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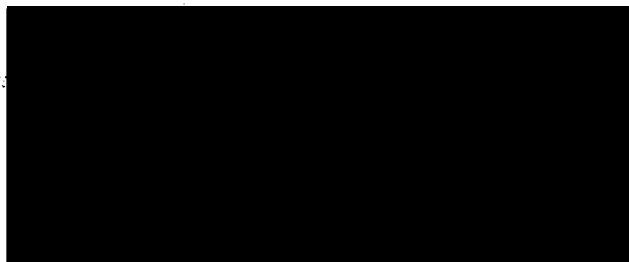
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ANTECEDENTS OF JUVENILE PROSTITUTION:

A TEST OF SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY

by

Michael W. Coupland

B.A. Simon Fraser University 1976

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

in the Department

of

Education



Michael W. Coupland 1979

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

There is a general lack of empirical knowledge accounting for juvenile prostitution. This study was designed to describe similarities and differences between juveniles who enter into prostitution and those who seem likely to become involved. The sequence of events that predisposes juveniles to prostitution is investigated empirically and theoretically. Evidence as to the most effective time of intervention in the prostitution-prone is presented. Two major theories of prostitution, psychoanalytic and social control theories, have guided research to date, but both methodology and literature suggest specific reasons for the greater relevance and experimental applicability of social control theory.

Questionnaires were administered to two groups of twelve female juveniles. One group consisted of girls who had prostituted at least once. The other group was comprised of girls who were 'at-risk' of becoming involved in prostitution, but had never prostituted themselves. 'At-risk' is defined as having been a runaway on the street with no conventional means of support, aware of the possibility of prostitution as a means of support through friends or acquaintances who were prostitutes and having had early sexual intercourse. The participants in the study were gathered on a voluntary basis from social service agencies in Vancouver, B.C. and from the street. The

questionnaire gathers demographic and self-esteem information, which is used to compare the two groups.

A sequential model of entrance into prostitution is proposed. The sequence of factors outlined are 'Predisposing' factors, 'Turning-out' factors and 'Maintenance' factors. This model provides a theoretical foundation within which the empirical results are viewed. The prostitute group was found to be significantly older, were involved in more severe delinquencies, (and hence incarcerated more), were molested at a younger age and scored lower on the self-esteem measure. The groups were undifferentiated on the factors of runaway history, drug use, family background, school and work history and intervention history.

The results imply that both groups have an equally poor social background, lacking in ties and reinforcements in conventional society. Since the 'At-Risk' group was significantly younger than the prostitution group, some may yet become involved in prostitution. Intervention in the life of the 'at-risk' juvenile is suggested to be best applied to the problems of early sexual molestation, low self-esteem and severely delinquent behavior.

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I. Introduction

This section will introduce the reader to the problem of juvenile prostitution. The nature of the problem both in general terms and specifically as it exists in Vancouver will be discussed. In order to achieve a greater understanding of juvenile prostitution two theoretical approaches of prostitution will be discussed. The related research of these two approaches, psychoanalytic theory and social control/social reinforcement theory will be presented to give the empirical foundations to the theories. The theoretical discussion will close with arguments for the greater applicability of social control theory. The closing component of the introduction section will be the description of this study.

Nature of the Problem

Most studies of prostitutes rely on interviews with older prostitutes. Information on the early lives of prostitutes and the relevant factors which led them into the life are retrospective and may be subject to recall error or rationalization. In spite of the lengthy interest in prostitution little empirical research has been conducted on the

subject of juvenile prostitution (Gray, 1972). It may be thought to be of such low incidence as to not be an area needing further investigation. Winick and Kinsie (1971) report from F.B.I. Crime Reports that only 16% of prostitutes arrested were under the age of 21 and so conclude that few prostitutes are juveniles. F.B.I. Crime Reports though are a poor source from which to generalize the extent of juvenile prostitution. Frequently charges of 'incorrigibility' obscure the fact that a juvenile is a prostitute. The extent of the problem is actually of growing consequence. Newsweek (1971) reports that the arrests for prostitution for girls under the age of 25 had increased from 24% to 74% over the prior 10 years. Roberts, Abrams and Finch (1973) state that 57% of all female juvenile arrests and 20% of all male juvenile arrests are for sex-related delinquencies. Their discussion of the relationship of arrest records to the actual extent of the problem further points to the re-examination of the laws concerning sex-related delinquencies. Cited is Kinsey stating that at least 85% of the younger male population could be convicted as sex offenders as the law reads. Roberts et al. suggest that agencies are more lenient with boys than girls for sexual offences, the opposite being true for other offences.

In my own experience as the Director of a crisis shelter for teens in Vancouver I have found that juvenile prostitution is an extensive activity. Not only are a large number of male

and female juveniles hustling, but almost all juveniles in the crisis shelter know someone in the activity or know the norms of local juvenile prostitution groups. Potentially this information exists as a precursor to the opportunity to enter into prostitution. Therefore most teens in the child welfare system in Vancouver are aware of the opportunity to engage in prostitution.

There are several areas in Vancouver where juvenile prostitution is common. Referred to as the highest status and most worked area is Davie Street. At any one time 6-10 boys and as many or more girls can be seen at the alley entrance ways just north of Davie Street. Customers cruise the area in their cars, the prostitutes try to get their interest, work out a price and if a deal is reached get into the car with the customer and drive off to their place of business. Several other areas are prevalent for juvenile prostitution but there is a wide range in status, type of customer, the prices charged and the working conditions. Granville Street Mall has a small amount of juvenile prostitution as do the clubs on Seymour, Howe and Hornby streets. Some of the prostitutes work the harbour, gaining entrance onto ships where they find many customers. Frequently a juvenile prostitute will pick up some fast money by hitchhiking to solicit customers and carry out their services in the car. Finally, lowest in status are the juveniles who ply their trade in the skid row area on Hastings or Cordova streets.

Prices are lowest, customers are likely down and out and violence is often a danger.

Recent media stories have reported a juvenile male homosexual prostitution ring led by a married adult couple, and adults coming into the residential communities to lure 13 and 14 year old males and females in prostitution in the West End (Vancouver Sun, May 31, 1977; Oct. 8, 1977).

Estimates from sources who have either been on the street themselves or who have constant contact with street people place the number of juveniles involved in prostitution at between 80 and 100, with an increase during the summer months. It is thought that there are more girls than boys involved at this point but that can fluctuate.

The juvenile police division working out of the Ministry of Human Resources office at 52 Water Street picked up 2,231 juveniles who were 'hanging out' downtown after hours in the first ten months of 1978. Seven hundred (31%) of these were runaways who had to be supporting themselves in some way. Sixty-one juveniles were known to be actively soliciting on the streets. The number of juveniles picked up for being on the street after curfew had increased by 37% from the previous year. The number of juveniles who admitted to being involved in prostitution increased by 400% from the year before.

These numbers certainly suggest increasing problems in the area of juvenile prostitution. Some of the juveniles are

supporting themselves while they are runaways while others are supporting a pimp.

While we know the answer to the question of where juvenile prostitution occurs, the most important and valuable information is lacking. What factors lead a juvenile into prostitution? What other delinquent activities are they involved in? What are the socio-cultural norms of the Vancouver juvenile prostitution life? How are they different from other runaways who are vulnerable but don't enter into prostitution? These questions are actively dealt with in this investigation.

As well as a lack of information on the problem of juvenile prostitution, intervention and treatment strategies are virtually non-existent in the literature. Gray (1972) suggests that there are perhaps only two possibilities for successful intervention. Both arise out of social control or social reinforcement theory. First, the prostitute could form a close, intimate attachment to a conventional person who strongly disapproves of their involvement. This is the way out for many prostitutes. Because of the closed social system and few outside relationships in the lives of prostitutes this alternative is not commonly adopted. The second possibility is the removal of the opportunity to engage in prostitution. Incarceration exists as a possibility which may be a positive experience if the juvenile develops any important relationships with conventional adults (Gray, 1972). Since these relationships seldom continue

beyond incarceration though, they have little effect on the subsequent return to unconventional behaviour. An investigation of juvenile prostitutes' intervention histories, compared to the history of ex-prostitutes, or prostitute-prone, but not involved juveniles, may reveal significant indications of how to attain the two treatment possibilities. Prevention strategies will also be apparent if predictive factors are evident and treatment strategies emerge.

The nature of the problem of juvenile prostitution needs careful consideration. So little information exists currently that initial studies will have to be broad and exploratory. Research from other North American cities can outline directions to initiate investigations locally.

Psychoanalytic Theory

Early theoretical approaches to the study of prostitution were psychoanalytic and this view of prostitution continues to be popular in the literature (Agoston 1945; Barclay and Gallemore, 1972; Glover, 1945; Greenwald 1970; Hollender, 1964). Most psychoanalytic studies are based on small samples which are gathered from the author's clinical practice. The breadth of these studies of prostitution have focussed on three types of problems:

1. the causes of prostitution

2. the rate or amount of prostitution and
3. the reasons for a particular individual's entrance into prostitution.

Authors have used Freudian theory to answer each of these difficult questions. Greenwald's The Elegant Prostitute: A Social and Psychoanalytic Study is an example of this approach. This area of research has been extensive and in order to competently review it the reader must first grasp the basic psychoanalytic principles employed.

Psychoanalytic theory divides infancy through adolescence into five stages. Each stage has associated developmental tasks which embody social, psychological and physical objectives. Freud gave each stage a name which signifies, with one exception, the body zone of prime attention; oral, anal, phallic, latency and genital.

Table I illuminates the five stages, chronological time of life and psychological tasks (personal communication, Dr. James E. Marcia, 1979).

Table I

Psychosexual Stages of Development

Stage	Chronological Age	Psychosocial Stage
Oral	Infancy	Basic Trust vs Mistrust
Anal	Toddler	Autonomy vs Shame and Doubt
Phallic (Oedipal)	Play Age	Initiative vs Guilt
Latent	School Age	Industry vs Inferiority
Genital	Adolescence	Ego Identity vs Identity Diffusion

Psychoanalytic theory states that when the psychological task at one stage is not successfully completed the individual becomes fixated at that stage. His body zone of interest and associated behaviors take on conscious and unconscious significance of that psychological task. For example assume a particular individual did not successfully learn trust as an

infant. This may have been due to the mother not feeding the infant sufficiently or regularly. That mistrust is now incorporated into the individual's personality. His subsequent behaviors either display or symbolize mistrust and orality. Orality manifests itself in talking a great deal, smoking, drinking and eating. Mistrust is seen most often in avoidance of emotional closeness. Normal progression has been blocked and fixation occurs. Fixation occurs when, because of frustration at one stage, development to the next stage is temporarily or permanently stopped. Fixation is rarely complete. Its usual outcome is that an individual manifests certain character traits associated with the stage at which fixation occurred.

Associated with the phallic stage is Freud's oedipal conflict. The content of the complex is the child's incestuous love for the opposite sex parent. The same sex parent is antagonistically viewed as the major obstacle against the child fully possessing the opposite sex parent who is the object of his/her desires. Accompanying these desires are subsequent feelings of guilt and a fear of rejection by the parents. A major conflict exists between wanting to fully possess the opposite sex parent but not wanting to be rejected. The anxiety of this conflict creates the desire in the child to resolve the oedipal conflict if at all possible. If the child is to successfully resolve this conflict he/she will have to come to two realizations. First the child must realize that the same sex

parent who is in the way is stronger but, nevertheless, compassionate. He will not be able, nor rightfully want to, remove that parent. Second, the child realizes that the same sex parent is loved by the parent of their desire. Hence the child starts to identify with and model the same sex parent in personality, morality, behavior etc.

A child may not resolve the oedipal conflict for many reasons. Firstly he may live with only one parent. Secondly the same sex parent may not be viewed trustingly as a compassionate person and the child may truly struggle to remove that parent. Thirdly the opposite sex parent may exhibit incestuous feelings and behaviors toward the child. In the above situations fixation occurs at the oedipal stage of development and affects subsequent heterosexual relationships. Their heterosexual relationships are often considered a competition against same sex persons to conquer opposite sex persons. Freud's prognosis for these people is that they will continue this way of relating from the childhood phallic stage on through life.

Disturbances during oral, anal and especially phallic stages of Freudian psychosexual stages are cited theoretically and in case studies in the literature on prostitution. These disturbances bear upon the personal, existential and social realms of the prostitute's life.

Agoston (1945) describes unresolved oedipal conflicts in the lives of prostitutes who have undergone psychoanalysis. The

stories prostitutes tell of themselves incorporate representations of the oedipus complex. Prostitutes often fantasize stories of a heroic father and a rejecting mother who cast them out, forcing them into prostitution. Agoston further suggests that the unresolved oedipus complex is exemplified in the behaviors in the prostitute's business: she gets every man; every man is assigned the role of the provider, the father; she takes vengeance on every good woman by stealing her man; she is passively involved in the act by being devoid of feelings. Agoston proceeds to show that the root of such oedipal behavior is the incestuous love for one parent and the hostility towards the other parent. Accompanying these feelings are feelings of guilt and fear of rejection/castration by the parents. Rejection is the specific quality of the prostitute's castration fear. It is Agoston's experience that prostitutes in psychoanalysis suffered the threat of being castrated from family, society and existence for being bad. Benefits of parental love having been withheld during childhood, the prostitute experiences tremendous fear concerning her ability to attain love elsewhere in her environment. This results in the prostitute opting for money and sexuality as a disguised substitute for love.

In an article based upon two psychoanalytic histories in response to Agoston's interpretations of the oedipal representations of prostitute behavior, Hollender (1964, p. 406) states that "behavior is interpreted in this way by outside

observers much as meaning is read into reactions of infants." Hollender on the other hand interprets these same behaviors as a response to deprivation of a mother's love. Mistrust due to parental rejection results in an avoidance of emotional closeness. Hence prostitution becomes a non-personal means of achieving closeness, nurturance and holding because the body is related to as an object, and the sex act as an exploitation of the male for money. Since there is no emotional involvement there is no fear of rejection.

Barclay and Gallemore (1972) develop a theoretical model based upon the psychoanalytic history of a multi-problem family. In this case study a perversion of the mother-child relationship was noted. Parents reversed roles with children and exploited the love relationship. The exploitation in early childhood was unreported but was evidenced during the daughters' adolescent years when she and the mother prostituted themselves for the family's economic well-being. Exploitation of the mother-child relationship is posited by Barclay and Gallemore as the basis of the prostituting activities in this family. Therefore they theorize that this type of prostitution is based upon both early childhood development and later environmental factors.

Seen in a psychoanalytic frame of reference early childhood experiences can be specifically associated with prostitution in adolescence. Another theory however has attracted great interest as it is currently developing.

Social Control and Social Reinforcement Theories

This section presents a sequential model of prostitution. The nature of a sequential model is a succession of events occurring in a person's life, one event a pre-requisite to the next, leading to their adoption of unconventional behaviors and attitudes. The interaction of many events or factors, not any single event or person as in psychoanalytic theory, places the juvenile 'at-risk' to become involved in deviance such as prostitution. Certain other events lead to the actual entrance into and maintenance of prostitution.

Recent research (Gray, 1972; Levens and Rowe, 1979) has identified the following conditions in the sequential model of juvenile prostitution:

1. Predisposing 'At-Risk' Conditions - Factors that place the child at risk to later involvement in prostitution. They can be divided into social control conditions (which includes family and community factors) that relinquishes the child's connection to conventional society, and attitude toward self, including self-perception and motivations of the child.
2. 'Turning Out' Conditions - Factors that immediately precede the entrance into prostitution. These are the factors that make the contact with the world of prostitution possible and

reinforce it.

3. Maintenance Conditions - Factors which perpetuate the juvenile's involvement in prostitution or terminate it. Both 'Turning Out' and 'Maintenance' Conditions are dimensions dealt with by Social Reinforcement theory.

Predisposing 'At-Risk' Conditions

The first set of factors in this group of conditions consists of family factors. Social control theory (Hirshi, 1969) posits that deviant behavior occurs when one's bond with society is weakened or broken. This bond implies a belief in the rules of the society and a fear in the consequences for breaking the rules. Involvement in conventional activities and a concern for the opinions of others are consequent to the bond with society. Inadequate family ties are one component of tenuous bonds to conventional society.

There is substantial evidence that juvenile prostitutes come from poor family environments. Family relationships are marred by parental separation, alcoholism, physical abuse and neglect, sexual abuse, emotional deprivation, etc.

Greenwald (1969) found that lack of parental ties caused from marital strife and broken homes coupled with early, rewarded sexual experiences predisposed his subjects to prostitution. Deisher, Eisner and Sulzbacher (1969) found that

of 63 young male prostitutes interviewed in Seattle 27% left home when their parents separated and another 17% left when they weren't getting along with their parents.

Gray's (1972) study of 17 female prostitutes in Seattle found that most of the girls came from homes broken by separation or divorce. Relationships at home tended to be very poor. Parents failed to provide a number of stabilizing functions such as supervision, communication patterns, positive social reinforcements or affection.

James, as reported in Levens and Rowe (1979) conducted a study from 1970-75 of 20 female adolescent and 208 adult prostitutes. She notes that a lack of parental guidance in sexual matters is but one aspect of the general weakness of the parent-child relationship typical of many prostitutes. She further states that "whether the parent-child relationship is marked by simple neglect, by absence (of one parental figure) or by outright psychological or physical abuse, the result for the child is generally considered to be alienation from the parents and a consequent inability - the severity of which depends on the circumstances - to adequately socialize the conventional mores of 'respectable' society".

Information about the family backgrounds of juvenile prostitutes in Vancouver comes from three studies cited in a report by Bruce Levens and Wendy Rowe (1979) for a B.C. agency called Taking Responsible Action for Children and Youth

(T.R.A.C.Y.). One of these studies was by Jeffrey Compos in 1978 on 30 male prostitutes, 13 of whom were under 16 years old; one was a study by Monica Layton in 1975 on 100 female prostitutes of which 37 were juveniles or juveniles when they first engaged in prostitution; and the third was a study by the Reach Community Health Centre (REACH) interviewing 28 boys and girls at the Juvenile Detention Centre in 1973-74, seven females of whom spontaneously stated they engaged in prostitution.

Compos' study reveals that of the 13 juveniles interviewed 7 reported family separation, 2 reported parents still together and 4 did not respond. The Layton study indicates that 50% of the girls had disrupted families due to separation, divorce or absence. Approximately half the girls had been raised part of the time in foster homes. The REACH study testifies further to the tendency of juvenile prostitutes to come from separated homes. Of the seven who were prostitutes 2 girls had both parents dead and were being raised by relatives, 2 girls had divorced parents with the custodian parent alcoholic, one girl had both parents alcoholic and one girl was adopted. Only one girl reported having come from a good home. Six of the 7 juveniles had been in group homes or had runaway before 12 years of age. The T.R.A.C.Y. report contains information on 4 boys and 1 girl who had engaged in prostitution. All had absentee or hostile fathers, all had overly permissive mothers and all 5 youths had been removed from their natural homes before 11 years

of age.

The literature clearly outlines that many juveniles who turn to prostitution have experienced sexual molestation, often an incestuous relationship. Incestuous sexual abuse further relinquishes the bond to family and conventional society.

James found that of her Seattle sample of 136 prostitutes 46% reported that an older adult had attempted to sexually molest them at an early age, with 37% being incestuous adult relationships. Of her sample of 20 adolescent prostitutes 65% reported having a forced bad sexual experience before 15 years of age. Most of the time it involved their father or other relatives. In her on-going study (1978), as reported by Levens & Rowe (1979), with 200 adolescent prostitutes in the Seattle area, James predicts that 30-50% of the girls have been involved in incestuous sexual relationships.

The T.R.A.C.Y. report (1979) based similar findings on interviews with social workers and with 4 juvenile prostitutes. The social workers found that 'most' of the juvenile prostitutes they had been in contact with had been sexually molested by a family member or family friend. Personal interviews with 3 male juvenile prostitutes revealed that one had been seduced by a friend of his older brother at age 12, one had been seduced by a friend of his father's at age 8 and the other was seduced by an adult cousin at 11 years of age. The fourth participant, a 15 year old girl reported that her first sexual experience was with

a male cousin at 10 years of age.

These findings indicate that sexual molestation, especially incestuous relations is common in the early life of the juvenile prostitute. Frequently this early sexual experience is negative. Social control theory posits that such experience limits the bonds with conventional society ensuring the vulnerability of the individual to a non-conventional way of life.

Community factors make up the second group of predisposing 'at-risk' conditions. Evidence exists that in addition to unstable family environments, the schools, social service agencies, employers, politicians and neighbours contribute to the process of a youth's entrance into prostitution. As more conventional society bonds are weakened the juveniles have no alternatives except to move towards an unconventional subculture for acceptance.

Deisher et al (1969) found in their study of 63 young male prostitutes in Seattle that over half had not completed high school and a quarter had less than grade 10 education. Seventy percent of them were not working at conventional jobs and a few had never worked at a 'straight' job.

Gray (1972) reports that due to experiences of academic failure, those girls dropped out of school. Ties to school were broken before entrance into prostitution. Eleven of the 17 adolescent prostitutes in her study had prior experience in legitimate jobs that were not very rewarding financially. None

of the girls reported steady boyfriends nor did they have conventional aspirations of becoming a wife and mother. Gray concludes that there is a breaking (or lack) of ties with the conventional social order as a result of social and emotional deprivation in their family life, of academic failure and frustration at school, and boredom and dissatisfaction with the world of legitimate work.

The T.R.A.C.Y. report concludes with a consensus among interviewees that 'most' of the juveniles who end up prostituting have trouble coping with school.

The Layton study found that of the 26 female juvenile prostitutes 50% had less than grade 8, 27% had grade 9 and the rest had either grade 10 or 11. In the REACH study all 6 girls had school problems and 5 of them had less than a grade 7 education. Of the 13 male juvenile prostitutes in Compos' study 9 had dropped out of school by grade 8. Compos found that 11 of the 13 had never been employed at a legitimate job. The only means of earning money other than prostitution for these adolescents was from selling illicit drugs.

The T.R.A.C.Y. report also indicates that these Vancouver youths have had long histories of involvement with social service agencies. The practice of taking children out of an abusive home environment and then moving them through various homes and institutions may only accelerate the lack of ties with conventional society.

Social service agencies have a mandate to offer intervention in the lives of children identified to be 'at-risk' in development of social or emotional problems. In cases where a child protection law has been contravened, either neglect or abuse by parents or a delinquency by the child, the court can order a social service agency's intervention. The T.R.A.C.Y. report found from interviews with 3 juveniles living on the street, two in group homes and one apprehended by police that the two juveniles in group homes and one of the street kids had had considerable involvement with social service agencies. The other three reported no previous contact with any agencies. The summary of the T.R.A.C.Y. report is that the interventions had no positive effects and may have accelerated the sense of alienation, low self-worth and rejection that those children feel.

In summary it appears that there is a process of alienation from the community in the early lives of prostitutes. Academic, social and employment circumstances are generally non-successful. The lack of success in these conventional aspects of the youth's lives accelerates their entrance into a deviant life style.

The third set of factors of predisposing 'at-risk' conditions are attitudes toward self. There have been many studies of the correlation between self-concept and delinquency. The results are usually indicative of delinquents having a low

self-concept. Low self-concept has been associated with being labelled 'delinquent' and with the corresponding negative societal implications of this labelling (Kaplan, 1975). The individual is also excluded from 'normalized' society where most social reinforcers which enhance self-esteem exist. The question arises, however that if social reinforcers enhance self-esteem, do deviant group social reinforcers, such as group identity, and material reinforcers, such as money, enhance the esteem of a delinquent involved in prostitution beyond the low self-esteem level of a delinquent not belonging to a deviant group?

Kaplan (1975) indicates that this would be the case. His theory is that self-esteem is lowest in the individual who is not receiving either 'normal' social reinforcers nor deviant social reinforcers. This creates a tendency for individuals who do not foresee any viable means of receiving 'normal' social reinforcers to join a deviant group.

Haskell and Yablonsky (1974) indicate that self-esteem would be correspondingly lower the more deviant a juvenile becomes and is thusly labelled. A juvenile's self-concept is largely a reflection of the images others have and the labels they apply. Society views a juvenile who is prostituting with more disdain and as a more severe problem than a juvenile who is merely running away from home. Therefore the prostituting juvenile would have a lower self-concept.

The lack of available social reinforcers to a juvenile is a major factor in determining low self-esteem. As a juvenile looks for deviant groups to provide social reinforcers, society further applies negative labels to the juvenile. The issue of whether the deviant group social reinforcers enhance self-esteem beyond the deprecatory self labels of society will be explored in this study. However it is clearly indicated (Kaplan 1975) that the process that leads up to the joining of a deviant group is highly correlated to low self-esteem. This study will adopt Kaplan's hypothesis as the more compelling one.

Turning Out Conditions

Social control factors of the family and community have been clarified as predisposing conditions to juvenile prostitution. Self-concept has also been identified as a significant variable in the life of an 'at-risk' juvenile. However these factors alone do not completely account for a juvenile's entrance into prostitution. Many youths who share the same background do not become teenage prostitutes. There are other factors which introduce a juvenile to the life of prostitution and influence them to enter into it. These factors which introduce a juvenile into prostitution are based in social reinforcement theory. This theory posits that inadequate social reinforcement for conventional behavior leads to a tendency for

the individual to make a commitment to unconventional behavior. Thus the prostitute seeks through unconventional behaviors the social reinforcement not available in other realms of life.

Given that an individual lacks a commitment to conventional values, certain factors must sequentially follow increasing the probability that an individual will enter into prostitution. Initially the juvenile must know that prostitution exists as an alternative life style. He/she gains this knowledge from conversation with family members, friends and acquaintances. Gray's study found that all the girls intimately knew someone 'involved in prostitution before they 'turned-out'. For seven girls it was a relative and for the other ten it was a friend. The friend or relative not only introduces prostitution as an alternative but socializes the youth as well, providing advice and support for their 'initial experience'.

The T.R.A.C.Y. report findings indicate the same process. Nearly all the juveniles interviewed said that a prostitute friend had helped them enter into prostitution. It is clear that the opportunity to learn prostitution is a pre-requisite to 'turning-out' and that if a youth who has few ties to conventional society, is befriended by someone in the prostitute life-style they are highly 'at-risk'.

The major factor which immediately precedes 'turning-out' is the need for money and having no conventional means of support. In Gray's study most of the girls reported that they

were runaways from home or an institution at the time of their first prostitution. Similarly T.R.A.C.Y. interviews with police and youth workers indicate that in Vancouver runaways in need of a living arrangement and money turn to prostitution. Runaways in Vancouver were reportedly recruited by pimps when they are first on the street.

Other factors reported in the Gray and T.R.A.C.Y. studies that lead to a youth 'turning-out' are curiosity and the desire to rebel by carrying on unconventional activities. This impulse to rebel can be seen as an adventurous extension of the rebellious running away from home or institution.

Maintenance Conditions

This stage of the juvenile prostitute's life is also dictated by social reinforcement theory. There are many social reinforcers for the youth in 'the life'. The T.R.A.C.Y. report indicates that the youths interviewed had a number of social reinforcers which prompted them to remain in 'the life'. Primarily these are the amount of money, the affection and attention of adults, and the feeling of belongingness. Disillusionment with attempts to return to school or take a 'straight' job, rejection from family and society and the labelling effect of social typing of the prostitute were reasons the youths gave for maintaining their lifestyle. This indicates

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the alienation that they felt before 'turning-out' has been maintained or increased.

There are numerous indications that involvement in the life of prostitution is however not all that pleasant! Gray's and T.R.A.C.Y.'s reports both note many cases of violence between the prostitute and her customers, pimps and other prostitutes competing for the territory. Venereal disease, general poor health, and drug abuse or overdose are also cited as aversive conditions of the lifestyle. Most prostitutes in the T.R.A.C.Y. study report that police harrassment is the greatest problem of their lifestyle. Incarceration and sometimes physical abuse from police were the risks of being on the wrong side of the law.

Conditions then, can be aversive on one hand and reinforcing on the other. Some adolescents return to prostitution repeatedly no matter how many times they are apprehended and no matter how many counselling programs they are assigned to. However some juveniles do terminate their prostitution activities. Gray states that the foremost reason is a strong relationship to a conventional person. Some girls cease prostituting when they develop steady relationships with a boyfriend who disapproves of their activities. The T.R.A.C.Y. report indicates that some juveniles choose to quit their activities when they become 17 years old and could be prosecuted in adult court. Boys may quit in their early twenties when they are no longer attractive to customers. Unfortunately even these

youths who do quit prostitution may be so emotionally, psychologically and socially marked that conventional lifestyle alternatives are few, unsatisfying and therefore undesirable.

Social control and social reinforcement factors have been demonstrated to be crucial variables in the sequential model of entrance into prostitution. The lack of ties to conventional society leaves a person free to choose an unconventional way of life. The need for self-esteem enhancement motivates that person to join a deviant group. Social reinforcers exist within prostitution which follow sequentially in the acquisition and maintenance of deviant behavior.

The values of the two theories presented, psychoanalytic and social control/social reinforcement, have to be discussed for their applicability to this study. Psychoanalytic theory is historically the forerunner. Social control/social reinforcement theories are relatively new in the literature. Psychoanalytic theory is presented and validated only in the case study format. There is a logical fallacy of postulating origins of prostitution by working backwards from prostitutes who are in psychoanalysis. Such self report information lessens in reliability with time. Furthermore prostitutes who are in psychoanalysis are a select group. They are seeking treatment and as they chose psychoanalysis they are probably more sophisticated than the norm. The treatment aspect of psychoanalytic theory makes the availability of treatment for

prostitutes on a large scale untenable. There are not sufficient psychoanalysts and many prostitute clients would likely be unsuited to many hours of psychoanalysis. Methodologically this study does not require the time or expertise to document a complete psychoanalytic history of each participant.

Psychoanalytic theory, although justifying the etiology of prostitution and having an important historical place in the study of prostitution, has these drawbacks for this study.

A sequential social control/social reinforcement model, on the other hand, is readily employed in a controlled systematic investigation. The results can be suggestive of intervention strategies that social agencies could employ. This model has therefore been used in this study due to its methodological and intervention strengths and the drawbacks of psychoanalytic theory.

The Study

Further specificity on the significance of social control and social reinforcement theories is the goal of this study. Questions which need consideration concern factors which lead certain individuals and not others into prostitution, holding opportunity to learn prostitution constant. Consequent to the fact of juvenile prostitution, specific investigation into the local social reinforcements of juvenile prostitution is needed

to help define treatment strategies to substitute conventional behavior and reinforcers for the unconventional behavior and reinforcers.

A lack of conventional social control is the element in the first sequence which predisposes an individual to enter into juvenile prostitution. A second group of social reinforcement factors follows sequentially to initiate that entrance. Those factors are:

1. knowing someone involved in prostitution and/or knowing the local norms accurately and
2. needing money and having no conventional means of support.

Holding these sequential group of factors constant in prostitute and non-prostitute groups will indicate if there are differences in social control and social reinforcement factors between groups. Self-esteem is being tested for between group differences as well. Differences will correlate to social control and reinforcement factors as all sequential factors are held constant. Specifically, the guidelines for this study are:

1. prostitution occurs when bonds with society are weakened or broken.
2. inadequate social reinforcement for conventional behavior disposes the individual to a commitment to unconventional behavior with its subsequent social reinforcement.
3. self-esteem is higher for juvenile prostitutes than prostitute-prone juveniles because of the social reinforcers

for prostitution.

II. Methods

This study is an example of deviant case analysis as explained by Robinson (1976, p. 161).

This analysis attempts to take instances that are exceptions to the general trend and to locate IV's that set the instance off from the general. The investigator takes two groups or individuals that differ in outcome and attempts to locate differences in conditions between them... The method of deviant case analysis can be thought of as 'reading backward' to approximate the experimental situation.

The case study is effective in isolating the degree of relationship between variables via statistical correlations. The statistical generalization acts as a further check for reliability and validity. The case study is used where experimentation is physically or ethically impractical. However the case study is severely limited in determining cause-effect relationships.

Participants

Two populations of juveniles were sampled in this study. One population consists of any persons between 13 and 17 years of age who are or have been engaged in prostitution; operationally defined as employing sex for non-sexual ends (Davis, 1937). The second population consists of any person

between the ages of 13 and 17 who is prostitute-prone, but never involved in prostitution; operationally defined as

1. knowing the norms of local juvenile prostitution accurately and/or knowing someone involved in local juvenile prostitution,
2. having had early (by the age 17) intercourse and
3. having had the opportunity to engage in prostitution through supportive conditions (i.e. having been solicited and/or having had need for money and no conventional means of acquisition).

Data Collection Procedures

Participants were gathered from three available sources. The major source was a government social service agency operating in the Gastown area of Vancouver, B. C. This office is a multi-service facility consisting of teams of medical physicians, social workers, street workers, child-care workers, juvenile probation officers, police officers and clerical staff who service the after-hours (4:30pm to 8:30am) needs of any person in crisis in Vancouver. The division that provided participants for this study was the social work team which has the mandate to intervene in the life of any juvenile in the downtown area who is deemed to be 'at-risk'. Police, probation and social workers patrol the downtown streets and apprehend

'at-risk' juveniles, take them to the office, check for previous contacts and/or warrants; counsel them on the legal, social and psychological issues associated with hanging out downtown, repatriate them with their guardians and write a report of each contact for their file. This process can take up to three hours. It was during the time that they sat waiting to be repatriated that I approached them about volunteering to answer questions about juvenile prostitution. Every juvenile brought into the office who fit the operational definitions of either population was sampled whenever possible. Two adolescents who were clearly under the influence of alcohol or drugs were not interviewed, and in three cases interviews were missed because of a lack of time.

The second source of subjects were from a juvenile crisis shelter in Vancouver, B.C. The crisis shelter is a non-profit residence for teens in crisis staffed by child-care counsellors. Referrals are made by social workers and are accepted on the basis of severity of crisis. Juveniles who fit the operational definition of either population were approached in an identical manner as at Emergency Services.

The third source of subjects was on Davie St., Vancouver, B.C. I was introduced to two friends of a juvenile I had had previous professional contact with. Both were judged to meet the operational definitions and approached to volunteer in an identical manner as at the other sources. The sources of

subjects shall be referred to as) social service, crisis shelter and street.

The total number of participants was 25. There were 13 subjects in the juvenile prostitution group (Group A), twelve female and one male. The data from the one male was discarded as a possible confounding variable, being the only male participant. There were 12 female subjects in the juvenile prostitution-prone group (Group B). The data were gathered over a period of eleven months; June, 1978, to April, 1979. There was difficulty in gathering this many subjects. Most nights I encountered no potential subjects. This could be a result of the small size of the population of the juvenile prostitution group. The participants did not offer information that wasn't specifically asked for. There were frequently no responses to open-ended questions. This could be attributed to the nature of the investigation and the context of the Emergency Services office being a detention facility. Therefore the data are presented in the brevity and specificity that the participants offered.

The interview was administered privately with each subject. A questionnaire was designed to measure demographic, family, job, school, social, delinquency, runaway, prostitution and intervention variables. The questions were orally administered and the response indicated on the questionnaire. The questionnaire took approximately 25 to 35 minutes to complete.

Immediately upon its completion the subject was asked to fill out Coopersmith's (1967) Self-Esteem Inventory (S.E.I.). Five subjects did not have sufficient reading abilities therefore the inventory was orally administered. The S.E.I. took approximately seven minutes to complete if completed by the subject alone.

Instruments

A theoretically based question and answer sheet consisting of thirteen item categories was designed for this study (see Appendix A). Item categories 1 (Sex), 2 (Age), 3 (Race), and 7 (Socio-economic Status) elicits demographic data. Item categories 4 (Education), 5 (Work History), 6 (Mobility), 8 (Family Background), 9 (Social History), and 10 (Delinquency History) elicits social control and social reinforcements data. Item category 11 (Prostitution History and Information) elicits data on knowledge of local juvenile prostitution norms, prostitution involvement and supportive cultural conditions. Item categories 12 (Relationships) and 13 (Intervention History) elicits data on quality and time period of intervention in their lives.

Most items were fixed-alternative questions eliciting dichotomous, yes/no or ordinal responses. A few open ended questions were used to elicit data which were categorized during the scoring procedure. Fixed-alternative questions have the

advantage of uniformity of measurement and ease of scoring, hence are potentially more reliable. Open-ended questions, however, add the important dimension of putting a minimum or restraint on the respondent ensuring greater objectivity and depth (Robinson, 1976).

The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (S.E.I.) (Coopersmith, 1967) is a 58 item scale: 8 items form a "lie" scale and 50 items form the self-esteem measure. The items are simple self-descriptive statements such as "Kids pick on me very often". There are two response alternatives for each item, "Like me" or "Unlike me".

There is no manual available on the S.E.I. Administration and scoring procedures have been inferred from Coopersmith's (1967) work as reported in The Antecedents of Self-Esteem. There is no mention of required special training for scoring or interpretation.

In order to determine the response which indicates high self-esteem and which are the eight "Lie" items the researcher asked twelve graduate students in counselling psychology and their professor to answer the S.E.I. checking each item in the positive direction and indicating the "Lie" items. Chi-squares were performed on each item. They were all statistically significant indicating agreement beyond chance. The S.E.I. is scored by giving two points to any items checked in a positive direction.

Wylie (1974) and Shavelson et al. (1976) review the S.E.I. as a measure of self-esteem. It is considered to be of adequate reliability (.70) and validity by those authors. It is suggested to be especially suited for comparing mean differences in groups of children such as in this study. Their conclusions are that the limitations of the S.E.I. are:

1. the lack of valid subscales, providing the researcher with only a general self-esteem construct,
2. the lack of construct validity for general self-esteem, reducing generalizability and
3. the lack of a comprehensive manual.

III. Results

The Data

A statistical picture of the female juvenile prostitute and her 'at-risk' counterpart is presented in this section by analyzing data elicited by the questionnaire. Three groups are described. The prostitute group, the 'At-Risk' group and their combination which in all their similarities they are one single sample of a population of alienated teenage girls. The second section of the results will be a case study presentation. One subject who represents each group well will be described in as much detail as was available. The names, of course, will be fictitious. The rationale for presenting both the statistical and case study data is to provide a description of the complete lifestyle of these juveniles.

A correlational study does not logically provide conclusions about causal relationships. A correlational study shows simply that a relationship exists between variables. It also quantifies and gives direction to that relationship. However the statistical power of a correlation is directly related to sample size. The population of female juvenile

prostitutes in Vancouver is in itself small, fortunately both socially and statistically. The sample of 12 girls is approximately 20% of 60 reported by Emergency Services for the first 10 months of 1978.

The data were analyzed to compare and contrast the two groups. Prostitutes are referred to as group 1 and the 'At-Risk' juveniles are group 2. All nominal or categorical data were analyzed via the chi-square corrected for small frequencies in the expected cell size. Ordinal variables were analyzed via the Mann-Whitney U-Test, as were data from very skewed interval data. Interval data, such as number of times runaway, were analyzed with the t-test. Significant results and results descriptive of the significant data will be tabled in the Results section. Results that were not significant are tabled in the Appendices.

Age

Legally, juvenile status is given to a person up to their seventeenth birthday. The mean age of the prostitute group was 16 years 2 months old (S.D. = 10.6 months). The range of ages in this group was from 14 years 3 months to 16 years 11 months. There is a significant difference in ages, ($t = 2.09$, $df = 22$ p groups, group 2 being younger. The 'At-Risk' group mean age was 15 years 2 months (S.D. = 15.4 months). The range of group 2

ages was from 12 years 11 months to 16 years 11 months. Four group 2 subjects were younger than the youngest group 1 subject. Therefore age is very much a confounding variable in the comparison of the two groups. The unresolved question is whether the 'At-Risk' group members, especially the younger girls, are moving into prostitution or will remain outside it. See Table II for a portrayal of the groups by age.

Table II

Age

Years	Prostitute	At-Risk
12 yr. 0 mo. - 12 yr. 11.99 mo.	0	1
13 yr. 0 mo. - 13 yr. 11.99 mo.	0	0
14 yr. 0 mo. - 14 yr. 11.99 mo.	2	5
15 yr. 0 mo. - 15 yr. 11.99 mo.	1	2
16 yr. 0 mo. - 16 yr. 11.99 mo.	9	4
Total N	12	12

chi square=2.09 df=22 p<.05

Race

In group 1, 8 girls were caucasian, 3 native indian and 1 native indian-caucasian mix. Group 2 was comprised of 5 caucasians, 5 native indians, 1 native indian-caucasian mix and 1 East Indian. Chi-square revealed no significant differences between groups. Appendix B Table 1 illustrates the division of each group by race.

School Attendance

Sixty-seven percent of group 1 and 75% of group 2 were enrolled and attending school regularly. Although the school programs did vary in amount of attendance required there was no significant differences in attendance, amount of attendance or grade. The average prostitute group member who attended school attended 6.1 hours per day, 5 days per week. Group 2 school attending subjects averaged 5.4 hours per day, 4.9 days per week. Both groups, on average, had attained grade nine, even though the 'At-Risk' group was younger. Six group 1 and 8 group 2 members reported that they enjoyed school. None of the statistical comparisons between the two groups on school attendance variables were significant beyond chance. Appendix B, Tables 2 through 4 represent these school attendance variables.

Work History

Two of the group 1 members reported having conventional jobs at the time of the interview. None of the others of the prostitute or 'At-Risk' groups had current employment. Jobs held or at one time held by subjects were indexed by the Specific Vocational Preparation (S.V.P.) scale of the 2nd edition of the Canadian Dictionary of Job Classification. The scale is reproduced in Appendix B, Table 5 to show S.V.P. by groups. Examples of the jobs reported are babysitting, waitressing and telephone soliciting. Maximum weekly income reported ranged from \$0 to \$180.00 for both groups. Four members of each group reported no income. Under \$50.00 a week was reported by 5 in the prostitute group and 3 in the at-risk group. Those reporting between \$50.00 and \$180.00 per week totaled 3 in group 1 and 5 in group 2. No significant differences were found in any variable within this dimension.

Social History

This variable sought information about each girls' membership in and involvement in clubs, committees, teams or gangs. Additionally it asked if they had received any honours or recognition for that involvement. Commonly cited were team sports such as volleyball and track, lessons such as dancing or

gymnastics and neighbourhood house or community centre activity clubs. Recognition for achievement should be reinforcing for the involvement. Alternatively, if the juvenile is not involved in conventional group activities the delinquent gang is available to gather a sense of group identity.

In the prostitute group, 42% answered that they had never belonged to any organized group, 42% answered that they had belonged to an organized conventional group and 16% had belonged to a gang. The 'At-Risk' group reported that 92% had belonged to a conventional organized group and 8% had belonged to a gang. Thus a significant difference was found on this variable.

In both groups 50% of the members reported recognition for their involvement. Recognition was often bestowed by ribbons and trophies. The one girl who had been recognized for her gang involvement had received a title of 'the hit man' for her prominence in beating on gang enemies. Tables III and IV report club involvement and recognition.

Table III

Did you/Do you belong to any
clubs or organized activities?

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Yes	5	11
No	5	1
Gang only	2	0
N =	12	12

chi square=8.18 df=2 p<.02

Table IV

Did you receive any recognition
for those activities?

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Yes	6	6
No	6	6
N =	12	12

chi square=1.19 df=1 p<.05

Mobility

The length of residency of a juvenile in their community can be taken to represent the degree of social control and reinforcement the community exerts over the youths. The mean length of residency in the Greater Vancouver Area was 10.25 years for group 1 (S.D. = 5.4 years) and 11.83 years for group 2 (S.D. = 4.26 years). The shortest residency period was 3 years for group 1 and 5 years for group 2. Fifty percent of group 1 were born in the Greater Vancouver area as were 58% of group 2. There was no significant difference on these variables.

However their mobility was looked at more closely over the past year. In response to the question asking how many places had they lived in during the past year the number was often great. The prostitute group average was 10.92 (S.D. = 15.768). This was very skewed with a range of 1 to 55. The 'At-Risk' group average was 6.17 (S.D. = 3.904) with a range of 2 to 14. (see Appendix B, Table 6). Similarly the length of stay at their current residence was of short duration, the median being under 1 month for both groups. See Appendix B, Table 7 for length of residency at current residence.

These girls tend to be Vancouver Area residents of some duration having the opportunity to make social ties within their larger community. However they are highly mobile at present, moving from residence to residence.

Family Background

In 92% of the cases the prostitute group natural families had gone through parental separation. Seventeen percent of the separations were due to death of a parent. The 'At-Risk' group natural parents were separated in 75% of the cases, 25% due to a parent's death.

The family members currently residing at home is presented in Appendix B, Table 8. The average prostitute group member's family consisted of step-father and natural mother, 1.75

brothers and 2.2 sisters (including the subject). For the 'At-Risk' group it consists of step-father, natural mother, 1.4 brothers and 2.4 sisters (including the subject).

The relationships to mother and father were categorized as bad, all right, or good. The median relationship to father was between bad and all right for both groups. Median relationship to mother was all right for the at-risk group and slightly higher for the prostitute group. See Appendix B, Tables 9 and 10 for a full description of family relationships.

Affection was reported to be displayed at home in 33% of the prostitute families and 25% of the 'At-Risk' families. Frequent (over 3 per week) arguments were reported in 92% of the prostitute families and 67% of the 'At-Risk' families. This was found to be not significant.

Overall the indices of family life of any of these girls are clear. It is far from the idealized happy family. There is little affection and frequent arguments. The family has likely gone through a separation.

Socio-Economic Status

No attempt was made to put the subjects in a social class category. Three variables were investigated and two will be reported. Family income will not be reported as the subjects did not know the amount of family income.

Occupations were rated based on the S.V.P. The median occupation for group 1 fathers was classification 4 (more than 3 months, less than 6 months) and for group 1 mothers midway between none and short demonstration only. The median occupation of group 2 fathers was midway between classifications 4 and 5, which is more than 6 months and less than 1 year preparation. Group 2 mothers fell in the same position as group 1 mothers which is midway between no preparation and short demonstration only. Appendix B, Tables 11 and 12 represents these findings. Median education of fathers for both groups falls in Grade 10 or under. Median education of mothers of both groups fell between grade 10 and grade 12. Appendix B, Tables 13 and 14 represents the parental education findings.

Delinquency History

The prostitute group was found to have a delinquency record in 83% of the members. Fifty percent of the at-risk group had delinquency records. No significant difference exists between the two groups on that variable.

However the prostitute group reported significantly more severe delinquencies based on a hierarchical order of delinquencies published by the F.B.I. Crime Reports. See Table V for these results.

Table V

Severity of Prosecuted Delinquency

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Status offence		1
Shoplifting	2	3
Drug offense	1	1
Prostitution	1	
Theft under \$200		
Theft over \$200	2	1
Breaking and entering	1	
Auto theft	1	
Assault	3	
	N = 11	6

U=17 p<.05

When asked if they were currently delinquent, 67% of group 1 and 42% of group 2 reported yes. There was no significant difference in hierarchy of delinquencies of current delinquency (See Appendix B, Table 15).

These girls all had left home, mostly as runaways, by the time they were interviewed. All of the 'At-Risk' girls reported being runaways at times in their life, the average being 14.583

runs (S.D. = 20.02). Number of group 2 runs ranged from 2 to 75. Ninety percent of the prostitute group reported being runaways, while one member of the group claimed she always told her parents that she was leaving hence wasn't a runaway. The average number of group 1 runs was 20.67 (S.D. = 19.199) with a range of 0-60 runs. Appendix B, Table 16 represents number of runaway experiences.

Appendix B, Table 17 depicts the distance run by both groups of girls. Median run for both groups was over 500 miles and less than 1500 miles.

A number of choices of how to support themselves exists for these runaway girls. They solicited support from friends, extended family, boyfriend, strangers, prostitution or a job. Appendix B, Table 18 represents the two groups means of support. The modal means of support for group 1 was prostitution and for group 2 was friends.

Most of the girls in both groups stayed with friends while they were on the run. Other living situations reported were renting a place, extended family, boyfriend, strangers and sleeping outside. Appendix B, Table 19 represents the breakdown of place to stay by group.

No significant differences exist between groups in their runaway history. They are all part of a large population of adolescents who for social, psychological or relationship reasons choose to runaway from their home and choose another

means of support.

Drug history is presented in Table VI. The number of each group members who stated that they had used that particular drug in the one month period before the interview is reported.

Table VI

Drug History

Did you use this drug in the last month?	Prostitute	At-Risk
---	------------	---------

Alcohol	7	9
Tobacco	11	12
Marijuana	6	9
Hallucinogens	1	6
Narcotics	0	0
Amphetamines	2	2
Cocaine	0	2
Barbituates	1	3
Solvents	0	1

$p > .05$ in all cases

Antecedent Factors

The average age of first intercourse for the prostitute group was 12.667 years (S.D. = 1.497 years). For the 'At-Risk' group it was 12.75 years (S.D. = 1.138 years). All the girls

reported having had sexual intercourse. Seventy-five percent of group 1 and 67% of group 2 reported not enjoying that first experience of intercourse. (See Appendix B, Table 20).

Seventy-five percent of the prostitute group reported having been molested at an average age of 11.5 years. Fifty percent of the 'At-Risk' group reported being molested at a significantly older age, 13.2 years. The data were tested via the Mann-Whitney test because of skewedness. Table VII represents age of molestation.

Table VII

Age of Molestation

Age	Prostitute	At-Risk
7	1	
10	1	
11	2	
12	2	
13	2	4
15	1	1
16		
N =	9	5

U=4 p<.05

The molesters represented a broad range of possibilities which Table VIII will describe. The molesters were either a common-law parent, nuclear family member, extended family member, friend or stranger.

Table VIII

Relationship of Molester

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Step or Common-Law Parent	2	1
Nuclear Family		1
Extended Family	2	
Friend		1
Stranger	2	2
Would not say	3	
N =	9	5

chi square=3.18 df=4 p>.05

All the girls reported having needed money, and having no conventional means of support. Primarily they were runaways with no means of support. All girls had been solicited. They all had known a prostitute as at least an acquaintance. 92% of the prostitute group reported having prostitutes as friends. This was significantly more prostitute friends than acquaintances than the 'At-Risk' girls of whom 58% reported having prostitute friends. This factor seems to be solely the only discriminating 'turning out' factor that this study identifies. Table IX presents these findings.

Table IX .

Are the juvenile prostitutes you know your friends or just acquaintances?

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Friends	10	7
Acquaintances	1	5
N =	11	12

chi square=4.59 df=1 p<.05

Local Prostitution

When asked to state what area of town juvenile prostitution was most common, Davie Street was cited by 67% of the prostitute group and 83% of the 'At-Risk' group. The prostitute group also named skid row in 25% of the cases and clubs downtown 8%. The 'At-Risk' group also added Granville or Hastings streets to Davie street in 17% of the cases. All of these girls knew where juvenile prostitution occurred, hence the 'At-Risk' group could easily find their way to those areas if they decided to observe the action on the street.

A major factor of entrance into juvenile prostitution is knowing other juveniles involved. It has already been shown that the prostitute group has closer relationships (ie more

prostitute friends than acquaintances). The data also reveal that the prostitute group knew significantly more male prostitutes (M = 9.583; S.D. = 5.534) than the 'At-Risk' group (M = 5.333, S.D. = 11.260). The prostitute group concurrently knew significantly more female prostitutes (M = 25.583; S.D. = 24.325) than the 'At-Risk' group (M = 8.417; S.D. = 10.833). Both data sets were significant on the Mann-Whitney test as the ordinal data was very skewed. (See Tables X and XI).

Table X

Male Prostitutes Known

	Prostitute	At-Risk
0		5
1	1	2
3	1	1
5	1	1
6	2	1
8		1
10	1	
12	4	
16	1	
20	1	
40		1
N	12	12

U=23

p<.01

Table XI

Female Prostitutes Known

	Prostitute	At-Risk
0-5		6
6-10	1	4
11-15	4	1
16-20	2	
21-25	3	
26-50	1	1
50 or more	1	
N	12	12

U=25 p<.05

Both groups were asked how much a prostitute charged the customer and for how long. This information was gathered not only to get a base rate from the involved group but to see if the 'At-Risk' group really had an accurate understanding of the socio-cultural conditions of juvenile prostitution in Vancouver. It is very clear that a juvenile can make a lot of money in this trade if they work hard at it. In response to a question of their frequency in hooking on the streets, the mean frequency stated by the prostitute group was 2.583 days per week that they

worked. Appendix B, Table 21 indicates the range. There was a monumental range in length of time that members of the prostitute group stated they had been involved in the life. The minimal time was 2 days and the maximum 2 years, with the mean being 230.083 days (S.D. = 224.776)

Pimps were involved in the lives of the girls of both groups. Fifty percent of each group reported having had a relationship with a pimp. However The 'At-Risk' group had no business or romantic relationships with the pimps they knew. Hence they could all be considered acquaintances rather than friends or boyfriends. The prostitute group on the other hand who had a relationship with a pimp carried that business/romantic relationship between 3 days and 3 months, the average being 46 days. Of the six juvenile prostitutes who had relationships with a pimp 4 gave 100% of their money to them in return for room and board, drugs, clothes, transportation, love and physical abuse. Hence it is clear that there is a group of people in the city who prey on these young ladies of the night.

Of all the juvenile prostitutes only one had been supervised in her trade. That training lasted 3 months. Therefore it is a very naive group of girls who are walking the streets, soliciting their customers and delivering the services asked of them.

The most commonly cited reason for the girls to enter into prostitution is the need for the money for their survival. This

reason was given as the sole reason in 42% of the cases. It was one of the reasons in another 42% of the cases. Psychological needs such as wanting to be loved and held were given in one case by a subject who had spent considerable time in psychotherapy. Status of being well dressed, chased by men and living in a fancy hotel was given in one case. Two of the prostitutes gave 'curious about it' as an initial reason for trying it. One of the girls said she was too lazy for any other type of work. One gave liking sex as a reason. Lastly two of the girls stated that the boyfriend they were living with made them do it.

Another area looked at in the prostitutes' lives is why they left or would leave the life. Three girls stated as their only reason that they would stop hooking when they didn't need the money. One girl combined no need of money and being disgusted with the life. One girl stated disgust with the life as her sole reason for stopping. Another girl combined disgust with a fear of men she had learned as a result of her prostitute activities. Another young lady's reason was that she had become happy and adjusted in her life hence was disgusted with hooking. Simple happiness and adjustment was another's reason for quitting. One very abused girl quit because of the bad abusive experience and being 'burned out' by the life. On the other hand one prostitute said she would never leave the life. The majority of the girls then had an awareness of the job dissatisfactions.

One third of them would turn to prostitution only when life events forced them into making money and who desist when those life events took a turn for the better.

Concurrent with being more severely delinquent and being prostitutes ,that group had been incarcerated in a juvenile detention centre to a significant degree in more cases and longer in those cases. Group 1 girls had been incarcerated in 67% of the cases an average of 68 days. Group 2 girls had been incarcerated in only 25% of the cases on an average of 14 days. (See Table XII and XIII).

Table XII.

Were you ever incarcerated in a Juvenile Detention Home?

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Yes	8	3
No	4	9
N	12	12

chi square=4.36 df=1 p<.05

Table XIII

How many days have you spent in a Juvenile Detention Home?

Days	Prostitute	At-Risk
1	1	1
14		1
27		1
30	1	
49	1	
over 100	4	
N	7	3

t=3.05 df=8 p<.02

Intervention History

The lives of these girls were filled with professional and para-professionals trying to initiate some interventions. No attempt was made to determine the form of the intervention. They could be outlined from the text books on social work, corrections, child care, counselling and psychiatry. Essentially

this study found that a unique non-co-ordinated multi-disciplinary intervention package was created in each situation.

Three questions were asked of each subject. Had they had a social worker, probation officer, one to one worker, child welfare worker or other, and for how long? Accordingly for each area they had had a worker, was that relationship bad, all right or good? Table XIV represents the answers to all these questions. The only significant difference between groups was Probation Officer involvement which is concurrent with significant severity of delinquency and incarceration variables.

Table XIV

Intervention

Have you ever had one of the following professionals involved in your life?

	Prostitutes	At Risk
Social Worker	10	11
* Probation Officer	9	4
One to One Worker	3	5
Child Care Worker	6	6
Psychologist/Psychiatrist	4	4

*chi square=4.36 df=1 p<.05

Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory (SEI)

Items that were positively checked (indicative of high self-esteem) were given 2 points. Negatively checked and the eight lie scale items were scored 0. Therefore, each subject achieved a score out of a possible 100. Coopersmith's scale has never been standardized and norms published. Therefore the scores are relative to each other within groups. The mean prostitute group SEI score was 42 (S.D. = 13.856). The range of

scores was from 20 to 60. The mean 'At-Risk' group SEI score was 58 (S.D. = 19.05). The range of scores of group 2 was from 22 to 90. The group 2 scores were significantly higher in self-esteem on both a t - test ($p < .001$) and the Mann-Whitney test.

(See Table XV).

Table XV

Range of Self-Esteem Inventory Scores

Score	Prostitute	At-Risk
20	2	
22		1
32	1	
38	3	1
40	1	
42		1
50		1
52	2	2
54	1	
60	2	
62		1
66		1
70		1
74		1
78		1
90		1
N =	12	12

t=9.41 df=22 p<.001

Synopsis

The two groups, prostitute and 'At-Risk' show no significant differences on Race, School Attendance, Work History, Mobility, Socio-Economic Status, Family Background, Runaway History, Antecedents to Prostitution, or most of the Intervention History. The prostitute group was different in a number of perhaps related ways. They were older, fewer had belonged to clubs, were more severe in their delinquencies, had been incarcerated in more cases and for a longer period, had had a probation officer in more cases for a longer period, had been sexually molested at a younger age, knew more prostitutes more likely as friends than acquaintances and had a lower self-esteem rating.

Case Studies

Two case studies will reveal typical profiles of participants in the study. The first to be presented is Diane, a girl who at the time of the interview was fourteen, had not been involved in prostitution but as defined by this study was 'At-Risk'. The second case study is of Janice who was sixteen at the time of the interview and had been involved in prostitution for one year.

Diane

Date of Birth: May 20, 1964. Age at Time of Interview: 14 years, 11 months.

Sources of Information:

1. personal interview
2. observation by group home staff
3. reports from social worker.

Diane is young looking for a girl of almost 15 years. She is 5 ft. 2 in. tall and very slightly built, weighing about 100 lbs. She has shoulder length light brown hair and a very palour complexion. She does not keep herself very well groomed, most of the time leaving her hair unbrushed and wearing very baggy, dirty clothes. Only occassionally would she tidy and dress herself fashionably. The overall picture of Diane is that of being tom*boyish.

Predisposing 'At*Risk' Conditions

Diane was staying at the crisis shelter at the time of the interview. She had turned herself in to Emergency Services after living for a month with her boyfriend. The boyfriend had intercourse with another girl in their hotel room bed while she slept on the floor. Hence Diane was very traumatized at intake

into the crisis shelter.

Diane had runaway from her father's home most recently because of fights about not attending school and having parties while he was out. She spent the month away from home with her boyfriend taking a lot of L.S.D. Diane made no attempts to contact her family during that period and when she went to Emergency Services she was still very definitely opposed to returning home.

Diane's problem with school attendance continued while she was at the crisis shelter. She was enrolled in an alternate school but came up with constant excuses to leave or occasionally would just not attend. Diane was working on grade nine work and hadn't failed any of her years but she did not enjoy school and its structure.

While she had been a runaway Diane stated that she supported herself by being a waitress and later a flower seller. Diane claimed she made \$140 a week working 5 days a week as a waitress. She left that job after one week to become a flower seller making \$40 a night working two nights a week. Diane is a very resourceful young lady with many skills for surviving while being a runaway.

Soccer and skating had been important activities in her pre-teen years. She was proud of these abilities and the figure-skating trophy she had won. Additionally, Diane had an award for her safety patrol involvement.

Diane was born and raised in Vancouver. She had grown up in one residence until her parents divorced when she was eight. Since then she had lived mostly with her father in four different residences. At times she had gone to live with her mother for short periods. Diane had stayed in nine different residences in the past year as a result of frequently running away from home. She had lived in the crisis shelter for three weeks at the time of the interview.

Diane's father is reported to be a micro-wave technician having learned his skill in night school. Her mother is a receptionist with a grade 13 education. She lived primarily with her father and 16 year old brother. Her relationship to her father was reported by her to be bad with no warmth or affection and frequent arguments at home. Her brother and her got along well but he was not a positive influence on her because of his amphetamine habit. They frequently had parties when their father was out for the evening.

Diane had no delinquency record although she admitted to a history of shoplifting, breaking and entering houses and selling drugs. She reported running away from home 13 or 14 times, going as far as Edmonton on one occasion. She would find a place to stay by meeting people and being invited to stay.

Drugs were a predominant part of Diane's lifestyle. In the month prior to the interview she reported drinking alcohol sixteen times, smoking marijuana 20 times, taking LSD 20 times,

cocaine 6 or 7 times and barbituates 3 times. Additionally Diane is a heavy cigarette smoker.

Diane had a social worker for 1 1/2 years and saw the relationship as good. She had a one to one counsellor for one month and saw that relationship as bad. She had had a counsellor at the crisis shelter for 3 weeks and considered the relationship to be good.

Diane scored 50 on the SEI scale (mean for that group is 58 S.D. = 19) so she falls in the moderate self-esteem range. Hence Diane clearly fits many of the predisposing 'At-Risk' conditions. The social control factors have been very weak in her life.

Turning Out Conditions

Intercourse was first tried by Diane at age 13 and she did not enjoy it then. Later that year she had forced sexual intercourse with a friend of her boyfriend whom she knew before the assault. She did not seem greatly disturbed by the incident never considering to press charges. Diane reported having been solicited while she was a runaway but never taking money or other payment for being in a sex act. She knew 8 or 9 male juveniles and 3 or 4 female juveniles involved in prostitution. She considered a number of them to be friends rather than acquaintances. She also had some friends who were pimps. Diane

knew accurately where and for how much prostitution occurs. The 'turning-out' conditions are present in Diane's life to the same extent as a juvenile prostitute. However she has made a decision not to enter into prostitution.

Maintenance Conditions

By her social history Diane is pinpointed as being extremely 'At-Risk' of entering into prostitution. It is only her self-esteem level and correspondingly the fact that she turned herself in for help that would allow any hopeful prognosis. It is perhaps her style more to direct her negative energies mostly into drug abuse and rebelling against authority and controls (school, group home, father). She gets a lot of adult attention, albeit negative, for these activities from her parents and agency workers. There is also a modicum of belongingness to the group of teens at the crisis shelter who are involved in drug abuse and rebellion.

Janice

Date of Birth: December 14, 1961. Age at Time of Interview:
16 yrs. 8 months.

Sources of Information:

1. personal interview
2. observation by group home staff

3. reports from social worker.

Janice is a heavy set, dark featured caucasian teenager. She is 5 ft. 6 in. tall and wights 140 lbs. She has dark brown shoulder length curly hair parted down the middle. Her most distinctive feature is a round face with a smile almost always there and dark, twinkling eyes. Janice dresses in jeans and t-shirts and wears the same jean jacket most of the time. Although overweight Janice is attractive, mostly because of her facial features.

Predisposing 'At-Risk' Conditions

At the time of the interview Janice was at the Emergency Services office. She had been picked up on a breach of probation order. A month earlier she had run away from a Ministry of Human Resources treatment centre. In that month Janice had supported herself by prostituting and had been staying at a girl-friend's apartment. Prior to the treatment centre Janice had lived off and on with her mother, in the crisis shelter and with her father for the past year. Breakdowns in her living situation with mother and father had occurred because Janice did not heed any sort of rules, choosing to do as she wished, whenever she wished. Janice precipitated a severe crisis on three different occasions by claiming that a close male friend of the parent she was living with at the time had raped her in her sleep. These

stories were investigated each time and disclaimed by the alleged perpetrator. This behavior led to her referral and subsequent residency at the treatment centre.

Janice would attend an alternate school when not a runaway. She claims to like school and be doing grade 10 work. She had not been in school for the past month as she would have been arrested if she showed up.

The only job Janice reported having was babysitting. A negligible income was obtained as she did not work very often.

Janice was born and raised in Vancouver living with either her father or her mother. She had lived for the past five months in the treatment centre. Prior to that she had lived as previously mentioned on and off at mother's, father's or the crisis shelter.

Janice had absolutely no involvement with clubs, sports or community activities in her past.

Mother has a grade 10 education having left high school at 16 because she was pregnant with Janice. Mother had been on social assistance for twelve years since she separated from Janice's father. Father has a grade 12 education and is a successful contractor.

There had been a number of other men in Janice's mother's life, one of whom is the father of a younger half-sister of Janice. Janice's sister was five at the time of the interview. Janice always referred to the men who had lived common-law with

her mother as 'Uncle'. It was one of these 'uncles' that was an alleged rapist in one of Janice's stories.

Janice got along well with mother. Mother and daughter shared intimacies about their lives and displayed warmth and affection to one another. Janice reports there weren't arguments at home because she left to avoid them.

Janice was on probation for a car theft. She continued doing delinquencies, specifically, breaking and entering stores and prostituting.

Janice had been very heavily into drugs in her month on her own just prior to the interview. She had alcohol and marijuana and some hallucinogens (L.S.D. or psilocybin) everyday. Janice also smoked a pack of cigarettes a day.

Many modes of intervention were attempted in Janice's life. Social Workers had been involved in her life for 4 years. She considered the relationship in all cases to be bad. She also had a bad relationship with her probation officer. Janice had been incarcerated in the juvenile detention centre seven times, for a week on each occasion. Janice reports seeing a psychiatrist for 10 years and that it was a satisfactory situation.

Her S.E.I. score was 52. That puts her in a moderate range which is higher than average for her group (group 1 mean = 42 S.D. = 13).

Janice's life has had very weak conditions that lead to social control. Family and community factors are especially

tenuous in her history. Her self-attitude is the one positive factor.

Turning Out Conditions

Janice first tried intercourse at 12 and she didn't enjoy it the first time but did thereafter. She reports being sexually molested at age 12 by a stranger while she was a runaway. Janice reports having been solicited and having taken money for being in a sex act. She has been prostituting on and off for a year. Turning to prostitution was reported as resulting from a need for money and because a friend told her to try it. She had 12 male and 11 female juvenile prostitute friends.

Janice had run away from her living situation at least 20 times. The furthest she ran to was Ontario. She would support herself by prostituting or breaking and entering or living with a friend's mother. During most of her travels, though, she stayed at hotels.

Hence Janice made the decision to enter into prostitution when the opportunity arose. All the conditions were present to predispose her to prostitution and then for her to 'turn out'.

Maintenance Conditions

Janice worked seven nights a week every other week. She was earning \$50.00 a trick and doing two to four a night. She had

money to spend freely on clothes, drugs, hotels, taxis and friends.

There had been a pimp involved in Janice's life for three days. He provided clothes and transportation. She gave him 100% of her take after the first night.

Janice views prostitution as an easy life and enjoys the company of the people involved. However she reports she would leave the life of prostitution because 'it is cheap work' as soon as she is happy in a living situation.

Janice's life had been in turmoil continuously for the past year. No intervention seemed to be taking her from a very hedonistic life-style. The prognosis for Janice seems fraught with self-destructiveness and an unwillingness to change that direction. This is an example of one of the cases that may make the reader truly aware of the despair in the lives of these girls who prostitute themselves on Davie Street.

IV. Discussion

The data supports the hypothesis that the populations of 'At-Risk' and prostitute juveniles have equally had a number of life experiences which weaken their ties to conventional society. Although no comparison was made with a sample of juveniles who had not been involved in unconventional activities, the evidence stands by itself from what every day experience tells us about conventional juveniles. By definition conventional juveniles stay and finish school. They are not involved in the juvenile courts for delinquencies. They do not come to counsellors' attention for being sexually molested. Rather they are the silent majority that are rarely the focus of either the media or the researcher. Therefore, the claim that these two groups have fewer and weaker ties with conventional society than conventional juveniles is supported prima facie by the data.

Both populations sampled receive very limited amounts of social reinforcement for conventional activities as was also hypothesized. This fact is, of course, highly correlated to the lack of conventional ties within society. They have fewer opportunities to receive social reinforcers and are not successful at obtaining those that are available within their

scope of conventional activities.

Self-esteem was found to be significantly lower in the prostitute group rather than higher as hypothesized. These results directly contradict Kaplan's theory of self-esteem in delinquents. What the results do indicate is that those juveniles who think least highly of themselves are most highly involved in deviant activities such as prostitution. Those juveniles with a greater sense of self worth are not involved in prostitution. Perhaps it is a result of their self concept, but on the other hand it is possible that as they grew older, as the prostitution group members are, they become involved in prostitution and their self concept decreases. Answering the causality question in this type of research, however, is difficult.

Earlier this study indicated that there are a number of questions unanswered about juvenile prostitution that need attention. This study has attempted to fill in this lack of data. The results will be reported in this section to answer those questions to the degree the data allows.

What factors lead a juvenile into prostitution?

The whole life of the juvenile prostitute indicates a certain sequence of events leading to prostitution. They have a lack of ties to conventional society (family, school, work and

community activities). Lower self-esteem develops, compared to other juveniles who lack conventional societal ties. They are likely to have been sexually molested at an early age, again even a more drastic situation than those 'at-risk', for the molestation occurs in both populations but at an earlier age in the prostitute group. These factors having been present in their lives the juveniles start engaging in deviant activities of law-breaking, drug use, early sexual experience and running away. Having engaged in this lifestyle they are introduced to the world and lifestyle of prostitution. They come under pressure to engage in the prostitution lifestyle from pimps, acquaintances, friends or potential customers. At this point they have arrived at the entrance point. The more deviant adolescents enter and the less deviant don't. The degree of deviance is related to their self-perception (lower self-esteem) and external factors which label them deviants. This is a label that they soon accept. The external factors are more serious delinquencies, greater time and frequency incarcerated, greater probation officer time and frequency, and earlier age of sexual molestation.

A possible chronological explanation exists which demands further investigation. The early sexual molestation (mean = 11.5 years) may have been associated with the other factors of deviance. The victimized pre-adolescent likely carries intense feelings of being different from her peers, probably feels

guilty and labelled as being different (deviant) because of her situation. The label of deviance would lead to the lower self-esteem and more severe delinquencies. Longitudinal studies of molested pre-adolescent girls could investigate this possibility.

What is their family and social history?

These girls in this study have a low socio-economic status background. Their families have been broken up by separation or death. There is little affection displayed and frequent arguments occur in the family life. They have been very mobile especially in this period of their life, having lived in an average of 11 different residences in the year previous to the interview. They have had an unsuccessful school career. Clubs and community activities have been a part of less than half of the prostitute group, while almost all of the 'At-Risk' group had had this involvement. The majority of club and community activities occurred when these girls were at an early age. Since the 'At-Risk' group were much more frequently involved in these type of activities than the prostitute group, it might be that this is an important indicator of early, conventional social reinforcement. It is unclear, however, why some of the prostitute group reported this kind of early activities and still wound up in prostitution, if the social reinforcement

hypothesis is tenable. Perhaps the quality of these activities is crucial. Unfortunately data are not available in this study to adequately answer this question.

What other delinquent activities are they involved in?

The girls reported that they had been arrested for delinquencies ranging from shoplifting and drug possession charges to breaking and entering and assault. The prostitute group girls reported having been involved in more serious delinquencies to a significant degree. This delinquency variable is associated with the psychological variable self-esteem being lower. This suggests that perhaps when self-esteem is lower the internal controls and concern about the external controls have decreased, thus predisposing the juvenile to delinquencies.

What are the socio-cultural norms of juvenile prostitution?

The majority of juveniles are introduced into prostitution by a friend who may in some cases be a pimp but it is most likely to be another prostitute. A juvenile initially enters into prostitution for the need of money and are usually runaway from home or a M.H.R. placement. They are usually not supervised or trained into the life but learn the trade on the job. The price charged ranges from \$20 to \$1000 for the females with the average reported being \$87. The girls were on the street an

average of 2.58 days per week. The spectrum in the time they stay involved is very broad ranging from 2 days to 2 years.

Pimps are involved at some point in their career in half the cases reported. Most of these pimps were considered by the girls to be their boyfriends.

Implications

The factors outlined in this study indicate that there are many juveniles 'at-risk' of entering into prostitution in Vancouver. Emergency Services picked up 2,231 juveniles in the first 10 months of 1978 (Levens and Rowe, 1979). These plus the many hundred juveniles in M.H.R. placements potentially encompass the 'predisposing at-risk conditions.' When an 'At-Risk' juvenile is exposed to the turning out conditions the risk is increased even more. The influence of a juvenile prostitute on an 'at-risk' juvenile can be a major determining factor on the entrance into the life. Juveniles come into contact with adolescents who have been involved in prostitution when they are in many of the M.H.R. placements.

Intervention was attempted in the lives of all the juveniles sampled. Social workers, probation officers, child welfare workers and occasionally private psychotherapists were involved in the treatment process. Information is lacking, of course, on the successful intervention because those juveniles

were not in the situations lending them to be available to be interviewed for this study. But there are some juveniles that are not being successfully treated by the intervention offered. Crucial times in the lives of these juveniles are indicated by the data of this study. Intervention could be introduced at these times for those children who are identified to be 'at risk'. The earliest intervention suggested by the data would consist of strengthening relationships of the child to the family, the school and community activities.

Intervention is crucial in all cases of sexual abuse of children. The identification and treatment of this problem is a growing field in practice and literature and may well deter the number of girls who might later engage in prostitution from doing so.

Limitations

The results and implications of this study are tempered by a few design problems. The number of subjects available for interviewing is small and as such the power of the statistical tests is weakened. The statistics, however, were chosen with this fact in consideration.

There is no comparison with a group of 'normal' adolescents. This would have complicated the procedure to get normative data on Vancouver juveniles and a number of common

sense assumptions were made in place of the lack of data.

The age variable could not be controlled and affected the comparability of the groups. The prostitute group was significantly older than the 'At-Risk' group.

Self report information such as as was collected in this study has limited reliability. The participants, however, are the only available source of information so their statements are taken prima facie. The generalizability to other juvenile prostitute and 'At-Risk' populations is limited by the lack of random sampling for this study. Participants were interviewed from very specific populations and do not fully represent the total population accurately. There are presumably some juveniles who do not ever come into contact with social agencies. This 'street' population was not adequately sampled in this study.

In conclusion the findings of this study empirically correlated a number of variables to entrance into juvenile prostitution. The social control and social reinforcement theories are shown to be empirically valid. The study also indicated a sequential model of entrance into juvenile prostitution differentiating between 'at-risk' and prostitute group juveniles. Although limited by the small sample available some important implications are supported and are suggestive of directions for future research.

Appendix A

Questionnaire and
Self-Esteem Inventory

Questionnaire

Date _____

Length of Interview:

Interviewer _____

Starting _____

Ending _____

1) Sex - M F

2) Age - _____ yrs.

D.O.B. - ___/___/___.

3) Racial Origin - _____.

4) Education - Do you attend school - yes no

How regularly - ___ hrs./day; ___ days/wk.

What grade are you in/were you last in - gd. ____.

Do you enjoy school - yes no

5) Work History - Do you have a job - yes no

What is it - _____ skilled _____

What job(s) have you had _____ Semi-skilled _____

un-skilled _____

What is your present or last income _____/wk.

6) Mobility - Were you born and/or raised in Greater Vancouver

municipality - _____ yes no

How long have you lived here _____.

Who do you live with _____.

How long have you lived in your present residence

_____.

How many places have you lived in the past year

_____.

7) Socio-Economic Status

father's occupation _____.

mother's occupation _____.

estimated income _____/yr.

father's education level _____.

mother's education level _____.

8) Family Background

Are your natural parents divorced or seperated. yes no

Composition of family at present: father, step-father,
mother, step-mother, brothers _____, sisters _____.

others _____.

Is relationship to father bad allright good

" " " " bad allright good

Is warmth or affection displayed at home yes no

Are there frequent (>3/wk) arguments at home yes no

9) Social History

Do you belong to any clubs, organized committees yes no
(including gangs) _____.

Have you had recognition for any accomplishments yes no

10) Delinquency History

Do you have an arrest record yes no

What for _____.

Do you engage in delinquent activities yes no

What activities _____.

Have you ever run away from home yes no

How many times _____.

What was the furthest _____.

How did you support yourself:

Where did you stay _____.

Do you use drugs? alcohol _____/mo.

tobacco _____/mo.

marijuana, hash _____/mo.

hallucinogens _____/mo.

narcotics _____/mo.

amphetamines _____/mo.

How many per day _____.

Are you currently engaged in prostitution yes no

How long a prostitute _____.

Frequency on the street _____ days/wk _____.

Were you/are you supervised or trained yes no

For how long _____.

How much money on you now, show me \$ _____.

Why did you become a prostitute?

Have you a relationship with a pimp yes no

Have you ever worked with another pimp yes no

Length of time with pimp _____.

% of money given to pimp _____.

Support given by pimp _____.

12) Relationships

Have you maintained contact with family yes no

How is the contact with family bad alright good

friends bad alright good

tricks bad alright good

13) Intervention History

Have you ever had a:

Social Worker _____ bad alright good

how long _____

Probation Officer _____ bad alright good

how long _____

1-1 Worker _____

bad allright good

how long _____

Child Welfare

Resource Worker _____

bad allright good

how long _____

Other _____

bad allright good

how long _____

Incarceration ever _____

How long _____

Reasons for leaving the life of prostitution

Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI)

Please mark each statement in the following way: If the statement describes how you usually feel, put a check mark in the column, "Like Me." If the statement does not describe how you usually feel, put a check mark in the column "Unlike Me." There are no right or wrong answers.

	Like Me	Unlike me
1. I spend a lot of time daydreaming.	_____	_____
2. I'm pretty sure of myself.	_____	_____
3. I often wish I were someone else.	_____	_____
4. I'm easy to like.	_____	_____
5. My parents and I have a lot of fun together.	_____	_____
6. I never worry about anything.	_____	_____

7. I find it very hard to talk in front of the class. _____
8. I wish I were younger. _____
9. There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could. _____
10. I can make up my mind without too much trouble. _____
11. I'm a lot of fun to be with. _____
12. I get upset easily at home. _____
13. I always do the right thing. _____
14. I'm proud of my school work. _____
15. Someone always has to tell me what to do. _____
16. It takes me a long time to get used to anything new. _____

17. I'm often sorry for the things
I do.

18. I'm popular with kids my own age.

19. My parents usually consider my
feelings.

20. I'm never unhappy.

21. I'm doing the best work that I can.

22. I give in very easily.

23. I can usually take care of myself.

24. I'm pretty happy.

25. I would rather play with children
younger than me.

26. My parents expect too much of me.

27. I like everyone I know.

28. I like to be called on in class.

29. I understand myself.

30. It's pretty tough to be me.

31. Things are all mixed up in my life.

32. Kids usually follow my ideas.

33. No one pays much attention to me
at home.

34. I never get scolded.

35. I'm not doing as well in school
as I'd like to.

36. I can make up my mind and stick
to it.

37. I really don't like being a boy
girl.

38. I have a low opinion of myself. _____

39. I don't like to be with other
people. _____

40. There are many times when I'd
like to leave home. _____

41. I'm never shy. _____

42. I often feel upset in school. _____

43. I often feel ashamed of myself. _____

44. I'm not as nice looking as most
people. _____

45. If I have something to say, I
usually say it. _____

46. Kids pick on me very often. _____

47. My parents understand me. _____

48. I always tell the truth.

49. My teacher makes me feel I'm
not good enough.

50. I don't care what happens to me.

51. I'm a failure.

52. I get upset easily when I'm
scolded.

53. Most people are better liked
than I am.

54. I usually feel as if my parents are
pushing me.

55. I always know what to say to
people.

56. I often get discouraged in school.

57. Things usually don't bother me.

58. I can't be depended on.

Scoring

The S.E.I. is scored by giving two points to any item checked in a positive direction. The "lie" scale items are scored separately and given one point for each item scored in a "lie" direction.

Appendix B

Raw Data for Non-significant Statistical Tests

Raw Data for Non-significant Statistical Tests

Table 1

Race

Race	Prostitutes	At-Risk
Caucasian	8	5
East Indian		1
Native Indian	3	5
Caucasian/Native Indian	1	1
N =	12	12

Table 2

School Attendance

	Prostitutes	At-Risk
Do you attend school?		
Yes	8	9
No	4	3
N	12	12

Table 3

Grade

		Prostitute	At-Risk
Grade	7		1
	3	3	1
	9	3	5
	10	3	4
	11	1	
	12		1
	N	10	12

Table 4

Do you enjoy school?

	Yes	6	8
	No	6	4
	N	12	12

Table 5

Specific Vocation Preparation

Preparation	Prostitute	At-Risk
short demonstration only	1	1
up to 30 days	9	6
up to 3 months	2	4
up to 6 months		
up to 1 year		
up to 2 years		
up to 4 years		
up to 10 years		
over 10 years		
N	12	11

Table 6

Number Residences in the Last Year

	Prostitute	At-Risk
0-5	7	6
5-10	3	4
10-15		2
15-30	1	
30-55	1	

N	12	12
---	----	----

Table 7

Length of Residency at Current Residence

	Prostitutes	At-Risk
less than 1 week	3	3
up to 1 month	2	4
up to 3 months	4	1
up to 6 months		2
up to 1 year	1	
up to 5 years	2	1
over 5 years		
N	12	12

Table 8

Composition of Family at Present

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Father	5	5
Step-Father	7	6
Mother	9	10
Step-Mother	3	1
Brothers (average no.)	1.75	1.417
Sisters (average no.)	1.167	1.417
Others	1	1

Table 9

Relationship to Father

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Bad	3	4
All Right	5	3
Good	1	4
N	9	11

Table 10

Relationship to Mother

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Bad	3	2
All Right	5	8
Good	4	2
N	12	12

Table 11

Specific Vocational Preparation of Father

	Prostitutes	At-Risk
short demonstration only or welfare		
up to 30 days		
up to 3 months		
up to 6 months	2	1
up to 1 year	3	3
up to 2 years	2	1
up to 4 years		2
up to 10 years	2	3
over 10 years	1	
	N	
	10	10

Table 12

Specific Vocational Preparation of Mother

	Prostitute	At-Risk
short demonstration only or welfare	8	6
up to 30 days		1
up to 3 months	1	1
up to 6 months		1
up to 1 year	1	2
up to 2 years		
up to 4 years	2	
up to 10 years		1
over 10 years		
	N	
	12	12

Table 13

Educational Level of Father

	Prostitute	At-Risk
up to grade 6	2	2
up to grade 10	5	2
up to grade 12	1	1
special courses		1
vocational certificate	2	
college diploma	1	2
university degree		
graduate degree		
N	11	8

Table 14

Educational Level of Mother

	Prostitute	At-Risk
up to grade 6	2	1
up to grade 10	4	4
up to grade 12	3	2
special courses	2	2
vocational certificate		
college diploma		1
university degree		
graduate degree		
N	11	10

Table 15

Severity of Current Delinquency

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Status offence		
Shoplifting		2
Drug offense	1	1
Prostitution	4	
Theft under \$200	2	
Theft over \$200		
Breaking and entering		1
Auto theft		2
Assault		
	N =	7
		6

Table 16

Number of Times Runaway

No. of Runs	Prostitute	At-Risk
0	1	
1	1	
2	1	2
3		1
5	1	2
10		3
13		1
15	2	
20	2	2
30	2	
50	1	
60	1	
75		
N	12	12

Table 17

Furthest Distance Run

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Within Greater Vancouver Area	3	4
Up to 50 miles		
Up to 500 miles	3	3
Up to 1500 miles	3	5
Over 1500 miles	2	
N	11	12

Table 18

Means of Support While a Runaway

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Friends	2	6
Prostitution	5	
Extended Family		1
Boyfriend	2	2
Strangers	2	1
Job	1	2
N =	12	12

Table 19

Where Did You Stay While a Runaway

	Prostitute	At-Risk
Friends	6	7
Rented Place	1	1
Extended Family		1
Boyfriend	2	2
Strangers	2	
Outside	1	1
N =	12	12

Table 20

Age of First Intercourse

Age	Prostitutes	At Risk
10		1
11	3	
12	4	2
13	1	8
14	2	
15	2	1
N =	12	12

Table 21

How many days per week were you prostituting on the street?

Days	Prostitutes
1	1
2	4
3	1
6	2
7	1
N	9

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