ababa. The data regarding the age at marriage also shows that most of them (75%) were given to marriage when they were as young as 10-15 years of age and 25% between the ages of 16-18. Married girls were also asked about how their marriage was arranged. As indicated in the table below, the type of marriage in most of the cases (43.7 %) was arranged by a family (without the consent of the girls) while about 37.6% of married girls reported that their marriage was arranged by abduction and; the remaining 18.7% of the girls got married on “consent”.

Table16: Distribution of respondents by marital status, age at marriage and marriage arrangement

Description	Response	frequency	%
Have you ever been married?	Yes	32	6.5
	No	453	92.0
	Missing	7	1.5
	Total	492	100
Place of origin	Addis Ababa	27	15.6
	Outside Addis	5	84.4
	Total	32	100
Age at the time of marriage	10-15	24	75.0
	16-18	8	25.0
	Total	32	100
How was the marriage arranged?	By abduction	10	37.6
	Arranged by family	14	43.7
	Consensual	6	18.7
	Total	32	100

When asked about the status of their marriage during the time of data collection, the majority (62.5%) of them claimed that they escaped after the marriage was arranged, the second majority (21.8%) divorced and 12.5 % lived with their husbands. Only one girl (3.1%) was widowed (see chart 3 below). According to the revised Family Law, the minimum legal age for a girl is 18. Although early marriage is not rampant, it is not possible to rule out its existence in Addis Ababa. Elaborating this situation, a key informant from Gulele Sub City Womens’ Department reported, *In my opinion, abduction still exists in our sub city particularly in the peripheral areas, like Shiro Meda. . In 2007, around 22 cases of abductions were reported to our office and 14 of them were from a single kebele located around Shiromeda. My speculation*

about the reason for this could be related to high number of migrants living around this area who maintained customs and traditions from place of origin. It is evident that once the girl is abducted, she would more likely face rape by the abductor and remain as a wife.

Chart 3: Distribution of Respondents by Current Marital Status



Regarding female genital cutting/mutilation, a question was presented to the girls in two different ways. On the one hand, their knowledge about other circumcised girls was investigated. In addition to this, the respondent's own circumcision status was also explored and analyzed. As the figures in table 16 indicate, 17.8% of the respondents reported that they knew girls circumcised in Addis Ababa, during the past one year period. Out of these respondents, 46(52.3%) claimed to know at least one girl, 29(33%) reported to know 2-5 girls and the remaining 13(14.7%) knew as many as five and more girls circumcised in the last one year. When asked about themselves, slightly over one third (37.6%) of them said that they are circumcised while the large majority (62.4%) responded negatively. When asked about the reasons for either being circumcised or not, they gave different reasons presented here under.

Reasons for Being Circumcised

- “I was not mature enough to protest against the act at that time”.
- “My parents had positive attitude towards female circumcision”
- ‘Just to preserve and follow our local tradition/culture.’
- “lack of awareness of my parents”
- “I myself insisted my parents to do so”
- “I have no idea about why it was practiced”

Reasons for Not being Circumcised

- “Because my parents are educated, they know the consequence”
- “I refused even if my parents wanted to do it”
- “My elder siblings opposed the idea of our parents”
- “I know that female circumcision is a harmful practice”
- “It is my right not to be circumcised”
- “I don't know why”

The average age at which girls were circumcised was found to be 8.5 and this implies that female circumcision was practiced in the city until recently, although adequate and reliable data are not available on its current status. For instance, a study conducted by the National Committee on the Traditional Practices of Ethiopia (2003) indicated that out of the sampled household heads, in Addis Ababa, 39.9% reported that they had practiced circumcision on their daughters. Our results suggest that even though the problem of female circumcision is not widely practiced in Addis Ababa, its existence is undeniable.

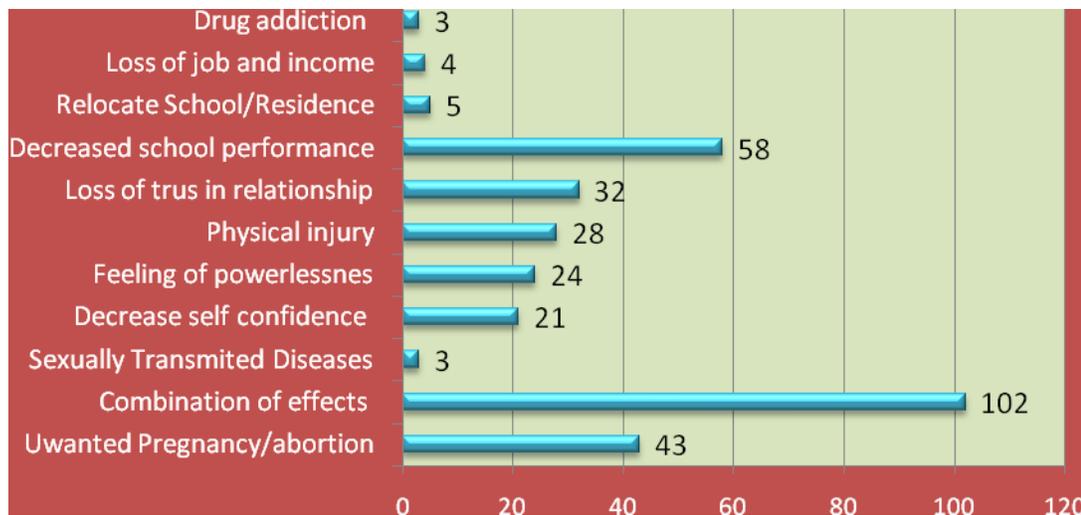
Table 17: Prevalence of Female Circumcision in Addis Ababa

Description	Response	frequency	%
Do you know a girl circumcised during the last one year?	Yes	88	17.8
	No	404	82.2
	Total	492	100
If yes, how many?	Only one	46	52.3
	2-5 girls	29	33.0
	>5 girls	13	14.7
	Total	88	100
Are you circumcised?	Yes	185	37.6
	No	307	62.4
	Total	492	100

3.11 Consequences of Sexual Abuse

In order to explore the adverse effects of sexual abuse, girls who experienced sexual abuse were asked to indicate serious negative impacts of the incident. As shown in chart 4, as many as 102 (31%) of the girls had to endure multiple adversities related to abuse such as feeling of powerlessness and loss of trust in relationship. Several others 58 (17.7%) reported that the unfortunate circumstance they encountered mainly affected educational performance and 43 (13.1%) encountered unwanted pregnancy and abortion. The remaining respondents mentioned consequences such as sexuality transmitted diseases (0.9 %), loss of a job (1.2 %) and drug addiction (0.9 %) as major effects.

Chart4: Consequences of Sexual Abuse



Consistent with quantitative findings, the results of focus group discussions and key informant interviews revealed that sexual abuse could result in multi-faceted consequences at individual (victim), family and the wider community level. They noted the following possible consequences:

Early Pregnancy and Associated Problems: Although having a child before age 15 is reported to be common in many families; unwanted pregnancy in early age is a complicated process and it accounts for the majority of maternal mortality and morbidity. It is also reported that young girls, especially those below the age of 15 are most likely to experience premature labor, miscarriage and stillbirth, and die from other pregnancy related causes. Furthermore, infants have greater chance of being underweight and die at early age than babies born of adult women. If infants survive, caring and raising unwanted child in a very precarious economic situation is another challenge.

Due to physical and emotional immaturity of young girls it was indicated that serious physical and health problems can arise from early and traumatizing sexual engagement, abortion, obstructed and prolonged labor. Explaining this point, a key informant (a nurse from CHAD-

ET) reported that young girls who survived maternal mortality also suffer from a common side effect of early childbearing mainly obstetric fistula, abnormal alignment between the bladder or bowel and the vagina. Fistula in turn results in incontinence, a very disturbing condition for afflicted girls. If they are married, these young girls are commonly abandoned by their husbands and become social outcasts. Girls exposed to marriage in early age probably know almost nothing about the functions of the reproductive system of the body and many also get injuries for having sex before reaching the age of sexual maturity. Moreover, vulnerability to STDs including HIV/AIDS is also a serious health consequence often encountered by the victims.

Psychosocial effects: the psychological consequences are said to be the hidden and most severe effects of the problem of sexual abuse mainly because they leave unforgettable scar in the minds of the victims unless intervened as early as possible. A psychologist (key informant from IFSO) mentioned that, sexually abused children are reported to have the following psychosocial problems. They show withdrawal and mistrust towards adults, suicidal tendency, difficulty relating to others except in sexual or seductive ways and prostitution. They also exhibit sleep problems, nightmares, fear of going to bed, refusal to go to school, secretiveness or unusual aggressiveness, and neurotic reactions (such as obsessions, compulsiveness and phobias). They may suffer from extreme fear of being touched, unwillingness to submit to physical examination, loneliness and depression. Other consequences include the following:

- Many of the sexually abused female children are liable to quit schooling.
- Marriage established without the consent of the girl may end up in divorce.
- If it happens within the family circle, it may result in serious family conflict and homicide as a form of revenge.
- Out of frustration, sexually abused children may engage in commercial sex work (another evil act with a lot of consequences).

3.12 Legal Implication of Sexual Abuse

Ever since Ethiopia ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991, there are significant improvements in the child rights situation and important actions were taken by the government as well as civil society organizations. To facilitate the implementation of the UNCRC and implement domestic laws and national plan of actions, practical actions have been taken and (though insufficient) minimal structures are in place. Child protection units have been established within the police structure that facilitated the smooth reporting of child sexual abuse cases. Children's Legal Protection Center (CLPC), the first of its kind in Ethiopia has been established by African Child Policy Forum in 2005. The center provides legal counseling and judicial representation for children whose rights are violated as well as their families. Moreover, Child Friendly Bench (CFB) has been established at federal first instance court. The establishment of the CFB helped the court see children's cases separately from the formal criminal procedure. All in all, the opening of the CPUs, CFBs and CLPC has facilitated speedy decisions by courts on reported cases taking the best interest of the victim child into consideration in all the processes of criminal procedures. Despite the above important initiatives by different actors, there are huge gaps to be addressed particularly in the area of

familiarization and expanding the centers to make them accessible to the wider community including children.

The other main challenge reported by several discussants was inconsistency or sentencing disparities of judges. In some cases, appropriate legal measures are not taken by legal authorities on perpetrators and thus incompatibility of the measures taken with the severity of the abuse was frequently complained by informants. To begin with, the victim and victims' families receive recurrent threats from the abuser or abuser's families for bringing the case to justice. Secondly, the situation sometimes becomes worse when the abuser is released on bail and the abuser once again goes to the extent of inflicting further damage on the victim. For instance, the following case, reported by the staff from Integrated Family Service Organization illustrates the problem very clearly.

Senait, was raped by an adult co-dweller at the age of 7 in 2006 while she was left alone at home. Her mother was a daily laborer and lived in one of the slums of Lideta Sub city. The perpetrator was arrested by the police and brought before the court and he was found guilty. However, the court eventually sentenced him to only one year of imprisonment. Then, the worst thing happened when the abuser was released after finishing his term of imprisonment and continued to live in the same neighborhood (adjacent rooms in kebele's house). The girl got a hard time, always trembling with fear and anxiety whenever she realizes that the person is at home. Despite her mother's appeal to the court and kebele administration to remove him from their neighborhood, victims continued to live with a persistent threat of the abuser. Finally, with the help of the IFSO staff, the girl was admitted to the foster home for a temporary treatment until the cloud clears

The following court verdict on a defendant who committed sexual abuse on a 15 years old girl gives some highlight on the challenges and gaps that exist in enforcing domestic laws.

With reference to the application letter dated 29/5/2007, the defendant violated the law (penal code 628/1/a) for which he committed sexual abuse, an illegal and immoral act on a minor aged 15 years old. The abuse was committed in September 2006, around 2:00 PM in Lideta Sub city, Kebele 11 in a place called Police Sefere. As per the report of the applicant [victim], the suspect brought her from rural area with the promise that he would raise her as his own child and educate her. However, he did not materialize his promise. On that particular day, he frightened her with knife and raped her, which later resulted in unwanted pregnancy and infection with HIV/AIDS. The second and third witnesses also reported, the victim had told them that he raped her and to this effect she became pregnant and infected with HIV/AIDS. As secondary data, medical reports from Tikur Ambassa and Gandhi Memorial Hospitals also provided further evidences. Although he was given the opportunity to defend, the suspect could not defend the case. The only excuse he gave was that he was out of Addis Ababa for work when the reported abuse was committed.

Though the man never admitted committing the crime on the child, the words of the three witnesses as well as medical reports confirmed that the crime was committed on the child. After collecting all the necessary evidences, the court found out that the suspect is guilty.

Court decision:

The result of the investigation process indicated that the suspect has committed the abuse on the child violating Article 626, which states that if someone rapes a girl, he will be imprisoned from 5-25 years. The defendant was sentenced for 5 years imprisonment. Moreover, the defendant was deprived of the rights of being witness, electing and be elected, from the day of committing the crime.

Appeal:

The Addis Ababa City Administration Women's Affairs Office supported by public prosecutor opened appealed against light sentence passed by the judge.

Source: federal first instance court

The above story illustrates how sentencing is left to the discretion of the judges and how the judges could be lenient. The Article says that a perpetrator could be punished from 5-25 imprisonment. Another Article, 514/2/A says that a defendant who committed such crime will be imprisoned up to 20 years or if it is a serious crime a lifelong punishment. In this case the perpetrator raped the child, impregnated and infected her with HIV/AIDS-tantamount to merciless killing and yet sentenced only for five years.

Chapter Four

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls

In the following section, results of the data captured from girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) is analyzed and thoroughly discussed. As indicated before, the information on CSE of girls was obtained from eight sub cities in Addis Ababa and 122 girls exposed to CSE were involved in the study⁷ Like the sexual abuse of girls presented above, this report is also based on quantitative data and qualitative information obtained from, case studies, key informants and FGD participants. This section, however, leans to more qualitative data than quantitative information. The report begins with a profile/background of girls exposed to CSE involved in the study and proceeds to address a wide range of themes stemming from four major components of CSE, i.e. child trafficking, child prostitution, and child pornography and child sex tourism. Out of these four components, the study dwells much more on child prostitution as the scale of the problem is bigger and visible than the remaining components.

4.1 Background of Respondents

As shown below, the age of girls exposed to CSE ranged from 14-18 and the mean age is 16.89. Looking into the reported age of the children at the time of entry into the commercial sex work, the data revealed that 22.9% of them started commercial sex work when they were as young as 12 years old, (the lowest reported age). Significant number 69.6% were between the age of 13-15 and only 15.5% were over the age of 15. Regarding their place of origin, nearly one-third (29.2%) of them were born and brought up in Addis Ababa, whereas the majority (70.8%) migrated from other regions of the country.

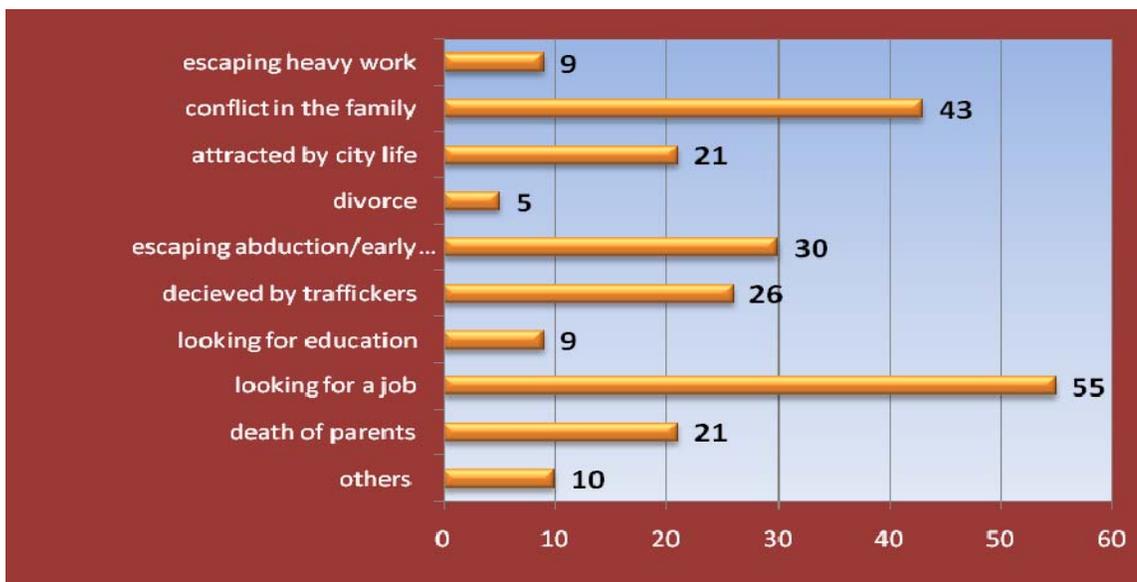
Table 18: Distribution of Respondent by Age and Place of Origin

Description	Response	frequency	%
Current age of respondents.	14	3	2.4
	15	13	10.7
	16	19	15.6
	17	49	40.2
	18	38	31.1
	Total	122	100
Age at first entry into commercial sex work	12	28	22.9
	13-15	85	69.6
	>15	19	15.5
	Total	122	100
Place of origin	Addis Ababa	36	29.5
	Outside Addis Ababa	86	70.5
	Total	122	100

⁷ All the sub cities except Akaki Kality and Nefas Silk Lafto are included in the study..

To explore the reasons for migration, participants who came from outside Addis Ababa were asked about why they left their place of origin and the responses for each type of reasons are presented in chart 5. As indicated in the chart, the highest number of respondents [55 (64%)] migrated in search of employment opportunities in the city. The second largest group of girls [43 (50%)] migrated due to conflict in the family. Another category of girls [30(34.8%)] migrated to escape abduction or early marriage in their place of origin. About [26(30.2%)] respondents claimed to had been deceived by brokers or traffickers. Death of parents and glamorous city life were reported by equal number [21(24.4 %)] of the respondents. Looking for educational opportunities, escaping heavy workload and divorce were cited by 7.3%, 7.3% and 4% of the respondents respectively.

Chart 5: Reasons for Leaving Place of Origin



Examining the educational attainment of the respondents, data in table 19 revealed that out of 115 girls who responded to this question, over two-third [97 (84.3%)] of them attained a certain level of formal schooling. However, the great majority (64.3%) dropped out of school before joining commercial sex work. Only an insignificant number (5.2%) of respondents attended school at the time of data collection. About 14.7% of the girls attended primary school and only able to read and write. It was also found out that those who have never been to school at all account for 15.6% of the respondents. The respondents gave us a number of contributing factors when asked why they never attended or quitted school. About 22(22.4%) of them reported that household poverty as the main factor for not attending or quitting school. Early marriage was reported by 16 (16.3%), parents' disinterest towards female education by 15.3%, death of parents by 13.3%, and lack of interest in education by 11.2% of the respondents. The remaining 21.5% of the respondents reported combination of other factors such as academic failure, inaccessibility of schools, sickness, heavy workload, etc.

Table 19: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Background

Description	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Never attended any schooling	18	14.8	15.6
Read and write only	17	13.9	14.7
Drop-out	74	60.7	64.3
Currently attending	6	4.6	5.2
Total	115	94.2	100
Missing	7	5.7	
Total	122	100.0	

Regarding marital status of respondents, the majority (70.6%) of commercial sex workers were never married. Of the 35 girls who had been married, 17 of them (48.6%) divorced before starting commercial sex work while 14 girls (11.8%) said they were separated or escaped marriage. Of all those who were married prior to entering the commercial sex business, 8.6% got married below the age of 10. The majority of them (80%) were married between the ages of 10-14 and 11.4% of them were 15-18 at the time of marriage. When asked about the type of marriage arrangements, 14.3% of the married girls reported that it was marriage by abduction. The larger percentage of girls (65.7%) got married through arrangements made by family and without their consent while 20% said that they had a consensual marriage. Of the total respondents with marital experience, 11 of them (31.4%) reported that they gave birth to a child/children.

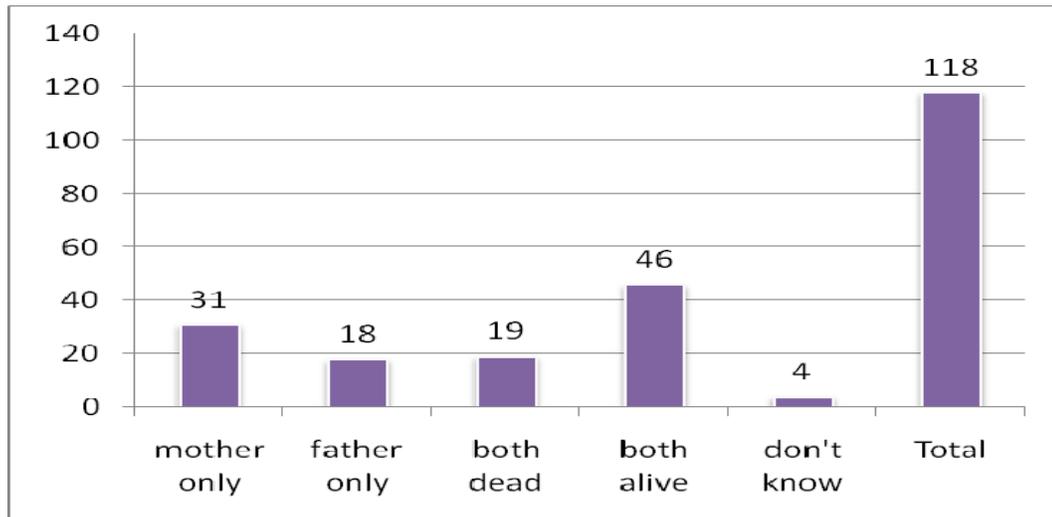
Table 20: Distribution of Respondents by Marital status, Age at Marriage and Marriage Arrangement

Description	Response	frequency	%
Marital status	Never married	84	70.6
	Divorced	21	17.6
	Separated	14	11.8
	Total	119	100
Age at the time of marriage	<10	3	8.6
	10-14	28	80.0
	15-18	4	11.4
	Total	35	100
How was the marriage arranged?	By abduction	5	14.3
	Arranged by family	23	65.7
	Consensual	7	20.0
	Total	35	100

Data about the parental or family status of the respondents showed that about 49 (41.6%) of the girls were brought up in a single parent family, of which, those in women headed family

constituted 26.3%. About 15.3% of them also lived with their fathers only. About 16.1% of the girls were orphans (both parents passed away) while 38.9% reported that both parents are alive, whereas, 3.4% of the respondents had no information about the whereabouts of their parents. Four girls didn't respond to this question. The following chart displays data on the distribution of respondents by their parental status.

Chart 6: Distribution of Respondents by Parental Status



To comprehend the social and economic background of their families, respondents were asked about the occupational status of their parents. Out of 115 who responded to this question, 42.6% were found to be from peasant families, 18.3% came from families that made a living through daily labor and 14.8% came from civil servant families. Still others (8.7% and 7.8%) claimed that their parents were engaged in business and not employed or engaged in any type of occupation respectively. The remaining 7.8% of the respondents reported that their parents were engaged in other types of occupations such as soldiers, pensioners, etc. In general, the occupational background of the respondents depicts that most of the children exposed to sexual exploitation came from lower strata of the society.

Table 21: Distribution of Respondents by the Occupational Status of their Parents

	Occupation	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Farmers	49	40.2	42.6
	Private business	10	8.2	8.7
	Civil servants	17	13.9	14.8
	Daily laborers	21	17.2	18.3
	Unemployed	9	7.4	7.8
	Others, specify	9	7.4	7.8
	Total		115	94.3
	Missing	7	5.7	
Total		122	100.0	

4.2 Child Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation

The statistical information obtained for four consecutive years (2004-2007) from Child Trafficking Protection Unit vividly showed that domestic child trafficking (particularly on female children) is dramatically increasing from time to time.⁸ The data also depicted that every year children are trafficked in large numbers particularly from Amhara, Oromiya and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional States to Addis Ababa. (See the annexed report). A number of children from rural areas and small towns end up in Addis Ababa and these children are either deceived or forced by middlemen and other scruples actors intending to exploit them.

In spite of the paucity of adequate and reliable data on the magnitude of child trafficking in Ethiopia, reports of some agencies and occasional news reports in the media apparently disclosed that child trafficking is one of the steadily growing problem of children in Ethiopia. Hence, in order to obtain insights into the dual face of the trafficking (as a problem or violation of rights of the children on the one hand and as a precipitating factor for commercial sex on the other), attempt was made to generate information regarding the views of girls and some key informants about this issue under consideration. To explore this situation, a question was presented to migrant girl respondents as to why and how they ended up in Addis Ababa.

Table 22: Distribution of Girls by Persons Assisting in their Migration

Persons Assisting Girls in Migration		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Came by my self	36	29.5	30.5
	My parents	9	7.4	7.6
	Relatives	29	23.8	24.6
	Traffickers/brokers/pimps	21	17.2	17.8
	Bus drivers	11	9.0	9.3
	Boyfriend	3	2.5	2.5
	Others, specify	9	7.4	7.6
	Total	118	96.7	100.0
Missing	System	4	3.3	
Total		122	100.0	

As indicated in the above table, except 30.5% of the children who said they came to Addis Ababa by themselves, the rest came with someone- family member, relative or persons actually involved in trafficking of children. According to the data, 24.6 % of the respondents said that they were assisted/guided by their relatives to migrate to Addis Ababa followed by traffickers (17.8%) and bus drivers (9.3%). Some girls reported that their parents encouraged them to leave home and migrate to Addis Ababa. This could probably be due to the fact that parents aspire for the better future of their daughters or in anticipation of the financial return in the form of remittance from their daughters.

⁸ From 2004-2007 a total of 2243 children were trafficked from rural areas to Addis Ababa. Out of these, 1502 (66.7%) were female children. In the year 2004, there were 167, in 2005, 327, in 2006, 547 and in 2007, 464 girls trafficked from rural areas and small towns to Addis Ababa..

Some key informants argued that even though domestic trafficking of children is widespread in the country, the involvement of relatives and parents in the practice exacerbated the problem. Regarding this point, a key informant from Child Trafficking Unit said, *it is worth noting that the context and the current practice of child trafficking in our country seems to have different nature as compared to the definition stipulated in the UN documents and child right conventions for the very reason that the action is largely endowed with voluntary migration. Moreover, the existing tradition of kinship care apparently masks the high rate of influx of young girls and their recruitment under the pretext of blood relations.*

It was reported by key informants that girls migrated from the rural areas and regional small towns go into prostitution when they eventually realize that their original plan of getting other employment opportunities fails. Hence, girls mostly seek other alternative jobs as a primary option prior to engagement into commercial sex work. The following table depicts the findings on the type of employment in which girls had been involved to earn a living prior to entering into commercial sex work.

Table 23: Distribution of girls by Activities engaged to get a living prior to Commercial sex work

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Housemaid	39	32.0	33.9
	daily laborer	6	4.9	5.2
	street vendor	9	7.4	7.8
	unemployed/dependent on family	52	42.6	45.2
	others, specify	9	7.4	7.8
	Missing	115	94.3	100.0
	Total	7	5.7	
Total		122	100.0	

As the figures in the above table indicate, 45.2% of the respondents reported that they had never been employed in any income generating activities before entering into commercial sex work while 33.9% of the girls had served as housemaids before they started sex work. About 7.8% of the girls were street vendors and 5.2% of them were daily laborers. The following anecdote from a girl (trafficked from Gojam) consolidates the point as to how girls are deceived to migrate, their aspiration and how they eventually end up in sex work. .

... I came from Gojam four years ago influenced by a deceptive woman who promised to get me a better job here in Addis Ababa. You see, I came across this good looking woman by accident on a Timket holiday while I was heading to the celebration, which was taking place in one corner of the village. This woman approached and told me that she got lost and asked me to help her show the way to the place she wanted to reach. Happily, I got along and walked together. On our way, she was interrogating me with a hell lot of questions to know about

myself and my family background. With innocence, I told her my miserable life circumstances in the family for my mother (her father is not alive) is absolutely poor that I dropped out of school when I was in grade five. Before we departed, she heartily thanked me for my help and promised to her level best to assist me in resuming education and simultaneously facilitating employment in her own office if I would come to Addis Ababa. I thought that was a golden chance and I have decided not to miss this opportunity. She gave me her telephone number which I can reach her on arrival at Addis Ababa bus station and she gave me some money (75 birr) for transportation. When I shared the kindness of the woman to my mother, she was thrilled by the lucky Timket day I had and glorified Saint Michael for listening to her prayer. A week later, I arrived in Addis and phoned her and she sent someone to pick me from around the bus terminal. On the first day of my arrival to her residence, she owed me warm hospitality. The next morning she advised me to start working in the small liquor house adjacent to her residence as kiosk attendant (serving drinks to her customers) and meanwhile she promised me that she would facilitate school registration and solicit better employments, but to no avail.One day, she introduced me a customer -a 'wealthy man' who showed up a couple of days to drink and insisted me to sleep with him so that I would become as rich as him. It was then that I lost my virginity and started sex work under her control around the place called Mesalemia. After serving for two years, I realized her maneuvering tricks and how she is exploiting me. For your surprise, she had never paid me a penny for one year period under the pretext of not having a guarantee (a person/relative who would be held responsible for any misdeeds). Eventually, I completely lost hope and made up my mind to escape and do the business on my own. That is why I came out to the street where I joined others who are doing the same around Piasa. Before I came out to the street, I had a plan to go back to Gojam and live with my mother. But how can I see the face of my mother without a change in my life? I am embarrassed because it is really shameful if she knows my condition..... (Genet, a 16 years old girl).

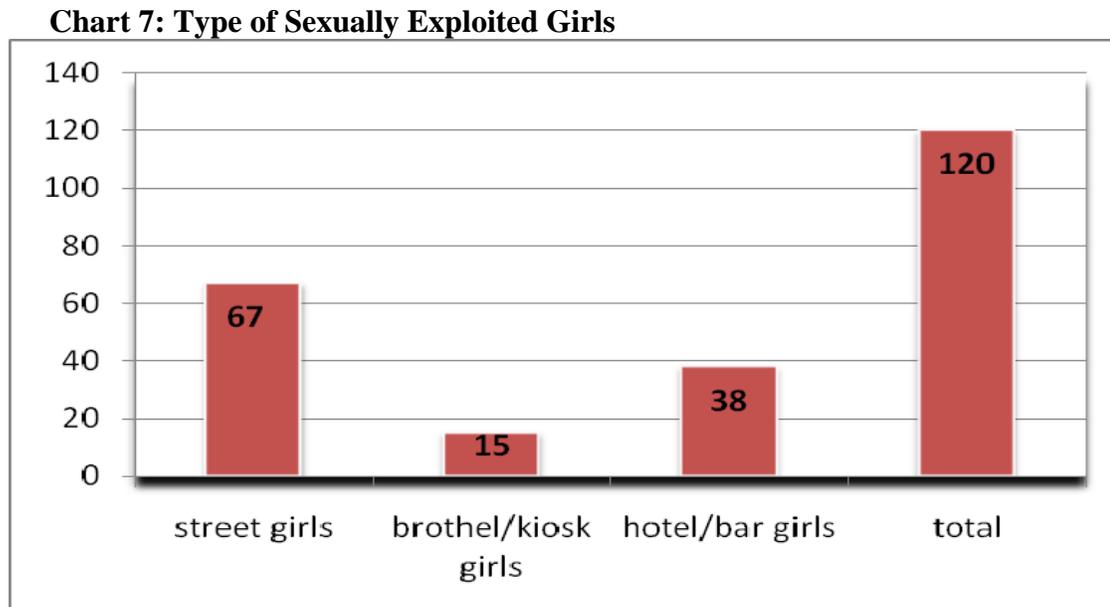
4.3 Child Prostitution: Its Nature and Magnitude in Addis Ababa

There is no accurate figure about magnitude of child prostitution in Addis Ababa. However, due to increasing rural urban migration, poverty, and the spread of HIV/AIDS pandemic, the number of girls who end up in prostitution as a means of survival is increasing. Children as young as 13-16 years of age are noted to be engaged in the practice in greater numbers. It is estimated that there are more than 6000 child commercial sex workers in Addis Ababa (MOLSA, 2005).⁹ The researchers did their level best to figure out the magnitude of girl children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation in Addis Ababa, but to no avail. This has to do with a number of problems encountered during the study: For one, it was difficult to access as many child commercial sex workers as possible since what they do is illegal and stigmatized. Secondly, children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation seem to have developed fatigue with repeated interview requests by other researchers and NGOs, which they thought yields nothing in terms of improving their predicament. As a result, many child sex workers refused to cooperate with our study. Refusal for interview also has to do with the nature of their work as they have to sleep during the day and engage in business during the night. Thirdly, in a society where there is no vital registration system, it was difficult to distinguish children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation from those female sex workers.

⁹ MOLSA (2005) National Action plan on sexual abuse and exploitation of children, P.7

For these and many other reasons, it was not possible to come up with prevalence data that could highlight the magnitude of the problem in Addis Ababa. The researchers, therefore, extensively relied on qualitative data in order to redress this lacuna.

The findings of this study identified the existence of three categories of girls who explicitly engaged in commercial sex work. These include 67 (54.9%) street girls, 15(12.3%) brothel/kiosk girls and 38(31.1%) bar/hotel girls as shown in the chart below. Two girls (1.6%) did not respond to this question.



A closer look into each category of children tells us that they apparently differ in some identifying characteristics such as their income, types of customers, extent of abuse they experience, level of participation in community or social affairs, level of contact with their families, etc. From in-depth interviews made with girls of each category and observations of their working environments, detail descriptions are given below to see clear distinctions and similarities inherent in each group.

4.3.1 Child Commercial Sex Workers Working in the Streets

This category comprises two groups of girls. The first group refers to those who work in their own rented rooms with no one to supervise them and share their income. The second group includes girls who work on the streets but do not have any rented bedrooms. Both groups of girls stand on the streets and look for customers and their clients take them to hotels or their own homes for one night stand. Most of these child commercial sex workers are pushed by their families to start the work to generate income in order to support themselves and their families. As most of them mentioned, they used to work as housemaids for some months or years but because the income they earned was not adequate to support themselves as well as their families, they decided to join commercial sex work.

When asked the types of customers they encounter in their daily business, they mentioned the following.

- **Older men who are either married, widowers, or separated:** It was indicated that older poor men fetch street girls because the cost is cheaper compared to those who work in hotels/bars. Moreover, the older poor men prefer to have sex with child prostitutes instead of relatively older women who work in hotels.
- **Married men:** They indicated that married men, are also their customers. When asked how they identify men whether they are married or single, they said that some men openly tell them their marital status and sexual incompatibility with wives as the reason that forced them to visit sex workers.
- **Unmarried young men:** Young men were identified as one group of their customers. These young men visit child commercial sex workers for different reasons. Some of them might not have girlfriends or separated from their girlfriends for shorter or longer periods. Moreover, the cheaper price offered by these groups of sex workers for short sex or one night stand compared to the commercial sex workers working in hotels is also another reason behind. It was also indicated that young men do not want to have permanent girlfriends/sexual partners because of the high costs incurred in dating.
- **Adolescents:** They mentioned that, though not as frequent as other customers, adolescents were said to be one group of customers for child commercial sex workers. Adolescents who are not yet sexually active also visit child prostitutes with the aim of experimenting sex as they believe that commercial sex workers would train them about sex as long as they are paid. .

4.3.2 Child Prostitutes Working in Brothels

Owners of brothels are mainly women who had worked as commercial sex workers for some years. After working on the streets or in brothels for long time as sex workers, they start their own businesses i.e. selling drinks as well as renting rooms for those girls/women engaged in sex work. As a key informant from CHAD-ET (a local NGO) indicated, most of the female children who work in brothels were trafficked from regions by bus or truck drivers, their relatives who reside in Addis Ababa, commercial sex workers [usually their friends] and brokers. With their low (none) level of education, prostitution or working as housemaid are the only available employment opportunities in Addis Ababa. Thus, most of them start working in brothels under the supervision of the house owners known as '*ballukas*'¹⁰. In most cases, young girls are chosen by the '*ballukas*' upon their arrival at the bus station. Girl children are preferred by ballukas as they attract more customers and facilitate their business. Moreover, girl children do not demand a lot when it comes to sharing income with the *ballukas*. In many cases, the '*ballukas*' get the lions share of the money earned by the child prostitutes.

¹⁰ It was found out that not all commercial sex workers working in brothels came from regions. There are female children who were born in Addis Ababa, but pushed by their parents to work as sex workers in other sub-cities where they cannot be easily identified.

These child commercial sex workers identified their usual customers such as older and poor men [50-60 years old], married middle-aged men, married and unmarried young men. It was reported that most of these men are those who cannot afford to pay for commercial sex workers working in bars/hotels.

A key informant from CHAD-ET [a local NGO running an intervention in Merkato area targeting child prostitutes] argued that, because the 'balluka's livelihood mainly relies on the income they earn from the child commercial sex workers who work under their supervision; they see interventions by the NGOs as a threat to their survival. He further indicated that during the initial stage of intervention, CHAD-ET had encountered firm resistance from the 'ballukas'. Moreover, the wider community considers child commercial sex workers as engaged in the business out of free will

4.3.3. Child Commercial Sex Workers in Bars/Hotels

The other groups of child commercial sex workers are those who work in bars/hotels. Some are full time and reside in bars or hotels, others live with their families; some are waitresses that supplement their income by sex work. During the focus group discussion held with this group of commercial sex workers, it was found out that there are high school girls from poor families who work in hotels on part-time basis to cover hidden costs of the so called free education. Thus, children as young as 15-16 years old work in bars. These groups of children were asked how much money they earn in a typical day and they indicated that their daily income is not uniform. While some of the girls get good sum of money, others may negotiate for relatively lower price if they do not get other alternatives. They claimed that there were days when they did not get even one customer to generate money for their daily subsistence.

When asked about their regular customers, they mentioned rich and older men who are married and have children or those who are widowers, married young men, foreigners, and unmarried young men. The non-Ethiopians who reside in Addis Ababa for short periods, either as visitors or tourists or those who stay for relatively longer periods often visit them. The most identifying features of foreign men as their customers is that they pay them what they requested or even higher; they are caring and do not force them to do anything without their consent.

With varying degrees, all types of child commercial sex workers mentioned that they encounter a number of problems in their daily lives. They mentioned that they are often asked by their customers to have sex without condom. The following anecdote from Tseday, an 18 years old commercial sex workers best substantiates this point:

In my daily work, , I come across different men with different needs and demands. A customer, who gets satisfied with my service, will come again. The key is the way you handle him in a bed. My friend who works in another hotel taught/oriented me how to handle men and I have gained good experience on how to handle my customers. Some men visit me three to four times in a week. They tell me everything about their backgrounds and so do I. In the process, they raise the issue of having sex without condom. If I am willing to accept their request, they could pay me two folds the price. Most men consider that child commercial sex workers are

relatively safe from HIV/AIDS as they are young and have little experience with sex. But, I do not agree with their requests. Some of them insist on having sex without condom and try to use force, or break up the deal. Some argue or pretend that they would have difficulty of erection if they put on condom, while others tear the condom while having sex.

Table 24: Type of sex workers by number of customers they get per week

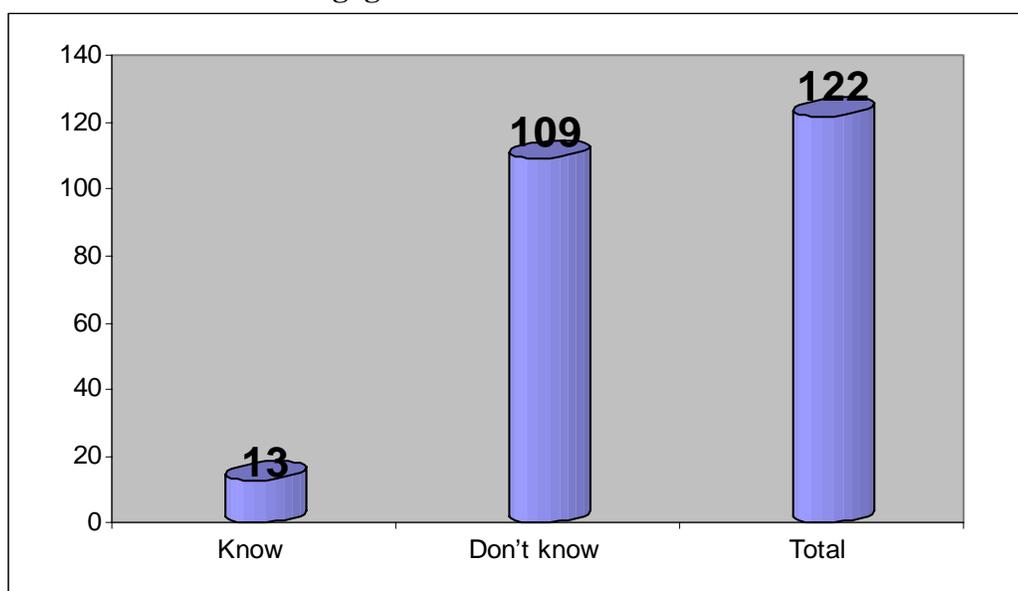
Number of customers /week	Hotel girls	Street Girls	Girls in Brothels
None	0	4 (6.0)	0
1-3	4(10.5)	3(4.5)	2(13.3)
4-6	22(57.9)	12(17.9)	1(6.7)
7-10	10(26.3)	29(43.3)	7(46.7)
11-15	2(5.3)	15(22.4)	5(33.3)
Total	38(100)	67(100)	15(100)

As shown in table 24, the number of customers visiting girls engaged in commercial sex varies depending on their category and their place of work. The figures in the table above depicted that children working on streets and brothels get more customers than those that are working in hotels. The majority (57.9%) of hotel girls get 4-6 customers per week while 43.3 % working in the street and 46.7% working in the brothels claimed to have slept with at least 7-10 customers per week. The maximum payment hotel girls charge their customers was reported to be birr 300, while brothel and street girls charge birr 150 and 120 respectively. The minimum charge reported was birr 50, birr 30 and 20 for hotel, brothel and street girls respectively. Some of the informants reported that the payment varies every time depending on the type of the customers and economic condition of the girl. A girl in hotel said, *I always make discounts to my regular customers and even go out for free if the man had done some important favors to me. At times, when I am broke, I don't bargain a lot and charge them whatever they could afford or willing to pay..*

4.4 Nature of Contact with Parents/Guardians

The frequency of contact with their parents and the nature of the relation with their family members were explored in order to see how the working condition affects the degree of family ties. To this end, they were asked whether their parents knew their involvement in commercial sex or not. According to the response shown in chart 8 below, the overwhelming majority 109(89.3%) of the girls reported that their parents are not aware what they do and only 13(10.7%) of the girls said that their parents knew about their engagement in commercial sex work. When asked about the reaction of parents knowing their status as commercial sex workers, about one-third 4 (30.1%) of the girls said that their parents did nothing bad against them, while 3 (23.1%) respondents reported that their parents were disappointed, 2(15.4 %) said their parents disowned them, another 2(15.4%) of the respondents reported that their parents tried to help them stop the business and 2(15.4%) had no idea about the reaction of their parents.

Chart 8: Distribution of Girls by the Status of their Parents' Awareness about Their Engagement in Commercial Sex



As far as the nature of family contact is concerned, the figures displayed in the following table showed that 54.8% of them had no family contact at all and their relationship was cut off since the time they joined in commercial sex work. Only 7% of the girls in the sample population maintained regular family ties while 38% said they kept occasional contact with the family members. The study found out that 39 (32.5%) of the girls said that there are some people from their family who are dependent on their income. In other words, 52.5 of them support their parents, 22.5% their own child/children and 17.5% their siblings.

Table 25: Nature of Contact with Parents/Guardians

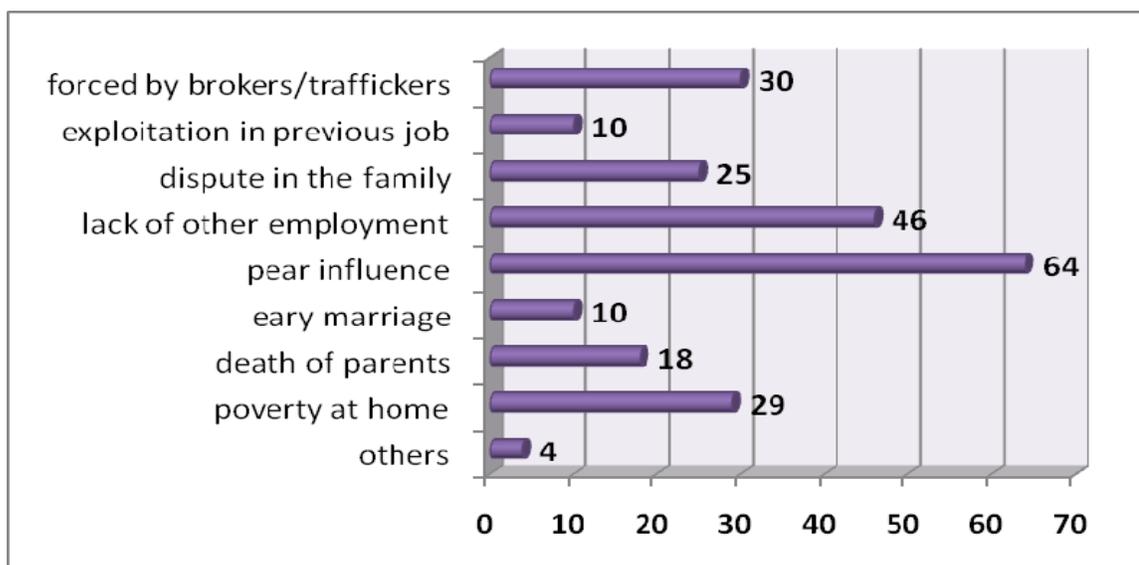
Nature of contact		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	no contact whatsoever	63	51.6	54.8
	Infrequently	44	36.1	38.3
	Regularly	8	6.6	7.0
	Total	115	94.3	100.0
	Missing	7	5.7	
Total		122	100.0	

Regarding social contact with parents and other significant others, similar views were shared from girls participated in the focus group discussions. Most of them indicated that they have limited or no contact with their families particularly those who live in Regions. They claimed that they do not participate in community affairs such as Iddirs, Ikub, Mahibers, etc because of the negative perception of the community towards commercial sex workers. Social interaction is confined to their own small group. In most cases, children who came from the same Regions reside in one neighborhood and maintain regular contact and support one another. They drink coffee together, try to resolve problems they encounter, and share information and advice to one another. They further stated that their contact mainly depends on the level of awareness of their families/relatives about their whereabouts and the type of work they are engaged in. Accordingly, those commercial sex workers whose parents, relatives, or neighbors of their families did not know their whereabouts as well as their engagement in sex work claimed to have maintained certain level of contact with their families by visiting them during holidays, sending/receiving letters, and sending money. Contrary to this, those child commercial sex workers who operated with the knowledge of their parents or relatives said that they do not want to have any sort of contact with their families.

4.5 Predisposing Factors to Sexual Exploitation

Participants were asked about the most pressing reasons forced them to begin commercial sex work. According to the data indicated in chart 9, majority 64(52.4%) of the girls began commercial sex work influenced by their peers/friends. Lack of other alternative employment opportunity was reported by 46 (37.7%) of the respondents. As many as 30(24.6%) of the respondents also reported the role of traffickers; 29(23.8%) reported poverty at home and 25(20%) because of the recurrent dispute in the family. Death of parent (s), early marriage and exploitation in the previous jobs were identified as contributing factors by 18(14.7%), 10(8.2%) and 10(8.2%) of the respondents respectively.

Chart 9: Major Contributing Factors that Exposed Girls to Sexual Exploitation



To substantiate the quantitative data presented above, key informants and FGD participants forwarded various push and pull factors discussed here under.

- **Economic reasons:** economic reason was identified as one of the major factors that influence female children to engage in commercial sex work. Due to increased family size and deterioration of productivity of land, many rural households are not in a position to fulfill the basic needs of their family members. This situation forces, many female children to migrate to urban areas in search of employment and better life. Flow of increasing number of people from rural to urban areas exacerbates already high level of unemployment in urban areas thereby leaving little option for migrant children, other than sex work. In most cases, migrant children start life in Addis Ababa as housemaids and move on to prostitution when they realize that commercial work is better paying job with relative freedom.
- **Early marriage:** Early marriage and the associated consequences are identified as one of the contributing factors that influence many female children to migrate to urban areas. In the absence of other employment opportunities with low level of education, these migrant children end up as sex workers. Amazingly, in one of the FGD held with child prostitutes, 5 out of 7 were found to be early married girls. The following story illustrates how early marriage pushes many female children from different regions to move to Addis Ababa and how they eventually end up as commercial sex workers. Nitsuh, an 18 years old child prostitute had the following to say.

In rural areas, many female children are victimized by harmful traditional practices (HTPs) such early marriage and abduction. I am one of those girls trapped by early marriage. I got married to three men and have one child from my third husband. I was 12 years old when I got married to my first husband. All the marriages were arranged by my parents without my consent. Due to this, all the marriages did not sustain. When I got married to my first husband, I was attending school in grade 4 in one of the rural primary schools. After staying for three months with my first husband, I left him and returned back to my family of origin. I tried to continue my education but my parents again forced me to marry another man. He was not matured enough to manage home. When I left my second husband, they also forced me to get married to another divorced man who was 20 years older than me. Though I did not want to have a child, I conceived and gave birth to a boy. Although the man loved me, I always thought of escaping from him. My husband realized that I did not want to stay any longer with him and he used to get angry and abuse me. I contemplated again and again and finally, I decided to leave the area and moved to Addis. After I came here, I went to a broker to find a job. I was offered a job as a housemaid and worked for six months. But, while working as a housemaid, I did not find things as I wanted. I was low paid. Besides, they used to nag me every day. Then, I consulted my friends who came from the same area I was born and engaged in commercial sex work. They told me that they are doing good businesses and advised me to start it soon. One of them facilitated everything. She found me a room to rent and started sex work.

Bezuwork a 16 years old commercial sex worker and another victim of early marriage narrated the following story:

I was born in a rural area called Este in Gondar. My father is a model farmer in the area. I was in 6th grade when I first got married. Since I was a good student in school, my teachers used to advise me to continue my education. My dreams, however, could not come true. Without my awareness and consent, my parents forced me to marry at an early age. The man was 15 years older than me. The whole deal was finished without my knowledge. It was when the wedding day approached that I heard a rumor from my friends and neighbors that my parents are preparing for the wedding. Then, I asked my mother about the case and she told me that I was going to get married in the near future. Though I tried to convince her, she could not listen to me and take my idea into consideration. Few weeks later, the wedding ceremony was organized and I got married. I could not even stay more than a month in marriage. Rather, I escaped and came to Addis Ababa. I had the addresses of my friends; I gave one of them a call and met her. I worked as a housemaid only for four months and my friends facilitated the transition to sex work.

Zeritu, a 17 years old child prostitute also said that she was married at the age of 13. It was an arranged marriage. She explained the process and its consequences as follows.

As usual, girls in rural areas do not have any say to decide who to marry. Children are not consulted on whatever decision that affect their lives. The decision of the parents is irreversible especially on the issue of marriage, which is supposed to be one of the happiest life experiences for men as well as women. In any case, I was given to marriage without my consent. Though I did not stay longer, I conceived and gave birth to a child. I wanted to return to my family of origin, but I knew that they would not accept me. It came to my mind that I could go to Addis and find a job. I left my child with my mother and came to Addis Ababa guided by a truck driver. I was employed as a housemaid through brokers and I worked for almost a year. I used to get 70 Birr per month. Eventually, I realized that if I continue working as a housemaid, I will not be able to earn adequate income to sustain myself and support my child and my mother.

- **Peer influence:** As discussed above, many of the FGD participants mentioned that they started commercial sex work mainly influenced by their friends. Young women who worked as commercial sex workers visit their families during holidays and other occasions. They often visit in glittering way (dressed smartly and with a lot of jewelries) and claim that they have good jobs and advocate about the diverse employment opportunities of urban environment. They often do not tell what they do for a leaving to their families and the larger community at large. Lured by seemingly glamorous life in the city, some of female children accompany them to Addis Ababa, while others stay for some time until they arrange things and follow them after some months. It was found out that many of the girls who serve as waitresses are also engaged in commercial sex work. Peer influence is also found to be one of the reasons for those girls who are working in cafeteria or hotels to move to sex work as part-time job. As one of the FGD participants mentioned, she got surprised by the fact that her friend earned about 150 Birr Per day from sex work, which eventually convinced her to begin the sex work.

Mulu, who joined commercial sex, explained how she was influenced by her friends as follows.

I've been working as street vendor for three years because I had a conflict with my parents. My stepfather used to get drunk and beat us. Also, he used to favor my sister who is his real daughter. I met some girls on the street who are engaged in commercial sex work and I began getting closer with them. They eventually convinced me to work as sex worker.

- **Family disorganization: divorce, separation or annulment** are found to be contributing factors that push many female children to migrate to Addis Ababa and engage in commercial sex work. In rural areas, it is often men who have the right to decide on family matters and resources. Some men may keep extra sexual partners [concubines] and beget children out of wedlock. . Due to these and other factors, conflict within the family circle would eventually lead to divorce and results in a disintegrated family. As a result, the children lack family support and guidance and may migrate to urban areas and engage in sex work.

4.6 Major Problems Encountered by Children Exposed to CSE

In this section, attempt was made to closely examine the types of abuses children endure in their day- to-day lives while working as sex workers. As indicated in table 26, it is clear that 75.4 % of the respondents mentioned clients’ refusal to use condom as the most serious challenge. Such refusal to use condom could increase the chances of infection with HIV/AIDS and STIs. It could also result in unwanted pregnancy and abortion. Clients’ request for unconventional sex, clients’ refusal to pay, physical abuse, rape or attempted rape were identified in order of magnitude by 64.7%, 58.2%, 55.7%, 20.5% of respondents respectively

Table 26: Response of the Respondents on Major Challenges They Faced

Major problems encountered	Response counts	%
Clients refusal to use condom	92	75.4
Physical abuse	68	55.7
Request for unconventional type of sex	79	64.7
Rape/attempted rape	25	20.5
Exploitation by employers	20	16.4
Clients refusal to pay	71	58.2
Other	10	8.2

From the forgoing description, it is clear that children exposed to sexual exploitation encounter a range of problems that put their survival at stake. The following qualitative data also supports quantitative findings presented above.

- **Refusal to pay money:** Almost all the interviewed child commercial sex workers mentioned that some of their customers often refuse to pay after having sex. For instance, Almaz, 17 years old child commercial sex worker stated the following.

Some drunken men ask me to sleep with them. They initially agree on the payment based on the type of sex they would prefer. After having sexual intercourse and having

fulfilled their sexual desires, they frighten me to give back the money they paid. I have experienced a number of men who do so. One day, a middle-aged man agreed to pay me 50 birr for overnight. He gave me the money and we had a peaceful deal. After one round of intercourse, he frightened me to return the money he paid me. Because it was not too late, I requested the help of my friends working nearby, who rescued me. Another man stole 40 Birr, which I earned from 4 men. Many of my friends do encounter such problem.

Meskerem, an 18 years old child commercial sex worker also mentioned the following.

When men approach us, they look extremely humble and honest. But from my experience, different men come with diverse motives/interests. While some come to satisfy their sexual desires, others come to steal or rob you. Even they openly ask me how much I earned in a particular day. One day, I agreed to sleep with a man for overnight. He asked me how much I earned on that particular day. As I never understood his motive, I openly told him how much I earned. I remember it was 70 Birr. He did not put off his clothes in the bed room and I was amazed why he did not do so. He told me that he wanted to wake up early in the morning, and hence asked me to put the door key on the table. He also requested me to awake him up early if I could. We never had sex even once the whole night. It was around 4:30 at night; he stood up and beaten me severely. I collapsed and the man thought I was dead. When I came back to my senses after a while, I realized that he had already left with 70 Birr I earned that day. I cried loud but there was nothing I could do about it.

- **Physical and sexual violence:** The child commercial sex workers mentioned physical abuse as one of the common problems they encounter in their daily lives. Most often, they encounter physical abuse when they refuse to obey clients' demands such as sex without condom and different sexual positions. Many of the child prostitutes reported that they were victims of serious sexual and physical abuse. Some were raped and conceived and had to resort to back street abortions. Tsige, an 18 years old street commercial sex worker narrated the following:

Many of my customers ask me to have sex without condom. When I refuse, they threaten and use force to subdue me. Amazingly, others want to have group sex. One day, a young man agreed to pay me 100 Birr for overnight and we went to a hotel where he already had reserved a bed room. His intention was to have group sex. When I entered the room, I found his friend in the room. Immediately, I realized their intention and screamed for help and the hotel guard rescued me. The other day, I came across another surprising experience. A man paid me 30 birr for short time sex and we had sex once. I sensed that he already had reached orgasm. But he refused to go out of my room. First, he warned me to keep silent and he did not want to go out of my room. When I tried to call my neighbors, he gave me a slap on my face and hit me at my back, which resulted in lingering serious pain for almost a week.

- **Deception:** Deception by their customers is mentioned as one of the problems that children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation encounter in their daily lives. They claimed

that, those customers who visited them more than a couple of times are often accepted as loyal customers. They warmly welcome them and do not even negotiate on the amount of payment to be paid for sexual service. However, they said that all of such customers are not dependable as there are many men out there who deceive and abuse the relationship built on mutual trust.

Kibre, an 18 years old commercial sex worker, had the following to say:

Of all my regular customers, older men often deceive me. For a number of days, they give me what I ask them. They tell me all what they have in their hearts; about their family, their income, etc. In the process, I develop trust in some of them. Sometimes, they promise to pay me after having sex. As they are my usual customers, I do not want to argue and accept their proposal. However, some of them do not show up again. I know three men who deceived me using this trick. Now experience has taught me not to trust all men.

Children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation and working on the streets were also asked to compare and contrast the problems they face with those working in bars or hotels. First, they claimed that people's perception towards them as well as those working in bars is different. They said that the perception of people towards child commercial sex workers working on the streets (*kumiligh* business), meaning those awaiting their customers standing on the street), is more negative compared to those who work in bars. As a result, they are subject to insults and other forms verbal abuse in everyday life. In terms of vulnerability to different forms of abuse, those working in rented houses are relatively safer than those who operate in hotels, bars and streets. In relation to this, they indicated that if those working in rented houses encounter customers who force them to have sex without condom, they can scream for help and their neighbors may rescue them. Whereas those working in bars sleep with their customers often in another hotel where there is no one they knew/trust to rescue them from danger. Further, those working in bars are more likely to be drunk and less likely to use condom. Sleeping in their customers' homes or hotels they are not familiar with coupled with drinking alcohol, exposes them to unprotected sex thereby exposing to the risk of HIV infection.

During the discussion, the child commercial sex workers pointed out that they use different mechanisms to defend themselves from different forms of abuse discussed above. One effective mechanism is group defense. Focus groups discussions held with children exposed to sexual exploitation revealed that those who migrated from the same area or province work and live together in one neighborhood. Senior commercial sex workers facilitate conditions and provide necessary orientation for new comers who intend to start the sex work. They believe that working in close proximities enabled them to defend dangerous life experiences together. If any one of them calls for help in times of danger from their customers, they collectively defend them.

Providing the necessary orientation to beginners is another coping strategy from impeding danger. The orientation basically focuses on negotiation skills, handling customers, protective

measures mainly on how to use condom, how to seek help in times of dangerous situation such as when asked unprotected sex, physical abuse or when customers refuse to pay them or attempt to rob them and etc.

4.7 Reporting Maltreatment or Abuse

In the forgoing discussion, attempt was made to present various forms of abuses and maltreatments encountered by girls exposed to sexual exploitation. Where and to whom they report abuse cases is another question that begs for an answer. As indicated in the table 27, 47.5% preferred reporting maltreatments related to their work to their friends, 26.3% reported to legal institutions particularly to the police. About 14.4% of the girls never reported to anyone whatever maltreatment they faced at work. Others (5.9%) reported to their employers or brokers, and only 2.5% reported to their parents or relatives. The remaining 3.4% of the respondents reported to their boyfriends, or any stranger around. Those who did not report to the legal authorities were asked about the reasons for not doing so. About 39% of the girls reported lack of trust in the legal institutions. Some 35.1% said they did not report for fear of further attack by the abusers; 14.3% also said they did not know where to report. The remaining 11.7% of the girls gave other reasons like reporting is of no use, carelessness and not to expose oneself to the legal institutions.

Table 27: Tendency of Reporting Maltreatments by Girls

Questions	Response	Frequency	%	Valid %
To whom do you report maltreatments in your work?	Police	31	25.4	26.3
	Friends	56	45.9	47.5
	Parents/guardians/relatives	3	2.5	2.5
	Pimps/brokers/brothel owners	7	5.7	5.9
	Nowhere/no one	17	13.9	14.4
	Others, specify	4	3.3	3.4
	Total	118	96.7	100.0
	Missing	4	3.3	
Reasons for not reporting to legal institutions	Afraid of further abuse	27	22.1	35.1
	Don't know where to report	11	9.0	14.3
	Have Not trusting legal bodies	30	24.6	39.0
	Others, specify	9	7.4	11.7
	Total	77	63.1	100.0

4.8 Attitude of the Community towards Girls Exposed to CSE

Historically, sex work is one of stigmatized professions in most societies. Most often, commercial sex workers, regardless of their age, experience stigma and discrimination in different forms. While clients tend to perceive that child sex workers are free from HIV/AIDS, the community at large regards them as vectors and vehicles of HIV/AIDS transmission. As a result, children exposed to sexual exploitation are discriminated from participating in community/social affairs to the extent of refusing to rent rooms for them and in other mundane neighborhood or community interactions such as meeting for coffee or dining together. A key informant, coordinating the joint project of local NGOs working on sexual abuse and exploitation, commented the following:

In my view, the community or the public has wrong image about commercial sex workers. The community addresses by derogatory name “shermuta”, meaning–whore, irrespective of their age, and all women engaged in prostitution receive a uniform label that undermines their dignity. Limited awareness of the society about the interface of child labor and child sex work is part of the reason for discrimination and negative attitude. Children engaged in sex work are judged on equal terms with adult female sex workers and people often do not consider it as sexual exploitation; rather they are considered as girls working to get a means of living out of free will. Thus, such misperceptions are major stumbling blocks to mitigate the problem.

Some of the children exposed to sexual exploitation noted that not all customers approach them for satisfying sexual desire. They claimed that there are men who approach them for ill conceived motives. As one of the girls from FSCE’s Merkato Project (Drop in Center) said *Some men consider us an object not as a human beings. They come just to experiment sex in different positions, in a way they never dare to do so with their wives or girlfriends. Some customers want to satisfy their sexual desire, and still others want to infect us with HIV virus or rob our property as revenge.*

Another girl, 17 years old, who works as waitress and sex worker in one of the bars around Kasanchis, reported:

Usually, the landlords do not welcome us to rent their houses if they find out what we do for a living. If they rent a house/room in their compound, some landlords/ladies attempt to prevent any relationship or contact with their family members for fear that their children could be spoiled. There are also landlords/ladies and family members who do not allow us to use communal services in the compound like washing basins and kitchen. Hence, to avoid such inhumane treatment from the community, we prefer not to rent a house anywhere other than the places we are familiar with. . Otherwise, we would rather prefer to live in groups renting one of the rooms from the hotel where we work.

Although many girls have shared the prevailing attitude of the community as discriminatory, there were also some informants who argued contrary to the above assertion. These groups described their social relationship within the community as good and they expressed a sense of

belongingness to the neighborhood and the community at large. ...*I don't feel alienated in my neighborhood. I attend coffee ceremony together with my neighbors, who are not engaged in sex work like me. They invite me for coffee and I do meet at least once in a week. Moreover, I also participate in some social events (mourning or birth day celebrations with my neighbors),* said 18 years old girl working in a hotel around Piasa. This idea was also shared by those informants participated in the community group discussion. They argued that the reaction of the community towards girls engaged in commercial sex work can be both positive and negative. It was pointed out that there is relative tolerance and acceptance of girls exposed to sexual exploitation in areas where such practice is more widespread than neighborhoods where such practice is invisible. One participant in a community group discussion noted

In my area of residence, (Merkato or around bus terminal) people, regardless of their occupations live in harmony. As most of the households are destitute, social ties are very important because households help one another and cope up hardships all along and share happy and sad moments together. Nobody cares if a prostitute girl lives around because this area is familiar with it and it is referred as a prostitution corner. I wonder this may not hold true in other areas where prostitution is invisible.

4.9 Attitude of Girls towards their Work

When asked about their feeling towards the commercial sex work they engaged in, most children (74.8%) expressed regret for engagement in such stigmatizing business. It is not therefore surprising that the overwhelming majorities of the children interviewed are not interested in their work and like to engage in other better productive activities. The fact that about a quarter (25.2%) of the children has not regretted for engaging in sex work shows that child sexual exploitation has now become necessary social evil. As the figures in table 28 indicate, more than half of the informants (58.1%) had a plan to change their way of life whereas another 20.5% of the respondents had no plan to quit commercial sex work.

Table 28: Attitude of Girls towards Commercial Sex Work

Feeling about sex work	Response	Frequency	%
Feeling about present lifestyle	Sad/disappointed/frustrated	89	74.8
	Indifferent	28	23.5
	Happy/content	2	1.7
	Total	119	100
Would you consider quitting?	Yes	103	85.8
	No	17	14.2
	Total	120	100
What is our future plan?	Continue commercial sex work	3	2.6
	Quit and look for another job	68	58.1
	Continue education	19	16.2
	No plan at all	24	20.5
	Others	3	2.6
	Total	117	100

The result of focus group discussion held with child commercial sex workers working on the street revealed that though they are able to generate income and able to support themselves as well as their families, they expressed unhappiness with what they do.

Serkalem, 18 years old child prostitute had the following to say in this regard.

I feel I am living for today just to satisfy my biological needs. I often come across different men with different strange behaviors. Life is very difficult. I get adequate money but I am not happy with the work. I feel that I am different from others and realize that people do not understand me and my friends positively. I generate money and then spend. The essence of value of life and dignity is lacking within myself. I always feel embarrassed and humiliated. I think this is the right time to decide about my future. I do not want to remain sex worker forever.

When asked whether they want to continue sex work or not, the majority of them repeatedly mentioned that they do not have the plan to continue sex work. In fact, they did not deny that the fact that it is relatively better paying job compared to other jobs such as housemaid or waitress. They indicated that they can generate within one day from sex work what they would earn per month if they worked as a housemaid or waitress. Despite the fact that it is better paying job with their low level of education, all do agree that they should plan to get out of the job sooner or later. They further indicated that they deposit part of daily income for establishing businesses. Some indicated that they want to move to Arab countries if tested HIV negative, which is a prerequisite to be employed in Arab countries.

4.10 Sexual Exploitation, HIV/AIDS and Other Health Related Issues

One of the major factors contributing to increased child commercial sex workers is family breakdown or loss of parents to HIV/AIDS and other diseases. According to the data regarding the family background of respondents presented above, it was found out that about 16.1% of the girls were orphans though the cause for the death of parents was unknown. Given the widespread prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the country, some of these child sex workers must have been orphaned by HIV/AIDS. Orphans (particularly girls), when they don't have someone to support, they would more likely run away from home and eventually end up in commercial sex work.

The study also indicates that children exposed to sexual exploitation are highly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection. Rahel, 18 years old girl, who started sex work at the age of 14 narrated how she lost her fellow friends to AIDS in the following words:.

*... Before coming to Addis Ababa, I used to work as a waitress and part time sex worker in one of the bars in Bahar Dar Town. I had three best friends (girls) working together in the same hotel. They did not care about HIV/AIDS. You know what happened? They used to serve **yetsom** and **yefisik** sex (fasting and non-fasting sex) according to the needs of customers. We call it fasting if the customer wants sex with condom and non-fasting if we go without. After a prolonged illness, two of them passed away due to AIDS. One of my friends was bedridden but she started taking anti-retroviral drug while I was there and hopefully she might have*

recovered by now. Anyhow, since I have seen the agony and suffering of my friends, I was highly frightened. Then, I ran away to Addis, not to see the same thing happening to my other friends....

The study also discovered that HIV/AIDS is not a concern for some children exposed to sexual exploitation¹¹. Some child commercial sex workers were also raped by their customers in hotels or in customers' homes. Those who are concerned about HIV/AIDS infection and insist on condom use encounter customers not willing to use condom or tear the condom while having sex. As a result, they said that they might have been infected with HIV/AIDS and they are afraid of getting tested for HIV.

Table 29: Opinion of Girls on HIV/AIDS and Condom Use

Feeling towards HIV/AIDS and condom use	Response	Frequency	%	Valid %
Is HIV/AIDS a problem for you?	Yes	104	85.2	88.1
	No	14	11.5	11.9
	Total	118	3.3	100
	Missing	4	100	
How often do you use condom?	Always	101	82.7	84.9
	Sometimes	18	14.8	15.1
	Never use condom	0	0	0
	Total	119	97.5	100
	Missing	3	2.5	

As indicated in table 30, the vast majority (88.1%) of girls reported HIV as one of their every day concern while few (11.9%) said that it is not in their priority of concern. Both groups also forwarded their own reasons for being concerned or not concerned as summarized below.

Yes! HIV/AIDS is a problem for me because:

- I am highly exposed to forced sex without condom
- People don't trust me even if I am free from HIV.
- I don't rely on condom for it does not give 100% protection.
- Since it is an incurable disease, I don't want to lose my life.
- I don't have anyone to care for me if I get ill
- Some customers deliberately transmit HIV/AIDS.
- The nature of my work is so risky

No! HIV/AIDS is not a problem for me because:

- I don't see any prospect in my future life.
- My priority concern is getting daily bread, not contracting HIV.
- I have frequent unsafe sex with customers and think that I am already infected.
- I see AIDS like any other disease.
- Since I have never been tested, I never get worried about it
- I can survive with it.

¹¹ The majority of informants claimed consistent use of condom and being very vigilant about HIV/AIDS.

As far as condom use is concerned, as shown in the table above, the higher percentage (84.9%) of girls said they consistently use condom but 15.1% used it occasionally¹². No girl reported never use of condom. When asked about the reasons for inconsistent use of condom, all 18 girls reported reluctance of customers and feeling of hopelessness as major factors that deterred them from persistently using condom. Moreover, some commercial sex workers pointed out that they had first sexual experience when they joined commercial sex work in Addis Ababa while others (housemaids) got deflowered by employers and family members. . They noted that they were not well informed about HIV/AIDS when they started sex work and did not take necessary precautions. They claimed that they now receive information about HIV/AIDS through some local NGOs such as FSCE, OPRIFS, and ISAPSO.

Table 30: Other Health Related Problems Encountered by Girls

Questions	Response	Frequency	%	Valid %
Encountered unwanted pregnancy?	Yes	28	23.0	23.3
	No	92	75.4	76.7
	Total	120	98.3	100
	Missing	2	1.6	
If yes, what measures did you take?	Traditional Abortion	16	13.1	57.2
	Abortion in clinic	5	4.1	17.8
	Gave birth	7	5.7	25.0
	Total	28	22.9	100
Encountered any other health problem in relation to work?	Not any	78	63.9	66.1
	Gynecological problem	13	10.6	11.0
	STDs	12	9.8	10.2
	Respiratory problem	9	7.3	7.6
	Abdominal pain	7	5.7	5.9
	Total	118	96.7	100
	Missing	4	3.3	

Data in table 31 depicted another striking finding and revealed inconsistency of their response concerning condom use in table 30. Comparing the two, it is possible to understand that although over 84% of the girls claimed consistent condom use, their response regarding unwanted pregnancy in table 31 implies the existence of unsafe sex. The fact that about a quarter (23%) of the girls had encountered unwanted pregnancy means that in one way or another, they were exposed to unprotected sex (either consensual or forced). Therefore, this finding implies that there is always inconsistency in what people say they do and what they actually do. It, therefore, suggests that unprotected sex among commercial sexual workers is not rare phenomenon. Girls who faced unwanted pregnancy were also asked about the measures they took to deal with the problem and over half (57.2% reported that they terminated it using unsafe/traditional means of abortion, 17.8% terminated it in a clinic/or other medical institutions while a quarter of them (25%) opted to deliver the baby (instead of

¹² Questions related to condom use tend to generate socially desirable answers. In other words, informants may not use condom but may claim consistent use to researchers. Given this, high proportion of consistent condom use must be taken with a pinch of salt.

abortion). When asked about other health complications, about 66.1% claimed never to have encountered any kind of health problems connected to their work; 11% experienced gynecological complications, 10.2% admitted infection with sexually transmitted diseases; 7.6% respiratory problems; and the rest 5.9 % abdominal pains.

4.11 Child Pornography and Sex Tourism

The ILO Convention on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor (No. 182) under its sub-article (b) says that the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances is considered as a kind offence that should be eliminated with no precondition. The government of Ethiopia has adopted this article to protect children from pornographic abuse and sex tourism. The question that begs for answer here is: what is the magnitude of the problem of child pornography and sex tourism particularly in Addis Ababa. Although there is no well-documented data on the existence of organized child pornography in Addis Ababa, fragmented rumors and certain anecdotal evidences show the existence of the problem. Some empirical findings highlighted in this study also consolidate the speculations about the existence of this problem.

Table 31: Girls’ opinion and experience with pornography

Questions	Response	Frequency	%	Valid %
Encountered a request for your pictures taken while naked or making sex?	Yes	34	27.9	28.8
	No	84	68.9	71.2
	Total	118	96.7	100
	Missing	4	3.3	
Agreed to such requests?	Yes	15	12.3	44.1
	No	19	15.6	55.9
	Total	34	27.9	100
If not agreed, why?	I didn’t agree on the payment	3	2.5	15.8
	It is not ethical	5	4.1	26.3
	I am afraid of doing it	1	0.8	5.3
	I hate it	3	2.5	15.8
	It is against my culture	7	5.7	36.8
	Total	19	15.6	100
Ever seen Ethiopian pornographic film/picture?	Yes	22	18.0	18.6
	No	96	78.7	81.4
	Total	118	96.7	100
	Missing	4	3.3	

The figures in table 32 vividly show the pornographic experiences of the girls participated in the study., Nearly one third of the girls encountered a request from their customers (Ethiopians and foreigners) to be recorded or photographed while naked, and the majority (71.2%) did not experience such a request. Out of those who encountered pornographic request, slightly below half (44.1%) of the girls reported that they had agreed to the request but the remaining 55.9% did not. When asked about the reasons why they turned down the request, more than half (

63.1%) declined due to ethical or cultural reasons. About 15.8% of them also rejected owing to disagreements on the payment. The remaining 15.8 % and 5.3 % expressed hatred towards the practice and not feeling comfortable. The participants were also asked whether they had seen any pornographic films or pictures of Ethiopian girls. Accordingly, 18.6% of them confirmed that they had seen the Ethiopian pornographic films but the majority 81.4% said they never came across such type of films produced by Ethiopians.

The key informants stressed that production of pornographic films and the demand for it is increasing from time to time. CPU Police Officer from Addis Ketema Sub city stated the following:

In recent times, there has been an increase in the production of pornographic films. Parallel to this, the demand for watching these films (through computers as well as underground video houses) among the children and youth is increasing. There are many underground video houses (like the play stations) in different corners of the city¹³. Further, the police officer indicated that a year ago, there was a white man who used to gather children from poor families under the pretext of supporting them with daily subsistence and education. In the mean time, the man was found while he was taking pornographic pictures of the children. Similarly, three years back, there was a white man who used to live in a rented building in Arat Killo area. He gathered street children pretending to support them financially. When he was further investigated, he had other motive; the motive of taking graphic pictures to promote child pornography. The windows of the room and the walls in some corners were installed with cameras ready to take pictures while he was having sex with the children.

The CPU police officer from Arada Sub city also indicated that even children themselves are involved in distributing sex films and pornographic materials. A 15 years old boy was caught red-handed while he was selling pornographic CDs to the children and youth in the streets of Piazza. Another police officer from Addis Ketema sub city added that, following sensitization program on the effect of pornographic films on sexual abuse in the nearby schools, students snatched 15 VCD pornographic films from 14 years old boy and handed it to the police station. A key informant from CHAD-ET also indicated that he heard a rumor about the sex film produced by Ethiopian actors. And the peddlers were selling the film in the streets and many people were said to have bought and watched it.

Child commercial sex workers during the focus group discussion indicated the presence of the practice, underground though. The following anecdotal evidences from children exposed to sexual exploitation better explain this point.

Some of my customers bring sex films and ask me to watch the sex film and do the same while having sexual intercourse. They promise that they would pay me whatever amount I requested [additional payment] if I am willing to watch such film. Their intention is to arouse me and do the same unconventional sexual intercourse with me. (Almaz 18 years old child prostitute).

¹³ Play stations, which are mushrooming nowadays in Addis Ababa are places (showrooms) which give entertainment services by showing different video games. Children are major customers of these services. Some informants reported that under the pretext of games, play stations also make a business out of showing pornographic films.

I remember a man who agreed to pay me 50 Birr for overnight business. After he had short time sex, he showed me a sex film through his mobile and asked me to do the same. But I refused (Mulu a 17 years old child commercial sex worker).

One day, one of my customers agreed to pay me 70 Birr for overnight sex and stayed with me. As I read from his face, he had deep thoughts. He was contemplating whether to ask me or not. Then, he asked me to take a photograph while having sex. But, I refused. (Kidist an 18 years old girl)

And many child prostitutes also mentioned that they were asked by foreign customers to be pictured naked and having sex as well. They also said that they had seen a porno movie performed by Ethiopian actresses aged below 18 years. The above anecdotal evidences indicate the presence of the problem. However, further stand-alone study is needed to document its prevalence in Addis Abba.

Like child pornography, there is no reliable and documented data on child sex tourism. This study discovered that there are some taxi drivers and bar owners (pimps) who maintain close connections with foreigners and often act as brokers connecting girls with foreign visitors. The bar owners identify young beautiful girls and link them mostly with Arab men for sex. Several informants highlighted that the main reason for the taxi drivers and bar owners to engage in such business is partly because they provide services (taxi and hotels) which almost all foreign visitors make use of them and partly due to the fact that they have access to a number of child commercial sex workers. They easily select attractive girls and they make good amount of money both from sex tourists and girls.

Table 32: Girls’ Sexual Experience with Foreign Visitors

Questions	Response	Frequency	%	Valid Percent
Have you ever been approached by a foreigner for sex?	Yes	33	27.0	28.2
	no	84	68.9	71.8
	Total	117	95.9	100.0
	Missing	5	4.1	
	Total	122	100	
If yes, how many times	Once	9	7.4	34.6
	Twice	9	7.4	34.6
	Three times and more	8	6.6	30.8
	Missing	7	5.7	27.0
	Total	33	27.0	100

In order to explore the prevalence of child sex tourism in Addis Ababa, a question was presented to the girls whether they were approached by any foreigner since they started commercial sex work. The data in table 33 showed that 28.2% of the girls had sexual experience with foreign nationals and 71. % said they never had such experience. When asked about the frequency of sexual contacts they had with a foreign customer, 34.6% of the

respondents had sex only once. Equal percentage of girls also mentioned they met a foreigner twice. The remaining 30% of the girls had frequent contact (at least three times and more with the foreigners). Seven girls didn't respond to this particular question.

A key informant from the Ministry of Women's Affairs, while explaining the gravity of the problem illustrated it with the example she heard from one of her relatives (a girl) employed as a domestic worker for foreigners. The housemaid told her that her employer [the white man] often brings home a number of young Ethiopian girls for sex. Surprisingly, one day she observed her employer bringing two girls of her age (16 or 17) at a time to make sex simultaneously with each of them. The key informant added, *when young girls are asked by white men for sex they never say no. This is because, they think that the white men would either give them better payment or take them abroad. The white men are also said to be passionate, well mannered and do not force them to do things forcefully without their consent though many of them request to enjoy different sex styles, which is not in line with our culture. It has become common phenomenon to see a white man accompanied by two girls and wandering in the streets of the city and even having sex with each of them simultaneously in hotels.*

The findings hint that there are a number of foreigners who visit Ethiopia for sex tourism. Equally, there are also girls who deliberately hunt for foreigners for a number of reasons. According to the explanation of girls engaged in commercial sex, preference for foreigners is attributed to several reasons. In the first place, foreign customers are willing to pay large sum of money. Secondly, foreigners are considered less abusive than the Ethiopian customers. For instance one girl said, *although some foreigners want extraordinary sex positions, they never try to deceive us in a payment or never attempt to inflict physical harm because they are strangers to the country.* The other reason is the girls' motive to establish relationship that may lead to marriage and a journey to Arab countries, Europe or America. In line with this one of the taxi drivers stated, *you will never believe your eyes if you move around Bole and Kasanchis areas at night. You see girls as young as 14 or 15 lining up on the streets awaiting customers. Some foreigners request us to drive to these places to select the best once. Sometimes they take two or three girls at the same time. I know many 'singing girls' (zemarioch), meaning those who provide oral sex, and connect them with the foreigners who want such kind of sex and we get a good share out of it. For your surprise, some foreigners don't have patience to reach home or hotels and start oral sex right in the taxi. I came across such incidents several times. It is really disgusting to work during the night but it is also rewarding....*

Chapter Five

Case Studies of Children Exposed to Sexual Exploitation

To assess personal, interpersonal, institutional, social and economic issues related to sexual exploitation, in this chapter, some girl children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation are selected, and their life histories constructed and presented as cases. Life stories demonstrate how different factors at different levels interact and lead to sexual exploitation. Life stories also reveal the specific problems that girls encounter in their attempt to survive with stigmatizing profession at such an early age.

Case One: Misra

A sixteen years old girl who came from Harar has been engaged in commercial sex work for three years. She lives in Addis Ababa in a specific place called Kazanchis. She dropped out of school before completing grade seven.

Her parents were separated when she was small kid and even she didn't know her father. After her parents got separated, she accompanied her stepmother to Addis Ababa. While living with her stepmother, she used to be battered often. This forced her to leave home and fend for herself. After leaving home, she had lived for about one month in the cemetery of Yeka Michael church (found around Shola area, Yeka sub-city in Addis Ababa). There around she got acquainted with a commercial sex worker who hosted her at home for a week and simultaneously tutored about sex work. This encounter was the crucial turning point for her to start commercial sex work, at the age of thirteen. Impressed by the perceived high amount of income earned by commercial sex work, she was influenced to pursue with this job. However, she tells how miserable and difficult it is to get out of this job:

According to her perspective, young girl children join sex work on account of departure from parents and the concomitant poverty they face. She explained:

In my view, many female children who flee from rural areas and join urban centers are likely to become commercial sex workers. Most are employed as housemaids and frequently face conflicts with their employers. Besides this, information communicated through peer circles about the relatively better income gained through commercial sex work than income earned as a housemaid and the paramount peer pressure are significant to start commercial sex work. Poor are such girls, they set out for sex work to finance their basic needs.

Mira has had diverse clients who frequently visit her. Young, adult and even old men as well as foreigners are her customers. Their sexual behaviors are also different as she described in the following words:

The sexual positions and styles my clients want to have are diverse and at times out of norm. Some sex positions can be tolerated. However, I don't accept demands for anal sex, oral sex and other abnormal sex styles. Oral sex (sucking the penis) is preferred often by aged clients. Whenever there are requests for abnormal sex styles, I give them the payment back and leave the room.

Refusal of demands for sex without condom can trigger maltreatment by the clients as exemplified by one of the encounters she had faced.

One night I got a client. He took me to a bar where we had a drink. After a while, we went to a bed room handling our bottles. Both of us naked and on bed for intercourse, he refused to use condoms. I tried to negotiate but failed. Soon I left the bed and put on my clothes. Angered by my refusal for sex without condom, he threw the bottle toward my face and cracked my forehead. Nevertheless, I did not report the case to the police for fear that I would not be accepted.

Commercial sex workers are stigmatized and discriminated by the community. They are perceived as wicked so long as sexual promiscuity is considered as a deviant act. Misra explained that she is seen as vector and vehicle of HIV transmission and renting a house to sex workers is difficult on the assumption that they would bring ill-mannered individuals to landlords/ladies' compound .

Considering their livelihood, commercial sex workers are more likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS and dissemination of appropriate information is essential to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS. To this end, Misra argues that she knew many things about HIV/AIDS through her access to training. She mentioned that she uses condoms during sexual intercourse with her clients and claimed to have the power to decide to use condoms. She, however, said, "*But some clients do not want to use condoms and try to convince me to have sex without condom. They plead with me saying, 'you don't know me!? You don't trust me!?'*". Still clients attempt to subdue her by using certain techniques like tearing the tip of the condom under the pretext that the penis is not erected. She states what she does to control those clients who cheat condom use:

I make sure the presence of the condom before sex and at each course of sex. If I find the client subduing me, I leave the room suspecting that he must have the virus; who otherwise could dare to have sex with a commercial sex worker without condom [unless that person is living with HIV/AIDS]?

This child sex worker claimed to have clients who are foreigners. She catches them when they drive through the street she hangs out. Some of her fellows use taxi drivers as brokers to foreign clients. She had such a client who came from Madagascar and used to meet him once in a week. She prefers foreign clients to Ethiopians because they safely compromise about the type of sex styles and positions they want and what she does not want to exercise. However, foreigners stay longer before reaching orgasm. She had also experience with child pornography:

One foreign client took me his home, ordered me to be naked and took a picture. The other day, I saw my naked picture at his home. I don't know what he did with the picture apart from potsing it at his home.

Asked about payment for willing to be photographed, with a surprised expression she said, *He didn't pay me. Do I deserve payment for this?....*

Every day she is worried about getting a client and the behavior of the client she might encounter. She noted that sex work is miserable and expressed her regret for joining it, *I would rather prefer to be with my stepmother and tolerate the conflict we had than become a commercial sex worker; I am bored with this work. I aspire to secure another job. I am working as a waitress in a cafeteria, but paid less and thus I am forced to balance this shortage through sex work.*

Finally, asked to forward recommendations to curb the problem of child sexual exploitation, she argued that child sex workers should be organized and empowered to be employed in other productive activities. Reasserting conflict within the family as a major factor, she indicated arbitration of female children with their parents and reintegration as an essential procedure.

Case Two: Aynalem

Aynalem is 17 years old child commercial sex worker who came from Nazareth (Adama), seven years ago accompanying other people she knew. She is school dropout (attended till 4th grade). She has been engaged in commercial sex work for six years.

Her mother was a commercial sex worker in Adama town. She used to live in a family of five including her parents and two of her sisters. She was the first child in the family. The family was disorganized with the death of her parents and moved to Addis Ababa. She was employed as a housemaid for a few months before she started commercial sex work.

She noted that family disorganization and the consequent loss of primary social support is the major factor that forces children to be sex workers. She elaborates this *'If there is no one to support you, you are forced to choose any alternative at your disposal to make a living. When I was a housemaid, I was paid monthly. As a sex worker, I get 300 Birr and sometimes 50 Birr in one night. Therefore, sex work is better than being a housemaid or a beggar..*

My frequent clients include young people, very aged, married men and foreigners. Some clients particularly the aged demand unusual sexual styles like sucking or oral sex. The sexual behavior of the clients sometimes depends on whether they take me their home or I take them home. When my clients take me their home, what I will encounter is unpredictable; two or more men will abuse me without condom. For example, one night I and my colleagues were around CMC looking for a customer. There, a man whom I don't know before took me to his home. He demanded sex without condom. I refused his request, but he got mad and then he battered me severely while I am naked. So painful was the act, I couldn't stand it and I cried loudly. Hearing my cry, people around the vicinity of his home came and asked why; he answered, '...because she refused to leave my home'. They blamed me concluding that I came to his home by mistake. Finally, I left his home crying and without the payment I deserve.

Maltreatment or abuse of sex workers by their clients is a common experience. *Many times clients pick and take us to dark places, very hostile environments. These are the stages of physical and sexual abuse like battering and enforced practice of sexual styles/positions I don't like to have. Besides these, clients may deny payment after sex. As to why some clients maltreat her, she says, they do this because they do not think that I am a human being and if*

they could think, they would not commit inhuman acts upon me". However, she reported that there are a few clients who are kind enough to pay her more than she asked for and let her go home even without having sex with her.

Concerning the reaction of the community and people around the immediate neighborhood towards commercial sex workers, she tells, "*Neighbors stigmatize and discriminate sex workers to the extent of refusing to rent their houses, or if they rent they feel uncomfortable when we use toilets, and label as vectors of HIV when I caught cold or get ill*". To be concrete, she narrates such reactions from her own practical experiences;

*The owner of the house (woman) I rented has children. Her children used to come and dine with me. Once, I caught cold and was on bed, their mother warned them not to visit me and told them, 'since she is **shermuta** (whore) never eat anything she might give you!' And when my friends come to my home to visit me, she arrogantly speaks (while they are hearing), 'this is not a whores' camp, I rented the house to you only'. Then I felt embarrassed. .*

In relation to the problem of HIV/AIDS, she told me that she knew about its transmission and prevention mechanisms and used condoms always. Nevertheless, she articulated the unwillingness of some customers to use condoms altogether or tearing the tip of the condom on their belief that condoms disrupt sexual gratification. On the contrary, other customers put on double condoms, she said.

Aynalem has had foreign clients she used to meet on the street. She said that she didn't come across pornographic films performed by Ethiopian actors. But she encountered requests to be photographed while standing naked. One foreign client took her to his home, made her unclothed, and took a picture standing naked beside her. And they had sex after that. She didn't know what had happened with that picture nor was paid exclusively for it. Sexual positions appealing to foreigners and Ethiopian customers diverge. As she stated, foreign clients demand anal sex, oral sex (sucking the penis), sex between the two breasts and armpits. Learning from pornographic films, she claims that domestic clients are demanding these practices as well. . She reinforces this premise describing a request (which she refused to accept) by a female Ethiopian, who used to live abroad, to have female-to female sex promising to effect 'whatever' payment she asked for.

Concerning about her access to rehabilitation, legal, or protection services, she said that she didn't get such services. She got training about HIV/AIDS and counseling services through a program launched by an NGO (ISAPSO).

Commenting on the sex work she had engaged in, she stated that '*commercial sex work is undesirable by itself, even though it helped me to lead a better life than life on the street looking for alms. But I do not have interest in pursuing commercial sex work*'.

Finally, she came up with suggestions that she thought could hold back the incidence of commercial sex work among children. Children involved in this work should be organized and directed into other activities. Concerned government or other agencies should support such children by creating other employment opportunities. Members of the entire community should

be informed to develop positive attitude and stop the stigma and discrimination against commercial sex workers.

Case Three: Kelemua, 16

A teenage child who came from a place called Jirru (a rural area in north Shewa zone of Amhara regional state) is engaged in commercial sex work for two years. She is sixteen years old and lived in a rented house around Arat kilo. She dropped out of school before completing grade five.

She is from rural area and her parents make a living through farming. Both of her parents are alive. She is the first child in the family and has two younger sisters. Less frequently, her parents visit her and she does too. They do not know that she has been engaged in sex work. If her parents were to know, she tells, they would feel sorry and might decide to interrupt their relationship with her. She said that let alone sex work, sexual promiscuity or sex out of wedlock is culturally deviant act that causes social isolation.

She was forced to marry at the age of eleven without her consent (arranged by her parents). She explained that this early marriage forced her to join sex work Following is the full account:

I was forced to marry by my parents at an early age. Given my age, I couldn't shoulder the various responsibilities attached to marriage. Marriage for me was miserable and I used to look for ways to get out of it...

An event had happened which she emphasized as crucial to come to Addis Ababa, a marriage ceremony of her uncle for which she and her parents were invited to attend. Her father, having discussed with her uncle reached an agreement to support her to attend school. She continued and said :

...I had lived for two years with my uncle, but he failed to keep his promise; he didn't help me continue school. I couldn't tolerate serving him for nothing and I had quarreled with him finally left his home. A woman who I knew from the neighborhood helped me get employed as a housemaid. My employer also had a hotel to which I was ordered to take some items or message. This paved me the way to acquaint with sex workers who were in the hotel. They used to challenge me to start sex work telling me that I would earn three hundred Birr in a night. Self-introspecting, I said, 'If I can get this much in one night, I will change my life in a year', and from then on, I started this work two years ago at the age of fourteen. I started sex work due to peer influence.

The demographic profile of her regular customers comprised of young people and the aged (fifty to seventy years old). They demand different sexual styles and positions. Among the sexual styles frequently asked include missionary position and other uncommon practices such anal, oral sex, and sex with the *pinna* (outer part of the ear) were demanded by what she referred to as “the rich men”. She said, apart from the normal sex style, she didn't agree to practice other requests that were often bargained with payments in thousands. If her clients exert further pressure to enforce these styles, she tries to escape or cries for help..

Sometimes her regular clients used to ask her for sex on loan convincing that, *“Today my wallet is low, I will pay you some other day; would you come home?”* She agrees, if she knew such a client well, for he might pay her more than expected

Pertaining to the maltreatments or abuses, she distinguished between two settings (client’s home or other places (pensions or hotel bedrooms) by which a client might have the courage, She said,

One night, I accompanied a man to his home and wanted to manipulate me sexually by death threat (showing a knife) and finally he raped me. If it were at my home or in a hotel bed room, the client wouldn’t get the courage to commit such violence for others might appear hearing my cry for help. And also in another occasion, another man picked me on the street and took me to a bed room. After he had sex, he denied the payment and he dropped me alone in a very dark place away from the main road. There another man appeared from nowhere and terrorized me with a knife ready at his hand and raped me. I had nobody to rescue me that time.

She explained why female children become sex workers. One is pressure from other sex workers (peers). Besides this, conflict between daughters and their parents and the consequent failure to settle such disputes force children to leave their parental home finally strained to lead life on the street. Thereafter, they may encounter sexual violence which creates a desperate feeling thereby forcing them to be sex workers.

By the time of interview, she was living in a rented house. Earlier, she used to live with her friend who pushed her to start this work. However, her friend used to chew *chat* and smoke. Rejection of her friend’s proposal to follow this path (chewing *Kchat* and smoking), ignited conflict between them and she left her friend’s home. Thereafter, she said, *“I rented a house in which my mother may stay when she comes to Addis Ababa. My mother doesn’t know what I work, but I told her that I am employed as a housemaid by a ferenji (white foreigner). And surprised by the income I get, she advises me, ‘Please, my daughter never leave this job’.*

She maintained that the response of members of the community or neighbors to commercial sex workers is not positive. She said, *“Since our work involves promiscuity, we have been labeled as ‘bats’ to symbolize our work in the night time; and we are not considered as human beings, but as Satan”.* Her landlord didn’t know what she does; she told them that she works as a waitress.

She said that she didn’t face any health problem in relation to sex work. She is informed about HIV/AIDS and used condoms when possible. She also got HIV counseling and testing services whenever she wanted. But how did she bargain condom use with her customers? She replied, *“I make my customers use condoms. Some customers are happy even to simultaneously use two condoms; while others insert condoms and attempt to remove or tear its tip when moving to switch off the light. I check for this with my hands. If I catch him cheating, I argue with him that he is not healthy. Recently, I don’t allow customers to switch off the light if they want to have sex with me”.*

She admitted that she hunts for foreign customers. Why and how she and other sex workers hunt them is explained in terms of behavior and payment. She said that foreigners pay more than Ethiopians at the expense of practicing 'deviant' sexual positions like oral sex. They could get foreigners via brokers who usually are taxi drivers, hotel guards or bed room/pension supervisors. The full account on how she met them, their duration of stay, and sexual behavior follows:

*I tell a hotel guard or a bed room attendant who I know before to help me meet with foreigners who book rooms and want sex worker. In such a way if I can win access to a foreign client, I pay part of what I earn to the broker. If I get \$100, I pay him \$30; if it is \$150, I pay him \$50. Once I meet a foreign customer, he may stay for one week; not all day long but usually after 11 o' clock. A few foreigners who I encountered didn't want to have sex, but only to accompany them to recreation/drinking places or to guide them in their visit....Foreign customers take care of my interests so that they don't dare to enforce the sex styles I dislike (oral or other sex styles). As strangers, they feel uncomfortable to commit sexual or physical violence. However, **Habesha** (domestic) customers act so differently; sometimes, after paying in advance, they want to maneuver me the way I don't like and at times utter humiliating words.*

Asked whether she had encountered pornographic films performed by Ethiopian girls, she replied, "Yes, I have seen a porno movie which I accessed through my friends. The age of the actresses was approximately below eighteen or nineteen years. ...I was ones asked by a customer for taking a picture naked.. I was not happy and rejected his request".

Her daily worries are not as such numerous even though overwhelming. "What worries me", she said, "...If accidentally a condom gets torn during sexual intercourse and get infected with HIV, I question myself 'what am I supposed to do?'"

Asked about if she has had access to legal, rehabilitation, health, or protection services, she witnessed access only to health services when she visited clinics for counseling and testing ends. Forwarding her bad impression about sex work after entry into it, she had expressed a determination to quit sex work in the near future (not specified exactly when). She plans to open her own bar.

About what should be done to rein in the incidence of female children's engagement in commercial sex work, she suggests:

Parents should carefully bring up their daughters, and accommodate minor or major conflicts that may arise between parents and children. Mmembers of the community should be made to change the negative attitude and stereotypes against child sex workers; and government bodies should launch rehabilitation services and create employment opportunities for child sex workers..

Case four: Hiwot, 17

Hiwot is seventeen years old girl, born in Addis Ababa. She dropped out of school before completing grade eight. She lived with her mother in Kazanchis by the time of interview.

As far as her family background is concerned, only her mother was alive; her father, who she didn't know, had deserted when she was at an early age. Her mother used to take contracts to prepare *tella* (a local alcoholic drink) for various ceremonies like marriage. She said that she was the second child in their family (the first was born when her mother was in a rural area and she didn't know). She had a younger brother and also two children; and in sum, the family consisted of six members. She was not married, but have two children; her second child was born after she started sex work and whose biological father is unrecognized.

She started sex work/business two years ago, at the age of fifteen. After she gave birth to her first child, she was not in good terms with her mother for she brought additional mouth to the family. Poverty and the concomitant conflict led her to engage in commercial sex work. Besides this, she explained other intervening factors as follows:

It was not only poverty and conflict at home but also the influence of child sex worker who I knew that encouraged me to take this path. She had a child and a housemaid living together in a rented house. She used to finance all her expenses by sex work. Is it not surprising?...I was highly impressed by this and decided to work just like her. She told me that I would be with her for sex-work apprenticeship. I accompanied her the first day I went out for sex work, wearing her clothes and receiving necessary orientation. This way,, I started commercial sex work. I would not have considered as an alternative to solve my economic problem if I had not met this girl. First, I was shocked; but now I feel I have mastered how to carry out sex work.

Asked about the profile of her customers, she indicated that all age groups of sexually active men visit her. She argues, *when people go out for entertainment, they take drinks that consequently arouse their sexual desire; so, the youth or the aged visit me so long as they want to have sex with me.*

Describing the sexual behavior of the clients, she said that each customer like his appearance had a unique sexual behavior. She further explained the sexual styles they demand:

Some customers come for one bout (a short time sex that ends with the first orgasm). Yet some get satisfied only when they see me naked or fail to erect their penis despite their desire. But some stay for an hour and more even up to the condom loses its lubricant. Different sexual styles are demanded by my customers; sucking the penis/oral sex, sex between the breasts, sex with the pinna, or anal sex. Oral sex is nowadays usual. This style is frequently requested by the relatively aged customers. Such customers ask for something different. But I do not comply with their demand for unusual sex styles.

She affirmed maltreatment or abuse as inherent in sex work, particularly for street walker sex workers. Such sex workers face physical and/or sexual violence by different parties, surprisingly including policemen.. According to her experience, she had faced battering (physical violence) by *duriye* (thugs) and by police men. Asked about why policemen commit this, she said the following:

.....they do this in what they call “afessa”, a process of chasing sex workers who stand along the streets. . Then, caught sex workers are loaded to a lorry and taken away from the streets. Once when there was “afessa”, I tried to escape and run toward a dark place but I was caught and battered by the policemen. Besides this, you don’t believe, they (two policemen) tried to rape me. All these are challenges accorded to sex work.

In addition to this, she had another unfortunate encounter with another customer:

Once, I got a customer with whom I agreed to go to his home. After our arrival at home,, he demanded me to suck his penis for which I failed to comply with. . I gave his money back and decided to leave his home, but he was angry and raped me. He didn’t pay me for the service..

Regarding the perception or attitude of members of the community, she generally criticized people here and everywhere in Ethiopia for having negative attitude toward commercial sex workers. On account of this, she hadn’t had social interaction with the neighbors and live secluded life.

...They consider a sex worker as a carrier of diseases particularly HIV. They perceive us as duriye (delinquents) and do not regard our work as a work (in its proper sense) or a means of making our living. Consequently, no one feels, “Oh! This girl/child might be engaged in sex work because of some problem and has no one beside her to understand her problem or extend support”. They simply put down sex workers like me. ...In my part, I do not interact with people next door. Very often, I stay asleep all day long at home and wake up in the evening to go for business when other people return home from work. I don’t have close acquaintances or interaction with age-mates in the village or with the neighbors.

As far as health problems are concerned, she had not been seriously ill. Since she worked during night time, she was exposed to a relatively lingering cough especially during summer (the rainy season). Apart from this, she hadn’t faced a severe health problem.

She said she knew about HIV/AIDS, since she took part in HIV peer education training program launched by ISAPSO (a local non-governmental organization). She had come across customers that say ‘no’ to condom use:

A man, who looks educated, parked his vehicle, picked me and drove to a pension. There he demanded sex without condom which I never expected of him. Though I am a shermuta (whore), I take care of myself. Nowadays, when everybody is close to the mass media and informed about HIV/AIDS, I thought ‘probably this man must be sick; otherwise he cannot be courageous to say so’. At the end, I left the pension.

She said that it is probable for a condom to get torn during sex and highly probable when the lubricant in the condom dries due to extended sex. In such situations, she urges the condom to be changed. Having said about the ways customers could try to cheat condom use in line with the experiences of the former interviewees, she further articulated, “*I do not trust any customer as far as condom use is concerned for they may remove condoms. It is a matter of life and death; therefore, I will never separate my hands from my lap during sexual intercourse to check the presence of the condom*”.

It was casually and by chance that she could get foreign customers when they drive by the streets. She contrasted the sexual behaviors of foreign customers with *habesha* (Ethiopian) customers in the following words:

There is no difficulty to go with foreigners. If I accept the sex positions or styles that they demand, that is good and I will do that. If it is not, I can safely depart from them. Once, a foreigner paid me without having sex for I didn't comply with the sex style he requested and gave me a lift and dropped me where I wanted to be. There is no significant difference between Habesha customers and foreigners; both request me unusual sexual styles and positions. Unlike most Habesha customers, foreigners don't dare to force you. .

She said that she hadn't seen a pornographic movie involving Ethiopian girls. And no one had requested to take pornographic picture.

She had received counseling service from an NGO. Her frequent worry rested on the question of getting a customer each day she went out for business. She found sex work very easy to enter, but difficult to get out of it. She expressed:

The money I get through sex work has helped me survive, and support my mother and my child. I have also accustomed to Kchat chewing, drinking and smoking which are to be financed by the income I get via sex work. Therefore, it has become hard to quit this work. I desire to give up this work so long as I can get some capital and vocational training to run my own business.

Finally, to prevent girls from engaging in sex work, she recommended that '*the government should organize sex workers and create employment opportunities*'

Case Five: Genet, 16

While visiting bars, we met a sixteen years old sex worker girl in a bar around Arat kilo. She was born in a place called Awash. She had dropped out of school before completing grade seven. After getting consent for interview, we had conversation about her experiences vis-à-vis commercial sex work, starting with her family background.

Both of her parents were pensioners. Once there was a conflict between her parents that led to divorce. She lived with her stepmother for sometime after her father remarried. This was the focal event that consequently forced her to depart from her family. Let us read in her own words:

... Because of conflict between me and my stepmother, I left home and fled to where I didn't know. Welcomed by one rural family in Tefki, I used to serve them in cleaning cowshed, fetching water, cooking food... since I was too small (around seven years) performing these activities was tough for me. After wandering for a year, my father succeeded in tracing me. He then took me back home. Thereafter, I couldn't stay longer peacefully and fled again to Addis Ababa where I was employed as a housemaid in Ayer Tena area in Addis Ababa. I didn't complain when I was paid less per month owing to my age and priority to stay alive, which was miserable when I reflect on it back.

Again her mother traced whereabouts of her and took her back to Awash promising that she would buy her a gold necklace, which she liked most to have it. Within a week, she couldn't

get along with her mother for the promise was not fulfilled. Her mother refused to give her clothes and money when she proposed to go back to Addis Ababa to live with her aunt (her mother's sister). What had happened thereafter? She tells as follows:

Despite my mother's unwillingness, I escaped and came to Addis Ababa with the help of a bus driver. By that time, I was nine years old and school drop-out from grade three. With my aunt, I lived for three years while attending my education around Gibi Gebreal (near the royal palace). Then conflict arose between us when my aunt was urging me to follow her religion (Protestantism) and my refusal to comply with her agenda ignited further conflict and I left her home. In this way, I quitted learning and employed in a bar around Piazza (Be'Akal's Bar) living with other girls together in a room. The first few days, I was shocked by what my roommates talked about their over-night sex experience and inspired by the 'huge' money they make through sex work. Getting well acquainted with three of them, I was pressured to experiment sex work which is now my profession.

She said the following concerning her rights and responsibilities related to her work in the bar she worked:

I work as a waitress and have a room to sleep with other mates. I am expected to be in the bar at 5 pm and stay up to 3 am. If I get a sex customer, between 5 pm and 10 pm, I pay 10 Birr to the supervisor; if it is between 11 pm and 1 am, I pay 15 Birr; and if it is between 1 am and 3 am, I pay 20 Birr. Beyond this time, the payment decreases to 10 Birr. Late arrival at the bar involves 5 Birr fine.

In relation to the profile of her regular customers, she said that very young people and adults are her frequent customers; others include relatively aged people from regions who book rooms in the hotel she works. However, she didn't encounter a foreign customer. About their sexual behaviors, she witnessed that different customers had requested unusual and sometimes demanding sexual styles and positions. Exemplifying further, she said that they ask her for the usual missionary position; and unusual, anal and oral sex.

As far as maltreatments or abuses she faced, she said that disagreements and further physical abuse follow condom use negotiation:

I told you that some clients asked me sex without condom. Once, a customer who was drinking in this bar (Arat Kilo) invited me beer. Having dealt with the payment, we went to a bed room. He was intoxicated. After he had locked the bed room, he wanted to have sex without condom, but I refused his idea. He got sad with me and hit me with the bottle.. Further he boxed me and one of my teeth is broken.

Responding to the question about the perception of the members of the community towards commercial sex workers she said that the community has no positive attitude towards sex workers because 'shirmutna' (whore) is absolutely unacceptable and they do not understand our (sex workers') problems. Thus, she explained that she had no social interaction with other people except with her colleagues.

Pertaining to a health problem she had encountered so far after entry into sex work, she said, 'I had a pain around my stomach (abdomen) in the early days when I started sex work; sometimes when I am in a lengthy sexual intercourse, I feel burning pain within my genitalia'.

She said that she had never received medical treatment to be relieved from these health problems.

As far as HIV/AIDS is concerned, she claimed that she knew about how HIV is transmitted and prevented.. She said that she used condoms regularly with any client. However, she had come across some clients who resisted condom use.

She did not experience foreign clients nor did she see a pornographic video picture performed by Ethiopian actors. Nonetheless, an Ethiopian client had taken her naked picture by a mobile camera at his home without paying for it particularly; but when he felt sad about it, he gave her additional fifty birr. She didn't know the where-about of the picture.

Concerning her daily worries, she said:

...what bothers me every day is whether I can get a customer or not. When get and agree with the payment, the sexual behavior of the customer concerns me. HIV also bothers me as condoms might torn during sexual intercourse.

Her impression about sex work in general was not good. But contrasting it to her earlier life, she said, *'for me, the choice was sex work, continuing my education was difficult in a dependent and conflict ridden life. In the future, after saving some money, I want to go to abroad (to Arab countries); but the money I gain through sex work is paltry sum and I cannot save a lot*

Case Six: Woinshet, 16

Woinshet was sixteen years old, but looksyounger for age. She was born around a place called Arat kilo in Addis Ababa. She dropped out of school after completing grade five.

She comes from single parent family, headed by the mother who earns a living by selling *tella*, a local drink. She is the third child in the family of six members. Concerning when and how she started sex work, she said the following:

I was attending school and serving as a waitress to help my mother while selling tella.. But before I completed grade five, my mother couldn't afford all the expenses necessary to support my schooling and feeding the whole family. Then my uncle (father's brother) helped me be employed as a shopkeeper of a man he knew. That time, life was more miserable than ever; I was attending school, working at the shop, and helping my mother at home. Falling in love with a driver, I took some money from the shop and left for Nazareth to look for him. There, after my arrival, I couldn't find the one I loved and joined a destitute family headed by a woman who was making a living by selling local alcoholic drinks and prostitution. While serving for a few days as I used to when I was with my mother, I was forced by the woman to 'sleep' with an aged man for the first time in my life (at the age of fourteen). I never forget how painful it was to make sex for the first time. Then I fled to Bole and later to Shakisso where I had set up my own 'business' (sex work) for a short period of time.

In 2007, she came back to Addis Ababa and pursued sex work living with her friends. She used to get her customers at night standing along the street that takes from Ambassador to Hilton hotel. The type of customers she encounter include young men, relatively aged people (about 50-60 years old), and foreigners. The sexual behavior of these customers was different. Among these, she said that the aged and the foreigners request oral sex and blow job.

She fetches foreign customers standing on the street at night and through taxi (lada) drivers she knew. She had had sex with four such customers. The sexual behavior of foreigners was different from Ethiopian customers as she described below:

...foreign customers request unusual sexual styles and positions like anal sex, oral sex, blow job and masturbation. And mostly sex on the chair (couch) rather than on bed. What attracts me is the payment they give me and they are relatively more caring than Habeshas in that foreigners do not harass or force me to engage in sexual position I do not want. However, foreigners I encountered didn't reach orgasm easily; they take longer time than Habeshas.

In relation to maltreatment or abuses she has ever encountered, the reasons and the perpetrators, she said that she had been physically attacked, raped, and insulted. Her description follows:

... A drunkard man of young age attacked me physically when I was standing on the street looking for a customer at about 11 pm in the night. He stopped his vehicle and let me in. Then, he wanted me to suck his penis; I refused and he slapped me on my face, and firmly caught my throat. Thereafter, he made me to do what he demanded by threatening out of my wits...

...And once, I went with a customer to his home. He had drinks at home which he invited me to drink. After a while, he started smoking and I recognized that he was smoking 'Hashish' (strong hyper activating leaf), but couldn't stand the effect of the smoke; I became unconscious and he manipulated me sexually. Even I was not sure whether he had used condoms or not.

She, however, didn't report these and other maltreatments to the police or other legal agencies, as she believed that '*...I should tolerate as long as I am a sex worker*'.

Regarding the perception of the community towards commercial sex workers, she said that sex workers are stigmatized and discriminated by the community. '*Because of this*', she said, '*I had isolated myself since my work is recognized as absurd.*

She said that she hadn't faced serious health problem. She claimed that she knew more about HIV/AIDS, but had never received training and mass media was important source of information. She claimed that she used condoms regularly, but condom was torn during sexual intercourse three times.

Case Seven : Seble, 17

Seble 17 years old girl works as commercial sex worker in Abissiniya Hotel, near National Lottery head office). She was born in Bahir Dar. She had completed grade ten in 2007 in Addis Ababa. Both of her parents are alive. Her father had been a civil servant and pensioner; her mother is a house lady. Her parents didn't live together. She did not want to talk about her father, but she said that she used to live with her mother in Addis Ababa, around Meshualekia area. She was the third child in the family.

After completing her grade ten education, she said that she couldn't get the opportunity to continue because she did not score passing mark in the national examination. Further, poverty in the family was the main factor that drove her into commercial sex work towards the end of 2007 (eight months ago). On how she started sex work, she said the following:

My achievement in the national examination was not good; even I didn't have the grade to continue vocational training. I lost hope, because my mother didn't have the capacity to help me join private colleges. In 2007, I went to Bahir Dar to visit my cousin and look for employment. However, I couldn't stay there for long and I came back to Addis Ababa. After a week, I got employed as a waitress in a cafeteria and paid 150 Birr per month. One among my coworkers who left the cafeteria told me about her better life; she had started business (sex work). Under her guidance, I also left the cafeteria and employed in this hotel as part-time waitress with an 80 Birr monthly payment, simultaneously undertaking sex work. ...when many customers come to the hotel, I support waiters; otherwise I stand along the corridor or sit on a free chair inside the hotel to look for customers.

As she worked in a hotel, there are certain duties expected from her and her coworkers. She has to arrive at the hotel at 4 pm (in the afternoon), and serve the hotel's customers when male waiters are busier. Late arrival could cause a fine of twenty birr deduction from the monthly eighty birr. But what benefits do the owners of the hotel accrue by employing these children who are part-time waitresses? She couldn't respond to this question. However, it is fact that the owners generate money from accommodation (renting bed rooms) when the sex workers get customers. For a short sex, clients pay 35 birr for a room and 50 birr for overnight sex. As there are many sex workers and bed rooms, income from bedrooms is profitable for owners of hotels.

She said that she used to gain fifty to eighty birr for "short" sex; and two to three hundred birr for overnight sex. She said that some customers might not be satisfied in a 'short' sex so that they opt for another intercourse for which they pay additional 30 or 40 birr. She didn't go to any customer's home for business purpose for fear that she might be abused. The kinds of sex customers she encountered mainly were young men who came to the hotel to drink. Sometimes she got customers who were older people. But she hadn't had a foreign client. Different sexual styles and positions were requested by customers as she described here under:

Customers have different behaviors as their appearance. Some ask me for short sex and others for overnight sex. I face arguments for they demand oral and anal sex, which I don't

want to practice. Yet others who drink too much do not want to use condoms. In such cases, I ask the customer whether he has condoms or not. If he is not in possession of condoms, I perceive that this customer is not willing to use condoms; and I leave the room telling him that I will come back after buying condoms. In this way, I escape from the potential conflict and abuse.

Pertaining to maltreatments or abuses she faced so far, she said:

Once, a young man summoned to sit beside him. He said that he wanted to take me his home. He didn't look aggressive when we had the deal at the Hotel. I agreed and went his home. There, while we were having 'normal' sex, he forced to me to turn back and committed anal sex. In the morning, I had pain when I visited a toilet. Since that experience, I decided not to go to customers' home.

Asked about the reaction of members of the community in her neighborhood, she said that she hadn't disclosed her work even to her mother let alone to people in the neighborhood out of fear of negative reaction. She explained that her mother knew that she worked as a waitress.

Unprotected multiple partner sex and the risk of HIV/AIDS are closely interrelated given the lifestyles of commercial sex workers. In this regard, Seble said that she knew about the problem and her main worry was HIV/AIDS. She said that she tries her level best to use condom consistently although there are customers who reject condom use

Her impression about sex work was negative. She plans to quit sex work on condition that she earns enough money to realize her vision to continue her education in secretarial science at private college.

Finally, she suggested that government should create employment opportunities to prevent children from engaging in sex work.

Case Eight: Hirut, 16

Hirut worked in a hotel around Gojam Berenda area. She was sixteen years old; and she came from Assela in 2006. She dropped out of school before completing grade seven. She lived in a place called Mexico, Addis Ababa together with other sex workers.

Both of her parents were alive. Her father was employed as a guard in an aid organization, and her mother was a finance officer in the town's municipality. Later, her father was suspended from work. And her mother gave up working in the municipality when she was required to refund a huge amount of money for an audited account imbalance for which she was responsible. Then her father became daily laborer; and her mother stayed at home. Because of this, the family lost the former peace and love among its members. Hirut was the first child in a family consisting of seven members, including her parents. When her mother gave birth to her

last child, conflict between her parents became severe to the extent that her mother fled to Bale to live with her uncle. *'Thereafter', she said, 'I became responsible for all the duties that were carried out by my mother; it was difficult for me. Above all, I was worried about what would happen the next day, always thinking about how I could manage the family... the fate of my mother was replicated to me... I faced the same conflict as my mother had with my father....'*

Telling how she became sex worker, she explained in association with her encounter with a village girl older than her in Assela and its outcome. Her words follow:

This girl had completed grade twelve six years ago, but couldn't join colleges for she scored lower grade in school living examination. Desperate, she came to Addis Ababa for sex work, under the pretext that she was married to a rich man. She used to send money to her mother. Once, when she came to visit her mother, I met her and she told me about the 'heavenly' life in Addis Ababa. She promised me that she would get me a rich husband if I were to come to Addis Ababa; and she gave me her telephone address after orienting me what I should do.

She had no enough money to travel to Addis Ababa, but decided to start the journey and reached Eteya. There she asked a lorry driver to take her Addis Ababa and won his sympathy. Unfortunately, while traveling during the night, the lorry's tyre got flat, when it was raining too. Then, she said, *"He sat beside me and came close, embraced me, and kissed on my lip. Following this, we had sex in the lorry, which was the beginning of misery in my life out of home. Since I had no enough information about sexual intercourse, it was painful for me. Thanks to God, I did not conceive"*.

..The next day in the morning around 10 a.m. she reached Addis Ababa. The lorry driver helped her in making a call to meet her with that girl (her friend from the same area) and dropped her at Legehar. She met her friend and went to her home (near Awash wine factory). A week later, her friend came with a man and told her that he was the potential husband. He gave her 200 birr to buy clothes and fixed an appointment to take her home the next day. ...Accordingly, she accompanied the man his home and slept with him as well. In the morning, he shouted at her because she was not virgin and he shouted also at her friend as well. She said the following about how she started sex work at the age of fifteen, October 2007.:

That girl further shouted at me for I was not virgin and said that I had lost a good opportunity. She recommended that my alternative was to start sex work at her home; and which I did. After four months, conflict arose when she continued charging me half of the income Because of this, I departed from her and got employed in Venus bar (found in Piazza), and then I came to this hotel with a monthly payment of 80 birr.

Concerning the profile of her regular customers, she didn't encounter foreign customers, however, she knew some girls who sleep with foreigners through brokers. Children on the street are, as she said, subjected to exploitation by such pimps;

When foreigners come to Addis Ababa, there are taxi drivers who make their living as brokers of sex workers. Street girls have no money and knowledge about the tricks committed against them. The brokers promise the foreigners that they bring them younger children for sexual purposes. For this, they receive a lot dollars and start their operation; they look for street children, tell them to take shower from Filwuha (hot spring water) and give them 'good' clothes and pay them some money (around 200 Birr) and submit them to the foreigners. What the brokers pay the children is too small compared to what they take from the foreigners.

Her description of the sexual behavior of her customers was not different from the experiences of earlier cases presented above. There were demands for oral, sex between the breasts,, anal sex and other different vaginal sexual positions. She said that she had no problem with different vaginal sexual positions but refuses anal sex. She described how anal sex could be hazardous from experience of what happened to one of her friends:

Imagine what will happen to me when a big thing (penis) is inserted to that small hole (anus). Once my friend went with a client and she was forced to have anal sex, which she did. After that she had a problem to remove her feces. She told this secrete only to me. For this I will never have anal sex at whatever payment. First, I need my health.

Regarding maltreatments and abuses she faced so far, she said that battering is common in sex work. She, however, didn't report to legal bodies, taking maltreatment and abuse for granted in sex work and condemning her engagement in sex work.

She said that she knew about HIV/AIDS and how to use condom. . She also said that she had some health problem when she started sex work; *"during the early days of sex work, I felt burning pain when I urinated. I continued working despite this feeling. Later, there was a bad smell; and I communicated this to my friend who advised me to go to a clinic. The physician prescribed me Ampicillin which lessened the pain"*. It seems that she was infected with some kind of venereal disease from her early sexual encounters.

What worried her as a sex worker was the fear of getting infected with HIV/AIDS. She wanted to continue her education provided that someone extends support.

Some reflections: What do all the above case studies tell us?

The foregoing life-history interviews of girls illustrated the general image of child commercial sexual exploitation as practically experienced and reported from the 'horse's mouth' (girls under the age of 18 who are actually making a living out of this business). In a nutshell, the following set of observations can be made from the case studies presented above.

When we closely examine across the cases, several common features (of course with some peculiarities) seem to exist in the life experiences of girls exposed to sexual exploitation. One general observation is about the precipitating factors that forced them to indulge in commercial sex work. Irrespective of their place of origin, the reasons reported by girls give the impression that most of them entered into the world of sex work because of economic or social

deprivations and to emancipate themselves from precarious situation. Family disorganization is a common factor experienced by many of the commercial sex workers, which in a way deprived them necessary social and economic support from family and forced them to join sex work. It also seems that starting commercial sex work is a process that most of these unfortunate girls chose after testing other pathways such as employment as daily laborer, housemaid, bar attendant, peddling and etc). Peer pressure is also another main factor that pushed many of girl children into sex work. Many of them were misinformed about sex work and sex worker friends presented them rosy picture about sex work consciously or unconsciously.

The above cases also tell us that commercial sexual exploitation of girls is not only the problem of migrant girls. There are girls out there in different corners of Addis Ababa who were born and brought up in Addis Ababa and joined commercial sex work for one or another reason. This seems contrary to public discourse that perceives child prostitution mainly as a business of migrant girls.

The case studies also revealed that child pornography and child sex tourism are emerging phenomena or rather more wide spread than one could imagine. Other actors (particularly taxi drivers) are involved in sex tourism and working with taxi drivers could be an entry point to mitigate sex tourism.

The case studies also showed that community's reaction towards children exposed to sexual exploitation is negative and hostile. In some cases, the reaction of the community even goes to the extent of alienating them from social activities and labeling them with derogatory names, which dehumanize them. Moreover, they are perceived as harbors and vectors of HIV/AIDS transmission. There appear be a misperception that these girls made a choice to join prostitution out of free will. Children exposed to sexual exploitation has to endure negative moralistic views of the community on the one hand and the underlying reality of economic and social pressure that forces them to engage in commercial sex work on the other. As a result, some of them respond to these challenges by totally avoiding contacts with their families or relatives.

Another common feature reflected in all the cases was the ambivalent feeling of girls towards sex work (as a means of living). Almost all of them did not like the business and none of them considered it as an employment that they would pursue throughout their life. Commercial sex work seems to be a two-edged sword. They are happy as it gave them livelihood or easy of making money. At the same time, they are subject to harassment and humiliation because of stigmatized sexuality. They seem to be trapped in such business with no way out. They are used to easy money and conspicuous consumption which may not be met by any other job with their low level of educational qualification.

Most of the child commercial sex workers have dropped out school (at the primarily level) due to various factors. However, after joining sex work they did not get opportunities to pursue their education. They work long hours to sustain their lives. As most of them indicated, life is full of challenge for them and they have never thought of pursuing their education while working as sex workers. There are limited or no initiatives to support them to pursue their

education while working as sex workers. These children need to be rehabilitated at best and be given educational opportunities while engaging in sex work at worst.

The life histories of girls showed that their working conditions are entirely surrounded by exploitative environment. One of the indicators of such exploitative conditions could be observed from the age of the girls (their immaturity) vis-a-vis the nature of their work (which is absolutely beyond their physical and sexual and mental (decision-making) capacity of the children. Since they work in an extremely violent environment, most of them experience different forms of violence from their customers and employers. Almost all case studies presented above narrated encountering unprotected sex, rape, physical violence and sexual intercourse not in line with their choice (anal sex and other unconventional sexual positions and practices). Given that almost all cases presented above had been raped or forced to have sex without condom, it is more likely that they are infected with HIV/AIDS.

The overall impression obtained from the case studies is that, children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation suffer from several challenges that adversely affect their survival and development. Commercial sexual exploitation of children is also against the ILO Convention article 182, ratified by Ethiopia, which requires state parties to abolish the worst form of child labor including slavery, trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, compulsory labor including compulsory recruitment of children in armed conflict, offering a child for prostitution, or pornography, or other illicit activities.

The stories presented above are chilling beyond description. It must, however, be noted that child commercial sex workers are not always passive in the face of abusive situations and hardships related to their work. Many of them adapted different coping strategies and defense mechanisms to protect themselves from abusive clients. For instance, not going to homes of clients so that they should not be forced to have sex without condom in the absence of no one to rescue them, using street youths as their bodyguards, telling lies or fooling the clients when they suspect maneuvering techniques, not being drunk and etc are some of the coping strategies employed by child sex workers.

Part III

IMPLICATIONS

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion: Sexual Abuse of Girl Children

This study attempted to give insights into the nature of sexual outrages prevalent among girls and the situations that put girls at the risk of sexual abuse and its aftereffects. One of the issues that emerged from this study is increasing trend of sexual abuse in terms of its magnitude and scope in all sub cities of Addis Ababa. The quantitative data confirmed that at least 6 out of 10 girls face sexual abuse in one form or another. Interestingly enough, unlike the case of rape and other forms of sexual abuses which entail physical injuries, sexual harassments with all its varieties seem to have been widely conceived by the girls themselves in particular and the public at large as 'normal'. Thus, it is not given adequate attention at all levels of society. Such tolerance emerged partly because of the age-long tradition and the prevailing attitude towards women as subordinate segments and partly due to lack of awareness on the legal implications of harassment as violation of one's human rights. Even when it comes to the severe forms of abuses, only a handful of cases are brought to light and the tendency of reporting such types of crimes by victims or victims' families is often dwarfed for fear of stigma, lack of protection from further abuse and sluggish legal system.

As transpired from the findings, today one cannot argue that sexual abuse takes place solely in a particular social and physical milieu. Every setting, be it family (home), neighborhood, schools, streets and work places seem to be unpredictably unsafe for young girls. It also appeared that girls are mostly abused by perpetrators whom they are familiar with, though the degree of relationship and acquaintance may vary. The fact that majority of abusers were found to be adults (some years older than the victims) nullifies inherent expectations that adults would protect minors (who are physically and mentally immature). Instead, adults are found to be perpetrators rather than protectors. The home setting is another hidden but emerging environment where girls face sexual abuse. Rape stories against children by family members is becoming common to hear from mass media (despite the fact that most cases of abuses that take place within the family circle remain unreported). Several anecdotal illustrations have been presented above to strengthen the fact that abuse is committed not only by outsiders or strangers but also by blood relatives in the family. The implications of the findings should be understood that family level interventions are of paramount importance to combat sexual abuse of girls.

The study also attempted to explore in detail issues related to vulnerability to sexual abuse. Although all the girls, irrespective of their socio economic background are vulnerable in one or another way to sexual abuse, there are actually certain groups who are prone to abuse than others owing to different interrelated factors. Synthesizing all predisposing factors of vulnerability, it is possible to comprehend that girls with precarious social, economic and physical status are largely less protected and thus vulnerable to abuse.. These children are said to have poor defense mechanisms to all sorts of threats including sexual abuse that endangers

their lives. Owing to their mental and physical immaturity, younger girls are highly vulnerable to sexual abuse. Immaturity implies possibility of being deceived by adult men, less defensive capacity to dangers (including sexual advances) and they become easy prey to rape and other forms of sexual abuse.

The other central point that came out of this study is the fact that sexual abuse of girls in its diverse form is intertwined with the multifaceted social, economic and cultural factors. The prevailing unbalanced gender relations founded in deep-rooted patriarchal system and socialization that individuals pass through partly account for the problem. In any society, sex and sexuality is surrounded by taboos and restrictions and this sensitive nature of sexuality contributes to underreporting of sexual abuse as well.

Another major observation from the findings is the problem posed by HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS pandemic is not only a health problem but it also facilitates other social crisis as well. One of the manifestations of this crisis is parallel increase in rape and other forms of sexual abuses among female children- who became targets with presumed assumption that kids are free from HIV.

This research also explored sexual abuse from broader perspective and addressed some cultural practices such as female genital mutilation, abduction and early marriage which are still practiced in Addis Ababa. The reasons behind the prevalence of such practices in the metropolis could be attributed to the fact that Addis Ababa, being a 'little Ethiopia,' accommodates migrant people with unique sub cultures. Moreover, communities in the peripheries of Addis Ababa also maintain linkage with semi-rural lifestyle and therefore, early marriage, abduction and female genital cutting are maintained.

The legal support system to victims of sexual abuse seems to be a serious issue that needs due attention from all child rights advocates. The fact that Ethiopia has signed the UNCRC, ACRWC, and enacted domestic laws and provisions to enforce the implementation of the international instruments is a good step forward. However, there is a huge gap in the implementation of these provisions to the best interest of the victim child. Although CPUs are established in the police structures and they are facilitating reporting of cases, there is still a need to make them well-known and accessible to all segments of the society. Even if sexual abuse cases are reported, there has been a gap in the implementation of the existing provisions in accordance with the best interest of the victim child. The release of individuals who are suspected of committing sexual abuse on bail has created a serious problem to provide appropriate legal support for the victims. Besides, as shown above, unreasonably lenient sentences are passed by the court on perpetrators and this perhaps could discourage the victims from reporting and seeking justice.

6.2 Conclusion: Sexual Exploitation of Girl Children

Though it was not possible to come up with quantitative data, the study highlighted the wide spread existence of sexual exploitation of girls in Addis Ababa. It also depicted that large number of girls flock to the city and end up in commercial sex work due to a number of complicated reasons. Poverty, the spread of HIV/AIDS and increase in the number of orphans has dramatically aggravated the problem of sexual exploitation of girls in the city. The findings of this study also revealed that like many immigrant girls from the rural settings, girls born and raised in Addis Ababa are also equally vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. This implies that although, in comparison with the rural sector, the urban sector may appear economically privileged, it conceals severe problems of resource distribution. Urban living is often extremely harsh and exploitative for young people, particularly because of their rapidly rising numbers, the shortcomings of municipal management, and the deterioration of the social and physical environment. Marginalization of urban poor families is also another source of bottleneck affecting many children (Blanc, 1994).

Furthermore, the study also made it clear that societal response against the problem of sexual exploitation of girls seems to be very limited or in some cases nonexistent. Commercial sex work has been perceived by the society at large as a choice made by girl children to earn income. It is not understood as commercial sexual exploitation or violation of rights of children and forced option taken by these unfortunate girl children. Due to such misconceptions such girl children are labeled as immoral and promiscuous. In a way, society is blaming the victims and children exposed to sexual exploitation are marginalized and discriminated from employment, social networks such as family, neighborhood and community, and from an adequate quality of life. Such misunderstanding and the negative outlook of the people towards the girls who engage in the commercial sex work requires comprehensive sensitization programs.

From the findings, it has become apparent that factors predisposing girls into commercial sexual exploitation are numerous and complex. Therefore, depending on the nature of the precipitating factors to the problem, any preventive or rehabilitative efforts addressing the problem of sexual exploitation of girls need to consider multi-dimensional and integrated approaches.

It was also discovered that the level of contact of child commercial sex workers with their families depends on the knowledge of their parents about their engagement in commercial sex trade. Those child commercial sex workers who operate without the knowledge of their families or relatives maintain regular contact with them in the form exchanging letters or occasional visits. Whereas those girls engaged in sex work with knowledge of their parents stated that their relationship with parents/families is either very limited or none.

The study also figured out the exploitative dimensions of the different modes of commercial sex work and how that affects physical, economic and social wellbeing of girl children. It was found out that those girls who independently pursue the business (street children and girls who rent their own rooms) have a relative freedom and flexibility to decide on their style of life and

working conditions. However, those working under full control of the *balukas* or bar owners seem to suffer financially more than the other category of girls. Balukas take the lion's share of the income the girl children generate through sex work. Nonetheless, irrespective of this difference, all girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation encounter a wide range of hardships in relation to the nature of the work. The hardships among others include: being snatched or denied of their daily earnings, being forced for unconventional sex styles and positions, clients' refusal to use condom or deliberately removing or tearing it during sexual intercourse, group sex, deception, physical abuse and sexual harassments by their customers and passersby and stigma and discrimination by their neighbors and the society at large. Moreover, it appeared that almost all girls exposed to commercial sexual exploitation are devoid of educational opportunities. They are also exposed to different health risks (including HIV/AIDS). They are not in control of their lives although they are concerned about protecting themselves from sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS.

Although there are no well-documented evidences about the degree and magnitude of child pornography and sex tourism in Addis Ababa, anecdotal evidences presented above indicate the existence of the problem. Some girls reported foreigners as one of their customers although the status of such clients (whether they are tourists or residents in the country) is hardly difficult to establish. Sex tourism is further complicated by the involvement of many other, actors such as taxi drivers, brokers and bar owners. Globalization, advancement of information technology such as the internet and compact discs seem to have contributed to emerging problem of child pornography. Girls exposed to sexual exploitation are found out to be easy targets for child pornography. These girls experience pornography both as viewers and actors either consciously or unconsciously. Some of our informants reported watching pornographic movies performed by Ethiopian girls. Although they reported pornography as immoral act, attractive remuneration, their life style and immaturity forces or induces girls to submit themselves to the demands of their customers for pornography. In short, the study brought to light several facets of sexual exploitation and its different modes of operations and attempted to show the interface between child prostitution, the concept of child trafficking, child pornography and sex tourism.

Summing up, this study demonstrated that the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation of girls in Addis Ababa is widespread and also increasing at an alarming rate. The study made it clear that circumstances that expose girls to sexual abuse and exploitation are complex and interrelated and therefore the interplay of a number of factors need to be critically considered in addressing sexual abuse and exploitation. We believe that that the findings of this research would serve as a bench mark about the status of sexual abuse and exploitation of girl children in Addis Ababa and would inspire practitioners from governmental and non-governmental organizations to take comprehensive actions.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Cross Cutting Recommendations (Sexual Abuse and Exploitation)

- The findings made it clear that problems related to sexual abuse and exploitation and predisposing factors are numerous and complex. It is therefore, worthwhile to design comprehensive and holistic approaches by integrating the prevention, protection and rehabilitation strategies at micro and macro levels of interventions.
- Every endeavor directed to mitigate the problems of sexual abuse and exploitation of girls should consider fostering the participation of target children and the community starting from program/project inception through implementation and evaluation of the interventions
- Promoting concerted efforts and networking are also crosscutting strategies to enhance joint programs, share information and best practices among likeminded organizations. Such coordinated effort will contribute to the effective and efficient use of human and financial and material resources and enhance successful implementation of the initiatives against the problem.
- A comprehensive capacity building strategy should be developed at grassroots level to promote the community based initiatives in fighting against sexual abuse and exploitation. This could be realized through assisting the local administrations, indigenous NGOs community based institutions with the view to enhance their implementation capacities through staff training, provision financial support, experience sharing and information exchange.
- In spite of the fact that national initiatives on sexual abuse and exploitation are in place in the form of the National Plan of Action designed by the National Steering Committee under the auspices of MoLSA/MoWA, such actions are not directed or supported with a national children's policy in general and sexual abuse and exploitation policy in particular. Hence, the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation can best be addressed through a comprehensive national policy focusing on children that will guide the whole effort of combating the problem in a coordinated manner.
- Enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of law enforcement related to sexual abuse and exploitation by strengthening the human resource capacity and record keeping system of the courts, CPUs and by providing refresher training for law enforcing bodies (police and the judiciary) on child rights in general and sexual abuse and exploitation of children in particular.

- Children constitute about half of the Ethiopian population and are the future builders of the nation who deserve at most care and attention. However, there seems to be a gap in accommodating the issues of children in the institutional structures of the country, which practically lacks an independent entity to assume exclusive responsibility at the federal and regional levels. Therefore, it is commendable to establish an independent government institution at federal and regional levels and with its micro level structures to facilitate the efforts of combating child right violations.
- It is vital to strengthen the public information campaign on sexual abuse and exploitation (sensitizing the public on various forms of abuse and exploitation including child trafficking, sex tourism and child pornography) as well as on the preventive and protective measures. Agencies working in the area of sexual abuse and exploitation need to work in collaboration with mass media to increase reporting and awareness of the public on the issue. Utilizing grass root communication channels such as community conversation, Idirs, cultural and social gatherings (religious and local coffee ceremonies, etc) is also very important to reach the wider community.
- Documenting up-to-date structured data about the trend, magnitude and scope of sexual abuse and exploitation against the girl children is also paramount importance to design technically viable initiatives and also set qualitative and quantitative indicators to measure changes in the process of monitoring and evaluation. Conducting periodic studies, establishing resource centers and making various publications on sexual abuse and exploitations accessible to the researchers and the public at large are vital mechanisms to enhance this line of effort.
- Design relevant guidelines on the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programs and set the minimum quality standard of protection, rehabilitation and support services to be operated by various governmental and nongovernmental organizations.
- In every endeavor related to sexual abuse and exploitation, gender sensitive interventions need to be encouraged. The involvement of men and women in this regard is very important to assume equal responsibility in mitigating the problem.
- Despite several initiatives to empower women and girls, there are few attempts to involve men and boys to bring about gender equality, and tackle many of the problems such as the gender based violence. There is a need to bring men and boys on board to realize respect of the rights of women and girls, and ensure their empowerment; and enhance effectiveness of interventions.
- Establish child-friendly safe-homes or foster homes whereby victims of sexual abuse and exploitation get access to recreation, information, medical services, and counseling and

legal aid services. Such a holistic approach is believed to be preferable to facilitate an effective recovery and rehabilitation of victims of sexual abuse and exploitation.

6.3.2 Specific Recommendations on Sexual Abuse

- Establish/strengthen the Gender and Child Rights Clubs in primary and secondary schools. The establishment of child rights clubs should be initiated with the active participation of the children themselves supported by school teachers. The clubs should have clear plan of action and be empowered to effectively implement their plan of action, to provide peer education and follow up and report cases of child sexual abuse and exploitation in and around schools. In doing so, the initiatives of the child rights clubs should be linked to other child protection structures such as child rights committees and Child Protection Units.
- In many occasions, incidents of sexual abuses including those committed at family level remain either hidden or reported after long time and this complicates medical and legal support system for the victims. It is advisable to set up reporting mechanisms/ child protection structures at different levels whereby incidents of sexual abuse could be timely reported. Therefore, establishing reporting systems at different levels or structures such as schools child rights committees, kebele level child rights committees, and CPUs could enhance reporting of cases and may facilitate the legal process.
- Family level interventions should be enhanced via Community based Organizations and NGOs. Sensitizing parents on the preventive methods, signs and symptoms of sexual abuses of children and conducting regular family dialogue with children is vital. To this effect, actions should be exerted towards developing various sensitization manuals, building the capacities of the grassroots organizations and the family.
- Measures should be taken to empower girls through assertiveness skills and self-defense or physical training (such as martial arts) in the school system and in the community, so that girls can protect/defend themselves from sexual abuse. Besides, action should be taken to create access to guidance and counseling services in the schools and community settings
- Strengthen the capacity of the concerned government agencies in executing and promoting birth registration, age determination tests and standardized medical evidences about the status of sexually abused girls in order to facilitate legal provision and protection and rehabilitative support for victims.
- Establish an integrated medical and psycho-social support services within the health institutions (hospitals and health centers) in order to address the medical, psycho- social and emotional needs of victims of abuse and exploitation.

- Strengthening the role of the Child Protection Structures is paramount to facilitate the prevention and protective efforts against sexual abuse. Therefore, measures need to be taken to enhance the capacity of the Child Protection Units in all sub cities in the area of handling reported cases and in systematically organizing data. Moreover familiarizing and updating the public about the role and function of the CPUs is important to increase the participation of the community in reporting sexual abuse.

6.3.3. Specific Recommendations on Commercial Sexual Exploitation

- There is a need to consider the issue of sexual exploitation in the process of formulating the National Tourism Policy and code of conduct in order to mitigate sex tourism and pornography.
- The promulgation of the new penal code and the establishment of a special bench (child friendly courts) indicate that increased attention is given to the issue of child sexual abuse and exploitation. However, the law has not addressed the issue of sexual exploitation comprehensively. Thus, we recommend the need to critically assess the legal lacuna in the area of child trafficking and sexual exploitation and address the gaps accordingly.
- Strategies for income generation and informal education should be designed to provide choices for vulnerable children and high-risk families who live in absolute poverty. In other words, alternative means of livelihood/employments needs to be developed for child victims and their families to prevent further commercial sexual exploitation.
- Conflicts within the family and early marriage were found to be among the major factors forcing female children to leave their homes thereby exposing them to rape and other forms of sexual abuse and exploitation. Therefore, it is recommended to undertake rigorous awareness raising programs to parents on positive child rearing practices, conflict handling approaches and protecting children from abuse and exploitation, follow up and reporting mechanisms, legal protection systems and the existing laws and provisions in relation to abuses committed on children.
- It is commendable to selectively address different negative-actors in the fight against sexual exploitation. The finding of the study revealed that the ‘ballukas’, bus/truck drivers, taxi drivers, brokers, bar owners and women commercial sex workers are found to be among the major actors that facilitate the sexual exploitation of girl children. Therefore, it is recommended to reach these actors through training and awareness raising programs and turn them into potential stakeholders in the prevention and protection of children from sexual exploitation.

- Initiating community level discussion forum to discuss and explore the problems related to sexual exploitation of girl children, develop self-initiated interventions on prevention activities and enforcement of laws is necessary.
- The pull and push factors need to be addressed to mitigate the problem of child migration from rural to urban areas.

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Annexes

ANNEX -1

Magnitude of sexual Abuse of girls in A.A

Source: from A.A police/CPU

Year	Types of Abuses		
	Rape	Harassment	Trafficking
1995 E.C	355	–	
1996 E.C	371	–	164
1997 E.C	317	–	327
1998 E.C	379	–	547
1999 E.C	393	7	464

Sexual abuse of girls (<18 years of age) reported to police by Sub city

		1997 E.C	1998 E.C	1999 E.C	TOTAL
1	NEFAS SILK LAFTO	7	15	25	47
2	KIRKOS	15	47	18	80
3	ADDISI KETEMA	20	45	31	96
4	BOLE	9	7	22	38
5	ARADA	1	1	9	11
6	GULELE	0	16	39	55
7	YEKA	21	28	35	84
8	KOLFE KERANIO	35	32	37	104
9	LIDETA	13	19	15	47
10	AKAKI KALITI	1	4	14	19

ANNEX -2

Questionnaire for School Girls in Addis Ababa

Name of school _____

Sub City _____

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Address of the student: Sub-city _____ Kebele _____
2. Age _____
3. What type of school are you attending?
 - [1] private/regular
 - [2]. private/evening
 - [3]. public/regular
 - [4]. public/evening
 - [5]. government/regular
 - [6]. government/ evening
 - [7]. missionary/regular
 - [8]. Missionary/evening
 - [9]. others (specify) _____
4. Which grade are you currently attending? Grade _____
5. Are your parents' alive?
 1. Both are alive and live together
 2. Both alive but divorced/separated
 3. Father alive
 4. Mother alive
 5. Both dead
6. Who are you currently living with?
 1. Both parents
 2. Mother only
 3. Father only
 4. Relatives (specify relation) _____
 5. With friends
 6. Alone
 7. with employer
 8. Other (specify) _____
7. Occupation of parents/guardians? (male parent ____, female parent _____)
 1. Farmers
 2. Merchants
 3. Civil servants
 4. Daily laborers
 5. Unemployed
 6. Others (specify)
8. Where your place of origin?
 - [1] In Addis Ababa
 - [2] Outside Addis Ababa

9. If your place of origin is outside Addis, why did you come to Addis?
 1. War/conflict/fear of persecution
 2. Drought/famine
 3. early marriage
 4. Disagreement with the family
 5. Looking for a job
 6. Attracted by city life
 7. Others (Specify) _____

10. How long have you been residing in Addis? _____
11. 16. Are you currently employed in any income generating work?
 - [1] Yes
 - [2] No → proceed to next section

12. If Yes to Q 16, what is the nature of your work?
 1. House maid
 2. Waitress
 3. Shop attendant
 4. Daily laborer
 5. Self-employed
 6. Other _____

II. EXPOSURE TO SEXUALE HARASSMENT AND ABUSE

Which of the following have you experienced? Multiple answers are possible

- [1]. Spoken to in a sexual manner
- [2]. Explicitly asked for or approached for sexual intercourse
- [3]. Encouraged or forced to expose private parts
- [4]. Encouraged or forced to look at or touch some one else's private parts
- [5]. Encouraged or forced to engage in activities involving touching, fondling, kissing or any other contact of a sexual nature
- [6]. Encouraged or forced to have sexual intercourse (Rape)
- [7]. Verbally abused (including insult, name calling, gossip, defamation, etc) in relation to a sexual request
- [8]. Received verbal or written threats related to a sexual request
- [9]. Been humiliated in front of others in relation to a sexual request
- [10]. Physically assaulted in connection with a sexual request
- [11]. Other forms of harassment or abuse (Specify) _____
- [12]. Never experienced any sexual abuse /harassment

Note for the Interviewer:

If the respondent has experienced the above listed forms of sexual harassment and abuse, complete the following table by asking the respondent and referring to the codes provided below (next to the table)

Sex of Perpetrator

[1]. Male

[2]. Female

Age of Perpetrator

[1]. Younger than respondent

[2]. More or less about the same age as respondent

[3]. Slightly (2 - 5 years) older than respondent

[4]. Older (5 -10 years older) than respondent

[5]. 10 or more years older than respondent

[6]. Can't tell their age

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

1. Peer influence
2. Drug (substance) use/abuse
3. Economic problem
4. deception
5. others (specify) _____

22. What were the means often used by perpetrators to manipulate you in to engaging the above described actions? (Put in ranking order, in the space provided corresponding to each option)

1. Invitation to recreational places _____
2. Deception or betrayal of trust _____
3. Providing gifts _____
4. Forcing _____
5. Threatening _____
6. Using their positions of authority _____
7. snatching property _____
8. Other means (specify) _____

23. Have you ever reported to/discussed the problem with any one?

[1]. Yes

[2]. No →

Skip to Q_9

24. If yes, who did you discuss it with?

- [1]. Both my parents
- [2]. Only my mother
- [3]. Only my father
- [4]. Elder brother or sister
- [5]. Other family members
- [6]. A friend or friends
- [7]. Teacher or school counselor
- [8]. Police or other law enforcement body
- [9] Other (specify) _____

25. What did they do about it?

26. Did their action help the situation?

- [1]. It solved the problem
 [2]. Did not make a difference
 [3]. Made the situation worse
27. If you did not discuss the problem with no one, what was your reason?
 [1]. I was afraid they would blame me
 [2]. I was afraid that would make the situation worse
 [3]. I didn't think discussing it would help the situation
 [4]. I didn't think I needed any help to deal with the situation
 [5]. Other (specify) _____
28. What negative effects have you experienced as a result of your experience with/exposure to sexual harassment and abuse? (Multiple responses possible)
1. unwanted pregnancy
 2. Abortion
 3. Sexually transmitted Infections (STI)
 4. Decreased self confidence, self esteem and feeling inferior
 5. Feeling powerless
 6. Physical injury
 7. Loss of trust in relationships
 8. Decreased school performance
 9. Having to relocate or move to a different school/ residence
 10. Loss of job and income
 10. Drug addiction related to depression
 11. Others (Specify) _____

29. In what ways have you tried to deal with the effects of sexual harassment and abuse?

30. Do you know any female child or a girl who was/were victims of rape over the last one year? 1. Yes
 2. No

31. If, yes how many?

For the 2nd and 3rd column use codes indicate in page 3.

31.1 Age of the victims	31.2 /Environment Where The Abuse Took Place	31.3 Identity Of Perpetrators

32. Do you know a girl/female child who has been circumcised during the last one year in your neighborhood/ community?
 1. Yes [2]. No

33. 14. If yes, where, in Addis or outside Addis? _____ How many? _____

34. Are you circumcised?
 [1]. Yes [2]. No

[1]. Yes

[2]. No

49. If yes, what was the nature of the consequence?

- a. physical abuse/violence
- b. verbal threats
- c. humiliation and intimidation
- d. others _____

50. In your opinion, should girls accept gifts/money in exchange for sexual favors?

- 1. Yes they should
- 2. Yes but they should as long as they don't give any sexual favors in return
- 3. Yes but only if they like/love the person giving them the gift
- 4. Yes but only if the gift is very substantial
- 5. No, they shouldn't

51. What do you suggest should be done to alleviate the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation of female children?

ANNEX -3

Questionnaire for Children Exposed to Commercial Sexual Exploitation

1. Sub City _____
2. Kebele/area _____
3. Age _____
4. Place of origin _____
5. How long have you been living in Addis? _____
6. Educational background
 1. Illiterate/never attended any schooling
 2. Read and write only
 3. Currently attending in Grade _____
 4. Dropped out in grade _____
 5. Other _____
7. If you never attended school or dropped out of school what was the reason?
 1. Household poverty
 2. Death of parents
 3. Parents' disinterest towards girls education
 4. Early marriage
 5. Academic failure
 6. Incompatible with the nature of my work
 7. Serious illness
 8. Inaccessibility of the school
 9. lack of interest
 10. Others (specify) _____
8. Marital status
 1. Never married
 2. Married
 3. Divorced
 4. Widowed
 5. Separated
9. If married, divorced, widowed, or separated, ask age at first marriage _____
10. How was the marriage arranged?
 1. by abduction
 2. arranged marriage by family
 3. consensual marriage (with my interest)
 4. others _____
11. How many children do you have, if any? _____
12. Are your parents alive?
 1. Mother only
 2. Father only
 3. Both dead
 4. Both alive
 5. Don't know
13. Occupation of parents/guardians?
 1. Farmers
 2. Merchants
 3. Civil servants
 4. daily laborers
 5. unemployed

- 6 Others (specify) _____
14. Describe the nature of contact with parents/guardians, if any?
1. No contact whatsoever
 2. Infrequently
 3. Regularly
15. Do parents/guardians know that you earn your living as a sex worker?
1. Yes
 - [2]. No
16. If yes, what was their reaction
1. Disowned me
 2. Felt sorry/sad
 3. Tried to help me stop
 4. Did nothing
 5. Others (specify) _____
17. If no, what do you think they would say/do if they knew?
1. Would disown me
 2. Would feel sorry/sad
 3. Would try to help me stop
 4. Would do nothing
 5. Others (specify)
18. Where do you often live?
1. At a friends place
 2. As an individual lodger
 3. As a group lodger
 4. As a lodger in a place I work
 5. On the street
 6. Others (specify) _____
19. Are you assisting anyone financially?
1. Yes
 2. No
20. If yes, specify dependants' relationship?
1. Parents
 2. Siblings
 3. Children
 4. Boyfriend(s)
 5. Relatives
 6. Others (specify) _____
21. How did you earn your living before you become a sex worker?
1. Housemaid
 2. Daily laborer
 3. Street vendor
 4. Unemployed/dependant on family
 5. Others (Specify) _____
22. If you are not living in your place of origin, what was the reason for leaving home/live on the street? (multiple responses will be ranked)
1. Death of parents
 2. Looking for a job
 3. Looking for education
 4. Escaping abduction/early marriage
 5. Divorce
 6. Escaping heavy workload

7. Attracted by city life
 8. Deceived by traffickers/pimps
 9. Conflict in the family (with parents)
 10. Others(specify)_____
23. Who brought you from your place of origin to your current place of residence?
1. Came by myself
 2. My parents
 3. Relatives
 4. Traffickers/brokers/pimps
 5. Bus drivers
 6. Boy friend
 7. Others _____
24. How long has it been since you became engaged in commercial sex work? _____
25. What was/were your main reason/s to begin this work? (in case of multiple responses, please rank)
1. Poverty at home
 2. Death of parents
 3. Early marriage
 4. Peer Influence
 5. Lack of other employment opportunities
 6. Dispute with family
 7. Abuse or exploitation in previous employment
 8. Forced by brokers/pimps/brothel owners, etc
 9. Others (specify)_____
26. Where do you often get customers?
1. Hotels/bars/brothels
 2. On the street
 3. Through Pimps/intermediaries
 4. Others (specify)_____
27. How many clients do you get per week? _____
28. How much on average do you charge your clients? _____
29. If you are employed by bar/brothel owners or brokers, how much of your income do you give to them?
1. one fourth or less
 2. half of it
 3. two third or more
 4. none of it
 5. I don't know the amount
 6. They take as they wish
 7. Others _____
30. Have you ever had any health problems related to your engagement in CSW?
1. Yes
 - 2.No
31. If yes, what are your most frequent complications?
- 1.Gynecological problems
 - 2.STDs
 - 3.Respiratory problems
 - 4.Abdominal pain
 - 5.Others (specify)_____
32. Do you get treatment?

1. Yes 2. No
33. What type of treatment do you get?
1. Modern medication at hospitals or clinics
 2. Traditional treatment (holy water, traditional healers)
 3. Others (specify) _____
34. Is HIV/AIDS a problem for you?
1. Yes 2. No
35. If yes, why? _____
36. If no, why not? _____
37. How often do you use condoms during intercourse?
1. always
 2. sometimes
 3. seldom
 4. Never
38. If you don't always use condom, why not?
1. Clients' reluctance
 2. Lack of knowledge
 3. Lack of access to condoms
 4. Dislike of condoms
 5. Others (specify) _____
39. What are the main problems you encounter in relation to your work? (in case of multiple answers, please rank)
1. Clients refusal to use condom
 2. Physical abuse by clients
 3. Clients persistence for unconventional sex
 4. Clients refusal to pay
 5. Rape/attempted rape
 6. Exploitation by employers
 7. Others (specify) _____
40. Have you ever encountered unwanted pregnancy after you got engaged in commercial sex work?
5. Yes 2. No.
41. If yes, what measures did you take?
1. Abortion by traditional method
 2. Abortion in the clinic/hospital
 3. Gave birth
42. Who do you call/where do you go/ for help when you get in to trouble?
1. Police
 2. Friends
 3. Parents/guardians/Relatives
 4. Pimps/brokers/brothel owners
 5. No where/no one
 6. Others (specify) _____
43. Have you ever reported incidents of maltreatment/abuse that you encounter in your work environment to legal authorities?
1. Yes 2. No

44. If yes, what measures were taken _____
45. If no, why not? _____
1. Afraid of further abuse
 2. Don't know where to report
 3. I don't have any trust on legal authorities
 4. Others(specify)_____
46. How do you feel about your present life style?
1. Sad/disappointed/frustrated
 2. Indifferent
 3. Happy/content
47. Would you consider quitting sex work?
1. Yes
 2. No
48. If yes, on what condition?
1. Provided that I get other employment
 2. Provided that I get reunified with family
 3. Others (Specify)
49. Have you developed any of the following drug habits?
1. No drug habit
 2. Drinking alcohol
 3. Smoking cigarette
 4. Smoking other narcotics
 5. Chewing chat
 6. Sniffing glue/petroleum
 7. Others _____
50. If you have the habit of using one or more of the drugs above, how did you get accustomed to it?
1. Influenced by friends
 2. learned from what I observed in my parents/siblings
 3. Because I have access to it in home/community.
 4. others _____
51. Have you ever been approached by a foreigner for sex?
1. Yes
 2. No
52. If yes how many times? _____
53. Have there been any instances where you have been asked to be recorded or photographed while necked or posing in a sexual manner by a foreigner or Ethiopian client?
1. Yes
 2. No
54. f yes, how many times has that happened since you began commercial sex? _____
55. Have you ever agreed to any such requests?
- [1]. Yes [2]. No

56. If no why did you turn down their request?

1. We didn't agree on the payment
2. It is not ethical
3. I am afraid of doing it
4. I hate it
5. It is against our culture
6. Other _____

57. Have you ever seen any pornographic pictures/films involving Ethiopian girls?

1. Yes
2. No

58. What is/are your plan in the near future?

1. to continue working in commercials sex
2. quit commercial sex and change to another job
3. continue my education
4. I have no such plans
5. Others(specify)_____

59. What would you suggest should be done to prevent, protect and rehabilitate children from sexual exploitation?

ANNEX -4

In-Depth Interview Guide for Girls Exposed to Sexual Exploitation (For Street and Bar/brothel Girls)

1. Age of the child _____
2. Educational background (probe for reasons if the child is not attending school ,or dropped out)
3. Place of origin (if you are coming from other region, when did you come here and what were the reasons? Was there anyone who helped you to come here? What was your expectation and the reality you faced after you came here?)
4. Family background? Probe for the situation of parents before the child left home/place of origin and the present status, employment status, livelihood, the child's birth order among the siblings family size, etc. whether the girl has contact with her family or not?
5. Have you ever been married, engaged to someone for marriage before you entered into this activity? Probe for the age when the child got married, the type of marriage, how it was arranged and the current status. If separated/divorced, what was the reason for the separation?
6. When and how did you start (the age/year you engaged) the commercial sex work? What was your initial feeling towards it initially compared to the present?
7. In your view, what was/were the main reason/s that forced you to engage in the commercial sex work? What is your impression about your engagement as a commercial sex worker?
8. What kind of benefits do you get out of your job as a commercial sex worker?
9. Where do you live and who do you live with at the present? Did you have any reason for preferring such kind of living arrangement?
10. If the girl has migrated from other region, probe on the procedure of the path ways she passed through, starting from the procedure of departure from family, the situation of transportation/traveling and the condition at the destination until she joined the current job.
11. How do you describe your regular customers? Probe: type of customers, their age, status, characteristics in sexual relationship, your coping mechanism to handle diverse behaviors and varied needs of customer.
12. Have you ever encountered maltreatments or abuse in connection to the nature of your work? (probe for explanations for each type of maltreatments and abuses by customers, traffickers and madams) What measures do you often take at times when you are maltreated?

13. What is your view about the perception of the community towards you and your friends engaged in commercial sex work? (Probe for the social life of the girl/s, participation in social events on neighbors, stigmatization, etc.)
14. Have you had any health problem as a result of your work? What other consequences happened to you because of the nature of your work?
15. What is your view about the risk of HIV/AIDS? Do you have any chance of getting first hand training / source of information to know about HIV/AIDS? What protective measures do you often use to protect yourself?
16. Do you always use condom? Who is mostly proposing the use of condom before every intercourse (you or the customers)? Do you think you have the power to decide on the use of condom regardless of the interest of the customers? Are there tactics used by customers to subdue you or other girls under their full control?
17. If you are working in the bars/brothels what are your main privileges, duties and obligations? What will happen when you breach your obligation and vice versa?
18. Do you know fellow girls who deliberately hunt foreigners for commercial sex? Why do they search them? How do they approach them (by their own or via pimps brokers or any other means)?
19. Have you came across or approached by foreigners for sex? Probe: the duration of stay with the foreigner, how frequently she meets the foreigner, anything that makes the sexual partnership with the foreigner different compared to that of the Ethiopian customers? What do you like or dislike from such relationship?
20. Have you ever seen or heard about pornographic photographs video pictures of Ethiopian girls making sex with a foreigner or Ethiopian customer? If yes? How old were the girls?
21. Have you ever been requested by a foreigner or Ethiopian customers to get your photographs/video pictures taken while making sex? If yes, what happened then?
22. What are your major worries on your day-to-day life and in relation to your work?
23. Have you ever heard or accessed rescue, recovery and integration activities (services provided to sexually abused boys?)
 - Health and psychosocial rehabilitation
 - Legal provisions or do you think that the existing policies, laws adequate to protect children from sexual abuse?
24. If you have accessed the services, what is your impression about the relevance of the services provided?
25. In general how do you compare your life before and after you engaged in commercial sex work?

26. Would you aspire for any opportunity to get out of this work? Give reasons for your response. What kind of potential do you see in yourself to change your livelihood? And what do you suggest to protect/ rehabilitate or prevent girls from sexual exploitation?
- a. The role of girls/ children exposed to commercial sexual exploitation?
 - b. The role of the families and community?
 - c. The role of the community?
 - d. The role of the government?

**Interview guides for key informant (Governmental and Non-governmental organizations,
Community-based Institutions and Schools)**

1. Name of the institution _____
2. Your position in the institution _____
3. What is the mandate of your institution in relation to sexual abuse and exploitation against girls?
4. How do you understand the term sexual abuse and exploitation? From the context of your locality, what type of practices is categorized as sexual abuse and exploitation?
5. Which particular places are the most risky in exposing children to sexual abuse and exploitation? Give reasons for your response.
6. Could you estimate the magnitude and trends of sexual abuse and exploitation of girls in your locality and beyond?
7. If there are cases identified by your institution, how many cases have been identified or reported every year? How wide spread is the problem?
8. As far as you know, what makes children vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation? Probe for contributing factors based on economic, social, cultural, technological aspects.
9. From empirical information and your opinion, which groups of children/girls are the most vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation? Give reasons for your responses.
10. What is the perception of the community towards sexual abuse and exploitation against girls? Are there certain myths or misconceptions traditionally rooted in the community which in one way or another exacerbates the problem?
11. Who do you think is responsible for sexual abuse and exploitation of girls in the school, outside the school,
12. What social, economic, moral and institutional set up exists to protect girls/children from sexual abuse and exploitation?
13. What is the existing legal protection against sexual abuse and exploitation?

14. Is there any connection between sexual abuse and exploitation and HIV/AIDS and STD infection?
15. In your opinion how does sexual abuse and exploitation affect children/girls? Probe: the personal, social, economic and psychological consequences.
16. Has your institution clearly designed strategies to protect children from sexual abuse and exploitation? (specify/discuss the strategies)
17. How do you see the trend of child sex tourism and child pornography in the city of Addis Ababa? Do you have any premise or ground of indicators to verify its magnitude and gravity in the city?
18. What is your view about child trafficking and its relation with sexual exploitation? Do you have any confirmed report on the practice of child trafficking from other regions of the country to Addis Ababa for sexual exploitation? If yes, could you please describe the pathways children pass through and the problems they face in the process?
19. Are there rescue, recovery and integration measures/activities (services provided to sexually abused girls?)
 - Health and psychosocial rehabilitation
 - Legal provisions or do you think that the existing policies, laws adequate to protect children from sexual abuse?
20. What do you think are the best possible ways to protect children/girls from sexual abuse and exploitation?
 - Networking among organizations dealing with sexual abuse?
 - Support from communities, Idirs, adoption, foster care family extended family members or institutional support
21. What are the opportunities to enhance efforts towards protecting children from sexual abuse? Are there threats which could thwart this effort?
22. What are your final reflections on what can be done or the possible most effective, culturally appropriate and acceptable preventive and protective measures to be taken that fit to their specific needs and experiences? What type roles should be played by the following stakeholders in order to curb the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation:
 - a. The government
 - b. The community
 - c. Children
 - d. Non-governmental organizations

- e. The family

Check List for Focus Group Discussions with female students

1. Major types of sexual abuses that female students encounter in and around your school. (Prioritizing types of abuses according to their magnitude with a **pair wise ranking exercise**).
2. Do you face problems on your way to school? If yes please describe them.
3. Major types of sexual abuses that girls encounter in your community (Prioritizing types of abuses according to their magnitude with a **pair wise ranking exercise**).
4. Which category of individuals in your school mostly perpetrates sexual abuse on girls and what mechanisms do they use to abuse them? Discuss the same about the situation outside school.
5. How do you perceive the trend of the sexual abuse either in the school surrounding or in the community you are living?
6. Who are the girls mostly vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation? (**Case presentation exercise**).
7. Cause and effect relationship of the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation. What are reasons/contributing factors? What are the consequences? (**Problem tree exercise**).
8. Could you describe if there are any protective or preventive strategies being employed by your school or institutions in your community to combat child abuse and exploitation?
9. Suggestions to alleviate the problem. (What should be done and what roles children and other stakeholders could play in averting the problems of sexual abuse and exploitation against girls?)

Check list for focus group discussions with children exposed to sexual exploitation

1. How and when did they get to the city of Addis? Who facilitated the conditions for current job?
2. Could you explain the reasons (how and why) you and your friends involved in commercial sex work)
3. Make a daily routine exercise with participants to get an insight into their way of life and the nature of their work and their feelings about their way of living arrangements.
4. What are the problems most commonly faced by commercial sex workers because of the nature of their work?
5. Opinion of the girls on child pornography, its prevalence, their involvement and their attitude towards it.
6. Could you describe the categories and characteristics of customs often visiting you for sexual gratification? What do you think are the reasons that made them to come to you particularly?

7. What kind of benefit you and your employers get from this practice?
8. The general impression/feeling of girls towards their work and their future plans.
9. Measures that could be taken to rescue the girls from the problem of sexual exploitation.