Qualitative and Sociological Analysis of Prostitution in Bajnord

Esmaeil Ghorbani¹ Mahdi Kermani^{*2} Hossein Behravan³

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Abstract

This study examines the experience of living and understanding the perceptions of prostitutes. The research in terms of the purpose is exploratory, in terms of the implementation is qualitative and based on the interpretive paradigm, in terms of the results is applied and in terms of the criteria of the time is Cross sectional research. From a systematic analysis of deep interviewing with 16 participants (prostitutes, pimps, and customers) the grounded theory was conducted based on Strauss and Corbin's approach. After the open and axial coding, 80 sub categories and 20 main categories was extracting. Ultimately based on the selective coding, the central phenomenon was formulated in the form of "prostitution, conflict resolution in the cycle of poverty, insecurity and exploitation". The results of the research showed that the central phenomenon was influenced by a set of underlying conditions including "deficiency in household and women-related laws" and "instability in socio-economic conditions" and interventional conditions including "deprivations from traditional culture", "inappropriate marriage", "addiction and acceleration in the propensity to prostitute", "domestic violence", "weak social skills", "shaky family" and "educational background", and causal conditions has included "social insecurity", "the prosperity of the market for exploitation" and "the increasing poverty of the household." Prostitutes also use strategies such as "active compliance with existing status" and "crosssectional/non-enforced resistance" that results in "incapacitated risk aversion", "continuous exposure to violence" and "family dedication of everyday life."

Keywords: Prostitution, Prostitute market, Grounded theory, Customer, Pimp.

¹.PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Mashhad, Iran, e.ghorbani1981@gmail.com

².Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Mashhad, Iran, mkermani@ferdowsi.um.ac.ir(Corresponding Author)

³.Professor, Department of Sociology, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Mashhad, Iran, behravan@um.ac.ir

1. Introduction

Prostitution as a marketed form of physical fusion between two human beings has been one of the most controversial phenomena in the history of human societies. In today's society, despite claims of improved rights, this fundamental challenge, which in many cases involves the serious violation of women's rights, persists. Even dramatic advances in communication and information technologies, which are known to facilitate many accesses and social and cultural awareness, have played a dual and contradictory function in relation to the phenomenon of prostitution (Haghani Far, 2011, p. 56). In parallel with raising the level of awareness of individuals about their human rights, it has practically provided a wide space for the possibility of violating these rights. The huge location of the pornography industry in cyberspace is a testament to this claim.

Prostitution or providing sexual services to others in exchange for money (Taylor 2010, Qayyum 2013) is a complex and multi-level social issue that affects children from old age to old age. According to statistics published in 2010, the age of women entering prostitution in the UK is 12 years. According to the same statistics, more than 75% of prostitutes in the UK have started prostitution before the age of 18 (Taylor, 2010). In countries such as Canada and the United States, the age of prostitution has decreased to 15-14 years (Sells, 2016). The study of the phenomenon of prostitution at the international level shows its high and increasing statistics; According to the World Health Organization in China, there are currently between four and six million prostitutes providing sexual services to others (Scelles, 2016).

At the national level, statistics show an increase in prostitution and moral deviance among women in recent decades: A study conducted in 1989 shows that the number of women with moral crimes increased from 14% in 1981 to 26% of the total. Women's crimes arrived in 2001, which along with drug-related crimes is the highest type of women's crime (Jarbani, 2010). Also, according to the statistics of the Welfare Organization in 2016, nearly 2200 prostitutes have entered the centers of this organization for rehabilitation, of which about 30% are people who enter these centers for the second time (Iran Welfare Organization, 2017). The phenomenon of prostitution has many social consequences, including an increase in the number of sexually transmitted

diseases and AIDS, a decrease in the marriage rate and an increase in the divorce rate, the birth of street children and an increase in illegal abortions, and so on. Of course, this abortion can cause physical problems and infertility for women. Prostitution also increases the number of unidentified and unidentified children. These children have many mental and psychological problems and are problematic for society (Qayyum et al., 2013). Prostitution in its legal form also has harmful social effects; According to a study conducted in 150 countries, there is a relationship between the existence of legal prostitution and the increase in human trafficking (Chow, 2013). This indicates the complexity of the issue of prostitution and the difficulty of intervening in this area.

At the level of the study population, i.e. the city of Bojnourd, the situation of women's social harms, especially sexual perversions and prostitution, is unfavorable. According to the country's welfare statistics in 2017, North Khorasan, which is a relatively small and sparsely populated province, is the fourth province in the country in terms of prostitution (Iran Welfare Organization, 2017). This can be explained by the unfavorable economic situation of this province. This province has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country in terms of unemployment rate and is considered one of the least prosperous provinces in the country (Management and Planning Organization of North Khorasan Province, 2017). In fact, the social and economic appearance of the province shows widespread poverty and unemployment in the province, and this intensifies the occurrence of social harms, including prostitution in this province. Therefore, the most important issue studied in this article is how to construct the phenomenon of prostitution in the study community? What social and economic mechanisms are involved in the occurrence, prosperity and continuity of this phenomenon and what are the social conditions and status of the people involved in this issue? Based on this, the following questions can be asked:

- What are the underlying conditions for prostitution?

- What are the conditions of intervention affecting the decision-making and behavior of prostitutes?

- What causes the behavior of prostitutes in the prostitution market?

- What are the strategies of prostitutes in different situations?

- What are the socio-economic consequences of prostitution?

2. Review of Literature

Due to the paradigmatic differences between quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the use of theory in qualitative methodology to inspire and complement its role in the process of research and data analysis and to create theoretical-conceptual sensitivity to help open the mind of the researcher. It is done in relation to the issues and categories studied. At the same time, not all qualitative research methods use theories or conceptual frameworks in the same way. In the field theory method, theories are used as technical literature and researchers are free to apply theories (Mohammadpour, 2011, pp.233-234). Therefore, in this section, first the theories related to prostitution are briefly presented and then a number of studies conducted in the field of prostitution are mentioned.

Anomie theory: This study is theoretically close to anomie theory and social structure. According to this theory, some people in society deviate from social norms in order to overcome poverty and succeed in life without doing hard activities and creativity in life. Prostitution forces people into prostitution in order to gain financial benefits. Prostitution as a social evil is an alternative to hard work to earn a living. The thirst for social success and climbing the social ladder may force some people to seek such methods. Efforts to overcome poverty and social success and the inability of some people to perform socially problematic activities can replace another simpler and cheaper method, such as prostitution. This view leads to the fact that some people engage in prostitution in exchange for financial services. In fact, according to Merton's anomic view, in order to achieve desirable social goals, individuals deviate from socially acceptable norms and tools (Sotoudeh, 2010,pp. 181-182 and Tanhaie, 1995,pp. 208-210).

Social learning theory: According to Clark, the incidence of crime depends on 1) the initial environment and personal upbringing, 2) socioeconomic status of the individual 3) the current situation of the individual, 4) crises and events of the individual, 5) personal factors and 6) It has situational factors (Alavi, 2010,p.7). According to the social learning perspective, prostitutes are drawn to such deviations because of their strong connections with perverts. According to social learning theory, prostitution is a learnable social behavior. For example, if a child grows up in an environment where people are engaged in prostitution, in adulthood he will tend to prostitution. In the perspective of social learning, the role of imitation in learning is very important. Nnachi (2007) argues that growing children copy what adults do and imitate their behavior. According to this view, children during the period of socialization, if they are in an environment where prostitution takes place, consider this type of activity as natural and consider it as a way of social life.

Theory of Functionalism: Davis (2001) in explaining the theory of functionalism emphasizes that prostitution as a "safety valve" helps to maintain and sustain marriage. For example, in the Victorian era in Britain, this was very strict about sexual activity. Prostitution flourished. This is a way for men to be able to meet their sexual needs while their wives are pregnant or caring for children. Thus, prostitution has the function of stabilizing the family institution by satisfying the needs of the male sex in situations where it can have less relationship with his wife.

Functionalists describe the functions of prostitution as follows:

a. Prostitution provides sexual deprivation to people who are unable or unwilling to choose a spouse.

b. Prostitution provides temporary sexual deprivation for people such as tourists, sailors and others living away from family.

c. Prostitution is a relatively suitable condition for those who are willing or unable to pursue their sexual needs legitimately (Sotoudeh, 2010, pp. 182-181).

Labeling theory: According to this theory, when a person is labeled in society, it affects his identity and personality and the person believes that he has labeled characteristics and guilt is part of the belief and self-concept. He becomes a person and as a result, his behavior gradually becomes under the influence of this estimate resulting from the criminal label (Torabi, 2011, p. 111). Label theory states that deviant behavior depends on how much people respect that behavior (the role of law). If a behavior or role is highly respected, it is called "perversion" and the offender is fined or punished. From the sociologists' point of view, breaking the law is not called "deviance" unless individuals respect and pay attention to it, and violating it will lead to punishment and correcting behavior (Sotoudeh, 2010, p. 150). According to Igbo and Anugwom (2002), once a person is labeled a prostitute, he or she will later act as a prostitute. A woman influences people's attitudes and

expectations. This process involves self-executing the activity by people tagged based on the expectations of others.

Fatehi et al., (2009) described and analyzed the sociological and psychological characteristics of prostitute girls and women in Isfahan province and the findings showed that family disorder, economic poverty, addiction, poor socialization and weak social ties are important. The most sociological and diversity characteristics, excitement, lack of emotional balance, behavioral and weak moral identity are the most important psychological characteristics of girls and women in prostitution.

In another article, Howell (2003), entitled "Socio-Economic Requirements of Prostitutes in Southern Mexico", examines the situation of prostitution in one of the less developed areas of southern Mexico. In this region, due to the unfavorable economic situation, the employment conditions are very unsuitable. It forces women to work in hard and forced jobs with very low incomes. Prostitution have also been welcomed by women as a compulsory occupation in the region. In fact, although prostitutes are labeled as abusive women and have a very low social status, women are forced into prostitution due to economic needs and poor family conditions.

In a study by Dhavaleshwarand Umesh (2011) in an Indian city, interviewees of 18 prostitutes with similar socioeconomic status were interviewed and asked about their social, educational, family, and income status, most of whom had relative job satisfaction. The social stigma attached to prostitution and the education of their children was topics of great importance to the interviewees. The findings showed that prostitutes were generally married and engaged in prostitution to support their families. It is noteworthy that most of the time, their husbands are also aware of their prostitution. Therefore, prostitutes have the support of the family and consider prostitution as a job to earn money and economic growth for their family. Most respondents experienced their activities in their own homes. Because they believe that the home is a safe environment and prevents the possible violent behavior of some customers. Another interesting finding in this study was that half of the respondents also had other occupations, especially indigenous prostitutes who owned shops, and most interestingly, some of them were

government employees due to dissatisfaction with their salaries. They have committed prostitution.

Sallmann (2010), in relation to women's experiences of prostitution and addiction, used interpretive phenomenology to analyze the interviews of 14 prostitutes. The women interviewed described their daily business of living with the label of stigma and discrimination, which was directed at them because of their involvement in prostitution and addiction, after their biographies and difficult living conditions. They also discussed their feelings about the constant change in their activities (prostitution) and the ways in which they resisted the internalization of these negative messages. In this article, Salman details women's experiences of living with notoriety and the consequences. Participants said they were discredited among family members, friends, clients, and the criminal justice system, and continued to be branded as corrupt, even after behavioral changes. Moreover, despite such negative experiences, they told stories of resisting the notoriety that was directed at them. Billy Long (2012), in an article entitled "Women's Freedom to Engage in Sexual Activity: Twenty-Three Reasons for Legalizing Prostitution in the United States," takes a different view from many other researchers and believes that prostitution has many social benefits. He distinguishes between street prostitution - and its harm to the individual and society - and emphasizes private prostitution in a safe, controlled, and supervised environment. According to her, this type of prostitution represents a natural evolution that empowers women, increases security in jobs and sexual activities, professionalizes the sex industry, and ultimately reduces oppression against women, which The feminist paradigm is also emphasized.

Kim (2012), in an article measuring the Unknown Economy - A Demand-Based Survey of the South Korean Prostitution Market, examines the demand for prostitution services in South Korea by conducting a stratified random sampling survey of 671 men. Korean adults examined. The results showed that 60% of adult men go to prostitution at least once in their lifetime and about 40% of men at least 3 times a year. It was also observed that demographic variables such as education level and income, number of sexual partners and marital status make Korean men more likely to seek prostitution services. Shahid Qayyum et al. (2013), in their article entitled "Factors of Women's

Participation in Prostitution and Its Consequences in Pakistan" examine the causes of women's tendency to prostitution in the Punjab province of Pakistan. While examining the situation of prostitution in this region, he divides the factors of women's tendency into two categories of voluntary factors and involuntary factors. Voluntary factors include: poverty, poor economic conditions, family debts, and illness of family members, relationships with bad friends, addiction of the husband, family disputes and relationships for pleasure. Involuntary factors also include: early marriages, human trafficking, rape, cheating in romantic relationships and cheating by the family. Prostitution has many individual and social consequences, including: unwanted pregnancy, unwanted childbearing, abortion, sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS, drug addiction, rape, sexual violence, uterine disease and physical violence, and reduced mental health. She has a prostitute.

one of the Lumenn (1996),first proponents of prostitution decriminalization, conducted several studies on violence against prostitutes. He obtained information about prostitutes who were murdered between 1960 and 1994 by reviewing articles in several newspapers archived at the Vancouver Police Department. He found that in the first year, 67 prostitutes were identified in British Columbia. A survey by the Statistics Center of Canada found that 63 prostitutes were murdered between 1991 and 1995 across the country. Most of them appeared to have been killed by their clients, while eight were killed by brokers or drug abusers and five by their sexual partners. Almost all of the prostitutes killed were women. In addition, due to the nature of street prostitution, it was very difficult to identify the victims, and by the end of 1996, 54% of these cases remained unsolved and unknown.Church (2009), in her dissertation entitled "Concepts on the health and safety of prostitutes." The aim of this dissertation is to examine the socio-economic organization of sexual intercourse in three locations on the street, saunas and private apartments in the UK, with a special focus on the concepts of health and safety in relation to prostitutes. The results of the study show that the prostitutes who were studied suffered from unfavorable social conditions that led them to turn to prostitution. Nearly half of them made their first prostitution before the age of 18, and a small number were forced into prostitution for the first time. Prostitutes had less sexual and sexual intercourse than non-prostitutes. There was a high percentage of violence against prostitutes, mostly from customers, but also from brokers and other women. According to the prostitutes' workplace, violence was more likely to occur in client-owned or intermediary locations than in private apartments.

Fiske (2013), in a study entitled "Identifying the Realities of Prostitutes and Their Children in the United States and India", interviewed 17 women from the United States and 11 women from India to learn about the challenges of prostitutes and their children's needs. According to the research findings, the attitude that society views prostitutes as perpetrators rather than mothers has often led to discrimination and deprivation of this range of women in society. Discrimination and deprivation of this group of women has made the task of caring for their children difficult. All 17 interviewees had children. Five out of six American prostitutes had lost custody of their children, insisting that this was a factor in turning to prostitution and addiction. However, in a study conducted in India, prostitutes acknowledged that they have taken good care of their children since they became prostitutes and that they are committed to keeping their children safe and providing them with an education. There is a stark difference between the role of social media and the policies adopted in India and the United States. Indian prostitutes have a cordial relationship with their children because of custody, and this was very different from what was seen in the United States. Studies show that prostitutes need support to support their children. Prostitutes in the study cited the negative effects of detention and separation from their children. The findings suggest that the government's current policy of arresting prostitutes and caring for their children does not help women and children reduce prostitution.

3. Methodology

This study is in terms of the purpose of exploratory research, in terms of the process of conducting qualitative research and based on interpretive paradigm, in terms of the results of applied research and in terms of cross-sectional study time criteria (2016-2017). According to the interpretive approach, the purpose of scientific research is to understand the meaning of behaviors or interactions of individuals that at higher levels of action become a series of structures and larger objective reality (Mohammadpour and Iman, 2008). An interpretive

paradigm is appropriate when the researcher wants to study human behavior, motivations, mental meaning, and the social and cultural contexts that affect it (Ratish & Lewis, 2003). Among the methods and strategies of the interpretive paradigm, the contextual theory method is one of the most widely used methods that aims to produce theory; the theory that is based on systematic data collection and analysis (Babi, 2002, pp. 587 and Egan, 2002, pp. 277). In grounded theory, concepts are derived from empirical data and correlated with other data for constant correction. This helps us to move beyond the poor description of phenomena (Abbaszadeh and Hosseinpour, 2011, pp. 150-149).

Name	Age	Marital status	Education	Type of participation
Zahra	22	divorced	Cycle	Prostitute
Banafsheh	25	Leave	illiterate	Prostitute
Soraya	23	divorced	Primary	Prostitute
Farzaneh	19	Single	Cycle	Prostitute
Marzieh	37	divorced	Cycle	Prostitute
Maryam	25	Single	Tips	Prostitute
Parvaneh	35	divorced	Primary	Prostitute
Saeedeh	23	Single	Diploma	Prostitute
Zoherh	23	divorced	Student canceled	Prostitute
Razieh	27	Single	Tips	Prostitute
Shah Sannam	28	Married	illiterate	Prostitute
Atefeh	25	divorced	Primary	Prostitute
Habib	50	Married	Primary	Applicant
Abbas	36	Married	Bachelor	Applicant
Nasrin	27	Married	Primary	Broker
Arezoo	27	Married	Tips	Broker

Table (1) Distribution of participants by type of participation

The statistical population of the study is 16 people (Table 1) of people involved in prostitution, including: 12 prostitutes, 2 brokers and 2 clients, including prostitutes and welfare clients of Bojnourd and clients with the help of prostitutes identified and contacted. Sampling method is also purposeful sampling. Accordingly, in separate meetings for 1500 minutes with prostitutes and counselors admitted in the welfare rehabilitation center of Bojnourd city and their clients, in-depth interviews have been conducted and documents and files related to each have been studied to theoretical saturation. To be obtained. To analyze the data, the text of the interviews was coded using Glaser-Strauss continuous comparison analysis technique and by categorizing the categorization into three stages: open, axial and selective, and the interpretation of patterns and relationships were achieved. According to the basic concepts, it has been sub-categories and major and finally the core category.

4. Findings

The research findings are coded in 80 concepts, 20 major categories and one category to provide a meaningful representation of the construction of the prostitution of the poor from the perspective of stakeholders.

subcategories	Main categories	The nature of the main category
Incomplete provision of social support	Social helplessness	casual
Loose social relationships		
Prosperity market boom	The boom in sexual	
Easy access hangouts	exploitation	
Lack of shelter	Exacerbating	
Inability to pay for drugs	household poverty	
Excessive poverty		
	Deficiency in laws	Background
	related to women and	
	family	
	Instability in the social	
	and economic	
	conditions of society	
Severe addiction of family members	Addiction and	Intervention
	accelerating the	
	tendency to	
	prostitution	
Severe prostitution addiction		
Forced marriage	False marriage	
Marriage prediction		
Traditional gap		
Cheating in marriage		
Disorganized family	Shaky family	
Weak family support		
Family disputes		
Abuse		
Low education	Educational	
	background	
Fear of disgrace	Restrictions and	
Feeling disgraced	Deprivations Due to	
	Traditional Culture	
child abuse	Domestic violence	
Domestic violence		
Incest		
False social relationships	Poor social skills	
	Active adaptation to	Strategic
	the status quo	

 Table (2) concepts, 20 major categories and one category of the research

	Cross-sectional /	
	discontinuous	
	resistance	
	Passivity against	
	exploitation factors	
Impaired mental health	Exacerbation of	Consequence
Suicide	vulnerability in risk	
	factors	
The spread of sexual, physical and	Constant exposure to	
psychological violence	violence	
Unstable family formation	Detachment from	
	everyday life	

4.1. Central Phenomenon: Prostitution, Output of Conflict in the Cycle of Poverty, Homelessness and Exploitation

Prostitute women who are involved in prostitution due to poverty and social problems are sexually exploited and their social conditions are much worse. In fact, these women, who have been forced into prostitution due to poor economic conditions and in order to meet their financial needs, have not only not had their problems resolved after entering this field, but have also been placed in more unfavorable economic and social conditions. Poor prostitutes are sexually exploited by lawyers and clients without social support and due to lack of economic and social independence. The abundance of supply and abundance of prostitutes provide the conditions for exploitation, and in the prostitution market, customers (demand) and lawyers (brokers) have the upper hand. This allows prostitutes to meet the desired conditions of clients and prostitutes and provide sexual services with a minimum wage. In such a market, the situation of prostitutes will deteriorate and it will not be possible to free them from this cycle.

Banafsheh, who was admitted to a welfare rehabilitation center, decided to get married in order to improve her social and family situation, but this marriage was more of a sexual exploitation than a successful marriage. He says in this regard: "In 2014, I married a married man and an elderly man. Of course, I was a concubine because a woman was saying that if I divorce my wife, I will definitely marry you. No matter how much I insisted, he would make an excuse. "When I saw that he was wasting time and abusing me, I tore up the letter after a year." said Soraya, who now lives with her boyfriend. "I have been living with my boyfriend for about 10 years," He wanted to make

me addicted too because he consumes glass himself; But I did not consume. "I went through everything because of my boyfriend, I went through my family and my life, I did whatever he wanted, but he does not clarify my task, he just wants me to be by his side." According to the case assistant, Soraya's boyfriend makes her her dependent and abuses her as a puppet and earns money in this way.

Due to the economic and social conditions of these women, as well as society's negative view of such people and the possibility of success in future life, it is not possible to form successful and stable families. The family is especially their husband and mostly ends in separation. "I no longer want to live with her," said Zahra, who is married after being released from rehab and after several years of unsuccessful cohabitation. I ran away from home twice. Life has really become unbearable because of my husband's humiliation and beatings. He loved me very much in the beginning of my life, but now he keeps me only because of the children. I have to stay with him because I have a check in his hand. "Because if I go, the first thing he does is execute the checks and put me in prison."

The living conditions of these people are such that their own life and future are hopeless and have no motivation to live. Sannam says:"In fact, I think I am a very miserable person. My husband is like this, my family is addicted and a murderer, I am like this, my children are two separate from me and both are in welfare. People who are not trusted at all, all seek abuse and only think of themselves and their interests, I have nothing. How can I say I am left and God is above me? I'm really disappointed in myself. "How long do I have to live like this?" Razieha also says: "I consider myself an unfortunate person who has had all the problems in the world for me; "My father's death, poverty and homelessness and the addiction of all my family members have all happened to me."

Causal conditions of Social Insecurity: Based on information from observations and interviews, most people involved in prostitution suffer from a lack of necessary social and family support, and as soon as their family relationships are disrupted. And their family relationships are such that the possibility of receiving the necessary support is lost; these people are quickly drawn to inappropriate and harmful social relationships outside the family.Many of the interviewees have been sexually abused for the first time by family members: Zahra, 23, says:"When my brother found out that I had a boyfriend and was in a relationship with him, he pressured me and said I should have a relationship with you. "As much as I insisted that you are my brother and you should not do this, he did not listen to me and I was forced to accept this relationship."

When these people are pushed out of the family environment to receive psychological and social support; The social conditions of the society are such that they are exposed to all kinds of social harms. Lack of communication skills makes it easy for these people to get caught up in people who tend to satisfy their sexual needs. In most cases, government support programs and non-governmental organizations are also deficient and cannot provide support and appropriate measures to rehabilitate these individuals. Even about the available facilities, there is no clear information and effective awareness. When asked about the social support through welfare, 27-year-old Marzieh, who did not have good social conditions, said:"I did not know that welfare helps in this regard, I later found out and learned."

Inadequate guidelines, rules and mechanisms are also effective in preventing the rehabilitation of prostitutes and in a way play a role in their reinclination to prostitution. Most people get tired of the closed and inactive rehabilitation environment, where they come in contact with professional bags and lawyers, and this inappropriate communication puts them at greater risk after leaving the center.

Prosperity of sexual exploitation: Arguably one of the most attractive and popular financial markets in the social arena of the prostitution market. Despite the illegality of prostitution-related activities in the community, due to the abundance of supply and demand and the attractiveness of this market, there are many exchanges in this area on a daily basis. These relationships take place either without intermediaries or by brokers in this field. Customers are mostly men who have both remained single for economic and social reasons and entered the market to satisfy their sexual needs, or who are married and dissatisfied with their marital status. In any case, what can be deduced from the words of the respondents is that the informal market for the provision of prostitution services is hot. "50-year-old Habib says about this:"Sex is not a

joke. My wife forces me to have sex with other women because she comes back when I want to, and that has caused a lot of differences between us."

Customers are mostly willing to pay any kind of expenses to satisfy their sexual needs and are completely satisfied with this issue. Hamid, as a customer, says in this regard:"I do not care about the other side, I do not care about the other side, he just wanted to get money, I also wanted to be satisfied." I was willing to pay any amount to satisfy myself."

Leaders in this regard are also often people who first worked as prostitutes in this field. And later, after gaining the necessary experience and conditions, they continued their activities as pimps. Through the management of this market, the rulers have been able to earn high and relatively easy income. Prostitutes are categorized, priced, and introduced to clients based on age and beauty. Customers also choose the right option based on their financial needs. One of the determining parameters in the field of price in the mentioned market is related to the place of supply. Sometimes a brothel or a client's house or special hangout run by other people for a fee is used as a place to exchange sex services. But in many cases, the pimp offers his home as a place to communicate in order to further benefit. Arezoo, who used to be a prostitute and now works as a prostitute, talks about the past: "I used to go to a penman named Marzieh. Marzieh took 50, 40, 30 tomans from each customer and took most of it herself. Marzieh matched both the girl and the place for the client. If the client did not like the prostitute's appearance, Marzieh herself would have sex with him and take money. "I used to go there every other day and have sex with some clients and Marzieh would give me 50, 40 tomans."

Exacerbating household poverty: Poverty is one of the most important and fundamental causes of prostitution in society. High living costs, unemployment and lack of suitable jobs lead many women and girls to prostitution. Most of these people, who are deprived of the necessary social support and do not have the necessary independence and empowerment, are inevitably placed in the abyss of sexual exploitation and prostitution. Many of these women have poor family conditions that are accompanied by the inability of the head of the household to support himself. This disability makes young women more likely to be sexually exploited, especially when all or some of their family members are addicted to drugs. Another point to consider is that

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most of these prostitutes themselves were either addicted before they fell into the abyss of prostitution or were drawn to substance abuse as part of the process of exploitation by the authorities. As a result, in order to supply drugs and reimburse their costs, they turn to lawyers and customers. In response to why you and others you know are prostitutes, Marzieh, 27, says:"Most of those who do this are not of their own free will. All of them are homeless people who prostitute themselves because they do not have a place to sleep or shelter, or they are addicted and need a place to consume, or they go to certain places to get materials and have to "They sell themselves."

4.2. Background conditions

Deficiency in family and women related laws: One of the unfavorable social contexts that lead women to social harms is deficiency in family related laws. The annual social conditions of the father have made laws in favor of men so that men have more maneuvering power in the social and family spheres and women have less bargaining power. Lack of women's right to divorce exposes women to violence and all kinds of socio-psychological damage within a troubled family. In this family situation where women are exposed to violence and their hands are short of the law, in order to save themselves from this critical situation, they resort to harmful behaviors such as running away from home, illegitimate relationships, addiction, suicide, and so on.

In such a situation, even many of the existing laws that have been passed in favor of women are not very effective in practice; Observations at the community level and some available data confirm high unemployment of women, poverty, lack of technical skills, low literacy, working in inappropriate and high-risk social environments with low incomes (Jafari, 2015 and Yousefi, et al., 2015). The traditional and patriarchal view of employment has also led to the adoption of many employment laws in favor of men, which in turn has led to women staying at home and reducing their level of psychological, economic and social empowerment.

Instability in the socio-economic conditions of society: In the transitional conditions of Iranian society in the past few decades, where changes in the cultural, political, economic and social spheres have been significant and consequently society has not had the necessary peace. It can be seen a kind of

fundamental change in attitudes and actions at the micro level in society, which is manifested in changing people's attitudes toward life and paying more attention to satisfying individual needs, widespread changes in social relations and the weakening of these relations. The spread of unstable and intermittent marriages and the decline of religious beliefs can be traced. In the economic dimension, severe fluctuations in the economic market of the society, unemployment, inflation, high costs of housing and livelihood impose a lot of pressure on people, which in some cases is so difficult to bear that people turn to the option Leads to unjustified and problematic issues.

In general, based on what has been shown in the biographies of the interviewees, it can be said that in a situation where the socio-economic structures of society are not stable enough, weak and incapacitated people feel helpless and helpless in the face of problems and find themselves trapped. They find themselves in a cycle of poverty and homelessness, which makes them extremely vulnerable.

4.3. Intervention Conditions

Restrictions and deprivations due to traditional culture: One of the most obvious social restrictions that have been studied by the traditional view of many prostitutes is deprivation of education. Many of these women were talented individuals who dropped out of school due to family constraints. Saideh, 23, says:"I was very talented as a child. I was a memorizer of thirty Qurans and I was always an exemplary student. "I got a diploma and got a very good grade in the entrance exam, but because of my family's distance, they did not allow me to go to university, and I had to work with a diploma and work in a counter office."

Denial of education and employment in an unsafe job environment has become a turning point for him to enter into illegitimate relationships.

Another key concept in this section is the concept of reputation. The concept of reputation as a traditional social capital plays a very important role in people's lives. Many women and girls have entered into forced marriages for the sake of dignity, have remained silent in the face of rape, or have been labeled disgraceful by relatives, rejected by their families, and have suffered further harm. Zoherh says:"The person I was in love with proposed to me

several times, but my family was against it, but because I loved him so much, I decided to run away. We ran away together. But my parents found us and treated me very badly. "They made a name for themselves and after that I felt that life no longer meant anything to me and it did not matter what happened."

Another respondent, who lost her virginity after having an affair with a boy, says:"When I was exposed and I lost my virginity, many people looked down on me."One day our neighbor's son came to our house and tried to rape me. I had nothing to lose and I did not resist and had sex with him." According to the labeling theory, these people, as soon as they make a mistake, are distracted by those around them. And this exposes them to further deviations and damages.

Improper marriage: Improper marriage is one of the most important interfering factors in the occurrence of social harms, especially prostitution of women. Most of the participants in this study were in a social and family situation that led to unsuccessful marriages, which in turn was effective in creating various social problems for these people. Pre-marriage, forced marriage, age gap between couples, marriage with addicted people, marriage with married people, temporary marriage (concubine), marriage with deviant and unhealthy people, cheating in marriage and such cases among the women studied frequently Turns.

Parvaneh says she had an unsuccessful marriage: "Sometimes my husband would bring his friends home and he would go out with excuses and say that I would have to make money from his friend by any means until I came back. He showed me the wrong way and dragged my destiny to the black soil. "One day my husband came home with his friend. My husband picked up his friend's car and went out to get supplies," she said. "Her friend forcibly entered the room and tried to rape her, but I resisted. She said that my husband himself had allowed me to have sex with you."

Arezoo also says about her marriage:"I was 14 years old when my father married a 45-year-old man. He was also a criminal. "I also became addicted, first to juice and then to other substances such as heroin and glass."

Addiction and accelerating the tendency to prostitution: Another obvious factor in the entry of women into prostitution is addiction (whether the person or his relatives). Many of these women, both in their father's house and in their husband's house, have witnessed the presence of addicts, which in many cases have led them to addiction. Razieh points to her mother's addiction and says:"My mother is addicted and nervous and irritable. He treats me coldly and often beats me at this age if he does not get the substance. Our income is provided through a social security pension, which is 800 thousand tomans per month. "Most of this money is spent by my mother on drugs." Zahra considers addiction to be one of the most important problems in their family and says: "All members of our family, i.e. my father, mother, sisters and brothers, are addicted and do everything to provide for them."

According to observations made among participants, many men force their wives into prostitution or force them to work in unsafe environments in order to obtain drugs. Also, many women who are themselves addicted and financially poor are selling drugs alone. One of the officials of Bojnourd Welfare Women's Rehabilitation says in this regard:"The majority of women admitted to rehabilitation is prostitutes due to addiction and drug supply, and are usually arrested by police in hangouts and handed over to welfare."According to the authorities participating in the research, addicted prostitutes, because they are in a difficult situation, usually sell themselves at low prices. They are also willing to accept any kind of conditions.

Domestic violence: Among social harms, domestic violence after addiction has the highest statistics in the study population (Khorasan welfare, 2017). Violence in its types such as: spouse abuse, child abuse, acute family disputes, etc. are among the factors affecting the occurrence of social and psychological abnormalities and can lead the most important social institution, the family, to disorder and to the environment. Make it insecure and stressful and pave the way for separation, escape and the establishment of illegitimate social relationships among victims of violence. According to interviews with prostitutes, violence in various ways, physical, sexual, psychological, inattention, etc. from childhood to adulthood in the lives of these people and an effective role in their tendency towards social relationships. It was unhealthy. Sanam, who was dissatisfied with her marriage and divorced, says:"My husband had nothing to do, he was very immoral and he treated me very badly, we had no money, no income, no house, we had nothing. He was addicted to alcohol, drugs and illicit relationships. "He even had an affair with his brother's wife."Sexual violence, especially from brother to sister, is seen among prostitutes. Zahra, Banafsheh and Sannam were among those who were sexually assaulted by their brother and found it very painful.

Physical and psychological abuse of the spouse is almost common among the majority of prostitutes. Most of them complained of physical abuse by their husbands, believing that this type of domestic violence had made it an unsafe and unbearable environment, and that all of them preferred divorce, separation, or running away from home to this situation.

Zohreh says about the reason for running away from home and her divorce:"My husband was addicted and had a bad heart. He had taken another woman who hid from us and was shaking hands. "I was under a lot of pressure. I ran away from home and filed for divorce." Sannam also says about her family situation: "During the four years that I lived with my husband, I did not have a good mental condition; "I was under so much pressure that sometimes I would lie down in front of the Qibla and go to the point of death."

Parvaneh also says in this regard: "I was madly in love with my husband, even when he was tired; I would put a morsel in his mouth. "But he responded to my affections by beating me up, saying that it was your duty to make money, even forcing me to have sex with his friends."

Child abuse is also seen in a variety of ways, such as physical, sexual, psychological abuse, deprivation of education, and a lack of attention to the fate of children in families where prostitutes are raised. Ms. Eidi talks about her unfavorable situation inside the family and her father's cold relationship with other members:"My father is very violent, hot-tempered and impatient, and he constantly beats me and my sister," said Saeedeh. . "Although I did not want to do it, my father forced me to do it and if I disobeyed, he would beat me."

In a troubled family situation, there has been very little attention paid to the future and fate of children. Parvaneh says:"My parents' job was to make music and sing at weddings, and because they were constantly traveling, they had to take me to these weddings, and I was deprived of further education and attended weddings with them."In fact, violence in various forms and models, both in childhood and in adulthood, has an effective role in trapping these women and girls in the cycle of poverty, homelessness and social vulnerability.

Weakness of social skills: One of the most important intervention factors in women's tendency towards social harms is the weakness of communication skills and as a result, being drawn towards inappropriate social relationships. According to the theory of differential bonding in Sutherland (Sedigh Sarvestani, 2011: 49), people tend to social harms through unhealthy social relationships with deviant people. The present study also shows that many of these women and girls have been drawn to street friendships because of the insecure family environment for them and there was an emotional vacuum in them, and in fact outside the family. They seek peace of mind and fulfill their dreams. These people are exposed to social harms because they do not have the necessary training and skills to socialize properly and communicate with others.

Soraya says:"I was 11 years old and attending primary school when our teacher proposed to me. But my parents objected and did not even let me go to school. I really wanted to marry him. "If I had gotten married, I would have had a different fate now, and these problems would not have happened to me."According to the case assistant, he was much attached to his teacher and had sex with each other. Saeedeh also answered the question whether she has ever fallen in love? She Says:"Yes, I have fallen in love, in love with a married man. I was 16 years old and he was 38 years old. He had a wife and children. Man seemed intelligent and perfectionist and I were fascinated by his understanding. He was going to separate from his wife and marry me. "Later, when I became addicted, our relationship became very cold and we only saw each other because of drug use and we could not get married."

Farzaneh also says about her past: "Five years ago, I became friend with a fellow villager. He promised to marry me and I was very encouraged. Of course, he was addicted and I paid for his addiction. I went to work on a farm with my mother. I earned 25,000 tomans a day, of which I gave 20,000 tomans to that boy. He promised to marry me but he lied to me and betrayed me. "I sued him for playing with my reputation, but he ran away."

Shaky family: The family as the most fundamental and important social institution has an undeniable role in educating members and shaping their social identity, and if this institution does not perform its social function properly and becomes dysfunctional, harmful social effects for It has a

community and individuals. In a developing society, such as the study area, social anomalies are more likely to occur and social institutions, especially the family institution, suffer more social damage. A major part of the social and economic problems of prostitutes, which play a significant role in distracting them, is living in a disorganized and broken family. Many of these women are deprived of the blessings of a guardian due to the death or separation of their parents, or suffer from abuse due to the presence of addicted or poor parents. Homelessness or abuse, in turn, creates more problems for family members; the emergence of tension and domestic violence, feeling of helplessness and the formation of inappropriate social relationships, inability to achieve higher education and high social status have caused these people to face various social problems and harms. Zare, who had fled the house and was involved in prostitution, says in response to the reason for his escape:"After my father died and my mother was abusive, I saw no reason to stay home and decided to run away."

In response to her escape from home, Farzaneh says: "After my family found out about my relationship with my boyfriend, they treated me very harshly and beat me many times. My father also died and my mother was addicted. "I did not have a really good family situation, I decided to run away with my boyfriend, and after running away I was with him for a year, and the result of the escape is the problems I am in now."Many of these people did not have much success in the future due to unfavorable family conditions and growing up in a poor family, and they also had problems in their marriages and married men who did not have suitable social and personal conditions. This has created more family problems for them and they often suffer from various personal and social injuries such as spousal abuse, suicide, depression, illegitimate relationships, addiction and divorce. Dissatisfied with her own living conditions, Parvaneh talks about the reason for her divorce: "I had very difficult years, I went through everything, I just accepted the children and got divorced."

Arezoo, who used to be a prostitute and now works as a prostitute, says:"Five years after my husband was released from prison, we had a fight over my son's death, and life was unbearable for us. "I finally got divorced a few years later and started living alone again."Soraya has been living together and divorced for only one year. Finally, it can be said that these people do not have good family conditions and their family life process has been such that it puts them in the context of social harms.

Employment in difficult, unhealthy and low-income conditions is also one of the influential factors in the social and family life of these people who have not been able to work due to lack of success in obtaining higher education, lack of support and encouragement, living with deviant people and unhealthy social relationships. They are high-income, well-paid, and have been drawn to temporary, hurtful, low-income jobs that have negatively affected their way of life.

Marzieh, who was working in a hotel due to family problems, did not have good working conditions, and according to the helper, she started having illicit relationships and prostitution while working in a hotel, and had daily relationships with many people. Due to poverty and the family's traditional view of girls' education, Saeedeh, despite earning a high grade in the entrance exam, was not allowed to study at the university and was forced to work in a counter office, which was a turning point in her injury. Has had social. Zohreh also says about her employment:"I worked in a plastic shop for a while. The owner of the shop offered me a lot and said that I would give you good money in return and I had to leave. I started working in a clothing store, and my employer did not, but people who came and went there were aware of my condition and disturbed me. "In the restaurant, my male colleague was trying to establish a relationship with me."

Educational background: All prostitutes and barristers participating in this study are at a low level in terms of education and the highest level of education is a diploma. Studies and observations show that the main reason for the failure of these women to continue their education in higher education was lack of support, abuse or neglect, the traditional view of parents on the education of girls and creating restrictions for these people and financial poverty. the poverty and high education costs and the inability of parents to provide these costs have prevented children from studying at a higher level. Farzaneh, who has studied until middle school and then dropped out, says in response to the reason for this:"I studied until the ninth grade, I wanted to continue, but I dropped out due to financial circumstances and high costs."Zahra and

Banafsheh did not go up from primary school due to financial problems. Banafsheh says:"I was always thinking about work and did not get a chance to study. "My mother and I went to onion and tomato fields and worked as laborers."

4.4. Strategic Conditions

Active adaptation to the current situation: Some of these women, after being in an unfavorable situation and having illicit relationships, accepted this and were active in this field. For example, Banafsheh and Zahra, two prostitute sisters who were active on a very large scale, according to the helper, had sexual intercourse with many people on a daily basis, and in their opinion, this was a natural thing, so that they were in a relationship. They have had widespread sexual satisfaction. Marzieh, who worked in a hotel in Mashhad and worked as a prostitute there, considered it normal and lived in these conditions for many years. Arezoo, who is now a pimp and has been a prostitute in the past, says:"I was a prostitute because I had to provide materials and the cost of living was high. One day in between, I would go to Marzieh's house and have sex with some clients, and Marzieh would give me forty to fifty tomans. "With that, I provided myself with diapers, rent, and so on."

Cross-sectional / discontinuous resistance: Many of these prostitutes resisted the condition at least occasionally and tried to get rid of it. They had no choice but to become prostitutes when their living costs were high or they were addicted. Although this situation becomes unbearable for them, they often quit addiction, looked for a job to support them, and turned to welfare and support centers to find shelter and support. But much of their efforts have failed because of being in a cycle of poverty, homelessness, and prostitution, and they have returned to normalcy.

One of the most important areas of this successive effort that led to successive failures has been quitting addiction. Especially that the economic conditions in the society are such that the ability to attract and empower these people economically is not available in many cases. Government support programs also have their own shortcomings; Offering rehabilitation programs based on the ideology of society and implementing social policies that are sometimes contradictory and contrary to scientific principles, does not seem to be a good way to empower and rehabilitate prostitutes. That is why most of these women, after many times being admitted to welfare rehabilitation centers and undergoing empowerment programs, due to the inability to provide living expenses and favorable environment and social and economic conditions around them, turn to prostitution again.

4.5. Consequences

Exacerbation of Vulnerability to Risk Factors: Prostitution exposes women to a variety of social and psychological risks: humiliation, violence, stress, poverty, and the like make prostitutes extremely socially and psychologically vulnerable. Depression, mental disorders, frustration, physical illness, infectious diseases such as AIDS and hepatitis, and many other issues and problems can also result from prostitution. Soraya, who is now in charge of the Welfare Rehabilitation Center, says about her mental condition:"Now that I'm in rehabilitation, I cannot control myself, or I have to cry or hurt someone or break something. "I have been taking nerve pills for three years; I have even committed suicide once."

Suicide is seen as one of the socio-psychological consequences of prostitution in most of these women. Many of them have committed suicide due to the social and psychological pressures of "living as a prostitute." Zohreh, who got married after being released from resuscitation (temporary marriage), is very dissatisfied with her living conditions and complains about her husband's violent behavior and the negligence of her paternal family. It does not matter to them whether I get it or not. My husband is bothering me a lot. "That's why I decided to commit suicide." In fact, prostitutes appear to be more vulnerable to social and psychological harm due to their poor social status.

Persistent exposure to violence: One of the salient features of prostitution, especially poor and needy prostitutes, is exposure to sexual, physical and psychological violence. Prostitutes are constantly confronted with the demands of customers, who usually set the price and terms of the transaction, and attending hangouts with the use of drugs and psychotropic substances, group sex, insulting behaviors Violent and violent sex for women. Even many of these women, who are trying to improve their social conditions by adopting a

strategy of cross-resistance and social support and welfare, cannot get rid of this violence and are exposed to violence in their new lives. Sannam says about her unfavorable conditions:"Because I was addicted, I did everything for addiction and had relationships with anyone and no one. "I was repeatedly raped by men, beaten and treated like an animal." Zahra also says about her bad living conditions: "My husband beat me. He once beat me with a water heater pipe that made my eyes water. He just wanted me to die. "You are a welfare child. What do you expect from a welfare child for a woman to live?"

Most prostitutes entering the market suffer from sexual violence. Having sex in different ways, group sex and repeated sex in one day exposes prostitutes to physical and psychological violence. Even many of those labeled prostitutes were not safe in the family and were abused and abused by family members and acquaintances. Maryam says:"Every time I met my friend, he would give me 10 or 20 thousand tomans. A year has passed since then. One day when I went to their house, I met the boy and two of his friends. He insisted that these are my friends and I do not think there is anything wrong with having sex with them, and he forced me to have sex with them; "Even my 17-year-old brother forced me to have sex when he found out about my relationship with others when we were at home, "she said: "Everything I resisted and said I was your sister was useless and I had no choice but to surrender."

Loss of family from daily life: Deprivation of family is one of the most important consequences of prostitution. In such a way that prostitutes cannot form a normal family life. The social and family conditions of these people are overshadowed by prostitution and become unbalanced, and their family life becomes much worse than before. Extensive sexual intercourse, frequent temporary marriages, illegitimate pregnancies, child custody, and the like are prominent features of this type of family situation. These women cannot achieve the desired family conditions even after rehabilitation. These women are considered perverts and unreliable people because of the label of prostitution and usually do not have much success in remarriage and mostly marry temporarily and if they have a permanent marriage, they will have differences in family life. They become acute family members and are forced to divorce. Soraya says about her marriage:"I was in Rehabilitation when I married a 50-year-old man. He was in good financial condition. Unfortunately, his son was bothering me. He did whatever he liked and brought home whomever he liked. He and his friends had sex with me. I did not dare to tell my husband because I was afraid of him. I had to file for divorce, but he refused. "I, who had a boyfriend, introduced him to my husband, and when my husband found out about it, he agreed to my divorce request."

Sannam also says:"My brother and his wife are both addicted and we always had drugs in their house. The materials were mostly provided by my grandfather's brother-in-law and he was always with us. After a while, my grandfather's wife suggested that I become friend with her brother. I accepted and the result of our friendship was that I got pregnant and my baby was eight months old. "Because the child was illegitimate, they took the child from me through welfare and the prosecutor and handed it over to the nursery."

5. Conclusion

Prostitution as a social harm is affected by various socio-economic factors. In fact, prostitution is both influenced by social factors and by the rules of the economic market. Based on various studies and researches (Sawyer and Metz, 2008; Harrcourt, 2005) there are different models of prostitution that include different classes and groups. Many of these groups have consciously entered the field and accepted it as a profession and occupation, and it can be said that prostitution is their personal choice. But a large part of prostitution is due to unfavorable socio-economic conditions of society and prostitution as a social harm is born of unhealthy and critical conditions of society.

The results of the present study show that prostitution is a socio-economic phenomenon that occurs and persists under the influence of various factors. Accordingly, factors such as increasing household poverty, booming sexual exploitation and social homelessness have a direct impact on the formation of this phenomenon. Instability in the socio-economic conditions of society and the existence of deficiencies in some laws related to the family and women provide the necessary context for the phenomenon. Also, the factors of wrong marriage interventions, restrictions and deprivations due to traditional culture, addiction, domestic violence, shaky family, low education and poor social skills are effective on prostitution. Some prostitutes have put up a temporary resistance to the situation, but the social situation is such that they inevitably give up the resistance and accept the status quo. Some of them also actively adapt to the existing conditions and consider it a part of their real life. The consequences of such conditions are involvement in the cycle of poverty, homelessness and sexual exploitation, increased vulnerability to risk factors, constant exposure to violence, and detoxification from everyday life.

Prostitution as a social harm follows the economic patterns and laws of the market and has led to the formation of a market called the prostitution market. The attraction of receiving sexual services and receiving money in exchange for providing sexual services has given a special boost to this market. The existence of supply and demand, pricing, seller (prostitute), customer, broker (prostitute) and goods (sexual services) is clearly evident in the prostitution market and has turned it into a socio-economic phenomenon.

In the economic conditions of the study community, which has weak and inefficient economic structures and poverty and unemployment have made it difficult to compensate the economic costs of individuals and families and provide them with livelihood, the rules and market conditions have changed in favor of applicants and brokers. The service providers are in a situation where they will be exchanged with the minimum receipt and acceptance of the conditions set by the applicant or the broker. As a result, prostitutes who have entered this market in the hope of earning a living and improving their living conditions have not been able to benefit from this exchange and their living conditions are in critical condition. In fact, prostitutes, due to poverty and homelessness and lack of bargaining power, do not have the necessary ability to take advantage of the material gifts of self-imposed or imposed role-playing in the market in question. Therefore, it can be said that this market is a kind of sexual exploitation of poor prostitutes for the benefit of customers and prostitutes.

In order to reduce poverty among women and prevent them from falling into the cycle of poverty, homelessness and sexual exploitation, it is necessary to pay attention to the living conditions and employment of women. In fact, adequate and sustainable employment in a safe work environment to prevent poverty feminization and increase women's socio-economic empowerment should be a priority in government social policy. The government's umbrella for housing, insurance and women's livelihoods must also be expanded. This is because many of the women participating in this study have experienced social homelessness after being rejected by their families and have not received the necessary social support. Finally, in order to rehabilitate prostitutes under the auspices of the Welfare Organization, it is necessary to allocate sufficient funds, increase the authority of this organization and reduce the involvement of other government agencies that have a negative view on the issue of prostitution within the scope of the Welfare Organization.

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