

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

CAUSES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AMONG FEMALE COMMERCIAL SEX
WORKERS: IN MAJENGO WARD, MOMBASA COUNTY.

BY

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DECLARATION

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DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

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MR. ALLAN KORONGO

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my loving daughter Abigail Mwendwa and to my parents Mr. Stanley Mbaabu and Mrs. Jerusha Mbaabu, my sister, Dr. Karen Mwaura Mbaabu her husband Mwaura and my brother Evans Munya for their tireless support they have offered me.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CDF	-	Constituency Development Fund
FCSW	-	Female Commercial Sex Worker
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
IDI	-	Individual In-depth interview
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
NASCOP	-	National AIDS and STI Control Programme
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
PMTCT	-	Prevention of Mother to Child transmission
SRH	-	Sexual and Reproductive Health
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
STI	-	Sexual Transmitted infection
SV	-	Sexual Violence
UNFPA	-	United Nations Population Fund
UNAIDS	-	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
VCT	-	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WHO	-	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

The main objective of the study was to establish the causes of sexual violence among commercial sex workers in Majengo, Mombasa County. The study had three main objectives namely; to examine the underlying causes of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers, to identify the main perpetrators of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers and to identify the coping mechanisms adopted by commercial sex workers in dealing with sex violence. The research adopted a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The targeted population was active female commercial sex workers operating within Majengo ward, Mombasa County. Respondents were selected using snowball sampling technique. In total, 85 commercial sex workers, 10 club bouncers, 3 police officers and 5 health workers and 3 members of civic organizations were interviewed. In total 21 key informants were interviewed. Data was mainly collected using semi- structured questionnaires and key informant interviews. Findings from the study revealed that, the main causes of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers were; alcohol and drug abuse, proximity to risky environments and low income. We also found out that the main perpetrators of sexual violence are; clients, police, bouncers and pimps who manage them. The study also revealed female commercial sex workers employed a number of coping strategies after being sexually violated that include; isolation whereby the commercial sex worker cuts close ties with her peers and hardly mingles with other members of the society, talking about their experiences with fellow workmates to relieve stress, increased drug abuse and at times forming social networks with their fellow workers, club managers and bouncers so as to warn, educate on danger signs and enhance safety for themselves and others. The study concluded that there is a gap in accessing health care by commercial sex workers in Majengo Ward, Mombasa County, this is due to social stigmatization of commercial sex work. The study recommended that, there be systems within county governments to avert unnecessary sexual violence. We also recommended that there be specialized medical care centers for victims of sexual violence.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The sex industry is broadly defined as, the trade of money or other commodities for sexual acts as income generation. The practice extends to include: pornography, stripping and commercial sex work. (Hughes & Denisova, 2009). Commercial sex workers may be male or female and of any age. Research has indicated that females constitute the largest group involved in Commercial sex work (Xia Yuan 2009). The commercial sex industry is organised in a hierarchy, with street level being at the very bottom of this hierarchy (Dalla et al., 2009). Street level commercial sex work is defined as any Commercial sex worker who does not operate from a brothel, bar or other enclosed space (Dalla, 2011).

According to Banes (2009) women who exchange sex for money or drugs in street-based settings confront an assortment of social problems that include: poverty, homelessness, incarceration, substance abuse and drug abuse, human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS), physical and sexual partner violence, and history of child abuse.

Heise, (2010) notes that women experience many forms of violence than men. Heise (2010) also observed that violence against women is often referred to as gender-based violence (UBOS and Macro International, 2010). This is violence targeted to women or girls based on their subordinate status in society. Gender-based violence has shown to have a direct impact on women's reproductive health and child health as cited by Heise (2010). Sexual violence is one of the different forms of gender-based violence. This is when a person has non-consensual sex usually through threats, intimidation, physical force, unwanted sexual acts or forced sex with others (UBOS and Macro International, 2010).

Studies reveal that sexual coercion within Commercial sex work includes deception, verbal threats or psychological intimidation to obtain sex, attempted rape and forced penetrative sex, which is usually accompanied by physical or emotional violence. Sexual coercion is observed in diverse settings such as South Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East (Population Council, 2010).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Sex workers represent a marginalized population that are at a high risk of sexually related violence, contracting sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, stigmatization, legal segregations, and substance abuse. Health services, including Sexual health services, are needed for this community. Health research on sex workers has focused on factors pertaining to HIV infection and STI risk rates versus examining the general health and well-being of sex workers themselves (Alexander and Cohen, 2013)

Sexual violence against any gender is violation and is a punishable offence. Studies have shown that women and children tend to be more prone to sexually related violence especially during wars and other life threatening situations (Careal 2010). Globally the adoption of the universal declaration of human rights by the United Nations general assembly on 10h December 1948 was an attempt to create consciousness on human rights and curb episodes of gender based violence whether sexually or physically inflicted. This however has not been able to completely eradicate sexual violence against women as witnessed globally in Bosnia, regionally in Rwanda and locally during the post-election violence in Kenya in 2007/2008. This represents a gap in knowledge on measures to identify and prosecute perpetrators of sexual violence among women .

Within the Kenyan context sex trade is driven by factors varying from region to region, in the Kenyan coastal towns in particular; foreign tourists, existence of leisure facilities, are among the significant factors to leading to fluctuations in the supply and demand metrics of commercial sex work (Snow Pyett 2007). Sex work in Kenya is a highly stigmatized and highly secretive career, cultural attitudes towards sex work and sex workers are predominantly negative and conservative. (B. Jarabi 2010). Sex workers therefore hardly ever identify themselves to a healthcare professional when seeking assistance after sexual assault. Sexual violence among Kenyan commercial sex workers has not been exhaustively been researched upon.

Sexual violence and health interventions of these stigmatized population has largely been ignored as exemplified by the lack of research specific to the area of interventions and counselling services for sex workers. There is therefore need for a study to investigate the causes and manifestations of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers. This research sought to answer the following question; What are the causes of sexual violence among of sex workers in Majengo ward, Mombasa County?

1.3 Research questions

- i. What are the factors behind sexual violence among female commercial sex workers?
- ii. Who are the main perpetrators of sexual violence on female commercial sex workers?
- iii. What are the coping mechanisms employed by female commercial sex workers?

1.4 Broad objective of the study

The main objective of the study was to examine the causes of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers; case of commercial sex workers in Majengo ward, Mombasa County.

1.5 Specific objectives

- i. To examine the main causes of sexual violence among female commercial Sex workers.
- ii. To identify the key perpetrators of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers.
- iii. To identify the appropriate coping strategies adopted by Commercial sex workers in dealing with sex violence

1.6 Justification of the study

The health challenges facing women in general resulting from sexual violation has a wide impact on society. The problem is compounded by that fact that female commercial sex workers have other roles like being a mother, an aunt, child and belonging to a family. Despite being women; female commercial sex workers are often ignored in the implementation of women based health programs. Social support from family friends and support groups is crucial to eliminate the vice.

It has been observed that within the current 21st century numerous non-governmental organizations have been formed to fight for women's rights, girl child- rights and women's health education in general. Road shows, chief baraza meetings and mass media have been used to as a platform to inform and educate the society. Among these none, has openly addressed the welfare of women engaged in commercial sex work.

Within the Kenyan context there are currently no civic nor government based organizations mandated with the identification and prosecution of perpetrators of sexual

violence against female commercial sex workers. With this observation offenders repeatedly get away with countless acts of violence and leave their victims traumatized.

Based on these scenarios, the researcher was prompted to explore and examine deeper on the theme of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers. The study focussed on causes and manifestations of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers. It also identified the main perpetrators of sexual violence. It also assessed the coping mechanisms that are employed by female commercial sex workers in coping with violence.

The study attempted to fill existing in health policy gaps, so as to aid in the clear formulation of policies at municipal and national level that will address cases of sexual violence among commercial sex workers in the future.

Findings from the study sought to contribute to the practice by sensitizing various health practitioners, and other related professionals on the health care needs of commercial sex workers who are often neglected and stigmatized within the society.

The research attempted to fill existing gaps in the field of medical sociology that is concerned with causes and manifestation of sexual violence among commercial sex workers.

1.7 Scope and limitations of the study

The study was limited to female commercial sex workers working within Majengo Ward, Mombasa County. More specifically the study was to examine the causes of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers. Only active female commercial sex workers aged 18 years and above were targeted and interviewed.

The study restricted itself to studying the causes and manifestation of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers. The main limitation of the study was that the study was not able to measure whether sexual violence in itself curtailed new entrants into commercial sex work as a profession.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The chapter explores literature arguments important in examining the causes and manifestations of sexual violence. We shall also identify and the perpetrators of sexual violence among commercial sex workers. The section shall discuss the underlying theoretical and empirical arguments relevant to sexual violence.

2.2 Sexual violence

For eons scholars have studied, crimes of rape and incest and have drawn exhaustive conclusion on the same. Millet (1977) was among the most vocal scholars to use the term sexual violence broadly especially in scholarly papers, to describe the nature of violence meted specifically on women. Susan Brown, (1978), in various works described sexual violence to be any form of sexual intercourse without consent. According to the scholar such acts were to be considered a crime. Susan Brown (1978) continued to advocate that acts of non-consensual sex was not only to be limited in dark alleys, abandoned buildings; where rape often occurs but also to encompass unwanted sexual advances at home in a marital union.

Lewis and Smith (1990; 11; 16) later on described sexual violence as an act of forcing, manipulating one into sexual activity without their consent. The scholars identified significant factors that may lead to one being prone to sexual violence to include; disability, being under the influence of drugs, the elderly and children.

The term sexual violence against women is a term that is interchangeable and inconsistent, based on the contextual meaning and application, the term can be used to describe; violence by a male partner, any form of sexual harassment and other gestures that initiate unwanted sex. However, the most common consensus on the use of the term violence on women is considered to be "gender based violence" Bogart (2011, 19-22)

Tjaden and Thoenes (2012; 13;18) outlined forms of sexual violence as occurring in the following forms ; rape or sexual assault ,exposing ones genitals to others without consent, watching someone in a private act without consent, unwanted touching or rubbing of sexual organs ,sexual exploitation ,sexual harassment ,intimate sexual partner assault among other forms.

Reynolds (2012, 70; 76) concurred that sexual violence is often more common in the society than is actually documented. Among the reasons that sexual violence is often not reported are; concern for not being believed, fear of being blamed, embarrassment or shame, distrust of law enforcement, fear of future recurrence, stigma and sometimes a desire to protect the victim.

A study conducted in New Delhi, India by Rajasthan (2009, 38;43) on sexual violence and prevalence in cities . The study showed that at times perpetrators of violence can justify sexual violence to the environment. A case highlighted in the study was where a student at one of the regional colleges died after being gang raped .The attackers justified their actions by blaming the girl for provocative dressing. The report noted that this in itself is not a reason all women in provocative dressing ought to be violated. Ironically, the scholar observed that a municipal legislator ordered the ban on skirts as uniform for girls due to increased sexual harassment.

The UN commission (2012;23;26) on the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women defines violence against women as “ any act of gender based violence that results in or likely to result in the physical ,sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women that includes threats acts of ,coercion deprivation of liberty whether in private or public life” .

Similarly Browne (2012, 37;39) examined the concept of sexual violence and concurred that; sexual violence in particular is a term often used to describe acts of sexual aggression, sexual assault, sexual coercion aimed at hurting a woman's wellbeing .

Another comparable report was by the World Health Organization (2015; 12; 16) that looked at sexual violence as being inclusive of all kinds of sexual contacts or other sexual forms of sexual acts without a woman's consent. They could include; kissing of sexual organs, fondling of the breasts, slapping of the bottom, sexual assault and other forms of sexual actions.

Further, the Centre for Disease Control and prevention (2016) also defined sexual violence to be “non-consensual completed or attempts to penetrate the vagina or anus without the consent of the victim” This perspective is derived from the acquisition and transmission modes of sexually transmitted diseases the report was developed from.

Additional definitions of sexual violence were developed by Bertha, Hertz and Back (2013) included the following actions “the exposure of sexual images for the purpose of stimulation, unwanted touches of private parts and also including the exposure of ones to nudity to others also warrant to sexual violence”.

Jamal (2014), Ransack (2014) had a study on sexual violence against women within the global context and concluded that harmful traditional practices like female genital mutilation, obligatory inspection of virginity, forced marriage, forced sterilization, human trafficking for sexual purpose, were discreetly practiced in Southern Asian countries, Sub-Saharan countries and were valued as norms within those cultures and yet within the modern world these actions are pure violation against women.

Claire (2014; 29;31) observed that sexual violence experience can be described based on the concept of “consent” instead of “force” or “coercion” The scholar went to state that, consent can include, a state where a victim for example maybe unable to give consent to sexual contact due to incapacitation. Cases in point could include; being underage, being under the influence of drugs or medication, perpetrators may take advantage of the situation and have their way.

According to a report on Workers Project at the Justice Centre in New York (2015;11;18) it outlined that 14 % of the sex workers interviewed had experienced acts of violence at the hands of the police respondents felt helpless and unable to have place to report the incident. The study also revealed that 46 % of the respondents had been forced by clients to perform acts like anal sex, having sex without a condom and oral sex against their will.

Jaysaree (2016; 18; 23) examined the impact of violence against female commercial sex workers in the state of Tamil Nadu, India. The study uncovered that at least 75 % of the women had been violated within their first year at work. The major forms of violation reported were gang rape, forced group sex, forced sex without condoms and forced oral sex

2.2.1 Sex work and sexual violence

Sexual violence is prevalent in Kenya among all age categories of women. The problem is most common among female commercial sex workers, whereby they are dangerously exposed at work.

Robinson and Ethan Yeh (2013) studied on transactional sex in a response to risk found that, commercial sex workers were willing to risk episodes of sexual violence as long the client offered to a premium. The report indicated that, the commercial sex workers would be paid up to Ksh500 more for unprotected sex and Ksh770 or more for anal sex. The report noted that the sex workers obliged to the payments. It was also discovered that clients who paid less money were reported to be more abusive and used crude language and occasionally physically harmed the commercial sex workers.

Within the region, a comparable study was done in Gondar Zuria, district in Ethiopia by Tegbar (2014). The purpose of the study was to establish the factors linked to sexual violence among commercial sex workers in Ethiopia. The study found that, among the 1104 commercial sex workers interviewed at least 19.8 percent recounted to have had forced sex as one of the numerous forms of sexual violence. Globally, studies by Annabel (2015) on sex work and sexual violence, indicated that women aged between 14- 23 years had been trafficked from Eastern European countries like; Lithuania, Serbia, Slovenia and Uzbekistan into cities in the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Russia and Denmark with a promise for a better life. Once there the purpose was changed by pimps and there were turned into sexual commodities. Out of the reported cases all experienced forced sex without condoms, forced sterilization and rape by multiple men in a prolonged period. The study indicated that a majority of the girls were also forced to solicit for customers in red light districts against their will.

Ingram (2012) postulates that the amount and level of sexual violence differs significantly between streets based Commercial Sex work and indoor regulated Commercial sex work. Whereby, street based sex workers are more prone to attacks and incidents are less reported and documented by state agencies. The scholar adds that presence of childhood sexual abuse was common among a number of female commercial sex workers.

Aberceth (2012) observes that much has been written about prostitution in the medical and social sciences fail to address the sexual violence and psychological harm which proceed and is part of prostitution. A few scholars have noted that prostitution involves a lifelong continuum of sexual exploitation, often times involving violence that possibly begins with sexual assault or induction into prostitution in childhood.

Elmore – Meagan (2010) in one study of 475 female sex workers in four rural towns and three Nairobi townships found that at least (88%) of the sex workers worked from bars,

hotels, bus depots and discos. Levels of interpersonal violence were high with 17% reporting assault and 35% having been raped by clients. A number had experienced unwanted pregnancy 86% of them procured at least one abortion.

Wade (2016; 11; 14), observed that sex work industry is a diverse and ever dynamic industry Sexually oriented services offered range from; street based commercial sex work, escort services, brothel based, internet chat rooms and phone sex oriented, to sex services offered from private residencies. Workers who operate from the streets are the least likely to have control over their working conditions. The scholar further indicates that countries like Holland and some Scandinavian countries where commercial sex workers pay taxes and are registered as a legal entity tend to be properly regulated and experience less sexual violence than those that solicit from the streets.

The Women's safety survey 2016, conducted an annual survey in New South Wales, Australia, and revealed that some of the reasons why commercial sex workers do not report a sexual violation was; the fear of not being believed, shame and embarrassment, fear of the perpetrator of the crime a most common reason was the lengthy period take n by the court systems.

2.3 Causes of sexual violence

Scholars agree that sexual violence can be caused by some multifaceted factors that include but not limited to; socioeconomic factors, cultural, proximate to violent prone areas, alcohol and drug abuse among other factors.

2.3.1 Sexual Violence and socio-demographic factors

Rusinack (2011) observed lack of economic empowerment where women are not informed on numerous career options can generally result to women accepting low paying and dangerous jobs like becoming a commercial sex worker, due to lack of alternative employment or other sources of income.

According to Antonowicz (2014, 18; 22), the scholar notes that sexual violence is likely to occur more among married women and cohabiting partners or an intimate sexual partner. Pinherio (2014; 47; 48), also concurred in study that was conducted in Islamic oriented Sub-Saharan countries on marriage age and violence. The study found that when women are married being younger than 17 years age, sexual violence tends to occur more among them than women who were married at above the age of 29 years.

In addition, the fact that a majority of women are not employed even puts them at the worst stand of sexual violence (Osita, 2011). According to the UBOS and Macro International (2011), 27.5 per cent of CSWs in urban areas have experienced sexual violence and 54.7 per cent have experienced both physical and sexual violence in the last 12 months. This figures still show that sexual violence still exists in the urban areas too (Osita, 2011)

O'Neill (2009) documents a variety of reasons for entry into the sex industry. She highlights factors such as emotional neediness, homelessness, poverty, history of abuse, peer pressure, peer association and residential care experience as some of the many reasons for entering the sex industry. Economics has been cited often as to play a key role in entry to the sex industry and explanatory in their continuation of sex work (O'Neill and Campbell, Willman-Navarro, 2010).

It has been argued that many enter the industry in response to poverty, which highlights the need to be aware of changes in society, such as the unemployment benefit, employment rates, taxes and economic recession, which increase the likelihood of people entering the sex industry (O'Neill, 2010).

Girls who have been sexually abused in their childhood and are more likely to engage in risky behaviours such as early sexual intercourse, and are at greater risk of unwanted and early pregnancies. Complications may follow due to illegal abortions. The victim may not be socially ready to have a baby and when she gets the baby she may neglect her baby and not give it mother love. The children may go to the streets and become street children or may abandon them on the street and dustbins. Sometimes abortions are done and may result into maternal death if not well done by a qualified person (Pyett, 2011)

The rate of sexual assault victimization is higher in rural areas compared to urban areas. Twenty seven percent of rural based CSW who experience domestic violence also experience sexual assault (Violence against Women Act, 2012. In Latin America the number of women who have been sexually abused is higher in rural areas, because many teachers, nurses, and child care providers in rural areas have long-standing personal relationships with perpetrators and their families, they may be less likely to report their perpetrators to the authorities.

According to Terence (2015) in rural areas the role of a woman centres on being a wife, mother and producer of agricultural and household goods. The bearing of children is seen as a means of maintaining the lineage whether in a patriarchal or matriarchal society. Rural women overwhelmingly report that what prevents them from leaving their abusers include limited job opportunities, insufficient childcare resources, and lack of available housing in their area.

2.3.2 Environment and proximity to sexual violence

Kinnell, (2009). Sex workers are also vulnerable to more predatory types of violence which is distinguishable from situational types of violence, which involves for example, violence arising over a transactional disagreement. Predatory violence is premeditated and often rationalised by the perpetrators because of sex workers' "moral-political marginalization" (Lowman, 2010). Lowman (2010) concludes that the main obstacle to safe working conditions for sex workers is the prohibition and stigmatisation of sex work.

Holman (2013), indicates that, the working environment where the CSW works determines the level of abuse or nature of exposure to violence. Key criteria cited by the scholar include; high crime areas, dark alleys, underdeveloped houses, slum areas and highly populated townships pose a high chance of gang rape, muggings and murder of CSW.

2.3.3 Alcohol and Drug Abuse

Excessive use and abuse of alcohol can increase the vulnerability of commercial sex workers being abused sexually. Nduna (2014) observes that alcohol abuse has a positive relationship with sexual violence. The scholar found that; women who often drink alone may be vulnerable to risks of being accosted by drunk men, being harassed, verbally abused, touched indecently and in some cases raped.

UNAID report (2016) indicates that women consuming alcoholic beverages in social settings like clubs or bars are more likely to meet with sexual offenders. The offenders may also have served a previous jail term and may at times be on a revenge mission.

Alcohol and consumption of drugs according to Crete (2011) creates a sense of group bonding and blinds ones individual judgement in favour of being accepted by the group. In such a situation, use of crude sexual terminologies, abusive language can

prove to be an acceptable norm within the group and often may justify sexual violence as being part of a joke.

Heise (2014), observed that the use of alcohol and drugs has a chance of increasing male violence towards women and children. Against this backdrop, the scholar noted that clients of commercial sex workers are more likely to be more abusive and may refuse to wear condoms as a sign of masculinity and false bravado, these and other accompanied behaviours tend to inflict pain and emotional scars on commercial sex workers in addition to the possibility of rape.

2.4 Effects of Sexual Violence in Commercial Sex Work

2.4.1 Physical Abuse

Dutton (2012) postulates that physical violence occurring among commercial is often linked to sexual violence. The scholar indicates that before the onset of a sexual violence attack, victims have experienced the following forms of physical harm; slapping, arm grabbing and twisting, choking, forced ingestion of drugs, stabbings with sharp objects, getting thrown off a building and death threats with a weapon.

In a study by Lincoln (2014), in Perth, Western Australia by doctors working with sexually assaulted commercial sex workers over a period of one year, it was reported that at least 65 percent of the victims had sustained genital injury, broken limbs, dislocated jaws and broken teeth at the hands of their clients and pimps while at work. This was consistent with similar study by previous work by Borgen and Fishwick (2011) who found that incidents of physical sexual violence were common among all studied cohorts in commercial sex work groups that had self-reported the occurrences.

2.4.2 Psychological abuse

Sholes (2011), indicates that once sexual violation occurs, commercial sex workers often encounter intimidation, threats of abandonment by their clients and sexual partners. Sholes (2011) further highlighted that some of the terms found to be the most hurtful and formed the basis of isolation by peers and colleagues included terms like; 'damaged goods', 'carcass', 'second hand' among others. This form of labelling causes long term irreversible psychological damage and the victim is unable to socially adjust well in the society.

Michenbaum(2013), observed that, street based commercial sex workers often complained of post traumatic disorders resulting from stigma and constant humiliation that injured their self-esteem.

Jenkins (2010) observes that sexual violence in itself makes a woman feel dirty, ashamed, degraded and has suicidal tendencies. Further findings by Campbell and Ahrens (2010) indicate that, commercial sex workers are the most psychologically affected after an episode of rape, because they could see the attack coming from the client and there is no where they can seek professional help.

Mullen and Fleming (2017), indicates that in a study on the after effects of commercial sex work in Ljubjana and Piran, Slovenia. 97 percent of the respondents reported to have been sexually violated and ongoing emotional harm; including low self-esteem, feelings of shame and guilt are ever present in their daily lives. At least 85 percent of the responses are said to have been affected by ability of relating socially with others. Another 54 percent reported to have on going mental repercussions due to the long stay in hospitals, surgical procedures, broken limbs and sexually transmitted diseases that have a long term impact on their overall health.

2.4.3 Economic Abuse

Slanders (2012), observed that commercial sex workers especially those under the management of pimps and madams are always a bitter lot as they are denied access to economic empowerment, healthcare insurance and human needs. They tend to be overworked and sexually misused by the pimps. This results into a form of slavery that slows their economic progress in life.

A report by the UN (2013) in Columbia, indicates that the protection by the state during mega projects like mineral mining with the use of heavy security, brings with it economic misuse of commercial sex workers. Findings from the report indicated that instead of security protecting the locals. Commercial sex workers were turned into sex slaves, offering free sexual services to countless men during the period. This resulted into forced pregnancies, transmission of sexual diseases, forced anal sex, gang rapes, forced sterilization among other related sexual violence. The findings from the report were later denied by government officials as labelled to be mere propaganda. Attempts for the victims to seek justice were thwarted with complicated bureaucratic processes established by the regime.

A study by Santos (2015; 12;17) in Caracas, showed that drug lords and drug cartels hired female commercial sex workers as drug mules to transport cache of drugs stashed in their private parts. The study further revealed that the commercial sex workers reported to have had trauma and permanent tears in their vagina and anus regions, caused by the constant bursts of bag containing the drugs. This form in injury led many into being hospitalized and undergoing complicated corrective surgery procedures, which hindered them from ever continuing with commercial sex work.

2.5 Perpetrators of sexual violence

2.5.1 Clients

In a study by Xia and Kennedy (2015), in Dallas, Texas it was found out that, commercial sex workers are often targeted for physical and sexual abuse by those who purchase them. It was also indicated that each time a commercial sex worker is met by a purchaser to trade sex for money, drugs or food the commercial sex worker is potentially in a life-threatening situation. A significant proportion is likely to be threatened with a weapon, rape or forced sexual actions.

In a study by Jaishankar and Halder, (2015), they came with a term called virtual sexual assault. The scholars explain that, at times regular clients can exchange numbers with commercial sex workers not to book for an appointment but to harass and intimidate them via hate messages, graphic name calling and other forms of cyber bullying. Most of these cases go unreported because of the over familiarity among clients and the commercial sex workers.

In a similar report by Internet Safety Task Force (2017), indicated commercial sex workers at times market their services in online platforms like face book and other social networking websites. In the same context, potential clients often lure their victims into sex texting and forcing them to send nude photos against their will. The report also indicates that, blackmail and other forms of intimidation, are precursors to sexual violence.

2.5.2 Police

A study by Therese 2015, in Philadelphia, USA, showed that law enforcement officers can and often violate commercial workers and walk scot free. The scholar reported that a commercial sex worker was raped by a self-identified police officer. The commercial sex

worker filed a report and when the case went to trial, the case was dismissed as not a case of rape but “theft of services”. This is because the woman had initially agreed to have sex in exchange for money. The scholar indicated that law enforcement and legal advocates seek to uphold the rights of all victims of sexual violation regardless of who commits them.

Tyler and Macklin (2016), note that commercial workers may fear reporting a case of rape or any other sexual assault because of a previous encounter with the law either as a victim or an offender whereby she could be having a previous criminal record. The perpetrator, in this case police officer can use this information to coax a victim into unwanted sexual experiences.

In a study by the Kenyan Human Rights Watch (2016), it highlighted the police often abused vulnerable groups that they are meant to protect. The report also indicates that during the 2007- 2008 post-election violence, numerous commercial sex workers were rounded up and gang raped by the police during night raids to flush out criminals. The report indicates that commercial sex workers failed to report the sexual crimes because of fear that police officers might shield their implicated colleague from prosecution by forcing the victim to change or withdraw a statement, fear of revenge, fear of unknown the fear of not being believed, some feared being featured on mass media, while others were afraid that the justice system may take too long hence and some opted to relocate to other towns for fear of their lives.

The report is consistent with requirements of a previous 2013, report named Turning Pebbles where it highlighted the gaps in commission and omission while investigating and prosecuting of sexually related violations by the police. These actions include; interference with the witnesses by intimidation, inaccurate reporting, incomplete charge sheets, and errors in evaluating charges among other omissions aimed at misrepresenting facts and aiding the perpetrator avoid justice.

2.6 Sexual Violence coping mechanisms

It has been observed that in many societies commercial sex work is regarded as one of the most dangerous professions. Female commercial sex workers are the most vulnerable and highly victimized groups of people. The profession is also known to operate under shrouds of mystery within the society never gets to know detailed information about.

Scholars have also termed it as one of the oldest and most dangerous trade that cuts across all classes in the society.

Aral (2016) indicates that commercial sex work is a highly risky profession that often creates avenues for psychological and physical torture and other numerous forms of abuse for the worker. The most common forms of coping with violation would be emotional shutdown. This situation often happens where the survivor, dissociates herself from any pain and begins living in her own world. Some victims are reported to have complete or partial amnesia to a nasty episode and continue with sex work as if nothing ever happened.

Another view is by Rothham (2016) observes that at times commercial sex workers who have been previously sexually violated tend to have difficulty creating healthy boundaries and a sense of privacy within themselves. The scholar observes that, violated sex workers may at times carry the previous emotional scars and in revenge allow every man to have their way with them without stating their boundaries or private space.

Lin Chew (2015) postulated that, policies need to be formulated and put in place to reflect on an equal human right- based approach, where by all women can access medical, legal and specialized services regardless of their profession.

Minty (2015) noted that the lack of clear policies and legal framework to protect the rights of commercial sex workers makes them prone to various occupational hazards like venereal diseases, psychological and physical trauma, medical conditions and in worse cases death.

2.6.1 Weak framework on behaviour sensitization

Ministry of health / GOK report (2014) notes that there are weak sanctions in the law that enable proper investigations and documentations of sexual crimes involving commercial sex workers. This weakness in the law provides a loop hole that enables offenders to walk scot-free. The report highlights that the Kenyan law does not specify on what happens to persons who intentionally infects a commercial sex worker with HIV/AIDS. This in itself makes public health programs on behaviour change sensitization difficult because it is often seen as the commercial sex workers as being an already sick population.

The findings also concur with a study by the Women's rights Division of Human Rights Watch (2013) report that indicated there is often reluctance by healthcare

personnel to issue post-rape care forms especially to commercial sex workers due to the stigma attached to the profession. The study report recommended that there be adequate and unbiased community education on matters on rape and specialized assistance availed.

2.6.2 Lack of first aid skills

Harvey (2010), observed that there is a general lack and ignorance on life saving and first aid skills among the citizens. In addition, the scholar says that in developing countries, first aid information booths, active toll-free emergency numbers, access to free ambulatory services are also non-existent. This makes the rescue and saving of lives in cases of disasters or accidents very complicated.

Schmitt , (2011) also adds that in general within the global context numerous commercial sex workers are unable to access specialized emergency care related to sexual assault occurring within bars, clubs or lodging facilities .Similarly gaps are evident in the lack of emergency exits in bars and clubs, non-existent of fully stocked first aid kits and at social recreation venues, ill-funded mobile health units that can patrol at night and treat commercial sex workers are also a major challenge within many nations.

2.6.3 Lack of monitoring and evaluation of existing programmes on women violence

World health Organization report (2014) indicates that statistics on existing programmes related to violence against women especially in developing countries are hardly kept or do not conform to internationally acceptable violence reporting index. This comes from the lack of understanding and limited knowledge of issues of violence against women and the national trend regarding the issue.

2.6.4 Lack of specialized services for women living with disabilities

Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (2015) reports that women living with disability and engaged in commercial sex work are highly prone to sexual violence. Disability like hearing and speech related impairments, are less likely to hinder a commercial sex worker from actively engaging in sex work. Hearing impaired commercial sex workers can be mainly violated by clients due to communication barriers .Reporting of the violation becomes even more difficult when the victim is deaf and mute and cannot communicate without a sign language interpreter present. This may distort the message in addition lack of privacy may hinder the victim to open up to a medical worker on the nature and extent of the violation.

2.6.5 Lack of emergency accommodation

Sexually violated women wanting to escape from violence related situations, finding a safe and protective accommodation poses a great challenge, Salisbury (2012). McGuire (2013), also concurs by adding that shelter homes are often built for the purpose of reforming and correcting recovering drug addicts, former prisoners and domestically abused women who are often referred to there by a mental specialist or clinician.

Holzmann and Pike (2014) present an argument on the provision of accommodation for violated women. The scholars state that the shelter homes are not just established to provide basic amenities like food and shelter to sexually violated women. During the recovery process, negative stereotypes are also emphasized on by the care giving personnel at the facility during. The stereotype mostly emphasized is the pressure to reconcile with the oppressor. This notion may make the victim not cope with the trauma effectively.

2.7 Theoretical framework

All empirical studies ought to be based on theoretical frameworks that assists in explaining a phenomena (Pearlman2011).The study was guided by two theories namely feminist theory and social learning theory. Feminist theory was the main anchoring theory.

2.7.1 Feminist theory

Feminist analysis of violence against women focuses its concerns on the structure of relationships in a male dominated (patriarchal) culture on power and on gender relations (Bogard 2010). According to Yllo and Straus (2010) they view feminist as being explanations of violence focus on the relationship between cultural ideology of male dominance and structural forces. Dutto (2010) also argues that structural patriarchy is the cause of violence with the explanatory power of this perspective being limited. The scholar noted that there is no empirical evidence to support the relationship between structural inequality and norms to support violence against women.

The study was anchored on Radical Feminist perspective, as the main theory. The perspective attempts to explain violence experienced by street based commercial sex workers. The known scholars associated with the Radical Feminism are Andrea Dworkin (1989) and Catherine MacKinnon (1987). The two feminist theorists argue that the patriarchal oppression of women stems from and is reinforced by the sexual double

standard, and the repression of women through sex. Prostitution, exemplifies this oppression as it represents not only female economic dependence on male authority. It also brings about male domination of women through female sexual oppression, including violent acts such as beatings, rape and even murder. Radical feminists perceive sex as constructed by men and for men; therefore, we cannot truly derive pleasure from the ways we interact sexually everyday (Valery, 2011).

MacKinnon (1989; 23:34) argued that from the background of Radical Feminist theory, commercial sex work is doubly oppressive to women. This is mainly because women in the profession are oppressed both economically and sexually by the men they serve. Not only are they forced to depend on men financially for their survival through a system of patriarchal institutions and are also seen as valuable only through their potential to provide sexual pleasure for men through their bodies.

One major critique of radical feminism is that it argues that all men in the society are oppressive to women and that all women are victims. This perspective is not valid because it clusters all women into one universal classification failing to take into considerations on issues of class, race and sexual orientation .

2.7.2 Social learning theory

The main proponent of the theory was (Albert Bandura 1973), the theory was modelled around the society and individual levels, whereby an individual is able to learn a behaviour based on the rewards and punishment it yields .Albert Bandura put the argument that, people learn a certain behaviour by imitating, observing and modelling what others are doing.

The main argument in the theory is that an individual's identity is not as a result of the unconscious but instead due to modelling against expectations of others. In relation to our study, sexual violence against women is not an inborn trait but rather a behaviour that one has learnt through mass media, peer groups or at home at the family level. As result, the perpetrator of violence metes out violence learnt to commercial sex workers.

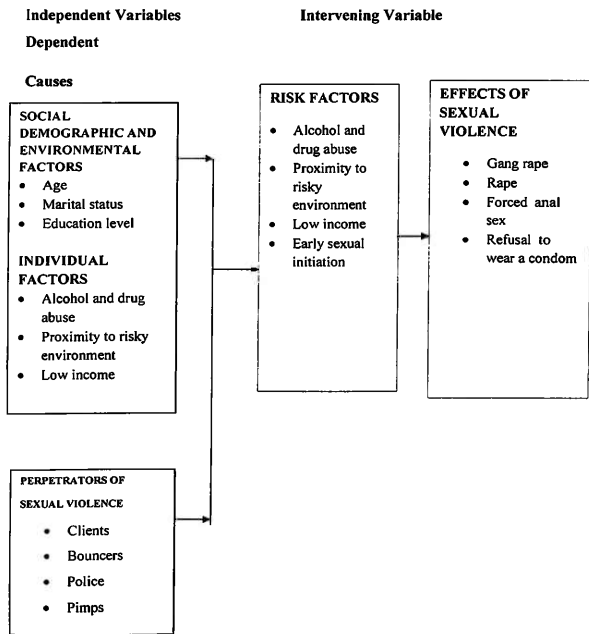
Social leaning theory despite being relevant in explaining social behaviour has a major weakness. It assumes that one's behaviour can be influenced by the environment that the person is in. This in itself is not accurate because behaviour can at times be consistent regardless of the environment.

2.8 Conceptual framework

The conceptual model below, explains the causes and manifestations of sexual violence among commercial sex workers. The conceptual framework for the study was developed based on literature and empirical review. The framework contains two dependent variables and one independent variable.

The causes of sexual violence have been conceptualized as a dependent variable to include; alcohol and drug abuse, proximate to risky working environments, and low income. Perpetrators of sexual violence has also been conceptualized as a dependent variable, it contains clients, bouncers and the police as the main elements. Forms of sexual violence are our independent variable to include; gang rape, rape, forced anal sex, unwanted exposure to pornography, unwanted sexual touches.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology utilized in the study. It discusses the research design, target population, sampling design and sample size, data collection procedures and instruments used.

3.2 Study design

Descriptive survey was used for this study. According to Cooper & Schindler (2003), a descriptive survey is feasible when the population is small and variable hence the researcher is able to capture all the required elements in his study in a more economical way. The study incorporated the use of both primary and secondary data. Primary data was mainly obtained from commercial sex workers. Secondary data was got from publications and policy documents to augment the primary data. Consent was verbally sought from the respondents before they were interviewed; this was mainly to assure them of confidentiality of the information provided.

3.3 Study area

The study was conducted in Majengo Ward, Mombasa County. This is an administrative centre within Mombasa Island. The area was chosen because of its close proximity to key points like bars and night clubs. The area also boasts of having the largest number of active commercial sex workers per square kilometre NASCOP (2014). The report also estimates that there are least 1780 active sex workers within Majengo ward. A majority of the sex workers are disguised as bar maids, house maids, hair technicians and small scale vendors and mostly advertise their services through taxi drivers who refer tourists and other clients to them. Some operate from rented houses where appointment is conducted through online referrals to avoid suspicion from the public. Most residents are traders and vendors with a few engaged in active employment in various sectors of the economy.

3.4 Target population

The study targeted active female commercial sex workers aged 18 years and above working along corridors and open spaces. The choice for targeting these respondents was guided by the fact that they were more visible and accessible than those working in brothels and clubs. In total were able to interview 85 active commercial sex workers.

3.5 Unit of analysis and observation

The unit of analysis was causes and manifestations of sexual violence among Commercial Sex workers in Majengo, Mombasa County.

3.6 Sampling procedure

Babie (2011) defines the unit of analysis as the people or things whose characteristics researchers observe or explain. Respondents for the study were picked from two categories namely; Commercial sex workers and key informants. Key informant persons that included; police officers, club bouncers, security guards, members of civic organizations and health workers, we identified using purposive sampling , bringing a total of 10 key informants .

Snowballing sampling method was used to identify and interview CSWs. The justification of using the method was that, the target population is highly stigmatized and highly mobile. Initially we independently identified 10 commercial sex workers working from open streets, after a while the number grew to 85 respondents. The rest were referred to us mainly through a referral systems, whereby most of the respondents had a common interest because most of them smoked cigarettes and had alcohol drinking groups within them.

We used purposive random sampling to identify our key informants. Hot spots and clubs frequented by commercial sex workers were targeted. We identified and created a rapport with club bouncers working in clubs within the area. We also, created contacts with two night security guards working along old buildings and corridors who aided us in knowing where to locate commercial sex workers. 3 police officers dealing specifically with gender related issues were interviewed .The police introduced us to four seven civic leaders, out them 3 were interviewed .We approached and interviewed 3 health workers at private and public clinics dealing with reproductive health out of the five health facilities centres located within Majengo ward.

3.7 Methods of Data Collection

Data collected in the study was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. The data was mainly gathered through face to face interviews that involved approaching our responses and collecting first-hand information as we made other general observations.

The interview sessions enabled us to collect data that was rich in insights, details of respondents experiences which ordinarily is impossible to capture through a structured questionnaire.

3.1 Tools of data collection

Data was collected using the following tools:

i) Structured questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered through a face to face interaction with the commercial sex workers who were our main respondents. Care and caution was taken in designing the questionnaire. This was to enable the respondents to completely understand the questions.

The questionnaire had four sections namely:

- a) Personal information
- b) Causes of sexual violence
- c) Perpetrators of sexual violence
- d) Coping strategies taken to cope with sexual violence.

ii) Key informant interviews

Key informant persons were selected from sectors linked to sex work. Respondents were selected using purposive sampling technique. We mainly targeted club bouncers, members of civic bodies that deal with gender based violence and sexual violence, health workers working in reproductive health clinics and police officers. The total interviewed informant respondents were 21 comprising of; 3 police officers, 5 health workers, 10 club bouncers and 3 members of civic organizations.

Data obtained from the key informants was mainly related to their understanding of commercial sex work within Mombasa County. The information obtained from them was relevant in providing us with a basic understanding of the policy and legal perspective related to sexual violence.

iii) Desk review

Secondary data related to the study was obtained through a desk review of journals, theses and references from scholarly articles in libraries and the internet.

3.8 Research ethics

All our respondents were clearly informed that all their responses and participation in the research was purely for academic purposes. We further ensured that we adhered to confidential arrangements between us and the respondents because of the sensitive and highly related stigma to our subjects.

3.9 Data analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. Quantitative data was analyzed with the use of descriptive statistics computed with the assistance of SPSS software. Qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis. This emphasized on highlighting recurring themes within the research questions asked. The themes were thereafter coded to create and establish logical patterns.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the research findings and analysis of the research data as established in the research methodology. The broad objective of the study was to determine the causes and manifestations of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers in Majengo ward Mombasa County.

4.2 Socio-demographic profile of respondents

The respondents' socio-demographic characteristics were established by inquiring about their; age, marital status, other sources of income, level of education, number of children, period engaged in sex work and area of residence. By establishing their socio-demographic information the study sought to have a basic understanding of the respondents as this would inform on their experiences of being involved in commercial sex work.

4.2.1 Age distribution

The study categorized age of the respondents' as follows: 18-22 years, 23-27 years, 28-34 years and 35 years and above.

Out of the total number of 85 respondents interviewed, 37.6 % were in the 18-22 years age category, 32.9% were in the 23-27 years category, 11.8% were in the 28-34 years category and 17.6 percent were in the 35 years and above category (table 4.1)

Table 4.1: Age distribution

Age group	N	Percentage
18-22 years	32	37.6
23-27 years	28	32.9
28-34 years	10	11.8
35 years and above	15	17.6
TOTAL	85	100

The study revealed that a majority of the commercial sex workers interviewed were aged between the ages of; 18-22years and 23-27 years.

A study by the International Labor Organization 2014 indicates that 27 percent of global commercial sex workers join commercial sex work at the average of 17 years. This trend is worrying because, the girls are still minors and cannot make independent decisions. It is to this effect that some find themselves trapped and enslaved for life in commercial sex work.

4.2.2 Marital status

The study sought to find out the marital status of the respondents. From the findings, respondents that reported to be single represented 29.4 percent, which was also the same number as those that responded to be cohabiting at 29.4 percent. Respondents who were married and divorced were both at 5.9 percent, widowed represented 11.8 percent. It was observed that 17.6 percent did not reveal their marital status, some of the possible reasons given were that; they simply declined to discuss about their marital status. (Table 4.2)

Table 4.2: Marital status

Marital status	N	Percentage
Single	25	29.4
Married	5	5.9
Divorced	5	5.9
Widowed	10	11.8
Cohabiting	25	29.4
No response	15	17.6
Total	85	100

4.2.3 Number of children

The research sought to find out the number of children that the respondents had. From the results, 35.3 percent of the respondents had no children, 41.2 percent of the respondents had at least one child to three children, and 5.9 percent of the respondents had more than one child, while 17.6 did not respond table (4.3).

Table 4.3: Number of children

Number of Children	N	Percent
No children	30	35.3
1 to 3 Children	35	41.2
More than 3 children	5	5.9
No response	15	17.6
Total	85	100

From the findings, a majority of the respondents had children. While there were some respondents who refused to respond indicating that their culture did not allow them to reveal the number of children to strangers as it may bring bad omen. It was further observed that, commercial sex workers with children, worked in various times of the day, as the other hours of the day are utilized in taking care of the family.

4.2.4 Education level

The researcher also inquired about the respondents' level of education. From the results, 8.2 percent had attained tertiary level of education. While 20 percent had attained secondary school level of education, 30.6 percent had primary level education; findings also revealed that 41.2 percent had no formal schooling. (Table 4.4)

Table 4.4: Level of education

Level of education	N	Percentage
University /tertiary level	7	8.23
Secondary	17	20
Primary	26	30.6
No formal schooling	35	41.2
Total	85	100

The findings concurred with a similar study conducted by Sonia (2013) on the factors influencing violence among female teenagers in Nepal. The observed that low level of education made them prone to abuse by men.

4.2.5 Period engaged in sex work

The research sought to find out how long the respondents had engaged in commercial sex work. We classified our results as follows; those who had worked less than five years, those who had worked for ten years and those who had worked for ten years and more. From the responses, we observed that 50 of the respondents representing 58.8 percent of the total population had worked for less than five years. 15 of our respondents representing 17.6 percent had been in the industry for periods of between five to ten years. 10 respondents who represented 11.8 of the population had worked for than ten years. Table (4.5)

Table 4.5: Period engaged in sex work

Duration	N	Percentage
Less than five years	50	58.8
Five to ten years	15	17.6
More than ten years	20	11.8
TOTAL	85	100

We explored further on how long the respondents had engaged in sex work. The purpose was establishing the importance the sex worker and the motivation that leads one to engage in sex work. We got the following responses;

The above findings correspond to the sociological perspective by Agustin 2007, whereby the scholar observes that sex work can be seen as a lucrative work, esteem enhancing sexually liberating; as one can have as many sex partners as she wants, and much more freedom to travel and earn her own money.

Chapkis, O'Connell Davidson and Weitzer (2012) also agree with the notion and indicate that there exists a polymorphous paradigm that holds that there is a multi-faceted occupational approach in terms of power relations and worker experiences. The scholars argue that, in sex work as a means of livelihood there exists several negative and positive perspectives attached to it.

In essence based on the arguments we can deduce that prolonged sex work activity can be viewed as public nuisance because, the activities of soliciting for customers, hurling of insults, drug abuse and noise pollution can negatively affect children and the society at large.

4.3 Other sources of income

The research sought to find out whether the respondents had other sources of income. 64.70 percent indicated that they had another source of income .35.29 percent indicated that they did not have an extra source. From the findings, it emerged that a majority did not rely on sex work as a source of livelihood. (Table 4.6)

Table 4.6: Other sources of income

Response	N	Percentage
Yes	55	64.7
No	30	35.3
TOTAL	85	100

Based from all our probing on additional income, it became clear that few of the respondents interviewed had formal income. According to Hoffmann (1986), the scholar called this “modes of double living”. These social phenomena are characterized by the fact that commercial sex work in itself is a heavily stigmatized career due to its illegality and counter –cultural nature. Disclosing one’s commercial sex work past is likely to impede any formal employment and may make future potential employers have a biased view.

Women who have previously or currently active in commercial sex work and are seeking meaningful employment often find the need to lie so as to conceal their true nature and get the job. This in itself brings about unnecessary stress because she could meet with former or present sex work customers.

4.3.1 Area of residence

The researcher sought to find out whether the respondents currently live in Majengo. The following were the responses; currently living in Majengo were found to be at 47.1 percent. Those living outside Majengo ward were 52.9 percent. The results indicate that, a majority of the respondents only came to Majengo to work and did not reside there. Some of the reasons cited by those not residing in Majengo were; fear of over familiarity with clients and having commitments elsewhere. It was found that some commercial sex workers opted to rent and live far away from where they worked.

4.4 Causes of sexual violence

The study sought to find out the causes of sexual violence and how it manifests itself among female commercial sex workers.

4.4.1 Sexual violence at work

The study sought to establish whether the respondents had in the past one year experienced sexual violence at work.

Table 4.7 Sexual violence at work

RESPONSE	N	PERCENTAGE
YES	60	70.6
NO	25	29.4
TOTAL	85	100

From the response obtained 70.6 percent of the respondents reported to have been recently sexually violated with 29.4 percent of the respondents having not ever experienced sexual violence within the working environment. According to Careael, Slayermaker et al (2006) argued that sex work is an occupation with numerous hazards that are mainly sexual in nature. The occupational hazards can range from: verbal insults, forced sex, to pressure engage in unnatural sexual actions.

The World Health Organization report of (2013) indicates that sexual violence is more likely to occur more among female commercial sex workers than among men who have sex with men .The report postulated that socialization has created a false belief that women are often viewed as weak and defenseless therefore prone to any attack .

Youth living both in urban areas are the most affected in the matter, they get sexually active at younger ages and because topics of sexual consent, how to deal with rape are often a taboo subject not discussed within the family. The youth get misinformed by other agents in the society like mass media, and peer pressure, who portray sexual violation in numerous distorted versions. As a result, this leads to reckless sexual behaviors, increased indulgence in vices like drug abuse, forming and joining of religious sects all in a bid to vent out their anger and frustration.

4.4.2 Common forms of sexual violence

The research also sought to find out what was the most common form of sexual violence experienced from our results we found that; 41.2 percent of the respondents had been gang raped, 29.4 percent had been forced to have sex against their will, 17.6 percent said clients refused to wear a condom, 11.8 percent had been violated in other forms.

Globally according to a report by UNAID (2009;11-13), 7% of young girls and 24% of women reported said that their initial sex encounter was coerced. Regionally, in a report by WHO (2010:18;23) it reported that in South Africa, Mozambique and Lesotho 28% and 45% of girls and young women had been coerced into sex by intimidation, blackmail and threats. Locally Obwanda (2014) in a report on violence against women in Kibera indicated that; cultural factors, economic and social factors led to women not reporting about sexual violence.

With these observations, we noted that commercial sex workers were often socialized not to report any sexually related violation as this was a taboo topic. Hence, clients take advantage and suppress them leading to violence.

According to a report by UNFPA (2012; 23-25) it indicated that having multiple partners was not found to be significantly related sexual violence. Sexual violence was documented to be a risk factor that might occur leading to sexual violation

A majority of respondents interviewed attested to having been sexually violated in numerous occasions, in one form or another.

4.4.3 Sites where sexual violence mostly occurs

The research sought to find out where sexual violence mostly occurs; the following responses were obtained; 42 percent of the respondents reported having experienced sexual violence along dark corridors, 23 percent indicated to having been assaulted inside a perpetrator's car, 11 percent said it occurred in a bush, 9 percent said to have been assaulted while in police custody, while 15 percent declined to respond.

We also spoke to a health worker on the issue we obtained the following response;

Maria, a nurse and a certified counselor had this to say

"We have occasionally encountered cases of commercial sex workers having been sexually molested and found in bushes or alleys by friends or security officers. I

cannot divulge more details about our clients, all I can only say that at times most CSW are often too ashamed to talk or report the incident and often blame themselves for the attack”

Conley and Barrindra (2016) advanced an argument on the concept of custodial rape. Findings from their study revealed that India had recently amended their penal code to include a section in their criminal law amendment act that recognizes custodial rape as a punishable offence. The offence specifically recognizes the rights of the victim as having been sexually violated by being forced or coerced to engage in non-consensual sex acts with prison officials tasked with the responsibility of her custody. The proposed law carries with it the imprisonment of all police officers, jail staff and other personnel implicated in the incident for a period of not less than ten years.

4.4.4. Main causes of sexual violence

The study sought to find out about the main contributing causes of sexual violence among commercial sex workers. The following results were acquired; 57 percent of the respondents said drug and abuse contributed to sexual violence, 24 percent indicated that proximity to dangerous environments caused sexual violence, 10 percent said low income was a contributing factor, 9 percent of the respondents did not answer.

Findings from the research also corroborate with a survey study by Adu-Oppong et al (2011) in Accra Ghana on college age students and factors leading to sexual assault. The scholar found out that women in general are rarely protected outside their homesteads. Sex crimes like; Rape, stalking, exposure to nude images, forced undressing and use of abusive language can occur along the streets, in public spaces, at times inside wash rooms and in darkly lit environs.

Plumridge et al (2011) observes that in some instances, women from low income households who have been sexually violated can at times be pressured by family to drop the sex violation charges against an attacker and instead marry them so as to avoid stigma associated with rape.

4.5 Perpetrators of Sexual Violence

The study sought to identify the main perpetrators that sexually violate commercial sex workers.

4.5.1 Main perpetrators of sexual violence

The study sought to find out on who are the main perpetrators of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers. Results indicated, that 41.2 percent responded to having been violated by clients, 21.2 percent had been violated by the police, 10.3 percent reported to have had a lover violate them, while 12.9 percent had been violated by club bouncers and 14.4 were violated by pimps who manage them.

This corresponds to a report by Cohen (2015), in a study on the level of violence meted on commercial sex workers in Boston, USA the report found that 33 percent had been assaulted by bouncers by being gang raped and having being subjected to unnecessary body searches, 55 percent had been gang raped by clients, while 9 percent had been stabbed in the buttocks by pimps for failing to remit money on time another 3 percent had been threatened with rape by the police.

In a similar study by Castle and Lee (2008) on the experiences of first time sex buyers revealed that a majority of the clients did not know what to expect in terms of services, cost and level of interaction. Findings further found that this ignorance is often masked by clients consuming drugs and alcohol so as to feign bravado.

Another study by Holt, Blevins and Sharp (2016) ,on the customer etiquette by commercial sex workers working in brothels reveals that commercial sex workers are expected to offer more services than sex ,these include ;Hugging, cuddling, sensual massage and affectionate communication and in exchange the customer pays a premium .The scholars believe that when a customer has experienced these supreme services and then goes to have services from a street based commercial sex worker and the same are absent .The client is bound to become moody and irritable and this is often a precursor to violence .

We also spoke to three police officers from different police stations on their perception of sexual violence among commercial sex workers.

“A crime is a crime, aggravated assault, fighting in public, loitering, are some of the charges labeled against CSW that we often see at the station. Ironically, to the

best of my knowledge we have rarely handled a reported rape, or attempted rape by commercial sex worker. We are constantly reminding citizens through road shows, and other activities that they should report any crime regardless of their status in the society. (Police respondent 2)

Police respondent 1 *"We are usually called in to arrest patrons who are unruly and are causing public nuisance. I can attest that after investigations the fights are usually caused by citizens who are drunk and disorderly, at times they involve malayans fighting. We take each case seriously as are under oath to serve and protect all citizens irrespective of color, creed, religion, gender among other differences. We also ensure that the law is followed and offenders are prosecuted. It is surprising to observe that commercial sex workers fear reporting rape, indecent assault among other crimes meted on them. Majority of rape cases we often handle come from neighborhoods, estates these are mostly related to incest and attempted rape of under aged girls.*

Police officer 3 *"We should note that the Kenyan law does not prohibit sexual relations between two consenting adults. However, the same penal code does not clearly define consent. Our role therefore is to investigate and provide factual evidence in court. In many cases, that we have dealt with, the burden or of proof in criminal cases is that the prosecution must prove in a court of law their case beyond any reasonable doubt.*

From our findings, we found that the main perpetrators of sexual violence are the clients, police officers and club bouncers.

4.5.2 Consequences of sexual violence

We inquired on the results of sexual violence and we obtained the following responses; 47 percent responded to have had visible injuries like; bruises, sore eyes and at times broken limbs, 12 per cent said that they incurred persistent pain especially around the pelvis region, 6 per cent reported to have had lasting psychological effects like; flashback and nightmares, 12 per cent told us that they had often escaped death narrowly resulting from being pushed from high buildings. 24 percent of the respondents told us that they had been exposed to other cruel forms of sexual violence like; being forced to drink their own urine among other forms.

4.5.3 Access to help and reporting

We sought to find out how victims got assisted from an attack, we obtained the following responses; 57 percent told us that their friends came to their rescue after phoning them or finding them abandoned, 20 percent told us that they never got any help because they were often robbed off their phones and abandoned in the bush, 16 percent immediately went to hospital for treatment 7 percent of the respondents told us that they did want to respond because it brought back bad memories.

The findings from the research are similar to Salzmann (2010; 17-19), who found out that more often people that tend to violate commercial sex workers are often known to the victim. They may consist of lover/ husband, client or a known club bouncer. The issue of reporting them to the authorities is harbored by fear of revenge by the offender.

The study also agreed with findings from the Minnesota sentencing commission report of 2011 that indicated that sexual offenders are more likely to commit sexually related offences than ordinary people. The report further suggested that clients more often than not commit more sexual violations than other people around the commercial sex workers.

Similarly, Lisak and Miller (2013) had a study on group of rapists and the frequency of prosecutions. The study revealed that up to 85 percent of the respondents had never been arrested nor prosecuted for sexual offences. Revelations from the study showed that, several sex crimes go unreported, accessories to the crime aid in covering up the offenders, victims are often bribed by emissaries, survivors fear for their lives and at times the incidents occur in small communities like colleges, estates, where there is a lot of stigma associated with rape.

4.6 Coping mechanisms

The study sought to find out what were the coping mechanisms employed by commercial sex workers at work.

4.6.1 Awareness of laws prohibiting sexual violence

The study revealed that 57 percent of the respondents were aware of various laws or acts that outlaw sexual violence. 43 percent of the respondents were not aware of any law in particular associated with sexual violence. Amongst the laws mentioned by the

respondents include ; the children Act 2006, (23 percent), the constitution of Kenya(65 percent), Human rights Act (15 percent .

Katana a worker from a local civic body told us that *“local laws on sexual violence are difficult to enforce because, commercial sex work happens at night and details of the attack cannot be fully established because most victims fail to report”*

4.6.2 Ways in which sexual violence can be prevented

We sought to find out whether the respondents knew of how sexual violence can be prevented. The following responses were obtained; 34 percent mentioned education and awareness of the public , 42 percent said harsh laws should be in place to reduce sexual violence , 17 percent responded by saying the survivors ought to be economically empowered to reduce cases of sexual violence, 7 percent of the respondents did not know how sexual violence can be eliminated .

Similar preventive approaches were echoed by several key informants; for instance according to Santana a club bouncer said that;

“The county can aid putting sexual violence to a halt by having several well lit areas at night and having several night guards and area policing groups monitoring any irregular activity” .

Garcia a community health nurse said that;

“Sexual violence can be totally stopped by educating the community on human rights, initiating counseling programs in schools and adequately equipping local gate keepers with security apparatus like radio and satellite phones to be enable them alert healthcare and authorities in case of attacks”

4.6.3 Survivor coping mechanisms

We also sought to identify how survivors of sexual violence got help, we obtained the following responses; 18 percent of the respondents isolated themselves from their workmates and cut close contact with friends and family,25 percent of the respondents chose to talk about it with a close friend, 47 percent ventured into a drug abuse at a high level so as to cope, 10 percent of the respondents opted to form social networks with bar owners and lodging managers so as to minimize the exposure to sexual violence.

Isolation was another form of coping with the sexual violation. From the obtained responses, some respondents had this to say

“Commercial sex workers are often seen as non-rape able. This is because the public views us as sex commodities for public consumption. Reporting sex related incidents rarely have any effect on our welfare because nobody ever believes what you have to say. I opt to keep to myself”

Talking to friends about it was another form of coping mechanism adopted by commercial sex workers. Amanda a CSW had this to say;

“I had a friend who was a CSW, in the past one year or so she phoned me and wanted to talk. She told me that she had been infected with the virus by client who had purposefully burst the condom. She further confined in me by telling me that she knows the person who was responsible and felt helpless that she was slowly sinking into depression and isolated herself and began drinking at least two full kibao vodka bottles per day.” (Health worker respondent 3)

Another respondent indicated that talking helped ease situations. This was also therapeutic because, she could go work every day knowing that she is not the only one undergoing the fate. Increased drug abuse was found to be a form of coping with violence. A respondent once told us that her addiction to drugs affected her response to sexual violation. This evidenced in her narration.

From our research, the reluctance of commercial sex workers of not reporting to the police whenever one is violated mainly comes from the fear of arrest and harassment for engaging in an illegal activity. Furthermore, a handful of respondents indicated that they chose to get high on drugs so as evade seeking formal justice due to the victimization that might occur during taking of their statements at hospital.

Another perspective that led commercial sex workers delay or not report cases of sexual violence was that, there exists drug addicts who fear the prolonged process in reporting and eventual delay in accessing their regular drugs.

In conclusion, the involvement of the police in cases of sexual violation among commercial sex workers does not apply as fast and as ideally as it should compared to other crime related situations in the society.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary conclusion and recommendations from the findings and suggestions for future research.

This study was done, to establish the causes and manifestations of sexual violence among commercial sex workers in Majengo Mombasa County. The research had three objectives; to examine the underlying causes of sexual violence among female commercial Sex workers to identify the main perpetrators of sexual violence among female commercial sex workers. To identify the coping mechanisms adopted by Commercial sex workers in dealing with sex violence.

5.2 Summary of findings

5.2.1 Background information of commercial sex workers

The study revealed that, a majority of actively involved CSW were aged between 18- 27 years. It also emerged that a nearly half of the population had secondary school level of education. The study also found out that religion does not play apart in one joining commercial sex work.

5.2.2 Causes of sexual violence

The study revealed that a majority of sexual violence acts were caused by alcohol and drug abuse, proximity to risky environments and low income. The main effects of sexual violence were identified to include; rape, gang rape and forced anal sex and refusal to wear a condom. The main challenges expressed by the commercial sex workers include: lack of facilities in the county to cater for violated women, a lack of psychological support systems within government health facilities and fear to seek legal justice due to the stigma attached to the profession. The research also found out that the main forms of manifestation of sexual violence include; unwanted pregnancies, repeated injuries caused by fights among themselves and knife attacks by clients, STI/HIV infections and social stigma from members of the society.

5.3 The Perpetuators of Sexual Violence

Findings from the research revealed that, violence is caused mainly by people known to them; often include the, regular customers and bouncers and police officers. It was observed that new customers do not mete out violence nor display any aggressive behavior. The findings concur with Kangethe (2013), who observed that commercial sexual work is a regular activity that attracts familiarity and at times violence among clients to the commercial sex workers.

5.4 Coping mechanisms adopted by commercial sex workers

Findings from the research indicate that a majority of sexually related violations against commercial sex workers go undocumented. It was further observed that because the profession is illegal there no legal or medical provisions in place to protect victims. It was also established that commercial sex workers, often engage in increased drug abuse so as to escape reality and numb their fears. It was also found that another strategy used by commercial sex workers is to talk about their experiences with fellow workmates to relieve stress and provide an avenue to relive their woes and frustrations. We also found that they form social networks with coworkers and club managers to enhance safety by informing their networks on their whereabouts.

5.4 Conclusion

The study concluded that, commercial sex workers are often vulnerable to various forms of sexual violence. Accessing health care is a challenge due to social stigmatization of commercial sex work.

5.5 Recommendations from the study

Based on the findings from the research, the study recommends:

1. There should be systems installed in a County Governments for averting unnecessary violence within entertainment establishments.
2. The study also recommends that there be specialized medical care centers for victims of sexual violence irrespective of their profession.

5.6 Limitations of the study and areas of future research

The study only focused on Majengo in Mombasa County, the findings should not be generalized to other regions. More empirical research is required in the field of commercial sex work and health. Other areas of research would include; perceptions of work exposure on commercial sex workers on their health and well-being. Another area of research would deal with, the health impact of commercial sex work on commercial sex workers.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Research questionnaire

This is a questionnaire for data collection on the determinants of sexual violence among CSWs in Majengo ward, Mombasa County. This is an academic research and the data collected will specifically be used for academic purposes only. All information filled in will be confidential.

Please put circle or a tick on your desired response.

SECTION A PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. What is your age?
 - a) 18-22 years
 - b) 23-29 years
 - c) 30- 34 years
 - d) 35 years and above
2. What is your current marital status?
 - a) Married
 - b) Single
 - c) Divorced
 - d) Cohabiting
 - e) No response
3. How many children do you have
 - a) No children
 - b) 1 to 3 children
 - c) More than 3 children
 - d) No response
4. What is your current highest level of education
 - a) University/tertiary level
 - b) Secondary Level

- c) Primary level
 - d) No formal schooling
5. How long have you been a commercial sex worker?
- a) Less than five years
 - b) Five to ten years
 - c) More than ten years
6. Do you have any other source of income?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
7. Do currently reside in Majengo?
- a) Yes
 - b) No

SECTION B: CAUSES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

8. Have you in the past six months experienced sexual violence at work?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
9. In last 12 months in which of the following one way have you been violated?
- i. Client refused to wear a condom
 - ii. Forced to have sex
 - iii. Rape
 - iv. Forced to have anal sex
 - v. Other forms
10. Where among these places does sexual violence often happen?
- a) Along dark corridors
 - b) In a bush or forest
 - c) Inside a perpetrator's car
 - d) In police custody

e) No response

11. From your experience what often causes sexual violence?

- a) Drug and alcohol abuse
- b) Proximity to dangerous environments
- c) Low income
- d) No response

SECTION C : PERPETRATORS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

12. Who among these people has mostly sexually violated you in the past 12 months?

- i. Clients
- ii. Police
- iii. A lover or partner
- iv. Bouncer
- v. A pimp

13. Which among these was the main consequence of the sexual violence?

- i. Visible injuries like; bruises, sore eyes and broken limbs
- ii. Persistent pain in the body
- iii. Psychological effects like flash back and nightmares
- iv. Near death situations
- v. Other severe forms

14. In which among these ways did you seek for help?

- i. Got assisted by a friend
- ii. Never sought for help
- iii. Went to hospital for a check-up
- iv. No response

SECTION D: COPING STRATEGIES TAKEN TO COPE WITH SEXUAL VIOLENCE

15. Have you ever heard of laws or county- by- laws that criminalize sexual violence against women?

- a) Yes b) No

16. Name one major way that you would recommend for the total prevention of sexual violence?

- i. Public education and awareness
- ii. Introduction of severe laws for offenders
- iii. Economic empowerment of survivors
- iv. Not aware

17. What is the main way that you cope with sexual violence?

- i. Isolating myself from others
- ii. Share about my experience with friends
- iii. Use drugs more
- iv. Form a social network

Thank you for taking time to answer the questions. We value the information given to us.

Appendix II: Interview guide tool for key informants

THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEW GUIDE WAS DEVELOPED AS PART OF DATA COLLECTION TO GATHER QUALITATIVE DATA FROM;BOUNCERS, PIMPS, BARHOSTESSES, POLICE, HEALTH WORKERS AND MEMBERS OF CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS ON CAUSES AND MANIFESTATIONS OFSEXUAL VIOLENCE AMONG FEMALE COMMERCIAL SEXWORKERS IN MAJENGO WARD, MOMBASA COUNTY.

- Can you please give us a brief background on commercial sexwork in Mombasa County?
- Please tell us about the current state of violence among female commercial sex workers known to you?
- What is the most common manifestation of violence on commercial sex workers?
- Who do you think are the main perpetrators of sexual violence among commercial sex workers?
- What do you think are the underlying causes of violence against commercial sex workers?
- In your opinion what are the current legislative provisions and responses on violence against women in Mombasa County?
- To what extend does the current law cover commercial sex workers?
- Do you think the current approaches address the root cause of sexual violence?
- What role do you think the clients of commercial sex workers and the general public would take in addressing violence against commercial sex workers?
- Give us a list of challenges that hinder you as key society member from effectively addressing sexual violence among commercial sex workers?
- What resources would you recommend to be provided for a free and safe working environment for commercial sex workers?