AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF STREET PROSTITUTION IN VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

Klaus Kim Kohlmeyer
B.A. Simon Fraser University 1978

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (CRIMINOLOGY)

© Klaus Kim Kohlmeyer 1982
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
March, 1982

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.
Name: Klaus Kim Kohlmeyer
Degree: Master of Arts (Criminology)
Title of thesis: An Ethnographic Study of Street Prostitution in Vancouver, British Columbia

Examinining Committee:

Chairperson: Duncan Chappell

Curt Taylor Griffiths
Senior Supervisor

John F. Klein

D. Ross

Vincent F. Sacco
External Examiner

Date Approved: March 31, 1982
PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

An Ethnographic Study of Street Prostitution in Vancouver, British Columbia

Author:

Klaus Kim Kohlmeyer

April 6, 1982
ABSTRACT

This study was designed to examine streetwalker prostitution in a major West Coast Canadian city. The study utilized an ethnographic and survey approach to examine the career of streetwalker prostitution, including entry into the profession, activities and relationships on and off the street, and exit from the occupation. Data for the study were gathered from observations and interviews with nineteen active streetwalker prostitutes, including male and female prostitutes, drag queens and transsexuals, from one distinct area of the city. In addition, survey data were gathered from thirty-one streetwalker prostitutes in three other areas of the city and these were utilized for comparative purposes. Results of the analysis indicate that streetwalker prostitution is a far more complex and variable phenomenon than the literature has suggested. Within the streetwalker category of prostitution there are distinct characteristics of entry, "on and off" the street activities, and exit. Further, attributes of the career patterns of streetwalker prostitutes vary among and between the areas of the city. Finally, diversity exists between the various types of streetwalker prostitution in different areas of the city.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The efforts contained in the present thesis are special, in that they have benefitted from the experience and assistance of a number of important individuals. My supervisory committee was especially helpful throughout the project's duration. Curt Griffiths, my senior supervisor, was exceptionally helpful in providing constructive comments, in addition to his patience and understanding. John Klein was particularly helpful in critical assistance, in addition to his constant encouragement and praise. Ian Ross was a never-ending source of insight and was invaluable in concept formulation. Mary Clarkson, my close and dear friend, was a constant source of inspiration and was particularly brilliant in her criticisms and judgements. Dan Beavon offered his time and abilities in the reading of an earlier draft. John Winterdyk was helpful for his reading and comments on a later version of this thesis. Dale Sands gave generously in providing editorial assistance. Aileen Sams, our graduate secretary, gave endlessly of her abundant knowledge of procedure and always had a warm and reassuring smile. Finally, to all my respondents who allowed me entrance to their world, my gratitude cannot be expressed.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approval</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Research on Prostitution</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Research</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptualization of Prostitution</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution as a Career</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. The Streetwalker Prostitute</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Research</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On The Street</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off The Street</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exit</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of Prior Research</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the Present Study</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Prostitution in Vancouver, British Columbia</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Methodology</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Entry into Street Prostitution</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticeships</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. On the Street</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Off the Street</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Entry Characteristics of Streetwalkers</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Comparison of Entry Characteristics of Davie Street Streetwalkers</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Work Inducements of Streetwalker Prostitutes</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Apprenticeships of Streetwalker Prostitutes</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Extent to Which Streetwalker Prostitutes Worked for a Man</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Price Arrangement Between Streetwalker and Client</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Age Comparisons of Davie Street Streetwalkers</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Methods Employed to Attract the Customer</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Streetwalker's Willingness to Accept Payment Other Than Money</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Streetwalkers' Preferred Place to Provide Service</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Customer Preferences of Streetwalker Prostitutes</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Streetwalkers Involvement with Repeat Clientele</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Streetwalker Discrimination in Clientele Preference</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Streetwalkers' Preference for Client's State of Consciousness</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Work Related Convictions of Streetwalker Prostitutes</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Streetwalkers' Use of Drugs and Alcohol While Working</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. Number of Streetwalkers Who Would Work For a Man.............................. 127
18. Number of Streetwalkers Who Would Work For a Lady............................. 129
19. Work Hazards Reported by Streetwalker Prostitutes............................... 136
20. Types of Street Prostitution Work Roles.... ............................. 139
21. Streetwalkers Associates with Other Streetwalkers............................. 151
22. Number of Streetwalkers Who Have Wanted to Quit Prostitution............... 155
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURES</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. Introduction

Historically, the diversity of research on prostitution has resulted in activities defined as prostitution being considered as 'immoral', illegal and 'deviant' (Crites, 1976). The imminence of these labels has resulted in a vacuum of theory on the topic. Letkemann (1973:1) has described the need for research on criminal behavior by stating that "much has been inferred from the illegitimacy of crime, but little from the behavior itself." In fact, much of the information about the career of the prostitute is very limited and fragmented. Ethnographic research on prostitution, which usually begins with a loose set of guiding notions, has been essentially exploratory in nature. Stebbins (1971) suggests that the nature of deviance, and more specifically the career of deviants, is more easily understood from the deviant's perspective. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the career of one type of prostitute, commonly referred to as the "streetwalker". Specifically, the focus will be on the entrance, occupation, and exit from the occupation of the female and male streetwalker, as well as "transsexuals" and "drag queens".

The phenomenon of prostitution has been studied from many perspectives including, but not limited to, the following: the comparison of prostitutes with non-prostitutes (Tollinson, 1977); legalization and legal aspects of prostitution (Maerov, 1965; Winick and Kinsie, 1971); medical aspects of prostitution
(Guthe, 1967; Rumack, 1972); moral aspects of prostitution (Davis, 1961; Lindsay, 1970); organized crime and prostitution (Pace, 1975); and subcultures of prostitution (Bryan, 1965; Maerov, 1965; Winick and Kinsie, 1971). Research has also been focused on the clients of the prostitute (Stewart, 1973; Winick and Kinsie, 1971), the pimps, 1 and the madam 2 (Bryan, 1965; Greenwald, 1958). Throughout the literature the focus has been primarily on the female prostitute, although some consideration has been given to male prostitution (e.g., Lloyd, 1976).

The nature of the labels which have been used in the discussion of prostitution has meant that it has generally been viewed from a pathological or clinical perspective (i.e., Barclay and Gallemore, 1972; Glueck and Glueck, 1979; Greenwald, 1958, 1970; Rolph, 1955; Winick and Kinsie, 1971) which is far removed from one's usual perception of career choices, such as law or medicine. This is perhaps due to the fact that studies of this nature did not treat the prostitute's viewpoint as important. In fact, for the study of deviance, field studies have supplied the basis for the development of general theories of the social psychology of deviance (e.g., Goffman, 1963; Lofland, 1969).

However, while ethnographic reports have generally focused on the career of the deviant (Becker, 1952, 1963; Clinard and Quinney, 1973; Gibbons, 1973; Glaser, 1971; Hoebuck, 1971),

1See glossary for definition.

2See glossary for definition.
there has been no satisfactory study of the career of the prostitute. Bryan (1965) has documented the apprenticeship process of prostitution in terms of the concept of career, but did not focus on other aspects of career, such as the prostitute's exit from the occupation. Furthermore, studies of prostitution, and the subsequent literature on the subject, have been characterized by numerous generalizations (e.g., the assumption that Bryan's conceptualization of apprenticeships applies to all forms of prostitution).

The lack of information about the career of prostitutes has been the result of inadequate research in this area. Further, the research to date has been characterized by a wide variety of assumptions which have little empirical support. This includes the widespread belief that the findings relating to the career of one type of prostitute, i.e., female prostitutes, apply to other groups such as transsexual prostitutes. In addition, the scarcity of descriptive material dealing specifically and analytically with deviant behavior may also be accounted for by the general inaccessibility of such data and the methodological difficulties encountered in collecting such data (James, 1973).

The career perspective requires that familiar questions be given an unusual focus (Letkemann, 1973). The proposed methodological perspective requires that the researcher avoid imposing an 'outside' order upon the data. One must find and analyze the categories that are meaningful to the prostitute.

---

3See glossary for definition.
From this perspective, therefore, there is:

... no over-arching concept of deviance ... applied from without ... but rather a concept of norm as supported by the informant's social context. Thus ... the prostitute ... is described in terms of his own subcultural value system and his interactions with the conflicting value systems. He is not viewed in the context of deviance (Weppner, 1977:130).

The description and analysis of street prostitution in the present study will facilitate the identification of selected dimensions which should be the subject of further research.

In examining the career of streetwalker prostitutes, this thesis will argue that street prostitution is a complex phenomenon and may evidence considerable diversity in the career patterns of the individuals involved, even within the same city. Much of what we know about street prostitution is based upon data of questionable origin, and there has correspondingly been a tendency to assume much about various aspects of street prostitution. Such points have not been the focus of research to date because they have failed to consider the career pattern. In addition, research has been hindered because it has not recognized the distinct phases of career patterns and the variety of activities that may occur within each phase of the prostitutes career.

The present research will be accomplished by examining the careers of street prostitutes, including the following phases:

1. **entry to street prostitution, including motivation and training:**

2. **the occupation of the streetwalker, encompassing the**
following:

a. "on the street" activities of the prostitute which include the issues of territory, prices, relationships with other prostitutes, relationships with the police, and various aspects of work management;

b. "off the street" activities, including social life and friends; and

c. exit from street prostitution.

Throughout the thesis, an attempt will be made to identify aspects of street prostitution which appear to be unique to the group under study. This will be facilitated by comparisons with other street prostitutes in other areas of the city in which the study was conducted.

The data for this thesis were gathered by utilizing interview data and information obtained through participant observation. The interview schedule was semi-structured, employing both open-ended and multiple choice questions. The respondents were fifty active streetwalkers who all volunteered to be interviewed. The fifty prostitutes worked in four different areas of the city; nineteen worked in the area under study, while the remaining thirty-one were from the three areas that will be used for comparative purposes. The data will be analyzed by completing a content analysis of the interviews and will be followed by a discussion of the implications.
of this study, with suggestions for further research in the area.

*All names of the people have been changed. Any resemblance to actual names in people is purely coincidental.
II. The Research on Prostitution

Prior Research

A review of the literature provides a fairly simple and systematic framework from which to view prostitution. Little variability exists among the various definitions of prostitution. Furthermore, prostitution is commonly described according to type, place of work, and related organizational and demographic dimensions and generally refers to females.

According to Clinard and Quinney (1974:506), prostitution is "sexual intercourse on a promiscuous and mercenary basis, with emotional indifference." The 1969 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica indicates that prostitution is "promiscuous bartering of sex favors for monetary considerations (either in cash or gifts) without any emotional attachment between the partners" (in Reckless, 1973:165). The definition in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968) states that prostitution is "the granting of sexual access on a relatively indiscriminate basis for payment either in money or goods" (in Reckless, 1973:165). Simon (1980:1) defines a prostitute as "any person who grants nonmarital sexual access to a number of clients by mutual agreement and without emotional ties for remuneration which provides part or all of that
person's livelihood."

These definitions are quite consistent with one another. However, Benjamin and Ellis (1954: 100) have provided a much broader definition of prostitution, which included "those whose sex favors can be purchased for other advantages, ranging from a few drinks and a square meal to a mink coat or a marriage license" a definition which may be wholly justifiable. Clinard and Quinney (1974) state that although some prostitutes may be selective on the basis of race, age, economic status, or physical attractiveness of their customers, generally an act of intercourse may be carried out with almost anyone. Since the present study is exploratory, the selective nature of prostitution must be questioned and therefore cannot at present be added to the present definition of prostitution. For the purposes of this thesis, prostitution is defined as "the granting of sexual access for payment" in accordance with the definition found in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968).

With many prostitutes, the sex act may be purchased in varied physical forms, including oral and/or anal sex acts, sadistic, masochistic, and exhibitionistic acts of intercourse, in addition to the usual form of heterosexual relations (Clinard and Quinney, 1974). Benjamin and Masters (1964) also add animal prostitutes to the list of specializations. Clinard and Quinney (1974:513) further suggest that "physical attractiveness and youth are a necessity for the successful prostitute and she is
usually between the ages of 17 and 24; the peak earning age being 22." He suggests that the older prostitutes have taken up prostitution for reasons such as drug addiction and alcoholism. Goldstein (1979:34-5) argues that the social science literature makes two assertions about the relationship between drug use and prostitution:

1. many prostitutes, because of the rigors of their lives, will become drug abusers at some point in their prostitution careers; and
2. many female addicts, because of the expense associated with narcotics addiction, will turn to prostitution in order to support their drug use at some point in their addiction careers.

Goldstein (1979) goes on to suggest that the most organized forms of prostitution (houses, massage parlors, and pimps' stables) are those in which drug use is least evident. As such, it is the independent streetwalker and the more independent call girls who are the heaviest drug users. Clinard and Quinney (1974) further indicate that it is a fact that prostitutes come primarily from the lower socioeconomic groups; and often, from slum areas.

Prostitution is also by no means homogenous. Simon (1980:1) has classified prostitutes by their occupational milieu - "from streetwalkers who overtly solicit customers on the street to call girls who work out of their apartments, soliciting business by telephone or by advertisements in sex-oriented publications."

The concept of a milieu signifies both a work environment and a process of interaction. Simon (1980:1) further offers that "most prostitutes ply their trade neither on the street nor in
residential establishments." Instead, these include house or brothel prostitutes who spend their working hours in houses specifically set up for prostitution, bar prostitutes, hotel prostitutes, and massage parlor prostitutes. Simon (1980) points out that there may be some overlap; e.g., a streetwalker may enter a hotel to find business. Goldstein (1979:144) suggests the barterer as another category as one who "exchange[s] sexual services for professional or other services or for material goods." Two examples of barterers are drug addicts who trade sexual services for drugs, and young runaways, who trade sexual services in exchange for food or shelter.

Bowker (1978:148) posits that "working conditions improve, arrests decrease, and income increases as status increases." (Streetwalkers are uniformly considered by all other prostitutes to be the lowest in the business) (Heyl in Adler and Simon, 1979). Goldstein (1979) divided the above categories into two groups which he classified as "low class" and "high class". In the low class he placed streetwalkers and barterers, while call girls and massage parlor prostitutes were placed in the high class. Goldstein (1979:55) found that most of the low class prostitutes "were black, did not finish school and had previously worked at a blue collar or clerical job." On the other hand, he found that the high class prostitutes "were all white, held white collar, waitress or entertainment jobs and most had attended college." Furthermore, the low class prostitutes had a mean age of 26 and a mean age of first
prostitution of 19. The high class prostitute had a mean age of 20 and a mean first age of prostitution of 22 (Goldstein, 1979).

Simon (1980) suggests that there is little economic interaction within the prostitution industry. He states that a typical unit of prostitution is composed of either:

1. a boss or manager (e.g., pimp, brothel madam, massage parlor manager) and one or more prostitutes, working under the manager's direction or
2. a single prostitute with only weak economic ties to others in the industry (e.g., for referrals or companionship). (Simon, 1980:2)

Simon (1980:2) describes the range of the pimp/prostitute relationship from "romantic to impersonal and business-like to shockingly brutal." The prostitute will give her pimp a large percentage of her gross, or will give it all to him, in return for a comfortable life style. The massage parlor manager, on the other hand, usually hires his masseuses, collects the clients' fees, keeps the books, and gives the masseuse her commission.

Simon (1980:3) suggests that the massage parlor manager will, if necessary, "encourage his novice employees to perform sexual acts in addition to their straight massages." Simon (1980:3) indicates that if there is any link between prostitution and organized crime, "it would be through the absentee ownership of chains of massage parlors by underworld figures."

The brothel house madam runs an organization similar to the massage parlor manager's hiring and firing of employees, keeping records, and paying salaries (Simon, 1980). Here is where the similarity between the two ends. Since the madam does not have a legitimate front from which to work, she:
must play a more personal role in attracting customers and prostitutes, being a hostess to their meetings and effecting satisfactory working conditions with the police. Often a madam will have to spend much of her work time training novice prostitutes and carefully supervising their first encounters. (Simon, 1980:3-4)

Other managers who operate in the realm of prostitution are those of "bars and hotels which offer the services of prostitutes" in addition to the taxicab drivers and bellboys who refer customers, attendants of brothels and massage parlors, and the clients of the prostitutes (Simon, 1980:5).

Simon (1980) further offers that streetwalkers, house prostitutes and massage parlor prostitutes charge similar prices. However, streetwalkers must work a lot harder to build up their business. Clinard and Quinney (1974:512) suggest that the call girl is the most common type of prostitute today, partly because "police and health authorities have become more effective in doing away with street soliciting and the more visible type of prostitution."

Up to this point, the literature has treated the study of prostitution in a relatively uncomplicated and simplified fashion. The research has noted the characteristics which describe prostitution in a general fashion. In the following discussion, the various aspects of prostitution will be examined in more detail.
Once beyond the general descriptive level, research literature on prostitution loses its simplicity. Notions of etiology are examined, based on a host of theoretical perspectives. The early research in prostitution deals with the kind of question that arises from viewing it as pathological. This was (and still is) a fairly common notion of the cause of prostitution among the many posited theoretical perspectives. It is only recently that the examination of prostitution has progressed to the point where it has been viewed in terms of a career.

Generally, the small numbers of female offenders led theorists to conceive of them as abnormal in both a biological and psychological sense. Furthermore, their criminality has been explained in terms of physiological and psychological factors which are held to be peculiar to the female sex. For example, Klein (1976) stated that women are defined as sexual beings, as sexual capital in many cases, physiologically, psychologically, and socially.

Other theorists have utilized the legal definition in understanding prostitution (e.g., Adler, 1979). As a result of studying prostitution from its legal definition, some theorists utilize a Marxist framework of economic exploitation to explain it (e.g., Bonger in Adler and Simon, 1979). Others, such as Park
and Burgess (in Adler and Simon, 1979) emphasize its ecological aspects. Kingsley Davis (1973) focused on its social utilitarianism, while others focused on disorganization associated with mobility (see Lemert, 1951). Caprio (in Adler and Simon, 1979) addresses the reported frigidity and homosexuality among prostitutes, as well as its antisocial aspects. Psychological theorists, such as Greenwald (1958, 1970) have understood prostitution primarily in terms of sexual "acting out" of an underlying psychopathology. These approaches appear to provide a limited and narrow perspective of prostitution.

The early biological and psychological studies of prostitution worked within the legal definitions of prostitution, accepting that prostitution is a social ill requiring remedy. The motivation of the individual prostitute was seen to be pathological and meaningless, except where it was treated as a symptom of a personality disturbance. Here prostitutes are seen as "compulsive rather than rational actors" (Smart, 1976:92). The Freudian explanation of promiscuous sexual behavior has influenced many writers, including Greenwald (1958); Rolph (1955); and more recently, Winick and Kinsie (1971). The Freudian explanation relies primarily on the Oedipal syndrome and the repression of early sexual love for the parent. Prostitution has therefore been equated with promiscuity, and regarded as a psycho-pathological reaction, rather than as a
social phenomenon (Smart, 1967). D. Klein (in Adler and Simon, 1979:71) suggests that the effect Freud had on investigators of female deviance, "allowed for psychological factors to be used as explanations of criminal activity and social, economic and political factors would be ignored." Explanations would therefore seek to be universal, and historical possibilities of change would be refuted.

Sociological orientations, on the other hand, tend to dispute the view that prostitution is indicative of individual pathology. Studies of a sociological nature typically examine the social causes of prostitution (e.g., Barclay and Gallemore, 1972), and they focus on the patterns of recruitment, socialization, and the maintenance of occupational norms (e.g., Bryan, 1965, 1966; Gray, 1973; Greenwald, 1958; Rosenblum, 1975; Winick and Kinsie, 1971; Winslow and Winslow, 1974). Kingsley Davis (1971), for example, argues that prostitution is functional for society, and suggests that the demand for prostitution is created by a particular social structure. Economic factors are also considered in sociological studies of prostitution, although they are not posited as the sole "cause" of prostitution. Furthermore, K. Davis (1971) views prostitution as a structural necessity whose roots lie in the sexual nature of men and women. He asserts that prostitution is universal in time and place, and ignores critical differences in the quality

---

1See also J. Pollock (in Bowker, 1978:25-55) for a thorough discussion of early theories of female criminality.
and quantity of prostitution in different societies. He maintains that there will be a class of women who will be prostitutes, the familiar class of 'bad' women. The reason for the universality of prostitution is that sexual repression is essential to the functioning of society.

In sum, the psychoanalytic perspective of the prostitute emphasizes retarded personality development, implying that infantile sexual drive accounts for the woman's choice of the occupation. The psychological perspective argues that poor family background, and other predisposing factors, such as 'emotional instability' and deviant parental behavior, are reasons for women's entry into prostitution. The structuralist perspective suggests that entry into prostitution is caused by women's disadvantaged economic position in society, and that there is an inelastic demand for prostitutes. Sociological efforts, on the other hand, have tended to analyze social situations surrounding the woman's entry into prostitution. They suggest that the lack of positive social relationships prior to entry (Jackman, O'Toole, and Geis, 1968), and social contact with persons already in the profession (Bryan, 1965), are reasons for entry. The many dimensions of prostitution, it is argued, cannot be understood in the context of theories which view prostitution from the aforementioned perspectives. Persons may enter prostitution for many and conflicting reasons, remain
in prostitution for reasons different from their initial ones, and finally leave prostitution for an entirely new set of reasons.

In recent years, a feminist perspective of prostitution has appeared in the literature. From this perspective, prostitution is viewed in terms of men's dominance and exploitation and, also, as the ultimate liberation of women. In the first instance, the feminist approach moves away from examining prostitution from the theories articulated above, attempting in the words of Smart (1976:93), a "... rigorous analysis oriented towards the goal of liberating people from socio-culturally located common-sense perceptions of the nature of sexual relations." Thus, by examining the nature of the power relationship between men and women, Brownmiller (1975:437) argues that "... the theory of aggressive male domination over women as a natural right..." is deeply imbedded in our cultural value system. It outlines that "... men learn that females may be brought for a price, and that acts of sex command set prices ..." (Brownmiller, 1975:439).

This is one of the reasons that feminists are against legalized prostitution, according to Brownmiller (1975:440), because it "institutionalizes the concept that it is a man's monetary right, if not his divine right to gain access to the female body, and that sex is a female service that should not be denied the civilized male..." In the second instance, prostitution is viewed by feminists such as Russell and Van de Ven (1976:175), as the ultimate liberation of women, since it is seen as
involving a "... genuine choice ...", although one which may be based on a lack of alternate job opportunities.

More recent studies (Bryan, 1965, 1966; N. J. Davis, 1971; Heyl, 1979b; Jackman, O'Toole and Geis, 1968) consider wider social issues than the pathology of the individual. In these studies, the concept of predisposing factors are replaced by opportunities. They offer that prostitution constitutes a career, rather than a sexual aberration. Hence, prostitution, like any other career, is treated as having its own ideology, apprenticeship, and opportunity structure.

Prostitution AS A Career
Prostitution as a Career

The preceding considerations offer little guidance to those who propose to study prostitution from any but a pathological perspective. The notion of a career, as proposed in the sociological literature, is intriguing, since it allows for incorporating a sense of normalcy into a profession or occupation generally characterized as abnormal. The progress of the prostitutes in their career can be viewed from beginning to end.

Becker (1963) offers that a useful concept in developing sequential models of various kinds of deviant behavior is that of "career". Stebbins (1971) has approached the phenomenon of career by viewing it subjectively. This perspective, though yet undeveloped in the literature, emphasizes the actor's recognition and interpretation of past events in his biography; and especially, his interpretation of important contingencies as they are encountered (Stebbins, 1971). More specifically, Stebbins (1971:31-3) argues:

career in this sense is the person's awareness of a past sequence of events associated with a particular identity deemed significant by one or more of his reference groups, a sequence which is usually seen as extending into the future with some degree of clarity.

In short, the career of a deviant is his perception of his passage through turning points which may lead to a career in the conventional world or to an extended deviant career. It does not necessarily go on forever.
The importance of Stebbin's (1971:31) subjective notion of career is that career contingencies, including the initial act of deviance, depend upon the "actor's recognition and interpretation of them before they can be considered as part of a career." The significance of the subjective approach to a career is that the foregoing is usually evident "only in retrospect after one has spent a certain amount of time in the identity with which the career is associated" (Stebbins, 1971:8). Thus Stebbins would suggest that the first act of homosexuality constitutes the inception of the person's career. This may or may not be, however, the initial instance of deviance from a more objective point of view.

One major misunderstanding about the idea of a deviant career involves the question of how long it lasts. Stebbins (1971) suggests that the career of any single deviant does not inevitably culminate in secondary deviance. Additionally, Stebbins (1971:33) points out that the associated career contingencies "enhance or hinder progress toward continued deviance, they are turning points which push a person out of deviance into marginal or even conventional surroundings or which further draw him in." Stebbins (1971:33) also asserts that there is no reason, given a sufficient amount of research, "... why kinds of career contingencies could not have as much predictive value as most other social science propositions."

James (in Crites, 1976:177) notes that it is true that the "conscious and immediate reasons that the prostitutes themselves
are capable of giving ... must be considered in conjunction with, and as overlapping, more deeply hidden factors." She further offers that the same would also have to hold if we were examining why some people become psychiatrists (or any other profession for that matter). Esselstyn (1968:130) states that "the avowed reasons of prostitutes for their choice of profession deserve a more respectable hearing."

Jackman, O'Toole and Geis (1968) caution us in their discussion of the self-image of the prostitute that the career of prostitution cannot be analyzed in any simple way, and that there are many modes of managing careers of prostitution that have very different consequences for the prostitute herself/himself. Therefore, they suggest, we should not allow ourselves to be seduced by the simplicity of the label "prostitute" into thinking that all prostitutes are alike, or that they have become prostitutes for much the same reason or have the same career pattern. Finally, Jackman et al., (1968:134) suggest that there is a "definite pressure towards simplification which frequently funtions to obscure both the complexity of the individual career and the large number of career options that are available."

The concept of career has yet to achieve overwhelming acceptance in research on prostitution. A limited number of studies exist, most notably the work of James Bryan (1965, 1966), although they concern themselves with only selected aspects of the career of prostitution. Bryan (1965) has documented the
learning process of prostitution in terms of the concept of career, arguing that the developmental career of a call girl includes three stages: entrance into the career, apprenticeship, and development of contacts. Thus, prostitution may involve processes of differential association and socialization. Although Bryan's (1965) study is one of the few that deals extensively with the career aspect of prostitution, it is treated by many authors (e.g., Smart, 1976; Reid, 1979; Winslow and Winslow, 1974) as being indicative of the career of prostitutes generally. To date, the concept of career has not been applied to the streetwalker prostitute. For Bryan (1965), the career of the prostitute includes the following sequence:

1. entrance: the decision is made to be a call girl; and
2. apprenticeship: typically served under the direction of another call girl, but may occasionally be supervised by a pimp. Career prostitutes have also usually had some prior exposure to someone involved with prostitution.

According to Bryan (1965:270):

... girls sometimes report spending up to eight months in training, but the average stay seems to be two or three months. The trainer controls all referrals and appointments, novices seemingly not having much control over the type of sexual contact made or the circumstances surrounding the enactment of the contract.

The content of the apprenticeship or training period consists of two dimensions: one philosophical; the other interpersonal (Bryan, 1965). The former refers to the "imperting of a value structure, the latter to 'do's' and 'don'ts' of relating to customers; and the latter, to other 'working girls'
and pimps" (Bryan, 1965:271). In addition, "... most of the do's and don'ts pertain to ideas and actions that the call girl uses in problematic situations" (Bryan, 1965:271). To the extent that a value structure is transmitted, it is one of maximizing gains while minimizing effort. There seems to be little instruction concerning sexual techniques; the bulk of the learning that does take place seems to occur through observation (Bryan, 1965).

While the imparting of "ideologies and proprieties to the prospective call girl is emphasized during the apprenticeship period, it appears that the primary function of the apprenticeship, at least for the trainee, is building a clientele" (Bryan, 1965:274). Finally, disruption or termination of the training period "is not directly due to the development of sufficient skills" (Bryan, 1965:276).

So far the emphasis has been on the need for descriptive research addressing the career of the prostitute. Related literature has emphasized the study of criminals and official processes, bypassing the analysis of deviant behavior. As Dubin (in Letkemann, 1973:11) notes in his discussion of the need for description in the development of models and theoretical schemes:

[Without adequate description, we would not have the models that connect with the world that man perceives and about which he theorizes.]
III. The Streetwalker Prostitute

It was indicated in the preceding chapter that prostitution is by no means a homogenous entity. The literature has thus far tended to classify prostitutes according to a typology in which the call-girl occupies the most prominent place in the hierarchy and the streetwalker the least prominent. The study focuses on streetwalker prostitutes: those who solicit their customers primarily from the streets, as opposed to call girls, for example, who make contact with their customers primarily via the telephone.1 As noted, the thesis will focus on the streetwalker variety of prostitute. Once this has been accomplished, the analysis can best be placed into a theoretical framework which will focus on the career of the various types of streetwalker prostitutes; e.g., the female, male, "drag queen", and "transsexual".

-----------------

1It should be noted that while streetwalkers rely primarily on attracting customers from the street, they do also contact some of their regular customers over the phone and will on occasion find some customers from hotels.
Prior Research

James (in Chapman and Gates, 1978:177) points out that "by 'working the streets' as a prostitute, a woman becomes defined by the larger society as 'lower class' and thus gains all of the liabilities pertaining to that social status." Heyl (1979) on the other hand, suggests that the streetwalker usually comes from the lower classes. There is general agreement in the literature that streetwalkers have commonly been considered as being at the bottom of the status system of prostitution (e.g., McCaghy, 1976; Thio, 1978; Young, 1970) and that they probably outnumber all others in the business (e.g., McCaghy, 1976). In the past, streetwalkers were classified as being totally nonexclusive in so far "as the degree to which the prostitute can refuse customers who are undesirable and consequently, the extent to which the prostitute's customers represent a limited and exclusive clientele" (Miller, 1978:127).

Streetwalkers have typically been stereotyped as likely to be poor women, ethnic or or racial minority, addicts (James in Sagarin and Montanino, 1977) and are described as being apathetic and 'hopeless' in attitude, occasionally mentally disordered or backward (L. James, 1973). In addition, the literature notes that the streetwalker, in general, charges her customer about $20 (less than the fee obtained by most other types of prostitutes), is "less attractive, less educated, more likely to contract venereal disease, and more often arrested by
the police" (Thio, 1978:172). Furthermore, Lindsay (1970) describes the typical streetwalker as immature, insecure, frightened, living in the present, unable to today's satisfactions for tomorrow's rewards.

Although much has been written of prostitution in general, and of prostitutes themselves, information on streetwalker prostitution is lacking. J. James (1973) suggests that this is a result of the inadequacy of research in this area, and that the nature of the research on streetwalker prostitution has concentrated on narrow perspectives. As well, there are methodological difficulties in gathering such data.

Ethnography, which is the "science of cultural description" (Weppner, 1977: 112), involves the careful study of a specific cultural perspective on hundreds of aspects of human behavior. The goal is to "discover how these people define their world, how they routinely behave in everyday life, and how they make sense out of that experience." (Weppner, 1977:13). "Street ethnography" implies that the people who spend much of their lives on city streets have acquired a "culture" with norms and rules for interaction. It has recently been argued that truth can only be found in the streets (Aagar in Weppner, 1977). This study will take seriously the premise that complex societies are made up of many different cultures, subcultures, and cultural scenes, and that each of these "sociocultural" worlds provides different ways of making sense out of life. For example, the prostitute does not view her behavior the same way a lawyer...
would view it. The phenomenon of streetwalker prostitution can best be understood from the streetwalkers' perspective (Weppner, 1977).

Therefore, the assumption that one perspective, whether legal or psychological, is always the best way to understand prostitution is challenged since:

although ethnography is essential to building a truly comparative science of human behavior, it also has more immediate usefulness... Ethnographic studies of street cultures ... can provide policy makers and treatment personnel ... (with) ... the insider's perspective. (Weppner, 1977:16)

In some cases, the insights and understandings of prostitutes may lead to more humanitarian policies and laws.

Among sociologists who study prostitution, an argument inevitably develops over the relative importance of institutional versus street fieldwork. Agar (in Weppner, 1977:150) argues that "there was a bias in the institutional data toward presenting street life in its best possible light."

In other words, Agar suggests that out-of-context discussions can become distorted if actual observation is not available to validate such discussions. Agar (in Weppner, 1977:153) continues to dabble with these two settings by offering:

(y)ou cannot beat the institution for repeated contact, controlled interviewing, and systematic data collection. On the other hand, ... the streets are where it all happens, and direct observations add breadth and depth and also fill in some rather crucial details.

Agar assumes that the collection of data in the streets will be unsystematic and anecdotal, based on interrupted contacts. This can be controlled for in part by the type of relationship that
is established between the researcher and his informant. In fact Agar argues that a productive ethnographic strategy uses the strengths of both the institutional and street setting in the overall design of research.

As such, it becomes necessary to focus on those studies of streetwalker prostitution which are ethnographic in nature. Of the work to date on the streetwalker variety of prostitute, three have been ethnographic in nature. Ross (in Bowker, 1978) portrayed the life of the hustler in Chicago. Gray (1973) studied seventeen teenage prostitutes and four adults in Seattle. Unfortunately, fifteen of these were interviewed while incarcerated. Perhaps the most thorough and comprehensive discussions of streetwalkers are James' (1972, 1976, 1977, 1978) research on prostitution in Seattle. Other studies of the streetwalker have been done by N. Davis (1971), who interviewed thirty incarcerated streetwalkers. Jackman, O'Toole and Geis's (1965) study of fourteen streetwalkers, twelve of whom were interviewed in jail and two in night clubs; Wilkinson' (in Rolph, ed., 1955) sixty-nine interviews with streetwalkers in London; and Maerov's (1965) study of twenty prostitutes who were interviewed while incarcerated in the Denver County Jail. Benjamin and Masters (1964), Winick and Kinsie (1971) and Young (1964) all deal with the streetwalker variety, and are descriptive, versus empirical, in nature.

Throughout this research, the streetwalker prostitute is generally treated as being a homogenous entity (see, Davis,
It is from these sources that general textbooks on deviance also draw their conclusions. The exceptions to this view are the writings of Bullough (in Shilok, 1970), Sheehy (in McCaghy, 1976) and Raven (in Bowker, 1978). Bullough (in Shilok, 1970:19) found for example that:

... there were radically different personality and status differences among streetwalkers. The more well-to-do streetwalkers ... were more likely to be charming, educated, and seemingly sympathetic, while those who worked in the poorer neighborhoods were more socially embittered and more obviously out to get the best of their customers.

Needless to say, terms like "charming" are difficult to test. However, Bullough points to an important fact; namely, that there may be status differences among the streetwalker variety of prostitute. Sheehy (in McCaghy, 1976) adds to this contribution by suggesting that three types of streetwalkers can be found in New York City. Sheehy cautions against the assumption that the types of streetwalkers she found in New York City could also be found in other cities (i.e., such as Seattle). Although McCaghy (1976) is conscious of the fact that Sheehy identified more than one type of streetwalker, he tends to be general about streetwalkers as a type of prostitute per se, and focuses on the third type that Sheehy discussed. It might be interesting, therefore, for the reader to be aware of these three types. Sheehy classifies them as; daytimers, early evening girls, and all the rest of the streetwalkers.
These classifications are further characterized in the following manner:

1. **Daytimers**—These are the classiest of the street trade, comprised of white out-of-work models and actresses and suburban housewives supplementing their husbands' income. They work office buildings for contacts with executives at no less than $60 a trick.

2. **Early evening girls**—Usually through by 11:00 p.m., these are full-time independent professionals who work in and around hotels, especially during conventions.

3. **All the rest of the streetwalkers**—This includes the old, the very young, the tough, the desperate, the unattractive and any others not fitting into the other categories. They work far into the night and try to turn as many tricks as possible before the stream of customers simply runs out. (in McCaghy, 1976:352-354)

Despite this breakdown, there appears to be little variability among Sheehy's types. The third type she describes is an all-encompassing group into which almost anyone can fit. Her second category of girls is similar to what has been described as hotel prostitutes (see Clinard and Quinney, 1974). Type one, the daytimers, could also be described as 'hotel' prostitutes if it were known whether they worked in the building or on the streets around the building. The title of the various types seems to indicate that the variability among the three types has to do solely with the time of day that they work. The main criticism of Sheehy's types are that she does not provide any explanation for her typology. In addition, she neglects to define crucial terms such as 'classy' or 'professionals'. This
should in no way detract from the fact that Sheehy recognized that the streetwalker category of prostitute may not be a homogenous one.

Another study which suggests that streetwalker prostitution is not homogenous is Raven's (in Bowker, 1978) research on male prostitution. Raven (in Bowker, 1978:156) has managed to identify five types of male prostitutes operating in London:

1. young military men;
2. young men who have traditionally effeminate jobs and prostitute themselves from time to time;
3. boys who are too poorly skilled to do more than drift from job to job, prostituting in between;
4. hustlers who make all their money in criminal activities, of which prostitution is one among many they engage in; and
5. the full-time male prostitutes, who unlike all the others, works seriously and continuously at his trade, and derives all of his income from it.

This appears to be the most exhaustive typology of existing sub-types of one variety (e.g., males) of streetwalker prostitutes in the literature to date, and is interesting because it manages to sub-divide one group of male prostitutes into five categories. As such, it would be worthwhile to know whether the female variety of prostitute could be similarly classified.

The Career of the Streetwalker

Having identified and examined the distinguishing characteristics of streetwalker prostitutes, the focus turns to the literature which explores the various aspects of the career
of streetwalker prostitution. For purposes of the present study, career is defined as a "course of action or events; esp.: a person's progress in his chosen occupation" (The Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 1974: 117). The key word here, of course, is progress. Bryan (1965) has alerted readers to some of the important considerations of career, but focuses solely on the learning process of prostitution. The progress of the prostitute from initial entrance to exit from the career has therefore not been documented.

Since the focus of the present thesis is on the career of the streetwalker, it becomes appropriate to examine the literature on the four phases of career: namely, entry into street prostitution; on the street activities of streetwalkers; off the street activities of the streetwalkers; and finally, exit from streetwalker prostitution.

Entry

Entry into street prostitution includes the prostitutes' motivation and apprenticeship period.

In a survey of the literature on the motivations of prostitutes, James (1978) identified three types of motivations: conscious (economics, persuasive pimp, working conditions and adventure), situational (early life experiences, parental abuse and/or neglect, and occupation) and psychoanalytic (general factors, latent homosexuality, Oedipal fixation, and

32
The rationale or motivation for prostitution has been defined by Davis (1971) as a hedonistic concern for fun, new experiences, excitement, a response to peer group expectations, and idleness. Davis further states that economic deprivation is not the dominant element of work inducement for most girls. Clinard and Quinney (1974) agree there is little substance to the belief that women enter into prostitution from economic necessity. The feminist response to the economic explanation of prostitution is not in terms of dire need but rather "in terms of the relatively limited opportunities for women in such societies to earn a living wage, to win promotion and achieve a secure career, and to be economically independent of men" (Smart, 1976:87). Further, Maerov (1965) states that entrance into prostitution is precipitated by personal crises, such as rape and family breakdown. Financial need is also acknowledged, but Maerov (1965) feels this reason has been exaggerated since most prostitutes do not save money or spend it wisely. Some researchers (i.e., Esselstyn, 1968) believe that certain occupations, such as waitressing, lead women easily into prostitution. It is also argued by Davis (1971:306) that induction into the career proceeds through three alternative routes, chief of which are: "response to peer group expectations, involvement in a pimp-manager relationship, and adolescent rebellion." Furthermore, it is suggested that most streetwalkers are addicts (Lindsay, 1970), which is in agreement
Jennifer James (in Sagarin and Montanino, 1977) states that there is a body of research showing that most of the women choose prostitution as the occupational alternative that affords them the highest standard of living. James (1978) also found that 85% of her sample chose easy money and material goods, followed by the social life it affords (5%) and independence (4%) as the main advantages of being a prostitute. James (in Crites, 1978:194) indicated that her sample found "danger from customers and (high) physical emotional stress" as negatives of prostitution. Miller (1978:130) states that since the streetwalker's "customers will not return ... [there is] little reason to make the contact personal or to take a great deal of time." This contradicts the traditional stereotype of prostitutes that presents them as persons forced into their profession by economic deprivation. James (in Sagarin and Montanino, 1977:395) also found that "excitement, adventure, and lifestyle were significant motivating factors for a career in prostitution".

In a study of 131 prostitutes, James (in Bowker, 1978:155) found that:

... the most commonly reported motivation for entering prostitution was to obtain money for material goods (56%), followed by the influence of a male friend (11%), to get money for drugs (9%), economic necessity at a basic level (8%) and curiosity (4%). Only 3% of the respondents said that their main motivation for entering prostitution was that they were attracted to the lifestyle.

James (in Bowker, 1978) also indicates through her research that
the myth that women become prostitutes because they are 'oversexed' has been countered by the discovery that prostitutes see their sexual activities with customers as purely business, and usually get no sexual pleasure from them.

McCaghy (1976) suggests that, on the whole, prostitutes were not forced into their profession. Based on limited research, this author has identified three experiences common to a majority of the women engaged in prostitution on a full-time basis. McCaghy (1976:355) points out that, although these career contingencies do not answer why people enter the profession, they suggest factors "that make prostitution for these women, ... a logical behavioral alternative." They are:

1. early and promiscuous sexual experiences;
2. acquiring verbalized motives favorable to prostitution; and
3. recognition of high financial return and restricted alternatives.

It is important to reiterate that there exist different types of prostitutes and streetwalker prostitutes. Therefore, because of the possibilities of differences among the types, the possibility of unique motivating factors for each group should not be ignored. While Driscoll (1971) is the only sociologist who has studied transsexual prostitutes, his research reveals little more than to highlight subcultural patterns in San Francisco. Mention of transsexuals and prostitution also occurs in the medical literature. Benjamin (1966) suggests that the transsexuals find prostitution a useful profession for emotional
and practical reasons, noting "the transsexuals would derive enormous satisfaction from being so thoroughly accepted as a woman" (Benjamin, 1966:51). The author, however, neglects to state whether this occurs pre and/or post operatively. In addition, Benjamin (1966:51) suggests that not only can the transsexual make her living, "... but she may also save for the sex change operation", and further contends that it is rare for a male transsexual to engage in prostitution before the operation and there is possibly not more than a few dozen in the whole country. Hoenig, Kenna, and Youd (1970) are in agreement with Benjamin by offering the explanation that a primary motive for prostitution is that a transsexual is always anxious to have their gender role confirmed by others. In addition, they suggest that "employment difficulties may ... play a role in the high incidence of prostitution as a source of income ..." (Hoenig et al., 1970:171).

A discussion of the learning process of the career of streetwalkers can be facilitated by discussing the nature of the training that occurs. Davis (in Henslin, 1971:313) discusses the apprenticeship of the streetwalker and suggests that "unlike the call girl, who frequently learns the deviant role under the tutelage of an experienced prostitute, the streetwalker is often a 'loner', and consistently exposed to the vicissitudes of street life." In addition, Maerov (1965) argues that entrance into prostitution is precipitated by personal crises such as rape and family breakdown.
Many textbooks on deviance (e.g., Buckner, 1971; Clinard and Quinney, 1974; Gibbons, 1973; Rock, 1973; Reid, 1979; Winslow and Winslow, 1974) base their discussions of the prostitutes training period on Bryan's (1965, 1966) work on the apprenticeship of call girls.

According to Davis (in Henslin, 1971:315), training for the streetwalker group, when it does occur, includes:

1. willingness to satisfy a broad range of client requests, requiring certain social and sexual skills;
2. elimination of fears regarding clients who are defined as 'odd' (sadomasochists);
3. adaptation to police surveillance and entrapment procedures;
4. avoidance of drunk clients, or those unable or unwilling to pay; and
5. substitution of a 'business' ethic for the earlier ones of 'gaming' or excitement concerns.

Miller (1978), on the other hand, suggests that the apprenticeship is very short and informal, if it occurs at all. He suggests that the most important training for the streetwalker takes place on the job.

Maerov (1965), although without suggesting how, asserts that the prostitution subculture is very influential in recruiting. He states that the subculture teaches the girl the "tricks of the trade", gives her an identity, recognition and acceptance. L. James' (1973) interview of ten female streetwalkers suggests that all of them had been originally introduced into prostitution by a friend. This is the extent of the existing literature on the learning process of streetwalker prostitution.
On The Street

Career-oriented prostitution is much more than the consummation of a sexual exchange for money; it is a way of life. Consequently, the streetwalkers involved in prostitution are forced to come to terms with the people who may have direct or peripheral involvement in the streetwalkers' lives, such as other prostitutes, pimps, and the police. This section of the literature review, therefore, examines the relationships and work management of the street prostitute. Of interest here are the prostitutes' relationships with other prostitutes, clients, pimps, and the police, issues of territoriality, establishment and maintenance of a price structure; and finally, a look at the use of alcohol and drugs for the streetwalker.

The research literature suggests that streetwalkers are the most harassed of the profession and are arrested repeatedly (Heyl in Adler and Simon, 1979; James in Sagarin and Montanino, 1977). Heyl further argues that, due to the cost of being arrested, the prostitute must have a pimp. Miller (1978) even goes so far as to argue that a streetwalker is not acceptable unless she has a pimp, asserting that the prostitute who is associated with a pimp is "... an example of the intermediate type of organizationally affiliated prostitute (Miller, 1978:127). Heyl (in Adler and Simon, 1979:201) argues that as the more serious charges under the law require bond money, the
streetwalker must "... rely on [a pimp] who has a stake in her trade but who is not subject to arrest." It is also argued by Heyl that it is impossible for a streetwalker to work independently of a pimp and to make money at the same time. She suggests (in Adler and Simon, 1979:203) that:

... if a would-be streetwalker wants to go into business for herself and walks in areas where no interested clients would find her, her actions will raise no objections from any pimp. But in areas where a streetwalker can make money, the pimps enforce the rule that she must have a pimp if she wished to be left alone by other pimps.

Heyl (in Adler and Simon, 1979) does not indicate how pimps manage to know the street situation of a city well enough to control it so completely. Heyl (in Adler and Simon, 1979:201) further asserts that:

streetwalkers are usually the least expensive prostitutes in cost to client ... and are the most vulnerable to male domination - primarily from police and pimps.

However, James' (in Bowker, 1978:155) research suggests that:

it is not true that pimps force women to work against their will, seduce young girls, turn women into drug addicts for the purpose of control, give no sexual satisfaction to their women, keep them from ever leaving their stable and are never married to prostitutes who work for them.

James (in Bowker, 1978:156) also discusses the advantages and disadvantages of working for a pimp, as indicated by the following:

The women named his taking care of business (25%), providing protection and generating respect for them from others (21%), and caring about them (8%) as advantages, and giving up one's earnings (20%), being
beaten (15%), loss of individuality and independence (12%), lack of respect from them (11%), and the fact that pimps set work quotas for them (11%) as disadvantages.

Miller (1978:131) also discusses the prostitute's relationships with each other, noting they are encouraged to develop close ties and to cooperate with each other. He suggests that "streetwalkers often need protection from customers and others on the street who might physically assault them, and therefore they sometimes work in small groups."

Goldstein (1979) discusses the work management aspect of streetwalker prostitution in terms of addiction and exit from prostitution, although he seems to have collapsed several categories of prostitutes when talking of both streetwalkers and call girls. Goldstein (1979:3) claims that the social science literature makes two assertions about the work management of prostitution:

1. many prostitutes, because of the rigors of their lives, will become drug abusers at some points in their prostitution careers; and
2. many female addicts, because of the expense associated with narcotics addiction, will turn to prostitution in order to support their drug use at some point in their addiction careers.

Goldstein (1979:148-50) counters these assertions by suggesting that addict prostitutes are not career prostitutes, because they had never committed themselves to prostitution. Instead, they were committed to being addicts.
Off The Street

In the literature reviewed, James (1973) is the only author to make any mention of off the street activities of streetwalkers. She suggests (1973:103) that "most had friends who were not working prostitutes with whom they spent their time, but their closest associates were always in prostitution." James (1973:103) suggests that this occurs because "the moral and legal sanctions of the larger community force the prostitute to make a commitment to the lifestyle." No mention is made of the prostitutes' social activities, whether they experience loneliness, nor the type of relationship the prostitute has with family and friends.

Exit

The exit of the streetwalker prostitute from the occupation is generally not discussed in the literature. Jennifer James (in Crites, 1976:193) presents perhaps the most useful insights into this phase of the prostitutes career:

[Once a person has developed the skills of any given occupation and become successful in it, she or he is naturally reluctant to change careers, especially, if he or she has no other job skills. Prostitution, because of its 'deviant' status in society, is a particularly compelling force in the lives of its practitioners.

------------------

2See Prus and Irini (1980) for a recent study of the "hotel community" which addresses the notion of friendship and other affiliational networks such as families and children that exist within the hooker community.
...After years in the profession the prostitutes' contact with people outside the 'fast life' is usually very limited making reentrance into the straight world a difficult and lonely experience.

Also, Goldstein (1979) suggests that addict prostitutes are better able to return to a normal existence after exit from addiction and prostitution.

Limitations of Prior Research

The research on streetwalkers from the perspective of a career is limited, especially in relation to aspects of on and off the street and exit from streetwalker prostitution. However, a number of limitations specifically relating to questionable assumptions pervade the literature, and there is a definite need for a close re-examination of street prostitution.

First, there has been a basic assumption of uniformity among street prostitutes. It is assumed in the literature, for example, (i.e., Young, 1970) that all street prostitutes are down and out, and by extension, that they are the lowest in the hierarchy of prostitutes which has the call girls at the top. From this perspective, streetwalkers are a homogenous entity. The literature ignores the fact that the cultural and/or shifting legal situations create a hierarchical situation on the street itself. A second limitation of the literature is that it often ignores the fact that there are different types of street prostitutes, and that these types may evidence considerable variability. Thirdly, studies of street prostitution have been
characterized by inaccurate generalizations, such as the assumption that Bryan's conceptualization of apprenticeships applies to all forms of prostitution. These generalizations are derived from, and contribute to, the common myths surrounding prostitution. Furthermore, a close examination of the literature reveals that the career aspect of prostitution has solely been studied from the perspective of the call girl. Another important aspect for consideration in understanding the variations of street prostitutes is the fact that streetwalkers are not limited to females, and characteristics of the female streetwalker prostitutes career may or may not apply to males, drag queens, or transsexuals. Finally, many aspects of the career of the streetwalker have been excluded, omitted or limited as an area of concern in the literature.

**Purpose of the Present Study**

The purpose of the present study is to examine several types of streetwalker prostitutes from a career perspective. It is designed to contribute to the body of literature, which is beginning to move away from the use of pathology as the orienting conceptual framework for studying prostitutes. The present study is exploratory in nature and is designed to identify aspects of streetwalker prostitution which should be the subject of further inquiry.
The foregoing will be achieved by examining the career of street prostitution, including:

1. entry to street prostitution, including motivation and training period;

2. the occupation of the streetwalker, which is divided into:
   a. "on the street" activities of the prostitute, including the issues of territory, prices, relationships with other prostitutes, relationships with the police, and various aspects of work management;
   b. "off the street" activities, including social life and friends; and

3. exit from street prostitution.

Throughout this thesis, the unique aspects of the careers of one group of streetwalker prostitutes will be examined. This will be facilitated by comparison with streetwalker prostitutes in other areas of the city in which the study was conducted.
IV. Prostitution in Vancouver, British Columbia

Vancouver is a western Canadian seaport, and is the third largest metropolitan area in Canada. The city is well known not only for its drug trade, natural scenery, but also for its mild climate, a definite attraction for all kinds of people and especially transients. The principal sectors of the economy are service industries, trade, and manufacturing. Vancouver is comprised of a multitude of ethnic groups which include Chinese, East Indians, Blacks, Italians, Germans, and Native Indians.

During the course of the present study of streetwalker prostitution in Vancouver, the legal status of prostitution came under serious study by both the police and policy makers. As a result, extensive changes occurred in the activities of streetwalkers. These changes were an asset to the research, as they reveal clearly the effect of changes in policing procedures on various aspects of the streetwalker prostitute's career, including the "sale"; i.e., the contact and exchange of services to the customer. Data will be presented on the female, male, drag queen and transsexual streetwalkers from one area of Vancouver, which will in turn be compared to the female streetwalkers from three other areas of the city.

The following passages from local newspapers briefly present the effects of a number of court decisions which analyzed various aspects of street prostitution. The situations
leading up to the court decisions will be presented, in order to aid the reader in understanding the situation of street prostitution in Vancouver at the time of this study:

Serka said he believes the vice squad is upset after losing the Hutt case and the Penthouse prostitution and bribery cases. The only reason those girls are out on the street is because they closed down the Penthouse - that's where they were a few years ago. (The Vancouver Sun, Thursday, March 30, 1978. B12.)

In the last three months the number of prostitutes on downtown streets has more than doubled - and their prices have almost halved as they fight for tricks. The busiest section of town is the corner of West Georgia and Hornby where fly by night hookers congregate outside Air Canada's office. (Jackson, C. May 23, 1978, The Vancouver Province).

The Supreme Court of Canada, in February of 1978, unanimously overturned the soliciting conviction of a Vancouver woman who was accused of soliciting an undercover policeman while she was in his car (Hutt v The Queen 1978, 38 C.C.C. (2d) 418). In his judgement, the judge stated that a car is not a public place and that soliciting must be pressing or persistent to be proved. The essence of the Canadian prostitution statutes, according to Lowman (1980), is regulationist, to keep the prostitute out of public mind and sight. As a result of the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada, 100 charges of soliciting had to be dropped. The purpose of prostitution law has therefore been thwarted.

In addition to the changing legal situation, in 1975, the police investigation of a well-known Vancouver cabaret club (the Penthouse), prompted by the belief that its owners were living off the avails of prostitution, led to the club's closure.
second club threatened by a similar investigation also closed. Both clubs had, until this time, flourished as havens for prostitutes. The effect of the closure of the clubs was that the prostitutes simply moved onto the streets. According to Lowman (1980:28):

[law enforcement efforts designed to curb [prostitution] ... were rendered almost totally ineffective as landmark court decisions defined and redefined the meaning of both 'solicitation' and 'public place'. Thus not only did the areas of street prostitution in Vancouver spread, but, as prostitutes migrated into the city to take advantage of the increasingly permissive legal environment, the number and density of prostitutes also increased.

Around the time of the Penthouse trial, and thereafter, the press gave increasing coverage to what was termed a 'social problem'. They predicted that Vancouver would become a 'haven for hookers'. As a result of the increase in the number of
prostitutes on the street, the activity of streetwalking had become openly observable when the present study was undertaken in 1978.¹

¹This exploratory study of prostitution was begun in May of 1978. Without realizing it, my research on prostitution began, well before its formal inception. During the early part of my university career, I supported myself as a waiter and bartender in various drinking establishments throughout Vancouver. Many of my customers were, at that time, involved in prostitution, either as a pimp or as prostitutes. I managed at that time to establish friendships with some of them and as a result much time was spent with them. We often socialized outside of our respective work and spent numerous hours in casual conversation. Two of these friends were later to become key informants for the present study in that they supported my efforts and relayed that to other prostitutes. Letkemann (1973:166) suggests that the "importance of the initial 'socialization' period is underscored by those methodologists who emphasize the social aspect of the interview situation." Polsky (1967) also emphasizes the importance of this period in that it is easier to get acquainted with them at their play rather than at their work.
V. Methodology

As Becker, Greer, and Strauss (1961) indicate, methods used in qualitative research are seldom made explicit; therefore, a description of the research procedure follows, in order that it may assist the reader in his assessment of the data.

Participant Observation

Although the author had previously met persons who were intimately involved in prostitution, and had established relationships with them, he was naive about the many aspects of prostitution.

The first six to eight weeks of the research were spent in becoming familiar with the primary area of study (Davie Street), observing the actions and interactions that took place. The number of occasions, hours per day and numbers of persons observed were recorded on a systematic basis. Irwin (in Feldman, 1978) suggests that there are facets of the criminal's life which cannot be learned through participant observation; therefore, it is important to observe and record nonverbal activities.

After a period of observing these nonverbal activities, the researcher began to feel comfortable and familiar with the area.
He also encountered one of his former friends working in the area, and started spending a considerable amount of time with her on and off the street. She was informed of the research and of the author's desire to meet with, and perhaps interview, a number of other prostitutes working on Davie Street. This initial contact, according to Irwin (1978:111), is crucial:

[i]f a person with criminal contact gives assurance that you are not a cop or a social worker, it will save you considerable time, increase your chances of contacting someone who actually represents someone significant element of the criminal population and get the relationship started on the basis of trust.

This initial contact allowed the author to observe the nature of the various interactions that occurred with the other prostitutes and continued for a few weeks. It soon became possible for the researcher to begin occasioning the after-hour establishments that he knew the prostitutes went to without the contact.

When new prostitutes were introduced to the researcher, or he to them, he was always presented as a researcher doing work for his Master's Degree. Up to this point, his identity did not seem to disturb anyone. It was felt that a definite rapport was being established with a number of the prostitutes, since personal issues were being discussed and the author was being invited to their homes when they were not working. (See Appendix 1 for a discussion of ethical considerations).

During the summer of 1978, it became comfortable for the author in this passive role and he therefore began asking the prostitutes for interviews. The first interview was conducted
with the initial contact, as it was felt she was partly responsible for his being accepted into the group and would be a good judge of the type of questions asked. The second interview situation turned out to be a failure.¹

Once rapport had been established with street prostitutes in the area, interviews began to "snowball". Nineteen interviews were conducted with street prostitutes in the Davie Street area. All volunteered to be interviewed, and none were paid for their information. Weppner (1977) suggests that paying informants may bias the information. All but eight of the interviews, which averaged approximately eighty minutes in length, were tape recorded, with the respondent's prior approval. All of the interviews were conducted after working hours, and all but one were conducted at their residence, while one occurred at the beach.

------------------
¹The prostitute knew me and had agreed to be interviewed at her home one morning before working hours. I didn't realize her boyfriend (who was supposedly on welfare) would suspect that I was a social worker. There was no telling him differently and I barely managed to escape, tape recorder and all, without any bruises. (This was the last interview failure although some of the environments and situations surrounding my interviews were rather humorous). I attempted to call this prostitute again for an interview and realized this would be impossible without her boyfriend present. I therefore discarded her as a potential respondent. There was only one other person who declined to grant me an interview, with no apparent reason.
Selection of Participants

It became apparent that the lengthiest and most difficult part of the field work would be setting the grounds, and establishing contacts and friendships, for the actual interview situation.

By the end of the summer, 1978, the author knew most of the prostitutes in the Davie Street area by sight or by name. In fact, he was willing to conduct interviews from as many prostitutes on Davie Street as possible, with the exception of juvenile prostitutes. There were no criteria for the selection of the respondents from Davie Street, other than they be active working prostitutes. Interviews of an informal nature were conducted from Georgia, Granville and Hastings Streets. Further, as the interviews proceeded, the 'categories meaningful' to the prostitutes became apparent.

The research sample was not limited, to be representative of the general population of prostitutes on Davie Street. Rather, Glaser's (1967:61) 'saturation technique' dictated the time at which closure was brought to the interviews on Davie Street:

[s]aturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated.
Although the personal information of the respondents was variable, the various aspects of their careers as streetwalkers were not. The last few interviews did not really supply this researcher with any significantly new information.

The Interview

Extensive observations of Davie Street, as well as semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 2), were utilized as methods of data collection. Issues of reliability and validity are critical problems facing the interviewer. Irwin (in Feldman, 1978:111) suggests that: "... after [criminals] decide you are 'good people', they usually enjoy talking to you, since this gives their lives a little more importance." This frequently occurred during the course of the interviews for the present research, as many of the interviews continued well after the questions from the interview schedule were completed.

While Honigmann (1976:246) would have us believe that "[t]here is practically a zero probability of ever testing the reliability of a comprehensive ethnographic report", there are methods by which the data gathered from an ethnographic participant observation study can be reported with as little judgemental interpretation as possible.

Comparison data, in the form of survey research, of Georgia, Hastings, and Granville Street are provided in the data presented. Time was also spent in observation and some informal interviewing in these areas.

53
In order to determine whether qualitative data are representative, valid and generalizable, Irwin (1976:33) contends:

the ethnographer must develop theory from the categories of meaning discovered through participant observation rather than simple verifying a preconceived theory.

James (in Weppner, 1977) also suggests using additional measures in this regard. Internal validity was checked by questioning many respondents about the same piece of information, and asking them to verify others' responses. Weppner (1977) suggests that the 'grapevine' is a good way to check whether or not the informant's report is true. Triangulation of this kind can also increase the utility of the research by helping with problems of translation competence. For example, triangulation can determine whether the researcher is getting better data than he actually is because of the seeming co-operation of his informants.

Reliability is further guaranteed, suggests James (in Weppner, 1977), by spending more time with the informants under varying circumstances. James also favors the use of taped interviews to check for internal consistency.

Finally, Becker (in Letkemann, 1973:175) has suggested that qualitative research would become more "scientific" and less "artistic" if the reader was given "greater access to the data and the procedures on which conclusions are based."
This research has accomplished this, and numerous respondent quotations are included, to assist the reader in their assessment of the data.

Description of the Sample

The respondents in the present study were 50 active streetwalker prostitutes, who, after establishing contact and being informed about the nature of the project, all volunteered to be interviewed. They were not paid for their information and all are classified as streetwalkers. Of the 50 prostitutes, 33 were female, 10 were male transsexuals, (seven of the transsexuals were partially completed, while three had undergone surgery to have their sex changed), four were males and three were drag queens. Nineteen interviews were conducted on Davie Street, while ten were conducted on each of Hastings and Georgia Street. There were eleven interviews conducted of the streetwalkers on Granville Street. All the interviews on Granville, Georgia and Hastings Street were with female streetwalkers.

The author conducted all of the Davie Street interviews, as well as observations, in all of the areas of the city where

---

*See glossary for definition.

^See glossary for definition.
streetwalker prostitutes were active. There were two principal researchers who conducted the interviews on Georgia, Granville and Hastings Street. However, observations, and some informal interviews, were conducted by the author on these streets.

Nineteen interviews were conducted with prostitutes in the Davie Street area, and four types of streetwalkers were discovered. Of these, ten were male transsexuals, four were males, three were drag queens and two were female.
Areas of Street Prostitution in Vancouver

It soon became apparent early in the research that street prostitution in Vancouver was not limited to one area of the city. Rather, five areas of visible street prostitution were discovered. Subsequently, it was discovered that these areas were also identified in a 1977 police report on "Street Prostitution in the West End" by Corporal G. A. Forbes of the Vancouver Police. Figure 1 identifies the main areas of street prostitution mentioned: the Georgia-Hornby area; Columbia-Hastings area; Keefer-Gore-Georgia Street area; Davie Street area; and 1000 and 1100 blocks on Granville Street.

1. Georgia-Hornby area: This area is characterized by a large number of prestigious hotels and entertainment spots. Pedestrian traffic (many of whom are conventioneers) is especially heavy during the evening. According to Forbes (1977), there were approximately 80 female prostitutes working in the Georgia-Hornby area on a full or part-time basis. He also suggests that they are considered the highest class of street prostitute, are non-addicts, and charge between $50 and $100 for their services.
FIGURE 1.
Downtown Vancouver

Source: Vancouver City Planning Department.
2. Granville: The 1000 and 1100 blocks of Granville are characterized by hotels, drinking establishments, and shops selling pornography. Forbes (1977) suggests that about 100 female prostitutes work the Granville Street area. He advises that most of the prostitutes solicit in order to supply drugs for their heroin habits and that of their 'old men or pimps'. Forbes (1977:6) offers that "their method of operation is fairly aggressive due to their drug addiction and their prices usually fluctuate with the rate of a cap of heroin."

3. Columbia-Hastings area: This area is in the centre of the Skid Road area of Vancouver. Many of the buildings are run-down and serve as shelter for many of the alcoholics. It is characterized by establishments serving alcohol, 'peep shows', and other such assorted services. It is an area also frequented by Native Indians.

4. Keefer-Gore-Georgia area: This area is characterized by cheap hotels and accomodation, and a number of delapitated buildings, and is located on the edge of Chinatown. Unfortunately, little information is available on this area; therefore it will not be used as an area of comparison. Forbes (1977) suggests that approximately 100 female prostitutes work these two areas. He (1977:7) suggests that "the majority of these girls are drug addicts and the observations common to Granville Street would also apply in [this area]."
5. Davie Street area: The area used by the prostitutes here includes Davie Street from Thurlow to Nicola, as well as Pendrell, Jervis, Broughton, and Eute Streets (see Figure 2). Davie Street is one of the three main streets which connect the densely populated residential area of Vancouver known as the West End. This area also hosts many businesses, ranging from boutiques and restaurants to supermarkets, hotels and banks. In addition, the Davie Street area is popular with tourists because of its many shops and surrounding beaches.

Approximately 80 female prostitutes work the Davie Street area, according to Forbes (1977). He further suggests (1977:6) that:

[Most girls on Davie are not addicted to hard drugs and subsequently consider themselves higher classed than the Granville Street girls. Rates are adjusted accordingly and are usually within the range of $40-80.]

Forbes (1977) also suggests that 25 to 30 male prostitutes make themselves available on Davie Street. In addition to these, he also adds that there are roughly 20 transvestites working in the area. He further offers (1977:2) that:

Most transvestites [sic] are males, dressed as females. Some have taken the initial step towards a complete sex change, however, few complete the operation because of high costs and considerable inconvenience.

In the following discussion, the data are presented in terms of the theoretical framework discussed earlier. Each aspect of the career perspective will become the central focus of a Chapter.
VI. Entry into Street Prostitution

The analysis of the career of the streetwalker prostitute will commence with the entry phase, focusing specifically on motivation and apprenticeship.

The Davie Street streetwalkers commenced their prostitution careers the latest in life, at an average of 19.9 years (range of 14-25) (see Table 1).

The Granville Streetwalkers, on the other hand, began prostitution at the earliest ages, with a mean of 16.4 years (range of 13-20). Hastings Street was 18.6 years, with a range of (15-24) years; while for Georgia Street, it was 18.9 years, with an age range of (15-22). The males and the drag queens tended to commence prostitution at the earliest ages, with averages of 16.7 and 17.3 years respectively (see Table 2).
TABLE 1

Entry Characteristics of All Respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street* (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution Began</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution Began</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The means and ranges from Hastings Street were calculated from 8 people due to insufficient information from the remaining 2.

TABLE 2

Comparison of Entry Characteristics of Davie Street Prostitutes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>TS (N=10)</th>
<th>F (N=2)</th>
<th>DQ (N=3)</th>
<th>M (N=4)</th>
<th>Total (N=19)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Age Prostitution Began</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range of Ages When Prostitution Began</td>
<td>14-24</td>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>14-18</td>
<td>14-29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The transsexuals and females have on the average spent the longest time in prostitution, with respective means of 5.9 and 4.3 years. The range of actual years spent in prostitution was (2 months-15 years) for the transsexuals, and (8 months-8 years) for the females. The drag queens have spent an average of 2.2 years in prostitution, with a range of (8 months-3 years), while for the males it has been 1.9 years and a range of (2 months-4 years).¹ These figures compare to an average of 4.3 years, and a range of 2 months-15 years, spent in prostitution for the Davie group as a whole.

In most cases, the discussion of the various aspects of entry will be examined separately for the female, male, transsexual and drag queen streetwalkers from Davie Street. Following this, a comparison of the Davie Street prostitutes as a collective, will be made with the remaining areas. The literature deals primarily with the female type of streetwalker. Thus, the present discussion of four types of streetwalkers is unique, given the existing literature.

¹The little time that the males and drag queens have spent in prostitution, and the ages that they commenced prostitution, is certainly in keeping with the literature which indicates that males are in their "prime" only at very young ages. It is therefore uncommon to see a male prostitute hustling on the street who is older than 22-3.
Motivation

The two females stated that economics was their work inducement:²

... the money is really good and it's less hassle than straight work. (3,f)

and:

I like the money, yes I like the money and I did it because I liked the attention given to me by all those men so it was pleasure in a way. An ego thing I guess, to have all these men attracted to you. They're paying you money, what else can you ask for? (14,f)

All four of the males interviewed stated that their work inducements were of an economic nature. One respondent stated that:

... I'm not really trained in anything and couldn't make this much in another job. (7,m)

Two of the males could not secure employment of any other sort. Another comment made by a male prostitute was that he entered prostitution because of:

[p]eer group pressure - other hustlers - they were into drugs. (9,m)

He was therefore encouraged to try prostitution because of the excellent money that could be made.

--------

²Interviews from Davie Street are numbered from 1-19. In addition the symbols f, m, dq, and ts are used to represent female, male, iraq queen, and transsexual respectively. The symbol pc refers to those transsexuals who are partially completed in terms of their sex change while the symbol c refers to those transsexuals who have completed their sex change surgery.
The three drag queens classified economics as being their work inducements. The reasons given were basically because of the lack of jobs and money. One stated that:

... I am basically lazy(4,dq)

and one began prostituting:

... rather than [go on] welfare.(12,dq)

All the transsexual respondents on Davie Street gave economics as reason for work inducement. Five of the transsexuals gave reasons of economics, because they needed money for their sex change operations. Five respondents stated that because their physical appearance had altered since they began the task of changing their sex, they were unable to manage a 'straight' job as either sex. In response to a question regarding work inducements, this respondent replied economic, and then further explained it:

[w]ell I can't get another job right now, you know that's how I make my money because, you know, when you look like a girl, it's hard to get a job. (15,ts,pc)

Alterations in appearance were in the form of plucked eyebrows, longer hair and longer fingernails. The use of hormones necessary for the sex change had also resulted in an increase in the size of their breast tissue. Therefore, they were between the two sexes, with revealing qualities of both, and thus it was difficult for them to obtain 'straight' employment. Eight of the transsexuals were also in prostitution because the money was good. Only one of the transsexuals had initially entered the profession of prostitution because of her
addiction to heroin. Now since off drugs, the subject's work inducement is the 'good money'. Only one transsexual also included pleasure as a motivating factor.

More important than economics was the overriding and persistent reference to the fact that prostitution reinforced the transsexual identity as a female. Thus, the ambivalence of their gender identity is a source of great anguish. The following quotation describes this anguish particularly well:

WHY DID YOU START CROSS-DRESSING WHEN YOU WERE 7; WHAT FEELINGS DID YOU HAVE? Okay I just wished I was like my sisters and I used to go to bed and pray to God that I wish I was a girl. I saw my older sisters developing and going out with other you know going out with guys and going to parties and everything, I didn't do any of that....(18,ts,pc)

Hence prostitution provides enormous satisfaction for the transsexual for being so thoroughly accepted as a woman, which tends to stabilize their ambivalent feelings:

... I'm a woman - I had my surgery 7 years ago, there's nothing masculine about me. (6,ts,c)

The drive that is characteristic of the transsexual's life is that they want to be women, not just to appear as a woman and successfully pass as one, but to be able to function as one:

DO CUSTOMERS WANT TRANSSEXUALS AS PROSTITUTES? Yes, a lot of them do. I find that a lot of my tricks don't know. They won't find out, but some of them do know or some of them will come up and ask me if I am one, and if they do, I don't beat around the bush. I tell them the truth, but I find that a lot of my tricks want a transsexual. They, I guess, they are homosexual and in a way they want they know it's a boy, yet they can think in their minds that it is a girl because you are dressed like a girl; you look like a girl.... (5,ts,pc)

Prostitution thus has a decided effect on their self-concept.
Some of the transsexuals will come right out and tell their clients that they are males, because of the danger involved. Others, specifically those who have noticeable breast development, state that they are 'real women', regardless of the danger involved. It appears that the confirmation of their gender role far outweighs the risks involved. Perhaps this is also why some of the completed transsexuals remain in the profession. In other words, if one assumes that they were drawn into prostitution partly to have their gender role confirmed, then it is possible to speculate that prostitution has become somewhat of a magnet, in that it tends to reinforce and maintain their image of themselves as women. Therefore, it is also suggested that transsexuals often become prostitutes because it has historically been considered a female profession.

In sum, the findings indicate that 100% of the Davie Street streetwalkers, including the female, male, drag queen and transsexual prostitutes, were motivated by economic considerations. Drugs and pleasure also account, respectively, for 5% of the motivating factors. While the responses received from the four types of streetwalkers are similar, the underlying reasons for their motivations are variable. This complex set of factors account for only one area of street prostitution in Vancouver. This collective response from Davie Street can now be compared to the remaining areas.

The majority of the responses from all the groups of streetwalkers in this study, when asked
TABLE 3
Work Inducements of Streetwalker Prostitutes*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.
about their work inducements was economic (see Table 3). On Hastings Street, 90% of the prostitutes gave an economic response, but this was also related to the fact that drugs and alcohol comprised 30% and 50%, respectively, of that total. Of the Granville Street streetwalkers, 81.8% noted economic inducements, almost half of these responses related to drugs. There was a 9% response for each of alcohol and pleasure. All of the Georgia Street prostitutes gave economic considerations as a work inducement and 40% also replied that pleasure was a motivating factor. It will become apparent, when 'on the street/off the street' activities are discussed, that the number of Georgia Street prostitutes who are organized, and therefore working for someone, may be closely related to economic motivations.

Motivation for becoming a street prostitute in Vancouver varies not only with the type of street prostitute analyzed, but also with the various types within an area and among areas. The next section will examine whether such differences are evident in the pattern of apprenticeships which streetwalkers in Vancouver experience.

Apprenticeships

This section will discuss apprenticeship from the perspective of the prostitute training for and learning his/her profession. Questions which were asked of the prostitutes, and
which will be reviewed in this section, include: the number of prostitutes which had formal training; the length of time of the training period; perceived adequacy of the training period; and the rules which may have been taught during the apprenticeship phase of the career.

Table 4 indicates that 63.2% of the Davie Street prostitutes had no formal training for prostitution. All of the remaining 36.8% learned the work through an acquaintance in the business (i.e., a girlfriend or hustler). Three of the transsexuals, three of the males, and one female learned to do the work through acquaintances in the business. Of the remaining respondents who had no training for the profession, five had experienced some personal contact with other prostitutes before they started prostituting. In all cases, the choice to prostitute was basically their own, although one male felt some peer pressure.

The length of the training period was similar for all respondents, and was usually of short duration:

... less than a full month and not on a full-time basis. (9,m)

... three or four days. (6,ts,pc)

... about a week. (5,ts,pc)

Often training periods lasted for only one night:

... my friend went out with me the first night for a couple of hours and that was it. (7,m)

... I was trained by the person who introduced me. The training consisted more or less of how to talk to the clients and how to relate to the clients. The sexual act, I don't think anyone really requires any training,
at least not anyone who goes through live experiences [of] sexual acts. So, it is just a matter of applying that to your business .... (6, ts, pc)

While the training for the Davie streetwalkers was of relatively short duration, all the respondents who experienced a training period ended it themselves. This decision was often influenced by the trainer, or because of economic reasons. The following is a comment made by one of the male prostitutes on his first night out:

... I was told to not let them know it was your first time, so I did not. Me, I'm a normal person, I do not try to act up that I'm very strong but that night I did deepen my voice, go down to the act, so I did not let the people know at all. Once you've worked one night as a hustler, in a way you're marked as a hustler for the rest of your life. (10, m)

This same individual, in responding to a question as to whether anything was omitted from the training period, responded:

[yes, I think so - taught that do not, what I'm doing is a job in a way, in a way it isn't but it should have been taught to me that 'do not get too involved and upset about what you're doing'. I did the first night, I was very upset that night when I finished work but I was not told this, I had to learn on my own. (10, s)

Furthermore, he also replied that he should have been taught:

... how to learn how the tricks are, what they might do, just watch them. I was not told what some people might do. I picked up one trick that night that was in kinky things and it took me over two hours to get out of that car; I had to jump out while he was moving. (10, m)
### Table 4

Apprenticeships of Streetwalker Prostitutes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Training</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintances*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*BREAKDOWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acquaintance in Business</th>
<th>Davie Street</th>
<th>Hastings Street</th>
<th>Granville Street</th>
<th>Georgia Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintance in Business</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Man</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt's boyfriend</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This lack of training was also commented upon by two other respondents. In another instance, however, the respondent felt that the training period was of sufficient length:

... it teaches the basics of what you have to know. (5,ts,pc)

Another individual ended her own training period:

... because it was time for me to go into it by myself. (6,ts,pc)

The rationale given for ending the training by both the trainee and trainer was economic; they could not afford to work in pairs.

Although the training period for the Davie Street streetwalkers was of short duration, it was sufficient to impart the rules of the profession. The rules of the business, as related throughout this study, were the same for all the categories of streetwalkers interviewed on Davie Street. They are evident in the comments of two streetwalkers:

I was taught that you tried to please your client as much as you can, you support their fantasy. You find out what their fantasy for the particular moment is and you indulge in that fantasy. It is more or less like being on stage and acting a certain part for a certain period of time. And, of course, you try to get as much money and spend as little time as possible and yet to leave the person with the desire of coming back to see you because he enjoyed you. (6,ts,pc)

And:

[hr]mm, yeah, they say that as far as we're concerned we're all working girls and they're only a trick. They don't mean nothing to you, you get what you can. (3,f)

Furthermore, the Davie Street streetwalkers are taught some "do's and don'ts" of the business in their training periods.
Some rules are more strictly enforced than others. For example, undercutting is not tolerated:

Yes, don't undercut, don't move in on someone else, do protect the other hustlers and girls. (7,m)

...She taught me how to do it quickly, not to take a long time because you have to make more money. And, of course, not to cut in on some other girl. Any hooker wouldn't do something like that. She taught me how to wash your tricks; just basically washing them so you could feel cleaner and that.... You know if I am talking to a john, don't you come up and say, "Hey, do you want to come with me, instead of her?" Not to cut in on another girl. And, if a girl named a price for this john and he doesn't want to pay it, if you're standing on the street not for him to come up to you and say, "would you go for this price?", if it's below the average. (5,ts,pc)

Finally, it is wise not to:

...create scenes on the street and attract a lot of attention. (1,ts,pc)

On Davie Street, 36.8% of the streetwalkers interviewed learned their trade through acquaintances in the business, while the remaining 63.2% received no training. In comparison (see Table 4), 80% of the Georgia streetwalkers learned to do the work through acquaintances. On Granville Street, 45.5% received training, with 27.3% being trained by their 'old man' and 18.2% by a prostitute in the business. The 30% of the Hastings streetwalkers who had been trained were coached by an acquaintance in the business. Little other information was available on the training periods of these three areas.

The results presented above indicate that variation exists in the learning process among the Davie Street prostitutes. In the remaining areas of the city, some women are trained and some are not. There is no conclusive evidence from the data gathered
that those women who worked for a pimp were automatically exposed to a training period. It is known that the majority of the Georgia streetwalkers, for example, have worked for a pimp, and were also trained for prostitution (see Table 5). Learning to be a streetwalker may, or may not, include formal training with other prostitutes. However, there are rules one must abide by to survive as a streetwalker. Do the rules vary? Can we claim that the rules are values? Do the rules result from various types of prostitutes working together? Do women have different rules? These are only some of the unanswered questions, and it is to these that future research must direct further attention.
### Extent to which Streetwalker Prostitutes Worked for a Man.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4 21.1</td>
<td>7 70.0</td>
<td>6 54.5</td>
<td>8 80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>15 78.9</td>
<td>3 30.0</td>
<td>5 45.5</td>
<td>2 20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary

Analyzing the interview data relating to the entry of respondents into the career of prostitution has revealed that the Davie Street area has four different types of streetwalker prostitutes: females; males; drag queens; and transsexuals. In addition, there are at least five known areas of street prostitution in Vancouver, areas which tend to be significantly different from one another in a variety of ways.

All nineteen subjects interviewed on Davie Street gave economic reasons for their work inducements. This would compare to the 'conscious' motivating factors outlined by James (in Bowker, 1978). What the literature neglects to address is that work inducements may vary not only within an area, among the various types of streetwalker prostitutes, but also between the areas of the city in which streetwalkers are active. The transsexuals were peculiar, in that they often needed finances for their surgery, or were in the midst of their sex change; therefore, because of their physical appearance, had few, if any, outlets for other types of work. Hoenig et al., (1970) and Benjamin (1966) agree with the foregoing, by offering the explanation that a primary motive for prostitution is that the transsexual is always anxious to have his gender role confirmed by others. In addition, Hoenig et al. (1970) suggest that employment difficulties may also undoubtedly play a role in the high incidence of prostitution as a source of income.
The experience for the males and drag queens (the youngest groups of prostitutes) was that they seemed to be in prostitution because other jobs, particularly financially lucrative ones, were not available. The two females, who had experience in other work, were motivated by the money as well.

These are only the experiences for one area. On Hastings Street it was discovered that 60% of the economic responses were due to drugs and alcohol. Similarly, Granville Street responses were 81.8% in favor of economics as a motivating factor, with 45.4% of those for drugs; 9% for alcohol; and 9% for pleasure. On Georgia Street, 40% of the responses indicated economics were a motivating factor. It has already been suggested that this may be due to the fact that many of them do not work independently. What the data presents are a set of motivating factors which are not uniform between areas of the same city.

The literature often assumes that apprenticeships for prostitution are similar for the call girl and the streetwalker prostitutes; or, that learning for the streetwalker does not occur. Once again, there is a discrepancy with the literature. Learning does occur, although to a different degree, depending on the area. Also, differential association does occur, relative to the area in question. Differential association also occurred with some prostitutes, even when there was no training involved.

In the following two chapters, the occupation of the streetwalkers, divided into on and off the street activities, is examined.
VII. On the Street

The second part of the discussion is directed towards the 'on the street' phase of the streetwalker's career. In this chapter, the prostitute's relationships with other streetwalkers, clients, and the police are examined, as well as the 'work management' of the street prostitute in Vancouver.

Relationships with other Prostitutes

The first step in analyzing 'on the street' activities of street prostitution is to examine the prostitutes' relationships with other streetwalkers. Consideration will be given to issues of territoriality; the establishment and maintenance of a price structure; and the collective views of other types of prostitutes and streetwalkers in other areas of the city.

The Streetwalkers Territory

The author's observations of the Davie Street area were that the transsexuals, and often the females, tended to work the Bute and Jervis connections of Davie Street, while the drag queens and males were inclined to congregate around the Broughton and Nicola-Davie area of the West End (see Figure 2). However, there
was also a fair bit of movement, as the prostitutes moved from one area of Davie Street to another. It was not unusual to see a transsexual and female working together, but it was very unusual to see a male prostitute and a transsexual working together.

This type of situation begs the question of whether a sense of territoriality within the Davie Street area itself existed among the different types of prostitutes. One indication that this occurred is readily apparent from the following:

... the males basically had to work on their own because a trick wouldn't pick you up if you were with a bunch of girls.\(^\text{(16,m)}\)

Therefore, certain boundaries existed, which were dependent upon the customer's consideration. However, there was very little indication that this did occur, based on the interview data:

The streets are open. You have a whole long block. You have all different blocks and it is first come, first served. If you want, you usually pick a good spot where a car can turn into an alley or something, and if you are by an alley that's better for you because the car can turn into an alley and that way you are not blocking as much traffic. So I would say that by an alley-way would have to be the best spot.\(^\text{(5,ts,pc)}\)

Evidence of territoriality of Davie Street was also related to one of the rules taught during the training period:

\textbf{WOULD THAT MEAN NOT GETTING INVOLVED IN SOMEBODY ELSE'S TERRITORY IF THERE IS A TRICK AROUND OR SOMETHING? Yeah, you know if a trick waves me over and then another person, another prostitute would go over and take it, that's stealing a trick I guess... WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO A PROSTITUTE IF SOMETHING LIKE THAT HAPPENED? You, well it depends on the individual I guess. Me, I'd get upset and probably scream her out or, you know, hit her, you know, or I don't know. It would all depend on what kind of mood I was in that day.} \(^\text{(13,dg)}\)
Police, in their attempt to move traffic, also affected the territoriality of the street prostitutes:

ARE YOU EVER FORCED TO MOVE FROM THE VARIOUS CORNERS THAT YOU WORK AND IF SO BY WHOM? Police, they'll tell you to keep walking and you know they'll clear corners or they'll set up road blocks and you know they'll park motorcycles everywhere so you really, even if there were tricks out you couldn't catch them because they are right up there giving them tickets and everything. (12,dg)

Nevertheless, the Davie Street prostitutes were still cautious of who they worked within their own area:

ARE THERE ANY TYPES OF PROSTITUTE THAT YOU WON'T WORK WITH? Yes, alcoholics that have to drink heavy to get themselves going to work, and junkies, someone who really bad on drugs.¹ WHY WON'T YOU WORK WITH THOSE PEOPLE? For one reason, they don't really know what they're doing, ... but they're not really watching out what kind of trick they're going to grab as long as they get their money, so if it's a junkie so he can support his habit, or if it's an alcoholic so they can support their habit, it's because they won't know what the trick might do and if they're spaced out or really bad they need some drugs or alcohol right away, they're going to do anything to get that money. (10,m)

Finally, a very important consideration in the examination of territoriality is the fact that Davie Street supports a variety of types of streetwalkers. It is the only area of the city where streetwalkers, other than females, can work:

DO YOU PREFER TO WORK IN A SPECIFIC AREA? Davie Street seems to be the only area where hustlers work and the money is pretty good. (7,m)

... Davie is the only area where us transsexuals can work. I mean the ones who are not finished. (2,ts,pc)

¹Someone who is 'really bad on drugs' refers to someone who is addicted to drugs, or desperately needs the affect of the drug, in order to solicit.
It does not appear as if territoriality, in its strictest sense, exists on Davie Street among the adult streetwalkers; meaning, corner 'X' was not reserved for prostitute 'A's' use, although there was some variation in the types of prostitutes that worked with each other. However, when one begins to discuss the feelings of the Davie Street prostitutes about prostitutes from other areas, a completely different picture emerges.

One definitely gets the impression that the Davie Street prostitutes felt a sense of territory for their area, when looking at their feelings regarding other areas of street prostitution, and the prostitutes that work there:

**WHY DO YOU PREFER TO WORK DAVIE STREET?**

Basically because Georgia is ... a pimp oriented thing. It's like everybody is working for somebody and the tricks are more difficult. They get more fussy as to what they want. Granville, the last thing I want to do is work there with a bunch of junkies, you know um. Davie Street, you know like things like pimps and junkies, they're just kicked out of the neighbourhood. (12,dg)

In response to a question regarding protection of the Davie Street turf, the following was said:

[t]hat depends you know, like if I'm working a corner I don't care if there is somebody out there with me but if somebody that's coming up from another section of town, and they start taking over like if girls come up from Georgia en masse you know then we start to get a little upset and get rid of them or if they're junkies start coming up, we'll force them out of the neighbourhood. (12,dg)

Another comparison of the different areas was made in the following comment:

**DO YOU PREFER TO WORK IN ANY SPECIFIC AREA?** Yes I do, on Davie and Broughton. [A specific intersection on Davie Street] and what are your reasons for working that area? well it's easier for me because I find if you're on
Georgia you have to be a very high class hooker, very pretty. I wouldn't want to work on Granville because I feel, other hookers feel, that all the girls on drugs are there and the price goes down there for them. On Hastings it's the same too, they're all drug addicts. A lot of them are tricks [and] can pick up girls cheaper there, so I find that Davie is the next best place to Georgia and Granville for making money. (5,ts,pc)

Finally, the following individual, through personal experience, was able to make a comparison of the other areas:

DO YOU PREFER TO WORK IN A SPECIFIC AREA? I've worked Hastings Street years ago and about three years ago I worked Granville Street for about a year but I usually keep coming back to Davie because the money is better and there's a lot, you don't pick up the weirdos and the cheap tricks and everything. (15,ts,pc)

The Davie Street streetwalkers prefer to keep their area clean of drug addicts, and apparently intend to keep it that way:

WHY ARE GRANVILLE AND HASTINGS DEGRADING? Well that's where all the junkies and you know, well we consider ourselves up here clean. (13,dg)

ARE THERE ANY JUNKIES WORKING ON DAVIE STREET? We won't let them. (16,m)

... [because] junkies, they bring on the heat. (11,ts,c)

Junkies are further discouraged from working on Davie Street, because:

... Davie Street hookers tend to view hooking as a business proposition more than anything else and junkies, pimps and even minors get in the way of that. They attract too much police attention, so they're discouraged. (12,dg)

The following prostitute, herself an ex-junkie, compared Davie with Granville Street:

[O]n right, for the year I was on Granville Street, I was putting $200 a day in my arm and I was working night and day and the tricks down there are all $20, and if I wasn't using no I'd still have been a prostitute and I
wouldn't even have worked Granville, I'd worked Davie Street so I'd have been making twice as much money and I would have retired 5 or 6 years before this, probably with a hell of a lot of money. WHAT'S IT LIKE WORKING WITH A JUNKIE THOUGH? Well if they don't rip off the trick they're gonna rip you off so no matter how you look at it you're gonna lose. (15,ts,pc)

The following sums up the general feeling of the Davie Street prostitutes about junkies:

... [t]hey rip customers off. I want my tricks to come back. How's a girl to make money if they [customers] keep getting ripped off. (8,ts,c)

Juveniles are another group that the Davie Street prostitutes won't work with:

... I don't want to get to know the juveniles cause they'll get you into trouble (7,m)

and:

... hookers or kids that are really young, you know like anything under 16 I just won't go near as for sharing a corner with... [juveniles] attract attention you know, from the police and you can get into a lot of trouble if you're hooking with a kid like that you know. (12,dq)

Nevertheless, the Davie Street streetwalkers do allow juveniles to work in the area, because of customer demand for both juvenile males and females. While the juveniles do work in the same area as the adult prostitutes, they are allowed only a certain portion of Davie Street (usually below Nicola Street and beyond, see Figure 2), an area which is totally removed from the work locale of the adults. Therefore, if and when the juveniles draw the attention of the police, and they invariably do, the area that they work is sufficiently isolated, so that it does not interfere with the adult prostitute work area.
The literature consistently mentions the streetwalker as existing at the bottom of the status system of prostitution, and does not consider that a status hierarchy may exist among different areas of street prostitution within the same city. In Vancouver, it seems that the Georgia Street streetwalkers are at the top of the status hierarchy, followed by Davie Street, Granville and Hastings, while the Gore-Keefer area seems to be the least preferred place to work.

Furthermore, there is a certain amount of evidence that Davie Street is territorial in that the Davie Street prostitutes retain Davie Street as their own working area (although territoriality, in its strictest sense does not occur among the adult prostitutes on Davie Street). There appears to be a certain business ethic evident, and any streetwalker not adhering to it is discouraged from working in the area.

Establishment and maintenance of a price structure

Most of the prostitutes interviewed on Davie Street (73.7% See Table 6) stated that there was an agreement about prices on the street. The remaining 26.3% felt that they could negotiate a price, but that there was a minimum price for each type of streetwalker:

**IS THERE AN AGREEMENT ABOUT PRICES?** Yes, with the real girls the minimum is $40 and there is a different minimum for males, transsexuals, etc. (11,ts,c)
In addition, although negotiation was often attempted, a price structure was usually maintained:

I usually set my own [prices], but customers know what other girls charge so I guess there is an agreement. (3, f)

The customer may be more influential in the various organizational aspects of the business, than they might imagine. Furthermore, there seems to be a price structure which is dependent upon the type of service to be provided:

[Most male hustlers do not go under $30, me I don't go under $40. It depends on what the persons would like to be done. For a blow job I charge $40, for anal sex I charge around $60. (10, m)]

A prostitute new to the street will automatically ask what the going price is for specific services.

A breakdown of minimum prices for fellatio and intercourse for all of the different types of prostitutes on Davie Street is as follows:

a. transsexuals - $30-$40 for fellatio; $50-$60 for intercourse;

b. drag queens - $30 for fellatio; $50 for intercourse (anal);

c. males - $30 for fellatio; $50 for intercourse (anal); and

d. females - $40 for fellation; $60 for intercourse.

The establishment of a price structure is, therefore, dependent on the type of prostitute providing the service and on the specific service provided.
TABLE 6
Price Arrangement Between Streetwalker and Client.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set Fee</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiable</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.
The maintenance of the price structure is dependent upon the assumption that the customer is familiar with the specific price structure. Further, there is an assumption that the customer will keep this price structure constant by refusing to pay more for a service than is dictated by the price structure. It is becoming increasingly evident that the customer plays a fairly crucial role in the organization of the prostitution business. Unfortunately, the information available on the customer of the streetwalker prostitute is rarely validated, due to the difficulties in gathering such information.

The price structure is also difficult to maintain, because of the process of undercutting. Most prostitutes agreed there was a set price; therefore they did not undercut. On the other hand, most also had an excuse for undercutting in some instances:

IS THERE AN AGREEMENT ABOUT PRICES? Yes, but some people undercut. I guess we all do if we are short on cash. (2,ts,pc)

---

2See glossary for definition.
This is generally discouraged, which is evident from the following quote:

IF SOME OF THE PROSTITUTES FIND OUT THAT OTHERS ARE GOING BELOW THE MINIMUM PRICES IS THERE ANYTHING THEY CAN DO ABOUT IT OR TRY TO DO? Well they, if they find out, they go up to the people and say that they will tell a lot of other prostitutes and they'll make it very uncomfortable for that one prostitute that's going below. WHAT WILL THEY DO TO HER? They'll probably try to kick her off the street. They'll hassle her so much that the girl will probably go and work somewhere else, but yet they all do it basically. (5, ts, pc)

It is apparent that, at least with respect to the price structure, the prostitutes on Davie Street have established their own hierarchy, with the females and transsexuals at the top and the drag queens and males at the bottom. Many males, for example, started working in drag because they knew they could make more money:

DO DRAG QUEENS MAKE MORE MONEY THAN MALE PROSTITUTES? Yes, because they are a woman and there are a lot of straight men driving around and if they're good they can hide the fact that they are a man. They give the reason that they're in their period or they got the rag and they don't want to take it out so they have anal sex instead. If it comes to a blow job, it's just the lipstick that counts, if they're wearing any lipstick and get a little on them, I mean it comes out okay. (10, m)

Therefore, the price structure earlier quoted for females might also apply for the drag queens, especially if their customers are not aware of the "package" they were purchasing. The females and transsexuals (see Table 7) seem to stay in prostitution longer than did the males and drag queens, and thus may have more of a say in price.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>TS (N=10)</th>
<th>F (N=2)</th>
<th>DQ (N=3)</th>
<th>M (N=4)</th>
<th>Total (N=19)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Range</td>
<td>22 - 39</td>
<td>30 - 33</td>
<td>18 - 22</td>
<td>18 - 20</td>
<td>18 - 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Started Prostitution</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; range</td>
<td>14 - 24</td>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>16 - 19</td>
<td>14 - 18</td>
<td>14 - 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Time</td>
<td>5.9 yrs</td>
<td>4.3 yrs</td>
<td>2.2 yrs</td>
<td>1.9 yrs</td>
<td>4.3 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Time range</td>
<td>2mth-15yrs</td>
<td>8mth-8yrs</td>
<td>8mth-3yrs</td>
<td>2mth-4yrs</td>
<td>2mth-15yrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally this hierarchy may also be dependent upon the customer (i.e., a customer would not pick up a male prostitute who is hanging around with a number of girls).

No information was gathered on the establishment and maintenance of a price structure for the other areas of the city. Forbes (1977) suggests that males on Davie Street charge between $25-30 for oral sex and $50 and up for anal sex. He further (1977:6) indicates that the price on Granville and Hastings "fluctuate[s] with the rate for a cap of heroin." For the females on Davie Street, Forbes (1977:6-7) suggests that the "rates are adjusted accordingly" and are usually within the $40-80 range. Finally, on Georgia Street, the prostitutes charge anywhere between $50 and $100.

From this data, it is clear that the process of establishing and maintaining a price structure is more intricate and complex than the research literature to date has suggested.

Relationships with Clients

In discussing the process of interaction between the prostitutes and client, the focus is on: attracting the client; setting the price; payment; services provided/location where
provided; clients preferred; and how all of these relate to rules taught during the training period.

1. Attracting the client

The Davie Street prostitutes indicated that (see Table 8) dress (73.7%) and eye contact (78.9%) were far more important in attracting customers than talk (15.8%). One individual specifically focused on the eye-contact:

I can go down there. I can be dressed up terribly, I can look just a mess but it's the eyes that get you. (14, f)

Another more general comment was:

[dress and eye contact. Verbal contact - general conversation, lot of flashy clothes or a lot of skin showing or wearing a lot of leather. (9, m)

Finally, another described the process in terms of a sequence of events:

... it's usually they'll stop the car for you and motion you over which is better to let them do that than you start hassling them and say, "Hey you wanna go out?" It's better if you're just there and if they want you they just motion you over. (5, ts, pc)

In comparing Davie Street with the remaining areas, it is readily apparent that verbal contact is of primary importance for the Hastings (80%), Granville (100%) and Georgia (80%) street areas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye Contact</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.*
Dress for Hastings Street (10%) and eye contact (30%) seem to be relatively unimportant, as does dress for Granville Street (27.3%). Eye-contact seems to be more important, though, for Granville (45.4%); and even more so for Georgia (60%). Dress was also quite important for Georgia Street (70%).

Personal observations made in these areas during the summer of 1978 tend to substantiate the 'dress' and 'talk' variables of customer attraction for all four areas. The prostitutes on Georgia Street, for example, were fashionably dressed at all times. As the number of visible prostitutes also increased on Georgia Street, verbal contact became most evident. Dress was important on Davie Street as well. For example, it was observed on a number of different occasions that numerous prostitutes dressed in attire related to their sexual specialization (i.e., a leather outfit for S & M purposes).

2. Setting the price

On Davie Street, 73.7% of the streetwalkers indicated there was an agreement about prices (see Table 6). This may be an indication that many have adhered to the price structure taught when they entered the profession. The remaining 26.3% indicated that negotiation of an exact price often occurred:

... I always get the customer to mention the price and the act because you never know if it's a cop or what and the last thing I want to do is to get busted for soliciting. AND IF THE PRICE ISN'T WITHIN
YOUR RANGE OR NOT TO YOUR LIKING, WOULD YOU TELL HIM? Once he cracks a price, I'm fine. I can say anything I want and if I don't like what he's saying then I can tell him "well that's a bit low" so I want this much, but as long as he cracks the price first I'm fine. (12,dq)

It's variable, but always as much as I can get out of them. Sometimes I engage in oral sex for $20, or perhaps $80. It depends. (6,ts,pc)

And finally:

I let the trick name a price and then usually charge an extra $10. (7,m)

The following was a fairly common illustration of establishing a price for the Davie Street streetwalkers:

I never argue about prices. They know what it is. I tell them what it is, and the men that I go out with don't argue about it. They either want it or they don't. They know if they try to bargain with me then they are not going to get as good a time. (14,f)

The following quotes suggest that expediency is important to the streetwalkers:

If they want to spend more money, if they want to take an hour or so, you're going to have to charge more because in that hour you can do a couple of tricks. So you try to get them in, get it over with and get them out so you can get back out then and make more money. (5,ts,pc)

I don't give him much choice. Just make him come as quickly as possible and that's it. (1,ts,pc)

As little as possible, as quickly as I can finish them. (4,dp)

The Hastings, Granville, and Georgia Street areas (100%, 81.3%, 60% respectively) are much more inclined to negotiate a fee with their customer (see Table 6). One wonders whether there is a set fee in these areas of which the customers can become aware. Negotiation may occur on
Georgia due to the competition there, and, as indicated earlier, the Hastings and Granville prostitutes may negotiate in accordance with the fluctuation in the price of a cap of heroin.

3. Payment

In all of the cases on Davie Street, payment was made prior to any service being provided. The majority (73.7%) accept only money for their services (see Table 9). Some respondents indicated that jewellery was acceptable payment, but only from regular customers. The following is not an uncommon response:

CAN THE CUSTOMER PAY YOU WITH SOMETHING OTHER THAN MONEY? NO, HAVE THEY EVER TRIED? Yes... Some of them think I have a master charge card machine under my arm and some try to give me checks. At times, I have accepted checks, but only when I accept something else of value, so if the check is good, they can redeem whatever it is they have left. (6, ts, pc)

The majority of the prostitutes in all areas accept only money in exchange for services provided; Hastings (70%), Granville (81.8%) and Georgia (100%). The figure for Georgia Street might validate the assumption that the majority of them are not independent, perhaps having quotas to provide for their pimps. The Granville and Hastings prostitutes often accept drugs and/or alcohol in exchange for services.
TABLE 9
Streetwalker's Willingness to Accept Payment Other than Money.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98
4. Provision of services

The services that the prostitutes on Davie Street provided were varied, as were the locations where they were provided. The act of fellatio appeared to be the most common service provided by all types of prostitutes. Other services include masturbation, exhibitionism, sadomasochism (S&M)\(^3\), bondage and discipline (B&D)\(^4\), straight intercourse (anal and vaginal), half and half\(^5\), lesbian acts, walking on customers with spiked heels, and companionship. Some of the respondents (all types) stated they would provide "...anything the customer can pay for and anything they want." Occasionally, a drag queen or partially completed transsexual will provide what the customer thinks is penile-vaginal intercourse by inserting the penis of the customer into the anus:

[\ldots] most want a straight lay. Sometimes I give it to them and intercourse (laughs). They don't know the difference between a cunt and an ass. (\textit{I,ts,pc})

Yet some drag queens stated that this practice was not too common, for fear of the customer recognizing the difference.

---

\(^3\)See glossary for definition.

\(^4\)See glossary for definition.

\(^5\)See glossary for definition.
The list of the services that the prostitutes provide is long and varied, as is the list of services that the prostitutes will not provide. In fact, the lists are almost identical. Services which some prostitutes do not provide are: sadomasochism; anal intercourse; golden showers; defecating on the client; rimming; fellatio; intercourse with a fist; and intercourse, oral or otherwise, with animals. Some of the partially completed transsexuals stated:

IS THERE ANY SERVICE YOU WILL NOT PROVIDE? Only the services which my anatomy cannot provide. WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT? Most of my customers think I am a woman, so I am not able to give intercourse, so I just leave it at that, and how I handle it is that the price is usually too high for them to afford. (6.ts,pc)

The following comment reveals some of the unusual services requested and which are often provided:

[0]h yeah, this guy wanted me to give him an enema once with Muscatel wine. That was the worst, the wierdest thing ... I've ever heard just about but he has the Muscatel wine. This now ... the wierdest one was actually a guy that um all he wanted me to do was put tar all over his clothes and I said "okay" and he gave me $80 and he comes to my place and he stands on a piece of newspaper and he's got all these really nice clothes and ... I decide I'm gonna ruin them and I take the tar and I ruin them completely and after that he took them off and put them in a bag. He was carrying a bag with his tar in it, had brand new clothes in it, threw the other clothes away and that was it. Next day he came back with chocolate syrup and he wanted to put it on me for $70 so I said go ahead, put chocolate syrup, not on my clothes, ... I had my clothes off. But it was

6See glossary for definition.

7See glossary for definition.
funny, that was horrible, like I felt all the chocolate syrup dripping all over me, but for $70 just standing there letting him throw chocolate syrup is not that not that worse than a model, standing there and getting painted all over her body, something like that and they don't get paid that much,(17,ts,pc)

And:

Well I think something like shitting on a glass table while the guy is underneath watching you, that's really strange and somebody who wants you to take the car and roll over his cock or something, that's really weird. (14,f)

The following quotation also illustrated the negotiation in price involved for an unusual service:

Well a lot of them like to be spanked, a lot of them want to be tied up. Some of them want to dress in women's clothes, some of them want you to wear leather, some of them want you to wear rubber. They sort of get off on these things and a lot like to be dominated. So WHAT WOULD YOUR PRICE BE FOR THOSE UNUSUAL REQUESTS? If someone just wanted to be spanked, and that's all, I would charge probably $50. If someone wants to get dressed up in women's clothes, it depends on how long it is going to take and everything. That's how you sort of have to base your price on. If it is going to take 45 minutes to an hour, you would have to charge for that; $75 or $100 for that. (5,ts,pc)

The majority of the prostitutes prefer to provide fellatio because "it's simpler and quicker." One completed transsexual states that she prefers to provide S&M as a service because:

... it pays extremely well.(6,ts,c)

The Davie Street streetwalkers (see Table 10) provided their services at their own, or at a working, apartment (57.9%); in a hotel or car (42.1%); and on the street (15.8%). The Davie Street prostitutes were the only
prostitutes from all of the areas who had 'working
apartments'. That is to say, they had an additional
apartment, in which they lived, where they provided the
services for their clients. Often, when a service such as
fellatio was required, the act occurred on the street (i.e.,
in an underground parking lot, at the beach or a nearby
park). When a hotel room was used, the customer had to
provide payment for it, in addition to the service payment.

One prostitute gave the following reason for preferring
to provide her services in a car:

I prefer to do my work in a car protecting myself
legally and it also makes it a lot quicker for me to
do it in a car, get in and get out, rather than to
go into a home or a hotel and go through all of the
rig-a-maroll that's involved. (6,ts,pc)

Thus, the prostitutes that prefer to work in a car do so
because:

... it's quicker. (2,ts,pc)

And:

... if there's any hassle I can just jump out. (4,3q)

Others prefer to do it in their apartment, or their working
### TABLE 10

**Streetwalkers' Preferred Place to Provide Service.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massage Parlor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their own of working apartment</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.*
apartment because:

... you're safer there and there's usually somebody around who'll back me up. (12,dq)

One prostitute prefers a working apartment because she:

... doesn't want to ruin the reputation of my real apartment. (17,ts,pc)

Still others prefer a hotel room because:

... it cannot be classified as a bawdy house. (14,f)

Some prostitutes, on the other hand, would prefer not to work in an apartment because:

... you could get busted. (4,dq)

And also a car:

... is too much hassle. (13,dq)

Hotels abound in the remaining areas of prostitution, and that seems to be the preferred place to provide sexual services for the Hastings (100%), Granville (81.8%) and Georgia Street (90%) prostitutes. A lot of the customers of the Georgia Street prostitutes are businessmen from out of town, so the expense of a hotel room in which to supply the service is not an added cost (and may often be paid for by the client's place of work). There was some indication that a 'deal' could be made with some of the management of the hotels in the Hastings area, but that was never substantiated. The street was also a place for the transaction to take place in the remaining areas, but not to the extent that the hotel was preferred. The car was also a preferred place within which to do the work for almost half
of the Granville (45.5%) prostitutes, while it accounted for only 30% in both the Hastings and Georgia Street areas.

Observations in the above areas demonstrated that customers approached Davie and Granville Street the most by car, and this accounted for the larger number of prostitutes providing services in the car in these two areas. Pedestrian traffic was also the highest in the Hastings and (especially) the Georgia Street areas. Thus, the lower incidence of the car being a preferred place of sexual activity, with the hotel being the most preferred.

5. Clients preferred

Little evidence is provided in the literature that the streetwalker prostitute discriminates in her choice of customers. Since it is commonly assumed that the streetwalker is an addict and working for a pimp, it follows, in the literature, that little discrimination, if any, exists. This assumption proved to be incorrect from the findings of the present study.

A majority (78.9%) of the Davie Street prostitutes preferred a client of a specific ethnic group (see Table 11). Of these, the Caucasians were the most preferred (63.2%), with Chinese (36.8%) and Blacks (10.5%) also a preference.
TABLE 11
Customer Preferences of Streetwalker Prostitutes.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preference</th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference Indicated</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preference Not indicated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.*
There were no reasons given for a preference of Caucasians or Blacks, while the desirability of Orientals brought a variety of responses:

[t]rick wise, I find that - for a blow job - I prefer Chinese because they're easier, they're quicker and they're clean. They're small which makes it easier for you. (5,ts,pc)

Also, that:

[ca]use ?Chinese? are polite, they're clean, uh they're fast and uh they don't try to rip me off or something like that. They just - they're straight forward, they give the money and they know what they're going to get and they don't try to weasel their way out of you know like ripping me off or fooling me or any sort. They just pay me and that's it. They're nice about it. (17,ts,pc)

Some respondents did not really have a preference:

[o]h, as far as tricks go it doesn't really matter because I don't consider it sex anyway, it's just a business. (15,ts,pc)

For many prostitutes:

... men are men as far as I'm concerned. (14,f)

When there was an indication of a customer preference, the discrimination existed to make the process of interaction between the prostitute and client easier. In comparison, the remaining areas tend not to have a preferred ethnic group for customers, although Chinese males were the predominantly preferred customer for Hastings, Granville, and Georgia (20%, 27.3%, 30% respectively) streetwalkers.

On Davie Street, East Indians, Greek, Black, Native Indians, and even Chinese, are discriminated against. In total, approximately 60% of the Davie Street prostitutes
would refuse to provide services for some ethnic groups (see Table 12). The following individual was particularly adamant about who "she" refused to serve:

[u]hm, I don't go out with Negroes whether it's business or pleasure, that's the end of that. As far as Pakis go, they're the most disgusting slovenly bunch of human specimens that God ever put on the earth anyways. They stink, they're gross, they're cheap, they're rude, they're belligerent. I have turned a few, I have turned down an awful lot more than I've ever gone out with and I've never yet gone out with one who hasn't given me trouble. (15,ts,pc)

The following quote also exemplifies reasons for refusing to provide services for Blacks and East Indians:

... Blacks because they are pimps in Vancouver, East Indians because they are nothing but problems and they usually have 3-4 guys stashed somewhere waiting while one picks up the prostitute. (11,ts,c)

---

8See glossary for definition.
TABLE 12

Streetwalkers Involvement with Repeat Clientele.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

109
Greeks are avoided by some prostitutes because:

... I hear they like anal intercourse. (3,f)

Chinese are sometimes avoided by drag queens or transsexuals, because:

... Chinese read me⁹ and know I’m a guy; they want women. (4,dg)

In addition, middle-aged to older clients are preferred because:

... middle-aged-older (clients) because they know what they want - usually no hassles, older man usually has no money worries whereas the younger ones want more for their money. (4,dg)

On the other hand, younger ones are least preferred, because:

Well they’re too much trouble, they’re the kind that beat you up and take back their money and that kind of thing. The older men are a little more cooler, they can’t afford any trouble either. They have wives they don’t want to cause any trouble so everybody’s happy. (14,f)

In comparison, the East Indians were the most despised of all ethnic groups for Hastings (10%), Granville (27.3%) and Georgia (20%). In addition, Greeks (10%) and Native Indians (10%) were ethnic groups that the Georgia Street prostitutes would not provide services for, while Blacks and Native Indians (9.1%) were two ethnic groups that some Granville Street prostitutes were wary of. One Hastings Street streetwalker also would not provide services for Jamaicans.

⁹See glossary for definition.
Repeat business (84.2%) was the norm for the Davie Street streetwalkers, and is also related to customer preference (see Table 13). Two of the drag queens did not have regular customers because:

... I don't work on a regular scale so have no set pattern. (12, pg)

And:

... I prefer not to [have regular customers] because I'm not going to be in this (prostitution) for very long. (13, pg)

One transsexual does not have regulars in Vancouver because "she" has not been here for very long, but did have regulars in Montreal. The prostitutes prefer the repeat clientele, because they pay fairly well and do not present the prostitutes with any difficulties. Davie Street is the area which tends to service repeat clientele. Of the remaining areas, 40% of the Hastings, 54.5% of the Granville and 50% of the Georgia Street prostitutes have regular customers.
TABLE 13

Streetwalker Discrimination in Clientele Preference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not Discriminate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discriminates</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Indian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Indian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The client's 'state of consciousness' was also a
primary consideration of the streetwalker prostitute. Over
three-fourths of the Davie Street prostitutes (see Table 14)
pREFERRED their customers to be sober (78.9%), while 36.8%
did not mind if the client had been drinking although
clients who were intoxicated or 'high' were preferred by
only five percent of the Davie Street group:

[1]ntoxicated or high, as loaded as possible because
they're easier to get along with and you can talk
them out of more money. I end the session whether
the trick comes or not. (9, m)

One respondent provided sexual services for only sober
customers because:

... [e]therwise it'll take too long to climax and
they get physical and want their money back. "We do
not guarantee a climax." (8, ts, c)

Sober customers were consistently preferred because:

I prefer my customers to be sober because they
achieve orgasms much quicker and they are in a much
more natural state, although I turn customers who
are drunk and are high, but they tend to take a
little more time and a little more effort is
required on my part of it. (6, ts, pc)

Some gave a similar reason to wanting customers to have had
some drink:

... a couple of drinks and they're usually more
relaxed and easier to come. (7, m).
TABLE 14
Streetwalkers' Preference for Client's State of Consciousness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sober</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some drink</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intoxicated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.
The majority of the prostitutes prefer their customers relatively sober, as a precautionary measure against hassles of any nature.  

From the comments of the streetwalkers, it appears that the majority (50-80%) of the prostitutes' clients are sober or have had a drink or two:

[The majority of them are sober. If you work after 2 in the morning you get a lot of people who have been at the beer parlor, club. They have had a few drinks. Some of them that's the only way they can pick up a prostitute is if they've had a few under the belt. (5,ts,pc)]

This situation also seems to exist for the remaining areas of street prostitution in Vancouver. Approximately one-half of the prostitutes from the remaining areas preferred their customers sober. Granville (81.8%) and Georgia (80%) had a far greater preference that their clients have some drink, while only (40%) of the Hastings

---------------
10The following question came to me after I had completed a number of interviews, so the responses are not representative of the 19 from Davie Street. I began to wonder whether the customers were charged extra money because they did not achieve orgasm in a given amount of time (due to an excess of alcohol or for whatever other reason). The following is indicative of approximately one-half of the responses to this question:

[n]o, but I feel that they have had their quota of time and they have not achieved what we are both working for, then I just say, "I'm sorry, that's it. Good night." (6,ts,pc)

The other half indicated they would usually charge extra money, if orgasm was not achieved within a specified amount of time.
prostitutes felt the same. None of the Georgia Street women wanted their customers intoxicated or high. On Granville Street, 18.2% of the prostitutes preferred their customers either high or intoxicated. These last figures may indicate the proportion of women from each of these areas who have regular customers.

It seems that, where a preference existed with respect to various aspects of the prostitute/client interaction/relationship, it existed to facilitate for the prostitute his/her business (to render as few problems as possible). The Davie Street prostitutes, as stated above, are imparted a set of rules upon entrance into prostitution. These rules seem, in part, to relate to the prostitute's relationship with their customers:

a. 'we're all working girls and they're only a trick ...'
   and

b. 'maximize your time and minimize your efforts'.

It seems that the first rule may not be taken too seriously:

... I know a lot who are really cool and some of my regulars are almost friends; (15,ts,pc)

And:

... [I] feel sorry for them, having to pay for it. (16, m)

The second rule, on the other hand, is far more important for the Davie Street streetwalkers:

... as quickly as possible but also depending on the price. (5,ts,pc)

... as little time as I can get away with giving
them. (6, ts, pc)

In addition, the price may also increase after a specified amount of time:

... they usually come in 10 minutes, but if it takes longer then that's fine, but I won't go longer than 20 minutes or I'll charge more. (12, dq);

Finally, there may be time limits for certain services:

... blow job, 20 minutes maximum and if it's more then they pay again; 30-45 minutes for a lay maximum. (10, m);

The preferred service of the customer, as mentioned above, was fellatio, and a number of prostitutes (57.9%) preferred to do their work either in a car (42.1%) or on the street (15.8%); both places of work where effort is minimized and time maximized. Thus, it may be possible to assume that the rule is taken quite seriously, and incorporated into the day-to-day business of the streetwalker prostitutes.

Little data on the prostitutes' relationships with their clients were available from the remaining areas.

Relationships with the police

Street prostitutes are virtually beyond the reach of the law in Vancouver, because of a court decision which ruled that a car is not a public place and a prostitute must be pressing and persistent in order to be charged with soliciting. The situation, with respect to street prostitution, is thus rather unique, and the police have little legal authority.
On Davie Street, few of the prostitutes have been convicted of offences related to their profession. One female was convicted of soliciting and three transsexuals were convicted for soliciting (see Table 15). According to one transsexual, she had been:

... convicted two or three dozen times. Soliciting, living off the avails of prostitution, gross indecency, that's about it I guess. Possession of heroin if you want to go back to when I was using, fraud, forgery, that can also go into it too but that's years ago. (15,ts,pc)

Another transsexual also described her experiences in other major Canadian cities:

... oh yes, I'm wanted in Montreal for soliciting, and common bawdy house, and in Toronto for an act to, no consent to commit an act of gross indecency which is the funniest thing I've ever heard; consent to commit -- I haven't done anything -- I just said I would. You know and this guy was feeling himself up and he was talking to me and he says, "um, I would like you to give me a blow job in my car." I said, "we'll find a nice parking and then it's okay," and he turned out to be a cop and he whipped out his badge and he said that I was under arrest for consenting to commit an act of gross indecency and soliciting and everything and he's the one who started the whole thing. He, uh I didn't really want to go with him, but he looked so horny and I figured now I didn't want him to go cause he'd be all over me and he was a policeman.

And here I did 10 days once for soliciting. But in Montreal I didn't have the time sometimes for it [prostitution] because they don't give a chance there. If you look like a prostitute there, they arrest you and that's enough, like they don't have to prove anything really. The judge believes it too and as he looks at the person, ... I went to jail and most of the time like I would get arrested I wasn't even working. I was just, there was too many police, I say I'm going home and, uh, I got arrested anyways.(17,ts,pc)

Two other transsexuals were charged with soliciting but were not convicted. None of the drag queens or the males had been
convicted, or for that matter, charged with anything related to their work. One possible reason for this may be their tender ages and the relatively short periods of time they had been prostitutes.¹¹

In comparison to Davie Street, 72.7% of the Granville prostitutes, 40% of the Hastings Street prostitutes and 20% from Georgia Street (see Table 15) have been convicted of a crime related to their work.

----------

¹¹They may also have been in prostitution a short period of time with the reinterpretation of the soliciting laws.
### TABLE 15

Work Related Convictions of Streetwalker Prostitutes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>N (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Work Related Conviction</td>
<td>4 (21.1)</td>
<td>4 (40.0)</td>
<td>8 (72.7)</td>
<td>2 (20.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Prior Work Related Conviction</td>
<td>15 (78.9)</td>
<td>6 (60.0)</td>
<td>3 (27.3)</td>
<td>8 (80.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the question asked specifically whether they had been convicted of an offence 'related to their work', many prostitutes responded that they had been convicted of offences not normally connected to prostitution; i.e., possession of a narcotic. Of those prostitutes on Hastings Street convicted of an offence, the majority were drug and alcohol related, which may relate to the fact that (100%) of the Hastings prostitutes use drugs and/or alcohol when working (see Table 16). Almost three-fourths of the Granville Street prostitutes were convicted of an offence related to their work. Once again, the convictions of these women related more to their addictions than to prostitution (e.g., possession of heroin). On Georgia Street 20% of the prostitutes were convicted of something related to the specifics of prostitution in its legal sense; whereas, on Granville and Hastings, the convictions seemed to be related more to the prostitute's addictions. Were the Hastings and Granville Street streetwalkers not visible as prostitutes, they and their addictions would also not be as open to inspection and scrutiny of the local constabulary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drugs and/or Alcohol Used</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used</td>
<td>9 47.4</td>
<td>10 100.0</td>
<td>7 63.6</td>
<td>8 80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No drugs and/or Alcohol Used</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used</td>
<td>10 52.6</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>4 36.4</td>
<td>2 20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>4 21.1</td>
<td>5 50.0</td>
<td>5 45.5</td>
<td>5 50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>8 42.1</td>
<td>10 100.0</td>
<td>4 36.4</td>
<td>4 40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.*
Although the police have been stymied in their efforts to regulate prostitution through Canadian Criminal Code statutes, this has not led to illegal police procedures to control the nature and extent of the activities of the street prostitutes of Davie Street. The following are representative comments regarding the extent of police harassment:

I am not harassed too much, usually it's just an ID check. They only harass you if you are using drugs or are under age.(2,ts,pc)

Every night they stop you now. If you're out there before 11, before the first group [police] goes off duty, you'll be stopped once and then you'll be stopped again by the new group that's out. The questions are very basic, you know - what's your name, your age, where were you born, are you on drugs, and then they radio in and do a check on you. They tell you to keep moving, keep walking or else they give a loitering ticket.(5,ts,pc)

Harassment, therefore, is not of a serious nature. Instead, it seems that where the police are concerned, efforts to regulate prostitution are directed more at the customer of the prostitute:

Well right now, they're on a big crack down. They're all on their motor bikes. When you stop and talk to a car, they're right there and they're pulling the car over and giving the cars tickets and if they catch you in a car (which they're doing a lot cause they're hiding in alleyways), they'll just pull the car over and make you get out if you're on the way to the apartment with a john(5,ts,pc);

DO THE COPS SCARE THE TRICKS AWAY? Oh, yeah, they do. Like if a car stops, they stop right behind them and ask them and turn their siren on and they'll ask them for their ID's, step out of the car and they almost search them cause they figure that everyone, everyone that wants to pick us up got to be drunk and they want to get impaired drivers.(17,ts,pc)
Therefore, there are often situations where convictions for offences (and often harassment by the police) are related to the drug/alcohol addictions of the streetwalkers. Because the Georgia Street and Davie Street streetwalkers tend not to be addicted to alcohol/drugs, they have lower reported rates of conviction for prostitution-related offences (see Table 15) than do the prostitutes on Granville and Hastings street where drug/alcohol addiction is more evident. This may, or may not, account for the reasons why the Davie Street prostitutes indicate that little police harassment occurs. Personal observations of the prostitutes' relationships with the police was that cooperation by both parties was evident.

Further inquiry should pursue questions relating to the relationship between police harassment and convictions for prostitution-related offences, in the areas of street prostitution where the prostitutes are addicts and/or alcoholics.

The Role of Pimps

The next focus, in the 'on the street' activities, is on the degree of organizational affiliation of the streetwalker prostitutes on Davie Street, particularly the positive and negative elements of such affiliation, if and when it exists; and also, the perceived advantages and disadvantages of such affiliation.
The majority of the Davie Street prostitutes work independently while two transsexuals, one drag queen and one female, have (21.1%) worked for a man (see Table 5). The drag queen stated this:

... was not a typical pimp/whore relationship but I [worked for a man] basically to manage my money (4, dg).

The female described her relationship as such:

... [I've been on and off with one particular man for the last seven years I guess and it started out as a pimp/whore relationship and has mellowed down into a boyfriend/girlfriend relationship. I think a working girl needs to have somebody around that figures that they're in love with. (14, f)

She further indicated that the relationship was not:

... like you see in the movie like super-fly and that kind of stuff. (14, f)

Both transsexuals described their relationship with a man as one where they were working for their old men and lovers. One's boyfriend in particular was a junkie:

... [n]o, he was a junkie. I wasn't using then and he was and he needed the money and so he started lining up tricks... (15, ts, pc)

As for another of the prostitutes on Davie Street:

[s]ome girls will work for a man? because they don't know how to handle money. They feel more secure working for somebody. And they enjoy it that way. But, the majority of the hookers out there [Davie Street] work on their own. (5, ts, pc)

One transsexual felt that there were no 'pimps' for anyone other than for the females:

... mostly females. At times I think I don't know maybe there's no pimps for drag queens or something like that but there's one who works for a guy and she gets beat up all the time, beats her up right on the middle of the street, some Black dude from the States. (17, ts, pc)
There was only one prostitute on Davie Street who described an affiliation with a pimp. The Davie Street prostitutes appeared not to rely on someone to urge them to prostitute, as they were independently motivated. In comparison to the streetwalkers on Georgia, Granville and Hastings Streets, the Davie Street streetwalkers had the least reliance on an organizational affiliation.
TABLE 17

Number of Streetwalkers Who Would Work for a Man.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18 indicates the numbers of prostitutes who indicated they would work for a man if they had a choice. The number of negative responses is in no way an indication of the number that presently do not work for a man. Slightly more than one-fourth of the Davie Street prostitutes would work for a man, if they had a choice, compared to 21.1% who have worked for a man. Three of the prostitutes who have never worked for a man now would:

... if he were my husband or boyfriend. (1, ts, pc)
... if it was a mutual agreement. (6, ts, pc)

And

... if his intentions are to take care of me. (10, m)

Thus, only one of the prostitutes (10, m) would now work for a pimp for some of the more traditional reasons; the remaining describe it more in terms of a business agreement. Two of the prostitutes who have worked for someone would continue to do so, while the other two would not. The following quotation sums up the feelings of the remainder of the prostitutes of Davie Street:

...[h]oney, this woman ain't no fool. (8, ts, c)
TABLE 18

Number of Streetwalkers Who Would Work for a Lady.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the respondents on Davie Street, the disadvantages of working for a man are as follows:

... bringing home the right amount of money(4, 4q),

... turning in quotas, small allowances, no freedom, you don't live with him(11, ts, c),

... [t]hey're goofs, can you ask for a bigger problem than that?(15, ts, pc)

Some of the positives of working for a man are:

... having new clothes, looking better, paid rent,(4, 4q)

... lots of loving, parties, good times. It's a whole ego-tripping thing I think. You get all dressed up, and everybody looks at you, it's interesting.(14, f)

Two of the prostitutes who had previously worked for a man did not seem to think there were any benefits of working for a man:

... there are no benefits whatsoever.(11, ts, c)

And

... some people seem to think [there are benefits], I've never found any yet.(15, ts, pc)

By comparison, the majority of the Granville (90.9%) and Georgia (80%) Street prostitutes would not work for a man, if they had a choice, while only 40% of the Hastings Street women would not. It is also possible that the question may have been misunderstood. On Hastings Street, for example, "a man" may mean an 'old man' and not a pimp, while on Granville Street "a man" may be defined as a pimp. It is possible that there is such a switch-a-round with these three groups, because between 54.5 and 80% of them have worked for a man in the past. It must also be remembered that just because a streetwalker would not work for a man, if they had a choice, does not mean they presently are not
involved in such an arrangement.

In contrast, two of the Davie Street respondents (10.5%) would work for a lady (see Table 18):

... [d]epends on what the lady has to offer, i.e., if she has customers and if she's good looking. I would work for an escort service. (9, m)

And

... depends if it was a mutual agreement. (6, ts, pc)

This once again is depicted more as a business arrangement than the typical pimp-prostitute relationship presented in the literature. The rest of the prostitution population interviewed on Davie Street did not believe in working for anyone, other than themselves.

None of the Hastings Street prostitutes would work for a lady, while 27.3% of the Granville women and 30% of the Georgia streetwalkers would. Two of the positive responses to working for a woman on Georgia Street were: "on a business arrangement, equal," and "on an equal basis." Two of the Granville Street prostitutes who would work for a woman had also worked for a man, in the past. None of the ones who would work for a woman would work for a man, if they had a choice.

The analysis of the role of pimps in the prostitutes' lives sheds some interesting and new information on the subject. While advantages and disadvantages, real as well as perceived, of working for someone are fairly stereotypical, the relationship itself was often not defined or discussed in equal terms. Furthermore, the desire to work for someone, particularly a
female, was more evident if the relationship was conducted as a 'business venture'. Also, it does not appear to be a necessity for a streetwalker prostitute to work for a pimp, or impossible for someone to be a streetwalker without a pimp. Finally, there is some suggestion that the role of pimps may not be as important in the lives of the prostitutes as the literature suggests. Instead, the focus may be more on examining the relationships the prostitutes have with their male friends, and the extent of a connection to prostitution.

Moving away from aspects of relationship, the focus on 'on the street' activities will now turn to the involvement of drugs and/or alcohol in the prostitutes' activities.

Work management

Of the 19 prostitutes who were interviewed on Davie Street, almost half use either drugs or alcohol when working (see Table 16). Of those who consumed alcohol while working, the norm seemed to be one or two drinks, as they preferred not to work while impaired:

[b]ecause I can handle myself better then. You know I don't, like if I'm drunk then I might not be able to gauge the person properly before I get into a car. I would probably not be able to defend myself if something happened. (12,dq)

In contrast, one prostitute drank while working for similar reasons:

DO YOU USE DRUGS OR ALCOHOL WHEN WORKING? Sometimes I
drink; when I drink I'm bold you know. I'll laugh all the time and I'll think everything is funny. I'll just go with anyone. It's you know that looks half decent, that sounds half decent. And I don't argue with them and, uh, I just go and, uh, I don't usually have any problems whether I'm drunk but, um, when I'm sober I feel paranoid and I don't trust no one and, um, uh I don't have no patience, stuff like that and I don't feel like talking to them and they have to tell me right away what they want, how much they want to spend and how long they want to do it for and everything otherwise I won't go. When I'm drunk I just go... (17, ts, pc)

Three of the four who do drugs while working "smoke pot", although:

... it can be a hardship when I can't get an erection. (9, m)

The remaining individual who used drugs while working was a transsexual who stated:

... um, I'll probably have a drink or do valiums. I do valiums, that kind of calms me down I guess, because I am a transsexual and some people, if they find out, might get pretty upset. (18, ts, pc)

Most streetwalkers from Davie Street do not consume drugs or alcohol while working, because of the disadvantages of being impaired:

DO YOU USE DRUGS OR ALCOHOL WHEN WORKING? No, not at all. Because if you do drugs or alcohol, if you do alcohol, you don't feel like working... (5, ts, pc)

In fact, one transsexual stated that:

... I would get too paranoid and give it away for free. (8, ts, c)

Generally speaking, the Davie Street prostitutes interviewed tended to manage their work with minimal use of drugs/alcohol.

There was no indication that any of them were addicted to either
drugs or alcohol.  

In comparison, the amount of drug and alcohol use is significantly higher for the remaining areas of streetwalker prostitution in Vancouver. All of the Hastings Street prostitutes consumed alcohol while working, and one-half of them reported using drugs. On Granville Street, 63.6% of the prostitutes used drugs or alcohol. On Georgia Street, 80% of the streetwalkers used drugs or alcohol when working, while some used both drugs (50%) and alcohol (40%). Hastings and Granville Streets seem to be the areas where the junkie and alcoholic prostitutes work, and the drug most often utilized was heroin.  

As with Davie Street, there did not appear to be an excess of alcohol use. A commonly used drug on Georgia Street was cocaine which is considered a 'status' drug.

In sum, drug/alcohol use in the work management of street prostitutes in Vancouver tended to vary by area. Two of the areas (Granville and Hastings) exhibited traditional patterns of drug/alcohol abuse, while Georgia Street (where pimp-prostitute arrangements were common) and Davie Street Street (where the prostitutes tend to be independent) do not.

-------------------

12 The author is aware, through experience in the field of corrections, the states of alcohol and drug addiction.

13 Apparently, "[t]he two new street prostitution areas [Georgia/Hornby and Davie Streets] are occupied by women who do not display much of a penchant for heroin (Lowman, 1980:27)."
Other hassles

The final part of the analysis of 'on the street' activities of the street prostitutes will consider various work hazards encountered (See Table 19).
TABLE 19

Work Hazards Reported by Streetwalker Prostitutes.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatings</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diseases</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loneliness</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customers find out I'm not a real woman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassles from people in street</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threats</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.
On Davie Street, beatings (52.6%) and diseases (52.6%) appear to be the major work hazards. Other than the police (10.5%), punks (15.8%) on the street also appear to be a hassle. In addition, one transsexual stated:

... getting found out I'm not a real woman [is a hassle].(1,ts,pc)

Finally, one streetwalker expressed the following sentiment:

... I don't know, it depends on what refers to hassles. You get punks every now and then anyways, but that's not really a hassle. Uh, when the cops started their massive campaign and what not around Christmas, all they did was make things worse. They got the tricks that were on the street and the whores were on the street anyways and the cops were on the street anyways and all they did was bring all the stupid goofs from all the suburbs down with crowbars to beat the shit out of the whores and then all the whores' old men got together with their crowbars and, uh, between the cops and the whores and the tricks that were there to begin with, you had two little gangs of idiots running around the streets with crowbars trying to be, oh, you know, terrific and wonderful which just fucked everything up even worse. WHAT WAS IT THE POLICE DID IN DECEMBER? Oh, when they were going to start on this new crackdown and all this shit about Davie Street and, oh, they've been doing it ever since I started working and they never accomplish anything; but who was it, Volrich [former mayor of Vancouver] that started that shit and he was going about how there was 150 prostitutes on the street and we had to stop it and all that shit and now there's almost 200 in the afternoon. So if [he] would have just backed off it wouldn't have been any worse than it had been for years and now it's three times as bad as it was when he was complaining in the first place.(15,ts,pc)

Loneliness was deemed to be a work hazard by only 15.8% of the Davie Street streetwalkers, and was similar for the remaining areas. Beatings were articulated as being the most severe work hazard for all areas of street prostitution, while there was some variability in the responses from the areas in regards to diseases being a work hazard. Thus, the rates may be
somewhat misleading. Some prostitutes classified diseases as a work hazard, even though they had never been infected, while others included diseases as a work hazard only if they had been infected.

Summary

Table 20 summarizes this chapter by outlining the types of street prostitution work roles encountered in the areas of street prostitution in Vancouver. The term 'customer exclusivity' refers to the degree to which the prostitutes can refuse customers who are considered undesirable; and, consequently, the extent to which the prostitute's customers represent a relatively limited and exclusive clientele (Miller, 1978). In the past, streetwalkers were classified as being totally nonexclusive.

The Davie Street streetwalkers can be classified as being exclusive, in that they tend not to be addicted to drugs/alcohol; tend to be independent; discriminated the most against specific ethnic groups; and exhibited unique motivating factors. The Davie Street streetwalkers ranked high in the customer exclusivity continuum. This type of prostitute has usually been classified as the call girl-boy variety. 1

1 Miller (1978) states that the call girl-boy prostitute usually depends on fewer customers and sexual contacts. Typically, the relationship between the customer and the exclusive prostitute was of a highly personal nature based on their frequent sexual and social contacts with them.
TABLE 20

Types of Street Prostitution Work Roles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Customer Exclusivity</th>
<th>Organizational Affiliation</th>
<th>Street Organization</th>
<th>Drug/Alcohol Dependency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davie</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium-Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granville</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the Davie Street Streetwalkers, as a collective, as well as categorically by type, tend to be classified as exclusive, the Georgia Street streetwalkers fall somewhere in the middle of the customer exclusivity continuum. Although these streetwalkers are afforded the highest status of all the streetwalkers in Vancouver (by the other streetwalkers and law enforcement officials), they are usually working for a pimp; therefore, need to earn a minimum quota of money. In addition, many streetwalkers from Georgia Street consume drugs of some sort, mainly cocaine, (although it is not likely that they are dependent on drugs because that would be too costly for the pimp); therefore, they also need finances for this additional expense. Thus, they are not often allowed the 'luxury' of having solely a regular clientele, or of being too discriminating in their choice of customers.

The Granville and Hastings areas, although geographically separate from each other, are quite similar in this respect. The prostitutes from these two areas fall at the low end of the customer exclusivity continuum. The reason for this classification is basically twofold: the streetwalkers working in these areas are typically drug addicts or alcoholics as are their boyfriends or "old men"; and they are typically "high" or slightly inebriated when they are working. In these cases, the streetwalker often has no choice over the kinds of customers she services; and in addition, she experiences constant pressure to supply herself and her boyfriend with a drug or alcohol supply.
Thus, the usual state of their condition while at work on the street necessitates "turning as many tricks" as possible.

The next dimension of 'organizational affiliation' refers to the prostitutes affiliation with larger organizations of prostitution. Some prostitutes are independents and act as solo entrepreneurs; whereas others operate within organizations, such as brothels or massage parlors. These are examples of organizationally affiliated prostitutes. The prostitute who is associated with a pimp is one example of the intermediate type (Miller, 1978:127).

While many of the streetwalker prostitutes working in Vancouver live with a man, and often support him, this person is not seen as a procurer or pimp, but simply as one who lives off the avails of prostitution. The only area which has any semblance of organization, according to Miller's (1978) classification, is Georgia Street, and this would be of the intermediate type. Accordingly, most of the women interviewed from Georgia Street work for pimps. The remaining areas all receive a low rank in their classification, since none of them are organized in the sense Miller suggests.

The 'drug/alcohol dependency' variable is important in relation to the other variables in the typology presented in Table 20, in that it is a good predictor of the remaining variables; i.e., where one lies in the drug/alcohol dependency continuum usually indicates where one will be on the continuum of the remaining variables. The prostitutes from Georgia Street
receive a medium-low rating in this classification, and the Davie Street rating is also low. On the other hand, the Granville and Hastings Street prostitutes have a high dependency on both drugs and alcohol; and in addition, they often have to support the habits of their "old man" as well.

'Street organization' is said to exist, if it exhibits the following characteristic: newcomers to an area of street prostitution are recognized and driven away if possible, based on the economic function of the area (e.g., prostitution). Anyone, excluding the police, will be removed from the area, if they interfere with the prostitute's work. Exclusive use of the area is not necessary if the 'intruders' defer to the 'residents' in economic matters. In other words, if it is not possible to drive them away, the 'intruders' are allowed to remain if they do not interrupt the prostitutes' work, and some degree of organization exists among the prostitutes themselves to protect their turf and themselves.

The Davie Street area is probably the only area of street prostitution in Vancouver that can be identified as having high street organization. Thus, it satisfies all three of the necessary characteristics. First, alcoholic and drug addicted prostitutes are viewed as intruders, and are invariably thrown out of the area. This is also an indication of the degree of "within group" organization which occurs for two primary reasons: drug addicts and alcoholics tend to 'undercut' and 'rip off' customers. In the former instance, they would tend to drive
the prostitutes' minimum charges for sexual services down. In
the latter instance, prostitutes who rip off customers tend to
drive customers away, thereby reducing the number of customers
available for the remaining prostitutes. In addition, drug
addicts attract the attention of the police.

Second, pimps are despised by the Davie Street prostitutes.
They are adamant against giving their money away to 'someone who
does nothing for me'. They have, in the past, grouped together
and 'beer-bottled' a pimp out of the area (15, ts, pc). As
independent streetwalkers, they recognize that allowing pimps in
the area would raise their prices, possibly driving customers
away and causing unwanted competition.15

Third, the Davie Street streetwalkers do defer to juveniles
and allow them to work in the area; yet, they work in an area of
the West End which is somewhat isolated from where the adults
work. Thus, if and when the juveniles draw the attention of the
police, the area that they work is sufficiently isolated, so
that it does not interfere with the adult prostitutes' work
area.

------------------

15The same methods have been utilized against street punks who
harass the prostitutes and thereby create disturbances which in
turn creates resident complaints. A group of residents and
business people have recently joined forces to pressure city
call to do something about this. Members of the Concerned
Residents of West End (CROWE) have as their primary objective:
"to pressure governments at all levels to "immediately undertake
the necessary actions to remove (prostitution related) nuances
and disruptions from residential areas in the West End." (Buy
9).
Finally, it is apparently a fairly common practice for the prostitutes to take down the licence plates of customers to protect each other. If a prostitute is gone with a customer for too great a period of time, they will often inform the police of the possible danger the particular prostitute might be involved in. Also, mention is made to each other regarding the 'peculiarities' of certain clients, and what to be aware of. In these ways, Davie Street prostitutes exhibit a high degree of street organization.

Georgia Street can be classified as having medium street organization. This is not due so much to the organization of the prostitutes themselves, but due, rather, to the 'high class' status of the area where they work; and also, because most of them work for pimps, which automatically excludes the prostitutes who want to remain independent. Since these prostitutes work for pimps, it follows that their prices are fairly high; e.g., $60-$80 for fellatio, as compared to $20-$30 for Granville and Hastings. It is doubtful that the alcoholic/drug dependent prostitute could work in this area.

The Hastings and Granville Streets of prostitution exhibit an extremely low degree of street organization, although much of the information regarding these areas was gathered from streetwalkers on Davie Street. There appears to be little organization among the prostitutes, and it is known that many of the women on Granville and Hastings streets are addicts and/or alcoholics, who, according to the Davie Street streetwalkers
'rip-off' customers. However, it could not be established whether this was in fact the case. Furthermore, the data in no way suggest that an area of street prostitution, where addictions among the prostitutes are common, could not be organized. This should be the subject of further inquiry.

The foregoing discussion was designed to illustrate the types of work roles which exist within the streetwalker population of Vancouver prostitutes. They are identified according to customer exclusivity, organizational affiliation, street organization, and drug/alcohol dependency. It was suggested earlier in this chapter that a status hierarchy of street prostitution exists, and the data indicate that this hierarchy is more complex than the research literature suggests. According to the respondents in this study, the Georgia Street area represents the preferred area of street prostitution; therefore is accorded the highest status (although many like Davie Street because of customer exclusivity, lack of pimps, and so forth). Davie Street follows in the hierarchy, while Hastings and Granville take last place. In fact, the Hastings and Granville Street streetwalkers described herein are typical of the streetwalker that the literature tends to describe females: likely an addict, as James (in Montanino and Sagarin, 1977) suggests, charging her customer less and more likely to contract venereal disease, as Thio (1978) indicates. Furthermore, because of the illegitimate nature of the drugs she often consumes, she is often arrested, as Heyl (in Ailer and Simon, 1979) suggest.
Where the literature errs is by generalizing, from limited numbers of American studies, that "it is impossible for a streetwalker to work independently of a pimp" (Heyl in Adler and Simon, 1979:203). In fact, there was only one area of street prostitution in Vancouver where the prostitute worked for a pimp; therefore, it is clear that streetwalkers can, and do, work independently.

The amount of repeat business that the streetwalkers engage in tends to vary and regulars are often the main customers of a prostitute's business. This is in contradiction to Miller's (1978) feelings that customers of streetwalkers will not return.

The analysis of this phase of the streetwalker's career is complete. Their progress will be followed by focusing on the 'off the street' phase of the street prostitute's career.
The third part of the examination of the career of streetwalker prostitution is directed toward 'off the street' activities. If one wants to understand the prostitutes involvement in prostitution, an examination of their social activities outside of work, the role loneliness plays in their lives, and the networks of family and friends, is essential. The purpose of this chapter is to sensitize the reader to a little understood aspect of the career of the streetwalker prostitute.

The material in this chapter was gathered mainly from the Davie Street area of Vancouver, although comparisons are made when sufficient data from the remaining areas are available. Thus, unless otherwise indicated, the remainder of this chapter refers to Davie Street. The private lives of the streetwalker prostitutes has been divided into their social activities, the role loneliness plays in their lives, and their relationships with family and friends.

The social activities of the Davie Street streetwalkers were many and varied. The majority of the respondents compared their activities to the "normal" population. In fact, the questions relating to the prostitutes' social activities was often received in bewilderment. The following summarizes, and generally accounts for, the spare time activities of the Davie Street streetwalkers:
...shopping or go out with my friends or go to a club at night. In the daytime, it's usually to get away from it all. (4, t)

...I free lance, I model, go to the beach, do the normal things a white woman does. (6, t)

...I go out with my girlfriend or chasing girls, parties, concerts, beach, do a few dope deals. (9, m)

...beach, travel, music, shopping for clothes, discoing. (11, t)

...swim, go dancing, listen to music, same thing everybody else does. (14, f)

In addition, the following provides an idea of their social life activities:

...dancing and drinking - don't go to movies often. (4, t)

...[my] public life and the fact of prostitution is something that I do, I begin and I end it at certain hours. And my private life is my time with myself where I do what I want and I won't have anything to do with the other. (6, t)

...not much, social life is meeting friends, going out and if I meet someone who's cute, why not. If I can get myself going to have sex with a person, mostly love with them, that's fine. I'm doing a favor for me - I'm getting myself feeling good and I'm doing it for the other person. (10, m)

...I do the same thing most girls do. I go dancing, drinking and go to movies, same thing everybody else does. (14, f)

...[w]ell, I have a lover... ...go to the usual club, sit with all my friends, dance and talk, have a few drinks. (16, m)

It is interesting to note the number of times the prostitutes' social activities were compared to the "normal" population, presumably believing that it would be thought otherwise. The intention in presenting the prostitutes' social activities has not been to moralize, but rather to sensitize the reader, and
present for the first time, the nature and extent of such activities.

From a less than objective point of view, one would surmise that, after reading the literature, prostitutes lead a lonely existence. Because of their deviance, and the often illegal nature of their work, the literature suggests that the prostitutes' life is one devoid of friends, and that relationships with families are non-existent.

However, loneliness was not seen as being a major problem for the Davie Street streetwalkers (see Table 19). The following quote sums up the major responses extremely well:

WHAT ARE SOME OF YOUR WORK HAZARDS? Loneliness is definitely a hazard, but I think it is a hazard to anybody or a girl that works in an office. It's just exemplified more being a prostitute because you are out there and you are selling yourself and when you get home with yourself, there is not much of yourself left that - you feel you have been used or something. An article picked up and put down constantly.... (6,ts,pc)

There was little variation in this regard when compared to the remaining areas of street prostitution.

Almost three-fourths of the Davie Street prostitutes did not find prostitution a lonely profession. This relates to the fact of fairly extensive 'within street' organization as outlined in the previous chapter as is revealed by the following quotation:

BEING A PROSTITUTE, IS THAT A LONELY PROFESSION? Um, not so much on Davie I don't think because up on Davie we more or less we stick together. Um you know we not only work together but we socialize together and there's always a lot of people and you've always, you always have a lot of good friends on the street, you know people that will stand by you. (12,dg)
Ir should be pointed out that areas that lack extensive within street organization will not automatically be dissimilar to the Davie Street situation.

A further aspect of the private lives of the streetwalkers, which has not been the subject of research or reporting, is the relationships the prostitutes may enjoy with family and friends. Only one streetwalker divided her work and private life:

... transsexuals and gay... The majority of them aren't [prostitutes] because socially I don't like going out with other transsexual prostitutes, because I don't like to mix pleasure with business and when I am away from work I don't like mingling with other people that work. (5, ts, pc)

The general rule for the Davie Street prostitutes is that they tend to socialize with one another (see Table 21). In addition, friendships and relationships tend not to be restricted to people in the life:

... mostly gays, um other hookers, queens, women you know that are working and you know there's quite a few straight people that I chum around with and know well who are hip to the situation and are cool about it. (12, dq)

... [I] have a lot of friends, some are prostitutes, some are straight girls, lots of friends. (14, f)

These findings are similar to James' (1973) suggestion that the prostitutes' closest associate were other prostitutes.
TABLE 21

Streetwalkers Associates with Other Streetwalkers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only in Business</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: Subjects allowed multiple responses.*
Little, if anything, is known of the relationships between the prostitute and his/her family. Often circumstances, other than prostitution (i.e., transsexualism), prevented the existence of a relationship:

... my relationship with my family is nil and they do not know what I am doing... At times I wish I did have contact with them, but the way of life I have chosen, not necessarily the prostitution, but the plans for a sex change, I don't think that my parents could handle that, so, therefore, I have sort of picked life as its own life and I am going to do it as I please without the effect of worrying about them because my life is my life and theirs is their's. (6, ts, pc)

In few instances did the family know, and approve, of their offspring's lifestyle. When the lifestyle was not known, a fairly close relationship between the prostitute and his/her family existed. Particularly, in the case of the transsexuals, there was the attitude of it being "my life and I have to live it". Some of the remaining feelings regarding relationships with family were:

... we get along okay. (7, m)

...[s]ome of my family know and my relationship is still good with them. (9, m)

... um, everybody except my parents. My parents know I'm gay and they know I do drag and they've accepted that and they've gotten over it but my parents don't know I'm hooking you know. I don't think they could handle that because they're very old country. (12, dq)

...[I] have the same relationship as a lot of girls do. My family doesn't live here. My family lives out of town. We see each other maybe once a year or so. They think I'm just a regular working girl working secretarial work or something. (14, f)

... they just hope I'm doing the right thing and that I'm happy and I'm not doing it (having the sex change) for somebody. (18, ts, pc)
This is the extent of the data on their familial ties and relationships. The private life activities of the streetwalkers will now be summarized.

The research literature on street prostitution has been lax in informing us of the private lives of the street prostitutes. What the literature does tell us is that the prostitutes often associate with other prostitutes because they are condemned by the community at large, both from a legal and moral point of view. The present research suggests that social activities are many and varied; and further, that loneliness was not experienced by the majority of prostitutes on Davie Street, or from the remaining areas. Relationships outside the life of prostitution, as with family, exist, but often on an isolated and selective basis. For example, the family may know of the homosexuality of their son, but not of his involvement in prostitution. In only a few cases were family not considered important in the lives of the prostitute.

In the next chapter, the final stage of the career of the streetwalker prostitute, exit, is examined.
IX. Exit from Street Prostitution

An examination of the final phase of the career will entail career plans of the streetwalkers, in addition to perceived difficulties of exiting from prostitution. A myth common to prostitution is that the prostitute's life often ends with prostitution.

Examination of Table 22 reveals that the majority of the Davie Street prostitutes have wanted to quit working as prostitutes, although concern was expressed over actually being able to leave the profession:

... yes, I'll probably want to return to prostitution - it's a disease. (4,qg)

Generally, the consensus was that few difficulties would be encountered leaving prostitution. Several of the drag queens, who had spent the least amount of time in the profession, perceived difficulties in retiring from prostitution.

Nine of the prostitutes on Davie Street had some other career aspirations in mind:

... go to school, hairdressing. (4,qg)

... right now, I will be going through a hairdressing course. After I get my change, I just can't see myself working as a prostitute, I have to really change my whole complete life. (5,ts,pc)
TABLE 22

Number of Streetwalkers Who Have Wanted to Quit Prostitution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Davie Street (N=19)</th>
<th>Hastings* Street (N=10)</th>
<th>Granville Street (N=11)</th>
<th>Georgia Street (N=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Two women from Hastings have recently quit working.
Exit from the career of streetwalker prostitution was often perceived to be dependent upon factors not under the control of the streetwalkers. Some transsexuals, for example, intend to stay in prostitution until their sex change is completed. They suggest that it will be 'long term'. It would be interesting to determine whether they will achieve their desired goals. On the whole, prostitution was "a means to an end" rather than "an end" in itself. It is not clear whether a similar situation exists with other categories of streetwalkers.

The males and drag queens, the youngest of the Davie Street streetwalkers, voiced the most concern about leaving the street. In addition, they tended not to have any developed career plans, other than finding employment. Another factor for the males and drag queens was that they had no concrete work experience in the straight world. The two females were trained secretaries, and articulated no concerns over exit. Two of the prostitutes, on the other hand, had decided to extend their careers as prostitutes, having no desire to leave the profession:

I don't really plan on leaving it until I retire anyways. I quit working for 7 months when I got the farm but I went through the bank account rather quickly and so I came back again but the next time I leave it like, you know, quit I'm planning on quitting for good. Um, with what we've got now we can move into a [unclear] ... bedroom house ... and probably have it paid off in about 6 years, so that's not bad. (15, ts, pc)

... as long as I can make the money I'll be doing it. (14, f)

Exit from prostitution might also be contingent upon having supportive people outside of the world of prostitution. In some
cases, the prostitutes had friends who were not "in the business" per se, but who were often involved on the fringes of other deviant subcultures (e.g., transsexuals). Prostitution was perceived as being an intermediary career for most of the streetwalkers from the remaining areas of prostitution.

It would be interesting to determine whether factors of alcohol/drug dependency and organizational affiliation may be sufficient to deter a prostitute from pursuing other career plans, and/or recognize the possibility of an alternate life style. It may be that these variables are career contingencies, which may 'enhance progress toward continued deviance'. An ethnographic study examining the specific details of the streetwalkers career would provide more extensive information. The entire analysis is summarized in the final chapter. Limitations of the present research and implications of this (and this type of) research for future research are also presented.
X. Summary and Conclusions

The Main Findings and Their Implications

Streetwalker prostitution has been analyzed and discussed in terms of a *career*; a perspective which has been underutilized as an analytic tool in the literature. The importance of the subjective notion has been stressed in this analysis, in an attempt to explain the career of the streetwalkers who define their world in a particular fashion.

An exploratory study was conducted of street prostitution in Vancouver, one of the major and most colorful urban centres in Canada. The inquiry addressed several key dimensions of the career of streetwalker prostitutes: entry into street prostitution; the occupation of being streetwalker, including on and off the street activities of the prostitutes; and exit from the occupation of street prostitution. The focus was the Davie Street area of Vancouver, and the discussion of the career of streetwalker prostitutes was facilitated by comparing other street prostitutes in three other areas of Vancouver.

The importance of the subjective notion is that the actor's perspective alerts us to the significance of taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life. Attention to the details of the career patterns of the streetwalkers has enabled us to expand the
sparse literature dealing with the career patterns of deviants in general and of prostitutes in particular.

Through interviewing streetwalker prostitutes, a great deal has been learned about entry into streetwalker prostitution. Motivations vary with the particular type of streetwalker (e.g., female, male, drag queen, and transsexual) and with the area of the city examined. Similarly, it was discovered that the acquisition of the prostitute's skills, through apprenticeship periods, varies with the area and the type of prostitutes involved, and was also dependent upon their individual motivations. Furthermore, the specific rules of the street that the streetwalker learns, and how she/he learns them, have been documented and a good deal of variability uncovered. It was concluded that the literature did not adequately examine the various aspects of entry into street prostitution.

The 'on the street' section of the thesis described the relationships and work management of the street prostitutes. Here, an analysis of the prostitutes' relationships with other prostitutes, relationships with clients, relationships with the police, the role of pimps and specifics of the work management aspects of the streetwalker prostitutes, was undertaken. The prior research literature was deficient in this area, because it tended to neglect many of the various aspects listed above and/or because it tended to address streetwalker prostitution as if it were a homogenous entity. By amalgomating this information, a typology of work roles was developed which
summarized the activities involved in this aspect of the career. The typology was based on: customer exclusivity; organizational affiliation; street organization; and drug/alcohol dependency. Each characteristic of the typology interacted in a fashion, such that the complexities were once again revealed. Work roles in this instance tended to vary among the areas of streetwalker prostitution. There was little variation within Davie street among the different types of streetwalkers. The issue of drug/alcohol dependency was very influential, in determining the state of the existing work roles.

'On the street' activities were the next dimension of the careers of streetwalkers examined. The research literature on prostitution to date has not examined streetwalkers from a career perspective; and specifically, has neglected activities of the prostitutes which related to their occupation. 'Off the street' activities examined the nature and extent of the streetwalker prostitutes' away from their work. This part of the examination sensitized the reader to the private life of the streetwalker, an area that previous research has ignored. Consideration of the exit from the career of the streetwalker prostitute has suggested that there may exist specific career contingencies which may encourage the streetwalkers to remain in prostitution. This aspect of the career is the most difficult to assess, since the respondents were still active prostitutes. Nevertheless, for some, prostitution was to serve a purpose (e.g., finances for sex change surgery) while for others, it may
represent a chosen way of life.

The reader familiar with related literature can now assess the extent to which this portrayal confirms, or calls into question, previously held assumptions and explanations of streetwalker prostitution. The career of the streetwalker prostitute has been presented from a subjective perspective, since it not only helps to explain the behavior of those prostitutes who define their world in a certain fashion but alerts us to the significance of "taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life..." (Letkemann, 1973:160). Such a perspective will certainly not prevent us from moralizing on the topic of prostitution. What has been established, is that streetwalker prostitution is not a homogenous entity; rather, it is a fairly varied and complex phenomenon.

limitations

The limitations of an ethnographic product relate to issues of reciprocity, data representativeness, validity, generalizability, the effect of the observer's presence, and specific ethical issues. The problems associated with the aforementioned issues will be discussed, with specific emphasis on the attempts which were made by the research to resolve them.

The literature provides mixed advice on the question of reciprocity. It seems that the issue of paying informants becomes more crucial, depending on the groups of individuals
being studied. Henslin (in Weppner, 1977) noted that information would be biased were informants paid, while Agar (in Weppner, 1977) suggests that payment need never be made. Weppner (1977:32) concludes that "the issue of payment appears to be ... situationally specific..." We have agreed with Henslin (in Weppner, 1977:31), since, as he argues, "it is better to know the motivation of the informant." Still it is essential to keep in mind that the prostitutes' lives depend on them being able to make a living by "hustling". Thus, the notion of reciprocity is a difficult one to settle. By being concerned with issues of validity and reliability, which can better be achieved through the process of triangulation, it is hoped that limitations inherent in most methodologies will be minimized.

Care has been taken so as not to pre-define the population of prostitutes studied by relying on preconceived theories; rather, through participant observation, an analytic framework was developed. In addition, the information received from some informants was validated with other prostitutes on the street (the grapevine method). Furthermore, some questions from the interview schedule were repeated and scattered throughout the interview, to check for internal validity, and to determine how reliable the responses were. Although it cannot categorically be stated that the present population of prostitutes (from Davie Street) is representative of the population prostitutes, it is known that the saturation point had been reached, whereby no new information was being received. Finally, we have been able to
draw on some local research, conducted by law enforcement agencies, to compare some of the material in the present study.

The presence of an "outsider" did not seem to alter the behavior of the groups under study. In fact, once the prostitutes became "comfortable" with the author's presence (and were assured that I was "OK" via informants) entree to the group was a relatively unencumbered process.

Finally, the individuals were protected, in that they were told their identities would be anonymous and held in the strictest confidence.
Glossary

1 B&D: refers to bondage and discipline, which is a sexual act where one partner is bound and then disciplined, either verbally or physically.

Clients: refers to the customers of the prostitutes.

Cracked: refers to setting a price for the customers of the prostitute that he/she may be willing to go lower on.

Double: refers to two persons teaming up, at the request of the customer of the prostitute, to engage in sexual intercourse together, or with the customer.

Drag queens: refers to males who cross-dress for the purposes of prostitution.

Fellatio: refers to oral stimulation of the penis.

Gaming: refers to having fun at a venture (in this case prostituting oneself), as opposed to treating it as something serious.

Golden showers: refers to the act of urinating on a person, often into their mouths.

Half and half: refers to a sexual act which involves both fellatio and penile-vaginal intercourse.

"Her": when she is used in this study with quotation marks around it, the pronoun refers to a male transsexual. The author discovered that the transsexuals preferred to be addressed in the appropriate gender of their chosen sex.

------------------

1 The meanings of the words in this glossary are generally the definitions provided by my respondents. In some cases, the language has been reworded, but the meaning is the same.
**Hustler**: refers to a male prostitute.

**John**: refers to the client of the prostitutes.

**Junkie**: refers to a person who is addicted to some form of drug (usually heroin).

**Off the phone**: refers to the action of prostitutes receiving customer requests via the telephone.

**Read me**: refers to a person being able to distinguish that subject A is a male transsexual or a drag queen, and not a biological female.

**Rimming**: refers to a sexual act whereby the anus is stimulated by the tongue.

**Rip off**: refers to taking money from a customer in excess of what the prostitute has charged and received.

**S&M**: refers to sadomasochism. Sadism is defined as the getting of pleasure from mistreating others, and masochism is defined as the abnormal getting of pleasure from being hurt or humiliated.

"**She**": refers to the pronoun used when referring to a male transsexual.²

**Straight lay**: refers to penile-vaginal intercourse.³

**Streetwalkers**: refers to prostitutes who solicit their customer from the streets.⁴

²She is also a slang word used in the homosexual subculture to refer to an effeminate homosexual.

³One respondent indicated it was anal intercourse.

⁴See chapter two for a more encompassing definition as well as for a comparison of definitions.
Trainee: refers to the person who is being trained for prostitution.

Trainer: refers to the person who directs the apprenticeship of the prostitute.

Transsexual: refers to people who feel as if they are members of the opposite sex, and who wish to change their sex through surgery. Transsexuals are both partially completed or completed (as far as the stages of surgery are concerned), for the purposes of this study.

Tricks: refers to the customers of the prostitutes.

Turning a trick: refers to the complete act of supplying the service the customer desires and being paid for it.

Undercut: The prostitutes of Davie Street indicated that they established certain prices for certain sexual services, which was to be the minimum any prostitute should charge. Anyone going below this minimum set price to attract customers is said to be undercutting.
Bibliography


Becker, H.S. "Notes on the Concept of Commitment." American
Journal of Sociology. 64 1960. 32-40.


Benjamin, H. "Transvestism and Transsexualism in the Male and Female." Journal of Sex Research. 3 (2) 1967. 107-128.


Bruce, V. "The Expression of Femininity in the Male." Journal of


**Hutt v. The Queen**. 1978, 38 C.C.C. (2d) 418.


1977.


Rosenblum, K.E. "Female Deviance and the Female Sex Role." British Journal of Sociology. 26 1975 169-184.


Appendix 1

A critical issue facing the ethnographer relates to ethical considerations. According to Diener and Crandall (1978:17) "[t]he most basic guideline for social scientists is that subjects not be harmed by participating in research."

One issue of crucial importance to the researcher is that of "informed consent". All of the individuals interviewed for the present study, consented to participate in the research, after being informed that the research was voluntary. They could refuse to answer any question, and they could terminate their involvement in the study at any time. After the streetwalkers were provided with an explanation about the nature of the research project, they were assured that their responses would be anonymous. Their anonymity was protected by coding their names and the author of this research is the only individual with knowledge of the names of the individuals involved.

Another ethical concern relates to the issue of "privacy". Diener and Crandall (1978:56) suggest that "[t]he greater the sensitivity of the information, the more safeguards are necessary to protect the privacy of those studied." The streetwalkers were informed that their responses might be used, verbatim, in the final report. The concern is that some people might connect personal information to the name of the person
involved. This was not a major concern for the participants although they were told that their names would not be used in the research.

Consideration of ethics has been important because it helps prevent abuses and serves to delineate responsibilities. It also helped to establish the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the participants.
Date of Interview: __________________________ 1978

Place of Interview: __________________________

Given Name: ________________________________

Duration of Interview: ________________________

Approximate Age: ____________________________

Race or Ethnicity: ____________________________

Place of Birth: ______________________________

Place of Residence: __________________________

Source of Reference: _________________________
Section One: Questions Related to Motivation

1. Work inducement: economic drugs alcohol pleasure /comments:

2. Hours of work: day week month /comments:


5. How long do you intend to work? Short-term Long-term /comments:

6. If you could do other kinds of work, what would it be? /comments:

7. Have you ever wanted to quit working? Yes No /comments:
SECTION TWO: NATURE OF WORK

8. How did you learn to do the work? No training Through acquaintances /comments:

9. When did you start working?

10. What services do you provide?

11. What services will you not provide?

12. What service do you prefer to give?

13. How do you charge for services?

14. How does the weather affect your work?

15. What is the best season for working?

16. How often are you harassed by the police?

17. Have you ever been convicted for something related to your work? Yes No /comments:
18. Do you associate with other "girls"? Only in business
   Socially /comments:

19. Do you prefer to work in a specific area? Georgia Davie
   Granville Hastings /comments:

20. Do you prefer to do the work in a specific place? Street
    Hotel Car Massage Parlor /comments:

21. Do you know girls working in your area? Only by sight
    Casually Intimately /comments:

22. Is there an agreement about prices? Yes No /comments:

SECTION THREE: QUESTIONS ABOUT CUSTOMERS

23. What kind of customers do you prefer?

24. What kind of customers do you get?

25. What do your customers prefer?
26. How do you get customers? Dress Talk Eye-contact /comments:

27. What is a good night in terms of the number of customers? /comments:

28. How much time does the customer have? /comments:

29. Can the customer pay you with something other than money? /comments:

30. Do you prefer your customers to be: sober some drink intoxicated high /comments:

31. How many of your customers are sober? /comments:

32. Would you refuse to provide services for some ethnic groups? Yes No /comments:

33. Do you prefer some ethnic groups? Yes No [ name ] /comments:

34. Do you ever get unusual requests from customers? Yes No [ name ] /comments:

35. What are some of your work hazards? beating diseases loneliness /comments:
36. Have you ever thought seriously about committing suicide?
   Yes No /comments:

37. What are some of the medical problems you encounter as the
    result of work?

38. Do you have regular customers? Yes No [ if yes, preference ]
   /comments:

39. Do you ever experience an orgasm with your customers? Yes No
   /comments:

SECTION FOUR: QUESTIONS RELATED TO WORK MANAGEMENT

40. Do you use drugs or alcohol when working? Yes No Drugs
    Alcohol /comments:

41. Do you have expenses related to your work? clothes equipment
    other /comments:
42. Do you have many straight friends that know about your work? Yes No /comments:

43. Have you ever been pregnant as the result of work? Yes No /comments:

44. Do you ever take vacations? Yes No /comments:

45. Other than the police and customers, what are some of the hassles you face?

46. Have you ever worked for a man? Yes No /comments:

47. If you had a choice would you work for a man? Yes No /comments:

48. What are some of the problems of working for a man?

49. What are the benefits of working for a man?

50. Would you ever work for a lady? Yes No /comments:
SECOND SET OF QUESTIONS

51. What do you plan on doing when you retire?

52. Do you think you will have any difficulties leaving/retiring?

53. Will you move from Vancouver when you retire? Why or why not?

54. Prior to entrance in this occupation, did you have personal contact with someone professionally involved in prostitution?

55. Who introduced you to the profession?

56. Were you trained for the profession?

57. How long was your training period?

58. How much control did you have over the type of sexual contract made of the circumstances surrounding the enactment of the contract?
59. Were you taught any values during your training period?

60. Who ended your training period and why?

61. What do you think is omitted from the training period?

62. Do you think the training period was long enough?

63. What are some of the "do's and don'ts" of the business?

64. Are you ever forced to move from the area that you work?

65. Are there any particular people you usually work with?

66. Are there any prostitutes that you don't work with? Who? Why?

67. If you work alone, why?

QUESTIONS FOR DRAG QUEENS AND TRANSSEXUALS
68. Do your customers know that you are not a real woman?

69. Has a customer ever found out that you are not a real woman?
   How did they react?

70. Have you ever been physically attacked by a customer and why?

71. Do you consider yourself a real woman?

72. If you work in drag, do you also live in drag?

QUESTIONS FOR ALL PROSTITUTES

73. What do you do in your spare time?

74. Who are your friends?

75. What does your social life consist of?
76. Do you live with anyone?

77. What are your views on prostitution?

78. What is your impression of johns?

79. As a transsexual, how did you learn to play the role of a female?

80. As a transsexual prostitute, are you afraid of having your identity exposed?

81. Are you comfortable in the general public posing as a real woman?

82. What relationship do you have with your family?