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Research paper

A venue analysis of predictors of alcohol use prior to sexual intercourse among female sex workers in Senggigi, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Background: Female sex workers' (FSWs') use of alcohol, a known disinhibitor to risk behaviour, has been largely understudied. Knowledge of how various sex work venues influence FSW's alcohol consumption before engaging in commercial sex is even rarer. Our analysis identifies those factors across three types of sex-work venues that predict alcohol use among FSWs prior to paid sexual intercourse with clients. Our data were collected through structured interviews with FSWs engaging in commercial sex in Senggigi Beach, Lombok Island in the eastern Indonesian province of West Nusa Tenggara.

Methods: Employing a cross-sectional and multilevel design, three categories of venues where FSWs meet clients in Senggigi were sampled: (1) discotheques and bars (freelance), (2) brothels, and (3) recreational enterprises such as karaoke establishments and massage parlors. The sample consisted of 115 women "nested" within 16 sex work venues. The FSWs reported on 326 clients interactions.

Results: Results show that FSWs consumed alcohol before commercial sex with 157 (48%) of the 326 clients interactions. Alcohol use varied by differences in HIV policies and services offered at the sex work venue, the FSW's educational level and age, and client characteristics.

Conclusion: Alcohol use is common prior to sexual intercourse among FSWs and their clients in Senggigi, and the venue where FSWs meet their clients influences the women's alcohol use. Freelancers were likelier to use alcohol than those who work at brothels and recreational enterprises. Given the recognized links between alcohol use prior to sex and high risk behaviour, HIV prevention programmes that discourage alcohol use should be introduced to both women who engage in commercial sex and also sex-work venue managers, owners, and clients.

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Introduction

Alcohol's contribution to the global HIV epidemic by encouraging high risk behaviour, especially among high risk groups, has long been acknowledged (Brown & Van Hook, 2006; Madhivanan et al., 2005; Raj, Cheng, Levison, Meli, & Samet, 2006). In this regard, research worldwide indicates that alcohol use predicts increased HIV related-risk behaviour for female sex workers (FSWs) via increased risk of unprotected sex with their clients (Chersich et al., 2007; Plant, Plant, & Thomas, 1990; Plant, 1990; Yang et al., 2005). Meanwhile, several studies of HIV risk behaviour among FSWs document the importance of understanding the dynamic relationship between the personal attributes of the women and the social environment in which they engage in risky behaviour (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005; Ford, Wirawan, Muliawan, & Wolfe, 2002; MAP, 2005; Nguyen, Linden, Nguyen, John, & Ha, 2000). Yet, little research attention has focused on identifying the potential link between FSWs' personal characteristics and the influence of their sex work environment in determining alcohol use as a high-risk behaviour.

This study investigates predictors of alcohol use among FSWs engaged in commercial sex at three types of sex work venues in Senggigi, Indonesia prior to paid intercourse with their clients. Senggigi, which is located in the eastern Indonesian province of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), stretches out along 10 kilometers of beachfront. As the most developed tourism enclave in the NTB province, Senggigi attracts a constant flow of foreign and domestic tourists. Rural youth from the local countryside also are lured to the area by the prospect of finding a job in the tourist economy or the possibility of greater social freedom (Bennett, 2000). A well-established but illegal sex industry contributes an unknown number of dollars annually to Senggigi's local economy, a characteristics that has been

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true for much of Indonesia's major leisure and tourist destinations since the country's colonial days (Lim, 1998).

Indonesia in general has seen a sharp increase in HIV among FSW in recent years (MOH, BPS, USAID, KPAN, & ASA, 2008; MAP, 2004; Riono & Jazant, 2004). In addressing this component of the epidemic, public health research on FSWs in Indonesia has focused primarily on the role of individual risk-behaviour in the spread of HIV. This study extends this research by examining how FSW's personal characteristics under the influence of differing sex-work environments predict the consumption of alcohol prior to sex with their clients.

Over the last decade, the concept of "risk environment" has emerged as an increasingly important theoretical approach to understanding HIV risk and/or protective behaviour. Investigations of the role of social environment in promoting risky behaviour include settings where drugs are used (Klein & Levy, 2003; Ouellet, Jimenez, Johnson, & Wiebel, 1991; Rhodes, 2002; Tempalski & McQuie, 2009), bathhouses as high-risk settings among men who have sex with men (Binson & Woods, 2003), and low-income senior housing complexes among older minority adults (Schensul, Levy, & Disch, 2003). A limited literature has identified several characteristics of sex work environments associated with risky behaviour, including monetary concerns and the lack of support for risk reduction from owners-managers, customers and peers (Morisky et al., 1998; Morisky, Pena, Tiglao, & Liu, 2002; Morisky, Chiao, Stein, & Malow, 2005; Morisky, Stein, Chiao, Ksobiech, & Malow, 2006; Outwater et al., 2000; Kerrigan et al., 2003). A study of FSWs in the Philippines concludes that commercial sex work establishments serve as the situational context for alcohol consumption and that sexual risk behaviours occur with greater frequency among FSWs who use alcohol before commercial sex (Chiao, Morisky, Rosenberg, Ksobiech, & Malow, 2006).

In Indonesia, FSWs meet their clients in different social milieus that include red-light areas, brothels, on the street, and recreational enterprises (e.g. karaoke establishments, massage parlors, and so on) (Fajans, Ford, & Wirawan, 1994; Ford & Wirawan, 2005; Ford, Wirawan, & Fajans, 1995, 1998; Ford, Wirawan, Reed, Muliawan, & Sutarga, 2000; Hugo, 2001; Joesoef et al., 1997, 2000; Riono & Jazant, 2004; Sedyaningsih-Mamahit, 1999; Thorpe, Ford, Fajans, & Wirawan, 1997).

FSWs working within these settings are subject to differing external control over their sex work activities according to the type of venues where they solicit clients. "Rumah bordel (unofficial brothels)" operate outside of government administration and typically consist of single dwellings managed by a brothel owner who receives a room rental fee from the FSWs but does not necessarily manage their client-related activities. In contrast, recreational enterprises such as karaoke establishments and massage parlors maintain contractual agreements with the women to provide massage and/or companionship services for male customers including paid sex if the woman agrees (Lim, 1998; Safika, 2009; Surtees, 2004). These women are subject to varying managerial rules depending on the particular establishment. Meanwhile, no specific regulations govern or restrict freelancers from meeting their clients at discothegues and bars where their presence may help to boost customer patronage and alcohol purchases. Establishment managers or owners have no direct commercial agreement with the FSWs other than to allow or deny them access as customers (Safika, 2009).

Ethnographic research in the Senggigi area of Lombok, Indonesia showed that alcohol is commonly consumed across all of these venues (Safika, 2009). For example, freelance FSWs who seek clients at discotheques and bars typically congregate and consume alcohol as a group while waiting for potential clients at the establishment's entrance. Similarly, in addition to possibly accruing money through commercial sex, women who work in karaoke establishments are paid by the venue's owner to sing and drink with clients to increase establishment profits through alcohol sales (Safika, 2009).

We hypothesize in this analysis that alcohol use varies by sex work venues and by individual FSWs across sex work venues. We also hypothesize that alcohol use is more likely to occur: (a) among freelance sex workers, (b) within sex work venues that do not implement HIV related policies, and (c) within establishments run by owners or managers who were non-supportive of FSW health and well-being. We further posit that alcohol use is more likely to occur among FSWs who have lesser knowledge of HIV than their counterparts with greater knowledge and also to vary by the type of client with whom the FSWs engage in paid sex.

Methods

Study design and procedures

Ethics approval for the study was obtained from the Institutional Review Board of the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects, University of Illinois at Chicago. Local approval also obtained from the Regional Development Planning Agency, Office of Research, West Nusa Tenggara.

A cross-sectional design based on venue-based sampling was used to identify and recruit FSWs in Senggigi on Lombok Island in the eastern Indonesian province of West Nusa Tenggara. Outreach workers from two local nongovernment agencies helped the senior author to map and gain access to the range of sex establishments and venues in the Senggigi commercial sex area.

Twenty-six sex work venues initially were identified and subsequently categorized into one of three venue types: (1) discotheques and bars (freelance), (2) brothels, and (3) recreational enterprises such as karaoke establishments and massage parlors. With the exception of six freelance locations where approval for study recruitment was unnecessary, a manager's or owner's permission was needed to approach and recruit potential participants for the study. All five brothels, eight out of ten massage parlors, and three out of five karaoke bars granted permission.

To be eligible for the study, participants had to be: (a) female, (b) 18 years of age or older, (c) solicit clients at one of the following locations: brothels, freelance locations, or recreational enterprises (massage parlors or karaoke bars) in the Senggigi area, and (d) willing to provide informed consent to participate in the study. Overall, 151 women across 22 venues met these criteria. In obtaining informed consent, prospective participants were assured that enrollment in the study was entirely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time without penalty. Using a structured questionnaire, the senior author interviewed the participants face-to-face about their personal characteristics, their sex work venue, sexual behaviour, and alcohol consumption before sex with their three most recent clients. To protect confidentiality, code numbers were used instead of names or other personal identifiers, and all completed interviews and other data were kept in a locked cabinet at a location 20 km from the study site to which only the senior author had access.

Measures

The dependent variable was a dichotomous indicator of FSW alcohol use before sex that was measured by asking respondents about each client, "*Did you drink alcohol with [client] before sex?*" Independent variables were measured at three levels: sex work venue, personal (characteristics of the FSW), and client.

Venue-level variables included supportive versus nonsupportive management style as reported by the FSWs and defined by whether or not a venue's owners or managers appeared Download English Version:

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