

Prostitution and Male Perspectives: A Study on Sex Work and Violent Sexual Exploitation in Bangladesh

Joydeep Sarkar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Development Studies

Murdoch University

2014

Declaration:

I declare that this thesis is my own account of my own research. Materials presented here have not been previously submitted for a degree at any tertiary institution.

Joydeep Sarkar

Copyright Acknowledgement:

I acknowledge that a copy of this dissertation will be held at the Murdoch University Library.

I understand that, under the provisions of s51.2 of the Copyright Act 1968 (Cth), all or part of this thesis may be copied without infringement of copyright where such a reproduction is for the purposes of study and research.

This statement does not signal any transfer of copyright away from the author.

Full Name of Degree: Master of Arts in Development Studies

Thesis Title: Prostitution and Males' Perspectives: A Study on Sex
Work and Violent Sexual Exploitation in Bangladesh

Author: Joydeep Sarkar

Year: 2014

Abstract:

The primary purpose of this thesis is to examine the factors influencing the violent attitudes of Bangladeshi males towards female sex workers (FSWs). It has been found that male attitudes toward women generally are responsible for increased sexual violence, even at home. Underpinned by patriarchal attitudes and religious doctrine, Bangladeshi culture rarely acknowledges the larger problem of males' social and associated health responsibilities when they purchase sex. With the escalating demand for female prostitutes in recent times, the spread of sex related diseases is also rising in Bangladesh. Rather than the conventional research approach directed solely at FSWs, by focusing on male customers' perspectives this thesis raises questions regarding violent sexual exploitation rarely researched in Bangladesh. In this connection, this study will also examine how violent sexual behavior of male clients towards FSWs contributes to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. By extensively reviewing the available literature on these issues, this study will thus expand the scope to look at the problems caused by male clients and will recommend the necessity of sex education and gender awareness to bring about equitable outcomes for FSWs as well as women more generally in Bangladesh.

Keywords:

Prostitution, female sex workers (FSWs), male clients, violence against women, HIV, sex education

Acknowledgement:

I would like to convey my gratitude to The Almighty for whose kindness I am enough sound mentally and physically to prepare this paper. Then I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my research supervisor Dr. Anja Reid, who helped me generously throughout this study. Thanks must go to my parents and friends for their patience and continuous support that made this paper happen.

I would like to thank my Academic Chair, Dr Jane Hutchinson for all assistance regarding this process.

As the author of this thesis, I am solely responsible for any kinds of misinterpretation, opinion or information presented in this thesis.

Joydeep Sarkar

2014

Table of Contents:

Declaration	ii
Copyright Acknowledgement	iii
Abstract	iv
Acknowledgement.....	v
List of Tables, Figures and Maps	vii
Acronyms and Abbreviations.....	viii
Bangla Terms	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2 : Review of Related Literature	5
Chapter 3: Discussion	13
Chapter 4: Conclusion	38
Bibliography	41

List of Tables, Figures and Maps:

Table:

Table 1: Sexual behavior between sex partners and FSWs in Australia.....	8
Table 2: Number of domestic violence in Bangladesh in recent years	20
Table 3: Violence in the lives of FSWs in various countries.....	24
Table 4: Post traumatic behavior of FSWs	25
Table 5: Do women enjoy their sexual life?	298
Table 6: Prevalence of STDs among street based FSWs in Rajshahi city in Bangladesh.	31
Table 7: Laws and Policies on HIV	34
Table 8: Strategies on HIV and SRH Education:.....	35
Table 9: Data from UNGASS Country Reports of Bangladesh:.....	35

Map:

Map 1: Location of the Daulatdia Brothel.....	15
---	----

Graph:

Graph 1: Sexual violence on FSWs in major cities in Bangladesh.....	23
---	----

Acronyms and Abbreviations:

FSW	Female Sex worker
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
INGO	International Non Government Organization
NGO	Non Government Organization
SRH	Sexual Reproductive Health
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
UNGASS	United Nations General Assembly Special Session

Bangla Terms:

- Babu (বাবু) - Usually refers to the boyfriend of a prostitute who stays with them as husband.
- Jamidars(জমিদার) - The local land owners where brothels are set up.
- Sardarnis(সর্দারনী) - Manager of brothel who rents houses for prostitutes
- Adhiya(আদিয়া) - Employed by Sardarnis and take charge of their earnings and responsibilities in exchange of living in houses
- Chukri (ছুকড়ি) - Sex workers who are bonded to the Sardarnis

Chapter 1

Introduction:

In this thesis I am interested in drawing attention to the lack of research into male perspectives towards female sex workers (FSWs) in Bangladesh. The profession of prostitution or sex work is rapidly expanding and touching every strata in Bangladesh (Ullah 2013:111) where violence against women is an everyday phenomenon. In Bangladesh, the picture of violence against prostitutes is rising, but remains invisible because of dominant social structure where prostitutes remain in the lower category of social class and the issue of prostitutes and prostitution is still considered as 'dirty' to talk about publicly. However, literature and research on male clients who visit FSWs are rare (Raymond 2004: 1157; Kennedy et al. 2004:42; Holt & Blevins 2007:333) creating literature-based gender inequalities where only the female is the subject of study. Firstly, female prostitutes rarely speak about violence against them by male customers because that could affect their 'business.' Secondly, due to social stigma a male who visits prostitutes regularly may hide his identity and not be willing to be interviewed (Monto & McRee 2005: 506). As a result, male customers' violent attitude and behaviors towards FSWs have been left largely unexplored.

Accordingly, the methodology of this study is based on reviewing the current literature available on prostitution and associated issues. This qualitative research is based on a number of primary and secondary sources. Comparisons will show how prostitutes are being treated by males in countries around the globe along with Bangladesh. Though a number of authors have worked on sexual and physical violence toward FSWs in other countries (Farley 2004: 1094), this study not only

aims to address that research ‘gap’, but also demonstrates a promising aspect for exploring this profession from a different angle. Insufficient resources on male customers made the task conducting this thesis more crucial as only a few studies are available regarding clients’ perspectives. Although a few books on female prostitutes are written in Bangla these were inaccessible for online review. Moreover, it was difficult to present accurate facts and figures of the current situation without being able to undertake field research in Bangladesh. Interviews, case studies and surveys on male customers would surely have provided critical information in this regard.

The problem of male attitudes towards prostitutes in Bangladesh is exacerbated by strong religious beliefs and practices which influence patriarchal-based social relations between men and women. As I discuss later in this thesis, religious doctrine has at times sowed the seeds of men’s superiority over women. Bangladesh is one of the biggest Muslim countries in the world, and the business and continuation of female prostitution gained legal status from the Bangladesh High Court in 2000 (Hansen 2012) though constitution of Bangladesh also emphasizes adopting effective measures to stop spreading of prostitution. Before legalization, authorities forcefully evicted prostitutes from their homes and shut down a number of brothels, which was claimed an illegal act by human activist groups. This legalization raises a critical question regarding the continuation of this profession and oppressive and dominant desires of men over women when Bangladeshi men visit FSWs for their amusement and sexual satisfaction without giving consideration to health risks.

The refusal of male clients of FSWs to use condoms is also a form of sexual violence (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx 2012: 670). Geographically, Bangladesh is

adjacent to countries where infection from unsafe sexual activities is increasing, and the movement of FSWs, as well as potential clients across borders, increases the dangers of the spread of infection (Jana et al. 2004). In this situation, education for both the FSWs and male clients is imperative. This thesis therefore takes the view that research efforts in understanding male perspectives toward FSWs should provide a significant framework of strategies which may limit the violence of sexual exploitation in Bangladesh.

The overarching objectives of this thesis are therefore to examine the reasons for male clients' violent behavior towards FSWs; to investigate the effects of sexual violence and spread of HIV/STDs due to unsafe sexual practices of men; and to determine the significance and strategy for sex education to change the perception of men towards FSWs in Bangladesh.

As a Bangladeshi male, my ideas and knowledge have been incorporated into this thesis. I will attempt to not allow this to color my judgment and remain as objective as possible. Other limitations arise from a lack of studies into male perspectives on sex work and associated violent sexual exploitation in other parts of the globe and, in particular, in Bangladesh. Due to time limitations, the inability to do fieldwork has also limited my ability to support thesis agendas with grass roots evidence.

Chapter 2 reviews and briefly analyses previous research published in journals and other sources from NGOs and governments to indicate a lack of work on male perspectives regarding FSWs. Focusing mainly on Bangladesh, Chapter 3 will explore available sources regarding the activities of males in relation to prostitution such as sexual violence, unsafe sexual practices and influence of

patriarchal and religious ideologies in Bangladeshi society and culture. Chapter 4 will conclude the study with recommendations regarding education strategies to bring about change in order to benefit gender relations more generally.

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature:

This section will shed light on various studies on male clients' behaviors towards FSWs around the globe: reasons why men visit sex workers, issues of sexual violence and the potential hazards of spreading sexually transmitted diseases like HIV because of men's unsafe sexual practice.

Prostitution is one of the oldest professions and also has historical significance worldwide that encompasses social, political, psychological, physical and health issues (Sawyer & Metz 2009:334). Andrea Dworkin provides a simple analogy:

An innocent woman is walking down the street and she is taken by surprise and that we can call 'gang rape'. Every woman is that same innocent woman. Every woman is taken by surprise. In a prostitute's life, she is taken by surprise over and over and over and over and over again. The gang rape is punctuated by a money exchange. That's all. That's the only difference.

(Dworkin 1993:4).

Through this quote Dworkin portrays the real position of women in society where every woman becomes subject to constant abuse and negligence by males where prostitutes are being abused in exchange of money.

Prostitution is a business or practice of providing sexual services to another person in return for payment (Qayyum et al. 2013:1; Adriaenssens & Hendrickx 2012: 665). Like other regular business, the sex industry also follows the supply and demand strategy (Taylor & Jamieson 1999: 257). Prostitution has become widespread because of availability of prostitutes and their service attracts many men. Sex workers can include homeless women and men, women trafficked and held for

the purpose of sex, runaway children, financially independent and educated women and men and many other categories (Monto 2004:165). With the changes of time and technology, prostitution has also taken new looks and forms so it is not limited to just individuals anymore. It is an institution of male dominance and has become a global industry. Prostitution can include car sex, in-call or out-call escort services, long-term relational sex, crack house sex, massage parlors, brothels and sex tours (Monto 2004:165; Leidholdt 1993:136).

There are a number of reasons why women enter this profession to sell their body to men. Initially, poverty is one of the driving factors. Society is not interested in why they are in this profession and fails to consider a woman as an impoverished helpless being trying to do her best to make a living (Hood-Brown 1998: 18). The study of Criminal Justice Commission titled 'Regulating Morality: An Inquiry into Prostitution in Queensland' (1991, cited in Carpenter 1998: 389) indicates economic reasons are the key for women in joining prostitution. Without proper education or other skills, in most cases the remuneration in prostitution is higher than typical jobs or skilled labor. Some women enter this profession willingly while others become victims of forced prostitution which makes them more vulnerable to sexual violence (Busch et al. 2002:1094).

One difference between prostitution and other types of gender violence is the payment of money for the abuse (Farley, 2004). Physical torture on FSWs is a common phenomenon in brothels or in other places where sexual activities take place. Sander's study (2004, cited in Kar & Lindsay 2012) shows that sex workers in Britain are victims of constant abuse by male customers, partners and even police. Some researchers define the sexual needs of males as 'predatory behaviors' where it

is considered reasonable to buy sex (Farley 2004: 1089). In San Francisco, a good number of Asian women become subject to physical assault in massage parlors, but real data is hard to find because most parlors will not permit researchers with enough access (Farley 2004: 1095). Jenkins and Rahman (2002, cited in Farley et al. 2012, 9) explain that the violence against prostituted women in Cambodia resulted from a culture of patriarchy in which women are devalued and treated as less than human.

Sexual violence is closely associated with the intensification of sexual urges of men. The study by Mckeganey (1994) metaphorically used a 'pressure cooker' image to depict the sexual urge of men. Males feel the need to buy sex to relieve the pressures when their sexual urges reach a certain level. Therefore, the FSW understands that noncompliance means that the intimate partner was going to beat her physically (Karandikar 2010:263). Milman (1980, cited in Hatty 1989: 236) found that over three-quarters of the prostitutes she interviewed claimed to have been injured by clients or police while working. Edwards (1984, cited in Hatty 1989: 236) noted that many prostitutes she spoke with had experienced serious physical violence. It is evident that male customers not only have sex with prostitutes violently but also torture them by burning their body parts or beating them severely (Qayyum et al. 2013: 408). In worst cases, it has ended with injuries. Moreover, there are cases where female prostitutes become pregnant due to customers unwillingness to use condoms. These sexual behaviors end up causing long-term physical and psychological harm to FSWs (Qayyum et al. 2013: 408). Farley (2004:1098) also adds that traumatic brain injury (TBI) occurs in prostitution as a result of being beaten, hit, or kicked in the head, strangled, or having her head slammed into objects such as car dashboards.

One of the significant reasons for men to visit FSWS is to have different sexual experiences what they cannot expect from their partner. Men’s hidden sexual urges may be triggered violently when they come into contact with FSWs because they consider ‘prostitutes’ as their property for which they had paid and therefore think they can act in whatever ways they wish. This behavior has reflection in regular life of male clients when they show similar sexual behavior towards their partners as well. Table 1 presents the statistics on male sexual behavior from a study in Australia by Perkins (1999: 42).

Sexual activity	With sex partners	With FSWs
Anal sex	91 (13.6%)	103 (15.4%)
Vaginal Sex	574 (86.1%)	605 (90.7%)
Oral sex	509 (76.3%)	582 (86.3%)
Hand Stimulation	25 (3.7%)	148 (22.2%)
Sadomasochism	4 (.6%)	8 (1.2%)
Fantasy Sex	17 (2.5%)	50 (7.5%)

Table 1: Sexual behavior between sex partners and FSWs in Australia

Sexual violence is also based on issues of power, control, victimization and denial. It causes fear, pain, injury, sexually transmitted infections, pregnancy and physical and psychological scars in the victims (McKay 2000: 24). Prostitution and consumption of alcohol are often associated with each other which make FSWs more vulnerable to abuses (Brehman 2010: 4). David et al. (2006, cited in Brehman 2010)

indicate that the aggressive sexual acts of males are further boosted by consumption of alcohol and drugs. They also suggest that consumption of alcohol decreases the senses of FSWs leading towards failure of protecting themselves against any unwanted attack or behavior. It would also suggest that a male dominant social structure contributes to violent behavior towards FSWs.

According to Dworkin (1993), male dominance implies that the society creates a pool of prostitutes by any necessary means so that men have what men need to show superiority (Dworkin 1993: 9). If we look at the labels that society attaches to FSWs, the idea of social and male attitudes is clearly revealed. Society refers to a woman in this profession as “prostitute”, “slut”, “hooker”, “sex worker”, but nothing similar is used to refer to male customers (Serughetti 2013). Power relations play a significant role to create gender-biased perspectives of men towards FSWs. Lower levels of education, conservative attitudes, and use of pornography or traumatic life experiences can exercise violent sexual acts against women (Busch et al. 2002).

Nonetheless, different motivations work for men visiting and having sexual relationships with FSWs. Some customers visit prostitutes because they feel they are too shy, awkward or ugly to have a conventional sexual relationship with women (Xantidis & McCabe 2000: 168). Men with ‘consumer masculinities’ buy sex, enjoy a lot with very limited emotional attachment. On the other hand, men with ‘fragile masculinities’ seek female company because they are lonely, aged or sexually challenged and who have been rejected by women from the open sexual market place (Joseph & Black 2012: 486). In addition, some men are so active in sexual matters that they look for more partners to satisfy their needs (Bernstein 2001: 401). For instance Jordan (1997, cited in Monto 2004: 170) mentions that some customers seek FSWs to have more convenient sex. Most men look for different sexual experiences

without emotional attachment that they cannot get at home, and it instigates men to seek out and consume paid sex acts. According to feminist critiques and criminal justice assessments, men who like a variety of partners and look for different kinds of sex prefer to visit prostitutes over a permanent relationship. These men experience excitement maintaining an illicit relationship and become more sexually aggressive to women (Joseph & Black 2012: 488).

Men's sexual violence towards FSWs demonstrates another psychological trait: of men considering women as a 'commodity.' From visual media to literature, there is a tendency to present women through a sexist frame of reference to reconfigure their role as women and make the audience believe that only sex is the actual depiction of their character. This identification provides an image of prostitutes as rational economic agents who look for more money and do their jobs just like other people do to earn a living. 'Prostitutes have explained this idea: prostitution is all about sex, and they are just doing their job' (Phoenix 2000: 43). Men create such a society where FSWs are treated as untouchables or inferior 'creatures' who supposedly have no rights and privileges to fit in the constructed social periphery. Therefore, male customers do not even think about health risks and the safety of FSWs that are required for both parties to stay safe from sexually transmitted diseases.

Unsafe sexual practices often bring health hazards to FSWs. Recent studies from Africa (Espirito Santo & Etheredge 2002: 709) show that the male clients of FSWs constitute another core group for HIV transmission along with FSWs themselves. Arroba (1998, cited in Ullah 2013) talks about how FSWs become the source of HIV/AIDS and STDs. Many people consider prostitutes as the main source of HIV, but few know that HIV can also be transmitted by having multiple partners

as well (Caldwell et al. 1999). A client who has sexual intercourse without protective measures is at high risk of infection, with unprotected anal intercourse carrying the highest overall risk. Vaginal intercourse usually has a high-infection risk for both the penile and the vaginal partner (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx 2012: 670). Scambler (1992, cited in Ullah 2013) found that frequent intercourse is likely to cause injuries to FSWs genitals increasing the likelihood of HIV/AIDS infection. The statistics indicate that male clients are neither willing to consider sex workers' health and safety, nor their own. This unsafe sex is also encouraged by FSWs to attract more customers. Older sex workers engage in unprotected intercourse far more often. The same applies to the rated attractiveness: the more those clients perceive sex workers as unattractive, the higher the odds are that they engage in unsafe sexual practices (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx 2012: 671). The age / attractiveness sexual hierarchy presents additional problems when the legalization of prostitution opens up the door of human trafficking, and it escalates demand of prostitution around the globe (Raymond 2004: 1156).

In most cases, trafficking is linked with global sex industries. Moreover, market demand for sex workers shows that this is fulfilled by engaging thousands of prostitutes in this profession worldwide (Rahman 2011). Legalization of the sex industry converts brothels, sex clubs, massage parlors, and other sites of prostitution activities into sex venues where commercial sexual acts are allowed to flourish legally with few restraints. The process of legalization also empowers men as sexual consumers to buy women for sex (Raymond 2004: 1157). In the United States, sex aids (for example sex doll), related with prostitution are illegal except in rural Nevada where it is legal but still carefully regulated (Anderson 2002: 749). In many European countries prostitution, ownership of brothels and pimping are legal but in

Islamic states and Middle East countries prostitution and all kinds of associative elements with prostitution are entirely illegal. In many countries, prostitution is illegal and buying sex is a serious offence where offenders are strictly prosecuted. In contrast, in some other countries prostitution is considered as a job, providing essential components to turn this into an ‘industry’. For example, the Philippines’ government heavily promotes this business because it brings in a large share of gross national revenue. The Philippines’ government grants visas to women from this profession, who are promoted as ‘overseas performing artists’ (Farley 2009: 313) and therefore raises further questions regarding the integrity of governments in establishing measures to safeguard the sexual health of society as a whole.

The above literature review provides evidence of the complexities of research on sex work and associated violent sexual exploitation of FSWs. The next chapter will point to the necessity of investigating the ‘gap’ in academic research on male clients in Bangladesh in order to promote sex education and awareness, and explore what has been done so far in this regard and what further studies could be undertaken in the future. It will focus on the significance of doing further research on male clients and possible roles of Government of Bangladesh (GoB), various local NGOs and INGOs and even individuals to initiate necessary interventions to improve the situation.

Chapter 3

Discussion:

The purpose of this chapter is to reveal my interpretations and learning on sexual violence by male clients and its consequences for FSWs in Bangladesh, and to suggest the significance of sex education and awareness in this regard in order to change the perception of males towards FSWs and females in general. In order to do this, firstly a brief background on the relationship between religious doctrine and sexual affairs in Bangladesh has been provided. Secondly, I explain the status and nature of prostitution in Bangladesh. Thirdly I investigate the patriarchal attitudes of Bangladeshi men which may lead to sexual violence towards FSWs and women in Bangladesh, raising the risks of sexually transmitted diseases.

Religious and Social Restrictions

As most people living in Bangladesh are strict religious followers, whatever religion they belong to, most religious beliefs instruct followers to stay away from pre-marital and extra-marital sexual affairs. All the major religions prohibit premarital sex and it is also noted in scriptures that violating instructions could be end with capital punishment in this or afterlife (Hartnett 2013). Nearly 90 percent of Bangladesh's population is Muslim and most of the remaining ten percent is Hindu and other religions. Religious prohibition indirectly influences young unmarried men to visit FSWs for sexual pleasures because regular sex with their partners is not possible before marriage. Moreover, control over young men is much weaker in religion than young women, permitting young men to visit FSWs without judgment (Caldwell & Pieris 1999: 184). Because of social responsibility and inability to maintain a family, young men cannot get married before they finish their education

in order to secure decent employment in Bangladesh. However, the growing urge to meet with the opposite sex becomes indomitable sometimes, and this status was rightly coined as ‘pressure cooker’ image for male mentioned earlier (Mckeganey, 1994) where males seek opportunity to relieve sexual urges by visiting FSWs.

In some aspects religion sows the seeds of subordination of women and proclaims the superiority of men over women. Because most people living in Bangladesh are practicing religious followers, various religious doctrines have noticeable effect on the masses though many ideas are often misinterpreted and used as weapon to dominate women. For example, according to the Bible:

Men are superior to women, Jesus is superior to men and God is above all. Women should worship all of them. (Corinthians 14: 34, 35)

Similarly, according to the Quran:

Men have authority over women, for that God has preferred in bounty one of them over another, and for that they have expended of their property. Righteous women are therefore obedient and those you fear may be rebellious, admonish them to their couches, and beat them. (The Koran, Women, verse 38)

Manu Smriti from Hinduism scriptures preaches more restricted rules for women, considering them as a property.

Men must make their women dependent day and night, and keep under their own control those who are attached to sensory objects. Her father guards her in childhood, her husband guards her in youth, and her sons guard her in old age. A woman is not fit for independence. Manusmriti 9.2-3 (Kamguian 2014)

These examples demonstrate ‘dominant’ ideas from world religions which proclaim the superiority of male over female and some males use these beliefs to justify being violent and oppressive in attitude and behavior. The tendency to misinterpret religious views and thus imply wrong application of religious laws towards women

does not explain an increase in what may be referred to as sexually perverted acts of violence with or against FSWs.

Prostitution in Bangladesh



Map 1: Location of the Daulatdia Brothel

<https://www.google.com/maps/@23.7701,89.78442,1456m/data=!3m1!1e3>

In Bangladesh, a number of men are regular visitors to FSWs. Although it is not openly practised because of social stigma, religious regulations or personal barriers, the demand is rising fast both in urban and rural areas (Majid et al. 1999: 33). Local NGOs in Bangladesh have estimated that nearly 100,000 prostitutes are involved in this profession across the country (U.S. Department of State, 2014). One of the biggest brothels in the world is located in small rural area named Daulatdia in Bangladesh (Map 1). It is a village of 1,600 women who provide service to 3,000 men each day. It is a very old brothel which opened around 20 years ago and became one of the favorite destinations for men living in surrounding places, workers of that river port or other passengers and local businessmen (Hammond 2008).

The Daulatdia Ferry Terminal is situated where the two mighty rivers, Jamuna and Ganges meet, creating a busy port and marketplace where thousands of

working class men are employed in different businesses (Hammond 2008). Street sex workers in the Bangladesh capital of Dhaka are usually very mobile and reach customers in various places including on-call service to homes. Most had previously worked in Dhaka brothels or neighboring Narayanganj Tanbazar; they had become floating sex workers after the local authorities dismantled the brothels (Islam & Smyth 2010: 9).

Either a person in-charge or ‘owner’ runs each brothel. Sex workers in Bangladesh are considered to be owned by brothel madams to whom they have to repay their ‘purchase cost’. For underage girls, the Madams prescribe a drug called Oredexon, a “cow-fattening” steroid to make the girls look older, despite the dangerous side-effects on their health (Wiltse 2010). Sex workers themselves want to use Oradexon because the plumper they are, the more clients they get and the closer they come to supposedly buying their freedom (Wiltse 2010). Kotiswaran (2008, cited in Islam & Smyth 2010) outlines the brothel hierarchy as follows:

Jamidars (local land owners) →

Bariwali (takes the lease from owners) →

Sardarnis (brothel manager who rents houses for prostitutes) →

Adhiya (employed by *Sardarnis* and control earnings in exchange for houses) →

Chukris (sex workers bonded to the *Sardarnis*)

Along with this hierarchy, Khan and Arefeen (1989, cited in Jenkins & Rahman 2002) describe the process of how a woman enters a brothel as a prostitute. They have to register their names in first-class magistrate courts, sign an affidavit that they are going to enter this profession by their own will and that they are 18 years old. More than 20,000 children were born into and live in the 18 registered brothels in Bangladesh. Boys tend to become pimps once they grow up and girls continue in

their mother's profession. Most of these girls enter the profession before the age of 12 (Hansen 2012). Sometimes police raid the areas and arrest some customers and sex workers (Jenkins & Rahman 2002: 98).

Patriarchy

Social scientists such as Weber (1947) tell us that patriarchy has a long history, referring to it as a system in which men rule societies through their place as heads of households (Walby1989: 214; Sultana 2012: 2; Khan et al. 2002: 238). Louise Lamphere mentions Michelle Rosaldo's (1974) compelling argument that although the roles of men and women are each significantly important, the cultural system always gives authority and values to the roles and activities of men (Lamphere 1993: 68). To discuss the violence against FSWs, it is therefore imperative to investigate the status of women in Bangladeshi society which could represent the actual picture of women's lives. The oppressive and dominating face of patriarchy exacerbates male control over women (Siddique 2011: 17). Daily newspapers regularly publish news of male violence over women resulting in cuts and bruises, severe torture and even death. Not only rural men support patriarchy to maintain dominance over women but also urban educated men agree on the idea of female suppression.

The estimated violence by husbands varies from 30 percent to 50 percent and in most cases, women remain silent in Bangladesh. They endure beatings, torture for dowry or verbal abuse to comply with male demands (Wahed & Bhuiya 2007: 342). Recent research by ICDDR (International Centre for Diarrhea Disease Research, Bangladesh) published in a traditional Bangladeshi daily newspaper mentions that most men in rural and urban areas in Bangladesh think that if their wives do wrong,

husbands have right to beat them for their 'misdeeds'. The same study shows that 89 percent and 83 percent of rural and urban males respectively support beating their wives to legitimate power over women. In addition, 93 percent and 98 percent of males of urban and rural areas respectively believe that males should be strict and tough to become a 'man'. The study also mentions that a good number of males assert that women should tolerate many forms of torture at home to maintain family ties. It has also been recorded that many male respondents of this research state that only males can have sexual urges to meet with their wives and women should have no choice to say no (The Daily Prothom-alo 2014). In this connection, a man having sexual relationships with several women is considered 'lucky' and a 'real man', as he has access to and control over more than one woman. Similar behavior would be unacceptable for a woman (Khan et al. 2002: 238).

It may be claimed that sexual violence on women is the result of a rigid patriarchal social system that allows men to perpetuate their domination; within the family in Bangladesh a girl is expected to comply with the socio-cultural values and practices (Zaman 1999: 45). In India as well as Bangladesh, the birth of a daughter is a much less auspicious event than the birth of a son. When a choice must be made between the needs of a young son and young daughter, a son is far more likely to receive better food, clothes and care (Khan et al. 2003:63). The act is ignored or tolerated under a broad concept of masculinity (Khan et al. 2002: 238).

Violence against women is even sometimes supported by local police or administration, encouraging men to continue their deeds. In a rape incident in a district in rural Bangladesh in 2013, an 18-year girl was abducted from a local fair, raped by four men, and subsequently left her home devastated the next morning. She and her family failed to submit a FIR (First Information Report) to the local police

station. After initially showing negligence, police later filed the case but put different names not associated with this rape on the criminal list. Moreover, the local police station asked for money from the victim to run this case which is normally free of cost; filing the case is a basic right of victims (Odhikar.org 2014).

The sense of patriarchy excites males to show their masculine prowess and this idea reflects through physical and sexual violence on women. Women in Bangladesh face various forms of public and domestic violence (for example rape, stalking, dowry killing, and acid throwing) which may be used to control and subjugate women, and such violence by men may even be considered legitimate (Sultana 2012:10; Zaman 1999: 37). According to Bhuiya et al. findings (2003, cited in Tonima Hadi 2009: 1) rural women reported facing the following forms of violence by their husbands:

- Wife questions husband's daily life activities (29%)
- Failure of wife's to perform household works (11.5%)
- Failed to take proper care of children (10%)
- Not conforming to veil or not complying with other expected behavior (3%)
- Refusal to bring money from natal family (3%)

Types and number of Domestic Violence :

Category	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Homicide	630	891	849	895	1010	1086	837	720	6918
Suicide	351	702	785	641	563	478	337	281	6260
Physical violence	128	308	339	853	1350	1118	481	269	4846
Dowry related violence	79	121	147	120	131	112	148	102	960
Dowry related murder	114	169	206	233	208	274	176	170	1550
Forced marriage	6	-	10	4	6	4	10	5	45
Total	1308	2191	2336	2746	3268	3072	1989	1547	20579

Source: Bangladesh Mahila Parishad, based on 14 National Dailies.

Table 2: Number of domestic violence in Bangladesh in recent years

From http://www.nwec.jp/en/data/Rowshan_Bangladesh.pdf

Sultana (2012) presents some examples of patriarchal Bangladesh, which show women's subordination and dependency on men. Sexual harassment in the workplace is another available form of violence against women, and many women have to either leave their jobs or stay silent about harassment by their boss to save their jobs. Women possess no control over fertility or reproductive rights. It is mostly the husbands who decide on family planning methods. In most cases, women have no rights to choose their husbands; rather the male members of their families impose decisions on them. After marriage, women are traditionally not allowed to provide support to their own relatives (Sultana 2012:13). This dependency and subordination may even cripple the women from enjoying their sexual life after marriage, which is often decided by their husbands.

Violence:

The activities of the brothels are closely linked to the thriving group of illegal liquor shops and gambling dens in the area (Majid et al. 1999: 37). Initially it can be speculated that a drunken client could do more sexual violence against FSWs than other clients.

It's like renting a girlfriend or wife. You get to choose like a catalogue

(Farley et al. 2009:8).

The quote above states the attitude of a London man who buys sex. It depicts a common image of FSW to most men and unfortunately suggests that the body of the FSW is the only point of attraction to them. Perversion or sexual fantasy among males force FSWs to perform various sexual acts against their own will. For instance in Bangladesh, the increase of anal penetration during sex in brothels supports that idea. Shield (1994, cited in Jenkins & Rahman 2002: 104) states that although FSWs can refuse to have anal sex it will cut their income. For that reason, FSWs are adapting to this kind of weird behavior of men in Bangladeshi brothels. Experience of a Sydney FSW can be added in this issue to illustrate what sort of violence they have to bear in this profession. An FSW from Sydney's Kings Cross spoke about her experience regarding the variety of male clients who visit them in brothels. She said that most people fantasize about having sex with multiple partners. Some men are also obsessed with fetishes such as school girls or underage girls. Going to brothels gives men opportunity to enjoy their hidden fantasies that can not be possible with their wives or girlfriends (NewsCom.Au 2008). Qayyum et al. has also depicted a similar picture of male customer's complex inhumane behavior towards female prostitutes in Pakistan.

I was 23 of age when I was physically and sexually abused by one of my customer. My clothes had been torn and made me naked, tied very tightly and

put tape on my mouth. He rapped me like animals for 3 hours consecutively than he lighted a candle and its burned oil started throwing on my breast drop by drop that was very bitter and painful for me. After that he lighted a cigarette and touched it to my body on different parts. I was crying but no voice.

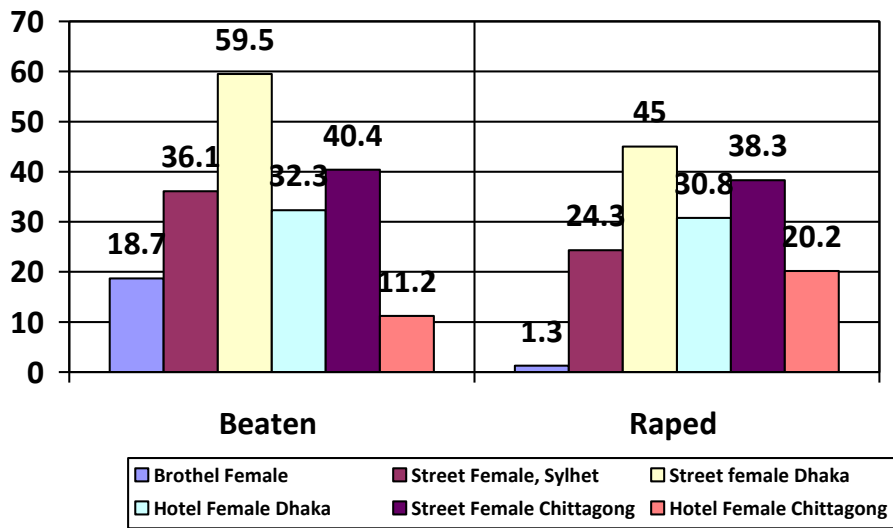
(Qayyum et al, 2013: 407)

Once a girl or women enter into prostitution it may be fatal or even deadly to leave it (Leidholdt 1993: 137). Along with physical violence it is also necessary to consider the mental consequences that are also the result of repetitive physical violence on FSWs. Davis (1971, cited in McLeod 1982: 55) states that men who do sexual violence against FSWs are exceptionally isolated or a residual minority with particularly perverted sexual tastes. McIntosh (1978, cited in McLeod 1982: 59) points out the macho desire of men when in contact with FSWs. For a man, it reflects men's dominant social position in various ways.

In Bangladesh, many incidents which happen in brothels do not come to the surface for proper investigation. Similar to the other countries mentioned in the last chapter, brothels and FSWs in Bangladesh are also controlled by 'Sardarnis,' police and local political or influential groups who live on the profits of earnings of FSWs. Therefore violence, harassment or even murders of FSWs do not often surface. Forceful acts by Sardarnis to comply with any sexual activities also increase the level of violence. Huq and Chowdhury (2012: 19) report an interview with a FSW in a brothel where she was forced to do what her Sardarnis asked her to perform:

Sometimes, I have to comply with the Sardarni's demand; otherwise, she would burn me. One night I refused to have sex with a client and my 'Mashi' (Sardarni) beat me with the full volume of a song in a record-player so that nobody outside could hear my screaming.

Graph 1 shows the level of sexual violence on FSWs in major cities in Bangladesh.



Graph 1: Sexual violence on FSWs in major cities in Bangladesh (Azim et al. 2008:321)

In both cases, street FSWs in major cities in Bangladesh are more vulnerable and have received more violence than FSWs living in brothels. Though only 1.3 percent of FSWs were raped by their customers, the other statistics show the actual situation of FSWs in Bangladesh which sometimes begins in childhood.

Vanwesenbeeck (1994, cited in Farley et al. 1998: 422) found that 40 percent of FSWs reported physical or sexual abuse in childhood; 40 percent had been forced into prostitution or had experienced sexual abuse by an acquaintance; 70 percent had been verbally threatened; 60 percent had been physically assaulted; and 40 percent had been sexually assaulted. Multiple physical complaints were also frequent across a range of countries (Table 3 below: Farley et al. 1998: 412).

	South Africa	Thailand	Turkey	USA	Zambia
Physically threatened in prostitution	75%	47%	90%	100%	93%
Threatened with weapon in prostitution	68%	39%	68%	78%	86%
Physical assault	66%	55%	80%	82%	82%
Raped in prostitution	57%	57%	50%	68%	78%
(of those raped) Raped more than five times in prostitution	58%	35%	36%	48%	55%
(of those raped) Raped by customers	75%	17%	44%	46%	38%
(of those raped) Raped by non customers	64%	44%	NA	36%	40%
Upset by attempt to make them what had been seen in pornographic movies and magazines	56%	48%	20%	32%	47%
Had pornography made of them in prostitution	40%	47%	NA	49%	47%

Table 3: Sexual Violence in Countries

For instance Thailand has shown little progress in this regard, and Zambia or South Africa is struggling with this phenomenon.

In comparison to developing countries, violence against FSWs is also on the rise in developed countries like the USA (Table 4). In addition, as mentioned earlier many prostitutes are victims of addiction and lethal drugs that make them physically and psychologically more vulnerable. Many prostitutes become the victim of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) because of violence they have endured throughout their profession. Farley and Barkan (1998, cited in Brehman 2010) provide statistics that in the USA, 68 percent of prostitutes were found suffering from PTSD. In

another study, Burnette et al. (2008) showed that 60 percent of prostituted women had depression, nearly 30 percent suffered from anxiety and over 40 percent had attempted suicide at some point in their life, with 14 percent recently attempting suicide.

Symptoms of post- traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)
1. Repeated disturbing memories, thoughts or images of past trauma
2. Repeated disturbing dreams of past trauma
3. Suddenly acting or feelings as if trauma from the past were happening again
4. Feeling very upset when something reminds you of past trauma
5. Avoiding thinking or talking about past trauma or avoiding having feelings related to it
6. Avoiding activities or situations because they remind you of past trauma
7. Trouble remembering important parts of past trauma
8. Loss of interest in activities which you previously enjoyed
9. Feeling distant or cut off from people
10. Feeling emotionally numb or unable to have loving feelings for those close to you
11. Feeling as if your future will be cut short
12. Difficulty concentrating
13. Difficulty in sleeping

Table 4: Post traumatic behavior of FSWs
(Farley et al., 1998: 407)

From another perspective, many FSWs intentionally engage in sexual acts other than the conventional to attract male clients in order to earn extra from them. According to McLeod (1982: 123) prostitutes only receive 25-30 percent of what the client pays, and the rest of the money is either taken by vice police or deducted by the taxation officer. This type of system tempts the girls to do something exclusive and unique with customers to earn extra money (e.g. oral sex without a condom). Below I refer to the odd client request for the FSW to wear a condom on her toes before anal penetration as the result of pornographic stimulation.

Pornography and Sexual Violence

Sexual violence against FSWs takes new forms and severity when a male client may visualize the pornographic effects and try to use those for pleasure. Although the GoB has passed a new anti-pornography law in 2012 that would prohibit any kinds of distribution and production of pornographic materials in

Bangladesh, the application of this law is still very limited and cannot stop spreading cyber pornography and its viewing (Oleszczuk 2012). Many stories of online harassment are documented in Bangladesh news media, but many remain unreported, mostly due to social stigma, exclusion and other forms of social harassment (Giswatch.org 2014).

For instance, in the case of Cambodia 79 percent of the men interviewed said that their sex acts with women in prostitution had changed over time. Most of the changes came from viewing pornography. Men who watched more violent pornography reported more frequent incidences of sexually coercive behaviors against both prostituted and non-prostituted women (Farley et al. 2012: 4). In a nutshell, exposure to pornography shapes men's sexual behavior towards FSWs. A study conducted in Thailand explicitly revealed most men copied what they saw in pornography with the prostituted women they bought. According to an interview with a pornography director interviewed by Adult News in 2003 (cited in Jensen & Okrina 2004: 4),

One of the things about today's porn and the extreme market, the gonzo market, so many fans want to see so much more extreme stuff that I'm always trying to figure out ways to do something different. But it seems everybody wants to see a girl doing a d.p. (double penetration) now or a gangbang. For certain girls, that's great, and I like to see that for certain people, but a lot of fans are becoming a lot more demanding about wanting to see the more extreme stuff.

This trend of making extreme pornography movies excites ordinary males and creates a sex fantasy inside him that he wants to perpetuate through FSWs because it will not be possible to perform those sexual acts shown in porn movies with his partners. This interview with a wife (Russell 1980: 26, cited in Jensen & Okrina 2004: 5), is worth mentioning here:

My husband enjoys pornographic movies. He tries to get me to do things he finds exciting in movies. They include twosomes and threesomes. I always refuse. Also, I was always upset with his ideas about putting objects in my vagina.

Though the connection of pornography and sexual violence is not clearly stated, pornography is a factor which could escalate the severity of sexual violence against FSWs and it is significant to understand its impact in order to minimize physical violence (Jensen & Okrina 2004:4). There is no evidence suggesting that similar issues do not exist in Bangladesh where the sexual behaviour of men towards women provokes violence.

Sexual Behavior of Men towards Women

They have sex with men only for money, no feelings or emotional involvement at all. Prostitutes are spiritually weak; they do whatever they are asked to do for money.

(Farley et al. 2012:19)

The above view of male clients of FSWs in Cambodia reflects how FSWs are being looked and Bangladesh is no exception. The dehumanization of FSWs makes them more vulnerable to the customers who think of FSWs as just a different sort of low-grade women. For customers, buying sex is like buying goods from the market through negotiation. Examples can be drawn to showcase how customers treat FSWs generally. A sex worker from an Australian brothel in Sydney speaks about one of her odd experiences to a reporter who spent one night in a brothel to witness the lives and work of sex workers:

One guy wanted me to put a condom on my foot and put it in his butt! You just can't predict what each day will bring.

(Cleo 2013)

The same reporter remarks that it was very shocking to witness two young boys bargaining for a sex worker as if they were buying meat from a shop. All the same,

the reporter concluded by saying that FSWs can earn AUD\$1,000 in a good week, but their lives became intolerable. However, it is also true that some male customers can feel the pain or helplessness of FSWs. As an interviewed man states:

Prostitution is the man’s heaven, but it is also those girls’ hell. (Farley et al. 2012: 20)

The inter-relationships between men’s sexual behavior towards wives or FSWs can already be seen to be complex and in not only the Bangladeshi context, requiring attention to cultural and political issues regarding health and personal satisfaction.

Domestic sexual heaven or hell

In Bangladesh women often face difficulties having sex with their husbands because of sexual behavior. Many women have a painful experience of sex with their husband in the first stage of their married life because of the frequency of forced sex by their husbands (Khan et al. 2002; 248). It has been reported that 46 percent of sexual intercourse occurs in times of women’s menstruation and this statistic reveals an interesting aspect. Menstruation makes women ‘polluted’ from social and religious perspectives in Bangladesh, but women cannot even stop their husbands sexual desire during this period (Khan et al. 2002; 248). This practice shows the sexual behavior of males even during times of their wife’s biological difficulty. Table 5 below (Khan et al. 2002: 252) shows what percentages of women enjoy their sex life with their husbands in Bangladesh.

	Enjoy it	Enjoy if less frequent	Do not like it	Total
Rural	11	4	1	16

Urban	24	4	10	38
Total	35(65%)	8(15%)	11(20%)	

Table 5: Do women enjoy their sexual life?

Khan et al. 2002: 252

Table 5 shows that 20 percent of respondents don't like to have sex with their husband because of the husband's violent and frequent sexual need. Even 15 percent of respondents enjoy their sexual lives if it was to occur less frequently. Therefore it can be said that many women in Bangladesh accept that they have to comply with their husband's sexual demands to protect them from further humiliation and maintain happiness in the family.

Risk of STD/HIV

Geographically, Bangladesh is located in such a place where all the neighboring countries are at high risk of HIV and STD infections (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx 2012: 667). Bangladesh mostly shares its border with India and a little portion with Myanmar. A study by Gangakhedkar et al. (1997, cited in Jana et al. 2004) reports that HIV prevalence rates of 50 percent to 90 percent have been reported in Bombay, Delhi, and Chennai among sex workers in India. These statistics represents the fast spreading of HIV among general population in India. But in another study, Azim et al. (2008) claim the prevalence of HIV is not as epidemic like neighboring countries to Bangladesh because of adequate government interventions and sex awareness among customers and sex workers. Despite this view, with increasing international as well as internal migration, easy access to sex workers in urban centers and increasing levels of pre-marital and extra-marital sex, Bangladesh remains at considerable risk of a future epidemic (Khan et al. 2002: 237). Migration

can bring this disease home and pose threats for community. For example, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is severe in India, and this is also spreading to Bangladesh through the common borders carried by FSWs or customers. In India, the spread of HIV is so acute that it is no longer confined only to FSWs but among other adult men and women (Jana et al. 2004).

The tendency to use a condom among male clients is still comparatively low in Bangladesh even though condoms were distributed in many brothels as part of an awareness campaign by government and NGOs (Jenkins 1999: 214). The SHAKTI Project carried out by CARE in Bangladesh started in a 600-woman brothel in Tangail in 1996 and at the end of 2014, the rate of condom use was around 40 percent, quite a satisfactory improvement. However, this project found out some critical challenges (Jenkins 1999:214). The Project study found that around 62 percent of FSWs have 'babus' (boyfriend of a prostitute) who stay permanently with their woman or women, like a husband, under same roof. Hence they do not find it necessary to use condoms in their private relationships. In terms of other male clients, sex workers fear to tell the customers to wear a condom as customers would think that they are infected by HIV and would lose that customer (Jenkins 1999:214).

Low condom-use by men remains one of the largest barriers to prevention of HIV in Bangladesh (Caldwell & Pieris 1999: 317). According to the sixth round Behavioral Surveillance Survey (2006-2007, cited in Islam and Smyth 2010) condom use among clients of FSWs in Bangladesh is variable. Data showed that condom use was 70 percent for clients of brothels and ranged between 51 percent and 81 percent for clients of street workers. The rate of condom use was low among hotel based sex workers in the capital Dhaka and port city Chittagong at 40 percent and 36 percent

respectively. Hotel-based sex workers are particularly vulnerable to HIV as they have the largest number of clients. In Bangladesh many regular male clients are from middle or lower middle class of society who are ignorant or careless about the safe sex issues and the danger of HIV/STDs. Therefore, the negotiation of FSWs regarding safe sex often fails. In the worst cases FSWs also in fear of more violence from more customers if they persistently try to negotiate the wearing of condoms (Huq & Chowdhury 2012:9). In a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in a brothel in Bangladesh, one elderly FSW said:

Listen, I have hunger (for food), do you meet up my hunger? I will take the client who offers me 100 taka because I will pay 50 taka for my rent and 50 taka for my food. (Huq & Chowdhury 2012:9)

Table 6 below shows the prevalence of STDs among street-based FSWs in a small city in Bangladesh.

Characteristics	Covariates	Total	Percentage
Etiological Diagnosis	STDs	80	53.3
	Gonorrhoea	38	25.3
	Chlamydia Trachomatis	41	27.3
	Herpes	37	24.7
	Syphilis	26	17.3
	Trichomoniasis	30	20.0

Table 6: prevalence of STDs among street based FSWs in Rajshahi city in Bangladesh.

Mondal et al. 2008: 289

Table 6 shows that a good number of FSWs are infected with various sexually transmitted diseases including HIV: 80 respondents were infected with HIV comprising 53.3 percent of total respondents. The reason for providing this table is to show how FSWs are infected with diseases by male customers as the tendency of use condoms during sex with FSWs among male customers is very low and refusal to have sex without condoms could bring sexual and physical violence toward FSWs by male customers.

FSWs are one of the potential sources behind this spread of HIV and proper intervention and policy implementation are absent to deal with this issue (Nag 2001: 4030). In addition, men's behavior is also responsible towards spreading of diseases. One man having multiple partners could contribute to spreading sexually transmitted diseases. The trend of polygamy in many societies is worth mentioning here. Polygamy is still legal in Bangladesh, but touches only 10 percent of all adult males, much less than in other countries where it is legal (Gomes 2010). Sometimes these marriages are being considered as a social responsibility to protect vulnerable women, but at a deeper level it provides sexual freedom to males. This male behavior could result in spreading of STDs/HIV even among his wives. The most important issue at stake for Bangladesh, as elsewhere, is a sexually aware society well informed of the bigger picture of prostitution of males' perspectives on sexual activities and the implications of sexual exploitation.

Sex Education

Sexual awareness and education are pivotal to bringing normative change in society. Often friends and older cousins, brothers and sisters are the main sources of information for adolescents, but these informants are not informed about

reproductive health matters. Therefore young adolescents have inadequate knowledge and often indulge in risky behavior (Rashid 2000: 28). Only three-fifths of unmarried young men find that they can talk about sex to others, over 90 percent only to their male friends, although some can talk to brothers or sisters-in-law. Many wish to discuss their strong sexual desires and their difficulties in trying to suppress them (Caldwell et al. 1999: 1110). In rural Bangladesh, parents do not pay any heed to their son's physical demand or sexual urges and take for granted that girls are only allowed to have physical relations after their marriage. Moreover, the story of 'illicit' sexual relationship before marriage is condemned by society and there is a fear of social stigma too (Van Reeuwijk & Nahar 2013: 77). Even the decision of having physical relations between husband and wife is not necessarily mutual largely depending on the husband's wish what could also contribute to sexual violence. An example is provided by a 28-year-old illiterate woman of Bangladesh from a rural area:

I was not given any detailed information about sex except that if my husband calls me to have sex then I should not refuse him. I should do whatever he wants me to do.

(Khan et al., 2002:242)

Therefore this above mentioned anecdote provides a glimpse of status of women in Bangladesh; that they still comply with their husband's consent and have accepted this dependency on men as part of social norm.

Most of the young people are unclear about the causes and symptoms of the various sexually transmitted diseases and the sharing of such topics is also limited with peers (Rashid 2000:30). In this situation, young people just share their sexual experiences or fantasy with their friends and often they take the wrong way to get

over it. Many small clinics are found in cities in Bangladesh where young people come secretly to receive treatment for sexual diseases or even have an abortion. In Bangladesh, 33 percent of all births are unplanned and 45 percent of all unplanned pregnancies end in Menstrual Regulation (MR) procedures and abortions (Singh et al. 1997, cited in Islam & Akter Chowdhury 2012:1).

Along with family, government has to undertake significant initiatives to make sex education available for society. According to the Swedish Association of Institutes (1969, cited in Szirom 1998:72), the Swedish government decreed in 1956 that sex education was to be compulsory in all schools commencing in primary schools and continuing at each level. Force also adds the example of the USA (1964, cited in Szirom 1998:72), that even according to Hoover’s conference in the USA in 1930 every child should have teaching to prepare them for successful parenthood and homemaking and that parents should receive training to assist them to deal with the problems of parenthood.

However in Bangladesh government rules, policies and procedures still have a long way to go to reach the mass population regarding gender awareness or sexual violence. Here Table 7, Table 8 and Table 9 (Clarke 2010:33) show a comparative picture of the status of laws, policies and strategies on sex education among some South Asian countries.

Table 7: Laws and Policies on HIV:

Country	National Law on HIV	National HIV Policy	LAW/policy on HIV and children	Population Policy	Education Sector policy on HIV
Bangladesh		Yes		Yes	
Pakistan		Yes		Yes	
Srilanka		Yes			
Nepal		Yes			
India		Yes	Yes	Yes	

Table 8: Strategies on HIV and SRH Education:

Country	National HIV strategy plan	Population Strategy	Education sector strategy/ plan	Education sector strategy/plan on HIV/SRH	Strategies and program of SRH
Bangladesh	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
India	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pakistan	Yes		Yes		Yes
Nepal	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes
Srilanka	Yes		Yes		Yes

Table 9: Data from UNGASS Country Reports of Bangladesh:

Country	Percentage of schools that provided life skills-based HIV/AIDS education ¹	Young people's knowledge of HIV ²	Indicator Sex before age ³
Bangladesh	0.14%	All: 17.7% Male: 22.4% Female: 13.4%	All: 24.3% Male: 11.8% Female: 30.6%

Clarke 2008:33, 41

file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/Sexuality%20education%20in%20Asia%20-%20Are%20we%20delivering.pdf

Table 9 shows that only 0.14 percent of schools in Bangladesh are equipped with components to provide HIV/AIDS education to students. Because of this low rate of schooling on sex education, only 17.7 percent of younger people have adequate knowledge on how HIV is spread. On the other hand, the low level of school participation could be another impediment to receive sex education and awareness from school for young people (Singh et al. 2005: 310). Though the percentage of young male and female literacy rate aged between 15-24 years are entirely satisfactory in Bangladesh (77.1 percent and 80.4 percent respectively), more intervention is required in this regard (UNICEF 2013).

¹ Ross, D. et al. (eds.) (2006). Preventing HIV/AIDS in young people: A systematic review of the evidence from developing countries. Geneva, WHO

² Smith, G. et al. (2000). HIV and sexual health education in primary and secondary schools. Findings from selected Asia-Pacific countries. Monograph 10/2000 Sydney, University of New South Wales.

³ UNESCO (2009). International technical guidance on sexuality education. Volume I. The rationale for sexuality education. Paris, UNESCO.

Empowering underprivileged boys and men can be an efficient means to bring gender equity in society. The status of women in society would be increased if women could receive assistance, understanding and involvement from males (Chowdhury & Patnaik 2010:461). To shape the young people from their early age sex education and gender awareness can be presented to them through:

- religious institutions (delivering moral and ethical codes along with lifesaving sex education
- the media (magazines, newspapers, tv, radio, books and films)
- friends
- schools (mandatory courses on sex education and gender awareness along with other general education
- parents (best schooling should be started from home) (McLeod 1982: 85)

Among all odds, it is also necessary to mention that many FSWs are now aware of sexual diseases and take necessary precautions to protect themselves from unwanted complications. For example an interview was recorded by Huq & Chowdhury (2012: 16) where a FSW talked about her past ignorance and present learning about the use of condom in a brothel in Bangladesh:

In the past, we didn't use condoms because ejaculation is delayed for condom-use and that caused delay in catching another customer. Nowadays, if any customer says that he does not find pleasure for condom-use, we convince him by educating on HIV.

To promote sex education and gender awareness several initiatives could be undertaken by GoB, NGOs, INGOs and above all, by the masses. Popular media sources like television, radio or print media can reach people easily to convey the importance of gender equity. For instance, there has been some success in India

where two organizations, Sahayog and MASVAW have been working to counter gender inequities to decrease violence against women. Their activities include media advocacy; developing a resource pool of gender equity trainers; developing training modules on gender, masculinity, sexuality, and reproductive health; organizing youth groups to encourage young men to discuss issues of masculinity and gender equality; and conducting research on the various interventions (Chowdhury & Patnaik 2010: 465). In addition, necessary legislative change should be introduced or modified to provide better living conditions of FSW (McLeod 1982: 83). Therefore, it is important to not avoid sex and sexual issues both in home and schools and provide the necessary information to adolescents as they need appropriate information to protect themselves from unwanted diseases. The National Curriculum Board should add topics and core subjects on sex education to enlighten students in their early age. Moreover, parents should openly discuss sexual diseases and its effects with their children.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

In this study, I have examined the violent sexual behavior of male clients toward female sex workers in Bangladesh and its associated consequences. Due to the patriarchal nature of the society, underpinned by religious doctrine, women still struggle to earn their fundamental rights both inside and outside the home. In this context, the life of FSWs in Bangladesh is grim and cultural norms and gender issues make the situation worse. To alter the present situation, abolition of prostitution will not be an achievable solution, but initiatives could be introduced offering prostitutes opportunities to free themselves from this profession. The story of Jhinuk, a transgender, nicely fits this context when she was trained as a beautician under the supervision of a local NGO in Bangladesh. She used to beg or have sex with customers for a living, but became a popular beautician in her local area where she now serves between 30 and 50 customers every day to do their makeup. This trade skill has changed her life from disaster to prosperity and she has become a role model for other women (Sakhawat 2014).

Sex education and gender awareness among the masses can bring noticeable changes in terms of male perspectives towards FSWs, minimize human trafficking and ensure gender equity within society. Singh et al. (2005) indicate sex education as the key to reach young people and bring behavioral change among males in particular. Sexual awareness will help the younger generations to preserve their sex-life and minimize the risk of health hazards. For example, a study done by Regmi and Simkhada (2010) explores the challenges faced by both male and female young people in Nepal in terms of physical and sexual issues and suggests creating suitable interventions. In addition, researchers focus on the socio-cultural contexts of sexual

and reproductive health problems and emphasis should be given to addressing these issues by designing effective policy and programmes for young people.

In Bangladesh, many males maintain premarital and extramarital sexual relationships with multiple partners making them vulnerable to different sexually transmitted diseases (Gibney et al. 1999: 188). In most cases, these males are not aware of sexual diseases or interested in maintaining safe sex practices (Gibney et al. 2003: 1417). The role of the GoB is also indispensable in this regard. The introduction and strict implementation of the law can control the behavior of males towards FSWs. The example of Australia illustrates this. In Victoria, the Prostitution Regulation Act (1986) was implemented in revised form in August 1987. The Act imposes limitations on prostitution and associated behaviors, and includes a range of penalties for soliciting, accosting or loitering for the purposes of prostitution in a public place (Hatty 1989:239).

In Bangladesh, the recent changes in the legal system where capital punishment such as the death penalty has been included for violence against women, and could have an impact to minimize its prevalence. Undoubtedly, the accessibility of the legal system for poor women in rural areas is questionable and its availability is city-based and not free of cost (Bhuiya et al. 2003: 53). Government, NGOs, communities and individuals should come forward to emphasize reducing prostitution and minimize human trafficking. Strict rules and exemplary penalties should be introduced to discourage men from purchasing sex. For instance as Jenkins and Rahman (2002) show, NGOs in Bangladesh have educational activities in 63 percent of brothels and 30 percent of brothels have STD clinics.

Nonetheless, relying on the available literature makes the task of assessing Bangladeshi male's perspectives towards female sex workers difficult. This thesis hopes to have shown that further research, especially on males' views on sexual exploitation against FSWs is required to understand the situation and raise critical questions regarding it to ensure a healthy sexual culture free from sexual violence and gender discrimination.

Bibliography:

- Adriaenssens, Stef, and Jef Hendrickx. 2012. 'Sex, Price and Preferences: Accounting For Unsafe Sexual Practices in Prostitution Markets'. *Sociology of Health & Illness* 34 (5): 665-680.
- Anderson, Scott A. 2002. 'Prostitution and Sexual Autonomy: Making Sense of the Prohibition of Prostitution'. *Ethics* 112 (4):748-780.
- Azim, Tasnim, Sharful Islam Khan, Fariha Haseen, Nafisa Lira Huq, Lars Henning, Md Moshtaq Pervez, Mahbub Elahi Chowdhury, and Isabelle Sarafian. 2008. 'HIV and AIDS in Bangladesh'. *Journal of Health, Population, and Nutrition* 26 (3):311.
- Bernstein, Elizabeth. 2001. 'The Meaning of the Purchase Desire, Demand and the Commerce of Sex'. *Ethnography* 2 (3): 389-420.
- Bhuiya, Abbas, Tamanna Sharmin, and S. M. A. Hanifi. 2003. "Nature of Domestic Violence against Women in a Rural Area of Bangladesh: Implication for Preventive Interventions." *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition* 21 (1): 48-54. <http://0-search.proquest.com.prospero.murdoch.edu.au/docview/202993294?accountid=12629>.
- Brehman, Brian Robert. 2010. "Factors Influencing Attitudes towards Prostitution." Order No. 1479046, University of Nevada, Las Vegas. <http://0-search.proquest.com.prospero.murdoch.edu.au/docview/734389661?accountid=12629>.
- Busch, Noel Bridget, Holly Bell, Norma Hotaling, and Martin A Monto. 2002. 'Male Customers of Prostituted Women Exploring Perceptions of Entitlement to Power and Control and Implications for Violent Behavior toward Women'. *Violence against Women* 8 (9): 1093-1112.
- Caldwell, B, and I Pieris. 1999. 'Continued High Risk Behaviour among Bangladeshi Males'. *Resistances To Behavioural Change to Reduce HIV/AIDS Infection. Canberra: Health Transition Centre, 183-96.*
- Caldwell, Bruce, Indrani Pieris, John Caldwell, Pat Caldwell, and others. 1999. 'Sexual Regimes and Sexual Networking: The Risk of an HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Bangladesh'. *Social Science & Medicine* 48 (8): 1103-1116.
- Carpenter, Belinda. 1998. 'The Prostitute and the Client: Challenging the Dualisms' *21 (4): 387-399.*

- Chowdhury, Aparajita, and Manoj Manjari Patnaik. 2010. 'Empowering Boys and Men to Achieve Gender Equality in India'. *Journal Of Developing Societies* 26 (4): 455-471.
- Clarke, David. 2010. 'Sexuality Education in Asia: Are We Delivering?' <https://plan-international.org/where-we-work/asia/publications/sexualityeducation/>.
- Cleo. 2013. 'What It's really Like To Work in a Brothel'. Accessed June 24 2014. <http://www.cleo.com.au/you/sex/2013/11/what-its-really-like-to-work-in-a-brothel/>.
- Dworkin, Andrea. 1993. 'Prostitution and Male Supremacy'. *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law* 1: 1.
- Espirito Santo, ME, and GD Etheredge. 2002. 'How To Reach Clients Of Female Sex Workers: A Survey" By Surprise" In Brothels In Dakar, Senegal'. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 80 (9): 709-713.
- Farley, Melissa. 2004. 'Bad For The Body, Bad For The Heart: Prostitution Harms Women Even If Legalized or Decriminalized'. *Violence against Women* 10 (10): 1087-1125.
- Farley, M. 2004. Prostitution is sexual violence. *Psychiatric Times*, (Supplement 12): 21-30. Accessed June 24 2014. <http://www.psychiatristimes.com/sexual-offenses/prostitution-sexual-violence>
- Farley, M. 2009. 'Theory versus reality: Commentary on four articles about trafficking for prostitution'. *Women's studies international forum* 32(4): 311-315. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2009.07.001
- Farley, Melissa, Julie Bindel, and Jacqueline M. Golding. 2009. *Men Who Buy Sex*. Eaves, London.
- Farley, Melissa, Wendy Freed, and Kien Golding Phal. 2012. 'A Thorn In The Heart: Cambodian Men Who Buy Sex'. Phnom Penh: Cambodian Women's Crisis Center.
- Farley, Melissa, Isin Baral, Merab Kiremire, and Ufuk Sezgin. 1998. 'Prostitution in Five Countries: Violence and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder'. *Feminism & Psychology* 8 (4): 405-426.
- Giswatch.org. 2014. 'Bangladesh | Giswatch'. Accessed July 2 2014. <http://www.giswatch.org/en/country-report/womens-rights-gender/bangladesh>.
- Gibney, Laura, Nazmus Saquib, and Jesse Metzger. 2003. 'Behavioral Risk Factors For STD/HIV Transmission in Bangladesh's Trucking Industry'. *Social Science & Medicine* 56 (7): 1411-1424.

- Gibney, L, P Choudhury, Z Khawaja, M Sarker, and SH Vermund. 1999. 'Behavioural Risk Factors for HIV/AIDS in A Low-HIV Prevalence Muslim Nation: Bangladesh'. *International Journal of STD & AIDS* 10 (3): 186-194.
- Gomes, William. 2010. 'Fighting Polygamy: Woman Castrates Husband, and Then Kills Him'. *Asianews.It*. <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Fighting-polygamy:-woman-castrates-husband,-and-then-kills-him-17629.html>.
- Google Earth, 2014. Daulatdia Ferry Terminal 23°46'08.06" N 89°47'02.81" E <<https://www.google.com/maps/@23.76891,89.78412,1454m/data=!3m1!1e3>> [viewed on 8th April, 2014].
- Hammond, Claudia. 2008. 'I'm Just Here for Survival'. *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jan/09/gender.humantrafficking>.
- Hansen, Jane Muller. 2012. 'Sex Workers in Bangladesh – Janmoellerhansen'. *Janmoellerhansen.Smugmug.Com*. Accessed July 8 2014. <http://janmoellerhansen.smugmug.com/Bangladesh/Sex-Workers>.
- Holt, Thomas J, and Kristie R Blevins. 2007. 'Examining Sex Work From The Client's Perspective: Assessing Johns Using On-Line Data'. *Deviant Behavior* 28 (4): 333-354.
- Hartnett, Kevin. 2013. 'Religion and Premarital Sex'. *Boston.Com*. Accessed July 8 2014. http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/ideas/brainiac/2013/02/religion_and_pr.html.
- Hatty, Suzanne E. 1989. 'Violence against Prostitute Women: Social and Legal Dilemmas'. *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 24 (4): 235.
- Hood-Brown, Marcia. 1998. 'Trading For A Place: Poor Women and Prostitution'. *Journal of Poverty* 2 (3): 13-33.
- Huq, Nafisa Lira, and Mahbub Elahi Chowdhury. 2012. 'Assessment of the Utilization of HIV Interventions by Sex Workers in Selected Brothels in Bangladesh: An Exploratory Study.' *Qualitative Report* 17 (38): 1-18
- Islam, Asadul, and Russell Smyth. 2010. 'The Economic Returns to Good Looks and Risky Sex in the Bangladesh Commercial Sex Market'. *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* 12 (1).
- Islam, Noushin, and Shahanoor Akter Chowdhury. 2012. 'The Impact of Imposing Time Limits on Access to Safe Abortion Care in Bangladesh'. *Reproductive Laws for the 21st Century Papers Center for Women Policy Studies*, http://www.centerwomenpolicy.org/programs/health/statepolicy/documents/R_EPRO_ImposingTimeLimitAffectonA

- Jana, Smarajit, Ishika Basu, Mary Jane Rotheram-Borus, and Peter A Newman. 2004. 'The Sonagachi Project: A Sustainable Community Intervention Program'. *AIDS Education and Prevention* 16 (5): 405-414.
- Jenkins, Carol and Habibur Rahman. 2002. 'Rapidly changing conditions in the brothels of Bangladesh: impact on HIV/STD'. *AIDS Education and Prevention* 14(3): 97-106.
- Jenkins, Carol. 1999. 'Resistance to Condom Use in a Bangladesh Brothel'. *Resistances To Behavioral Change To Reduce HIT/AIDS Infection In Predominantly Heterosexual Epidemics In Third World Countries*, 211-222.
- Jensen, Robert, and D Okrina. 2004. 'Pornography and Sexual Violence'. *Vawnet: The National Online Resource Center on Violence against Women. British Medical Journal*. 302(6775): 488-489
- Joseph, Lauren J, and Pamela Black. 2012. 'Who's The Man? Fragile Masculinities, Consumer Masculinities, and the Profiles of Sex Work Clients'. *Men and Masculinities* 15 (5): 486-506.
- Kamguian, Azam. 2014. 'Islamic Women and Religious Oppression'. Famafrigue.Org. Accessed June 8 2014. <http://www.famafrigue.org/oppression.htm>.
- Khan, ME, John W Townsend, and Shampa D'Costa. 2002. 'Behind Closed Doors: A Qualitative Study of Sexual Behaviour of Married Women in Bangladesh'. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 4 (2): 237-256.
- Kar, Sharvari ikar, and Lindsay B Gezinski. 2012. 'Without Us, Sex Workers Will Die like Weeds': Sex Work and Client Violence in Kamathipura'. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 19 (3): 351-371.
- Karandikar, Sharvari. 2010. 'From client to pimp: male violence against female sex workers'. *Journal of interpersonal violence* 25(2). 257-273.
- Kennedy, M Alexis, Carolin Klein, Boris B Gorzalka, and John C Yuille. 2004. 'Attitude Change Following a Diversion Program for Men Who Solicit Sex'. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 40 (1-2): 41-60.
- Leidholdt, Dorchen. 1993. 'Prostitution: A Violation of Women's Human Rights'. *Cardozo Women's Journal of Law and Gender* 1: 133.
- Lamphere, L. 1993. 'The domestic sphere of women and the public world of men: The strengths and limitations of an anthropological dichotomy'. *In Gender in cross-cultural perspective*, eds. Carolin Brettell and C. Sargent, New Jersey: Prentice Hall. 67-77

- Majid Ahsan, Rosie, Nasreen Ahmad, Ammtuz Zohra Eusuf, and Jagonnath Roy. 1999. 'Prostitutes and Their Environment in Narayanganj, Bangladesh'. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 40 (1): 33-44.
- McKeganey, Neil. 1994. 'Why Men Buy Sex and what do are their Assessments of the HIV-Related Risks When They Do?' *AIDS Care* 6 (3): 289-301.
- McLeod, Eileen. 1982. *Women Working*. 1st edition. London: Croom Helm.
- Monto, Martin A. 2004. 'Female Prostitution, Customers, and Violence'. *Violence against Women* 10 (2): 160-188.
- Monto, Martin A, and Nick McRee. 2005. 'A Comparison of the Male Customers of Female Street Prostitutes with National Samples of Men'. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 49 (5): 505-529.
- Moorhead, Joanna. 2010. 'A New Danger for Sex Workers in Bangladesh'. *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2010/apr/05/sex-workers-bangladesh-steroid>.
- Nag, Moni. 2001. 'Anthropological Perspectives on Prostitution and AIDS in India'. *Economic and Political Weekly* 36(42): 4025-4030.
- NewsComAu. 2008. 'Why Men Visit Brothels - A Prostitute's View'. Accessed June 24 2014. <http://www.news.com.au/news/why-men-visit-brothels-a-prostitutes-view/story-fna7dq6e-1111117338261>.
- Odhikar.org. 2014. 'Gang Rape of A Girl in Satkhira District: Allegation Against Police For Putting False Information In The FIR And Taking Bribe | Odhikar'. Accessed June 2 2014. <http://odhikar.org/gang-rape-of-a-girl-in-satkhira-district-allegation-against-police-for-putting-false-information-in-the-fir-and-taking-bribe/>.
- Oleszczuk, Luiza. 2012. 'Bangladesh Pornography Ban Raises Issue of Online Privacy'. *Christian Post*. Accessed July 2 2014. <http://global.christianpost.com/news/bangladesh-pornography-ban-raises-issue-of-online-privacy-66249/>.
- Perkins, Roberta. 1999. 'How Much Are You, Love?' The Customer in the Australian Sex Industry'. *Social Alternatives* 18 (3): 38.
- Phoenix, Joanna. 2000. 'Prostituted Identities: Men, Money and Violence.' *The British Journal of Criminology* 40 (1): 37-55. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 July 2014. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/23638529?ref=search-gateway:5f768c878a3d7f9e00dfd4d4f879aa94>>.
- Qayyum, Shahid, Mian Muhammad Ahmed Iqbal, Ali Akhtar, Aamir Hayat, Irfan Mehmood Janjua, and Shazia Tabassum. 2013. 'Causes and Decision of

- Women's Involvement into Prostitution and its Consequences in Punjab, Pakistan'. *Academic Research International* 4 (5): 398-411. <http://0-search.proquest.com.prosporo.murdoch.edu.au/docview/1447235824?accountid=12629>.
- Rahman, Majeed A. 2011. 'Human Trafficking in the Era of Globalization: The Case of Trafficking in the Global Market Economy.' *Transcience Journal* (2): 54-71.
- Rashid, Sabina Faiz. 2000. 'Providing Sex Education to Adolescents in Rural Bangladesh: Experiences from BRAC.' *Gender & Development* 8 (2): 28-37.
- Raymond, Janice G. 2004. 'Prostitution on Demand Legalizing the Buyers as Sexual Consumers'. *Violence against Women* 10 (10): 1156-1186.
- Regmi, Pramod R., Padam P. Simkhada, and Edwin van Teijlingen R. 2010. 'Boys Remain Prestigious, Girls Become Prostitutes: Socio-Cultural Context of Relationships and Sex among Young People in Nepal'. *Global Journal of Health Science* 2 (1): 60-72. <http://0-search.proquest.com.prosporo.murdoch.edu.au/docview/822029436?accountid=12629>.
- Sawyer, Steven P, and Michael E Metz. 2009. 'The Attitudes toward Prostitution Scale Preliminary Report On Its Development and Use'. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 53 (3): 334-347.
- Sakhawat, Adil. 2014. 'Third Gender: The Many Faces of Beauty'. *Dhaka Tribune*. <http://www.dhakatribune.com/weekend/2014/may/30/third-gender-many-faces-beauty>.
- Serughetti, Giorgia. 2013. 'Prostitution and Clients' Responsibility'. *Men and Masculinities* 16 (1): 35-48.
- Siddique, Dr. Kaniz. 2011. 'Violence against Women: Cost to the Nation'. 1st ed. Dhaka: Care Bangladesh. http://www.carebangladesh.org/publication/Publication_9287219.pdf.
- Singh, Susheela, Akinrinola Bankole, and Vanessa Woog. 2005. 'Evaluating the Need for Sex Education in Developing Countries: Sexual Behaviour, Knowledge of Preventing Sexually Transmitted Infections/HIV and Unplanned Pregnancy'. *Sex Education* 5 (4): 307-331.
- Skidmore, M. 2003. 'Behind Bamboo Fences: Violence against Women in Myanmar', Manderson, L. & Bennett, L. (Eds.), *Violence against Women in Asia*, Routledge, New York. 76-92

- Sultana, Abeda. 2012. 'Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis'. *Arts Faculty Journal* 4: 1-18.
- Szirom, Tricia. 1998. *Teaching Gender*. 1st ed. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Taylor, Ian, and Ruth Jamieson. 1999. 'Sex Trafficking and the Mainstream of Market Culture'. *Crime, Law and Social Change* 32 (3): 257-278.
- Tonima Hadi, Syeda. 2009. 'It's Ok to Beat My Wife?' – Patriarchal Perceptions of Bangladeshi Respondents and Factors Associated.
<http://www.bangladeshsociology.org/Syeda%20Tonima%20Hadi.pdf>.
- Ullah, AKM. 2013. 'Prostitution in Bangladesh: An Empirical Profile of Sex Workers'. *Journal of International Women's Studies* 7 (2): 111-122.
- UNICEF. 2013. 'Statistics'. Accessed July 5 2014.
http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/bangladesh_bangladesh_statistics.html.
- U.S. Department of State. 2014. Bangladesh. [online] Retrieved from:
<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2008/sca/119132.htm> [Accessed: 24 Feb 2014].
- Van Reeuwijk, Miranda, and Papreen Nahar. 2013. 'The Importance of a Positive Approach to Sexuality in Sexual Health Programmes for Unmarried Adolescents in Bangladesh'. *Reproductive Health Matters* 21 (41): 69-77.
- Wahed, Tania, and Abbas Bhuiya. 2007. 'Battered Bodies & Shattered Minds: Violence against Women in Bangladesh'. *The Indian Journal of Medical Research* 126 (4): 341-354.
- Walby, S. 1989. 'Theorising Patriarchy'. *Sociology* 23 (2): 213-234.
- Wiltse, Lisa. 2010. 'Daulatdia Brothel Self-Published by Lisa Wiltse on Fotovisura'. Fotovisura.
<http://www.fotovisura.com/user/lisawiltse/view/childhood-lost>.
- Xantidis, Luke, and Marita P McCabe. 2000. 'Personality Characteristics of Male Clients of Female Commercial Sex Workers in Australia'. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 29 (2): 16