

A Model of Client-Related Violence Against Female Street Sex Workers

DONNA YOUNGS AND MARIA IOANNOU

International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology, University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, UK

Although a plethora of studies provide evidence of the extent and severity of violence that street sex workers experience from clients, there is little consensus across the explanations that have been advanced to account for this. To explore this, the present study examines in detail the nature of the attacks suffered by 65 female street sex workers. A Multidimensional Scaling analysis (Smallest Space Analysis [SSA-I]) of 17 violent behaviors derived from a content analysis of interviews with street sex workers drew attention to 3 distinct forms of attack. These could be interpreted in terms of Canter's (1994) Victim Role models that have been the basis for differentiating offending styles in other violent interpersonal offences. The 3 Victim as Object, Victim as Vehicle, and Victim as Person modes identified are consistent with different theoretical explanations for the attacks, providing a framework for integrating the diverse etiological perspectives on violence against street sex workers.

Violence against women is a common occurrence in the sex industry. Prior research has established the prevalence and severity of violence experienced by sex workers (Dunkle et al., 2004; Marten, 2005; Pauw & Brener, 2003; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Wechsberg, Luseno, & Lam, 2005; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). These studies all report a high incidence of physical assault among women involved in prostitution, and especially among those who

Address correspondence to Donna Youngs, International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology, University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, HD1 3DH UK. E-mail: d.youngs@hud.ac.uk

engage in street prostitution (which entails working and soliciting customers from a public place, most commonly a street) rather than indoors (i.e., working as an escort, call girl, or in brothels and massage parlors; Church, Henderson, Barnard, & Hart 2001; Giobbe, Harrigan, & Denise, 1990; Lopez-Jones, 1999).

Indeed, more than 25 recent research studies have established unparalleled levels of violence in street prostitution (Farley & Kelly, 2000). Farley, Baral, Kireman, and Sezgin (1998) studied prostitution in five countries (South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, United States, and Zambia) with 475 male and female prostitutes and found that 73% of them had experienced a physical assault and 62% had experienced a rape. In the same year, Farley and Barkan (1998) studied 130 female prostitutes in San Francisco and reported that 83% had been threatened with a weapon, 82% had experienced a physical assault, and 68% had experienced a rape. Of the women who had been attacked, 65% were reported to have been by a client.

As an integral part of the interactions necessitated by the work that sex workers do, such client-related violence represents a particular challenge. A growing body of international literature highlights the prevalence of client violence in street prostitution (Campbell, 2002; Church et al., 2001; Hester & Westmarland, 2004; Lowman, 2000; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Williamson & Folaron, 2001). High rates of client violence have been consistently found in various street sex-worker studies (e.g., McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; McLeod, 1982; Sharpe, 1998). The majority of street sex workers surveyed in the United Kingdom have experienced multiple incidents of client violence (Campbell, Coleman & Torkington, 1996; May, Edmunds, & Hough, 1999; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996).

Benson and Matthews (1995) found that 87% of the street sex workers within their study had experienced client violence. Hoigard and Finstad (1992) recorded that 19 out of a sample of 26 prostitutes (73%) had been exposed to varying degrees of violence, and in the research of Benson and Matthews, 87% had been victims of client abuse, including 27% reporting rape and 43% suffering physical assault or abuse. Of the 87% who had reported abuse, 73% had been abused more than once. Church et al. (2001) in their survey of prostitutes in Edinburgh, Leeds, and Glasgow found that 81% of street prostitutes reported violence by clients at some point in their career and 50% reported client violence within the past 6 months. In a survey of street sex workers in London, Ward et al. (1999) found that 68% of 193 women had experienced physical assault. Hester and Westmarland (2004) reported that three-quarters of 125 street sex workers surveyed in Manchester, Stoke-on-Trent, Hull, Kirklees, and Hackney (London) had experienced physical violence, mostly from clients. Prostitutes are also disproportionately represented among female murder victims (Lowman, 2000; Miller & Jayasundara, 2001).

COMPETING AETIOLOGIES FOR SEX WORKER VIOLENCE

Although the extent of the violence experienced by street sex workers is not disputed, differing forms of explanation that emphasize different processes are offered to account for this. Feminist researchers (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; McLeod, 1982) believe that violence against sex workers can be explained in terms of the male's need to dominate, control, discipline, and punish women. Being violent toward a woman is a way of achieving these goals. In contrast, McLeod (1982) suggested that violence against prostitutes, like domestic violence, emerges from the "relationship" with the woman, particularly where the client is a regular one. Sharpe (1998) emphasized a further different set of underlying processes, arguing that sexual violence against sex workers is a consequence of the "type of women" they are perceived to be. By selling sexual services on the street, sex workers are "models of female unchastity ... and they are assumed to invite violence" (Pheterson, 1988, p. 80, as cited in McKeganey & Barnard, 1996). Clearly, one possibility is that these different etiological emphases are most relevant in different types of attack against sex workers.

DISTINCT VARIANTS OF SEX WORKER ATTACK?

Within his Victim Role model for differentiating offending, Canter (1994) suggested that offending behavior is fundamentally an interpersonal activity. The meaning and significance of the offender's actions, especially where the interpersonal transaction is explicit, as in violent and sexual crime, will be derived from this interaction with the victim. The variations in the form this interaction takes are the basis for differentiating offending styles.

Working from this premise that violent offences can be understood as a form of social transaction, Canter's Victim Role model of offending style (Canter, 1994; Canter & Youngs, 2012) emphasizes ideas about the central control and empathy-deficit components of this interpersonal transaction. For Canter (1994) different forms of control tendency and empathy-deficit combine to produce different interpersonal styles in which three distinct roles are assigned to the victim: Victim as Object, Victim as Vehicle, and Victim as Person.

The Victim as Object role that draws together the direct possession and subjugation form of control with an empathy deficit that takes the form of the objectification of the victim (Canter and Young, 2012). In the Victim as Object role the offender sees the victim as having very little, if any, human significance or emotions and relies on total, physical forms of control.

Canter's (1994) Victim as Vehicle role integrates an abusive form of control with an exploitative approach to the victim that is based on a lack of

empathy for his/her suffering (Canter & Youngs, 2012). In the Victim as Vehicle role, the victim is a vehicle for the expression of the offender's desires and/or anger; these victims often carry particular meanings by what they represent.

The Victim as Person role (Canter, 1994) is one in which there is a recognition that the victim is human, a person. Canter's (1994) Victim as Person role draws together the coercive approach to control with a form of empathy deficit based upon a general undervaluing of the individual (Canter & Youngs, 2012). This combination is integrated by a narrative in which the victim, although recognized as completely human, remains a person to be handled and manipulated.

Recently, Canter and Youngs (2012) have shown that the Victim Role model distinguishes offending style variants with a number of different violent interpersonal offences, from rape, to stalking and even sexual homicide. This general framework has now been replicated by a number of other authors (e.g., Almond, 2013). The present study therefore explores the potential of this framework for distinguishing variants of attack on sex workers.

METHOD

Sample

The sample consisted of 65 female street sex workers situated in various towns and cities within the United Kingdom (Bolton, Doncaster, Birmingham, Coventry, Merseyside, Glasgow, Middlesbrough, Sheffield, Cardiff, London, Plymouth, Nottingham, Stoke-on-Trent, Edinburgh, and Southampton) who had experienced a violent attack perpetrated by one male client at least 12 months before the interview. The mean age was 27.5 years ($SD=7.9$; range = 16–49 years). Sixty-one participants (92.4%) were White and the rest of mixed race. The mean length of time the street sex workers had worked was 7.9 years ($SD=7.1$; range = <12 months–30 years).

Participants worked on average more than 5 days a week ($M=5.8$; $SD=1.7$; range = 2–7) and more than 6 h. per day ($M=6.4$; $SD=4.5$; range = 1.5–24 hr).

Materials

The present study used two open-ended questions from section 7 of the Street Workers Safety Survey (Ferguson, 2002) entitled "Most violent attack by a punter." The whole questionnaire, designed by Ferguson (2002), covered a wide range of issues such as the women's lifestyles, their work and clients, the environment in which they contact clients and provide services, their experience of violence, the measures they take to protect themselves, and their interactions with and views concerning the police.

The present study used only the following two items as they were the ones concerned with the nature of violent behaviors displayed:

- Please say what happened during the attack—what the man did and said and how you reacted.
- How did it all end? Did he dump you, drive you somewhere, or what? (Please add if he warned you not to tell anyone before leaving.)

Procedure

Data was collected for use on Dispatches television program, *Sex on the Streets—The Law Isn't Working*, which broadcasted in September 2002 by Channel 4 (UK; Ferguson, 2002). A team of female interviewers who was sent out with a structured questionnaire for a one-off contact on the street, approached participants while they were working and were asked to describe what happened during and after the most violent attack as perceived by themselves.

Using the content analysis approach adopted in numerous previous investigative studies of offending style (see Canter & Youngs, 2009), 17 violent (sexual, physical, and verbal) behavior variables were identified and the 65 cases were coded in terms of the presence or absence of each variable. Interrater reliability for each behavior variable was above 0.7 showing a good level of agreement between coders (Fliess, 1981).

Previous research has demonstrated that content analysis any more refined than presence/absence dichotomies is likely to be unreliable (Canter & Heritage, 1990). Full variable descriptions are given in the appendix.

Analysis

The data was analysed using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA)-I (Lingoes, 1973). SSA allows a test of hypotheses concerning the co-occurrence of every variable with every other variable. In essence the null hypothesis is that the variables have no clear interpretable relationship to each other. SSA is a nonmetric multidimensional scaling procedure based upon the assumption that the underlying structure, or system of behavior, will most readily be appreciated if the relationship between every variable and every other variable is examined.

SSA represents the co-occurrence of variables, in our present study violent behaviors, as distances in a geometrical space. The SSA program computes association coefficients between all variables. It is these coefficients that are used to form a spatial representation of items with points representing variables. Each point in the space represents a distinct characteristic of the events under study, such as whether or not the client raped the street worker. The closer any two points are to each other on the spatial configuration, the higher their associations with each other. Similarly, the farther away from each other any two points are, the lower their association with each other.

A number of studies of criminal actions have found such MDS models to be productive (e.g., Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Canter & Heritage, 1990; Salfati, 2000). The particular power of SSA-I comes from its representation of the rank order of co-occurrence as rank orders of the distances in the geometric space (the use of ranks leads to it being considered nonmetric multidimensional scaling (MDS)).

The measure of co-occurrence used in the present study was Jaccard's coefficient. Jaccard's coefficient calculates the proportion of co-occurrences between any two variables as a proportion of all occurrences of both variables. This has now become the standard coefficient used with this type of data since the initial Canter and Heritage (1990) study. Its great advantage is that it only calculates co-occurrence across recorded events. Any absence of activity is not used in the calculation. This means it only draws upon what was known to have happened and does not take account of what was not recorded to have happened. With this sort of data such lack of recording can be in error, whereas noting that something had taken place is less likely to be inaccurate. This is particularly important in this study, as the data generated is only representative of free recall and it may not be the case that an unreported variable did not occur.

To test hypotheses, an SSA configuration is visually examined to determine the patterns of relationships between variables and identify thematic structures. Violent behaviors with similar underlying themes are hypothesized to be more likely to co-occur than those that imply different themes. These similarly themed violent behaviors are therefore hypothesized to be found in contiguous locations (i.e., the same region of the plot). The hypothesis can therefore be tested by visually examining the SSA configuration. The coefficient of alienation (Borg & Lingoes, 1987) indicates how well the spatial representation fits the co-occurrences represented in the matrix. The smaller the coefficient of alienation is the better the fit (i.e., the fit of the plot to the original matrix). However, as Borg and Lingoes (1987) emphasized there is no simple answer to the question of how "good" or "bad" the fit is. This will depend upon a combination of the number of variables, the amount of error in the data and the logical strength of the interpretation framework.

In summary, the SSA was used to explore the co-occurrences of these violent behaviors and allowed for the testing of the hypothesis that the behaviors will be differentiated into themes.

RESULTS

The Nature of Violence in the Present Study

Physical violence was the most frequently reported behavior: 72.7% of the street sex workers reported that they had been physically assaulted by their

clients. Almost 38% of the street sex workers were told nothing about their clients' background, whereas 31.8% was verbally assaulted and 27.3% raped by their client. Physical violence, verbal violence, and sexual assault seem to be at the heart of the violent behavior toward street sex workers. Almost 22% of the street sex workers reported that they were robbed; this includes both client refusing to pay for a sexual service as well as the physical action of stealing money and almost 17% of the violent incidents involved the presence of a weapon. Interestingly, the least frequent behaviors included "fellatio" (4.5%) and "verbal victim participation" (4.5%) both involving the street worker participating either sexually or verbally in the attack. All frequencies are presented in Table 1.

SSA of Violent Behaviors

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the 17 violent behaviors for the 65 violent incidents on the two-dimensional SSA. The coefficient of alienation of 0.19 in 10 iterations indicates a good fit of the spatial representation of the co-occurrences of the behaviours. The regional hypothesis states that items that have a common theme will be found in the same region of the SSA space. To test the hypothesized framework of violent behaviors against street sex workers, it was therefore necessary to examine the SSA configuration to establish whether different themes of offender-victim interaction could be identified.

As can be seen in Figure 1, visual examination of the SSA plot confirmed that it can be partitioned into three distinct regions or themes, according to the role the offender assigns to the victim (Victim as Object, Victim as

TABLE 1 Frequencies of Variables

Violent behaviors	<i>n</i>	%
Physical violence	48	72.7
Tells nothing	25	37.9
Verbal violence	21	31.8
Rape	18	27.3
Locks in	15	22.7
Robs	14	21.2
Displays weapon	11	16.7
Street walker Clothes removed	11	16.7
Verbally demeans	11	16.7
Uses weapon	7	10.6
Refuses condom	6	9.1
Threat no report	6	9.1
Dumps	5	7.6
Inquisitive	4	6.1
Gags	4	6.1
Fellatio	3	4.5
Verbal victim participation	3	4.5

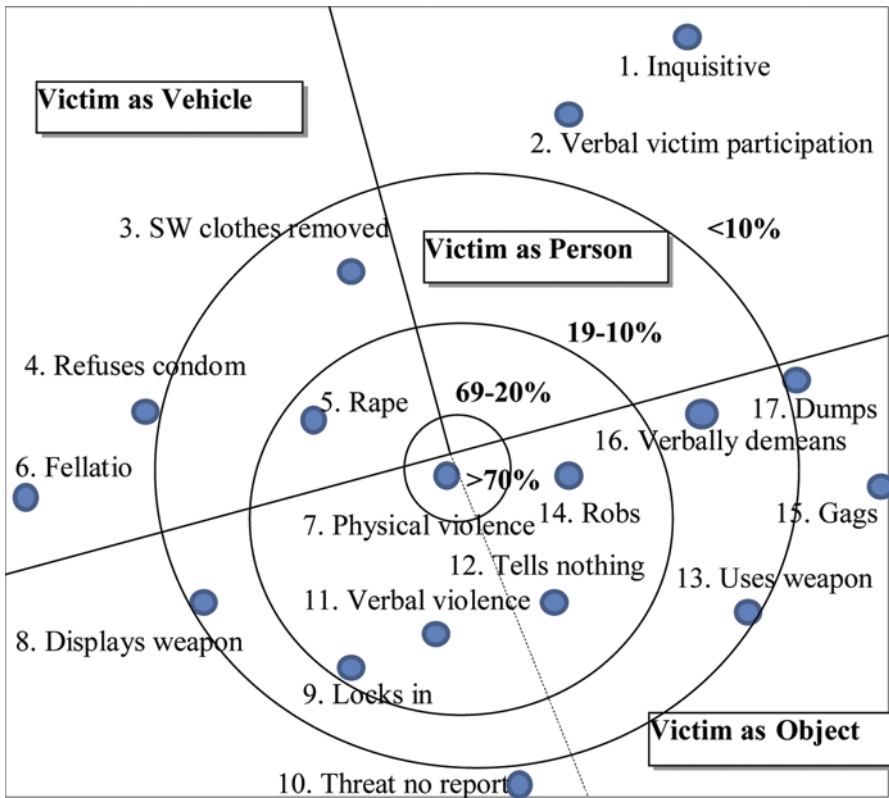


FIGURE 1 Two-dimensional Smallest Space Analysis plot of violent behaviors with regional interpretation and frequency contours (coefficient of alienation = 0.19). SW = street walker. (Color figure available online.)

Vehicle, and Victim as Person) identified previously for other types of offences (Canter, 1994).

THE VICTIM AS OBJECT ROLE

As it can be seen from Figure 1 there is a region that contains a number of violent behaviors concerned with control. Eleven behaviors characterize the victim as object offending style: the client physically assaults the victim (7); displays a weapon (8); attempts to or actually prevents the street worker from leaving either by physical force, tying, or binding the victim's limbs or by locking doors of car, house, and so on. (9); threatens the victim that she should not report the incident to the police or any other person (10); verbally threatens the victim's safety at some time during the attack (e.g., "shut up or I'll kill you") (11); tells street worker nothing about his background (12); uses a weapon of some kind to physically harm the street worker (e.g. stabbed, slashed) (13); does not pay, takes back payment from street worker or attempts to or robs street worker of other money (14); obstructs the street

worker's mouth in some fashion (i.e., tying object around mouth, blocking mouth with arm) (15); uses profanity and insulting language to demean the street worker (e.g., "you're a dirty f***ing whore") (16); and dumps the street worker after the attack (17). It is apparent from these behaviors that the offender has a complete lack of empathy for the victim, fails to understand the victim as a human being and makes every effort to control and restrain his victim, treating her in a derogatory and impersonal manner as an object. He attempts to impose the control directly and will inflict physical harm to force this.

Interestingly, further examination of this region reveals two distinct sub regions indicated by the dotted line on the SSA plot. The variables to the left of the plot, physical violence (v7), displays a weapon (v8), locks in (v9), threat no report (v10), and verbal violence (v11) indicate a form of direct physical violence intended to harm and abuse the victim. Although the variables to the right of the plot, tells nothing (v12), uses weapon (v13), robs (v14), gags (v15), verbally demeans (v16), and dumps (v17) do not indicate the same form of physical violence but a determination to control and demean the victim.

THE VICTIM AS VEHICLE ROLE

In the top left side of the SSA plot, four variables together form a second offending style: The client removes or requests the street worker to remove her clothing, includes ripping her clothes (3), refusal to wear condom (4), rapes the victim (5), and forces street worker to perform fellatio (6).

The explicit sexual content of the variables appearing in this region can be further explained in terms of Canter's (1994) Victim as Vehicle role. As outlined, for this style of offending the offender is simply using the victim to express his own desires and/or anger. Because the interaction carries symbolic meaning, the reactions and participation of the victim are significant to the extent that they support the expression of his anger or desires (Canter & Youngs, 2009). The sexual activity is exploitative and demeaning in line with Canter's general assertion of an exploitative approach to relating to others within the Vehicle role (Canter & Youngs, 2012).

THE VICTIM AS PERSON ROLE

In the top right-hand section of the plot, two variables form a distinct offending style. The client asks the street worker questions about herself or whether she is enjoying herself (1) and verbally prompts the street worker to participate in the attack including instructions to perform specific acts (e.g., to urinate on him) (2). This style emerges out of a distorted approach to interpersonal relations in which the attacker is an offender who recognizes the human feelings of his victim but for whom normal human

interactions are typically abusive, coercive and aggressive. These behaviors are a distorted attempt to reduce the interpersonal distance with the victim corresponding to the victim as person role within Canter's (1994) Victim Role Framework (Canter & Youngs, 2012). Unlike other roles that may be assigned, the offender recognizes that he is dealing with a real individual. Behaviors such as asking the victim questions about her life or whether she is enjoying herself and encouraging her to participate reveal an awareness of the victim as an individual, an interest in her and an attempt to coerce an intimacy from her.

Frequencies

Figure 1 shows the original SSA-I configuration, with regional interpretation and frequencies of occurrence in the sample noted (see Table 1 for frequencies of variables). The contours have been added to indicate the frequency structure and have been found in a number of other studies of criminal actions (Canter, 2000; Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Canter & Heritage, 1990).

Physical violence occurs in 72.7% of cases and it is at the core of the SSA having the dominant role in client-related violence against female street sex workers. Around this are behaviors that happen in 20% to 69% of the cases such as verbal violence (31.8%) and rape (27.3%) followed by behaviors that occur in 10% to 19% of cases such as client verbally demeans the victim (16.7%) and displays a weapon (16.7%). Farthest from the focus are the behaviors that occur in less than 10% of the cases such as client gags the victim (6.1%) and threatens the victim that she should not report the incident to the police or any other person (9.1%).

In line with Canter's Radex hypothesis of criminal differentiation (Canter, 2000, 2011), it is within these low frequency variables that lie in the outer contours that the qualitative variations in offending style are most marked.

Testing the Framework/Distribution of Cases Across Victim Role Themes

Each of the 65 cases in the dataset was individually examined to ascertain whether it could be assigned to a Victim Role offending style on the basis of the variables that occurred during the incident. Every incident was given a percentage score for each of the three major roles, reflecting the proportion of Victim as Object, Victim as Vehicle, and Victim as Person variables that occurred during the attack. The criterion for assigning a case to a particular theme was that the dominant theme had a greater number of violent behaviors/variables present than the sum of the other two themes. The percentage of intratheme occurrences was used rather than the actual number of occurrences, because the actual total number of violent behaviors in each theme varied.

TABLE 2 Distribution of Cases Across Victim Role Model Offending Styles

Offending style	Number of cases
Victim as object	42 (64.6%)
Victim as vehicle	18 (27.7%)
Victim as person	4 (6.2%)
Nonclassifiable	1 (1.5%)

Using this system (see Table 2), a total of 98.5% (65 out of 66 cases) could be classified as either exhibiting a dominantly Victim as Object, Victim as Vehicle, or Victim as Person offending style. This result would seem to suggest that the themes as revealed by the SSA (see Figure 1) is a very good representation of offending styles in violent incidents against street sex workers.

Breaking these 65 cases down, it could be seen that 42 (64.6%) followed a Victim as Object style, 18 (27.7%) a Victim as Vehicle style, and only four (6.2%) a Victim as Person style.

DISCUSSION

The present study reveals distinct variants of client-related violence toward street-sex workers that parallel the styles of offending identified across a range of other offending forms including stranger rape, stalking, and serial killing (Canter & Youngs, 2012). These offending styles were distinguished on the basis of the different forms of interpersonal transaction with the victim identified within Canter's (1994; Canter & Youngs, 2009) Victim Role model. The relevance of this model, dominant within the general investigative psychology literature, to the violence perpetrated by clients within a paid-sex transaction does suggest that these attacks have much in common with the violence and sexual violence that happens in other situations rather than being somehow a particular product of the form of encounter.

Working from the premise that the offending actions can be understood as a form of social transaction, Canter (1994) argued that the meaning and significance of the offender's offence actions will be derived from this interaction with the victim. The Victim Role model emphasizes ideas about the central control and empathy-deficit components of this interpersonal transaction (Canter, 1994; Canter & Youngs, 2012). Different forms and combinations of these produce three distinct roles that are assigned to the victim during the offence: Victim as Object, Victim as Vehicle, and Victim as Person.

With one exception, all cases fell clearly within either the Victim as Object, the Victim as Vehicle, or the Victim as Person mode (Canter, 1994; Canter & Youngs, 2009, 2012), highlighting the importance of differentiation

among sex worker attacks. The variants of sex worker attack delineated within the analysis are consistent with distinct particular theories within the range of competing explanations advanced for this abusive violence. In this way, the model may provide a framework for integrating the diverse etiologies that can be found in the literature.

The most dominant form of street sex worker attack, occurring in almost two-thirds of cases, was one in which the victim was assigned the role of an Object. The Victim as Object role draws together the direct possession and subjugation form of control with an empathy deficit that takes the form of the objectification of the victim (Canter and Youngs, 2012). In the Victim as Object role the offender sees the victim as having very little, if any, human significance or emotions. The Victim as Object role relies on total, physical forms of control. In the context of client-related violence against street sex workers this objectifying interpersonal role was revealed in offence actions of extreme physical violence; the use of weapons, threats, and restraints; the use of mouth coverings to control and stop the victim from communicating; and the tendency to reveal no personal details at all. Behaviors such as the use of weapon, gagging, violence, and threats have also been found to reflect the Victim as Object role in studies of other offending forms such as rape and stalking offence actions (Canter & Youngs, 2012).

Theories that contend that violence against sex workers is due to the male's need to dominate, control, discipline, and punish women, advanced by feminist researchers (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; McLeod, 1982) are clearly appropriate to this variant of attack. The economic position and poverty explanation model (Roberts, 1992) of prostitution, which states that sex workers are like businesswomen, selling a commodity on the streets, would also be consistent with this attack style. From this perspective, the encounter is fundamentally a business one, leading to a perception by the client of the sex worker as an object.

The second Victim as Vehicle variant of attack was one in which the focus of the offending actions was on sexually-demeaning behavior: forcing fellatio, ripping the victim's clothes, and rape. These offence actions are readily understood as the expression of the offender's symbolically targeted anger and desires, that define the Vehicle role for Canter (1994). This variant of attack is consistent with theories that account for the violence in terms of the offender's views about women who sell sex. For Sharpe (1998), for example, sexual violence is often seen as a consequence of the "type of women they are." By selling sexual services on the street, sex workers are often seen as "models of female unchastity ... and they are assumed to invite violence" (Pheterson, 1988, p. 80 as cited in McKeganey & Barnard, 1996).

The final, rarer, variant of attack on street sex workers, reveal a Victim as Person role. Here, the offender seeks to coerce and impose a form of relationship on the victim. The Victim as Person role draws together a coercive rather than

physical force approach to control with a form of empathy deficit based upon a general undervaluing of the individual (Canter & Youngs, 2012). This combination is integrated by a narrative in which the victim, although recognized as completely human, remains a person to be handled and manipulated. It produces offences in which the offender's focus is on the victim's participation, through an active involvement in sexual acts and the offender believes the behavior is wanted, leading him to communicate with the victim, for example, asking her if she is enjoying herself. This form of attack would be consistent with theories that emphasise the relationship between client and sex worker. For example, McLeod's (1982) thesis that violence against prostitutes is similar to domestic violence because some street sex workers have regular clients (O'Neill, 1997) with whom they do have a certain kind of relationship. Both behaviors identified here as reflecting the Victim as Person role (client asks street worker questions about herself/life or whether she is enjoying herself and verbally prompts her to participate in the attack including instructions to perform specific acts) were also found to reflect the Victim as Person role in a previous study of rape offence actions (Canter & Youngs, 2012).

To the authors' knowledge this is the first attempt to differentiate offending styles in client related violence. The present article provides preliminary support for a model of offending style in violent attacks against street sex workers based on a narrative consideration of the interpersonal approach to the victim. These findings have both significant theoretical implications in our understanding of the role that street sex workers play in the life of a client and policy implications in terms of the legalization of prostitution, and the promotion of schemes that warn street sex workers about known violent clients. The model draws detailed attention to the various forms that attacks can take and the psychological processes underpinning these potentially allowing street sex workers to have more specific and sophisticated violence prevention and control strategies in place. Notwithstanding this however, the remarkably high prevalence of violence in these street-based sex transactions must raise important questions about the nature of the function this service is providing. This, underlined by the direct behavioral style parallels with outright sexual attacks presents a compelling case for more policy steps to reduce the street-based sex working.

However, the present study has illustrated the power of the model for a small sample of mainly White female street sex workers. Further research needs to establish its relevance to a more diverse sample. The data that was used in the present study were collected 12 years ago. While the study examined violent behaviors that are still relevant today and as research shows happens as frequently, the results must be interpreted with a certain amount of caution and the study repeated with more recent data. The information available was limited and based on self-report data which rely on the honesty and accurate retrieval of information from participants. The quantitative analyses conducted here on this material will be usefully

supplemented by qualitative analysis to provide elaborations and illustrations of the themes revealed. Future studies would benefit from using data from other sources as well such as victim statements and police files with valuable information on the offenders and their backgrounds therefore investigating the link between offender characteristics and Victim Role assignments, which can have practical implications for police investigations.

The model of Victim Role assignment is drawn from the narrative framework (see Canter 1994; Canter & Youngs, 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012). Fundamental to this approach is the recognition that narratives will by their very nature be fluid and dynamic. Narratives change over time in relation to circumstances and developing ideas that any person has of their own unfolding storyline. It is therefore to be expected that the roles an offender assigns to his victims will evolve if he continues on a series of offences. Future studies could therefore also investigate the consistency of the offence behavior of individuals who carried out a series of violent attacks on street sex workers. The present study is only the first step in the development of the current model notably through the identification of the variations that exist among clients of street sex workers in terms of how they see street sex workers and what role they play in their life.

McKeganey and Barnard (1996) drew attention to the commonly held belief that there is little cost when a sex worker is attacked makes street sex workers “easy” victims. Clients know they are unlikely to be reported for violent offences, and even when women do report offences, their credibility as witnesses is questioned because they are street sex workers. Client violence can thrive where myths such as sex workers cannot be raped and sex workers “deserve” or provoke violence in choosing to sex work are perpetuated (Miller & Schwartz, 1995; Williamson & Folaron, 2001). The dominance identified here of an offending style in which clients see their victims as objects does suggest such myths are still alive.

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APPENDIX: VARIABLE CONTENT DICTIONARY

1. Inquisitive—Client asks street worker questions about herself/life or whether she is enjoying herself.
2. Verbal victim participation—Client verbally prompts street worker to participate in the attack including instructions to perform specific acts (e.g. to urinate on him).
3. SW clothes removed—Client removes or requests the street worker to remove her clothing, includes ripping her clothes.
4. Refuses condom—Client refuses to wear a condom.
5. Rape—Client inserts or attempts to insert penis in vagina or anus against the wishes of the street worker.
6. Fellatio—Client inserts or attempts to insert penis in mouth against the wishes of the street worker.

7. Physical violence—Client uses some form of physical, manual violence against street worker (i.e. kicking, biting, punching).
8. Displays weapon—Client places a weapon of some kind to the street worker's body or in the line of vision (knife, bar, rock, etc).
9. Locks in—Client attempts to or actually prevents street worker from leaving either by physical force, tying or binding the victim's limbs or by locking doors of car, house etc.
10. Threat no report—Particular form of verbal violence where the client threatens the victim that she should not report the incident to the police or any other person.
11. Verbal violence—Client verbally threatens the victim's safety at some time during the attack (e.g. "shut up or I'll kill you").
12. Tells nothing—Client tells street worker nothing about his background.
13. Uses weapon—Client uses a weapon of some kind to physically harm the street worker (e.g. stabbed, slashed).
14. Robs—Client does not pay, takes back payment from street worker or attempts to or robs street worker of other money.
15. Gags—Client obstructs the street worker's mouth in some fashion (i.e. tying object around mouth, blocking mouth with arm).
16. Verbally demeans—Client uses profanity and insulting language to demean the street worker (e.g. "you're a dirty f***ing whore").
17. Dumps—Client dumps street worker after the attack.