

Evaluation of Nature and Impact of Violence Exposure Among Registered Female Sex Workers

Ticari Seks İşçileri Arasında Şiddete Maruziyetin Etkisi ve Özellikleri

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ABSTRACT Objective: We conducted a descriptive study to determine various violence forms with their impacts on registered female sex workers. **Material and Methods:** We surveyed 124 registered female sex workers of a mean age of 41.6 ± 9.1 years, at obligatory periodic examination in the Departments of Dermatology and Sexually Transmitted Diseases at Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Hospital. The researchers developed and validated a questionnaire, based on relevant literature, and administered it to participants via face to face surveying approach. The questionnaire contained items both on the features on socio-demographic and questions on the levels of psychological, physical, sexual, financial and public violence among female sex workers. **Results:** The most common violence types were psychological (insulting), physical (slapping/punching), public (social isolation), sexual (forced unprotected intercourse) and financial (confiscation of the earnings). The main perpetrators of violence were mostly clients, relatives, and pimps. **Conclusion:** Female sex workers seemed to be exposed to all kinds of violence. Violence affected women's life by destruction of self respect, damaged self-esteem, threatened the safety of themselves and family members, abolished/assimilated their safety, economic independence and individual freedom, and disturbed social aspect of their lives.

Key Words: Sex workers; violence

ÖZET Amaç: Araştırma ticari seks işçileri üzerine çeşitli şiddet formlarını ve etkilerini belirlemek amacıyla tanımlayıcı olarak yapılmıştır. **Gereç ve Yöntemler:** Yaş ortalamaları 41.6 ± 9.1 olan 124 ticari seks işçisi ile Ankara Belediye Hastanesi Cilt Hastalıkları ve Cinsel Yolla Bulaşan Hastalıklar bölümünde zorunlu periyodik muayeneleri sırasında görüşülmüştür. İlgili literature dayanarak araştırmacılar tarafından geçerliliği çalışılmış olan bir anket formu yüz yüze görüşme yöntemle katılımcılara uygulanmıştır. Anket formu sosyodemografik özellikleri ve seks çalışanları arasında psikolojik, fiziksel, seksüel, finansal ve toplumsal şiddet düzeylerini değerlendiren soruları içermektedir. **Sonuçlar:** Seks çalışanı kadınları en çok karşılaştıkları şiddet tipleri psikolojik (hakaret), fiziksel (tokatlama/yumruklama), toplumsal (sosyal izolasyon), seksüel (zorla korunmasız cinsel ilişki) ve finansal (kazanca zorla el koyma) şiddettir. En sık olarak gözlenen şiddet uygulayıcılar müşteriler, akrabalar ve aracılık edenlerdir. **Tartışma:** Kadın seks çalışanlarının her türlü şiddete maruz kaldığı gözlenmektedir. Şiddet kadınların kendilerine olan saygının yıkılması, gururlarının kırılması, kendilerinin ve aile bireylerini tehdit altında hissetme, güvenliklerinin, ekonomik bağımsızlıklarının ve kişisel özgürlüklerinin yok olması veya erimesi, hayatlarının sosyal yönünün bozulması şeklinde etkilemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Seks işçileri, şiddet

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The violence against woman is “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or ar-

bitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”¹

Indicating accelerated awareness that violence represents a serious violation of women’s rights leading to significant injury associated with several physical and psychological health problems, identifying and implementing appropriate management of gender based violence in victims with the help of guidelines are now recognized as core competencies for health professionals.²

Violence against sex workers including physical, verbal, and sexual abuse; gang rape; traumatic intercourse; emotional trauma; robbery; confinement; and murder are significant public issues.³ Recent reports indicated that physical assault likelihood by an intimate male partner to a woman, at some point of their lives, ranged from 3 to 52%, while 26% of married women had been forced having sex via physical (35%) and psychological (20%) assaults.⁴⁻⁵

Unlike sexual assaults by strangers, which were evaluated as crimes, rape in marriage, sexual coercion in schools, sex for a job, and forced marriage were tolerated or socially condoned in many countries.^{2,6,7} Likewise, features of the workplace and characteristics of the tasks performed were related more to the risk of workplace assault than a worker’s demographic characteristics.⁸ Taken together, these may account for debate and higher violence risk against female sex workers (FSWs) because of their face-to-face task feature and money handling.⁸

Limited number of studies on physical and sexual violence towards prostitutes has revealed that prostitutes often faced physical and sexual violence from clients and other individuals such as pimps, club owners, and law enforcement workers.²

Despite large number of research on the impact of work stress, shift work, low autonomy and poor physical working conditions on the well being,^{9,10} the studies for sex workers are scarce.¹¹

Violence experience among 240 female sex workers was 50% for outdoor prostitutes and 26% for indoors in a study from UK. Thirty-three per-

cent of them had been beaten, 30% threatened with a weapon, 25% choked, 27% raped vaginally, and 9% slashed or stabbed mostly by clients.¹² In a Bangladesh centered study, out of 540 female prostitutes, 49% was identified to be raped and 59% beaten by the police.¹³ These findings revealed clearly that woman sex workers were vulnerable to violence by means of occupational features and their marginalized status.² Most of the research on violence against Turkish women has focused on physical (59.7%) and psychological (47.4%) forms of domestic violence.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the few violence studies against sex workers exist. An in-family-violence study with 162 participant indicated that 59.7% had physical, 47.4% verbal, and 21.4% psychological violence; and 56.9% of violence was applied by males.¹⁴ Illiterate, alcohol using and conflicting parents and unemployed fathers were more likely than the others to apply violence towards their family.¹⁵ One in every three women was exposed to more violence in the urban regions than rural regions.¹⁶ The main types of the violence against FSWs in Turkey were beating (52%), capturing (28%), kidnapping (24%), preclusion (14%), stabbing (8%), rape (18%), no-pay (8%), killing attempt, threatening with a weapon (16%), and insulting (6%).

Marriage as an institution keeps its role in Turkish society and therefore other partnership types such as extramarital, dating, flirting are not common. The increase in the number of unregistered sex workers is probably because of disturbed income distribution. While number of registered sex workers of 2004 were 3000 in 56 brothels, the number for unregistered ones was 100000 and seemed to be increased to a level of that one of every 350 women being a sex worker in Turkey with 2008 economic crisis.

The conflict between occupation of FSWs and moral-traditional values of the society would increase the risk of violence. Therefore, the present study was designed to describe various types of violence and their impact on registered female sex workers in Ankara, Turkey in order to develop successful violence prevention strategies among the population.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

SUBJECT POPULATION

The municipalities in Turkey regulate the brothels for working conditions, and therefore, sex workers there, are called registered sex workers. A permit, meantime, from the governorships is required for registered sex workers, who are also under the umbrella General Health Protection Law of 1930.¹⁷ The law obliges registered sex workers examined for sexually transmitted diseases. The item 227 of criminal law does not restricting prostitution but making money on individuals in Turkey.¹⁸ The study was initially planned both on registered and unregistered sex workers, however, it was carried out only with registered sex workers since the Governorships of Ankara did not allow us to study with unregistered ones. Those unregistered ones i.e. dancers, singers, masers, and hostesses do have one site for free voluntary health checking, and, any study might disturb them and end their visits to the site. Therefore, 123 out of 138 registered female sex workers in five brothels of Ankara participated in the study conducted between June 2008 and July 2008 in Departments of Dermatology and Sexually Transmitted Diseases at Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Hospital. The hospital provides obligatory periodic examination for sex workers. Although women are occasionally informed about AIDS or other contagious diseases during pre-planned or regular visits, there are no educational programs to raise violence awareness and legal rights.

As mentioned, the employment conditions of sex workers are regulated by General Health Protection Law, in Turkey. Registered sex workers in Turkey obtain work permit from the governorship. Police officers at the entrance and security guards inside the brothel are employed to ensure the security of service providers.

We obtained a written permission from the Hospital of Ankara Greater Municipality and informed the Governorships of Ankara for the study. The written request to the Governorships contained the necessary information about the importance of study, the name of scientists, the size of study population, the date of the study, and study

plan. A written permission (since no ethical committee existed during the time of the study) from the Ankara Greater Municipality Hospital and oral permission from the Head of the Department of Dermatology and Sexually Transmitted Diseases were obtained. In addition, a verbal permission was obtained from the head of sexually transmitted diseases department. During implementation of the study, verbal consent was obtained from sex workers coming for examination.

STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

A pre-study was carried out to determine the understandability and clarity of questions. The pre-study was carried out with women working in the streets, in order not to reduce the limited number of registered female sex workers.

Study questionnaire, developed by researchers based on relevant literature, was administered via face to face interview method to registered female sex workers. Interviews were carried out in a private room, where only researcher and registered female sex worker were allowed to be in, at Departments of Dermatology and Sexually Transmitted Diseases of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Hospital. Each interview took approximately 30 minutes.

The questionnaire was composed of items related to socio-demographic features and questions regarding the level of exposure to psychological, physical, sexual, financial, and public violence among female sex workers. Twenty questions, mostly open ended for demographic data were asked. Six of the questions were related to age, level of education, age of first sexual experience, working duration, number of clients in the last week, people who live with. The replies to these six questions were grouped and those with the same meanings (duplicates) were eliminated and the rest loaded into forms prepared by researchers in SPSS. A question (47th) "anybody uses your credit card" is discarded since none had a credit card. Exposure to violence was recorded via 46 items including nature, incidence and applicant of psychological (14 items, Cronbach's alpha: 0.885), physical (17 items, Cronbach's alpha: 0.932), sexual (six items, Cron-

bach's alpha: 0.755), financial (five items, Cronbach's alpha: 0.766), and public (four items, Cronbach's alpha: 0.476) violence. After types of violence were determined, an exploratory factor analysis was carried out and sub-items were regrouped based on new dimensions.¹⁸

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Statistical analysis was performed using SPSS 11.5 where descriptive statistics were reported as n (%) or median (minimum-maximum). An estimate of the internal consistency reliability of each item set(s) was tested by Cronbach's alpha. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was performed to determine which aspect of female sex worker's lives is being influenced by the violence exposure. The 46 items were submitted to an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) for categorical data using weighted least square methods to investigate the dimensionality of the item set by using MPlus. Model fit was evaluated using the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) that accounts for model parsimony. RMSEA values < 0.08 suggest adequate fit; values < 0.05 indicate good fit. When more than one dimension existed according to the EFA results, separate item sets were re-constructed and named. Items, whose factor loadings below 0.40 were eliminated from the item set(s).^{19,20}

RESULTS

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Mean age was 41.5 ± 9.1 and first sexual experience age was 16.6 ± 3.0 years. Mean working duration at brothel was 16.0 ± 8.0 years. Most (56.9%) of registered female sex workers were primary school graduates and lived alone (43.6%). Monthly income of 37.9% was ≥ 2000 USD. Only 32.5% had regular partners, 47.2% had 61-120 customers per week, and 94.3% had regular customers. They were only free during menstruation. Alcohol consumption was common either as a social (57.3%) or regular (8.8 %) drinker (Table 1).

EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE

The most common violence types encountered were psychological (78.9%), public (65.9%), sexual

TABLE 1: Socio-demographic features of female sex workers.

Orientation	N (%)
Women	116 (93.6)
Transsexual	8 (6.4)
Age (years)	
Overall (mean \pm SD)	41.6 \pm 9.1
25-40 years	58 (46.8)
41-56 years	60 (48.4)
57-73 years	6 (4.8)
The age of first sexual experience (years)	
Overall (mean \pm SD)	16.1 \pm 8.0 years
9-19 years	105 (84.6)
20-30 years	18 (14.5)
Education	
Uneducated	27 (21.8)
Primary education	71 (57.3)
Secondary education	26 (20.9)
Monthly income (USD)	
≤ 670	20 (16.1)
671-1000	18 (14.5)
1001-1330	15 (12.1)
1331-2000	24 (19.4)
≥ 2000	47 (37.9)

Data are shown as N (%) or mean \pm SD.

(56.9%), physical (47.2%) and financial (17.9%) violence, respectively. At least one but also various combinations of violence were common in the study population (Table 2). The earlier the first sexual experience seemed to call for the more frequent sexual and financial violence occurrences.

The most frequently faced psychological violence types were insulting words such as old, fat, ugly, etc (66.7%), feeling embarrassed/scorned (58.5%), yelled at (56.1%), affronting (54.5%), humiliating (51.2%) and sworn (44.7%) (Table 2), by clients, relatives, the person induced themselves into sex work, and brothel staff (Table 3).

Most commonly encountered types of physical violence were slapping/punching (32.5%), harassing by shakes and pushes (23.6%), hair pulling/arm folding (20.3%), kicking (20.3%), head injury (17.1%), struggle related strain, sprain and lacerations (16.3%) and use of physical force by demanders (15.4%) (Table 2). Women had been subjected more violence outside the brothel than inside. Fa-

TABLE 2: Distribution of violence exposure among female sex workers.

Type of the violence	N(%)
Psychological	
Overall	97(78.9)
Insulted	82 (66.7)
Feeling embarrassed/scorned	72 (58.5)
Yelled and screamed at	69 (56.1)
Suffered an affront	67 (54.5)
Humiliated	63 (51.2)
Sworn	55 (44.7)
Threat to beat	26 (21.1)
Threat to death	22 (17.9)
Forced to behave in a certain way	22 (17.9)
Threat to harm or injure	21 (17.1)
Threat to stab	17 (13.8)
Threat to harm family and/or kids	14 (11.4)
Threat to shoot	12 (9.8)
Threat to strangulate or fire	11 (8.9)
Physical	
Overall	58(47.2)
Slapping/punching	40 (32.5)
Harassing shakes and pushes	29 (23.6)
Hair pulling/ arm twisting	25 (20.3)
Kicking	25 (20.3)
Head injury	21 (17.1)
Struggle related strain, sprain, and lacerations	20 (16.3)
Being forced physically to meet demands	19 (15.4)
Abdominal trauma	18(14.6)
Long term pain due to injury	18 (14.6)
Act of strangulate	17 (13.8)
Throwing an object	16 (13.0)
Hit with belt, baton or another object	16 (13.0)
Visit a doctor due to being roughed up	16 (13.0)
Attack with an object	14 (11.4)
Attacked with knife or switchblade	9 (7.3)
Shot by a gun	5 (4.1)
Fractures due to being roughed up	6 (4.9)
Public	
Overall	81(65.9)
Exclusion due to their occupation	
Social exclusion of herself due to occupation	72 (58.5)
Social pressure on herself due to occupation	46 (37.4)
Social exclusion of her family (mother/father/child) due to occupation	31 (25.2)
Social pressure on her family (mother/father/child) due to occupation	19 (15.4)
Sexual	
Overall	70(56.9)
Forced unprotected sex	57 (46.3)
Forced sex	28 (22.8)
Forced oral/anal intercourse	24 (19.5)

TABLE 2: *continued*

Use of physical force to obtain sex	16 (13.0)
Threat to forced sex	13 (10.6)
Threat to forced sex with another person	11 (8.9)
Financial	
Overall	22(17.9)
Confiscation of her earnings	15 (12.2)
Forced to meet economic needs of somebody	9 (7.3)
Not to be free to control her own money	8 (6.5)
Forbidden to use her own money	4 (3.3)
Salary extortion	5 (4.1)

Data are shown as N (%).

mily members, clients, and the person pushed themselves into sex work (man who tricked woman as if behaving to marry, or even husbands) were the main perpetrators of physical violence (Table 3). When women were exposed, they failed to report or even complain against them (Table 2).

Exclusion from the society (58.5%) and from the family (24.4%) because of the occupation was the main causes for public violence (Table 2). The female sex workers mostly hide their job from their children till they grow up but then they received unexpected reactions such as various threats by their children. Furthermore, they have to change their names and move frequently from one place to another, just to avoid any homicides by family members.

Forced (22.8%) sex, either unprotected (46.3%) or oral/anal (19.5%) was a common sexual violence experienced by female sex workers (Table 2). Unknown people and clients were the main perpetrators of sexual violence (Table 3).

Financial violence against female sex workers was also common as confiscation of her earnings (12.2%) by the person pushed themselves for the sex work (Table 2).

DIMENSIONS OF THE IMPACT OF VIOLENCE

Results of exploratory factor analysis (EFA) which was conducted with 46 items, leading to a three-factor solution are presented in Table 4. Since the items in the first dimension were harassment, affronting, insults, attacks, death/hurting threats, the

dimension was named as “destroying self-respect, threatening safety of themselves and family members and damaging self-esteem”. The second dimension, which included threat, attack, involuntary sexual intercourse, pushed to change the behavior, violence induced pains, getting treatment, confiscation of earnings, was named as “destroying safety, economic independence and individual freedom”. The items in the third dimension were those related to pressure and exclusion. Therefore, this dimension was named as “damaging social aspect of the life”. The factor loadings varied from 0.431 to 1.100 for the first, 0.413 to 1.068 for the second and 0.606 to 1.055 for the third factor. The RMSEA value for the three-factor solution was 0.058. Internal consistency reliabilities of the dimensions were adequate at the dimension level with Cronbach’s α of 0.90, 0.95 and 0.68 for the first, second and third factors, respectively.²⁰

DISCUSSION

Violence against women, regardless of its subtypes, is a repeated process over time rather than a unique incident, and victims are always the ones who are blamed by the society. Violence, here, is not only a manifestation of sex inequality, but also serves to maintain power imbalance via creating circumstances prone to vulnerability.²

Sex work is an increasing global phenomenon because of rising demand for sexual services and a coexisting favorable environment. Workplace violence on FSWs ranged between 35-94%.^{13,21,22} Mar-

TABLE 3: Perpetrators of different sets of violence against female sex workers.

	Perpetrators			
	Client	Brothel staff	Partner/Procurer*	Family/relatives
Psychological violence	N (%)			
Being subject to insulting words	62 (77.5)	4 (5.0)	3 (3.8)	11 (13.8)
To be shouted at	51 (75.0)	5 (7.4)	3 (4.4)	9 (13.29)
To suffer an affront	46 (71.9)	5 (7.8)	2 (3.1)	11(17.2)
To be swears	41 (77.4)	4 (7.5)	2 (1.9)	6 (1.9)
Feeling embarrassed/scorned	48 (70.6)	5 (7.4)	7 (10.3)	8 (11.8)
Threat to beat	12 (52.2)	2(8.7)	3 (13.0)	6 (26.1)
Threat to harm or injure	11 (57.9)	1 (5.3)	3 (15.8)	4 (21.1)
Threat to death	10 (47.6)	1 (4.8)	5 (23.8)	5 (23.8)
Threat to stab	5 (31.2)	1 (6.2)	6 (37.5)	4 (25.0)
Threat to shoot	6 (50.0)	1 (8.3)	5 (41.7)	--
Subjected to humiliating behaviors	38 (62.3)	3 (4.9)	10 (16.4)	10 (16.4)
Threat to harm family and/or kids	5 (38.5)	1 (7.7)	3 (15.4)	4 (7.7)
Forced to behave in a certain way	13 (59.1)	3 (13.6)	1 (4.5)	5 (22.7)
Threat to strangle or fire	6 (60.0)	1 (10.0)	1 (10.0)	2 (20.0)
Physical violence				
Throwing an object	5 (29.4)	1 (5.9)	4 (23.5)	7 (41.2)
Harassing shakes and pushes	13 (46.4)	2 (7.1)	7 (25.0)	6 (21.4)
Hair pulling/ arm twisting	8 (33.3)	2 (8.3)	4 (16.7)	10 (41.7)
Attack with an object	4 (30.8)	5 (38.5)	--	4 (30.8)
Slapping/punching	12 (31.6)	4 (10.5)	7 (18.4)	1 (39.5)
Abdominal trauma	5 (29.4)	1 (5.9)	3 (17.6)	8 (47.1)
Head injury	7 (33.3)	1 (4.8)	4 (19.0)	9 (42.9)
Kicking	8 (33.3)	2 (8.3)	3 (12.5)	1 (4.2)
Hit with belt, baton or another object	4 (25.0)	2 (12.5)	4 (25.0)	6 (37.5)
Act of strangulate	7 (46.7)	1 (6.7)	2 (13.3)	5 (33.3)
Attacked with knife or switchblade	4 (44.4)	--	3 (22.2)	9 (33.3)
Shot by a gun	3 (50.0)	1 (16.7)	--	6 (33.3)
Struggle related strain, sprain and lacerations	6 (37.5)	1 (6.2)	4 (25.0)	5 (31.2)
Long term pain due to injury	5 (35.7)	1 (7.1)	4 (28.6)	4 (28.6)
Visit a doctor due to being roughed up	5 (38.5)	--	2 (15.4)	6 (46.2)
Fractures due to being roughed up	3 (60.0)	--	1 (20.0)	1 (20.0)
Forced physically to meet demands	7 (41.2)	2 (11.8)	4 (23.5)	4 (23.5)
Sexual violence				
Threat to forced sex with another person	2 (20.0)	3 (30.0)	3 (30.0)	2 (20.0)
Forced sex	13 (54.2)	2 (8.3)	7 (29.2)	2 (8.3)
Threat to forced sex	4 (36.4)	2 (18.2)	2 (18.2)	3 (27.3)
Use of physical force to obtain sex	4 (28.6)	1 (7.1)	5 (35.7)	4 (28.6)
Forced oral/anal intercourse	18 (81.8)	1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)	2 (9.1)
Forced unprotected sex	54 (98.2)	--	1 (1.8)	--
Financial violence				
Confiscation of her earnings	2 (15.4)	--	9 (69.2)	2 (15.4)
Not to be free to control her own money	--	--	4 (66.7)	2 (33.3)
Forced to meet economic needs of somebody	--	--	2 (25.0)	6 (75.0)
Forbidden to use her own money	--	--	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)
Salary extortion	--	--	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)

TABLE 3: continued

Social / Public violence	Family/relatives	Public
Exclusion due to their occupation	11 (16.7)	55 (83.3)
Social pressure on herself due to occupation	9 (22.5)	31 (77.5)
Social exclusion of her family (mother/father/child) due to occupation	5 (18.5)	22 (81.5)
Social pressure on her family (mother/father/child) due to occupation	8 (53.3)	7 (46.7)

*Person responsible for the FSW to enter into sex work including partner, ex-husband, etc.

TABLE 4: Results of exploratory factor analysis showing factor loadings and correlations among factors.

	Factor 1 ^a	Factor 2 ^b	Factor 3 ^c		Factor 1 ^a	Factor 2 ^b	Factor 3 ^c
Item 1 Insulted	0.971			Item24 Act of strangulate		0.782	
Item2 Yelled and screamed at	0.977			Item25 Being attacked with knife or switchblade			0.638
Item3 Suffered an affront	1.100			Item26 Being shot by a gun	-0.431	1.068	
Item4 Sworn	0.917			Item27 Struggle related strain, sprain, and lacerations			0.671
Item5 Feeling embarrassed/scorned	0.843			Item28 Long term pain due to injury			0.670
Item6 Threat to beat	0.534	0.493		Item29 Seeing a doctor due to being roughed up			0.728
Item7 Threat to harm or injure	0.473	0.583		Item30 Fractures due to being roughed up			0.750
Item8 Threat to death	0.667			Item31 Being forced physically to meet demands			0.836
Item9 Threat to stab	0.557	0.413		Item32 Threat to forced sex with another person			0.993
Item10 Threat to shoot		0.846		Item33 Forced sex			0.951
Item11 Humiliated	0.749			Item34 Threat to forced sex			0.950
Item12 Threat to harm family and/or kids	0.460	0.428		Item35 Use of physical force to obtain sex			0.918
Item13 Forced to behave in a certain way	0.531			Item36 Forced oral/anal intercourse			0.584
Item14 Threat to strangulate or fire	0.419	0.463		Item37 Forced unprotected sex			0.506
Item15 Throwing an object		0.635		Item38 Confiscation of her earnings			0.965
Item16 Harassing shakes and pushes	0.424	0.530		Item39 Not to be free to control her own money			1.024
Item17 Hair pulling/ arm folding	0.513	0.514		Item40 Forced to meet economic needs of somebody			0.498
Item18 Attack with an object	0.509	0.514		Item41 Forbidden to use her own money			0.771
Item19 Slapping/punching		0.696		Item42 Salary extortion			0.817
Item20 Abdominal trauma	0.462	0.621		Item43 Social exclusion of herself due to occupation			0.606
Item21 Head injury		0.818		Item44 Social pressure on herself due to occupation			0.562
Item22 Kicking		0.843		Item45 Social exclusion of her family (mother/father/child) due to occupation			0.778
Item23 Hit with belt, baton or another object		0.875		Item46 Social pressure on her family (mother/father/child) due to occupation			1.055
Correlations among factors					1	2	3
	1	-				0.505	0.022
			2				0.065

^aFactor 1: Destroying self-respect, threatening safety of themselves and family members and damaging self-esteem

^bFactor 2: Destroying safety, economic independence and individual freedom

^cFactor 3: Damaging social aspect of the life

ginal life styles and stigmatization render FSWs vulnerable to violence, even to, and also more dramatic consequences.²³ Violence prevalence on FSWs was 42% and forced sex, which induced su-

icidal risk 2.9 fold, ranged between 10-33% in reproducing women.²⁴⁻²⁶

Study population at brothels supported the common statement that majority of sex workers

were economically vulnerable, non-literate, single, and the sole income providers for the family.²⁴ A serious problem in Turkey, which requires an urgent attempt is sexual purity murders, where indicate gender based violence as a major obstacle in front of individual progress and improvement of woman.²⁷ In this context, woman faces various oppression and subordination forms: legal discrimination, socioeconomic inequality, sexual harassment, assault, insult, battering, rape, virginity tests, torture, and even murder.²⁸ Younger a woman at first intercourse, the more likely she has more sexual and financial violence.²

Public violence against FSWs was reported to be relatively high.²⁹ Sex workers on the streets were at risk more than other sex workers in terms of law, violence, and public insult.^{12,19,29} Hence, violence among FSWs working on streets was higher than those in brothels.³⁰ In this context, FSWs here had violence more often outside than inside the brothel. Moreover, the risk of homicide among FSWs is six fold higher than general population.³¹ Although security and safety were the main reasons to prefer brothels, higher violence incidences on FSWs still existed. Sexual assaults in an assault study were because of emphasise the power, show power strength, and sadism. In power based sexual assaults, assailants behave as if they were the ones to save the honor of the victim or the places were the causes of assaults. That shows that registered sex workers are a group who are open to treats. In addition, sadist assailants, purposely attack woman physically and physiologically, humiliate, and feel the pleasure from what woman feel.³²

Higher rates of financial violence experienced especially by street workers³⁰ yet were not experienced in those brothels of our study. Considering women's entry into sex work induced by financial crises and/or forced by partners,^{33,34} it made that person responsible FSWs entering into sex work responsible for their earnings confiscation.

The profile defined for physical and psychological violence by FSWs in this study made possible perpetrators for violence against women in the

literature as spouses, partners, parents, other family members, neighbors and men in power or influence. Perpetrators of sexual violence were generally unknown to the victim unless they were a family member, a friend, a neighbor, or another familiar person.²⁶ The findings here were supported by literature as clients (50%) and partners (73%) were perpetrators of sexual violence.²¹

Despite the willingness of the respondents to disclose, violence experiences concerning the perpetrators, to the scientists, they never reported those to legal authority or the police. This ignorance was in line with the social tolerance theory of violence and sexual coercion inside and outside of marriage, yielding women to accept it as 'normal' and prevent the denunciation of both physical and sexual abuse.²⁶ Other possibilities were public discrimination and social injustice among FSWs,³⁵ without knowing legal rights (82.1%) and/or authorized institution for admission (40.9%); in addition a tendency for normalization and ignorance of exposure violence.³⁶ Therefore, sexual violence has been considered far more prevalent in daily life in most societies than is usually suspected.³⁷

At least one-third of women around the world might have been assaulted, coerced or been a victim of some type of sexual abuse.²⁶ Sexual violence, which is the most humiliating violence type associated with serious human rights' violations, and severe mental/physical health consequences for the victims, must receive much greater academic and public attention.²⁶ Sexual violence risk would increase throughout the life with increased time of exposure to the risk.²⁶ Eighty five percent of assaulted are women. The motto of assailant here is to harm rather than orgasm i.e. some assailants carry humiliation, harm, rule out, show the power. Therefore, sexual assault is not only a physical one but also a psychological one. In general, since assaults by dates, or assaults in marriages are not considered sexual assaults, they become more dramatic.³⁸ In other words, lifetime sexual violence experience is much higher in FSWs. Increased likelihood of violence could cause a woman suffer from losing bio-psychosocial well being, besides social and emotional hazards specific to their occupation.

Accordingly, the FSWs here were frequently subjected to all forms or threats of violence from partners, clients, staff and the local community members. The most common violence types were psychological, public, sexual, physical, and financial, respectively similarly reported as harassment, physical attack and forced sex by partners and clients.³⁹⁻⁴¹

Although women were usually the ultimate target of violence in all societies, legal protection of women against such practices in Turkey lacked until 1990s. Raping a prostitute might have been resulted in a reduced sentence and raping a married had a lesser sentence than unmarried woman in Turkey till the last decade.¹⁶⁻²⁸ Furthermore, sexual purity, a sign of family honor, is a reflection of female chastity in modern Turkish society.²⁸ Therefore, FSWs face a social isolation and discrimination, and also a major anxiety because of the possibility of recognition by familiar people-as clients of the brothel. One in every twelve homicide is because of “honor saving”. What Turkish society describe “honor saving” is too significant in the society. The base of “honor saving is to save the sexuality, purity and virginity of woman by man, which were given by the society. The basic worry of homicides for “honor saving” is caused by the loss of identity proper for the values and therefore the lose of dignity. The society therefore is soft against homicides for that reasons.⁴²

Street workers were induced to have poor psychological and physical health because of double stigmatization resulted from the operating both at individual and societal dimensions.²⁹ Stigma related predisposition to economically marginal living conditions restrict the refusal of the clients even if they have a sexually transmitted infection or insist on condom use.⁴³ Thus, forced unprotected sex experience by almost half of FSWs in the study was associated with health risks.

Sex work itself may have a negative impact on health and also on supportive and collegial relationships with other workers¹² because of social stigma or the emotional cost of the working in the sex industry. Violence against FSWs was associated

with the loss of self-respect and the self-esteem. Likewise, conviction for a prostitution-related offence was reported to erode self-esteem and affect sex workers, for the rest of their lives, impairing their ability to gain alternative employment, to travel, and to obtain finance or insurance services.²⁹ On the other hand, since paid sex can also be seen as a strategy for survival, vulnerability of FSWs to violence and discrimination was suggested operate paradoxically to create their own survival mechanisms in a patriarchal world, utilizing prevalent ideologies to their economic advantage.⁴⁴

Sex workers were vulnerable because of poor self-esteem, lack of education and skills, negative societal attitudes, poverty, family responsibilities, poor health, immobility, and cultural and legal restrictions.³ Related findings in this study were violence destroyed self-respect, threatened safety of herself / her family members and damaged self-esteem, destroyed safety, economic independence, and individual freedom and also damaged social aspect of their lives. Damage to self-respect and threats to life worsened physical health⁴⁵ and increased suicidal attempts as well.²⁷ Out of 14.5% forced sex in a population of 457 FSWs increased suicidal attempts 2.9 fold when compared to regular women.²⁵ Some of FSWs in the study typically had scars of prior suicidal attempts along the wrists. Clinical findings showed that those harm themselves mostly had a history of physical or sexual assaults in childhood. Becoming a sex worker is considered as a reaction to what happened in childhood.⁴⁶ Thirty four percent of sex workers were sexually assaulted at the childhood.⁴⁷ The assaulted one feel himself harmed, different, dirty, suck, and therefore, behave to harm himself.⁴⁶

Only legal precautions to protect woman from sexual assaults in marriages are not enough. These woman should be protected by the government, providing conditions for economic freedom and psychological support, However, there are no support of any kind to protect woman in the business, which makes sex workers more vulnerable.⁴⁸

Although there are no agreed common different violence form definitions to standardize rese-

arch findings,² our findings on all types of violence against FSWs suggest that millions of women do experience violence globally and/or live the consequences.

CONCLUSION

Female sex workers, subject to all kinds of violence must be encouraged to recognize and to disclose violence, which otherwise would have significant demolishing impacts on their lives,

mainly via destructing the self respect and damaging self-esteem. The violence against female sex workers emphasizes the urgent need for the safety, in relation legality and stigma issues, an improved law, and an education programs for public awareness. Discrimination against sex workers for an effective harm reduction and reconsideration of the sex work as an income generating way would change public attitudes through resourceful campaigns.

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