

**LIVING AND WORKING IN AREAS OF STREET SEX
WORK: FROM CONFLICT TO COEXISTENCE THE CASE
OF NIKAT CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION**

MSW DISSERTATION PROJECT WORK

(MSWP_001)

PREPARED BY

FELEKE BEBZHA MIHRET

(ID1217172)

PROJECT SUPERVISOR

MOSISA KEJELLA (MR)

INDRA GANDHI NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

NOVEMBER 2017

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

**LIVING AND WORKING IN AREAS OF STREET SEX
WORK: FROM CONFLICT TO COEXISTENCE THE CASE
OF NIKAT CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION**

By: Feleke Bebzha Mihret

**MSW Dissertation Project Work Submitted to School of Social
Work of the Indira Gandhi National Open University, in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirement of degree of Master of Arts in
Social Work**

Nov 2017

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled **LIVING AND WORKING IN AREAS OF STREET SEX WORK: FROM CONFLICT TO COEXISTENCE THE CASE OF NIKAT CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION** Submitted by me for the partial fulfillment of the MSW to Indira Gandhi National Open University, (IGNOU) New Delhi is my own original work and has not been submitted earlier, either to IGNOU or to any other institution for the fulfillment of the requirement for any other programme of study. I also declare that no chapter of this manuscript in whole or in part is lifted and incorporated in this report from any earlier work done by me or others.

Place: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Signature: _____

Date: November, 2017

Enrolment No: ID1217172

Name: Feleke Bebzha Mihret

Address: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Mr. Feleke Bebzha Mihret** student of MSW from Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi was working under my supervision and guidance for her Project work for the course MSWP-001. His Project Work entitled **LIVING AND WORKING IN AREAS OF STREET SEX WORK: FROM CONFLICT TO COEXISTENCE THE CASE OF NIKAT CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION** which he is submitting, is his genuine and original work.

Place: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Signature: _____

Date: November, 2017

Name: Mosisa Kejela (MR)

Address of the supervisor: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Phone No: +251 933 707782

Acknowledgement

Above all, I would like to thank the Almighty God for giving me the compassion for all what I have achieved .Besides, the success of this research is the cumulative outputs of different persons that must be acknowledged .I am very much pleased to present grand and profound thanks to my advisor **Mr. Mosisa Kejela** for his professional advice, guidance and critical inputs which I was able to get in the course of conducting this study.

I am extremely grateful to my interviewees who have devoted their time and shared with me their knowledge and experience. Without their contribution and participation, this research outcome would have not been possible.

Last but not least, I dare to forward my most thanks to my wife **Bethlehem Firew** and my lovely daughter **Selihom Feleke** for their all support and inspiration in my life.

Thanks

Table of Contents

List of Contents	Page
Declaration	i
Certificate	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	viii
List of Acronyms and abbreviations	ix
Abstract	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	3
1.3 Objective of the Study	4
1.3.1 General Objective of the study	4
1.3.2 The specific objectives of the study	4
1.4 Research Questions of the study	4
1.5 Significance of the study	5
1.6 Scope and Limitation of the study	6
1.7 Organization of the study	6
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITRATURE	8
2.1. Introduction	8
2.2 Street sex markets in Ethiopia	9
2.3 Community space, public space	11
2.4 Street sex work and local communities	12
2.5 The national policy context	13
2.6 Local policy responses	17

CHAPTER THREE: STUDY DESIGN AND RESEARCH METHOD	20
3.1 Description of the study area	20
3.2 Research Design and Methods	22
3.3 Universe of the study	22
3.4 Sampling and Sampling Procedures	23
3.5 Data Collection tools and Procedures	24
3.6 Data analysis approach/instrument	26
3.7 Reliability and Validity	26
3.8 Ethical consideration	28
CHAPTER FOUR: MAJOR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS	29
4.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents	29
4.2 Sex work, communities and policy responses in the case study areas	30
4.2.1 The five case study areas	30
4.2.2 The communities in the case study areas	40
4.2.3 Drug use, street sex work and communities	43
4.3. Community responses to street sex work	44
4.3.1 Community views on street sex work and the potential for coexistence	44
4.3.2 Sex workers as part of the community	48
4.3.3 Impacts on quality of life in residential spaces	50
4.3.4 Community responses to street sex work in the areas	54
4.4 Organizational responses to street sex work and the challenges for managing public space	59
4.4.1 Environmental and other practical measures	59
4.4.2 Enforcement activities	61
4.4.3 Managed spaces and areas of tolerance	67
4.4.4 Consultation about local responses to street sex work	70
4.4.5 Improving relations between residents and street sex workers	71

4.4.6 Partnership and integrated responses	76
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	80
5.1 CONCLUSIONS	80
5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS	85
References	
Appendices	
Appendix A. Consent to Participate in Research	
Appendix B. Interview Schedule	
Appendix C. Details of the research methods and sample	

List of Figures

Figure	Title	Page
Figure 3.1	NIKAT main office and drop in center	20

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Title	Page
Table 2.1:	Key legislation pertaining to street sex work, Ethiopia	17
Table 4.1:	A typology of residents' views	47
Table A.1:	Final sample for each area	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CDRP:	Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership
CSA:	Central Statistics Agency
SUSO:	Steeping- Up Steeping-Out
ASBO:	Anti-Social Behavior Orders
HIV:	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
CASBO:	Criminal Anti-Social Behavior Orders
DIP:	Drug Intervention Programme
UN:	United Nations
STI:	Sexually transmitted infections
VD:	Venereal Diseases

ABSTRACT

The study assess the range of **community responses to street sex work**, identifying why and how groups in some areas have sought to ‘**reclaim**’ the streets by **excluding sex workers**, while others **exhibit greater tolerance** in Addis Ababa city selected five case study areas. The five case study areas Chechnya, Merkato / Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Terra were under varying pressure from changes such as regeneration and high population turnover. Residents had common concerns over crime, anti-social behavior, environmental quality, poor housing and lack of facilities. In each of the case study areas, discussions were undertaken initially with staff in sex work projects and statutory agencies to identify mechanisms for accessing and interviewing sex workers and community representatives. Sex workers were accessed initially through outreach, although the potential for interviewing using this mechanism was easier in some areas than others. One of the difficulties I encountered with accessing street sex workers was that there were fewer women on the street and many were very cautious and did not stay long to talk. I was also able to make contact with service users through project staff and was not totally reliant on outreach as a mechanism for access. An information sheet was given to all potential participants, outlining the purpose of the research, dissemination and issues of confidentiality. Methodologically, this study uses qualitative approach. Semi-structured interviews or discussions took place with a total of 31 agency representatives; 69 local residents; community or business representatives; 36 women sex workers; and 12 staff or volunteers in sex work projects. Focus groups comprised between five and 12 individuals. The findings inform Community mediation is an important component of any strategy and National policy also needs to accommodate exploration within each locality of a range of options for managing the issue, including the options outlined here, to enable local negotiation and consideration of shared interests to influence the way forward.

Keywords: Sex work; Sex Workers Community Response; Community Meditation; Negotiation; shared Interest.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

This is the study that attempts to see the validity of the researcher's hypothesis concerning living and working in areas of street sex work from conflict to coexistence in the city of Addis Ababa in general and in five case study areas of Chechnya, Merkato/Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Terra in particular. The history of sex work in Ethiopia is hard to measure, although sex work is a fact of life in many of our cities. As there have been no national multi-site audits of street sex work, it is extremely difficult to estimate the numbers of women who sell sex on the streets of Ethiopia cities with any reliability or accuracy. In Addis Ababa estimates of the size of the sex worker sub-population varied between about two thousand and one hundred and fifty thousand, which was a too wide range to be of any help for program planning and evaluation. No attempt had ever been made to estimate the total size of the sex worker population in the city. After considering several population size estimation methods, it was decided that a census of sex workers would provide the best information for program planning and evaluation (Overs C., Alemayehu B., Hawkins K., and Moody N. 2011).

Although there is no real certainty regarding numbers, it is generally agreed, however, that the street sex market is diminishing in importance as mobile phones and the internet provide new ways of making contact with clients. Nonetheless, street sex markets are well established in many areas of Addis Ababa City, providing perhaps the most visible manifestation of sex work (and one continuing to attract significant numbers of clients). Furthermore, while indoor working may be

an option for many, this may not be feasible for all because of problems such as homelessness and drug use (Sanders, 2004b; Galatowicz et al, 2005). Some sex workers also exhibit ‘occupational mobility’, moving between indoor and outdoor working as circumstances dictate, making the overall picture of markets in different cities a dynamic and shifting one (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003).

Street sex workers can be a vulnerable and marginalized group. Research shows high levels of violence and robbery against street sex workers, perpetuated by clients, passersby, ‘pimps’ or managers and, on occasion, local residents who object to the selling of sex in their neighborhoods (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Phoenix, 2002; Hester and Westmarland, 2004). Street sex workers may also be vulnerable to exploitation from drug dealers, as many drug-using women sell sex to fund their drug use. The prevalence “chat” in street drug markets has also led to increased risk taking and extended working hours for some sex workers, increasing their exposure to violence (May et al, 1999, 2001; Becker and Duffy, 2002). In light of these concerns, public spaces may become sites of risk and exploitation for some street sex workers, raising the importance of increasing our understanding of this issue to ensure appropriate responses to address their needs, while responding to the legitimate concerns of the wider community about street sex work.

According to Andargachew, Commercial sex workers have been known in Ethiopia since olden times, although there are no data as to when and where commercial sex first appeared in the country. Some sources associate the beginnings of commercial sex with the movement of kings, nobles and warlords, the establishment of cities and the development of trading (Andargachew 1988). Subsequently, towns and government offices became centers for the migration of people,

particularly females from rural areas. Initially, the migrant females lived in *tella or araki* houses where they helped the owners to prepare local beverages (*tella or araki*), worked as waitresses and/or entertained the customers; eventually, many of them became commercial sex workers. Over time, with the growth of Addis Ababa, the number of *tella, araki* and teahouses increased (Attaway Mariana, Urbanization in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa University, June 1976).

This research project examines how residential streets in urban communities in Addis Ababa characterized as areas of female street sex work are used and shared. While sex work may be seen as a relatively new feature in some areas, in others it has been a part of the urban street scene for many years. Certainly, some residents are less happy than others with this state of affairs, with some feeling that the presence of sex work restricts their use of public spaces at particular times.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The research forms part of the wider Nikat Charitable Association ‘Public spaces, shared places?’ programme, which is concerned with developing our understanding of social relations and interactions within public spaces, to help inform policymakers and practitioners about how public spaces function and what this might mean for the design and management of these spaces.

There is substantial literature on how fears of other populations are prompting the increased surveillance and regulation of public spaces at the heart of Addis Ababa. Yet, in contrast to the consumer-oriented spaces of the city center, there has been relatively little attention devoted to the quality of the street spaces in residential neighborhoods beyond the central city.

This study set out to consider whether residential streets could serve as shared spaces where residents and sex workers could coexist, drawing on research in residential neighborhoods in five corridors in Addis Ababa, termed Chechnya, Merkato / Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Terra. Each represented an established area of street sex working. The five sites were under varying pressure from changes such as regeneration and high population turnover. Residents had common concerns over crime, anti-social behavior, environmental quality, poor housing and lack of facilities.

1.3 Objective of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

- To assess the range of community responses to street sex work, identifying why and how groups in some areas have sought to ‘reclaim’ the streets by excluding sex workers, while others exhibit greater tolerance;

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- Assess the situation of street sex workers that conflicting with interest of community residing in the area;
- Identify policies that may reduce tension and conflict in areas of sex work; and
- Explore whether residential streets can become shared spaces where residents and sex workers can coexist.

1.4 Research Questions of the study

History has shown that communities were living in the areas of street sex work with coexistence and some conflict in so other areas. The research assess how residential streets could serve as

shared spaces where residents and sex workers could coexist, drawing on research in residential neighborhoods in five corridors in Addis Ababa, termed Chechnya, Merkato / Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtoabus Terra.

While doing so, the following research questions were developed and used during the assessment of the study:

- 1.4.1 What are the conflicting interests of communities living the areas of street sex work terms of shared common spaces, security and overall quality of their life?
- 1.4.2 What type of official policies of tolerance and/or spatial management are sometimes implicated in the erosion of public space, as they may reduce rather than increase the range of groups and activities encountered in public space?
- 1.4.3 How can residential street be used by street sex works and how they could coexist?

1.5 Significance of the study

The research topic is chosen, as one of residents' most widespread concerns in the five areas is street sex working, along with activities such as drug dealing, impinged negatively on their use of public space.

For many residents across all five areas, sex work did not impose greatly on their overall quality of life. However, they identified specific concerns, centering on the visibility of sex workers and associated noise and remains, particularly discarded condoms. Street sex work and control crowded also impacted on some residents' feelings of personal safety, linked to perceptions of risk, crime and disorder and lack of social control. Residents' wider concerns over crime often outweighed those relating specifically to sex work.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study was conducted in the city of Addis Ababa, the most populous sex workers concentration comparing to other regions of Ethiopia. As a result of limited resource, the study has covered only some distinct areas of street sex work termed Chechnya, Merkato / Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Terra. The number of respondents in the study consists of a total of 31 agency representatives; 69 local residents (a mix of male and female residents from different ethnic groups and varied age groups, some being retired and some working); community or business representatives; 36 women sex workers; and 12 staff or volunteers in sex work projects. Focus groups comprised between five and 12 individuals.

The participants are being residents of a certain area of Addis Ababa and the research is a qualitative study that limits the data to few participants and participants are limited to five areas where degree of intolerance seems high. Results may not apply to all other areas of Addis Ababa where many people are living and working in the areas of sex working. But the samples of the study taken in the area and its practicability of the research result in the five study areas can be used for further studies in other similar areas of the city.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This study has five chapters. The first Chapter of the research is dedicated to introductory part of the paper including statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions of the study, Scope and limitation of the study and organization of the study.

The second Chapter deals with the review of literature consisting of the history of street sex markets in Ethiopia, Community space, public space, Street sex work and local communities, the national policy context and Local policy Responses.

The third Chapter illustrates and describes the study area, the research design and methods, universe of the study, sampling method and procedures of data collection. Besides, it explains about data processing and analysis, validity of the research and ethical considerations in the research.

The Fourth chapter presents data analysis, major findings and interpretations of the study. The Fifth Chapter elaborates major findings to draw conclusion and suggests possible recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF LITRATURE

2.1 Introduction

Many writers have defined prostitution more or less in a similar manner. Prostitution is the offering of a body by a woman for sexual intercourse, totally person who can afford the payment for the service given. The Dutch criminologist, William A. Banger said,

“Prostitution must be understood as a social fact that there are women who sell their bodies for the exercise of a sexual act and make a profession of it. Putting one’s body of the disposal of another for the purpose of sexual intercourse is the sale of merchandise”.

According to the Encyclopedia of the social Science, prostitution is defined as “The practice of habitual intermittent sexual union more or less primes coals for mercenary inducement (Encyclopedia of the social science, V, XII, New York 1963.)

In Ethiopia the word prostitution is mentioned in two places of Legislation, as Lemma Gutema stated that

“Penal code mores a mention of the term but does not define it. The public health proclamation of 1947 however, defined a prostitution as a woman who habitually offers her body for prostitution as indiscriminate sexual intercourse for gaining either in money or in kind” (Lemma Gutema,1979), the problem of prostitution in urban area of Ethiopia Addis Ababa Universy.

In short prostitution is a woman who offers sexual services for pay and with absolute emotional indifference to the act she performs.

2.2 Street Sex Markets in Ethiopia

Commercial sex workers have been known in Ethiopia since olden times, although there are no data as to when and where commercial sex first appeared in the country. Some sources associate the beginnings of commercial sex with the movement of kings, nobles and warlords, the establishment of cities and the development of trading (Andargachew 1988).

According to professor Andargachew, towns and government offices became centers for the migration of people, particularly females from rural areas. Initially, the migrant females lived in tella or araki houses where they helped the owners to prepare local beverages (tella or araki), worked as waitresses and/or entertained the customers; eventually, many of them became commercial sex workers. Over time, with the growth of Addis Ababa, the number of tella, araki and teahouses increased (Andargachew 1988:313).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of hotels, bars/restaurants, tella, araki, tej, and other eating and drinking establishments, and the number of sex workers increased markedly. These establishments were the primary sites where clients met sex workers (Pankhurst, 1974: 159).

According to the Mayer report, during the 1960s and 1970s, sex workers and waitresses working in hotels, bars, restaurants etc. were examined monthly for sexually transmitted infections (STI) and other communicable diseases at government health centers and clinics, as part of the ‘weekly Venereal Diseases (VD) Control Program’. Nevertheless, this service was discontinued in the 1980s when the program was integrated into the general health services. (Mayer: 1962:1)

Commercial sex work is not a legally recognized ‘profession’ in Ethiopia. However, most of the establishments where the sex workers are based (hotels, bars/restaurants, night clubs etc.) operate legally with working licenses. In Addis Ababa estimates of the size of the sex worker sub-population varied between about two thousand and one hundred and fifty thousand, which was a too wide range to be of any help for program planning and evaluation. No attempt had ever been made to estimate the total size of the sex worker population in the city. After considering several population size estimation methods, it was decided that a census of sex workers would provide the best information for program planning and evaluation (Overs C., Alemayehu B., Hawkins K., and Moody N. 2011).

According to historical facts, although there is no real certainty regarding numbers, it is generally agreed, however, that the street sex market is diminishing in importance as mobile phones and the internet provide new ways of making contact with clients. Nonetheless, street sex markets are well established in many areas of Addis Ababa City, providing perhaps the most visible manifestation of sex work (and one continuing to attract significant numbers of clients). Furthermore, while indoor working may be an option for many, this may not be feasible for all because of problems such as homelessness and drug use (Sanders, 2004b; Galatowicz et al, 2005). Some sex workers also exhibit ‘occupational mobility’, moving between indoor and outdoor working as circumstances dictate, making the overall picture of markets in different cities a dynamic and shifting one (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003).

Street sex workers can be a vulnerable and marginalized group. Research shows high levels of violence and robbery against street sex workers, perpetuated by clients, passersby, ‘pimps’ or

managers and, on occasion, local residents who object to the selling of sex in their neighborhoods (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Phoenix, 2002; Hester and Westmarland, 2004). Street sex workers may also be vulnerable to exploitation from drug dealers, as many drug-using women sell sex to fund their drug use. The prevalence of drug in street drug markets has also led to increased risk taking and extended working hours for some sex workers, increasing their exposure to violence (May et al, 1999, 2001; Becker and Duffy, 2002). In light of these concerns, public spaces may become sites of risk and exploitation for some street sex workers, raising the importance of increasing our understanding of this issue to ensure appropriate responses to address their needs, while responding to the legitimate concerns of the wider community about street sex work.

2.3 Community Space, Public Space

If city life entails a 'being together of strangers' (Young, 1990, p 237), public space, including our civic centers and neighborhood streets, should be a place where people's differences can be expressed and celebrated and where all may gather, free from exclusionary violence (Mitchell, 1996; CABE, 2004). However, the introduction of new surveillance technologies (CCTV), neighborhood watch, the gating of communities and new public order legislation all undermine the idea of free space open to all and are an indicator of the conflicts that can occur between different users of public spaces. Indeed, the extent to which public space has ever been truly public or enjoyed by all members of the community is questionable. Public spaces can, in fact, become sites where tensions between different norms of acceptable behavior are exposed and can become sites of social conflict.

These observations on public space are particularly relevant to understanding the experiences of sex workers. Sex workers are, of course, residents in neighborhoods, sometimes the very neighborhoods in which they work. Some have family in and/or historical connections to the area. Even when they do not reside in the area, they inevitably contribute to the local economy and may be welcomed by publicans, café owners and shopkeepers. Their social relationships with others in the neighborhood are often very strong. Yet, as a marginalized and stigmatized group they are rarely – if ever – consulted in the processes of developing or renewing urban public spaces and both resident and agency responses to them show that they are not always welcome (O’Neill et al, 2000).

2.4 Street Sex Work and Local Communities

To date, there has been surprisingly little research on the conflicts emerging over the use of neighborhood street space for sex work and limited research on residential experiences of living in areas of street sex work. In several communities, however, residents have felt that the effects of street sex work have reached intolerable levels and have canvassed agencies, predominantly the police or local authorities, to take action against it (Lemma Guttema, 1986). In some cases, residents have taken matters into their own hands and have organized street patrols to remove sex work from their neighborhood, occasionally responding to sex workers with abuse and violence (Hubbard 2002; Sanders 2004a). In some areas, a formal Street Watch group has been formed to monitor activity, often with support from local agencies, including the police. Originally, Street Watch was conceived as a general crime prevention programme, but in practice it has tended to become focused on particular illegal or antisocial activities or groups of individuals, such as street sex workers (Sagar, 2005).

Such community campaigns suggest a high degree of antipathy towards sex work in residential areas (Salt 1987; O'Neill and Campbell 2001). Not all communities have responded to street sex work in the same way, however, with some communities appearing more tolerant and attempting to accommodate sex work and militate against its negative consequences rather than displace it elsewhere (Campbell and Hancock, 1998). This project seeks to examine how community responses have differed in five sites in Addis Ababa, to examine why these differences exist and what can be learnt for local and national policy from different approaches to the issue.

2.5 The National Policy Context

Ethiopia has a unique history and legal framework that incorporates traditional rule and socialist principles into the civil law tradition. In 1960 Ethiopia codified law with the Fetha Nagast that constitutes a number of laws such as law of persons, law of succession, property law of contract, and law of extra contractual liability and so on. There are also other codes than the civil code such as commercial code, penal code and maritime code.

Since its promulgation on 21st August, 1995, the Constitution of Ethiopia has been the supreme law. It defines powers and functions of state organs, the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, and their relationship to each other and the fundamental rights as well as the basic principles, which the state must respect. Any law that conflicts with the constitution would be invalid and it prevails over the state constitutions.

The Constitution states that all persons are equal before the law and entitled to its equal protection. Another provision is that nationals, not subject to legal interdiction, have all rights, protections

and benefits derived from Ethiopian nationality as prescribed by law. This is reflected in Article.1 of the Ethiopian Civil Code which provides that natural persons attain legal personality at birth and retain it until death, i.e. they are a subject of rights and duties from birth to death (Ethiopian Civil Code, Article 1).

The constitution provides that women have equal rights with men. It also states that the historical legacy of inequality and discrimination suffered by women in Ethiopia is taken into account and in order to remedy this legacy women are entitled to affirmative measures. The purpose of such measures are to enable them compete and participate on an equal basis with men in political, social and economic life as well as in public and private institutions.

Ethiopia is a UN member state that has signed many of the UN declarations and conventions concerning human rights and has adopted into its constitution many of the human rights provisions from Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. According to the Ethiopian constitution 2004, Article 41(2) of the constitution declare that every Ethiopian has the right to choose his or her means of livelihood, occupation and profession. Article 26 of same constitution again provides everyone has the right to privacy and public officials shall respect and protect these rights unless and otherwise there are compelling circumstances like safeguarding “public morality” (Ethiopian Constitution, 2004).

Criminal prosecutions are brought by a prosecutor on behalf, of the state in accordance with the 1957 penal code. The primary sources of the criminal code are the Swiss penal code of 1937 and provisions of several other European countries.

Subordinate legislation plays an important part in Ethiopian law, as does the practice of delegating rule making power to executive and government agencies. Ministers, regional authorities and other public bodies can also be given rule making power. As a result, the primary experienced relationship with the state is with local governments, called Kebeles, which register and collectivize local people and property and provide health and other community services. Humans, companies and organizations that are legal persons in the eyes of the law have rights and duties. This enables them to enter into juridical acts such as owning property, bringing legal action and being a party to a contract or employment. Duties include things like paying taxes and taking responsibility for civil damages etc. According to Ethiopian Law, it is generally presumed that every physical person is capable of exercising rights and bearing duties unless “incapacitated” by the law. Incapacity under the law may result from four conditions: minority, judicial interdiction, infirmities and legal interdiction. Legal Interdiction is where the law withdraws certain rights and duties from people convicted of crimes.

The commercial law of Ethiopia regulates persons and companies who engage in commerce and business activities. It prescribes all business associations and transaction securities, banking and negotiable instruments in the country. Traders and business organizations are required to be registered before they carry out any activity. Registration is compulsory to all business persons and business organizations and traders. A trader is a person who professionally, and for gain, carries on any of the activities specified in the law. However, not all of those conducting such activities for subsistence are recognized as traders at law. This includes pastoralists, fishermen,

street traders and many other occupations. The category of persons who are considered traders is determined on a case by case basis.

Anyone who is deemed to be incapable in the civil code on the grounds identified above shall not carry on any trade, and where they do their acts are not lawful.

Marital status of a person is specifically excluded from determination of fitness for status as a trader in as far as he/she does it within the bounds of the law. Although it has not been verified we can be fairly certain that no sex worker has applied to court to have her trade recognized, even though selling sex is not illegal.

The object of business agreements has to be adequate be defined, lawful, possible and of “good morality.” If the object of an agreement is unlawful or immoral or impossible, the agreement is with effect. This applies to employment and tenancy contracts.

Proclamation No. 377/2003, or Labor Proclamation of Ethiopia, protects and regulates the rights people stated as “workers” under it. The labor proclamation clearly stipulates the limited scope of applicability of the definition of the term “worker”.

Contemporary family law of Ethiopia was enacted in 2000. It replaces a 1960 act that limited the legal rights of women and favored men in decision making and control of the family. Its Preamble states that the new law is aimed at improving the socio-economic development of the society, consistent with the constitution, and in particular, mentions that marriage shall henceforth be based on the free consent of the spouses. According to Afrol News, previous Ethiopian family law was based on a monarchical constitution that treated women as if they were children or

disabled. Discriminatory regulations in the civil code include recognizing the husband as the legal head of the family and designating him as the sole guardian of children over 5 years old; domestic violence was not grounds for divorce and wives were entitled to only 3 months' financial support upon divorce.

Table 2.1: Key legislation pertaining to street sex work, Ethiopia.

<u>Offence</u>	<u>Act</u>	<u>Maximum penalty</u>
• Habitual Exploitation for Article Pecuniary Gain	629 and article 92	<i>simple imprisonment and fine</i>
• Immoral Soliciting and <i>not</i> Debauchery	Article 846	<i>punishable with fine or arrest exceeding one month</i>
• Nuisance to the occupiers of the dwelling	Article 634	fine or arrest not exceeding one month
• The Vagrancy	Proclamation No. 384/2004	three years' imprisonment.

2.6 Local Policy Responses

Although Ethiopia is extremely poor Addis Ababa is a modern urban capital with a population of more than 3 million, significant trade and industry and houses the African Union. It also has significant tourism and a large population of foreign residents connected to aid and UN agencies.

Pankhurst stated that sex industry in the capital takes place in many different settings. As mentioned above commercial sex takes place in openly in bars and hotels; massage parlors; brothels; in the main roads, streets; hotels of all standards; pastry shops and small establishments

that sell araki (local brew) and chat (a leaf which acts as a stimulant when chewed). There are also semi red light districts in certain slums. (1974: 159)

According to mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia initial meetings were held in Addis Ababa about the mapping with four activists from the sex worker organization Nikat. Two small group discussions were held, one with 19 participants and the other with 5 sex workers (Mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 2002).

Several laws exist that could affect sex workers without specifically mentioning prostitution or even immorality also appear in the Ethiopian *Criminal Code Article 639 - Public Indecency and Outrages against Morals*. This provision addresses sexual or obscene acts, gestures or performances. It could be used against street sex workers.

As mentioned above and appeared in criminal code “immorality” features in the Constitution and commercial law where it can invalidate agreements. Many of these provisions are broadly worded and, although they are clearly written with prostitution in mind, could in fact apply to many people including sexual minorities and adulterers.

In general, scope for improving relations between local residents and street sex workers was considerable, particularly through mediation and awareness-raising. Coexistence appeared greatest where integrated responses to community concerns had been developed through a range of partners, including sex work projects, and where multi-agency working favored alternatives to increased enforcement, such as court diversion schemes.

Consultation is needed with all interested groups in areas where street sex work takes place, to explore options for addressing concerns. This should occur within a framework of inclusive citizenship and safer space for both residents and sex workers. Any strategy concerning street sex work must consider the potential for encouraging space to be shared by different groups, as well as other options such as safety zones, which might include 'managed areas' where sex workers can operate.

At national level, a shift in focus towards increased support and services rather than penalties for street sex workers would be required to facilitate this model, alongside clearer guidance on using enforcement measures such as ASBOs/CRASBOs. These were intended to address specific issues of anti-social behavior, yet they appear to be used to tackle the presence of street sex workers in some areas, leading to increased vulnerability for women who are already excluded from vital services and, increasingly, from public spaces. National policy also needs to accommodate exploration within each locality of a range of options for managing the issue, to enable local negotiation and consideration of shared interests to influence the way forward (Mapping and Census of Female Sex Workers in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 2002).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Description of the study Area

The study set out to consider whether residential streets could serve as shared spaces where residents and sex workers could coexist, drawing on research in residential neighborhoods in five areas in Addis Ababa, termed Chechnya, Merkato/Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Terra.



Source: Nikat Charitable Association

Figure 3.1 NIKAT main office and drop in center

This study design is a qualitative method content analysis. At the most basic level quantitative research usually contains numbers and statistics and is used when something needs to be measured. Whereas Qualitative research usually has no measurements or statistics, instead it uses words, descriptions and quotes to explore meaning (Shields & Twycross, 2003). It is concerned with the behavior, experiences and opinions of individuals; and aims to explore subjective patterns of an individual, group or organizational experience in order to gauge the meanings for people involved. More specifically qualitative social work research, by its very nature can be seen as process orientated, whereby the researcher enters the natural setting and touches, feels, lives and observes the subject of study in an attempt to gain a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meanings and structural features (Davies, 2007; Matthew & Ross, 2010). A qualitative design was chosen by the researcher in order to explore and analyze individual experiences of the participants rather than gathering statistical data from a greater pool of participants. In doing so the researcher was able to decode commonalities in the participants' responses. Through this approach, the researcher examines how residential streets in urban communities in Addis Ababa characterized as areas of female street sex work are used and shared. Both primary and secondary sources were used in order to gather pertinent data for the study.

This chapter focuses on the study design, sampling procedures, data collection procedures, instruments; data analysis approaches, organizing principles. The structure of this study was administered using both a qualitative and exploratory design field observation was carried out to collect primary data. Besides, secondary sources such as books, journals, and other relevant documents were reviewed in the study.

3.2 Research Design and Methods

In each of the case study areas, discussions were undertaken initially with staff in sex work projects and statutory agencies to identify mechanisms for accessing and interviewing sex workers and community representatives.

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with community representatives and residents living within areas where street sex work took place. Some residents were active in local groups tackling sex work. Interviews also took place with staff in sex work projects and sex workers who were working, or had worked, on the street in the five areas. Some of the women also lived in the local area. The researcher also interviewed representatives from a number of agencies in each area.

Towards the end of the fieldwork, separate focus groups were arranged with agency staff and residents in each of the areas. The researcher carried out observation activities, attended meetings, accompanied project staff on outreach activities and attended drop-in sessions. Individual community members and sex workers were accessed initially through agency and project staff and subsequently through snowballing, where interviewers make successive contacts by inviting each respondent to put them in contact with additional people known to them.

3.3 Universe of the Study

The universe of the study consist of with a total of 31 agency representatives; 69 local residents (a mix of male and female residents from different ethnic groups and varied age groups, some being retired and some working); community or business representatives; 36 women sex workers; and 12 staff or volunteers in sex work projects. Focus groups comprised between five and 12 individuals. The research area covered five areas in Addis Ababa, termed Chechnya,

Merkato/Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Terra. Each represented an established area of street sex working.

3.4 Sampling and Sampling procedure

The sampling technique which I adopted was purposive sampling. This type of sampling is concerned with the exploration and interpretation of experiences and perceptions and is therefore ideally suited for small in-depth qualitative studies (Matthews & Ross (2010)). Purposive sampling does not attempt to create a sample which is statistically representative of a population. Instead respondents are selected on the basis of characteristics or experiences that are directly related to the research question.

In each of the case study areas, discussions were undertaken initially with staff in sex work projects and statutory agencies to identify mechanisms for accessing and interviewing sex workers and community representatives. Sex workers were accessed initially through outreach, although the potential for interviewing using this mechanism was easier in some areas than others. One of the difficulties encountered with accessing street sex workers was that there were fewer women on the street and many were very cautious and did not stay long to talk. I was also able to make contact with service users through project staff and was not totally reliant on outreach as a mechanism for access. An information sheet was given to all potential participants, outlining the purpose of the research, dissemination and issues of confidentiality.

Semi-structured interviews or discussions took place with a total of 31 agency representatives; 69 local residents (a mix of male and female residents from different ethnic groups and varied age groups, some being retired and some working); community or business representatives; 36 women

sex workers; and 12 staff or volunteers in sex work projects. Focus groups comprised between five and 12 individuals. In some instances, individuals attending had been interviewed, whereas others had not previously participated in the research. In order to participate in this study the participants needed to meet the criteria noted above the participants of the study were selected using snowball sampling method, and the practitioners were selected using purposive sampling method.

3.5 Data Collection Tools and Procedures

Qualitative research can be conducted using many forms of data gathering methods such as observations, interviews and questionnaires. The data collection method which I selected was interviews. May (2011) notes how interviews are a popular choice in qualitative research as they yield rich insights into people's experiences, opinions and values. Interviews allow the researcher to gain in-depth and detailed information on a specific topic and can be conducted in various settings and take a range of different forms. Bryman (2004) suggests that there are three main types of interviews which include; structured, semi-structured and unstructured.

In order to undertake my research I decided to use semi-structured interviews with agency representatives; local residents; community or business representatives; women sex workers; staff or volunteers in sex work projects and focus groups comprised between five and twelve individuals. For many issues on which the data is difficult to be collected reliably by way of interview, non-participant observation or direct observation methods and sources like books and publications were used.

As semi structured interviews are particularly effective at gathering data when the subject matter is multi-dimensional, such as the topic of living and working in areas of street sex work. It enables to view the situation from the perspective of the interviewee, thus gaining more in-depth answers (Matthew & Ross, 2010). All the necessary data from the participants were collected using data collecting instruments prepared for the study. Observation activities, attended meetings, accompanied project staff on outreach activities and attended drop-in sessions were conducted.

By selecting a qualitative method it enabled the researcher to submerge himself in the views and experiences of the respondent and to gain a wider breadth and depth of information (Mason, 2002). Semi-structured interviews represent an opening up of the interview method to provide an understanding of how interviewees generate and deploy meaning in social life (Davies, 2007).

Semi structured interviews use techniques from both unstructured and structured interviews. Therefore by combining aspects from both, semi-structured interviews provide an opportunity for the participants to answer questions in their own way, while still providing a general structure for comparability for the interviews (May, 2011). In semi-structured interviews the interviewer is encouraged to probe beyond initial answers and seek both clarification and elaboration on the answers given. This enables the researcher to have more latitude to probe beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewees (Byrne, 2004; May, 2011; & Rubin & Rubin 2005). May (2011) remarks how the concept that interviewees may be answering questions other than those we are asking them and making sense of the social world in ways we had not thought of, reinforces the value of qualitative semi-structured interviews. The idea that we should be receptive to what interviewees say, and to their ways of understanding, underpins much of the 'qualitative' critique of structured interview methods (Mason, 2002:231 b).

3.6 Data Analysis Approaches /Instrument

The results of the interviews were transcribed and the audiotape and written materials were destroyed. This study design is a qualitative method and qualitative content analysis. The benefit of implementing qualitative analysis was to look at the individual experiences of each participant while living and working in street sex work areas. In doing so the researcher was also able to analyze the commonalities and suggestions given by each participant. Common themes were identified and analyzed in an attempt to clarify the sources of conflict in the areas of street sex work and to perhaps suggest further areas of study of coexistence. There were no physical procedures used in this study. The data was analyzed to determine to assess the range of community responses to street sex work, identifying why and how groups in some areas have sought to 'reclaim' the streets by excluding sex workers, while others exhibit greater tolerance.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

In qualitative research reliability refers to the degree to which other researchers carrying out a similar study with comparable methods would generate similar interpretations and results (Kirk & Miller, 1986; & Franklin et al. 2010). Thus, validity is concerned with the accuracy and the truthfulness of the findings. According to Padgett (2008) most threats to validity fall within three broad headings first of which is reactivity which refers to the potentially distorting effects of the researcher presence. In order to obtain the information from the interviewees I therefore needed to be present during the interviews to ask the questions and obtain the data.

Nonetheless the researcher's presence within the interview can affect the information that the respondent is willing to provide. However in regards to my research I believe that I have the

advantage of being a fellow MA social work student and therefore have in-depth knowledge of the topic. In order to be able to limit the effects of any biasness I was careful not to let my preconceived ideas and thoughts impact on the questions and to use neutral probes to ensure that I did not lead the participants into making 'acceptable' comments.

Davies (2007) also believes that there is a risk that in these instances the researcher may think they already know what they want or expect to find in such a context the researcher needs to work hard at being open to interpretations and patterns that may differ from their person assumptions. One way in which I have attempted to tackle this is by using a sampling technique which identifies the views of a range of different people.

Despite all of the above the reliability and validity in qualitative studies depend on the skill of the researcher and their abilities to design the study using appropriate data collection methods. They need to strive to use data collection methods that ensure that the data recording is accurate and that the interpretations of the data are empirical, logical and replicable (Franklin et al. 2010). It is important for researchers to be aware of the strengths of their study as well as the limitations. This enables them to reflect in a positive manner and in turn allow the practices to inform their thinking (May, 2011).

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Before collecting data, the researcher has met Nikat Charitable Associations on how to contact project offices of the five case study areas. The target group of the research who took part in the study were asked to give their consent after the researcher has explained them the objective of the

study, procedures and confidentiality of their response. The participants were informed that they have the full right to withdraw from the study any time. Lastly, the researcher got the participants informed consent after he ensured to all participants in that the data collection is used for academic purpose.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. MAJOR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This Chapter is organized in to four parts. The first part contains socio- demographic characteristics of respondents and then facts the five case study areas by referring secondary sources and interview findings of sex work, the third part of this chapter deals with communities and policy responses with a thorough analysis of neighborhood character tics, sex work population, legal support projects, enforcement activities and multi-agency responses, Community responses to street sex work and Organizational responses to street sex work and the challenges for managing public space. As a whole the chapter is organized based on the specific objectives mentioned in the study.

4.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

A total of 31 agency representatives; 69 local residents (a mix of male and female residents from different ethnic groups and varied age groups, some being retired and some working); community or business representatives; 36 women sex workers; and 12 staff or volunteers in sex work projects and Focus groups comprised between five and 12 individuals. Aged 25 to 48 participated in this study. Of the participants the overwhelming majority (85.7 percent) were female compared to only 14.3 percent male. The mean age of the participants was 32. Of the participants interviewed 71.4 percent were working full time, 21.4 percent were unemployed, and the other 7.1 percent were working part time. The majority, 42.9 percent, of the participants associated themselves as being Christian, 28.6 percent were Catholic, 14.3 percent were Muslim, 14.2 percent stated that they had no religious preference.

4.2 Sex work, Communities and Policy Responses in the Case Study Areas

4.2.1 The five Case Study Areas

Chechenya:

According to the outreach conducted the main beat area of Chechnya is located in the center of an average sized Sub-city. The area has been a focus for regeneration activities over recent years. Poor quality houses are being demolished and replaced with alternative accommodation in the locality and some properties are being turned into Hotel Apartments. While the area is primarily residential, there is also a line of local shops. Establishments such as saunas are also based on this road.

Neighborhood Characteristics: According to the CSA census sources (2011), the estimated residential population in chechenya is just over 4,300. Only a quarter of the population lives in owner-occupied accommodation, with more than a third in social rented housing and 20% in private rented accommodation. As per the ministry of labor and social affairs (MOLSA) people of working age comprised nearly three quarters of the total population in 2001, of whom nearly 10% were unemployed. Over a quarter of the population were in receipt of benefit. A number of people from the northern parts of Ethiopia have been located in the area over the past few years; many are young, single men and women from Tigray Region. (ILO, Employment Advisory Mission, 1982: 326)

The Sex Worker Population: According to mapping and census of female sex in Addis Ababa Street sex work has been a feature of this area for more than 40 years. A number of women sex workers live in or near to chechenya, while others come from other towns to work in the area periodically. Some five years ago, police estimated that there were approximately 70 women

working on the streets of the area, about 15 of whom were thought to work on a regular basis. While the number of women on the street appears to have decreased slightly in recent years, it fluctuates in response to different factors such as residential action or enforcement activities. Indoor working is also a feature of this area, although generally outside the main street working area. Most of the women street workers in this area have had periods of homelessness and many are currently homeless.

Local Support Projects: Three projects work with street sex workers in the area, all of which are based in the voluntary sector. One of the projects Steeping- Up Steeping-Out (SUSO) offers a range of provision, through outreach and drop-in services, including sexual health advice and support, drugs prevention activities and, more recently, a court diversion scheme. It works with a number of different agencies within the area and has acted as mediator between the women and local communities. There is no formal ‘zone of tolerance’ in the area, but SUSO project parks its outreach front in the area two nights a week and there is informal agreement that the police allow women to visit the van on these occasions. The other two voluntary projects are run by religious organizations and provide outreach and drop-in facilities and other support such as education and pastoral care.

Enforcement Activities: As per the information I got from a project staff, occasional police operations targeting street sex workers or kerb crawlers take place, but levels of activity are relatively low compared with some other areas in the vicinity. A small number of Anti-Social Behavior Orders (ASBOs) or Criminal Anti-Social Behavior Orders (CRASBOs) have been issued against sex workers (a total of six by mid-2016), but these have tended to be primarily in the case of ‘repeat offenders’ who do not appear to be engaging with the support projects and none had been issued in recent months of fieldwork.

Police generally notify SUSO project prior to issuing a CRASBO and the local Drug Intervention Programme (DIP) team is also involved in service provision, but there is no care ‘package’ as such in place to accompany ASBOs.

Multi-Agency Responses: As per the researcher observation in the area there is no city-wide prostitution forum and to an extent this may reflect the fact that the number of complaints from the local community has been fairly low, particularly since the sex worker support project began to undertake mediation activities. Up until recently, the main forum between local communities and statutory agencies in chechenya was the community policing liaison meeting, which has also been attended by sex work projects. When paying the price was issued, a community meeting was set up, facilitated by a ‘Karamara’ police station officer and NIKAT Charitable Organization, to formulate a response. This was attended by local residents, representatives from local agencies, sex worker support projects and some women who were, or had been, sex workers in the area. The response, while outlining residents’ concerns, was also largely supportive of women sex workers locally. The community sex work forum that evolved from this has continued to meet in order to take some of the issues forward.

Awtobus Tera:

The outreach conducted in Addis ketema sub- city revealed that Awtobus Tera beat area is mainly in residential streets, which has a major entertainment center, where there are many clubs, restaurants, bars and lap-dancing clubs. In the immediate vicinity is a busy main road and bus station, with a number of hotels that may be seen as a source of trade for the sex industry.

Neighborhood Characteristics: According to the CSA census sources (2011), the census indicates that while many of the residents are retired professionals, there is also a significant population of working age. An increasing number of students live in the area and rural urban

migrants have also been located nearby in some of the flats and hostels. As per the ministry of labor and social affairs (MOLSA) in 2001, the resident population of the area was just over 7,000, of who more than half were from the southern part of Ethiopia. Compared with the other four areas, this was a relatively rich area: 45% of households lived in owner-occupied and kebele accommodation, with around a quarter in each of the social rented and private rented sectors. People of working age comprised nearly 80% of the total population, of whom just over 5% were unemployed. (ILO, Employment Advisory Mission, 1982:326)

The Sex Worker Population: According to mapping and census of female sex in Addis Ababa, although there is some argument regarding when sex workers started working in Authobus Tera, it does appear that the problems were aggravated in the mid1990s when a number of street sex workers moved into the area as a result of the rural urban migration where on and off-street sex work had traditionally taken place. Police and project estimates suggest that there were between 70 and 100 women working on the streets of Authobus Tera at that time (with weekly numbers in the area of 30). It appears that the number of visible street sex workers in Authobus Tera has dropped significantly in recent years, although some of the women seem to have been dispersed more widely to surrounding areas (Family Health International (FHI) , 2002)).

Local support projects: There are two main projects offering support to women working on the street. One is funded by DKT-Ethiopia and Stepping –Up Steeping-Out (SUSO) were established with a focus on sexual health issues, but within a package of holistic support. This project operates an outreach service to street sex workers, as well as having a drop-in facility and specialist clinics. The second project is based within the voluntary sector, with a religious ethos. Outreach is undertaken regularly by this project and drop in facilities are also available.

Enforcement Activities: Agency responses to street sex work have included a high number of ASBOs and sanctions issued against women street sex workers in the area and actions against kerb crawlers. According to mapping and census of female sex in Addis Ababa, more than 30 ASBOs have been issued against women working in the Authobus Tera beat and civil proceedings have been initiated against more than 20 women. These should be accompanied by provision and support from local projects and services, but there is a resource issue here and it is not clear whether projects have always been involved as a matter of course Family Health (Mapping and census of female sex workers, 2002).

Multi-Agency Responses: As per the information I got from one project staff, there is a city-wide multi-agency prostitution forum that meets regularly and has representation from key agencies such as the local authority Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership (CDRP), police, housing and probation; sex work projects; and two active residents' groups from the Awtobus Tera area. There was some antagonism between residents and sex work projects during the initial years of the forum but the forum has also brought an opportunity for increased multi-agency cooperation. Although the terms of inclusion of sex work projects appear to have been set within a formal framework of 'no tolerance', there is now greater recognition of the work of sex work projects within the forum, which appears to be moving on from the earlier enforcement-dominated approach and increasingly focusing on multi-agency initiatives to support sex workers in moving on. It seems unlikely that the move towards support and exit necessarily extend to a relaxation of the policy on zero tolerance or negotiation of sharing space, but there may be opportunities for reflection and encouragement of inter-agency cooperation and resources for work to meet sex workers' needs.

Piassa/Doromanekia:

According to the Mayer report sex work has been historically associated with Piassa/Doromanekia, a district to a large Sub-city where soliciting has taken place around the main streets. In an effort to manage street sex work and to provide effective outreach support and health provision, an informal tolerance zone was set up by key agencies in the area in the mid-1990s in light of the HIV crisis. (Mayer: 1962:1) The area changed in the wake of redevelopment and increased complaints brought pressure to bear on the ‘arrangement’. This resulted in the zone being closed and relocated to a street nearby. There appeared to be little consultation on this move and complaints were again received from residents in the immediate area, which led to the swift closure of the area and increased enforcement activities resulting in the dispersal of women sex workers. The beat therefore now extends over a much wider area than before and includes a number of residential streets. There is an active residents’ group in the area, which, since the zone’s relocation, has organized media campaigns, community patrols and lobbying activities against street sex work in the area.

Neighborhood Characteristics: According to the CSA census sources (2011), overall, around 1,200 residents live in Piassa/Doromanekia. According to MOLSA, the previous zone of informal tolerance had fewer residents but exhibited higher levels of multiple deprivations than some of the streets in which sex work now occurs (ILO, 1982:326). Owner-occupation was lower in the tolerance area (at around 40%) than in the newly affected areas, where it averages just over 50%. There were some pockets of extreme deprivation, including one area where 60% of those of working age were unemployed (with 40% long-term unemployed). (Family Health International (FHI) Ethiopia in collaboration with the Addis Ababa city Administration Bureau: mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia, 2002.)

The sex worker population: Mehret stated that currently street sex work accounts for less than 10% of the area's overall sex industry. The number of women working in street sex work was estimated by local authorities to be around 100, with 40 to 60 expected to be working each night. These figures have been queried by the main support service and fieldwork suggests a much lower figure in recent months. Never more than 20 women on the street between 8pm and 12pm and on some occasion only a handful (Mehret 1990; Workineh 1990)

Local support projects: According to mapping and census of female sex in Addis Ababa, there is one voluntary sector sex work project in the area, established in the late 1980s, which provides outreach and support in both street and indoor locations. Its focus is on prevention, harm reduction and other support to sex workers. The closure of the zone resulted in the loss of an established drop-in center in the area. While the project continues to receive some financial support, a cut in funding means that its capacity for service provision has been greatly reduced (August 2002, Addis Ababa)

Enforcement activities: There were initial attempts at dialogue between the support project and the residents in the aftermath of the zone closure and at the height of the resident patrols, but this was largely unsuccessful and the relationship has been at times highly polarized. Since then, the police have held community meetings with residents and authorities. Responses in the main have been in the form of increased arrests, increased patrols and a limited use of ASBOs (only two or three had been issued at the time of fieldwork, but many more were pending), although agencies are beginning to seek to develop a longer-term strategy (Mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia, 2002).

Multi-Agency Responses: According to the Mayer report, responsibility for policy in the area lies with the Sub-city council, which produced a strategy in 2010. It proposed a number of possible

interventions, including ASBOs, mediation and environmental measures. There has recently been an effort to establish a multi-agency strategy for the area, but there has been some disagreement regarding the overall philosophy and it is currently unclear whether what will emerge will be a shared vision. (Mayer: 1962).

Merkato/Sebategna:

As per the outreach conducted in the area Street sex work takes place in three distinct street walking beats in this large sub-city. The area also has a large indoor sex work scene with approximately 70 establishments. The three street beats are not interlinked, but are discrete areas separated from each other geographically within the area, with their own histories of street sex work. In this study, the researcher focused on two of the three street beats.

Neighborhood characteristics: According to mapping and census of female sex in Addis Ababa, during a one-month period in 2014, the outreach project had contact with nearly 60 street sex workers and of these, nearly three quarters worked in Sebategna. This area is primarily a commercial area, close to a mainline station. There is a very small residential population in this area of just over 400. While renting is the norm, there are some housing developments associated with young professionals, although a significant number of residents also work in routine and manual forms of work.

There is no official policy of ‘zoning’ in the Sebategna, but the police refer to the area as the ‘area of lesser complaint’ and encourage women to work in that area within certain hours rather than in other city center areas. According to Lemma Guttema, there has historically been a street sex working beat in the city center: in the late 1990s, female street sex workers were encouraged to move from the previous site to Sebategna following increasing complaints from residents and

businesses in the wake of regeneration. Complaints from the small number of residents and local businesses currently in the area are minimal (Lemma Guttema, 1968)

Enforcement Activities: As per the researcher personal observation in the area the number of ASBOs served against women sex workers has been very small (one against a sex worker in the Sebategna area and one against a sex worker in the Merkato area): both relate to antisocial behavior than sex work activities.

Local Support Projects: According to mapping and census of female sex in Addis Ababa, there is one dedicated street sex work project in the area. This voluntary sector project provides an outreach harm reduction service to all the three beats in the city by mobile car outreach. A large purpose-built mobile unit is also located in the Merkato several nights per week and a range of partner agencies attend to offer services and facilitate referrals. There is a fast track to the city's drug treatment service, which also provides a structured day care programme for women drug users and, through this, offers a range of exit support. The sex work project has a central role in a court diversion scheme (Mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia, 2002).

Multi-Agency Responses: According to the Mayer report, the city wide multiagency forum was established in 1998 by the Addis Ketema Wereda 8 community policing center is a range of statutory and voluntary sector agencies to take a multi-agency response to prostitution. It has a wide range of agency members, is chaired by a community policing officer and reports into CDRP structures. Residential or community groups are not represented on the forum, but community issues are fed in via the police and community safety representatives. The forum has a set of stated aims and a philosophy, which is to take 'a practical, non-judgmental view of adult prostitution' (Mayer: 1962).

Gojjam Berenda:

The Gojjam Berenda is an area of the center of a medium-sub-city. Sex work has been located for in this area for more than 50 years. By the late 1990s, street sex work had also become dispersed into other adjacent areas. In all these areas, the majority of streets where the women work are residential, with a small number of exceptions; they encompass large areas of small terraces with back passages and occasional blocks of rooms (Mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia, 2002).

Neighborhood characteristics: According to CSA census (2011) Gojjam Berenda has a population of nearly 4,000 (2011). At the time of the census, around 39% of households were owner-occupied, with 38% social rented and 17% private rented. Just over 70% of the population was of working age, of which 9% were unemployed. (ILO, Employment Advisory Mission, 1982: 326)

The Sex Worker Population: As per the information I got from one project staff, the statutory project contacted more than 90 women working on the streets, but numbers had declined to less than 50 by 2015. A significant proportion of the women contacted lived in the local city, with others coming into the area from surrounding areas (Mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia, 2002).

Local Support Projects: As per the information got from one project staff, targeted outreach to sex workers has been delivered for 10 years by a statutory-led support project, with a focus on sexual health and harm reduction. An additional voluntary sector project also carries out work with young people aged fewer than 18 at risk of or experiencing sexual exploitation. This service provides drop-in space one evening a week for adults. A supported hostel also offers support to female ex-drug users, the majority of whom had previously been involved in street sex work.

Enforcement Activities: There are currently no residents' groups that come together specifically to lobby or protest about street sex work, although the issue of sex work is still a matter of concern to a number of community forums and groups. In response to residents' complaints, the community policing in Gojjam Berenda pursued a policy of imposing ASBOs and CRASBOs against street sex workers, with 13 orders having been issued in total at the time of fieldwork. Running concurrently to the imposition of ASBOs against street sex workers, the police have also targeted men who pay for sex for kerb-crawling offences.

Multi-Agency Responses: According to NIKAT Charitable Association area project office, a multi-agency forum was in existence in Gojjam Berenda from the late 2000 and was very active until late 2010. While the forum has met since then, chaired and administered by the police, and formal membership has been wide-ranging and included residential and community groups as well as statutory and voluntary sector partners, attendance of agency partners, including community representatives has been unpredictable and often poor. The group did not have any formalized aims and objectives. The forum met in late January 2015 and at that meeting it was agreed that no further meeting dates would be set because prostitution was to be addressed under new community partnership structures.

4.2.2 The communities in the Case Study Areas

Before turning to consider the relationships between sex workers and the communities of which they sometimes form a part, it is important to understand the nature of the communities in the five sites. The areas exhibited some common characteristics in terms of social diversity; and although some, particularly Awtobus Tera and much of Piassa/Doromanekia, were comparatively rich, all had pockets of deprivation.

The areas were under varying degrees of pressure from changes such as regeneration and population turnover. For example, Chechenyas's social diversity appeared to have been increased by a recent influx of students, with the number of houses in multiple occupancy perceived to be placing considerable pressure on the local housing market. There also appeared to be limited interaction between long-term residents and the student population. In the Sebategna, chechenya and Gojjam Berenga areas, and to a lesser extent, Awtobus Tera, the arrival of rural urban migrants over recent years was perceived to have added to the tensions and complexity of community relations, while also providing diversity. The fact that new arrivals tended to live in specific housing developments meant that they were often perceived as a distinctive community; although many residents stressed that the established community was accepting of new populations. There was recognition in Chechenya that recent immigrants had played a significant part in regenerating the local area, for example, through revitalizing local shops. Nonetheless, it was clear that there had been instances of discrimination in several of the case study areas. For example, one Chechenya respondent reported multiple instances of group fighting, while taboo words throwing and verbal abuse were accepted as a 'normal' experience.

Perhaps the most significant recent change in the study areas was associated with the construction of new housing, often on abandoned commercial sites. In most of the areas, this regeneration had been disorganized, though in Merkato/Sebategna, Chechenya and Piassa/Doromanekia it had been encouraged as part of major local authority regeneration initiatives.

In Piassa/Doromanekia, the council-led regeneration of the slum area was perceived to have had negative impacts on the community in terms of "fragmenting what was ... essentially one identity" (resident, Piassa/Doromanekia).

The divide between relatively rich and more deprived people in this area was suggested to have a clear spatial expression, with local agency workers stressing the persistence of ‘pockets’ of poverty existing cheek by jowl with “ridiculously expensive properties” (agency representative, Piassa/Doromanekia).

In the Merkato/Sebategna and Awtobus Tera areas, residents also often spoke of gentrification, though here it was associated primarily with the improvement of the existing housing stock and the rise of buy-to-let properties. The latter was also identified as significant in encouraging the sub-division of larger houses in Awtobus Tera and Sebategna, potentially driving out families and bringing younger, single workers to the area.

Such ‘gentrification’ was perceived by local stakeholders to have ambivalent effects, making “housing in this area inaccessible for first-time buyers” (resident, Awtobus Tera), but also improving the built environment, including the quality of some public spaces.

Academic commentators have suggested that gentrification is often associated with campaigns designed to displace sex work (Papayanis, 2000; Kerkin, 2003). Residents, agencies and police confirmed that this was the case in several of our study areas. For example, in Merkato, a decline in the prevalence of sex work was seen to be related to the involvement of new entrants in lobbying and community action against it. Similarly, in Piassa/Doromanekia, regeneration was seen to be the main factor in displacing sex work from a zone of informal tolerance to another part of the district.

The quality-of-life concerns raised across the study areas tended to be remarkably similar, with crime, antisocial behavior, environmental quality, quality of housing and lack of local facilities and shops identified as main priorities. All residents mentioned crime as an issue affecting neighborhood quality, suggesting that it impinged on their life in a variety of ways. While burglary

and car crime concerned many, safety on the streets was considered a more significant issue. Most residents were able to recount instances where local people had been attacked. In both Merkato and Gojjam Berenda, there was also some concern articulated about gun crime and gang culture. Concern about antisocial behavior was associated with young people on the streets at night, although several local stakeholders suggested that complaints about (for example) people playing football in the street were symptomatic of an increasingly intolerant society. Though of lesser importance nationally, the prevalence of drugs (and drug dealers) was a concern in all our study areas, with problematic alcohol use being cited as more prevalent and of significant concern in Piassa/Doromanekia and Merkato. For many, sex work was considered a separate (and unique) issue that was rarely a priority in quality-of-life terms, particularly since the visibility of sex workers appeared to have lessened in many of the areas.

4.2.3 Drug Use, Street Sex Work and Communities

In most areas, there was reportedly an increase in drug use among street sex workers, although it should be noted that not all the current sex workers interviewed in this study were drug users. While “Shisha” appeared to be the main drug used by sex workers in most of the areas, in Piassa/Doromanekia “hashish” use still appeared to predominate. Some residents and agency staff commented on the problems for neighborhoods associated with drug use, such as discarded needles and evidence of “chat” use in public places, as well as increased levels of noise. One of the associated issues in some areas was the presence of “chat” houses. In Awtobus Tera and Gojjam Berenda, for example, they could be set up in houses in residential streets, creating a culture of fear for people living in the vicinity. In Piassa/Doromanekia and Merkato/Sebategna, this was perceived to be less of a problem than in the other areas.

While some residents and other local representatives felt that drug use was a matter of choice, others expressed sympathy and understanding for the women. “Chat” use was seen to keep sex workers in their situation and also prevent them from engaging with services, because their concentration was affected and also because they became less visible to projects. It was also felt to impact on working practices and women’s sexual health and safety, as a result of extended working hours and increased risk taking. Some agency staff expressed concern that women with nowhere else to go were staying in “chat” houses, thus reinforcing their dependency.

Previous research has found that drugs and street sex markets may often coexist, but that the nature of the relationship is likely to differ according to individual areas, requiring holistic solutions tailored to the specific needs of each area (May et al, 1999; Pitcher and Aris, 2003; Hunter and May, 2004; Matthews, 2005). Drug and sex markets were seen by some residents and agency staff in the study as being interdependent, adding to fear and anxiety, although there was also acknowledgement that drug dealing sometimes operated independently of the sex work scene. In the Merkato beat, for example, there was perceived to be a separation between the two markets and it was acknowledged by some residents in Chechenya that drugs had been a separate issue in the past and that not everything could be “blamed on sex workers”.

4.3 Community Responses to Street Sex Work

4.3.1 Community Views on Street Sex Work and the Potential for Coexistence

Across the five areas I found a range of views that can be situated along a range of no tolerance or empathy, through some levels of sympathy towards the women themselves but low levels of tolerance to street sex work in the local area, to greater levels of tolerance and sympathy.

Residents' perceptions were informed by a range of factors, including personal friendships with women workers, the extent to which sex workers were seen as part of the community, direct experience of some of the impacts of street sex work and sometimes biases based on information received from sources such as the media. The majority of resident views were situated mid-way along the range: they were aware and understood the issues, but they wanted street sex work to be managed appropriately. For example, an Awtobus Tera faith leader said: "I felt very torn between the sympathy that was provoked by what we heard about [in a meeting] but also awareness of the problems that it produced for the local community".

The following table sets out the continuum of views expressed in interviews with residents across the five areas. While mixed views and some sympathy were most common among residents, a minority remained adamant that there was no scope for coexistence and that only visible police activity would suffice in addressing the issue. For example, one resident in Awtobus Tera felt strongly that "I don't think for one moment that you can honestly think that normal abiding lawful people, residents, can expect to have prostitutes and what it leads to ... accepted in their area". For such residents, the main way forward was to remove sex workers from residential spaces through enforcement activities directed at the women, kerb crawlers and others, such as drug dealers and those involved in the management of street sex work. Some local representatives who had consulted with residents also voiced the opinion that sex work was not compatible with residential areas, although in their view potential responses also had to include an element of support and 'rehabilitation' for the women.

Table 4.1: A typology of residents' views

Overall perspective	Responses to sex work	Residents' views on policy solutions
Extreme/proactive Intolerance	<p>predominantly in Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Tera with some examples in Gojjam Berenda. Sex work is seen as degrading women and the Communities where it takes place. Views included</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •anger that taxpayers' money is going into support projects; •anger at associated crime; combat the issue are considered necessary. •no sympathy: "They are a health hazard ... we don't want them, full stop"; •a lack of interest in the welfare of sex workers; •an assumption that women have chosen to enter sex work and can choose to stop: <p>"What it means really is that the majority of these women have made a lifestyle choice".</p> <p>Responses can include vigilantism or organization of street patrols.</p>	<p>Zero tolerance of sex work is seen as the only option.</p> <p>Enforcement and environmental measures to Combat the issue are considered necessary.</p>
Modest intolerance	<p>Found in all areas to some extent. Primarily hostility to sex work and wanting sex work out of the area. Sex work sometimes seen as unacceptable on religious/moral grounds. Little interest in the broader issues but some willingness to consider prevention and exiting. Responses can include lobbying against sex work, pity for 'victims' and support for exit strategies and 'rehabilitation'.</p>	<p>Zero tolerance is seen as necessary in residential areas, as well as initiatives to re-educate and rehabilitate sex workers</p>
Mixed views – both some sympathy and limited tolerance	<p>The majority of resident responses fell into this category and included a mix of sympathy and concern based on perception of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •the vulnerability of the women and the presence of under-age girls; •violence and safety of sex workers; •the exploitation of women by pimps and drug dealers; •sex work as a familiar aspect of living in the area (eg through growing up there). 	<p>Residents favor a managed zone or off-street premises and improved services.</p> <p>Action and patrols are not seen as the answer.</p> <p>Support for taking action against people supplying drugs and kerb crawlers</p> <p>Support for projects working with sex workers</p>

(Continued)

Table 4.1: A typology of residents' views

(Continued)

Overall perspective...	Responses to sex work	Residents' views on policy solutions
	<p>Tolerance is limited by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •concerns over the security of residents being undermined by the presence of Sex workers •feeling of a lack of 'control' over private and public spaces •wider anxiety and concern over authority responses and a frustration if no-one appears to be listening; •dislike of the nuisance created by sex work. 	<p>with a focus on prevention, assistance and encouraging exiting for sex workers, People favor of raising public awareness, information, communication and dialogue</p>
Modest tolerance	<p>Some residents showed more tolerance together with feelings of sympathy. A less judgmental approach was sometimes a result of personal involvement. Views included: woman's needs, issues and rights and tend not to see sex work as a problem</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •a need to inform people of women's needs and issues; 'out of bounds'. •a tendency not to judge sex workers on a personal level; •tolerance can be limited to local women only; 'outsiders' can be seen as creating the problem. 	<p>Accommodation of some level of coexistence, but with certain areas or times of day considered 'out of bounds'</p> <p>Tolerance zones could also be an option</p> <p>Prevention, awareness raising, education and mediation activities are important.</p>
Proactive tolerance/ Support	<p>Proactive tolerance manifests itself in getting involved in activities to address the issues. Across all areas, but particularly Chechnya and Merkato/Sebategna. Here people inform others of women's needs, issues and rights and tend not to see sex work as a problem: supported exit.</p> <p><i>"I have worked with women working on the streets, heard about their lives, and overall, my views are around the sorts of services/support women "</i></p> <p>(resident, Merkato/Sebategna).</p>	<p>Coexistence seen as possible. Views focus on acceptance, here people tolerance and Tolerance zones could also be an option</p> <p>People value or get involved in supportive forums.</p>

4.3.2 Sex workers as part of the community

I asked residents about whether they regarded sex workers as part of their ‘community’. In doing so, we also asked them to define what they saw as the criteria for community membership. My findings illustrate the following definitions of what constituted community from those interviewed:

- living in the area;
- being part of the networks/part of the area (schools, shops, faith groups);
- being involved in community activities;
- being involved in a system of rights that creates community living;
- being involved in communities of interest (for example, volunteering, sports activities); and
- working in communities (businesses, factories, schools, restaurants, etc.).

For some street sex workers who were also residents, the definition of being part of the community mirrored that of other residents. Membership involved living in the area, being part of the networks of schools and shops, taking part in community activities and community living and having friends locally. For example: “I used to do a lot ... I used to help with the kids in the youth clubs and things like that” (Chechnya sex worker). “I have friends here. I think I’m part of the community” (Gojjam Berenda sex worker). Others did not perceive themselves as part of the community; mainly those who did not live in the local area, but also some who did live locally. For example, a Chechnya sex worker, who had lived in the area at one time, said: “I didn’t feel part of anything. I was just there”. A worker in Gojjam Berenda stated that being part of the community would mean, “Not being a prostitute and not being a drug addict”, particularly because of the abuse and labelling she received.

For those residents who could be described as tolerant, or of limited tolerance, increased information and communication between residents, projects and responsible authorities had made a difference to them.

Something I always highlight to the residents and they're always really receptive to is the fact that an unpleasant lot of these women are part of their community. They live in Chechnya. They've grown up in Chechnya often. They have relatives there.... And I think that was something that has served to break down a lot of barriers because when I first started going in it was obvious that this group of women were seen as other. They were not part of the community. (Project worker, Chechnya)

For a faith leader in Gojjam Berenda it was important to be aware that street sex workers are part of the community and the community's future: "This is our future and if we want our future right we must solve it with ... their cooperation".

Such inclusive views were not shared by all residents. For some, sex workers were outside society and antithetical to community, defined as 'despicable', referred to by one resident in Gojjam Berenda as 'it'.

They're anti-community. To belong to a community there has got to be recognition that other people have rights and other people have freedoms and an essential quality required for successful community living is compromise. Well these street walkers are not stakeholders in the communities [where] they work. (Resident, Piassa/Doromanekia)

These varying views on sex workers' part in the community could color residents' reactions and sympathy towards them.

4.3.3 Impacts on quality of life in residential spaces

For many residents, sex work was not considered a high priority in terms of their overall quality of life, particularly since, as some suggested, “most of it is during the night time when it can’t be seen” (resident, Chechnya). This may also have related to perceptions of reduced numbers of sex workers in many areas at this time. Nevertheless, at least some of the respondents felt it needed to be eradicated, while others expressed severe reservations about specific forms of sex work.

Residents across all sites identified the following as matters of concern in relation to the issue (listed in order of significance): the visibility of sex work in public spaces;

- The prevalence of nuisance/incivilities; • impacts on the reputation of the area;
- Personal safety and security;
- Lack of control of street sex workers by responsible authorities (associated with the feeling that no-one is listening to residents’ concerns);
- Lack of control over public and private spaces; and
- The emotional impact of living in areas of street sex work.

The interviews suggest that one of the most widespread concerns for residents was that street sex working impinged negatively on their use of public space. Several areas (notably public parks) were regarded as ‘no-go areas’ by residents, as they were perceived to be areas where they would potentially be accosted by sex workers or clients. Such areas were also characterized as spaces prone to be littered by condoms and/or drug paraphernalia. Some residents also reported anxiety about a range of pseudo-public spaces (including stairwells, drying areas, car parks and porches).

For the majority of residents, sex work did not create ‘no-go areas’, but encouraged them to adopt selective strategies of avoidance, such as exercising greater caution when out at night.

Characteristically, men expressed less anxiety than women about walking along the street at night, but often stressed the ‘dangers’ faced by the women they knew. Some men reported that they would make sure to pick up their daughters and other female members of their family rather than let them walk around the neighborhood after dark. Against this, one woman suggested she felt ‘safer’ knowing that there were sex workers on the street, as she felt that they would draw unwelcome attention away from her.

While high visibility and displays of sexual activity were a major concern for some, the visible impact of clients in the area and kerb crawling (described as a ‘rat run’ in Awtobus Tera and Gojjam Berenda) as well as the detritus and paraphernalia of street sex work activity were significant issues for residents. Condoms, needles and human waste were identified with filth and disgust, compounding the moral anxiety residents felt around the visibility of sex work in specific neighborhoods. There was a tendency in some cases to attribute all nuisance such as discarded needles and condoms to sex work in the area, whereas, as one Checheneya resident pointed out, “it doesn’t necessarily mean that it’s a prostitute that’s used them ... but it’s automatically assumed that it is one of those ‘druggy prostitutes’, you know”.

Nuisance and related issues included “banging doors, punters, men trying to pick other people up in the street” (resident, Awtobus Tera). Nuisance and lack of tolerance was for some directly related to numbers and the concentrated presence of street sex workers in residential areas. For some residents, and in business areas, there were higher degrees of tolerance. Some business representatives, for example in Piassa/Doromanekia, saw the potential for coexistence because of different times of business, although not all businesses were as tolerant. Problems had sometimes been encountered in some industrial sites, particularly where discarded condoms became a nuisance to business owners and staff.

The labelling of specific neighborhoods as areas of street sex work, which in some instances was felt to be perpetuated by media attention, was perceived by many of those interviewed as having a negative impact on the reputation of the area and, for some, on the value of property. There was also seen to be a negative impact on young people growing up in the area and the “general feel of an area adds to the malaise” (Agency representative, Awtobus Tera).

Personal safety and security of residents was a theme in the interviews, linked to risk, crime and disorder and (lack of) social control. A few, particularly in Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Tera, reported instances when they had directly experienced personal abuse from sex workers, although other residents in these areas perceived that this might be in part a response to a more confrontational approach to the women. As well as drug use, associated criminal activities such as burglary and antisocial behavior were documented for some residents as issues associated with street sex work. For instance, in Sebategna, a resident suggested that “when you deal with the issue like prostitution ... then other crimes tend to tail off as well ... that’s what we’ve found” (resident, Merkato). It is important to note, however, that available crime figures do not support the assertion that reductions in street sex work are accompanied by declines in other crimes. In fact, the opposite may sometimes be true, with the presence of sex workers on the street actually enhancing levels of surveillance.

Nonetheless, the perception that sex work forms part of a street scene in which drugs, crime and alcohol are entwined exercises a powerful influence on relations between sex workers, agencies and the wider community. A sense of lack of social and moral order in the spatial organization of the neighborhood and of not being in control emerged in the findings, for example: being accosted or followed, and shared public and also private spaces being used as areas where sexual activity takes place. Some residents described feeling abused and fearful and some felt as if they were

under curfew. One woman commented: “You didn’t really want to come home because you had to ... throw the gauntlet down every time you came up the road. And I was ... quite amazed how it got me down. It’s really, got me down” (resident, Awtobus Tera). An agency representative in the same area stated that “this is a hugely personal crime”.

In noting these fears of public space, it is important to emphasize that sex workers also regarded many public spaces as dangerous, and exercised similar discretion in their choice of beats. For instance, a Chechenya worker stated: “I don’t go near the park, because that’s where a lot of stuff seems to happen, a lot of beatings and that”. Some women avoided spaces where they had experienced intimidation by residents or vigilante groups.

Violence was seen as an everyday risk by nearly all the sex workers interviewed, and many had personally experienced violence or abuse, particularly from clients, but also from some residents or passers-by. For example, a woman sex worker in Merkato/Sebategna, when asked if she had ever been attacked by a member of the public or a passer-by said, “Yes, you get eggs, potatoes thrown at you, abuse, it’s a once-a-week thing”. In some eyes, being a drug user and sex worker ‘depersonalized’ the women and thus they were seen as inviting such consequences.

Basically people think because you’re working and you’re on drugs you are not a person and they can treat you how they want. That’s how you lose heart. You’re not looked at as a person. You’re just looked at as a thing a piece of meat (Sex worker, Awtobus Tera).

While some sex workers were sympathetic to those local residents who complained about their presence, most expressed their right to sell sex, particularly if they were not creating a nuisance for residents: “If you want to walk along the street and stand on that street corner and sell your body, as long as you’re not hassling anyone else, then you’ve got a right to be there and do what you want” (sex worker, Checheneya). Many of the women sex workers we spoke to felt that they

were endeavoring to reduce levels of nuisance to residents, although they acknowledged that other women might not be as aware of the aggravation caused to residents by their presence. For example, some did not solicit in front of houses when working and others tried not to be “sleazy out on the beat”, as one sex worker in Chechenya described it. A sex worker in Merkato/Sebategna spoke of how, when she worked in residential areas, she would have “a little carrier bag with me in my handbag, I put all the condoms in there and then used to throw them away”. Safety was a key consideration when choosing areas to solicit and in some areas, such as Checheneya, it appeared to be easier to find working locations that were close to small industrial sites or pubs, yet not a great distance from other people. Some of the sex workers in Merkato/Sebategna had moved from residential areas to the Sebategna beat to avoid conflict with residents.

There was also an important distinction drawn by sex workers who were resident or had family in the area of street sex work as to whether they were actually working or just going about their ‘daily’ lives as local residents and/or consumers. While most understood why some residents might oppose street soliciting, sex workers asserted their right to access public space when not working, and expressed concerns about being harassed when not engaged in work.

I'd got my little son with me at about half past six in the evening and I was only trying to get on the bus with my son and have a nice day out in the park. We went down to get a drink and ... not one of my supporters would dream of pulling over, but a residents' patrol did. (Sex worker, Awtobus Tera)

4.3.4 Community responses to street sex work in the case study areas

Distinctions in community responses between each site were related to the particular demographics, history, management and spatial organization of street sex work in the various sites.

Responses ranged from engagement with working women to action to displace them from local streets.

In Awtobus Tera, community responses were among the most hostile. Here, the community was described as:

... extremely angry. And what they wanted was the street prostitution to go away.... They were frightened to leave their houses. Their families were affected.... And it was all the associations with street prostitution that they wanted removed. (Local councilor, Awtobua Tera)

A Street Watch in the area was actively collecting evidence “of women and the cars they get into or the lorries they get into or whatever” (resident, Awtobua Tera). This Street Watch group provided evidence to the police to be used in enforcement activities to remove street sex work from the area, whereas other groups took a wider community safety role that included monitoring sex work and reporting to the police as necessary, but not taking action themselves.

A faith leader described the Street Watch action as having short-term beneficial impact but “it’s just moved it to another area”. It appeared that the residents’ patrols began as a result of lack of action by the authorities. As their involvement in partnership working increased, there began to be what an agency representative in Awtobus Tera described as a complex shift in understanding over time from ‘nimbyism’ to focusing on the wider issues.

Piassa/Doromanekia residents also responded with street patrols and what is described by some as direct action and by others as vigilante action. One street activist described the activities as “embarrassing them to move on a bit” (resident, Piassa/Doromanekia). One agency representative described some of the residents involved in protests as ‘level-headed’ but when you are “directly

exposed to those sorts of things night in, night out ... people don't always behave rationally". Concern by the police that some protesters' behavior was becoming increasingly intimidating, combined with efforts to address residents' concerns, for example through the use of ASBOs, led the group to suspend its patrols.

There were mixed views among residents regarding this action. Of those involved in street patrols, a feeling of the benefits of "people power" (business representative, Piassa/Doromanekia) was evident. Those involved in the action explained their involvement as resulting from the lack of agency responses. One respondent felt that lack of consultation with residents (before moving women into one particular area after the managed zone was closed) was a trigger to community action. Other residents disagreed with the more direct street patrols and vigilante action. A resident who had not attended the meetings said there was no sign of drug taking in the area and that this was a driver "for getting at the prostitutes" (resident, Piassa/Doromanekia). Another resident did not attend meetings for fear of being 'shouted down'. Other residents found the activities of street patrols 'unpleasant', 'bigoted' and "distasteful.

I don't think it's very helpful actually.... I don't think that kind of confrontational approach is going to help, perhaps make matters worse actually.... It just moves around".

In Gojjam Berenda, responses included public meetings, residents' patrols and action in support of ASBOs. A very clear message from Gojjam Berenda was that communities need to be involved in finding solutions "because they know more about that area than anyone. I think it makes a massive difference" (resident, Gojjam Berenda). Another resident noted that lack of response by the police and authorities led to them taking matters into their own hands through resident patrols – this was described as taking "leadership" (resident Gojjam Berenda). A Gojjam Berenda sex

worker described her experience of the insincerity she experienced from some residents involved in the street patrols (this was echoed by sex workers in other areas):

I don't understand it, one minute they're calling me a slag and chasing me out of the area and then they're asking for me to give them oral. (Sex worker, Gojjam Berenda)

In Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Tera, and, to a lesser extent, Merkato, residents' groups had actively campaigned, not only against sex workers in their area but against the activities of sex work projects, although relations in Awtobus Tera appeared to have improved recently. Outreach and frontline harm reduction work was more likely to be an area for concern and criticism, with some individual residents and community representatives expressing the view that these activities condoned street sex work and made it more comfortable for the women, and were responsible for bringing in or perpetuating street sex work in the area. In Piassa/Doromanekia, a residents' action group had contributed to high-profile media coverage making such claims. In Awtobus Tera, residents' lobbying of authorities had for a period led to the cessation of mobile outreach in the area.

Interviews with agencies and communities in Merkato/Sebategna show few complaints documented by the local area partnership. It was looking at the possibility of a resident helpline, "but that didn't happen because there weren't enough complaints" (project worker, Merkato/Sebategna). The way forward was described by one resident as putting pressure on agencies to do their job: "And also the feeling that there are agencies that should be doing this. So the attitude is much more encouraging the agencies to do the job. For example, get the reports through, then the police will then see it as being a problem and will then start prioritizing it" (resident, Merkato/Sebategna). To an extent, the lessening in community complaints may have

been as a result of women being encouraged to work in the Sebategna beat, where there were fewer residents.

While in the 1990s Chechenya was documented by one resident as being involved in more a direct action approach such as ‘throwing paint after the punters cars’ and protesting outside a police meeting, currently residents felt more organized and involved through residents’ associations and forums. Degrees of tolerance depended on the context in which sex work took place:

They are a community that is very accepting of people and ... if you can create that bridge between other groups and them they're happy to listen to you.... Chechenya they've had a beat for over 30 years. People have always known it's been associated with it so it's kind of part of the local landscape. And yes they don't want it outside their house and they don't want to have to explain it to their children. (Project worker, Chechenya)

In Chechenya, the sex work projects had a considerable level of community support, with limited vocal opposition, although it is important to note that in the other areas the views of active residents’ groups were not always shared by other residents.

While coexistence thus appeared to be greatest in Chechenya and Merkato/Sebategna, across all the areas there were individual examples of coexistence and dialogue between sex workers and residents. For example, in Awtobus Tera, a sex worker described making friends with a resident, helping her across the road and sharing a cigarette. A sex worker in Chechenya spoke of residents who were “really, really sound.... There’s one guy I know makes the women tea and sandwiches and all that”. A business representative in Piassa/Doromanekia engaged in regular conversations with the women and expressed concerns for their safety. A resident in Awtobus Tera found that “they appreciate being just treated normally and talked to as a person”. This sentiment was echoed by a resident in Gojjam Berenda. Several Chechenya residents and some in Gojjam Berenda knew

some of the sex workers who both worked and lived in the area and treated them as neighbors: "... you have got your locals and they are part of the community.... They all talk to me and I talk to them. They're friends, you know" (resident, Gojjam Berenda). Some were keen to emphasize the separation between the work of sex workers and who they were as individuals.

Higher degrees of coexistence could be attributed to a range of factors. These included greater tolerance of diversity among communities, greater levels of support where sex workers lived as well as worked in the area and less antagonism where communication between individual community members and sex workers was more developed. The structure of the neighborhood may also have been a consideration, particularly in areas such as Piassa/Doromanekia and Checheneya, where there were seen to be opportunities to solicit in comparative safety away from people's houses; and thus there were lower levels of noise and aggravation caused to residents and sex workers were less visible in residential streets. The role of projects and other agencies was also a contributing factor to building relations between sex workers and residents and this is discussed later.

4.4 Organizational responses to street sex work and the challenges for managing public space

4.4.1 Environmental and other practical measures

Efforts to 'reclaim' space from sex workers in response to community complaints took different forms in the study areas. One notable method was the modification of public spaces seen as settings for soliciting, transacting and kerb crawling. This included gating; the removal of greenery that might provide isolation; closing off certain streets; the demolition of public toilet blocks and disused buildings used by sex workers and drug dealers; and the removal of street furniture (in particular, benches and phone boxes):

One of the car parks ... was used by the prostitutes.... I think the mosque bought the land. It was just bushes and a car park. And then they fenced it off and put all trees around it. They bought this piece of land and they cut all the trees back and tarmacked it and put a big post fence up. So that removed the prostitution ... that is how they dealt with that one.
(Resident, Gojjam Berenda)

Steps taken to ‘target harden’ specific public spaces had clearly provided some reassurance to affected populations in the localities, particularly in terms of reducing the volume of cars circulating the area. Yet even those supportive of such measures noted that this did not represent a long-term solution, and had merely caused local displacement. It was also suggested that such strategies sometimes diminished the quality of public space. This uncertainty was registered in comments over the removal of a building from a park in Awtobus Tera.

We lost a building ... a building which was not a very good building but children and young adults could get washed and changed you know from the football on Saturday... Prostitutes and drug takers and pimps were hanging around, and the clients also got to know so they were hanging around. And in fairness, by taking it down, they returned the park to the community. But the downside is that we have now lost a facility that we’ll never have back again. (Resident, Awtobus Tera)

Rather than action to displace sex workers from local areas, some respondents in the study pointed to the benefits of dealing with the nuisance factors caused by sex work. Clean-up activities had taken place in some areas, for example in Checheneya, involving wardens, other council representatives, community members and sometimes sex work projects and these appeared to make a significant difference to residents living near sites where discarded condoms and needles

were visible. The closure of “chat” houses in Awtobus Tera, which provided substantial relief to residents in the vicinity, was accompanied by rehousing of sex workers living there.

4.4.2 Enforcement activities

Street sex work has increasingly been seen as a problem of public disorder and this has influenced attempts to address it at a local level. While multi-agency responses were evolving across the five sites to address the issues raised in communities by street sex work, areas were often undergoing a complex and sometimes contradictory transition. While community-based responses were evident in a number of locations, for example via wardens, community safety partnerships and environmental initiatives, crackdowns on sex work still featured in most areas. The increase of community policing can be seen as an attempt to increase community capacity:

The police wanted to reduce prostitution but they didn't have resources so they worked with the residents (Resident, Gojjam Berenda)

But this also raises questions of legitimacy, and has the effect of increasing the surveillance of street sex workers. In Awtobus Tera and Piassa/Doromanekia, for example, lay involvement in patrolling and collecting evidence for Anti-Social Behavior Orders (ASBOs) became a stimulus to reinvigorate previous police enforcement, which became a central feature of the strategy, raising issues of sustainability and the fact that increasing enforcement still cannot meet expectations. This may also result in ownership being returned to the police, a position that contradicts and may conflict with multi-agency work to support women.

There was considerable variation of the use of ASBOs, Criminal Anti-Social Behavior Orders (CRASBOs) and other civil measures against sex workers in the study. In Awtobus Tera, while there had been a high use of ASBOs generally in the city, their use in relation to sex workers was the lowest in the study, which may relate to the influence of the multi-agency partnership there.

Elsewhere their application ranged from what could be termed an initial blanket use in Awtohus Tera, to their place as part of periodic crackdowns in Gojjam Berenda and to a lesser extent in Chechnya, used there as a “last resort”, as one agency worker described it. By contrast, judicial reluctance meant that such measures were not used extensively in Piassa/Doromanekia.

The main effects of increased enforcement in all the case study areas were to disperse women to other areas, leading to various problems. These included impact on other neighborhoods, a lack of contact for sex workers with support services and an increase in women’s vulnerability. Concerns over their safety were raised and relationships with police could become strained and compromised due to the contradictions between protection and enforcement:

There’s certain places that I can’t go ... without any of the other girls ... so if anything happens to me and I’m not even allowed to go near the police station, I’m banned from that area as well, so if I get attacked, I mean it’s ridiculous. (Sex worker, Piassa/Doromanekia)

The girls are working on their own, in ones and twos because they are so nervous of the ASBOs etc. they are getting into cars without checking, so they are far more vulnerable to attack and they are being driven further away as well. The men are also nervous about being caught, so they’ll drive them to a more lonesome place to have sex, so the women are much more vulnerable, and so is he as well (Project worker, Awtohus Tera)

The need for longer-term solutions was stressed by a large number of agencies and recognized by some residents across all the five areas.

Local people don't feel ASBOs work. They don't understand why they are used. They are also aware that outreach services can't reach and give support to women who are more vulnerable. (Agency representative, Chechenya)

The amount of evidence that's been led and will be led in ... it's just incredible and I would question, how many drug rehabilitation programmes could we have got the women into for that amount of money? (Agency representative, Piassa/Doromanekia)

Concern was expressed by a number of stakeholders over the clarity of orders, their restrictiveness and their applicability in the absence of specific nuisance behavior:

It included non-residential streets where they are not necessarily creating fear. I hope we are not going to start proposing that sex workers don't have the right to be in a public area (Project worker, Piassa/Doromanekia)

Sex workers talked about the way in which ASBOs and the threat of ASBOs impacted on their movement, particularly when they were not working. For example, women had been prevented from attending police stations, outreach and drugs services, the homes of friends and family and shops because of the conditions of orders. One woman spoke of the negative impact of combined community surveillance and having an ASBO on her participation in family events in the locality, particularly her father's funeral:

Because the residents who have seen me working on the street, they ring the police all the time and my family live in the area. When my dad died he had the funeral in [one of the churches in the area outside a hospital], and before I knew it there was five coppers outside trying to arrest me for working. And I was in a black suit, burying my dad. And that's

because the local people, neighborhood watch, had said “you’re working outside the hospital”. And the police came and disrupted the whole funeral on my dad’s death day. They nearly arrested me because of my ASBO. (Sex worker, Awtobus Tera)

What was clear from those who had experience of implementing and being subject to these orders is that there is considerable uncertainty as to the permissible freedoms of sex workers in public spaces. One project worker talked of concern of the relative ease in securing orders against the seriousness of consequences for their breach, raising the issue of proportionality:

You don’t have to give much proof at all for CRASBOs.... So we’ve met girls in prison who say “well I wasn’t working, I wasn’t soliciting, I was just walking down the road eating a bag of chips and I got arrested” and nobody’s challenging it.... when you think you’ve got the power to put someone in prison for five years and the effects on that woman of that, losing her home, losing everything basically. It’s a big consequence, isn’t it, for a very small act. (Project worker, Awtobus Tera)

There is a concern that, by being interpreted and indeed defined in these orders as antisocial per se, the very presence of sex workers in public spaces is becoming increasingly criminalized and rights of free association impeded (Fletcher, 2004; Sanders, 2005). One resident talked about ASBOs being an “almost inevitable” step to prison (resident, Merkato/Sebategna), due to the likelihood of their being breached because of the continued need to earn money, a concern shared by other residents as well as agency representatives, project staff and sex workers themselves.

... they can get up to five years for breaching an ASBO, so they are getting incredibly long prison sentences for something they would previously have got a small fine for. So it’s turning women into a much more criminal group than they ever were (Project worker, Awtobus Tera)

This in turn made it even more difficult for women to counter the stigma they experienced and to move into other areas of work:

... a criminal record, you've been in and out of prison all your life or whatever and people look down at you because you're a drug user as well.... People just judge you because you're an ex-prostitute, you're an ex-user ... and it's hard to find work with that kind of work you've been doing or because you've used drugs in the past. People just don't want to know, they push you to one side. (Sex worker, Gojjam Berenda)

In some instances, the negative consequences were compounded by media intrusion (and consequent stigma), given the political attention this issue received:

The last time I was in court they put my address and everything all over the paper ... that means anybody that didn't know that I worked that knows me knows now ... I've got all these kids and that all shouting at me in the street now when I'm going to get a bus ... landlord was going to give me a flat but I couldn't take it. I wouldn't even be able to walk to my own house ... it was like you have no privacy or nothing (Sex worker. Piassa /Doromanekia)

While most sex workers and project staff viewed enforcement measures such as ASBOs as being counterproductive, one woman who had received an ASBO as an alternative to a prison sentence did feel that it had helped her more with her drug use than prison would have done, because it had kept her away from her drug suppliers in the area: “Because it's given me those extra rules that I can't break. It's worked for me, but some girls it doesn't work for”. However, the same respondent also commented that a more effective solution might have been referral to a drug rehabilitation programme. In another case where a woman moved on, this was due more to involvement with the sex work project than the ASBO:

... that was a woman who worked with us a lot. She was coming to a stage when she was getting ready to leave and it was the final thing that really pushed her on really ... the other ASBOs have done nothing but displace people so they have moved to the edges of the beat. They have moved them to work in a much more dangerous way (Project worker, Chechnya).

Concern was expressed at the lack of preemptive diversionary measures or social care support across the sites. This was acknowledged by some agencies but felt by some to be balanced against the need to respond to residents. While being described by some agencies as a balanced approach to addressing needs of residents and compelling women towards treatment – “we use the stick, ASBOs, CRASBOs and civil injunctions, the support project is the carrot” (agency representative, Awtobus Tera) – others were less convinced:

When an ASBO is served, before it's served girls should be referred to support agencies and one of the weak areas ... is that women are not always referred before they get an ASBO, so the doors for support and exiting are not open to them.... A lot of ASBOs are served before they have the chance to get support. Not all the time, but it happens fairly regularly. (Project worker, Awtobus Tera)

The police have not in the past communicated with the agencies about the women going to court for ASBOs. This means there is no care package in place. Women who are responding to work with outreach are suddenly in the position where they are subject to an order and leave the district and so the support that was being offered and accepted is ended. (Community representative, Gojjam Berenda)

The negative impacts were reduced in areas where multi-agency working took a more holistic approach to street sex work, for example in Merkato/Sebategna, Chechnya, and previously in

Piassa/Doromanekia, where complaints were dealt with via mediation with residents, or a compromise was found whereby sex work could take place in a way that was less likely to be considered antisocial. Enforcement was then used only in the few instances when other strategies were found to be ineffective.

In some areas there had been activities targeting kerb crawlers, such as sending letters to the home or business of those believed to be kerb crawling, or putting points on their driving license. There was some support among residents for ‘coming down heavily’ on kerb crawlers and possibly re-education programmes for offenders, but some were skeptical of such initiatives, seeing them as a short-term deterrent and also potentially resulting in further dispersal of sex work to other neighborhoods. Some residents noted that further action against kerb crawlers had been limited and that the women were ‘easy targets’ in comparison.

4.4.3 Managed spaces and areas of tolerance

In my focus groups and interviews, I encouraged discussion on forms of spatial management that might better serve the needs of residents and sex workers. In these discussions, the respondents overwhelmingly made reference to ‘zones of tolerance’ (hence my use of the term here). Currently, there are several areas in Addis Ababa where formal or informal tolerance areas have been defined. In effect, these are areas where the police ignore solicitation, but invoke laws relating to exploitation, under-age working, procuring and other criminal activities. Though such zones may expedite the work of the police, the principal aim is to facilitate the work of support and outreach services in an environment where the presence of sex workers does not generate significant opposition. According to Clark (2004) these areas are best described as areas of selective decriminalization rather than tolerance per se (Clark et al, 2004). There has been little formal

research into the feasibility and effectiveness of tolerance areas for street sex work and evaluations of schemes in Addis Ababa are ongoing.

Of the study areas, only Piassa/Doromanekia had experience of a managed tolerance zone, which had been abandoned by the authorities in the light of changes to the socioeconomic make-up of the area. Interviews with sex workers in this area suggested that they were not consulted on the abolition of the zone and it had forced them to relocate to new beats, provoking complaints from residential groups and creating problems for outreach services. When asked how their working conditions might be improved, the majority of Piassa/Doromanekia sex workers argued for the re-establishment of a managed zone:

... because that way ... the police can keep an eye on the girls, watch what's going on.... At least the workers wouldn't be getting attacked and things like that ... if you're working from your phone ... nobody knows where you are.... But if you're in a tolerance zone you are watching out for each other and that. (Sex worker, Piassa/Doromanekia)

In Piassa/ Doromanakia, the possibilities of re-establishing an area of tolerance were discussed with agency representatives, who suggested any such zone would have to be located in an area “acceptable to the street girls and ... acceptable to the customers ... it's going to be very, very hard to find a geographical location that does both” (agency representative, Piassa /Doromanekia). Nonetheless, in the words of another agency representative, Piassa/ Deromanekia's experience suggested that “if it's done properly and in the right place” a zone can “ease the problems” residents face. For many residents in each of the sites, a managed zone had much appeal:

It's never going to go away. And I think non-residential areas would probably be the best place for them ... somewhere where children can't see. I think the children are the main issue. You don't want them to see all this. (Resident, Gojjam Berenda)

Many women indicated that they would prefer not to work in a residential area if there were safer options elsewhere, particularly an area that was well lit and with other women around. For example, a sex worker in Chechenya suggested: "... may be do a little tolerance zone, like they do in other places, where they could just put us somewhere, like even on the industrial estate, where guys could come and pick us up from that particular place, and there are people around, so we're safe and the guys are safe, and they know they're not going to get robbed or anything like that". This sentiment was echoed by a worker in Gojjam Berenda: "... you will never stop prostitution because there's loads of people's out there doing it.... So I think there should be a place like an area well lit up for the girls and more security on the beat". One view that both residents and sex workers shared was that any designated area should be away from residential areas, although the safety elements of such a scenario were less frequently considered by residents. Having regulations about moving out of the agreed area, with sanctions being applied if women strayed beyond the zone, was a possibility proposed by some local representatives and sex workers themselves. Some business and agency representatives were positive about sharing space in view of the fact that there could be different uses at different times.

But it is possible in a commercial area, and in some ways it's been interesting to see how it fits. It's not a problem, no one is bothered. In the day you know it doesn't interfere with anybody and it's almost like the women are seen as part of that community. (Agency representative, Merkato/Sebategna)

The idea that sex work can be easily accommodated within industrial areas was disputed by some business representatives who alleged certain nuisances caused by sex work. Problems of discarded condoms and other debris around goods entrances of businesses suggest that any managed space would need to be regularly cleaned to assuage complaints from businesses. Agency workers also

stressed that surveillance would be vital to ensure sex workers' safety in industrial zones and also to ensure that illegal activities such as drug dealing and other crime are policed.

Though most discussion revolved around issues of how these zones would be run and managed, there were also some concerns expressed about whether this might 'normalize' – and even encourage – sex work. Overall, there appeared little official support for tolerance zones in Awtobus Tera, while in Gojjam Berenda there had been little police enthusiasm when tolerance zones had been mooted in the past. In Merkato/Sebategna, the police were similarly uneasy about identifying a tolerance zone, although the largely industrial area currently used for soliciting in the Sebategna area was often described as a 'safety' zone.

In this respect, there was considerable support for off-street sex work to be tolerated, with many residents suggesting that off-street work in licensed, regulated or managed 'brothels' would be more acceptable to them than any form of street working, as it was perceived that this would not present the same degree of nuisance. There was also a widespread belief that off-street working would be safer for women and clients. Against this, some perceived there would always be a demand for on-street work and were realistic about the fact that indoor work would not be an option for all street sex workers.

4.4.4 Consultation about local responses to street sex work

For residents, a lack of consultation by service providers was linked strongly to a feeling of lack of control over semi-private as well as public spaces, particularly where there was a lack of fit between different processes of inclusion (for example, where there was significant negotiation and networking at local level, but the links were not made to ensure that decisions at this local level were fed into city-wide policy making). Many stakeholders in all groups felt that local authorities should consult with members of communities before taking action in response to street sex work.

For some, this meant extending consultation beyond a few, more active, residents and ensuring that consultation was linked to action in relation to the safety and rights of both residents and sex workers. This is an important point, as there was evidence from the research that some policies had been shaped partially on the basis of representations from a small, selective group of community activists.

When it came to formulating policies, not only around responses to street sex work, but also in relation to other changes in the local area such as regeneration activities, many stakeholders expressed the view that consultation with sex workers was important. For example, a resident in Gojjam Berenda made the point that: “If they are not consulted, then the changes the authorities make may well fall flat. They are the experts in sex work!” Consultation with sex workers might take place via support projects to facilitate access. There was a question regarding what that consultation might actually mean and some sex workers expressed skepticism about the extent to which their views would be heard when balanced against the views of residents.

4.4.5 Improving relations between residents and street sex workers

Community mediation has been regarded as effective in reducing some of the tensions between local residents and sex workers (Hester and Westmarland, 2004). While none of the sex worker support projects was formally commissioned to liaise with communities or carry out mediation work, all but the Gojjam Berenda project were engaged in some work of this kind. One project in Chechnya viewed a community engagement approach as central to their work and all but one of the other projects stressed that while their primary objective was to support sex workers, they had a wider responsibility to the community.

The range of community related work, which varied across the sites, included:

- relaying information about community complaints to sex workers and encouraging them to adapt working practices;
- attending community or multi-agency meetings in order to listen and respond to concerns and raise awareness about the project's work and issues of concern to sex workers;
- taking part in community environmental 'clean-up' events and other community events;
- carrying out community consultation and liaison via surveys and consultation meetings, for instance consultation about mobile outreach and court diversion services in Chechnya and Merkato/Sebategna; and
- working with communities on an ongoing basis to deal with specific complaints or 'hot-spot areas'.

Projects Offices in Chechnya, Awtobus Tera, Merkato/Sebategna and Piassa/Doromanekia felt that community engagement had delivered some positive outcomes. These included: a greater understanding among the community of street sex workers' needs and circumstances; a greater awareness among sex workers of community concerns; improved relationships between projects and residents; the resolution of specific issues of nuisance or complaint; and the establishment of mechanisms for constructive dialogue and partnership working.

The project worker on the street can talk to the women as well. Ask them to keep it out of particular areas, e.g. people's gardens. With the project worker working closely with community and police, that's working. (Resident, Chechnya)

Comments from various stakeholders in Awtobus Tera suggested that relationships between the project and residents had improved over a long time period: "we now work with them [the sex

work project] and have regular meetings” (residents’ group representative, Awtobus Tera). A project worker in Merkato/Sebategna felt that there had been substantial impact from a community consultation and emphasized that the project continued to work with businesses and residents “to let them see that the project is engaging with the women and passing their concerns on” (project worker, Merkato/Sebategna). In Chechnya, the local community sex work forum was also seen as a vehicle for mediation and awareness-raising activities. Project representatives noted that work with communities could be difficult, with staff sometimes facing high levels of anger and hostility from some people. In such situations it was a challenge for them to remain motivated to engage in dialogue with residents, although it was clear that in some areas, such as Chechnya, persistence had paid off.

Staff in other agencies, such as police and wardens, also undertook some informal mediation activities in most of the areas, which mainly took the form of passing on residents’ concerns to sex workers and asking them to move on from certain areas. For instance, wardens in Checheneya saw themselves as playing an important role in communicating residents’ concerns to the women and this role was also mentioned in relation to wardens in Gojjam Berenda. In Merkato/Sebategna, Chechnya and some other areas, certain police officers had built up good relations with the women and acted as intermediaries between the women and local residents: “generally the women are nice people and if you ask them to move they will do” (police representative, Chechnya).

Most residents and agency representatives interviewed acknowledged that more could be done to improve relationships between residents and women working on the street, particularly further mediation and awareness raising activities. What appeared to be most effective in influencing some residents to change their views was meeting a sex worker and discovering that she was not the

‘outsider’, the despicable ‘other’ who had been portrayed in accounts in the media or by other residents, but an individual woman with her own characteristics, problems and views.

I think ... if some of the women were prepared to be in a meeting like that, all the people who are protesting have got to face them as real women and suddenly all sorts of things burst, you know. You know, this is just a woman. So I think it's absolutely vital that happens. (Business representative, Piassa/Doromanekia)

Most recognized that this took a great deal of courage and that such an environment would be too daunting for many women, as they might be laying themselves open to further abuse. Thus the timing and composition of the meetings or groups would be particularly important and steps would have to be taken by supportive agencies and projects to make such a contribution possible. There are other ways of raising awareness that do not involve face to-face contact between sex workers and residents, such as use of theatre or arts to represent the women's views, mentioned by stakeholders in Awutobus Tera and Gojjam Berenda. What is important is that the women need recognition as people before they can effectively be involved in decision making and compromise.

In Piassa/Doromanekia and Awutobus Tera, the climate for mediation had been more problematic because of the polarization of views and the fact that sex work projects had been seen by some residents as part of the problem. Some residents in these areas, who felt the presence of sex workers was not to be tolerated, were very resistant to the notion of any mediation, although others did see the potential for developing understanding:

The girls haven't stood up at school and said I want to go and be a prostitute. It's not something they've chosen to do you know in most cases. And I think people need to understand that. It's not a lifestyle decision. (Resident, Awtobus Tera)

Agencies may have a role in facilitating meetings between diverse residents to ensure that the views of more active members of the community do not always dominate. Faith groups can also play a part in awareness raising and consultation. For example, a faith leader in Gojjam Berenda spoke of raising awareness within the mosques and representatives in Awtobus Tera and Piassa/Doromanekia expressed similar sentiments about the role of the church in mediation.

Some residents suggested that members of the community could engage directly in friendly dialogue with the women and ask them quietly to move on, although others expressed concern at making themselves vulnerable in this way. Some sex workers also felt that relationships would be improved if local residents “stopped talking down to us” (sex worker, Awtobus Tera). While it was the view of some residents and agency representatives that some of the women had attempted to reduce situations of conflict, not all believed that they would be willing to change their behavior. Many sex workers interviewed, however, recognized that they could help the situation through taking certain steps to reduce activities that were most likely to distress local residents and felt that there was scope for awareness raising on the issues:

They sex workers would need educating on that because some women don't realize that they're doing any harm to anybody, when they're doing what they're doing, because they've been brought up in a kind of lifestyle that is totally different to the norm. (Sex worker, Awtobus Tera)

Some residents suggested that to ensure a rapid response to complaints, a designated individual or agency tasked to respond to concerns of residents and liaise with the relevant bodies could help. If

residents knew their concerns were being addressed, this might ultimately extend to concerns for the well-being of the women themselves, rather than simply removal of ‘the problem’. As a community representative in Awtobus Tera suggested, where relationships had improved, in time perhaps there might be a situation where “the person would look out of the window and think ‘there is a woman who needs some help, therefore I will phone that person, I will not phone the police to have her arrested, I will report this and say she needs some input from whoever it is’ “. Mediation should thus form part of a ‘package’ of responses.

4.4.6 Partnership and Integrated Responses

While the degree of strategic cooperation between agencies varied across the sites, the need for multi-agency working in pursuance of longer-term strategies was recognized across the board: as an agency representative commented in one of the focus groups, “in five to 10 years’ time, if street sex work has moved to another area, we don’t want to go through the whole thing again, we want a strategy in place”. Integrated services for women on the street that addressed their many needs in a holistic manner, particularly around drug use and accommodation, were seen by community and residents’ representatives and sex workers themselves as a vital aspect of any strategy. There was general support for both harm reduction, particularly health and drugs interventions and ‘exit’ support, with many residents referring to the need for helping women to leave street sex work and access ‘education’ opportunities.

Where it worked well, joint working offered increased capacity, opportunities and resources to pursue common interests. It also offered an opportunity for projects to influence wider policy and service delivery and gave an increased role to statutory agencies beyond commissioning services, through joint initiatives at a more strategic level. Examples of effective multi-agency initiatives

included the provision of supported hostel and other accommodation in Chechenya and Awtohus Tera and strategic initiatives in Merkato/Sebategna, such as audits, which fed into an environmental policy that sought to reduce residents' complaints and preempt potential conflicts. Such activity had also enabled sex workers to get involved in community work, increasing their skills and capacity and improving community cohesion. The court diversion schemes operating in Merkato/Sebategna and Chechenya give sex workers the opportunity to engage with services as an alternative to penalties such as ASBOs or fines. Engagement here was thought by project staff and agency representatives to be more appropriate than sanctions and more realistic than a strategy based solely on 'exiting', which would require more funding and time.

While multi-agency approaches were far from static, there was a concern that good work and shared understanding could be lost through inertia or a lack of formal recognition. This was the case in Gojjam Berenda where a number of residents and agencies had been involved, via the forum, in research to establish a multiagency approach. This strategy was not advanced because of what was considered to be a lack of commitment of senior actors and a number of respondents involved in the interagency forum felt let down:

... I feel angry, I've worked hard in this area to get a better service for the women, to get a better deal for the residents and we get nowhere because nobody up there has taken any notice.

It's people on the ground who has worked hard. Its small organizations, voluntary organizations that have worked hard. This need to be taken on by the council by housing ... by the authorities (Community representative, Gojjam Berenda).

There were also concerns over the sustainability of some multi-agency approaches given the impact of the redevelopment occurring in some areas. In Merkato/Sebategna for example, as one

agency representative noted, the city's restructuring is causing some problems, which risks interrupting the present "accommodation" of street sex work. Concern was expressed that as these spaces were constricting, so too were the viability of current policy of the forum and its ability to deliver on longer-term goals:

One of the reasons the forum isn't as productive as it has been is because of regeneration of the city ... we do need some sort of safety area but because of regeneration it's very difficult to say in two years' time that street sex work will be tolerated.... (Agency representative, Merkato Sebategna)

Interviewees from the city's agencies talked of a previous attempt to pre-empt problems and secure a space for this approach by proposing a tolerance zone that had been rejected by the chief constable despite support by other agencies. This revealed the different levels of agency power and responsibility: while Merkato / Sebategna approach is linked into Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership structures, its collective approach lacks statutory power.

While there was general support among respondents for a multi-stakeholder forum, the structure and scope might differ according to the nature of the local area of street sex work and its level of containment. In addition to the range of relevant service providers and other statutory and voluntary agencies, many respondents felt that it was important that the views of women sex workers themselves be represented at such a forum. Equally important was representation from communities in the areas of street sex work, although it was felt strongly by some that this should not just include those who have 'made prostitution their passion'.

Adverse media coverage could clearly undermine local progress and be counterproductive to 'low-key' joint strategies for spatial management and working with local communities. In Piassa/Doromanekia, as an agency representative commented, the media had been seen as

‘instigating complaints’ among residents in relation to the location of the zone. This highlights the need to use publicity to anticipate problems and help to set opinions through a proactive communication strategy.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. CONCLUSIONS

Mediation and Awareness Raising:

Community mediation is an important component of any strategy. How mediation sits in relation to other interventions, such as enforcement operations by the police, is an important factor and consideration needs to be given to the balance of power between the negotiating groups in relation to a more formal mediation role. Support projects may be perceived as more independent and well placed to undertake this function, although projects are generally not resourced to undertake additional activities such as mediation. If projects are to have a community mediation role, this must be within a framework of multi-agency support so that they are recognized as having the authority to intervene.

There may be instances where residents, sex workers and police come forward with irreconcilable differences and opposite points of view and the research found that antipathy to sex workers was more entrenched in some areas than in others. Thus mediation may not always be a panacea and the timing and context of such interventions is an important consideration. Mediation may provide an understanding of sex workers and can highlight their humanity, but the outcome is often considered to be successful if the nuisance of sex work is removed by the women working elsewhere, so the causes of street sex work are never really tackled but are perhaps ignored. The lack of social capital among sex workers makes the idea of negotiation much more complex and it would be difficult to envisage a place for mediation in a climate of zero tolerance, as sex workers would in effect be negotiating for their disappearance from public space.

Mediation or a similar process might be useful in identifying the more complex needs of residents and sex workers and points of commonality that could be fed into a multiagency approach. It could also build capacity among sex workers, residents and agencies, offering a more democratic alternative to the notion that the state alone can deliver change, although it should not be seen as a replacement for statutory responsibility. The situation in local areas may also be fragile, with ongoing changes to neighborhoods and thus a sustained approach is required for interventions to be fruitful.

Public Spaces and Spatial Management:

There is considerable debate concerning the feasibility or appropriateness of tolerance zones or managed areas. Though some of the respondents expressed anxiety that establishing zones of tolerance condones sex work, many residents and sex workers in the study supported the concept of tolerance zones. It appeared that few had a clear idea of how they might actually operate, however, and in some cases, the support related more to a hope that tolerance zones would remove the women from the area rather than recognizing the need for safe spaces for the women.

Official policies of tolerance and/or spatial management are sometimes implicated in the erosion of public space, as they may reduce rather than increase the range of groups and activities encountered in public space. Removal of any further rights to public space may make moving on and indeed the quality of life in sex work much more difficult and dangerous. Creating a safe space for dialogue might be seen as a necessary step before considering safe physical space, to encourage greater tolerance and joint exploration of viable practical outcomes. In some areas of modest to proactive tolerance, these may include the potential for coexistence and the revitalizing of shared public spaces. In others, the polarization between some groups of residents and sex

workers may be too entrenched to allow initially for constructive discussions concerning the sharing of space. It may be pertinent to consider a framework that allows for the exploration of alternative designated spaces among a range of potential options; to work towards area-specific solutions that best suit shared interests.

Strategic Partnership Approaches to Street Sex Work:

Rather than a multi-agency forum to address the issues of street sex work in local neighborhoods, it is suggested that a multi-stakeholder forum would balance the needs of different groups and encourage discourse and ownership of policy. This would include a wide range of residents, agencies and projects, as well as sex workers where the environment was supportive and where they felt comfortable in attending; and could be linked in to the mediation and consultation processes discussed earlier. Consideration would need to be given to potential power imbalances and some issues would be too sensitive to discuss within a wider forum. There might thus be the need for certain sub-groups with a formal link to the main forum to deal with specific concerns and facilitate discussion among particular groups of stakeholders.

Such a forum could enable different groups to have a regular input to longer-term strategy as well as shorter-term initiatives, including practical measures such as neighborhood clean-ups. In this respect, the Chechnya model might be seen as an example of effective practice, demonstrating an inclusive approach to dialogue, with holistic activities such as mediation and court diversion taking place and a central role for the sex work project in providing a bridge between communities and sex workers. There are concerns as to how sustainable and coherent such a very local response can be if it is not incorporated within a city-wide strategic framework involving the most senior

policy makers and practitioners, as was taking place in some of the areas. A further danger is that if such fora are minimally resourced and do not have an official status within a wider structure, once immediate problems have been seen to be resolved, community interest and input will diminish. As people move on from agencies, they may not be replaced and this may lead to a decline in interest and support from the statutory sector.

While the overall framework discussed here is one of negotiation, it is also recognized that the strategy need to balance support for sex workers and communities with enforcement activities where appropriate, although a support strategy (including support for women to move on) should be in place prior to enforcement measures. It is suggested that disciplinary measures such as Anti-Social Behavior Orders (ASBOs) are largely inappropriate in responding to sex workers, as they effectively criminalize vulnerable women and prohibit the potential for support and harm reduction, as well as impacting on women's safety. Targeted use of ASBOs or injunctions may be seen as necessary against sex workers who persistently demonstrate antisocial behavior (rather than simply soliciting without causing distress to others). Before escalating to these forms of intervention, however, there needs to be sufficient evidence that attempts have been made to offer support and that resources have been put in place to facilitate this.

Major Findings:

Greater dialogue framed within a discourse of citizenship and safer space for both sex workers and residents is required in the five areas where street sex work takes place. Consultation should extend to all interested groups, including residents, businesses, sex workers, projects and agencies, to explore a range of options. To be incorporated within a framework of citizenship, such an

exercise cannot start from a position of ‘no tolerance’ that excludes one of the main groups involved. The starting point ideally should be an exploration of the potential for coexistence, with a discussion of what this might entail to make neighborhoods safer both for residents and sex workers.

Returning to the typology of community views presented in Chapter Four, there may be a variety of activity required according to the tolerance of local communities to the issues, commencing with short-term practical responses within a multi-agency context in areas where intolerance is greatest and moving towards a multi-stakeholder forum that explores the potential for coexistence in areas with higher levels of tolerance. A package of options is suggested below, which may be drawn on according to the needs of each particular neighborhood. While some options might be prioritized to take into account the local context, individual responses should be placed within the framework of a multi-layered approach, which would include community mediation, preventive work, support, education and rehabilitation services for sex workers, practical responses and enforcement in those instances where no other mechanisms appear to be effective.

While some of the suggestions raised in this research are recognized practice within a wider evidence base, particularly community mediation and an holistic approach to street sex work, based within a model of needs and support for women workers, some initiatives that were widely supported in this research require further exploration. In particular, the issue of managed areas or selected safety spaces has given rise to considerable debate, yet the arguments on both sides of the debate appear to be based largely on story rather than grounded in research evidence. It is thus

suggested that further research and evaluation needs to take place into responses such as spatial management strategies, in order to measure the effectiveness of different interventions over time.

5.2. RECOMMEDATIONS

Practical responses within the five areas, multi-agency strategic context, some targeted interventions, for example against drug suppliers, balanced with harm reduction, support and strategy to help sex workers move on

- Selected contact for residents to raise immediate concerns
- Resourcing of project work and other coordinated responses
- Communication strategy at strategic partnership level, including raising awareness among communities
- Consultation with a wide range of stakeholders on a range of options for forward direction, including requirements for coexistence, if feasible, and designated safety zones
- Longer-term strategies such as mediation
- Multi-stakeholder forum at local levels, with formal links to city-wide strategic partnership, with primary focus on negotiation, prevention, harm reduction, support and strategy to help sex workers move on
- Piloting and evaluation of specific initiatives

It should also be recognized that any agreed local package of options, whatever its nature, requires adequate resourcing in order to sustain it and deliver maximum effectiveness. This is as true of localized mediation activities as it is of a more formal managed safety zone.

At national level, a shift in focus towards increased support and services rather than penalties for street sex workers would be required to facilitate this model of dialogue. This should be accompanied by clearer guidance on the use of enforcement measures such as ASBOs and Criminal Anti-Social Behavior Orders, which are currently applied in different ways in relation to street sex work in different areas. Such measures were intended to address specific issues of antisocial behavior, rather than to tackle the very presence of street sex workers, yet it appears that this is the context in which they are used in some areas, leading to the increased vulnerability of a group of women who are already excluded from vital services and, increasingly, from public spaces. National policy also needs to accommodate exploration within each locality of a range of options for managing the issue, including the options outlined here, to enable local negotiation and consideration of shared interests to influence the way forward.

Finally, because the sample of women sex workers was relatively small in some areas, it was also felt that use of descriptive information in some instances might run the risk of revealing the identity of certain individuals. It was thus decided to analyze the case study areas.

REFERENCES

- Aris, R. and Pitcher, J. (2004) Evaluation of Coventry SWISH arrest referral scheme for sex workers: Final report, London: Terrence Higgins Trust.
- Attaway Mariana, Urbanization in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa University, (June 1976)
- Becker, J. and Duffy, C. (2002) Women drug users and drugs service provision: Service level responses to engagement and retention, DPAS Briefing Paper 17, London: Home Office.
- Borden, I. (2005) 'Stimulating the senses in the public realm', in J. Thrift (ed) What are we scared of? The value of risk in designing public space, London: CABE.
- CABE (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment) (2004) Manifesto for better public spaces, London: CABE.
- Campbell, R. and Hancock, L. (1998) 'Sex work in the climate of zero tolerance: hearing loud voices and the silence of dissent', Paper presented at Sex Work Reassessed conference, University of East London, 9 September.
- Clark, P., Bellis, M.A., Cook, P.A. and Tocque, K. (2004) Consultation on a managed zone for sex trade workers in Liverpool: Views from residents, business and sex trade workers in the City of Liverpool: Executive summary, Liverpool: Liverpool John Moores University.
- Encyclopedia of social science, V, X, II, New York 1963

Family Health International (FHI) Ethiopia in collaboration with the Addis Ababa city Administration Bureau: mapping and census of female sex workers in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa 2002.

Fletcher, H. (2004) Anti-social behaviour orders: Analysis of the first six years, London: National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO).

Focus Group discussion result from Nikat Charitable Association, March 2013

Galatowicz, L., Pitcher, J. and Woolley, A. (2005) Report of the community-led research project focusing on drug and alcohol use of women sex workers and access to services, Coventry: Terrence Higgins Trust, for University of Central Lancashire and Department of Health.

Hester, M. and Westmarland, N. (2004) Tackling street prostitution: Towards a holistic approach, Home Office Research Study 279, London: Home Office. Home Office (2004) Paying the price? A consultation paper on prostitution, London: Home Office.

Home Office (2006) A coordinated prostitution strategy and a summary of responses to Paying the price, London:

Home Office. Hubbard, P. (2002) 'Maintaining family values? Cleansing the streets of sex advertising', *Area*, vol 34, pp 353-60.

Hubbard, P. and Sanders, T. (2003) 'Making space for sex work', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol 27, issue 1, pp 75-89. Hunter, G. and May, T. (2004) Solutions and strategies: Drug problems and street sex markets. Guidance for partnerships and providers, London: Home Office.

ILO, Employment Advisory Mission, (1982: 326)

- Kerkin, K. (2003) 'Re-placing difference: planning and street sex work in a gentrifying area', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol 21, no 2, pp 137-49.
- Kersch, A.V. (2004) 'The dislocation process of the illegal street prostitution scene in Cologne: results of the scientific evaluation of the pilot project', Paper presented at the Drugs and Mobility in Europe AMOC Conference, Prague, 3-5 June.
- Lemma Gutema, the problem of prostitution in urban areas of Ethiopia Addis Ababa University 1979, 58.
- Matthews, R. (2005). 'Policing prostitution: ten years on', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol 45, pp 1-20.
- Matthews, R. and O'Neill, M. (eds) (2002) *Prostitution*, Dartmouth: Ashgate.
- May, T., Harocopos, A. and Hough, M (2000) *For love or money: Pimps and the management of sex work*, Police Research Series Paper 134, London: HMSO.
- May, T., Harocopos, A. and Turnbull, P.J. (2001) *Selling sex in the city: An evaluation of a targeted arrest referral scheme for sex workers in Kings Cross*, London: South Bank University.
- May, T., Edmunds, M. and Hough, M. (1999) *Street business: The links between sex and drug markets*, Police Research Series Paper 118, London: Home Office.
- McKeganey, N. and Barnard, M. (1996) *Sex work on the streets: Prostitutes and their clients*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Mitchell, D. (1996) 'Political violence, order, and the legal construction of public space: power and the public forum doctrine', *Urban Geography*, vol 17, no 2, pp 152-78.

- O'Neill, M. and Campbell, R. (2001) Working together to create change: Walsall prostitution consultation research, Walsall: Walsall South Health Action Zone/Staffordshire University/ Liverpool Hope University.
- O'Neill, M., Stoke, L., Giddens, S. and Jayne, M. (2000), 'Love for sale: the politics of prostitution in Stoke-on-Trent', in T. Edensor (ed) Reclaiming Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke-on-Trent: Staffordshire University Press.
- Overs C., Alemayehu B., Hawkins K., and Moody N. (2011) Sex work in Ethiopia: Mapping the impact of law, policy and enforcement practices, Paulo Longo Research Initiative. Michael Kirby Centre for Public Health and Human Rights, Monash University
- Papayanis, M. (2000) 'Sex and the revanchist city: zoning out pornography in New York', Environment and Planning D, vol 18, no 3, pp 341-54.
- Pitcher, J. and Aris, R. (2003) Women and street sex work: Issues arising from an evaluation of an arrest referral scheme, Nacro Research Briefing, London: Nacro.
- Phoenix, J. (2002) 'In the name of protection: youth prostitution policy reforms in England and Wales', Critical Social Policy, vol 22, pp 353-75.
- Sagar, T. (2005) 'Street watch: concept and practice', British Journal of Criminology, vol 45, no 1, pp 98-112. Salt, M. (1987) 'The policing of prostitution in people's eyes', West Midlands Police, unpublished.
- Sanders, T. (2004a) 'The risks of street prostitution: punters, police and protesters', Urban Studies, vol 41, no 9, pp 1703-17.

Sanders, T (2004b) Sex work: A risky business, Cullompton: Willan Publishing. Sanders,

T. (2005) 'The impact of new legislation on street-based sex workers: Anti-Social Behaviour Orders', Research for Sexwork, vol 8, pp 23-4.

Scottish Executive (2005) Being outside: Constructing a response to street prostitution,

Report of the Expert Group on Prostitution in Scotland, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Young, I.M. (1990) Justice and the politics of difference, Princeton, NJ: Princeton

University Press.

APPENDIX A

Consent to Participate in Research

You are invited to participate in a research study that will be conducted by Feleke Bebzha social work graduate students at IGNOU, St. Mary 's University. This study will explore the range of community responses to street sex work, identifying why and how groups in some areas have sought to 'reclaim' the streets by excluding sex workers, while others exhibit greater tolerance.

Procedures:

After reviewing this form and agreeing to participate you will be given the opportunity to set up a time convenient for you. The interview should take approximately one hour. It will be audio taped. The tape will be transcribed and then destroyed.

As a participant in the interview you can decide at any point to not answer any specific question or to stop the interview.

Benefits:

By being part of this study you may gain insight on the conflicting interests of communities living in the areas of street sex work terms of shared common spaces, security and overall quality of their life. In addition this research may help others to further what type of official policies of tolerance and /or spatial management are sometimes implicated in the erosion of public space, as they may reduce rather than increase the range of groups and activities encountered in public space. This information may be useful in providing information how can residential street can be used by street sex works and how they could coexist.

Confidentiality:

All information is confidential and every effort will be made to protect your confidentiality. Your responses on the audiotape will be confidential. Information you provide on the consent form will be stored separately from the audiotapes in a secure location. All audiotapes will be transcribed by the researcher. The researcher's thesis advisor will have access to the transcriptions for the duration of the project. The final research report will not include any identifying information. All of the data will be destroyed upon completion of the project.

Rights to withdraw:

If you decide to participate in this interview, you can withdraw at any point. During the interview you can elect not to answer any specific question.

Consent to Participate as a Research Subject

I have read the descriptive information on the Research Participation cover letter. I understand that my participation is completely voluntary. My signature indicates that I have received a copy of the Research Participation cover letter, and I agree to participate in the study.

I _____ agree to be audio taped.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

If you have any questions you may contact me at _____ or email me at _____

Or, if you need further information, you may contact my thesis advisor:

Mr. Mosisa Kejela
IGNOU St. Mary University
Addis Ababa
Phone no. +251 933 707782

Thank You for your cooperation and participation.

APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule

On living and working in the areas of street sex work: From conflict to coexistence a case study of Nikat Charitable Organization

IGNOU Graduate School of Social Work

Introduction:

Thank you in advance for giving your consent for this interview. My name is _____ I am a social work student at Indira Gandhi National Open University. This questionnaire is designed to assess the range of community responses to street sex work, identifying why and how groups in some areas have sought to 'reclaim' the streets by excluding sex workers, while others exhibit greater tolerance in five selected areas of Addis Ababa in Chechnya, Merkato / Sebategna, Gojjam Berenda, Piassa/Doromanekia and Awtobus Terra.

The researcher would like to request you to give genuine answers to all the questions listed below. He would like to remind you that your genuine answers are of vital importance to the outcome of the research project for that all the answers your identity are kept anonymous.

Confidentiality and consent: All information is confidential and every effort will be made to protect your confidentiality. Your responses on the audiotape will be confidential. Information you provide on the consent form will be stored separately from the audiotapes in a secure location. All audiotapes will be transcribed by the researcher. The researcher's thesis advisor will have access to the transcriptions for the duration of the project. The final research report will not include any identifying information. All of the data will be destroyed upon completion of the project.

The researcher greatly appreciates your participation in this survey. It will take about an hour to complete the interview. Thank you for your patience and participation in advance.

Demographic Information.

1. Participant current address
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Education
5. Religious affiliation
6. Employment status
7. Ethnic background

Interview Guide

On living and working in the areas of street sex work: From conflict to coexistence a case study of Nikat Charitable Organization

Interview questions with Sex workers

1. What can a sex worker do if she is a victim of violence?
2. What challenged you face while working on the street?
3. Do you use drug?
4. What do you really do to change your job as a sex worker if you get support and what is your plan in the future. ?
5. What are the advantages/disadvantages of each way of working? (Security, proportion of earnings retained.)
6. Do you know any women or girls who are being or tricked forced into working and cannot escape?
7. Would you expect any protection from the law if this happened?
8. What are community views and responses to street sex work in your area?
9. How are your relationships with other residents and participation in local activities?
10. How is the community outlook towards steelworkers in your areas?
11. Have you ever been spend your leisure time in public spaces? If so what were the challenges you faced in using public space in your area?

Interview Guide

On living and working in the areas of street sex work: From conflict to coexistence a case study of Nikat Charitable Organization

Interview questions with residents, community representative and business

1. What are your views on street sex work and the potential for coexistence?
2. Do you respect sex workers as part of your 'community'?
3. What are your concerns of sex workers using of public spaces in your area.
4. What is the impact of living and working in the areas of street sex work?
5. What activities should be done in the area to reduce distress of local residents?
6. Are sex workers vulnerable to violence, what kind of violence and by whom?
7. What problems caused by city development in the area?
8. How the regeneration of slum areas does affected your life style in your area?
9. How is the authority working on the distinction of boundaries of street sex workers from the resident areas?
10. Who is working in the area on ensuring peace, suitable to be used as a residential area only and from which body you are getting the required support in this area?
11. What could be done to improve relationships between residents and women working on the street, particularly further mediation and awareness raising activities?

Interview Guide

On living and working in the areas of street sex work: From conflict to coexistence a case study of Nikat Charitable Organization

Interview questions with Agency representatives

1. In the light of changes to the socioeconomic make-up of the area, what activities have been done by authorities?
2. Are there possibilities of re-establishing an area of tolerance “acceptable to the street girls and to the customers”?
3. Do police tell sex workers where they can, or cannot, work?
4. What could be done to improve relationships between residents and women working on the street, particularly further mediation and awareness raising activities?
5. Are sex workers local women and women who come from other parts of the country treated any differently by services or police?
6. What are community views and responses to street sex work in your area?
7. What you really the community need from the government in the challenges they have due to the presence of sex workers in their residence area?
8. What were the concerns over the sustainability of some multi-agency approaches given the impact of the redevelopment occurring in some areas?
9. What could be done to improve relationships between residents and women working on the street, particularly further mediation and awareness raising activities?
10. How smooth use of shared spaces both by sex workers and residents could be ensured in areas where sex workers and resident coexist?

Interview Guide

On living and working in the areas of street sex work: From conflict to coexistence a case study of Nikat Charitable Organization

Interview questions with Project staffs

1. What forms of spatial management that might better serve the needs of residents and sex workers?
2. What is the relationship between police and sex workers in (bars, street, home based sex work) in general?
3. Are there ever disputes between sex workers and bar owners? If so what might happen?
4. Do you know any sex workers who have tried to report violence to police?
5. What are your personal experiences of human rights violations?

Interview Guide

On living and working in the areas of street sex work: From conflict to coexistence a case study of Nikat Charitable Organization

Focus group discussion guides

Let us discuss about existing situations in your area in relation to living and working in the areas of street sex work.

1. Are there sex workers in your areas?
2. How are they treated by the community?
3. Is there violence by sex workers which affect the life of residents in the area?
4. Is there a conflict between sex workers and residents living in the area?
5. Can you tell me the means they have used to solve conflicts existed between sex workers and community?
6. Are there projects in the areas where they live together and how are they implementing their programmes in the area?
7. What factors contributed the spread of conflict between sex workers and residents and for them to coexist?
8. Is there any form of cooperation between the different actors that provide services in the area?
9. What do you suggest to create conducive environment where sex workers and residents coexist?

Appendix C

Details of the research methods and sample

Semi-structured interviews or discussions took place with a total of 31 agency representatives; 69 local residents (a mix of male and female residents from different ethnic groups and varied age groups, some being retired and some working); community or business representatives; 36 women sex workers; and 12 staff or volunteers in sex work projects. Focus groups comprised between five and 12 individuals. In some instances, individuals attending had been interviewed, whereas others had not previously participated in the research. Thus in some areas, the numbers of community or agency representatives consulted exceeded the numbers given below.

Table 1: A Final Sample for each Area

<i>Sample of interviews/focus groups</i>	Chechnya	Merkato/ Sebategna	Gojjam Berenda	Piassa/ Doroma neki	Awtobus Terra	Total
Agency representative interviews	6	5	8	5	7	31
Resident, community representative and business interviews	11	9	11	15	23	69
Project staff interviews	2	3	2	2	3	12
Sex worker interviews	6	7	8	9	6	36
Focus groups	1	2	2	2	2	9

In some areas, it proved to be more problematic to obtain interviews than in others. While the researchers attempted to access a wide range of views through distributing information leaflets, attending meetings, obtaining recommendations from agencies and snowballing, in some instances contacts followed up through these methods were unwilling to participate. For example, in Awtobus Tera, representatives from one large local residents' group felt that sex work had been 'cleared out' of the area and thus they no longer wanted to discuss the issue. In Merkato/Sebategna, residents stated that they were not interested in attending a focus group. In some other instances, community representatives approached did not return calls or respond to emails or letters, despite follow-ups. The final sample for each area is shown in the table below. Formal interviews and focus groups were taped and transcribed. In addition, field notes were taken of observations activities and some informal discussions with stakeholders. Two coding frames

were designed, one for interviews and focus groups with residents, project staff and agency representatives, and one for interviews with sex workers. The data from interviews and focus groups with all stakeholders were analyzed together, with individual members of the research team taking on specific themes.

During the course of the research, some members of local communities expressed a concern that their area would be identified, particularly in relation to the issues of stigmatization discussed earlier. Because the sample of women sex workers was relatively small in some areas, it was also felt that use of descriptive information in some instances might run the risk of revealing the identity of certain individuals. It was thus decided to anonymize the case study areas.