

ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON STREETWALKING: TESTING A MODEL FOR
PREDICTING ACTIVE SETTINGS OF FEMALE, HETEROSEXUAL STREETWALKERS
IN VANCOUVER

by

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Ecological Perspectives on Streetwalking: Testing a

Model for Predicting Active Settings of Female,

Heterosexual Streetwalkers in Vancouver.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis entails a formal test of a model put forward by Cohen(1980) in his study of thirteen streetwalker locations in New York City during the mid to late 1970s. In an analysis of his study, Cohen delineates the "determinants" or ecological factors he asserts are facilitative in the emergence or continued existence of active streetwalking settings. The objective of the thesis is to see if it is possible, using only Cohen's model and data gathered in Vancouver, B.C., to predict areas of Vancouver that ought to have apparent female streetwalking activity.

In deriving a conceptual framework that allows such a test, the thesis undertakes a series of steps, the first of which is to review the differences in legislation on streetwalking in Canada, England, and the U.S.A., as well as elaborating upon Chicago School sociology and the determinants of Cohen's model. A further understanding of the activity of apparent female streetwalking activity, and the ecological factors that are held by Cohen to support active settings, is achieved through a literature review.

A critical step in the thesis sees the operationalization of Cohen's model, and the projection of areas in Vancouver which may have streetwalkers, based upon the existence of his ecological factors or determinants. These projected settings, eighteen in all, are reduced to seven by eliminating those that are inconsistent with his model. Those settings remaining are

considered to be predicted locations of apparent female streetwalking, confirmed by field observation. Cross-validation of the presence of streetwalkers in predicted settings, and the absence of any other areas of such activity, occurs through a review of media coverage and the literature on streetwalking in Vancouver. In addition, field observation of comparison "settings", constituting two projected settings eliminated at an earlier stage of the study, as well other areas of the city thought to have some ecological factors consistent with Cohen's model, is undertaken and establishes the absence of any further female, heterosexual streetwalking activity.

The thesis concludes that, with some minor exceptions, Cohen's model, and its determinants or ecological factors, allows one to predict exactly where apparent female streetwalkers will locate within Vancouver. The failure of the thesis to falsify Cohen's model argues not only that his study has added to the literature on streetwalking from an ecological perspective, but that his work may be beneficial to Criminal Justice System agencies, as well as urban planners.

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those I include, I wish to make it clear that any errors in my thesis are my responsibility alone.

DEDICATION

It seems difficult to me to choose which one, of the many people who helped me, a work should be dedicated to. So many supported me in the research and writing of my thesis that it seems somewhat arbitrary to state that one person alone warrants, above any other, the dedication. Regardless of that belief, I will immediately contradict myself by saying the two following people are those to whom I wish to dedicate my thesis. First, to Verna Sands, who even I cannot believe is still supportive of my studies after all these years. Second, to the late Betty Lambert of the English Department of Simon Fraser University, who encouraged me to stay at university during my early years, notwithstanding "advice to the contrary" by "helpful" faculty in various departments:

I have never understood
How friendships begin
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To have been a friend of yours.

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I. Introduction

Media coverage of streetwalkers, from May, 1978 to June, 1983, has portrayed "...Vancouver as having one of the most active and aggressive populations of prostitutes in Canada" (Ross and Sands, 1978; p.1), reporting that the problem in one area is:

(So bad that)(d)river's searching for hookers are tracing squalid merry-go-rounds through recently respectable areas near Davie Street...(that)prostitutes are...bantering crudely with drivers and each other and getting into the occasional fight (The Vancouver Sun, June 14, 1978; p.A1).

Clustering "...outside apartment buildings, churches, day-care centres and at the corner of streets..." (The Province, May 15, 1983;p.B1), streetwalkers and their clients are said to be taking "...over...Vancouver's West End..." (The Sun, March 3, 1983; p.B5). Arguing that their community is being "...turn(ed)...into...(a) large...drive-in brothel" (The Sun, April 30, 1983; p.A5), residents of the West End are organizing to "...cut into street crime in the area" (The Sun, September 30, 1982; p.A13).

Another area where streetwalking activity exists in Vancouver is referred to by "coined" names; e.g., the intersection of Georgia and Hornby is known as "Hooker Row", "Horney Streets", or for its "Air Canada Girls" (The Province, August 5, 1978; p.4). Although dependent to a large degree upon

the tourist trade (The Sun; August 7, 1982), the presence, number, and activity of streetwalkers in this area are said to deter tourists (The Sun, May 29, 1978; The Sun, August 5, 1978); e.g., the number of streetwalkers on Georgia Street alone, between Howe and Hornby, may average twenty-two each night (The Sun; November 19, 1982).

The explanation for the present extensive activity by streetwalkers is, according to the media, a result of a Supreme Court of Canada ruling in Hutt v. R. (1978) that renders current legislation on "prostitution" ineffectual (Symanski, 1981, p.88; The Sun, May 29, 1978; The Province, August 5, 1978; The Province, April 8, 1982; The Sun, May 28, 1982; The Sun, January 1, 1983); i.e., that "... (an) automobile... (is) not a public place... (and that a prostitute must be) pressing or persistent" (Hutt v. R., 1978; pp.476-477).¹ For most of 1978 to July, 1983, except during the period of Vancouver's Street Activity By-Law (see Chapter Two, "The Canadian Approach"), the police, upon instruction from Crown prosecutors and the Chief Constable, have not arrested streetwalkers, arguing that:

...(T)he Hutt definition leaves...(them)unable to make a soliciting charge hold up in Court (The Province; August 5, 1978).

Thus, streetwalkers, aware of police reluctance to arrest and the Crown's unwillingness to prosecute, are said to have

¹Harcourt, the mayor of Vancouver, states that "...a Criminal Code amendment must define solicitation, which now can be anything between 'a wink and a half-nelson'" (The Sun; May 13, 1982).

increased in numbers and in activity, as well as becoming more aggressive in their behaviour, in Vancouver and other Canadian cities (The Sun, May 29, 1978; The Sun, December 9, 1982).

Whether the number of streetwalkers has purportedly increased in Vancouver, as argued by the media and the police, or there is merely an apparent increase as the result of prostitutes moving out of bars into the streets and becoming more visible (Lowman, 1980; Symanski, 1981), certain areas of the city have acquired a "mass identity" (Relph; 1976), or an "ecological label" (P.J.Brantingham; 1983) as streetwalking settings. The fact that streetwalking settings are found within specific areas of a city leads to an interesting question: What makes a particular location desirable for streetwalking?

For all the interest shown by official agencies, the media, or the literature, though, little is known about the activity of streetwalking. In referring to the literature on prostitution, there appears to be very little discussion on streetwalking per se; and of this area of the literature, only a small part is from an ecological perspective, with most of the research on the ecology of streetwalking a product of the Chicago School (Cohen; 1980). The majority of studies concentrate on brothels, or social hygiene and morality crusades, referring only incidentally to ecological factors on streetwalking, possibly because:

In the early decades of the twentieth century, there was some streetwalking, but most transactions with prostitutes were conducted in houses where sex for hire was the sole business... (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977;

p.100).

Though it would be both interesting and useful, there is little research that allows either criminologists or criminal justice system(CJS) personnel to predict where streetwalkers are likely to become a problem.

One of the few studies attempting to build an ecological model for predicting locations of streetwalking activity is that of Cohen's(1980). Based upon his study of thirteen streetwalking settings in New York City, he delineates the "determinants of deviant street locations", arguing that:

...(T)here is no indication whatsoever that the patterns, regularities, and uniformities characterizing the thirteen street locations are unique and not also descriptive of other deviant areas in similar neighborhoods of New York City or other large cities (Cohen, 1980; p.119).

Cohen(1980), utilizing a Chicago School methodological orientation, groups the determinants of his model into four categories: 1) Ecological Factors; 2) Economic Base; 3) Sociodemographic Factors; and 4) Community Tolerance (Cohen, 1980; pp.112-121). A review of the literature, however, establishes that all of the determinants within these categories are traditional ecological factors.

The present thesis, then, is a test of Cohen's(1980) model on ecological factors within the environment that facilitate apparent female streetwalking settings. Using a "Chicago School" ethnographic and ecological approach, data are gathered in Vancouver to see if it is possible to "predict" where streetwalking areas are, using only a conceptual framework

derived from Cohen's study.

Chapter two discusses the issues of the differences in criminal legislation between Canada and the U.S.A. on the activity of streetwalking, as well as elaborating upon both the Chicago School and Cohen's determinants. Chapter three entails a literature review on the concepts of "prostitutes" and "prostitution", with a focus on female streetwalkers, as well as delineating the ecological factors that support streetwalking settings. Chapter four, in conjunction with the operationalization rationale contained in Appendix D, gives real definitions of both Cohen's factors and their application in a test of his model. Chapter five projects areas of Vancouver that are consistent with Cohen's model as possible settings for apparent female streetwalkers, and by the process of eliminating settings that are inconsistent, leaves only those sites that are probable locations for such activity. Chapter six confirms that apparent female streetwalkers exist in settings predicted to have such activity by: 1) reference to media articles; 2) reference to the literature; and 3) personal observation. In addition, a comparison study of areas that may have sufficient vehicular and pedestrian traffic, as well as some clustering of relevant ecological factors, is done to ensure that apparent female streetwalkers are not located in these areas. Finally, chapter seven is a summary of the work undertaken by the thesis, and a discussion on the utility of the study for criminal justice system(CJS) agencies or urban planners.

Results of the test empirically demonstrate that, with only some minor exceptions, Cohen's model allows one to predict precisely where streetwalking locations are in Vancouver. The fact that Cohen's model predicts as well as it does adds not only to the literature on streetwalking, especially that from an ecological perspective, but implies utility for Criminal Justice System agencies, such as the police, and urban planning considerations as well.

II. Explication Of The Differences In Legislation Between Canada And The U.S.A. On Streetwalking, The Chicago School, And Cohen's Model

The objective of the present thesis is to test Cohen's model by using data collected in Vancouver; i.e., to see if it is possible, using only his model and its "determinants" as a basis for a conceptual framework, to predict the locations of apparent female streetwalking settings. Cohen's model, however, cannot be utilized without considering the differences in criminal legislation between Canada and the U.S.A. on the activity of streetwalking, or without elaborating upon both the Chicago School and Cohen's determinants.

The Anglo-American and Canadian Approaches To Legislation On Streetwalking

The English Path

Prior to the Street Offences Act of 1959, legislation on streetwalking in England exists primarily in local by-laws (James, 1951; Sion, 1977). Such acts are quite general, with "(n)uisance...the basis of nearly all legislation..." (James, 1951; p.29); i.e., "...conduct in streets and public

places...regarded as detrimental to the safety, health and convenience of the public" (Sion, 1977; p.73).¹ Section (3) of the Vagrancy Act of 1824, for example, prohibits prostitutes from "...wandering in a public street...highways or in any place of public resort and behaving in a riotous or indecent manner" (James, 1951; pp.31-32). Similarly, the issues of loitering and soliciting are addressed by the Metropolitan Police Act of 1839, the City London Police Act of 1938, or the Town Police Clauses Act of 1847 (Sion; 1977).

The Street Offences Act of 1959 repeals much of the prior legislation, though it "...fail(s) to eliminate the inconsistencies in the law because it did not repeal all previous enactments...dealing with...(streetwalking)" (Sion, 1977; pp.73-74). In addition to soliciting, procuring, bawdy houses, and living off the avails of prostitution are also outlawed (James, 1951; Sion, 1977; Smith and Keenan, 1975).² Applicable only in England and Wales, the Street Offences Act uses a cautioning system: After two warnings by the police, a

¹Smith and Keenan distinguish between a private and a public nuisance. A public nuisance is "...some unlawful act or omission endangering or interfering with the lives, comfort, property, or common rights of the public, e.g., the obstruction of a highway..." (Smith and Keenan, 1975; p.295).

²In Shaw v. Director of Public Prosecutions(1962), the appellant published a "Ladie's Directory", to assist prostitutes in seeking clients, since the Street Offences Act of 1959 prohibited soliciting on the streets. The House of Lords re-affirmed that Shaw is guilty of: 1) conspiracy to corrupt public morals; 2) living on the earning of prostitution; and 3) publishing an obscene publication (Shaw v. Director of Public Prosecutions; in Schmeiser, 1973, p.14).

prostitute may be arrested upon a third offence for soliciting upon the streets (Sion; 1977).

The American Path

Although it is a moot point whether or not the English Common Law applies to the American Colonies (Smith and Barnes; 1975), prostitution in American Common Law is:

(N)ot regarded as an offense...(coming)into conflict with the law only when it...(is)associated with street soliciting or the operation of a bawdy house as to be annoying to the passerby. In other words, the test of the offense...(is)the fact of annoyance (Waterman, 1932; p.12).

Unlike Canada, which enacts federal legislation in this area, or England's Street Offences Act of 1959, there is no uniform legislation in the United States to cope with prostitution; i.e., each state is free to enact whatever provisions it wishes (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977; Rozovsky and Rozovsky, 1982). Legislation today prohibits prostitution in the majority of American jurisdictions (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977; Ploscowe, 1951), except in "...Nevada, which permits county autonomy and which as a result has legal houses of prostitution (but not legal solicitation in public and semipublic places) in several counties" (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977; p.105). Thus, in addition to prohibiting street solicitation, other legislative approaches are used to control prostitution; e.g., vagrancy, disorderly or suspected persons, fornication, aiding and

abetting(the act of prostitution requires a partner), walking in prohibited areas of town during restricted hours of the night (Ploscowe, 1951; p.250), or loitering, procuring, partner(s) under age, living off the avails of prostitution, bawdy houses and pimping (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977; pp.98-107).³

The state of New York, for example, revised its Penal Code in 1976 to address the issue of loitering for purposes of prostitution (MacNamara and Sagarin; 1977):

1. For the purposes of this section, "public place" means any street, sidewalk, bridge, alley or alleyway, plaza, park, driveway, parking lot or transportation facility or the doorways and entranceways to any building which fronts on any of the aforesaid places, or a motor vehicle in or on any such place.
2. Any person who remains or wanders about in a public place and repeatedly beckons to, or repeatedly stops, or repeatedly attempts to stop, or repeatedly attempts to engage passers-by in conversation, or repeatedly stops or attempts to stop motor vehicles, or repeatedly interferes with the free passage of other persons, for the purpose of prostitution, or of patronizing a prostitute as those terms are defined in article 230 of the penal law, shall be guilty of a violation and is guilty of a class B misdemeanor if such person has been convicted of a violation of this section or of section 230.00...(defining the prostitute)...or 230.05(defining the patron)...of the penal law.
3. Any person who remains or wanders about in a public place and repeatedly beckons to, or repeatedly stops, or repeatedly attempts to stop, or repeatedly attempts to engage passers-by in conversation, or repeatedly stops or attempts to stop motor vehicles, or repeatedly interferes with the free passage of other persons, for the purpose of promoting prostitution as defined in article 230 of the penal law is guilty of a class A misdemeanor (New York Penal Code, 1976; pp.912-913).

Thus, the above legislation may be said to parallel the English

³MacNamara and Sagarin argue that "... (1) laws against prostitution are directed mainly against loiterers... (that loitering) is equivalent to streetwalking..." (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977; pp.107-124).

Common Law perspective on prohibiting nuisances as a means to control soliciting on the streets.

Although each state, as well as the District of Columbia, has its individual criminal code, the American Law Institute proposes a "Model Penal Code" to initiate a single piece of legislation that would apply to all jurisdictions in the United States (The American Law Institute; 1962). The section on prostitution is not grouped with sexual offenses. Instead, it is within the category of public indecency, which in turn is a sub-classification of a category meant to cope with offenses against public order and decency; i.e., "...open lewdness, prostitution and related offenses, loitering to solicit deviant sexual relations, and obscenity (MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977; p.122). The proposed legislation provides for prostitution to be a misdemeanor; whereas, living off the avails of prostitution is a felony. In addition, a duty is imposed upon a land-lord to either evict or report tenants that are using his premises for the purpose of prostitution(see Appendix A).

The Canadian Approach

In its early history, Canada is governed by various legal provisions:

British Statutes, the Common Law, and the Laws of Equity are imported, forming the basis of law in Canada, along with Canadian Common Law and Imperial Statutes. The solution to the conflicts that arise is the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865: 1) Imperial Acts become acts

of the British parliament, and apply to the colonies; 2) in any conflict between Colonial Law and Imperial Statutes, the Imperial Statute is paramount; and 3) local laws are supreme, except for Imperial Statutes (C. Ross; 1980).

Adopting a parliamentary system similar to England's, Canadian government has a federal context, with each province having its own parliament. To resolve difficulties with the "split of power" between the federal government and the provinces (the "Charlottetown problem"), Britain, at the request of Canada, passes the British North America Act, re-named the Constitution Act of 1867 (Lane; 1982). The BNA Act sets-out the respective areas of legislative competency for the federal and provincial governments, relegating the criminal law to the former (Tarnopolsky; 1975). First codifying its criminal law in 1892, legislation pertaining to prostitution in Canada is found within sections 193-195 of its current Criminal Code (Martin's Annual Criminal Code, 1976; pp.139-142).

Legislation on prostitution in Canada, at least in some respects, seems to be a "blend" of the Anglo-American paths. The Criminal Code of 1892, for example, prohibits the acts of procuring (ss.185-186), living off the avails of prostitution (s.186), or managing a bawdy houses with girls under 16 years of age in attendance (s.187); it does not, however, prohibit prostitution or soliciting, except for Indian women (s.190) (Statutes of Canada, 1892; pp.187-189). Canada, though, has attempted to outlaw prostitution through use of the "...old s. 175(1)(c) (one of the kinds of 'vagrancy', repealed by 1972 (Can.), c. 13, s. 12)" (Hutt v. R., 1978; p. 477):

The law up to July 15, 1972 attempted...(to outlaw prostitution)...Until 1972, it was an offense to be a "common prostitute or nightwalker" who is found in a public place and is not able, when required, to give a good account of herself... (Rozovsky and Rozovsky, 1982; p.83).

At present, legislation permits "...prostitutes to be in public places but not to inconvenience the public or make a nuisance of themselves" (Rozovsky and Rozovsky, 1982; p.83).⁴

The repeal of s.175(1)(c) in 1972, replaced by s.195.1 of the current Criminal Code(soliciting section), leaves Canada without provisions to outlaw prostitution. The lack of specific legislation prohibiting prostitution, especially streetwalking, according to then Chief Constable Don Winterton, results in:

...(T)he prostitution problem...growing ever since 1972 when the federal government eliminated...(s. 175(1)(c))which enabled policemen to deal "reasonably well" with the problem and replaced it with the new, less effective, Section 195-1. Under it, police had to masquerade as "tricks" and get prostitutes to solicit them...the Supreme Court of Canada made a ruling which rendered Section 195-1 useless for dealing with street prostitutes (The Sun, June 15, 1978; p.B1).⁵

A reading of s.195-1 and the Hutt decision, though, reveals that police criticism of existing legislation on prostitution is invalid; i.e., according to ex-Crown prosecutor McAfee, s.195-1 is only intended to "...stop prostitutes from soliciting in

⁴While s.175(1)(c) existed, "...streetwalkers were treated as vagrants...The police used a 'cautioning system' in which women believed to be prostitutes were warned of their presumed status as 'common prostitutes'. If subsequently arrested the 'Vag C' warnings were used against the women in court..." (Symanski, 1981; pp.87-88).

⁵The ruling referred to is Hutt v. R., with the requirements that a prostitute must be "pressing and persistent" to be arrested(discussed above).

public places and making a nuisance of themselves" (The Province, August 5, 1978; p.4).

At present, two things may be said about legislation on prostitution in Canada: 1) solicitation for the purposes of prostitution, not prostitution itself, is the "crime" (Rozovsky and Rozovsky, 1982; p.82); and 2) ever since Hutt v. R., current legislation is ineffectual in the control of streetwalking, since the police feel they cannot charge under s.195-1 until revisions are made (The Sun; March 24, 1983).⁶ The federal government, however, announced on June 23, 1983, that it is appointing a commission to study prostitution, to submit a report by December 31, 1984 (The Province; June 24, 1983). Until then, minor changes in the Criminal Code, such as "...allowing police to charge customers as well as hookers and mak(ing) an automobile a 'public place'" (The Province, June 24, 1983; p.A1) are viewed as inadequate by Members of Parliament, the public, and officials (The Province, June 24, 1983; The Sun, June 24, 1983).

Local Government Adaptions

Given the problems with current federal legislation on prostitution in Canada, some cities are passing by-laws to attempt to cope with streetwalkers. Vancouver, for example,

⁶See Appendix B for proposed revisions to the Criminal Code.

arguing it has a major problem that cannot be controlled under current Criminal Code provisions, passed its Street Activity By-Law on April 6 (The Sun; April 7, 1983):

3. No person shall, upon any street, sell or offer to sell to another person or purchase or offer to purchase from another person, sexual services.

4. Every person who commits an offence against this By-Law is liable to a fine and penalty of not less than \$350.00 and not more than \$2,000 for each offence (By-Law No. 5521; 1983).

Although the by-law has not undergone a full court challenge, the Supreme Court of Canada, ruling against similar legislation passed by Calgary, argues that:

However desirable it may be for the municipality to control or prohibit prostitution, there has been an over-reaching in the present case which offends the division of legislative powers (Westendorp v. The Queen; 1983).

Since the Westendorp decision, Vancouver's Street By-Law No. 5521 is effectively "struck down" as of January 25, 1983, with Vancouver's Council rescinding it on February 15, 1983 (Vancouver City Council Notes, #12, re: "A By-Law To Repeal By-Law No. 5521, Being The Street Activities By-Law(Street Prostitution)").

Section Summary

Legislation on prostitution, then, varies across cultures, seeking as a whole to control the "...four 'evils' ...(of)public indecency...public nuisance...the spread of venereal disease...and the possible adverse effect on children (Rozovsky

and Rozovsky, 1982; p.81). Indeed, it is argued that:

Prostitution has outlived every social, economic, ethical and political system which the West has known since the time of the Greek City States...in almost every other respect prostitution has shown itself variable and responsive to any considerable change in the society in which it existed (League of Nations, 1943; p.8).

In particular, Anglo-American legislation follows two distinct paths; i.e., whereas England does not criminalize prostitution per se, but outlaws nuisances arising from such activity, the U.S.A. prohibits associated behaviours and the act of prostitution itself in the majority of its states. Canadian legislation, however, is a mixture of the Anglo-American paths, but overall adheres to the English tradition, enacting legislation against soliciting for the purposes of prostitution under its Criminal Code(currently undergoing revision).

A Chicago School Orientation

The activity of streetwalking itself may be studied from any number of perspectives(see Chapter Three, "A Literature Review On The Concepts Of Prostitutes, Prostitution, And Ecological Factors Supporting Female, Heterosexual Streetwalking Settings"); e.g., historical, psychological, etc. The basic approach undertaken by Cohen, though, in his study of apparent female streetwalkers in New York, is one reflective of Chicago School methodology. Thus, given the explicit orientation that he follows in developing his model, it seems beneficial to give a

brief overview of the Chicago School and the techniques of field observation and ethnometrics.

The Chicago School

The term "The Chicago School" refers to an era in the history of the sociology department of the University of Chicago, from about 1915 to 1950 (Bogue; 1974), though its "golden age" extends only from 1918 to 1933 (Cavan, 1983; see also Faris, 1967). Essentially, the focus of The Chicago School is on human ecology, based upon "...a set of analogies drawn from studies of organization among lower forms of life by plant and animal ecologists" (Hawley; in McKenzie, 1968). Though the term "human ecology" may lack a precise meaning (Hawley; 1950), the subject of such enquiry:

(I)s the community, the form and development of which are studied with particular reference to the limiting and supporting factors of the environment...(it is the)study of the morphology of collective life in both its static and its dynamic aspects. It attempts to determine the nature of community structure in general, the types of communities that appear in different habitats, and the specific sequence of change in community development (Hawley, 1950; p.67).

Thus, it may be said that an ecological perspective traditionally looks at the following variables: Population, organization, environment, and technology, referred to as the

"P.O.E.T. variables" (P.L. Brantingham; 1983).⁷

Although the scope of human ecology is quite extensive (McKenzie; 1968), perhaps not even "...a restricted subject" (Taylor; in Hawley, 1950), the focus is on ecological factors within a city, which:

...(M)ay be classified under four general heads: (1) geographical...includ(ing) climatic, topographic, and resource conditions; (2) economic...compris(ing) a wide range and variety of phenomena such as the nature and organization of local industries, occupational distribution, and standard of living of the population; (3) cultural and technical...includ(ing), in addition to the prevailing condition of the arts, the moral attitudes and taboos that are effective in the distribution of population and services; (4) political and administrative measures, such as tariff, taxation, immigration laws, and rules governing public utilities (McKenzie, 1968; p.23).

These factors, which may be natural or man-made, contribute to an understanding of human activities(including those that may be considered deviant) within the environment.

Chicago School methodology is considered by many researchers to be synonymous with ethnography (Thomas; 1983).⁸ There is, however, quite a range of techniques within this

⁷According to Brantingham and Brantingham(1981), two different approaches to human ecology by criminologists must be understood: "Whereas one approach, based upon economic competition for space by groups, is a rationale used to collect and analyse data, the other, which looks at social organization within natural areas, is used to ascribe sociological meaning to the results of analysis" (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1981; pp.12-13).

⁸James states that ethnography is used for: 1) perspective and accuracy; 2) a possibility of productively combining a description of the subjective realities of an illegal subculture with logical measurements and analysis; and 3) advocacy on behalf of social change (James, 1977; pp.179-200).

perspective:

Ask one scholar what sociological specialty he or she first thinks of when the term "Chicago School" is mentioned, and the answer is field methods; ask another--human ecology; yet another--deviance and social problems research; and another--community studies; and so on through a litany of diverse perceptions (L. Lofland, 1983; p.492).

The thesis, then, utilizes an ethnographic and ecological approach, using both field observation and official data to delineate factors in the environment that appear to be facilitative of active streetwalking settings.⁹

Cohen's Model And Its Determinants

One short-coming that Cohen finds with work done on deviance within a Chicago School perspective is that, though its reseachers account for visible street crime occurring primarily in large urban centers, rather than in small towns or the suburbs, they fail to:

(E)xplain why street deviance surfaced in certain areas and neighborhoods on specific blocks and certain sides of the street at particular intersections and corners during certain hours of the day or night (Cohen, 1980; p.111).

Thus, in building a model to account for the location of streetwalkers within a city, Cohen utilizes a Chicago School ethnographic perspective(field observation), combined with an

⁹Reckless(1933), for example, looks at factors such as home ownership, marital status, ratio of males to females in the general population, transportation routes and land-use patterns, etc., in a study of prostitution in Chicago.

approach he terms "ethnometrics"; i.e., the gathering of "hard data" from field observation, giving "...careful counts and other numerical information...(in an attempt)to apply, expand, and refine" (Cohen, 1980; p.18) methods used by prior researchers such as Thrasher(1927) in his study of Chicago gangs.¹⁰ Essentially, he observes thirteen settings in New York City over a period of several years in the late 1970s, grouping factors he argues are determinants of active streetwalking settings into four major categories, stating that these determinants "...imply facilitative factors or conditions rather than causes of street deviance" (Cohen, 1980; p.111).¹¹

Cohen's Ecological Determinants

¹⁰As far as can be determined, it does not appear that Cohen bases his study on any particular sociological construct or theory.

¹¹Miller(1982), in an American Journal of Sociology critique of "Deviant Street Networks: Prostitution in New York City" (Cohen; 1980), argues that there are two areas of concern with Cohen's methodology: 1) his observation of street activity from a car or from a distance, since it curtails an understanding of the interactions witnessed by the researcher; and 2) the utility of transferring qualitative data(observational) into quantitative data to "...make the study more rigorous and its conclusions more reliable" (Miller, 1982; pp.1231-1232). Miller specifically questions if Cohen's methodology increases an understanding of street deviance over more traditional qualitative approaches, though acknowledging that the problems encountered are not peculiar to Cohen's work, but reflects the issue whether sociology is best done through a positivistic perspective or other kinds of orientations, such as phenomenology.

The first set of factors that are said by Cohen to be relevant in active streetwalking settings, are termed "ecological". The use of the term "ecological" seems to entail a combination of physical attributes and social use patterns in the environment:

A place to conduct business usually included small, run-down, seedy hotels...poorly lit, outdoor parking lots and to a lesser extent inconspicuous service-station lots and massage parlors...In addition to a hotel, a combination or cluster of coffee shops, delicatessens, bars, and parks open sometimes for twenty-four hours, were always accessible when a condition was active...Prostitutes usually occupied the corner or side of a one-way street on an automobile's driving side...prostitutes tend to stand at intersections instead of working the middle of a block...prostitution is...likely to surface on streets that prohibit or restrict parking and at curbs reserved for bus stops...Abandoned or closed buildings...where few persons walk in and out provide excellent settings for street solicitations...Another ecological factor that determines the location of...street deviance is a primary transportation network including tunnels, bridges, subways, and major bus depots...Each deviant street network and its individual locations are near bus and subway stops... (Cohen, 1980; pp.112-114).

By deviant networks, Cohen explains two separate, but related, ecological phenomena: 1) the emergence and use of particular places, locations, or sites on the streets as settings for engaging in deviant activity(such as soliciting); and 2) the development of social systems, deviant networks, that "tie" together several deviant locations, and the people who frequent them, into a single social system(a criminal or deviant ecology).

Cohen's Economic Base Determinants

The second set of factors in Cohen's model are held to relate to an "economic base". By economic base, Cohen means the:

...(E)xistence of a sufficient business base to sustain prostitution. The street locations studied had heavy vehicular traffic and pedestrian flows that generated enough customers to sustain a high volume of business (Cohen, 1980; p.115).

Little other indication is given by Cohen about factors in this category. It would seem, however, that economic base "ties-back" into his ecological category; i.e., factors such as restaurants, bars, major streets, etc., are of equal importance to both the ecological and economic base categories.

Cohen's Sociodemographic Determinants

The third set of factors Cohen argues are characteristic of active settings are "sociodemographic":

The vast majority of persons...at each location(well over 80 percent)were adults estimated to be between twenty-five and fifty-five years of age. Children, teenagers, young adults in their early twenties, and persons over fifty-five, especially senior citizens, rarely were observed...The street locations when active were nearly devoid of females except for prostitutes...The overwhelming majority of households in census tracts...(with)street prostitution were composed of primary individuals, unrelated persons, or single people...the majority of prostitution locations were in stable lower-, and middle-, or upper-class neighborhoods...All thirteen conditions of female street prostitution were on, or immediately next to, business thoroughfares and most were in neighborhoods with decent housing (Cohen, 1980; pp.115-117).

Most of Cohen's data is derived from personal observation, though supplemented in part through the use of official statistics (such as census data).¹²

Cohen's Community Tolerance Determinants

The fourth category in Cohen's model is one he terms "community tolerance". Factors in this category argue that:

Visible street prostitution rarely emerges in neighborhoods with strong sentiments and norms against this type of behavior. It is more likely to surface in neighborhoods where either community consensus is weak or where there is little or no community resistance...visible street deviance will not surface where there are competing legitimate or illegitimate interests...The development of a deviant street location will be hastened where certain business interests benefit from deviance (Cohen, 1980; pp.117-118).

It is his most difficult category to comprehend, given the number of vague or subjective terms he uses. Yet, it is argued by Cohen that "(t)he degree of community consciousness...is a key factor in determining the initial emergence or suppression of...street deviance" (Cohen, 1980; p.117).

¹²Another factor in this category is race. Race is not, however, considered to be relevant, since this factor is dependent upon a large Black population, or area, within a city. Though many American cities do have Black sectors, such as New York's Harlem district, Vancouver lacks a sufficient number of Blacks within its population base for this factor to be applicable.

Chapter Synopsis

As far as can be determined by the thesis, Cohen's study is the first that specifically addresses the activity of apparent female streetwalking from an ecological perspective. According to Miller(1982), the major value of Cohen's work:

(L)ies in the discussion of the relationship between deviant street networks and their environments. Although many studies of prostitution discuss the implications of police policies and actions on prostitutes as individuals, the literature contains little discussion of the implications of these policies for the spatial and temporal distribution of prostitution within a city or town. There is an even larger gap in the literature on the relationship between deviant street networks and the neighborhoods within which they are found (Miller, 1982; p.1231).

The importance of Cohen's model to the thesis is the argument that it can be generalized to other large cities; i.e., it is not limited in its utility to the City of New York (Cohen; 1980). A major impediment to a test of Cohen's model, though, is that he fails to define many, if not most of, the determinants held by him to be indicative of where streetwalkers are likely to locate within a city. Thus, before a test of Cohen's model may be undertaken to establish if it can predict where areas of apparent female streetwalking activity exist in Vancouver, it is necessary to operationalize the determinants of his model.

III. A Literature Review On The Concepts Of Prostitutes, Prostitution, And Ecological Factors Supporting Female, Heterosexual Streetwalking Settings

A literature review may be undertaken for any number of reasons; for example, to locate one's work in the literature, or to find support for one's argumentation. The major reasons for carrying-out a literature review in the present thesis are to: 1) review some definitions of the concepts of "prostitution" and a "prostitute", and consider their relevance to the activity of streetwalking; 2) determine how one would recognize a streetwalker; 3) discuss relevant literature on ecological aspects of streetwalking; and 4) to compare the findings with the ecological factors given in Cohen's model.¹ To address these, and other issues, readings are conducted in such diverse fields as criminology, economics, geography, history, law, anthropology, psychology, sociology, and urban planning.

¹The thesis asserts Cohen's "determinants" are actually all "ecological factors", as understood within a Chicago School perspective(see Chapter Two, "A Chicago School Orientation").

The Concepts Of "Prostitution" And "Prostitute"

It is not astonishing to find the lack of a consensus on what "prostitution" is, or who "prostitutes" are: Since academic interest in prostitution really only occurs in the last few decades (Symanski; 1981), the literature lends itself to inconsistency in the defining of these two concepts. Informal or a capricious understanding of these two concepts, however, can create difficulties:

...(T)he lack of a satisfactory definition of prostitution, and the lack of an adequate basis for determining who is a prostitute, lead to grotesque historical errors, mistakes in social policy, and countless individual injustices (Benjamin and Masters; in Connelly, 1980, at p.16).

There is one issue, then, that arises out of the literature on prostitution that seems irrefutable: That "...there appear to be as many definitions of the prostitute and prostitution as there are writers on the subject" (Henriques, 1962; p.17). Indeed, definitions of prostitution and prostitute range from the simplistic to the increasingly more complex(see Appendix C).²

²One researcher, in studying prostitution in the Victorian Age, argues that the: "Exaggeration of the numbers of prostitutes, a notorious feature of the literature of prostitution in mid-century, was a function of the despair widely felt about worsening urban conditions and an expression of middle-class fears about the social corrosive character of this lumpenproletariat" (Nield, 1973; p.3). Given such an interpretation, it may be easier to see why Mayhew argues that the "...assumed number of prostitutes in London...(is)about 80,000...(and)it is not improbable that...(this figure) is below the reality rather than above it" (Mayhew, 1950; p.32).

In conducting research on prostitution, it is essential to define, or operationalize, what is meant by these concepts; i.e., to either "tie-into" an established conceptual framework, or to formulate one's own. In the case of the present thesis, however, it is not necessary to arrive at a definitive position on the concept of prostitution for at least two reasons: 1) prostitution is not illegal in Canada, but solicitation for the purposes of prostitution is; and 2) since the objective of the thesis is to test the predictive power of Cohen's model, only settings worked by apparent female streetwalkers are of interest. The thesis, then, understands the activity of streetwalking, and the definition of streetwalkers, by reference to section 195 of the Criminal Code of Canada.

A Literature Review On "How To Recognize A Streetwalker"

One of the most critical issues a researcher faces, in a study of streetwalking, is how to recognize a streetwalker within an active setting. There are various strategies that one can avail oneself of; e.g., one can ask either the woman, or the police, if she is a streetwalker. Irrespective of the strategy utilized, though, one can never really know if the woman is a streetwalker: Unless one is willing to either go through the "sex act" with the woman, or film an act between the woman and a client, one can never be sure that she is not someone in another role (such as a policewoman, or a social scientist gathering

data). At best, one can only give a probability statement; i.e., based upon her continuous presence in an active setting for a number of hours an evening, over a period of weeks or months, and her behaviour in approaching a number of men, perhaps leaving with them and returning to the setting a short-time later, it is likely she is a streetwalker. However, the above activities are probably sufficient to designate the behaviour as streetwalking per se.

The literature's position on whether it is possible to identify streetwalkers within an active setting is divided into two perspectives. The first argues that one can indeed identify streetwalkers, but the cues perceived to be relevant vary, depending upon the research consulted. The second perspective argues that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between streetwalkers and non-streetwalkers, based solely upon observational criteria.

Criteria For Recognizing Streetwalkers

Some researchers believe that it is possible to identify streetwalkers based primarily upon their dress(e.g., Mayhew, 1950; Scott, 1968; Sheehy, 1973). Others have argued that clothing by itself is insufficient for identifying streetwalkers(e.g., Winich and Kinsie, 1971; Anonymous, 1959), that apparel is only one of many cues used in the identification process(e.g., Atkinson and Boles, 1977; Cohen, 1980; Greenwald,

1958; James, 1977):

Even on the street, the girls aren't always dressed in a particularly suggestive way. What changes is the way they carry themselves, the way you behave, your frame of mind...Your manner changes, too...I don't have the same gestures and my voice doesn't sound the same (Furse, Fleming, and Hall, 1980; p.113).

Others stress the importance of "...location, time, gesture, walk, clothing, and reaction to police (Cohen, 1980; p.19); that streetwalkers can be recognized "...by the fact that they are alone on the street at night...and obviously looking around at passersby" (James, 1977; p.384); and that the special slang that streetwalkers use is reminiscent of Sutherland's professional thieves and their own language (Greenwald, 1958; pp.16-17).

Strategies for identifying streetwalkers may depend upon cues they exhibit in known settings, such as their use of time and space, or their behaviour patterns. Ross and Sands(1979), for example, used time-lapse photography in a time-space analysis of streetwalking on the corner of Georgia and Hornby. Streetwalkers are distinguished from non-streetwalkers by the fact that streetwalkers: 1) are in the setting for many hours a night, for at least three nights of the week, during the summer(1978) and winter(1979) periods studied; 2) approach, or are approached by, men of various ages and apparel, inter-acting with them; 3) leave the setting, sometimes with a man, to return again and again through-out the night; and 4) leave when the setting is disturbed, such as by the police or individuals who create unwanted attention (Ross and Sands; 1979). Hanna(1979), generates a list of factors that he argues should be included in

police reports on charging streetwalkers:

...(A)method of operation observed (girl stopping cars or talking to numerous male pedestrians and motorists, and it is obvious she does not know them); (b)length of time the prostitute was observed; (c)the location and whether or not it has been frequently used for solicitation activity; (d)manner of the prostitute's dress(take one full-length color polaroid photo of the prostitute at the time of arrest for later use in court if necessary); (e)the past record or knowledge of the girl's activity by the investigators; (f)was there any conversation reference the solicitation overheard; (g)any exchange of money; (g)[sic] the method of travel to the location for the act of prostitution; (i)were there any actions taken by the prostitute that made it appear she was suspicious of people observing her; and (j)did it appear she was trying to hide something (Hanna, 1979; p.63).

There is support in the literature for the position that criteria exists, or can be postulated, that would allow identification of streetwalkers within active settings. The thesis questions, however, the reliability of some studies in the literature, or reports in the media, on the activity of streetwalking:

Deviant street behavior has always fascinated the public, and the mass media have not been too shy to exploit this keen interest. Although the media constantly feed the public's fantasies on forms of deviance visible in the street, such as prostitution, gambling, alcoholism, and drug abuse, and a vast literature exists on these types of deviance, they have not been studied in a systematic and scientific manner as examples of street deviance (Cohen, 1980; p.1).

Furthermore, not all of the literature is necessarily relevant to Vancouver's streetwalking areas; i.e., it may be representative of work done in major American east-coast cities(e.g., Sheehy, 1973) or in Europe(e.g., Flexner, 1914;

Mayhew, 1950; Furse, Fleming and Hall, 1973).³ Thus, the thesis argues that: 1) criteria developed by Cohen(1980), and James(1977), using cues such as location, time, gestures, etc., provides a foundation to work upon; 2) police methods, such as Hanna's(1979) factors to be observed in arresting streetwalkers, enhances the work of social scientists in studying this phenomenon; and 3) since it is likely any schema developed for identifying streetwalkers only renders at best a probability statement, it is necessary to seek independent confirmation from other sources(see Chapter Six, "Confirming Existence Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings").

No Criteria For Recognizing Streetwalkers

Although it seems possible to identify streetwalkers within settings by various criteria, there are those who would disagree such distinctions between streetwalkers and non-streetwalkers can be made. Flexner(1914), for example, argues that:

Neither by grab, appearance...are the majority of women subsisting wholly or partly on the proceeds of sexual irregularity any longer to be recognized (Flexner, 1914; p.9).

Similarly, Winich and Kinsie(1971), because of fashion trends, state that streetwalkers have "... hardly been able to retain

³It is argued that one must be careful in extrapolating from the literature (Alker; 1969), to avoid the ecological fallacy (Robinson; 1950) or the use of data that is inappropriate (Hannan; 1971).

any distinguishing features of clothing or appearance" (Winich and Kinsie, 1971; p.29). Even though the position that it is difficult to identify streetwalkers within settings by observation alone is in the minority in the literature reviewed, such a contrary position serves to indicate that the issue is too complex to assume a consensus.

A Literature Review On Ecological Factors Of Streetwalking

The literature review will attempt to create a multi-disciplinary view of the ecological factors that seem to be relevant to the activity of streetwalking. Structuring such an approach, however, is difficult, since: 1) there exists extensive readings, across many disciplines, that have to be organized into a coherent perspective; and 2) references to ecological factors contributing to active streetwalking settings are infrequent, incidental to, or of recent development in the literature. After a fairly extensive sample of the literature, it becomes apparent that much of it is repetitive; i.e., that the issues focused on can be reduced to a few major perspectives, and is primarily descriptive, rather than theoretical or methodological in nature:

Any inquiry into prostitution encounters problems found elsewhere in scholarly inquiry, but in dramatic relief. With a few notable exceptions the topic has not been seen as one for serious intellectual inquiry until relatively recent times. For all the touted liberalism one is supposed to find in universities, academics have been amazingly provincial toward the topic (Symanski, 1981; p.xii).

It may be said, then, that academic research on streetwalking, especially within the fields of the ecology of crime, geography, and history, has only occurred within the last twenty or so years (Cohen, 1980; Greenwald, 1970; Symanski, 1981; Winich and Kinsie, 1971; Walkowitz, 1980).

For discussion purposes only, the thesis divides the literature on streetwalking into the following broad categories: 1) Moral and Purity Crusades; 2) Social Hygiene; 3) Historical; 4) Sociological; 5) Geographical and Ecological; 6) Feminist; 7) Case Studies and Auto-Biographies; and 8) Miscellaneous. It must be noted, though, that there are not clear or distinct boundaries between these categories; e.g., much of the Historical category refers to the Social Hygiene concern, as well as the Moral and Purity Crusades. Thus, it is possible to place any one study of streetwalking into two or more categories; conversely, one can collapse the literature into fewer categories. The category chosen for any one work, as stated above, is to facilitate explication of ecological factors relating to streetwalking within a specified area of the literature.⁴

⁴It is not clear whether the material reviewed is representative of the literature, since to a large extent access to the literature is determined not only by library resources, but by the procedures one undertakes in approaching a literature review. For the present thesis, the literature is accessed by: 1) a search of indexes and abstracts in libraries; 2) a reading of bibliographies or cites in books and articles on streetwalking activity; and 3) sources cited by other researchers in the area, or in the criminal justice system. The decision to put a study into a particular category is based upon a content analysis of the work in issue. Thus, if an article or book seems to utilize sociological concepts or constructs, it

The Moral and Purity Crusades Category

The Moral or Purity Crusade is a movement that seems to start in Europe, especially in England, circa 1860; it becomes known as the Progressive Era in the U.S.A., covering the years 1900 - 1918 (Rosen; 1982). Essentially, it is "...an all-out attack upon prostitution, commercialized vice, and the white slave traffic..." (Pivar; 1973; p.6). The literature indicates that:

At stake were two contending views of society, the regimentationist's and the abolitionist's. Reformers had accepted the feasibility of sinlessness and... (wished) the eradication of prostitution. Regulationists... wished to control the diseases attendant upon prostitution and placed limited emphasis on eventual eradication in the distant future (Pivar, 1973; p.32).

It is a movement, then, that primarily focuses on brothels and red-light districts (Acton, 1857; Addams, 1914; The Minneapolis Vice Commission, 1911; Nield, 1973; Paton, 1908; The Vice Commission of Chicago, 1911), along with the concomitant issues of social hygiene (see below) and discriminatory legislation against women; i.e., legislation brought down, as in England or in North America, to incarcerate for treatment purposes women, but not men, infected (or suspected of being infected) with

4 (cont'd) does not appear unreasonable to place it within a sociological category. The same rationale is followed for placing literature reviewed within the seven remaining categories.

venereal diseases (Butler, 1976; Pearson, 1972; Stafford, 1964; Terrot, 1959).⁵ Table 1, infra, lists ecological factors, mentioned at least once in the Moral and Purity Crusades literature, seen as relevant to the activity of streetwalking.

⁵Interestingly enough, one researcher points-out that prostitution did not "...exacerbat(e) social problems flowing from other causes ...(and)posed a lesser threat to life and vigour than cholera, consumption or bad drains" (Nield, 1973; p.1).

Table 1

Ecological Factors In The Moral
And Purity Crusades Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Acton (1857)	a, i, j, k
Addams (1915)	b, i, j, k
Meyer (1908)	i, j
Minneapolis Vice Commission (1911)	a, b, c, e, f, g, h, i
Nield (1973)	b, i
Pearson (1972)	i, j
Sims (1908)	i, j
Vice Commission of Chicago (1911)	b, c, d, i, j

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| a = cafes or restaurants | g = amusement centres |
| b = saloons or bars | h = theaters |
| c = business districts | i = thoroughfares or streets |
| d = assignation or
cheap hotels | j = red-light districts |
| e = hotel lobbies | k = poorer sections of a city
(areas in decline, or a
population at the lower
end of the wage scale) |
| f = dance halls | |

One factor that may seem to be tautological in describing the location of apparent female streetwalkers in a city, is that of "red-light districts". It is not, however, a tautology. In reviewing the literature, it appears that red-light districts refer primarily to areas of a city that have brothels, and such districts may, or may not, have streetwalkers present in them. Thus, the inclusion of the factor "red-light district" in the content analysis of the literature on streetwalking is argued to be warranted when an author specifically refers to red-light

districts in his or her study as also having streetwalking activity.

The Social Hygiene Category

As stated above, social hygiene becomes a major issue of the Moral and Purity Crusades (and its continuation in the Progressive Era in the U.S.A.). In general, it may be said that prostitution is permitted or tolerated throughout history (see "The Historical Category"). It is only when venereal disease (V.D.) begins to affect a large part of the population in the 16th century does it begin to be suppressed or regulated (Benjamin and Masters, 1964); i.e., since prostitutes are seen as being the major source for the spreading of venereal diseases, a movement is initiated to prevent further infection in the populace by either eliminating or regulating prostitution (Flexner, 1914; Kneeland, 1913; McHugh, 1980; Rappaport, Moss, and Kelleher, 1947; Scott, 1968). England, for example, passes its Contagious Diseases Acts:

...(T)o protect members of the armed forces from the consequences of venereal disease, and the government from the resulting financial penalties and loss of manpower. The method employed was to identify prostitutes and submit them to examination by designated official doctors; if they were found to be diseased they were detained in hospitals for specified periods (McHugh, 1980; p.16).

Other countries in Europe or North America either had similar programmes prior to England's, or argued for their government(s)

to follow suit (Creighton, 1914; Flexner, 1914; Scott, 1968).
Table 2, *infra*, lists factors seen as relevant to the thesis
within this category.

Table 2

Ecological Factors In The
Social Hygiene Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Flexner (1914)	b,c,d,e,f,g,l,q,r
Kneeland (1913)	h,i,j,k,p,q,r,s,t
Rappaport, Moss, and Kelleher (1947)	a,b,c

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a = military base areas | k = saloons or bars |
| b = assignation or
cheap hotels | l = cafes or restaurants |
| c = red-light districts | m = sports arenas |
| d = retail trade streets | n = lobbies of theatres |
| e = street-corners | o = lobbies of hotels |
| f = open squares | p = concert halls |
| g = parks | q = public dance halls |
| h = public school areas | r = cabarets or
burlesque theatres |
| i = church areas | s = amusement parks |
| j = business districts | t = boats(excursions) |

The Historical Category

Literature reviewed within this category usually looks at prostitution cross-culturally and across time, comparing the experience of past or present cultures to their own(e.g., Benjamin and Masters, 1964; Henriques, 1963; Mayhew, 1967; Scott, 1968). Part of the literature, though, is simply an historical reflection on specific eras or places(e.g., Bullough, 1970; Burford, 1976; Goldman, 1981; Gray, 1971; Henriques, 1962;

Holmes, 1972; Rose, 1974; Shumsky and Springer, 1981; Walkowitz, 1980; Warren, 1970; Washburn, 1934; Waterman, 1932), while another part is historical in the sense that, although the literature is written in the author's time, it has become a "period writing"(e.g., Booth, 1969; Mandeville, 1973; Mayhew, 1967). The level of analysis within this perspective varies substantially: From satirical(e.g., Mandeville, 1973); to descriptive(e.g., Booth, 1969; Mayhew, 1950); to academic dissertations(e.g., Goldman, 1981; Shumsky and Springer, 1981; Walkowitz, 1980). Although the primary focus within this perspective is on brothels and red-light districts, rather than on streetwalking per se, sufficient data exists to delineate the following ecological factors in Table 3, infra, as being relevant to the thesis.

Table 3

Ecological Factors In
The Historical Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Benjamin and Masters (1964)	b,m,w,x,y
Booth (1969)	j
Bullough (1970)	d,q,t,u,v
Davis (1967)	m,w
Gray (1971)	b,d,g,m,n,x
Goldman (1981)	c,d,e,f,g,j,l,m,n,x
Mayhew (1950)	g,o,u
Rose (1974)	m,g
Scott (1968)	u
Shumsky and Springer (1981)	a,b,j,m
Walkowitz (1980)	d,g,m,n
Warren (1970)	m
Washburn (1934)	d,e,f,m,o,r,s
Waterman (1932)	b,g,h,k,m,p,q,u

- | | |
|---|--|
| a = zones of transition | m = red-light districts |
| b = borders of ethnic zones | n = railway stations or yards |
| c = areas of disproportionate ratio of males to females | o = cafes or food stands |
| d = saloons or bars | p = nightclubs |
| e = melodeons or cabarets | q = dance studios or halls |
| f = gambling halls | r = penny arcades or amusement centers |
| g = business streets or districts | s = obscene book stands |
| h = hotels | t = boats(excursions) |
| i = assignation hotels | u = parks |
| j = boarding or lodging houses | v = public places(e.g., squares) |
| k = theatres | w = military base areas |
| l = bawdy theatres | x = large labour(male) camp areas |
| | y = private school areas |
| | z = dark corners or doorways |

The Sociological Category

It is argued that there exists "...a vast literature on prostitution..." (Heyl, 1979; p.1), and that "...this extensive literature focuses on 'the social significance of prostitution'" (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, 1948; in Heyl, 1979, at p.1). The thesis, however, does not acknowledge that a concern for the "social significance of prostitution" is sufficient to term an article or a book as being sociological. To be termed sociological, the study must "tie-into" a conceptual framework that utilizes sociological constructs, or is part of the sociological tradition; e.g., the Chicago School. Thus, the literature reviewed within this category satisfies the above requirement.

Consistent with other areas of the literature on prostitution, sociology does not focus on the streetwalker, but discusses streetwalking in general terms, "...often as part of a more general inquiry into 'social deviance'" (Symanski, 1981; p.xii). There are, however, traditions, such as the Chicago School, that study prostitution, including streetwalkers, reflecting ecological factors contributing to active settings. Reckless(1933), for example, finds that a disproportion of the sexes may not affect whether or not an area of a city is attractive for streetwalkers to work in.⁶

⁶His finding that the preceding is the case, however, may be atypical of the literature. Reckless is studying the effects of a crusade against prostitution in Chicago, and its displacement from the inner-core of the city to the suburbs(or out-lying

Two other factors are discussed by Reckless, that streetwalkers locate in areas: 1) which have the highest number of adults and the lowest number of children; and 2) where there is the least ownership of homes. These factors entail the issue of stability, since they are "...areas of non-family or loosely knit family life--areas in which commercialized vice can thrive" (Reckless, 1933; p.188). Table 4, infra, lists ecological factors relevant to the thesis within this perspective.

⁶(cont'd) neighbourhoods). Lowman(1983) points-out that suburbs of Chicago at this time are beginning to flourish, especially Black suburbs, and may effect traditional areas of streetwalking. Thus, Reckless' finding that a disproportionate ratio of males to females may not matter may be spurious.

Table 4

Ecological Factors In
The Sociological Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Heyl (1979)	a, j
Melbin (1978)	c, g, h, i, j
Reckless (1933)	a, b, c, d, e, f, h
Swingler (1969)	c

- | | |
|---|--|
| a = areas of greatest social disorganization, declining respectability, or zone of transition | e = areas with highest ratio of adults to children |
| b = railway stations or yards | f = areas with least home ownership |
| c = principal streets or transportation routes | g = X-rated theatres |
| d = red-light districts | h = bars, cabarets, or roadhouses |
| | i = combat zones |

The argument of a "combat zone", according to one researcher, reflects the belief that:

...(L)ike the former West, lawlessness and violence at night are concentrated in certain hours in certain places and are otherwise uncommon...In the daytime the areas are parts of business districts...So the combat zone designation refers to these places only at certain hours, and is not true for all the city all night (Melbin, 1978; p.12).

The concept of an area of a city changing over time throughout the day, from a business district to a "combat zone"(or vice district or setting), raises issues relevant both to a search for ecological factors in the environment and policy

recommendations for law enforcement or urban planning. In the former, it may be necessary to take into account ecological factors that are relevant in a setting while it is active; i.e., while streetwalkers are working. In the latter case, it may affect man-power deployment by the police, or zoning and opening-hours of enterprises within business districts.

The Geographical and Ecological Category

These two disciplines are placed into a single category, since they both share a focus on attributes of the environment and its relationship to man. The fact that there is an over-lapping or sharing of interest in varying disciplines indicates the utility of going "outside of one's field" in doing research. Thus, it may be said that a greater understanding of a discipline is achieved by an appreciation of other disciplines; i.e., to have a proper understanding of an issue developed within the ecology of crime, such as streetwalkers and their settings, it is necessary to utilize a multi-disciplinary approach.

To research the concept of a "setting or place", for example, may entail research in the fields of: Environmental criminology(e.g., Brantingham and Brantingham; 1981); ecological psychology(e.g., Barker; 1968); urban planning(e.g., Alexander; 1975); architecture(e.g., Newman; 1978); urban anthropology(e.g., Hannerz; 1980); sociology(e.g., Park and

Burgess, 1979; or Shaw and McKay, in Vold, 1979); and geography(e.g., Lowe and Moryada, 1975; or Relph, 1976).

Settings, or places, are defined as "...units of the environment...(having)geographical, architectural and social connotations (Canter, 1977; pp.2-6). Barker, for example, in conducting research within the field of ecological psychology, argues that:

Both man-made parts of a town(buildings, streets, and baseball diamonds)and natural features(hills, and lakes) can comprise the milieu...of a behavior setting (Barker, 1968; p.18).

Relph, in his discussion of "place and placelessness", states that:

The identity of a place is comprised of three interrelated components, each irreducible to the other--physical features or appearance, observable activities and functions, and meanings or symbols (Relph, 1976; p.61).

Symanski, in his study of streetwalking in San Fransico, found that:

Streetwalking districts of consequence may contain anywhere from a half-dozen to scores of prostitutes and extend for a few blocks or a mile or more. Geometrically, locales are often strongly linear, extending along a main thoroughfare, with minor soliciting activity on intersecting streets (Symanski, 1981; p.37).

All of the above concepts entail the issue of some form of activity occuring within a specific geographical area of a city(the location, its extent, and its time-frame dependent upon

the nature of the activity itself).⁷ Ecological factors found to be relevant to the thesis within these two perspectives are given in Table 5, infra.

⁷Brantingham and Brantingham argue that place is the "...fourth dimension(of crime)...a discrete location in time and space...(where)the other three dimensions(a law, an offender, and a target)intersect and a criminal event occurs (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1981; pp.7-9).

Table 5

Ecological Factors In The
Geographical/Ecological Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Hana (1979) Symanski (1981)	a,b a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l, m,n,o,p,q,r,s,t,u,v,w

- | | |
|--|--|
| a = areas where car-street interaction between streetwalkers and clients can occur | k = convention centres |
| b = areas known for streetwalking | l = cultural or tourist attractions |
| c = major streets | m = parks |
| d = areas of heavy, male pedestrian traffic | n = doorways |
| e = hotels | o = grindie theaters |
| f = assignation hotels | p = massage parlours |
| g = rooming or boarding houses | q = shipping docks |
| h = cafes or restaurants | r = truck stops |
| i = bars | s = bus stops |
| j = areas of sea-faring, logging, or male populations | t = intersections with traffic lights |
| | u = one-way streets (streetwalkers on driver's side) |
| | v = hallways |
| | w = well-lighted areas |

Both Symanski(1981) and Cohen(1980) discuss characteristics of neighbourhoods streetwalkers are likely to work in, though some of their points are at variance with one another. Symanski, for example, argues that if:

...(P)rostitutes initially do not live and work among the poor, the minorities and the down-and-outers, eventually their geography becomes synonymous with these groups...Social and economic blight beget more of the same; prostitutes proliferate and shoppers disappear,

businesses decline, more buildings are abandoned, property values drop further and so do tax revenues. Prostitutes engage in some crimes, primarily larceny, but mostly their image, their assumed criminality, invites other criminals to their side: con men, drug addicts who need money for a fix, and rapists who prey on prostitutes and other women who live in or pass through areas of solicitation (Symanski, 1981; p.127).

In contrast, Cohen argues that "...visible deviant street locations were distributed throughout the city and not linked with any single type of neighborhood" (Cohen, 1980; p.83).

Although some streetwalking settings may be in areas described by Symanski(1981), it is also possible they exist in areas "free" from these factors; e.g., as in the Central Business District(CBD) of a city. Additionally, there is no necessary correlation between the existence of streetwalkers in an area and that area's decline (McLeod; 1982) as argued by Symanski(1981), even in its business or economic base; on the contrary, the existence of streetwalkers may encourage legitimate activities, such as "...hotels, parking lots, bars, pizza parlors, coffee shops, and luncheonettes" (Cohen, 1980, p.147; see also Prus and Irinia, 1980).⁸

⁸According to Cohen, streetwalking settings do not "...resemble 'delinquency areas' in Chicago, as described by Shaw and McKay where they were clustered or concentrated in a few well-defined areas" (Cohen, 1981; p.83). In a reply to Symanski's(1981) argument of ancillary or concomitant crimes, either by the streetwalkers or others, Cohen would argue that settings are more likely to "...emerge in areas where...(streetwalking)does not clash with competing legitimate or illegitimate interests (Cohen, 1980; p.6). Thus, streetwalkers are unlikely to tolerate ancillary or concomitant criminal activities, either amongst themselves or by others, when a setting is active(Cohen; 1980).

The Feminist Category

Although the Feminist perspective seems to be one that has come to the forefront in the last few decades, it is possible to argue it has its roots in the same time period as when the Moral or Purity Crusades are beginning in Europe. The work of Josephine Butler(1976) during the latter part of the 19th century, for example, would seem to be the beginning of a movement in English law to repeal discriminatory legislation against women; i.e., the Contagious Diseases Acts(see above). What is more likely the case, though, is that research on prostitution within this category is relatively recent. Factors relevant to the thesis within this category are given in Table 6, infra.⁹

⁹One issue stressed within this category is that prostitution, "...the so-called 'oldest profession'...(is) a frequent means of survival for working-class women..." (Rosen and Davidson, 1977; p.xiii). It is a point that surfaces frequently in the literature, such as in the work of Mayhew(1950), Booth(1969) or Acton(1857), and in more recent typologies of prostitutes, such as that by Winich and Kinsie(1971), or Goldstein(1979).

Table 6

Ecological Factors In
The Feminist Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Rosen (1982)	b,c,
Rosen and Davidson (1977)	a,b,c,

a = bars

b = red-light districts

c = poorest neighbourhoods(having the least political
clout)

The Case Studies and Auto-Biographical Category

Literature within this category may range from the purely descriptive or ethnographic(e.g., Adler, 1953; Mathur and Gupta, 1965), to a first-person format(e.g., Anonymous, 1959), to studies done within an academic or therapeutic framework(e.g., Glover, 1969; Greenwald, 1958). Given the differences in levels of analysis, and perhaps the motivation underlying why one would want to talk about one's life as a streetwalker, it may be difficult to acknowledge credibility:

It is notorious, of course, that the life histories proffered by experienced prostitutes are extremely unreliable... (Glover, 1969; p.9).

Thus, it may be prudent to consider literature within this

category as being supportive, but not conclusive, in seeking an understanding of the activity of streetwalking(see also Winich and Kinsie, 1971; p.38). Ecological factors relevant to the thesis in this perspective are given in Table 7, infra.¹⁰

¹⁰Some of the factors, such as night-clubs, cafes, and movie houses(especially those open into the early hours of the morning), are also of importance to streetwalkers for their recreation use as well (Anonymous; 1959).

Table 7

Ecological Factors In The Case-
Studies And Auto-Biography Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Anonymous (1959)	a,b,c,e,f,g
Anonymous (1980)	e
Greenwald (1958)	b,d,h
Winn (1974)	a

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| a = parks | e = red-light districts |
| b = night-clubs | f = door-ways |
| c = cafes or
restaurants | g = rooms in, or nearby,
streetwalking settings |
| d = theatres(film
and live) | h = sports arenas |

The Miscellaneous Category

Literature reviewed within this category actually falls within a wide variety of perspectives: From urban anthropology(e.g., Hannerz, 1980; James, 1972), to ethnography (e.g., James, 1977; McLeod, 1982; Milner and Milner, 1972; Prus and Irini, 1980), to official publications of governments or organizations(e.g., The League Of Nations reports, 1934, 1938, 1943), to medical and drug-use approaches(e.g., Gebhard, 1969; Goldstein, 1979). Although it is possible to place any one piece of work within any one, or more, of the categories discussed

above, discussion is facilitated by creating this category.¹¹
Ecological factors relevant to the thesis within this
perspective are given in Table 8, infra.

¹¹One other issue stated within this category is that community tolerance and the attitude of the police may in part determine the extent of streetwalking activity (The League of Nations Report, 1943; p.34).

Table 8

Ecological Factors In
The Miscellaneous Category

AUTHOR(S)	ECOLOGICAL FACTORS DISCUSSED
Breed (1966)	k
Goldstein (1979)	d,e,k,r,u,v
James (1973)	i,k,l
League of Nations (1943)	b,k
Lloyd (1976)	p,
McLeod (1982)	g,h,i,k
Murtagh and Harris (1957)	d,j,k,p,q
Prus and Irini (1980)	e,k,p
Sheehy (1973)	c,j,o,p
Winich and Kinsie (1971)	a,c,e,i,k,n,p,q

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| a = areas of heavy,
male pedestrian
traffic | i = doorways |
| b = areas of dis-
proportionate
ratio of males
to females | j = hallways |
| c = theatre districts | k = red-light districts |
| d = skin movie houses,
peep or stag shows | l = streetcorners |
| e = bars | m = alleys |
| f = liquor stores | n = business districts |
| g = vacant lots | o = deserted office
buildings |
| h = areas behind old
houses | p = cheap hotels |
| | q = night-clubs |
| | r = dance halls |
| | s = concert halls |
| | t = sports arenas |
| | u = gambling halls |
| | v = massage parlours |

Support For Cohen's Ecological Determinants In The Literature

As may be seen by Table 9, *infra*, comparing factors in Cohen's four categories to factors elicited from the literature review, support is found for the majority of ecological factors he argues are characteristic of active streetwalking settings. Those factors that do not have support in the literature may indicate that they are variables not considered by previous researchers; e.g., that streetwalking will not flourish where there are either legitimate or competing interests, or the use of service stations and parking lots by streetwalkers and clients.

Table 9

Support For Cohen's Ecological
Factors In The Literature

ECOLOGICAL FACTORS	LITERATURE CATEGORY
(1)hotels/seedy hotels poorly lit, outdoor parking lots service stations massage parlors	1,2,3,5,7,8 possibly 8 none 5
(2)coffee shops delicatessens bars parks	1,2,3,5,7,8 none 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 2,3,5,7
(3)corner or side of one-way streets	2,5
(4)stand at intersections	2,5
(5)streets restricting parking/curbs reserved for bus stops	5
(6)abandoned/closed buildings	3,5,7,8
(7)primary transportation route	3,4
(8)near bus/sub-way stops	5
ECONOMIC BASE	
(1)heavy vehicular traffic/ pedestrian flow	1,2,3,4,5
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS	
(1)age	4
(2)sex	categories 2,3,8 support areas as having a greater ratio of men to women
(3)race	not considered relevant
(4)household composition	5
(5)socioeconomic areas	see community tolerance category

Table 9

Support For Cohen's Ecological
Factors In The Literature

ECOLOGICAL FACTORS	LITERATURE CATEGORY
6)location on/near business thoroughfares	2,3,4,5
COMMUNITY TOLERANCE	
(1)effect of strong sentiments/ community resistance	2,3,4,5,6,8
(2)competing legitimate/ illegitimate interests	none
(3)benefits by business	see ecological/ economic base categories

- 1 = Moral and Purity Crusade
- 2 = Social Hygiene
- 3 = Historical
- 4 = Sociological
- 5 = Geography/Ecology of Crime
- 6 = Feminist
- 7 = Case Studies/Auto-Biographies
- 8 = Miscellaneous

Chapter Synopsis

A review of the literature establishes that criteria exist for identifying apparent female streetwalkers within settings; and, given that prostitution is not a crime in Canada (but solicitation is), the concepts of "streetwalker" and "streetwalking" are understood by reference to s.195 of the Criminal Code of Canada. Furthermore, support is found in the

literature for the determinants that Cohen argues facilitate the emergence and continued existence of streetwalking settings. The next stage is to define and operationalize the determinants within Cohen's four categories, so that a test of his model may be carried out by attempting to predict where apparent female streetwalkers locate within Vancouver.

IV. Methodology

Defining Cohen's Determinants

The determinants of Cohen's model are grouped into four broad categories: Ecological, Economic, Sociodemographic, and Community Tolerance. The thesis, though, argues that all of these determinants are actually ecological factors as understood within a Chicago School perspective (see Chapter Two, "A Chicago School Orientation").¹ To avoid confusing Cohen's Ecological category with the concept of "ecological factors", his categories are termed:

Ecological = Setting Physical Attributes
Economic Base = Economic Base
Sociodemographic = Setting Social Attributes
Community Tolerance = Community Tolerance.

Although Cohen elaborates upon some of his concepts or determinants within his study, there are many that require

¹In fact, Cohen himself states that determinants "...imply facilitative factors or conditions..." (Cohen, 1980; p.111). There is, however, a problem with the terminology that Cohen uses. On the one hand, "determinant" would seem to necessarily entail causality; i.e., that the existence of "facilitative factors or conditions" would be causally related to the activity of streetwalking within a setting. On the other hand, his explanation that "determinants" are only "facilitative factors or conditions" seems to entail that Cohen is "glossing over" the issue of causality. As a result, the use of the concept of "determinant" seems to lead to ambiguity. It is not too trite to state that locations are not necessarily "causes" of the existence of streetwalking activity.

explication. Thus, it is necessary to give real definitions for: 1) those factors defined by Cohen; 2) those factors undefined by Cohen; and 3) those factors that arise out of a test of his model in the present research(SEE APPENDIX D FOR OPERATIONALIZATION RATIONALE).

Realizing Factors In The Setting Physical Attributes Category

The first set of ecological factors that are said by Cohen to be relevant are essentially the physical attributes of a setting. Physical attributes would seem to mean factors, either natural or man-made, in the environment; e.g., a lake in the former case, or a street or restaurant in the latter(see Chapter Two, "A Chicago School Orientation"). Factors within this category are classified by extrapolation from Cohen's work as being: 1)necessary to a setting; 2) optional to a setting; and 3) where streetwalkers usually locate, if factors within this classification are present in a setting. Thus, it would seem that factors in the latter two classifications are not necessary to an active streetwalking setting; whereas, those in the first class are. Table 10, infra, summarizes the factors in this first category.²

²Since Cohen refers to both "networks" and "individual settings", the thesis is careful to ensure that factors utilized are those that apply specifically to settings.

Table 10

Ecological Factors In The
Physical Attributes Category

CLASSIFICATION

NECESSARY TO A
SETTING

- (1) near several hotels
- (2) cluster of coffee shops,
delicatessens, bars,
and parks
- (3) primary transportation
network
- (4) near bus and sub-way
stops

OPTIONAL TO A
SETTING

- (1) small, rundown, seedy
hotels
- (2) poorly lit, outdoor
parking lots
- (3) inconspicuous service-
station lots
- (4) massage parlours
- (5) restricted on-street
parking
- (6) abandoned or closed
buildings

STREETWALKERS
USUALLY LOCATE

- (1) corner or side of a
one-way street
 - (2) at intersections
-

For purposes of the study, the ensuing terms are given real definitions(entail characteristics or attributes) in Table 11, infra(see Appendix D for operationalization rationale). The majority of the remaining factors in the present category are self-evident, in both conceptualization and operationalization;

e.g., a "one-way street" is a one-way street, determined either by consulting a street-map of Vancouver, or by personal observation at a setting. Terms such as "poorly lit" and "inconspicuous", though, are relative; therefore, it may not be possible to come-up with empirical definitions, or measurements, given that they entail a subjective judgement on the part of a researcher.³

³Even if a light meter is used to determine the amount of "candle power" in a setting, comparisons of the level of ambient light between settings would still be value judgments in describing any particular setting as being "dark" or "bright".

Table 11

Real Definitions For The Setting
Physical Attributes Category

TERM	REAL DEFINITION
(1) Several	three or more
(2) Primary Transportation network	primary or secondary arterial streets
(3) Seedy Hotels	cut-off points of \$20.00 and \$13.00 and under, for hotels and motels respectively, a night
(4) Cluster	intuitive
(5) Near	intersecting search patterns as per Appendix D

Defining Factors In The Economic Base Category

Factors in Cohen's second category are held to relate to an economic base. Three concepts seem to be entailed: 1) heavy vehicular traffic; 2) heavy pedestrian flows; and 3) an economic base per se (see Appendix D for operationalization rationale). All of these factors seem to "tie-back" into the first category; i.e., "...heavy pedestrian and vehicular traffic usually occurs on major streets" (Pinsker; 1982). In turn, businesses may locate in areas of heavy pedestrian and vehicular traffic, since it provides a large "pool" of potential customers; therefore, enterprises, such as bars, night-clubs, hotels, etc., that attract males may also attract streetwalkers. Thus, ecological

factors in the physical attributes of a setting category form the economic base of the present category. Table 12, infra, gives real definitions for ecological factors in this category.

Table 12

Real Definitions Of Ecological
Factors In The Economic Base Category

TERM	REAL DEFINITION
(1) Heavy Vehicular	5,000 or more cars a day
(2) Heavy Pedestrian flow	a) CBD streets = 5,000+ b) Miscellaneous = 5,500+
(3) Economic Base	Indicated by the presence of businesses that are part of the "night-scene" (e.g., night-clubs, bars, cafes or restaurants)

CBD Streets = streets within the Central Business District
Miscellaneous Streets = major streets outside of the CBD

Real Definitions In The Setting Social Attributes Category

Ecological factors within this category relate primarily to the social attributes of a setting. Two methods are used by Cohen in collecting data for the study: 1) by personal observation within a setting; and 2) the use of census data. Table 13, infra, gives real definitions of ecological factors in the present category(see Appendix D for operationalization rationale).

Table 13

Real Definitions Of Ecological Factors
In The Setting Social Attributes Category

METHOD	REAL DEFINITION
BY OBSERVATION	
(1) Age	estimated, range between 25 - 55 years of age
(2) Sex	entails: a) male or female b) streetwalkers or non-streetwalkers
(3) Race	not considered relevant
(4) Business thoroughfares	primary and secondary arterial streets as defined in Appendix D
(5) Decent Housing	not considered relevant
BY CENSUS TRACT DATA	
(1) Household Composition	determined by: a) number of males and females, 15 years and over b) marital status of those, 15 years and over c) if part of a private household, including family or non-family member d) number of families
(2) Socioeconomic Area	data unavailable, dropped as unnecessary to the thesis
(3) Neighbourhood	determined by primary school catchment areas, not census tract data
(4) Stable	determined by: a) if an area is above, or below, Vancouver's mobility rate

Table 13

Real Definitions Of Ecological Factors
In The Setting Social Attributes Category

METHOD	REAL DEFINITION
	b) percentage of home ownership in an area

Defining Factors In The Community Tolerance Category

Although factors in this category are difficult to define, Table 14, infra, gives an indication of what may be entailed by these concepts(see Appendix D for operationalization rationale).

Table 14

Real Definitions Of Ecological Factors
In The Community Tolerance Category

TERM	REAL DEFINITION
(1) Community Values	indicated by: a) reports or complaints to official agencies (e.g., city hall or the police) b) land-use patterns (e.g., types of business in an area) c) media coverage
(2) Legitimate Competition	enterprises engaged in trade or commerce
(3) Illegitimate Competition	existence of: a) drug-selling b) mugging c) juvenile gangs d) "wino's"
(4) Neighbourhood	primary school catchment areas

Real Definition of Setting

Three types of settings are referred to in the present thesis: 1) projected; 2) predicted; and 3) active. The first type refers to settings considered to be possible streetwalking sites in Vancouver, generated with reference to ecological

factors in the Setting Physical Attributes Category(see discussion in Chapter Five on "Elimination By Setting Physical Attributes Category Factors"). The second class of settings refers to areas of Vancouver that are identified as being probable streetwalking sites, after eliminating settings inconsistent with Cohen's model(see Chapter Five). The third class of settings are areas of Vancouver that actually have female, heterosexual streetwalkers, whether or not they are predicted by a test of Cohen's model, confirmed by: 1) reference to media articles; 2) reference to the literature; and 3) personal observation(see Chapter Five, "Confirming Existence Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings"). Table 15, infra, gives real definitions of these three classes of settings.

Table 15

Real Definitions Of Settings

TERM	REAL DEFINITION
Projected	an area of Vancouver tentatively identified as a streetwalking locale, by reference to ecological factors in the Setting Physical Attributes Category
Predicted	an area of Vancouver considered to be a probable streetwalking locale, after elimination of projected settings inconsistent with Cohen's model
Active	an area of Vancouver that actually has female, heterosexual streetwalkers, established by reference to the media, the literature, and by personal observation

Chapter Synopsis

The present chapter, in combination with Appendix D, defines and operationalizes the determinants of Cohen's model. Some difficulty is realized in carrying-out the preceding process, since Cohen does not define many of his determinants, or uses them in such an informal way that other measures must be found; e.g., he does not quantify what one is to understand by the concepts of "several" or a "cluster". Furthermore, not all of his determinants are necessary in testing his model in

Vancouver. For example, "decent housing" is not considered, since six out of the seven predicted settings for streetwalking activity(see Chapter Five, "Elimination By Community Tolerance Category Factors") are within the Central Business District(CBD), an area with very few houses; in addition, Dr. McAfee of the Vancouver City Planning Department, maintains that there is not much inadequate housing within the City(see Appendix D). The next step is to eliminate areas of Vancouver inconsistent with Cohen's determinants, as defined by the thesis, to give a list of predicted settings where female, heterosexual streetwalking activity ought to exist.

V. Testing Cohen's Model

The objective of the thesis is to test Cohen's model, to see if its application can successfully determine the location of active streetwalking settings in Vancouver. There are two possible approaches one may use, a "weak" test, whereby actual areas of streetwalking in Vancouver are compared to the ecological factors given in Cohen's model; or, a "strong" test, whereby Cohen's model is used to predict which areas of Vancouver ought to have streetwalking activity. The thesis uses the latter approach, utilizing a format of: 1) obtaining data for all four categories of Cohen's model; 2) generating a set of projected locations of apparent female streetwalking activity by reference to data obtained; 3) providing a set of predicted locations of apparent female streetwalkers by eliminating areas of Vancouver inconsistent with Cohen's determinants; and 4) rendering a set of active settings by confirming that apparent female streetwalkers are located in predicted settings, as well as establishing that they do not locate in areas studied in comparison by the thesis. Only the prediction of streetwalking settings is discussed in the present chapter, eliminating areas of Vancouver inconsistent with Cohen's model in the categorical order: 1) Setting Physical Attributes; 2) Setting Social Attributes; 3) Economic Base; and 4) Community Tolerance. Those settings remaining may have streetwalking activity; i.e., to

ensure the existence of streetwalkers in predicted settings, and that they are not located in other areas of Vancouver, it is necessary to undertake media and literature reviews, as well as carrying-out personal observation.

Elimination By Setting Physical Attributes Category Factors

The first phase in testing Cohen's model is to consider Vancouver, in its entirety, as being "at risk"; i.e., apparent female streetwalkers could, a priori, locate anywhere in the city. To eliminate unlikely settings for streetwalking, factors in the present category are considered first, using the following schema:

- 1) Determine primary transportation routes in Vancouver, in accordance with City Engineering's typology of primary and secondary arterial streets
- 2) Using a map outline of Vancouver, mark primary and secondary arterial streets on it
- 3) Consult the phone book for the address of each hotel and motel, and place a pin in the map representing each unit's location(colour-coded for price category)
- 4) Project settings that are on, or just off of, primary and secondary arterial streets, that have "several" hotels "near" to each other
- 5) By direct observation in projected settings, list ecological factors consistent with those given in the Setting Physical Attributes category

Areas of the city inconsistent with factors given in this category are eliminated from the study; however, no projected settings are deleted at this stage of the test(see Figures 1 to

4).¹

¹For these figures, the colours of the pins, or the flags, indicate either the price for a single hotel/motel room on a daily basis or the unavailability of such information. The colour codes are: 1) red. = \$8.00 - \$15.00; 2) yellow = \$16.00 \$28.00; 3) blue = \$29.00 - \$40.00; 4) green = \$41.00 \$105.00; 5) white flag = no price over phone; 6) orange flag = by the month only; and 7) yellow flag = no price. The silver pins indicate bus terminals.

Figure 1

PIN MAP OF VANCOUVER SHOWING CLUSTER PATTERNS OF HOTELS AND MOTELS



Figure 2

CLUSTER PATTERN OF HOTELS/MOTELS
ON KINGSWAY HIGHWAY



Figure 3

CLUSTER PATTERN OF HOTELS/MOTELS
IN THE WEST END

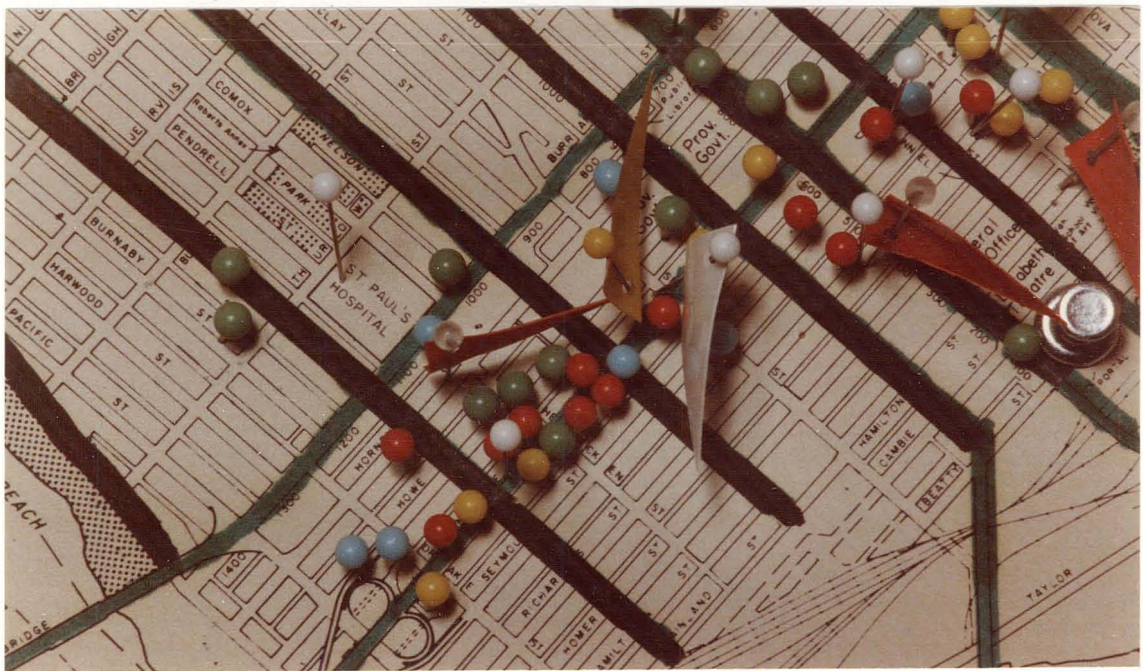
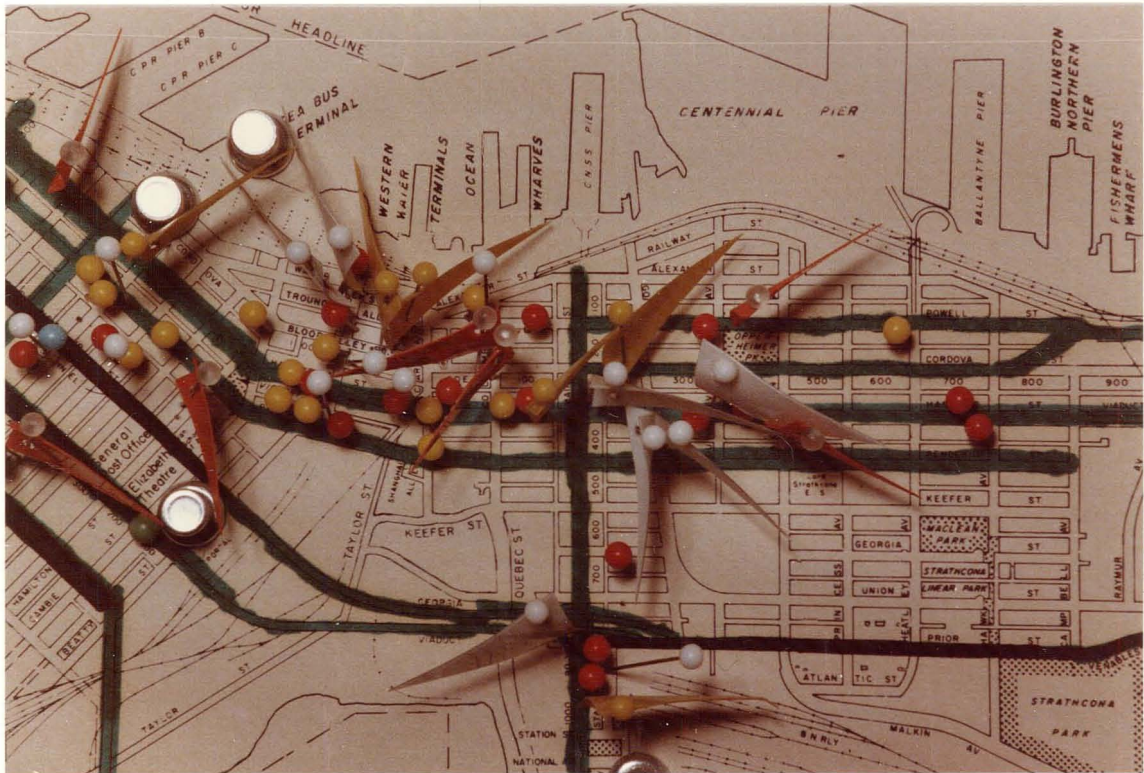


Figure 4

CLUSTER PATTERN OF HOTELS/MOTELS
IN THE DOWNTOWN EAST-SIDE



STEP ONE: PROJECTED SETTINGS

Applying the above schema, other than direct observation of ecological factors, gives a total of eighteen projected settings with three(or more) hotels or motels in them(see Appendix E):

- 01) Abbott Street
- 02) Carrall Street
- 03) Columbia Street
- 04) Davie Street
- 05) Denman Street
- 06) Georgia street
- 07) Granville Street
- 08) Hastings Street
- 09) Helmcken Street
- 10) Kingsway I
- 11) Kingsway II
- 12) Main Street
- 13) Pender I
- 14) Pender II
- 15) Richards I
- 16) Richards II
- 17) Robson Street
- 18) Seymour Street

A total of 137 hotels and motels are listed in the Vancouver phone directory's "Yellow Pages" (see Appendix F). Only 106 of them are used in the study, however, since when phoned: 1) some refused to give a price over the phone(missing data); 2) some do not have a current phone number(missing data); 3) some rent rooms by the week or month only(rooms not reasonably available for sexual transactions); and 4) some are "pubs" only(no rooms available for sexual transactions).

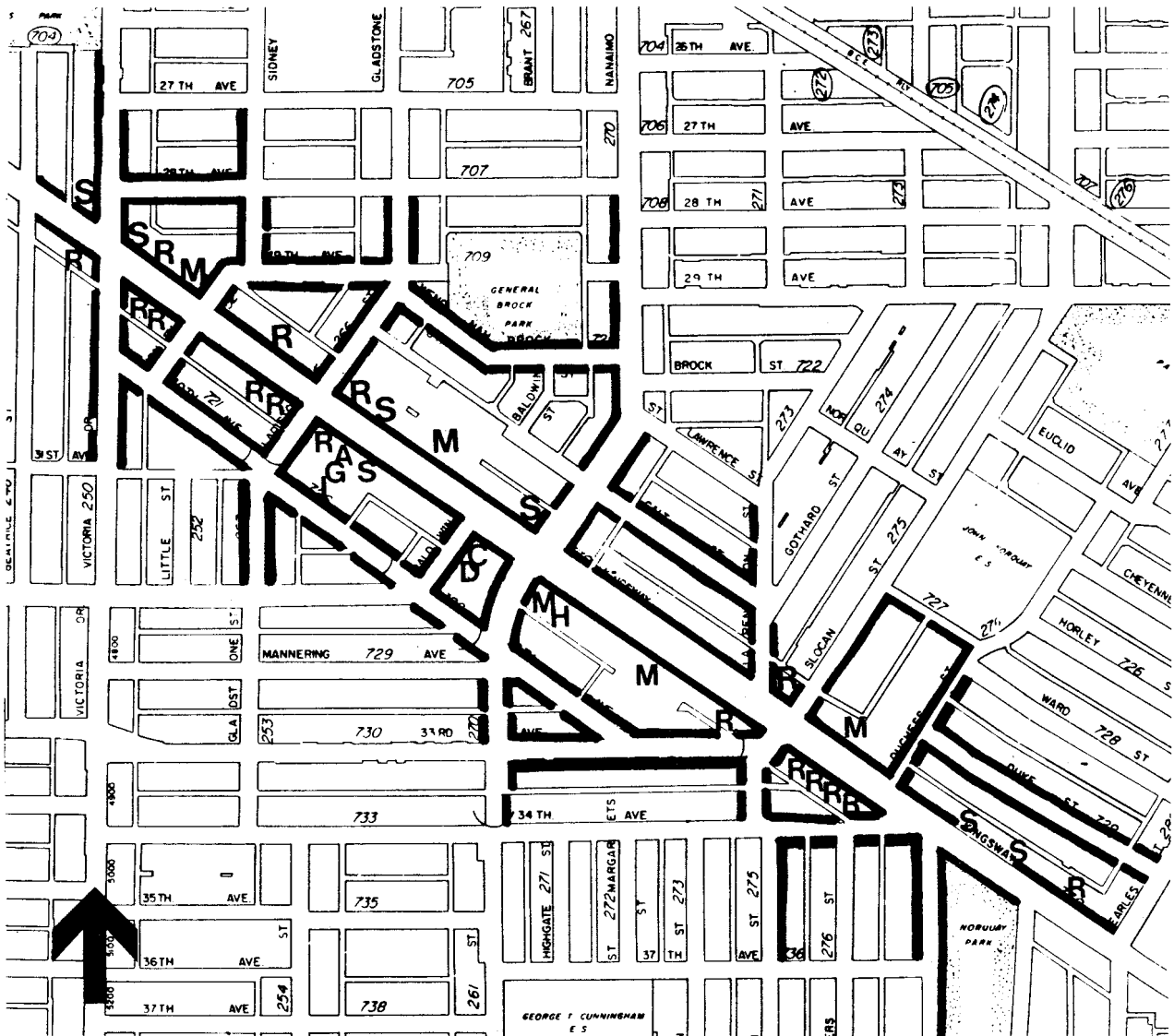
STEP TWO: CLASSIFICATION OF ECOLOGICAL FACTORS WITHIN PROJECTED SETTINGS

Ecological factors noted in projected settings are derived from Cohen's study: 1) either "verbatim", as in the case of bars, parks, hotels, etc.; or 2) by extrapolation, as in the inclusion of new buildings under construction, vacant lots, and motels. Ecological factors, derived by personal observation, are outlined in a table below, providing a basis for comparison between, and elimination of, settings. The two Kingsway settings, for example, do not seem to have strong ecological clusters(see Figure 5):

Kingsway is a typical commercial strip, consisting of a large number of auto-orientated functions, such as: Car dealerships, both new and used; muffler and transmission shops; and motels. Interspersed are personal service functions, such as insurance offices, restaurants, and repair shops. The resultant pattern of development represents a "hodge-podge" of building forms, with some buildings set close to the street and others set back. No retail continuity exists, other than at major cross-streets, such as Knight Street" (Whitlock; 1983).

However, none of the settings can be eliminated at this stage, since Cohen does not state how many factors(or of what variety) are necessary to support streetwalking activity.

Figure 5.1
Ecological Clusters of
The Kingsway Settings




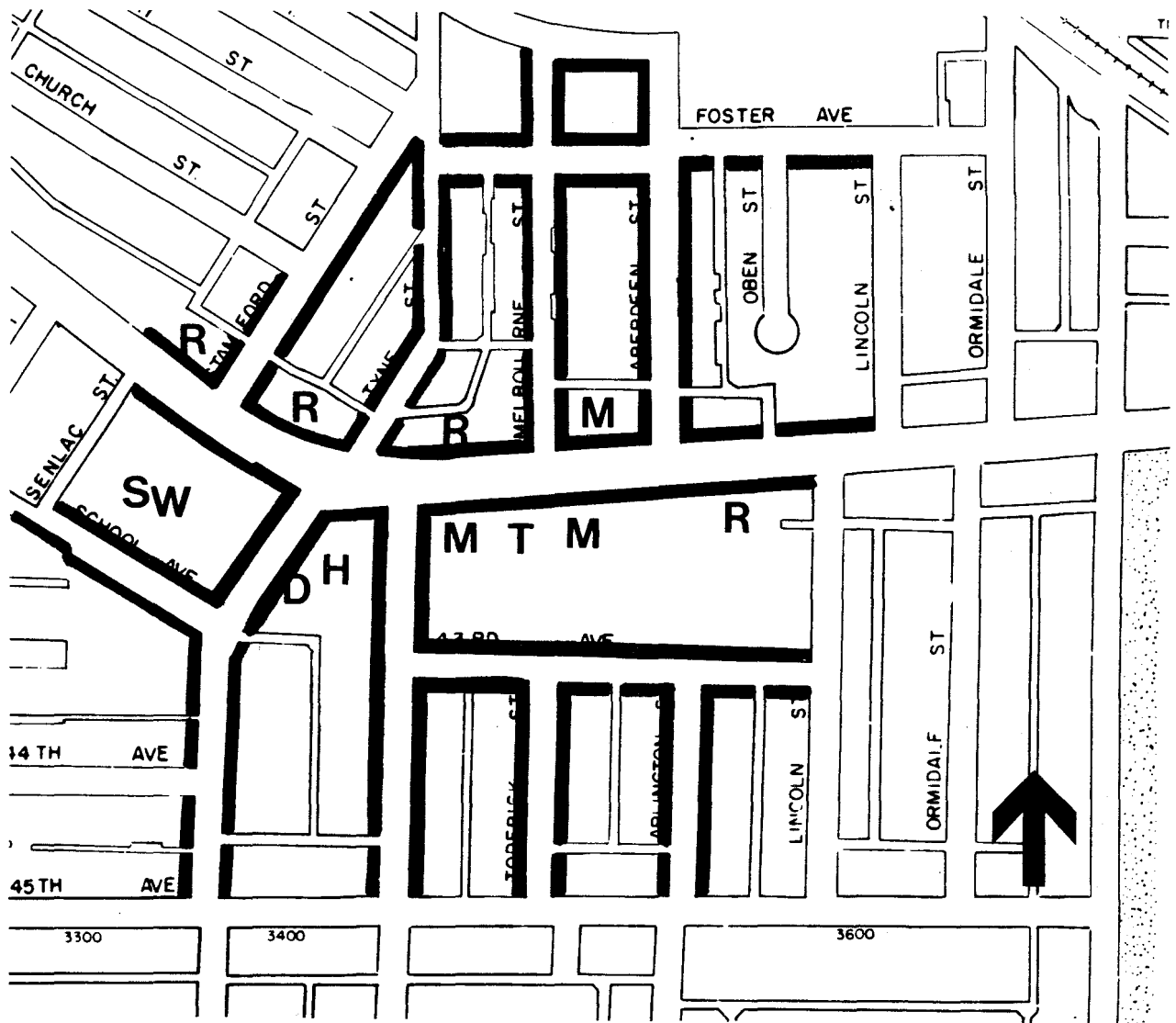
- S** Service Station; e.g., gas and/or repair depot
- R** Restaurant
- IGA** IGA Grocery Store
- MH** Motel/Hotel complex; in this setting, has a lounge
- DC** Deli/Cafe combination
-  Block Face at Risk

Figure 5.2
Ecological Clusters of
The Kingsway Settings



- M_H** Motel or Hotel
- T** Trailer Court
- R** Restaurant
- D** Discotheque
- Sw** Safeway Grocery Store
- ▭** Block Face At Risk

Parts of settings may be deleted, however, if they are inconsistent with Cohen's model. Most of Granville Mall, for example, may be eliminated: Cohen argues that clients of streetwalkers follow a circuit, driving from location to location (Cohen, 1980; p.14). Since the Mall is open only to public transportation or emergency vehicles, it is unlikely streetwalkers would locate where clients could not "cruise" by them. Similarly, even though laws against soliciting are not being enforced, it seems unlikely streetwalkers and clientele would want to engage in transactions "near" police stations; therefore, Hastings, from Main to Dunlevy, and Main Street itself, from Pender to Powell, are dropped from the study.² Table 16, infra, summarizes the number and type of ecological factors found in each setting.

²These parts of settings dropped from the study at this point are surveyed for both ecological factors and streetwalkers anyway. Results show that the area along Hastings Street, from Main to Dunlevy, do not have sufficient ecological factors to support active streetwalking settings, and in fact do not appear to have any streetwalkers present. Another explanation for the absence of streetwalkers in this area is that the police encouraged their displacement to Georgia and Hornby to "...relocat(e)...(them)to this embarrassingly high profile area" (Wilson, 1980; p.127). Similarly, although Granville Mall has clusters of ecological factors that are relevant to the thesis, no streetwalkers are observed along the Mall, other than at the southern end within sight of vehicular traffic on cross-streets. It may well be that there are too many competing legitimate interests along the Mall, such as theatres and their clientele, for streetwalkers to locate there(see Appendix D, "Defining 'Legitimate And Illegitimate Competing Activities'").

Table 16

Ecological Factors Within
Projected Settings

SETTING NUMBER	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
01	21	07	--	--	02	03	--	03	01	11	11	48	04	--	02	21	--
02	26	10	--	--	01	--	01	03	01	23	08	42	07	01	02	19	--
03*	27	06	--	--	02	--	01	02	--	20	16	40	11	01	04	14	--
04*	03	--	--	--	--	01	--	01	01	06	01	22	--	02	--	01	01
05	07	--	--	--	--	02	--	--	--	01	01	28	--	02	01	01	--
06*	10	01	--	--	--	04	04	03	02	12	10	45	--	01	03	02	03
07*	21	10	--	--	--	03	02	02	02	30	05	39	--	07	13	13	02
08*	41	12	--	--	03	01	02	04	02	31	14	64	12	04	04	28	03
09*	12	08	03	--	--	02	04	02	01	20	05	26	--	02	03	17	02
10	01	--	03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	04	--	--	--	--	01
11	--	--	05	--	--	--	--	--	02	--	01	16	--	07	--	--	--
12*	06	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	04	05	--	09	--	01	01	04	--
13	18	07	--	--	01	01	02	03	01	10	05	20	01	01	02	07	--
14	08	04	--	--	--	01	01	03	--	11	04	21	01	--	--	06	--
15	09	04	--	--	--	--	01	04	--	11	04	14	01	--	--	04	--
16	08	04	--	--	--	--	--	03	--	14	01	09	--	--	02	03	01
17	05	--	04	--	--	01	--	--	01	08	01	29	--	01	--	01	02
18	13	05	--	--	--	02	01	02	--	10	02	10	--	--	02	--	--

A = Number of hotels

B = Confirmed number of hotels
\$20.00 and under

C = Number of motels

D = Confirmed number of motels
\$13.00 and underE = Number of body rub/massage
parlours, or steam baths

F = Number of delicatessens

G = Number of new buildings
under construction

H = Number of one-way streets

I = Number of parks

J = Number of parking lots

K = Number of pubs, lounges,
bars, or nightclubsL = Number of restaurants or
cafes

M = Number of rooming houses

N = Number of service
StationsO = Number of theatres(both
live and film)

P = Number of vacant buildings

Q = Number of vacant lots

* = Active apparent female
streetwalking setting

STEP THREE: LOCATION OF PROSTITUTES WITHIN PROJECTED SETTINGS

According to Cohen, streetwalkers prefer to position themselves within settings at: 1) the corner or side of a one-way street, on the driver's side; 2) four-corner intersections; and 3) areas providing temporary parking for clients in cars. These positions facilitate discussion with potential clients, good visibility, and more avenues of escape (Cohen, 1980; pp.113-114). Table 17, infra, based upon setting boundaries in Appendix E, indicates where streetwalkers ought to locate within each of the eighteen projected settings, where it is assumed upon the basis of Cohen's model that streetwalkers will locate on the driver's side if one-way streets exist(see Figure 6).

Table 17

Predicted Location Of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings By
Ecological Category

SETTING NUMBER	PREDICTED LOCATION OF STREETWALKERS ON STREETS WITHIN SETTINGS	ONE-WAY STREET ENTAILED
01	a) Abbott, west-side, Pender to waterfront	YES
	b) Cambie, east-side, Pender to waterfront	YES
	c) Carrall, east-side, Pender to waterfront	YES
	d) Cordova, north-side, Homer to Columbia	YES
	e) Hastings, Homer to Columbia	
	f) Powell or Water, south-side, Homer to Columbia	YES
02	a) Abbott, west-side, Pender to Powell or Water	YES
	b) Carrall, east-side, Powell to Dunsmuir	YES
	c) Columbia, west-side, Powell to Dunsmuir	YES
	d) Cordova, north-side, Cambie to Main	YES
	e) Hastings, Cambie to Main	
	f) Pender, Cambie to Main	
03	a) Carrall, west-side, Pender to waterfront	YES
	b) Columbia, east-side, Pender to waterfront	YES
	c) Cordova, north-side, Abbott to Gore	YES
	d) Hastings, Abbott to Gore	
	e) Powell or Water, south-side, Abbott to Gore	YES
04	a) Burnaby, Jervis to Burrard	
	b) Comox, Jervis to Burrard	
	c) Davie, Jervis to Burrard	
	d) Nelson, Jervis to Burrard	

Table 17

Predicted Location Of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings By
Ecological Category

SETTING NUMBER	PREDICTED LOCATION OF STREETWALKERS ON STREETS WITHIN SETTINGS	ONE-WAY STREET ENTAILED
	e) Pendrell, Jervis to Burrard	
	f) Thurlow, east-side, Barclay to Burnaby	YES
05	a) Bidwell, Barclay to Beach	
	b) Burnaby, Beach to Cardero	
	c) Comox, Chilco to Cardero	
	d) Davie, Denman to Cardero	
	e) Denman, Barclay to Beach	
	f) Nelson, Chilco to Cardero	
	g) Pendrell, Chilco to Cardero	
06	a) Burrard, Dunsmuir to Smithe	
	b) Georgia, Seymour to Bute	
	c) Hornby, west-side, Dunsmuir to Smithe	YES
	d) Howe, east-side, Dunsmuir to Smithe	YES
	e) Thurlow, east-side, Dunsmuir to Smithe	YES
07	a) Davie, Richards to Hornby	
	b) Granville, Smithe to Beach	
	c) Helmcken, Richards to Hornby	
	d) Howe, east-side, Georgia to Beach	
	e) Nelson, Richards to Hornby	
	f) Seymour, west-side, Georgia to Beach	YES
08	a) Abbott, west-side, waterfront to Pender	YES
	b) Cambie, east-side, waterfront to Dunsmuir	YES
	c) Carrall, east-side, waterfront to Dunsmuir	YES

Table 17

Predicted Location Of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings By
Ecological Category

SETTING NUMBER	PREDICTED LOCATION OF STREETWALKERS ON STREETS WITHIN SETTINGS	ONE-WAY STREET ENTAILED
	d) Columbia, west-side, waterfront to Dunsmuir	
	e) Cordova, north-side, Homer to Columbia, Dunlevy to Princess	YES
	f) Hastings: Homer to Columbia, Dunlevy to Princess	
	g) Pender: Homer to Columbia, Dunlevy to Princess	
09	a) Burrard, Drake to Smithe	
	b) Davie, Seymour to Thurlow	
	c) Granville, Drake to Smithe	
	d) Helmcken, Seymour to Thurlow	
	e) Hornby, west-side, Drake to Smithe	YES
	f) Howe, east-side, Drake to Smithe	YES
	g) Nelson, Seymour to Thurlow	
10	a) 43rd Avenue, Tyne to Aberdeen	
	b) Melbourne, 45th Avenue to Euclid	
	c) Kingsway, Tyne to Aberdeen	
11	a) Kingsway, Baldwin to Claredon	
	b) Nanaimo, St. Lawrence to 33rd Avenue	
12	a) Georgia, Gore to Main	
	b) Gore, Union to Keefer	
	c) Main, National to Keefer	
	d) Keefer, Gore to Quebec	
13	a) Abbott and Pender, the north-west corner	YES
	b) Cambie and Pender, the north-east or south-east	

Table 17

Predicted Location Of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings By
Ecological Category

SETTING NUMBER	PREDICTED LOCATION OF STREETWALKERS ON STREETS WITHIN SETTINGS	ONE-WAY STREET ENTAILED
	corners	YES
	c) Carrall and Pender, the north-west or south-west corners	YES
	d) Hastings and Abbott, the north-west or south-west Robson corners	YES
	e) Hastings and Cambie, the north-east or south-east corners	YES
	f) Hastings and Carrall, the north-west or south-west corners	YES
14	a) Cordova, north-side, Hamilton to Howe	YES
	b) Dunsmuir, south-side, Hamilton to Howe	YES
	c) Hastings, Hamilton to Howe	
	d) Homer, west-side, waterfront to Georgia	YES
	e) Pender, Hamilton to Howe	
	f) Richards, east-side, waterfront to Georgia	YES
	g) Seymour, west-side, waterfront to Georgia	YES
15	a) Dunsmuir, south-side, Hamilton to Granville	YES
	b) Georgia, Hamilton to Granville	
	c) Homer, west-side, Georgia to Hastings	YES
	d) Richards, east-side, Georgia to Hastings	YES
	e) Seymour, west-side, Georgia to Hastings	




Table 17

Predicted Location Of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings By
Ecological Category

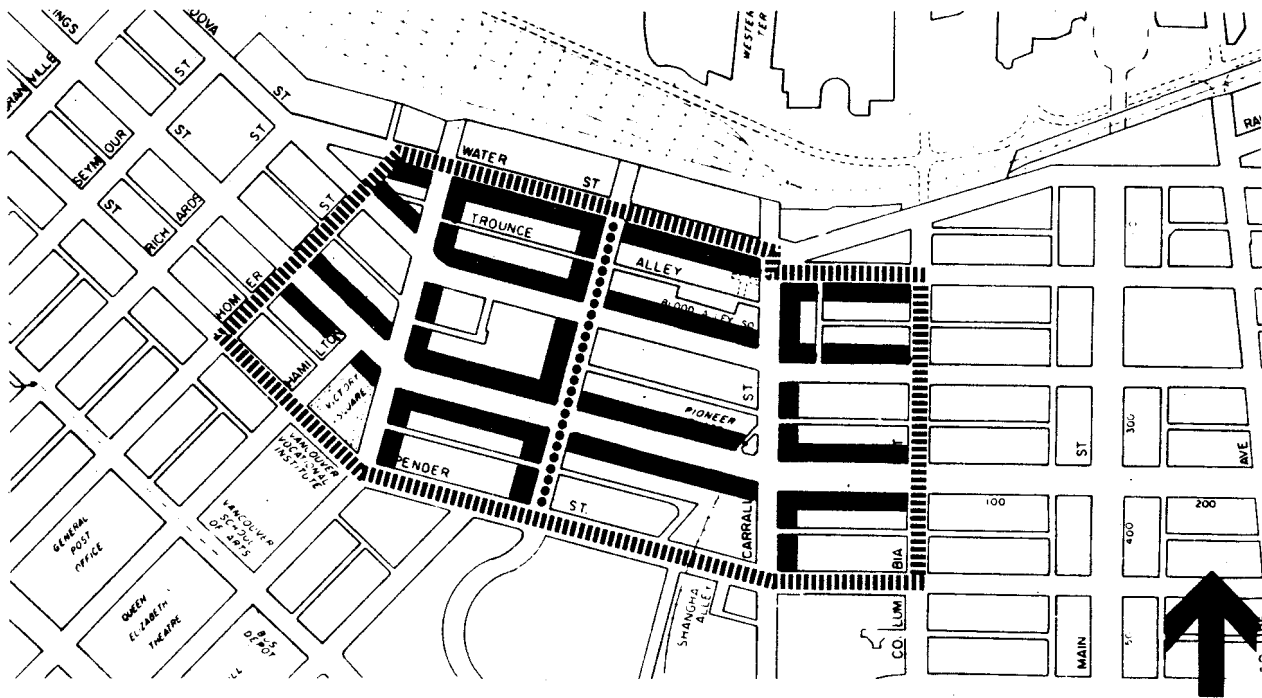
SETTING NUMBER	PREDICTED LOCATION OF STREETWALKERS ON STREETS WITHIN SETTINGS	ONE-WAY STREET ENTAILED
16	a) Homer, west-side, Helmcken to Robson	YES
	b) Nelson, Granville to Hamilton	
	c) Richards, east-side, Helmcken to Robson	YES
	d) Seymour, west-side, Helmcken to Robson	YES
	e) Smithe, south-side, Granville to Hamilton	
17	a) Alberni, Thurlow to Cardero	
	b) Broughton, Barclay to Georgia	
	c) Bute, Barclay to Georgia	
	d) Haro, Thurlow to Cardero	
	e) Jervis, Barclay to Georgia	
	f) Nicola, Barclay to Georgia	
	g) Robson, Thurlow to Cardero	
18	a) Dunsmuir, south-side, Homer to Howe	YES
	b) Georgia, Seymour to Howe	
	c) Richards, east-side, Pender to Robson	YES
	d) Seymour, west-side, Pender to Robson	YES

Figure 6.1
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Setting 1

Figures 6.1 through 6.11 show the 18 settings described in Tables 17 and 37 (Appendix E). All maps are drawn with the following symbols:

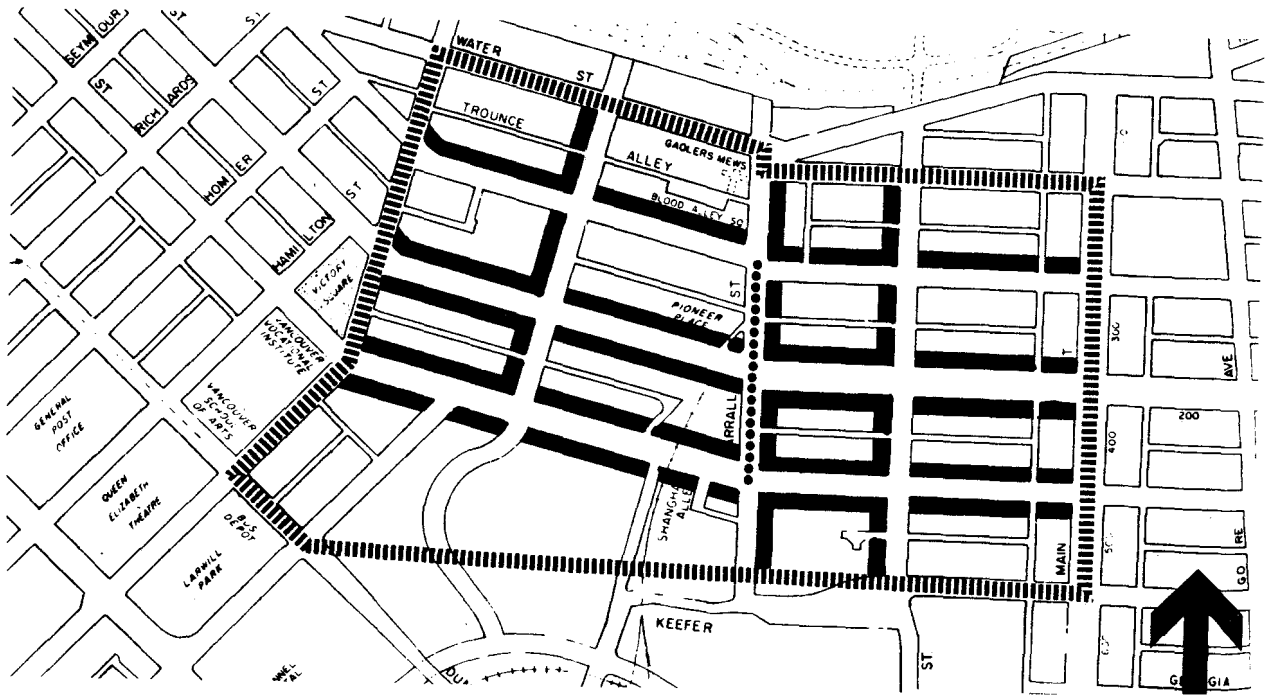
-  Actual Boundaries (Table 37)
-  Projected Boundaries (Table 37)
-  Block Faces Indicating Predicted Locations (Table 17)

All Maps Reduced From Originals

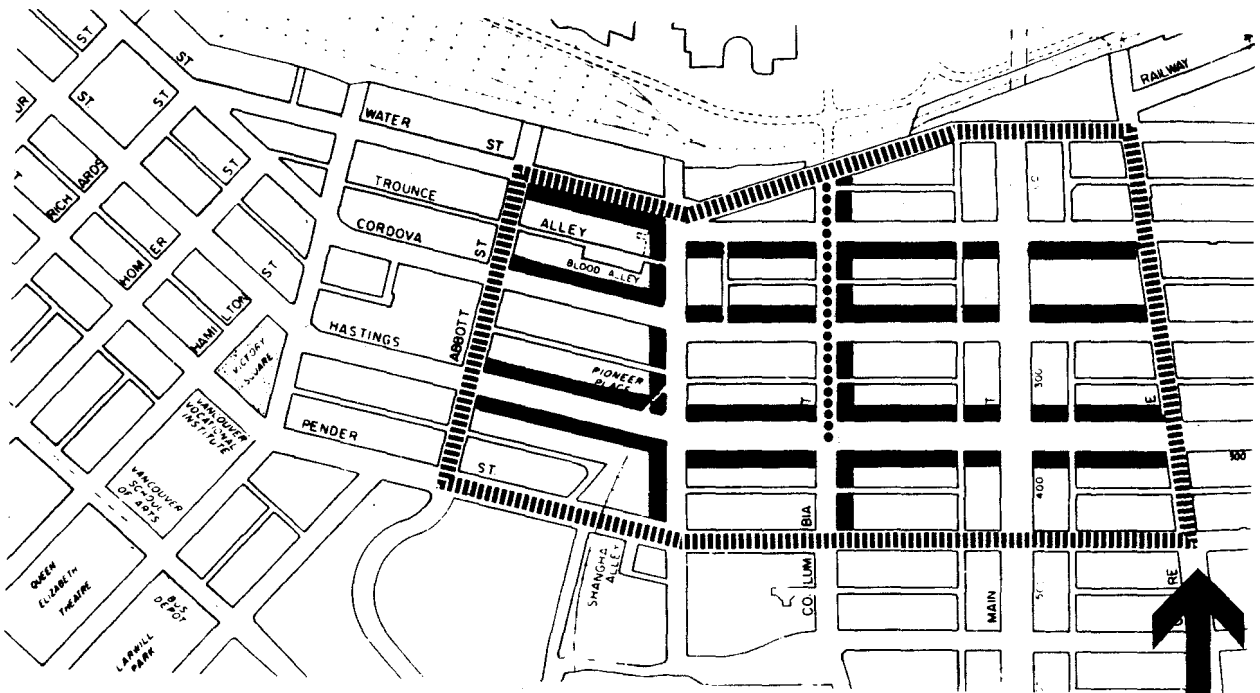


Setting 1 ▲

Figure 6.2
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings 2 & 3



Setting 2 ▲



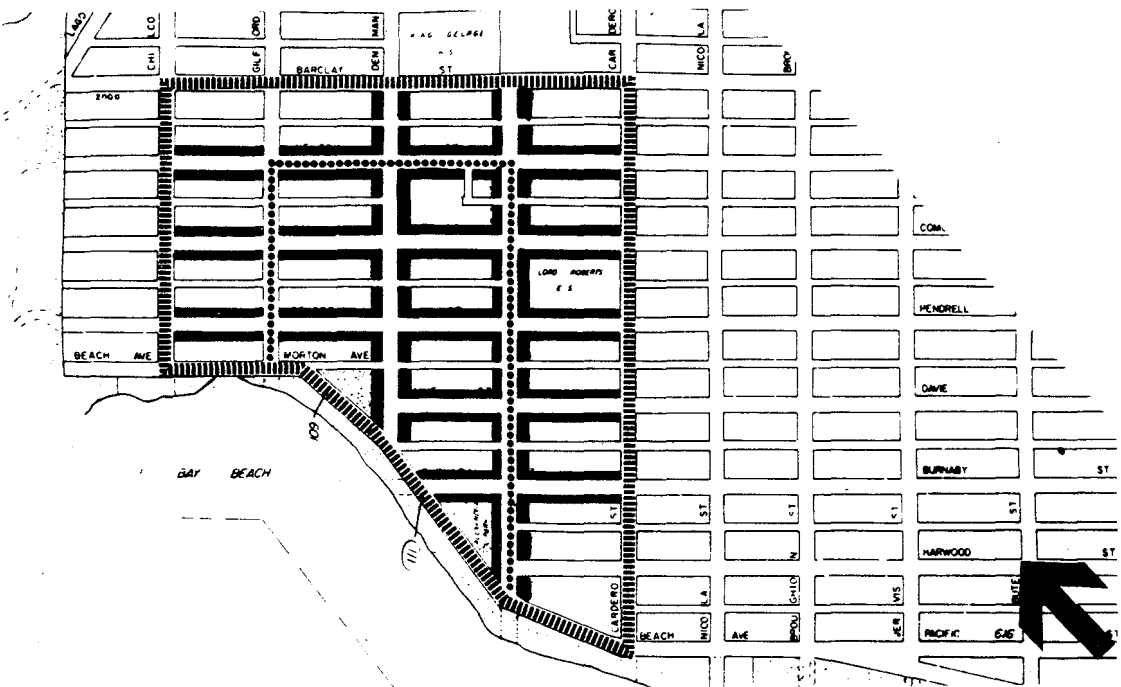
Setting 3 ▲

Figure 6.3
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Setting 4



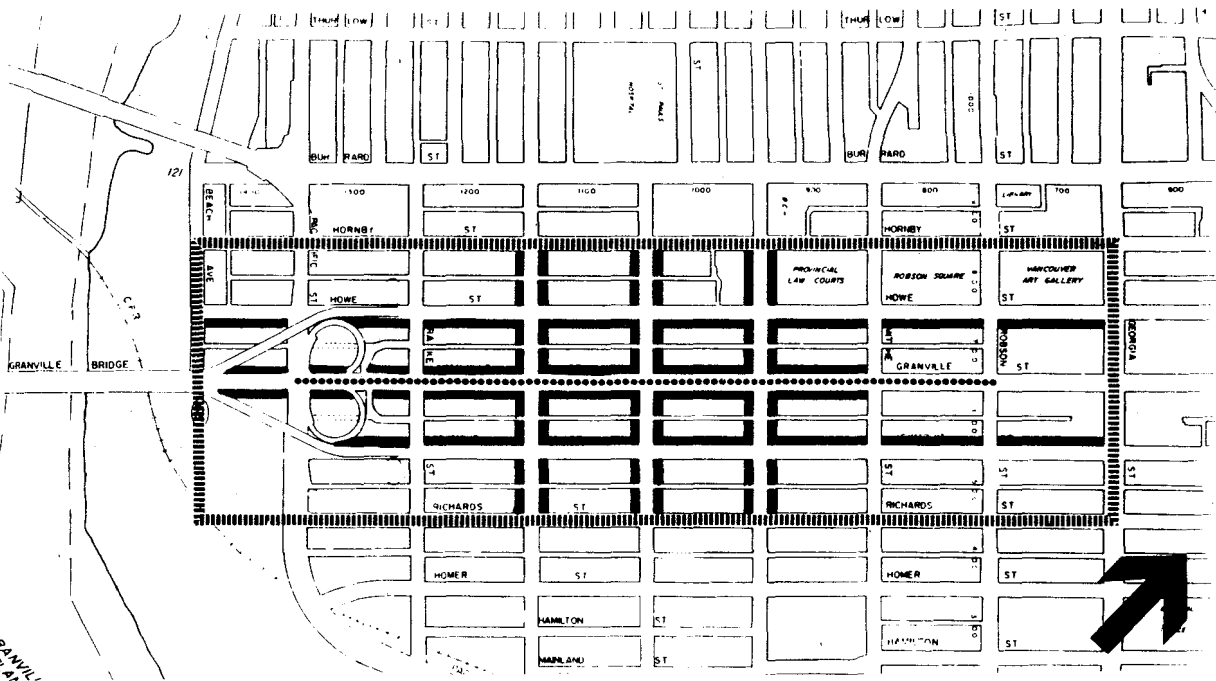
Setting 4 ▲

Figure 6.4
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings 5 & 7



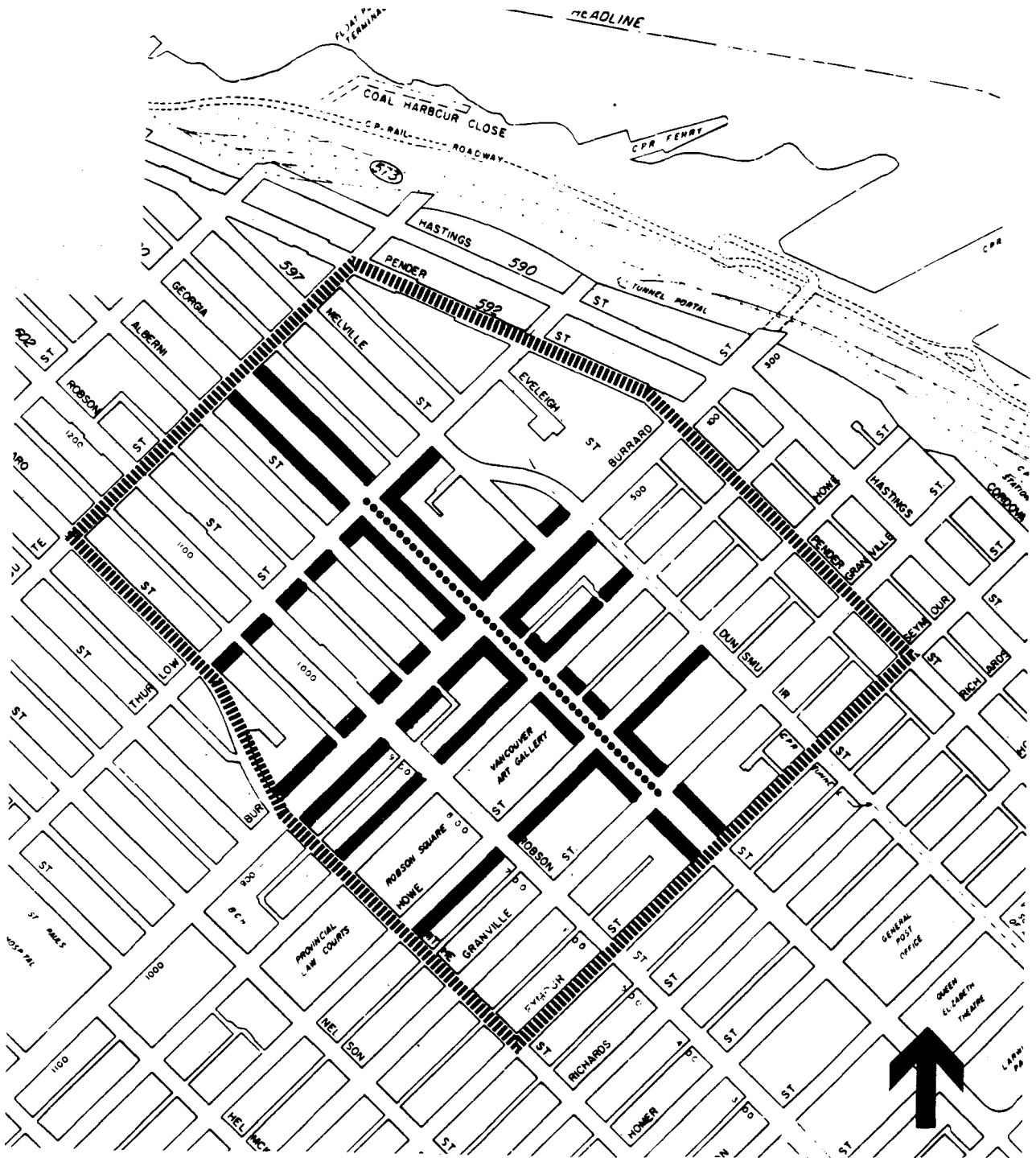
Setting 5 ▲

(Setting 6 on next page)



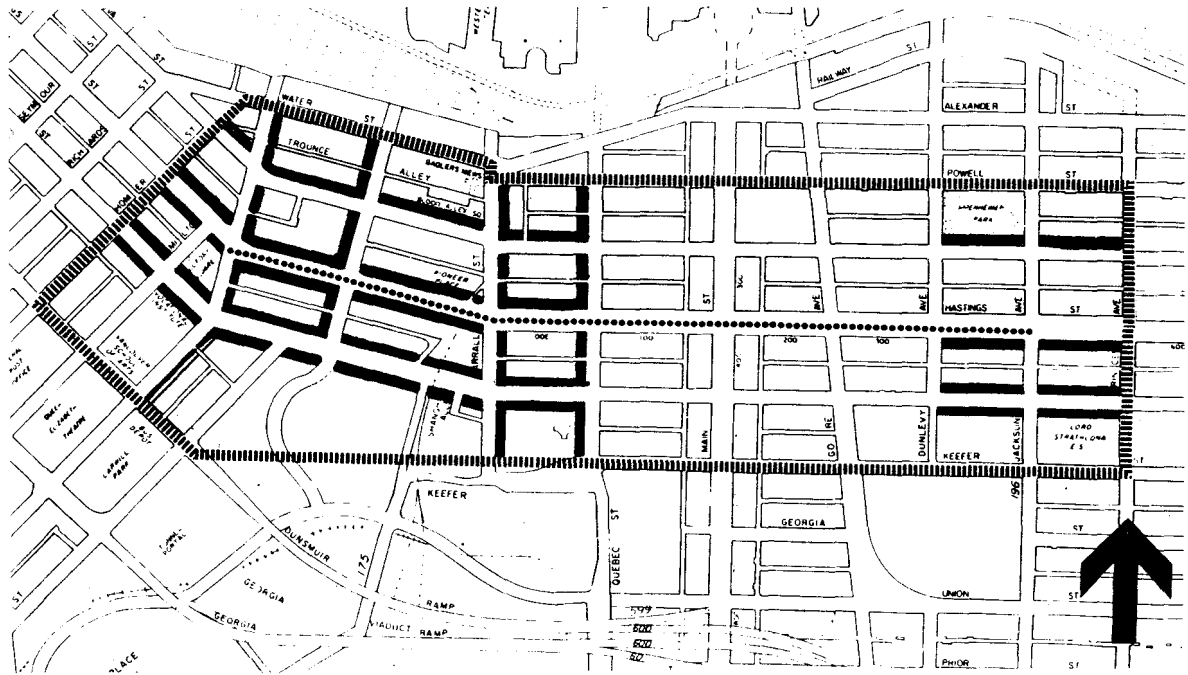
Setting 7 ▲

Figure 6.5
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Setting 6

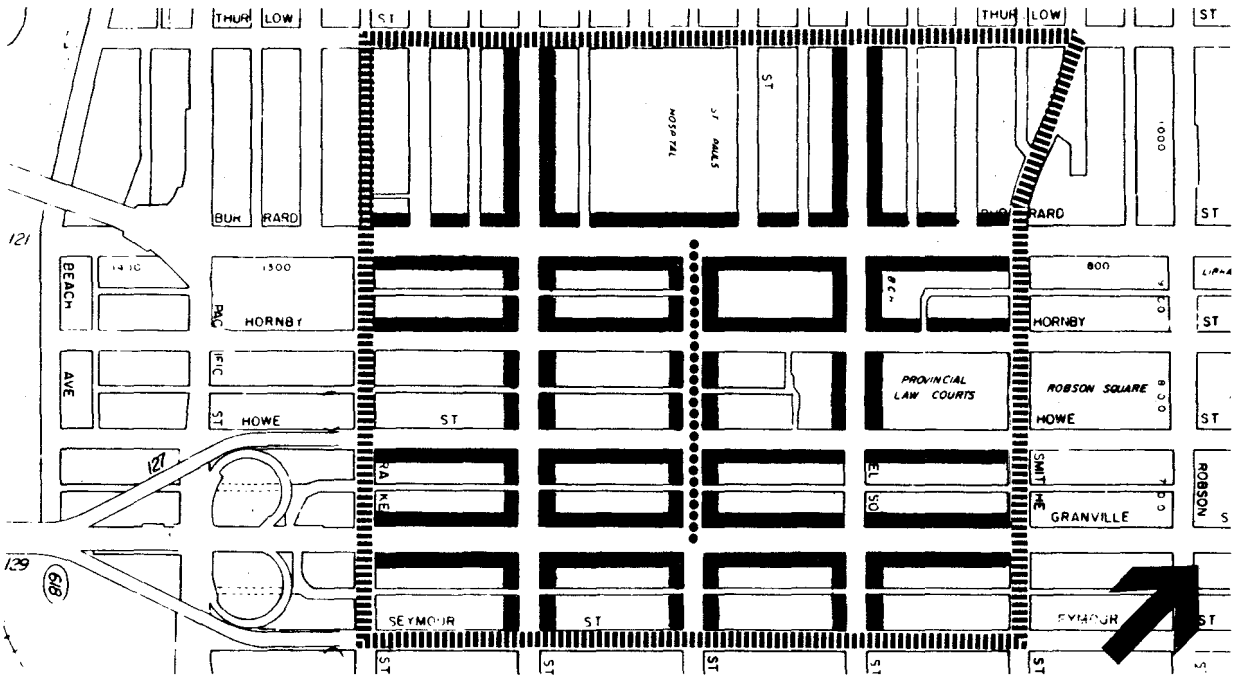


Setting 6 ▲

Figure 6.6
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings 8 & 9

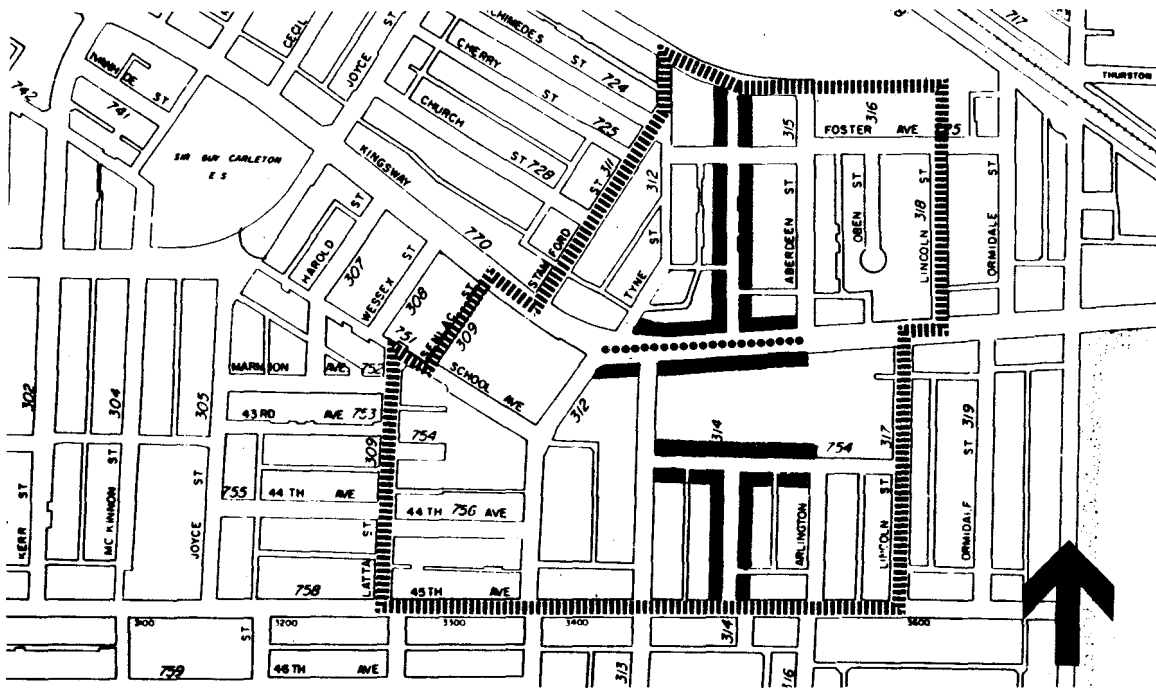


Setting 8 ▲

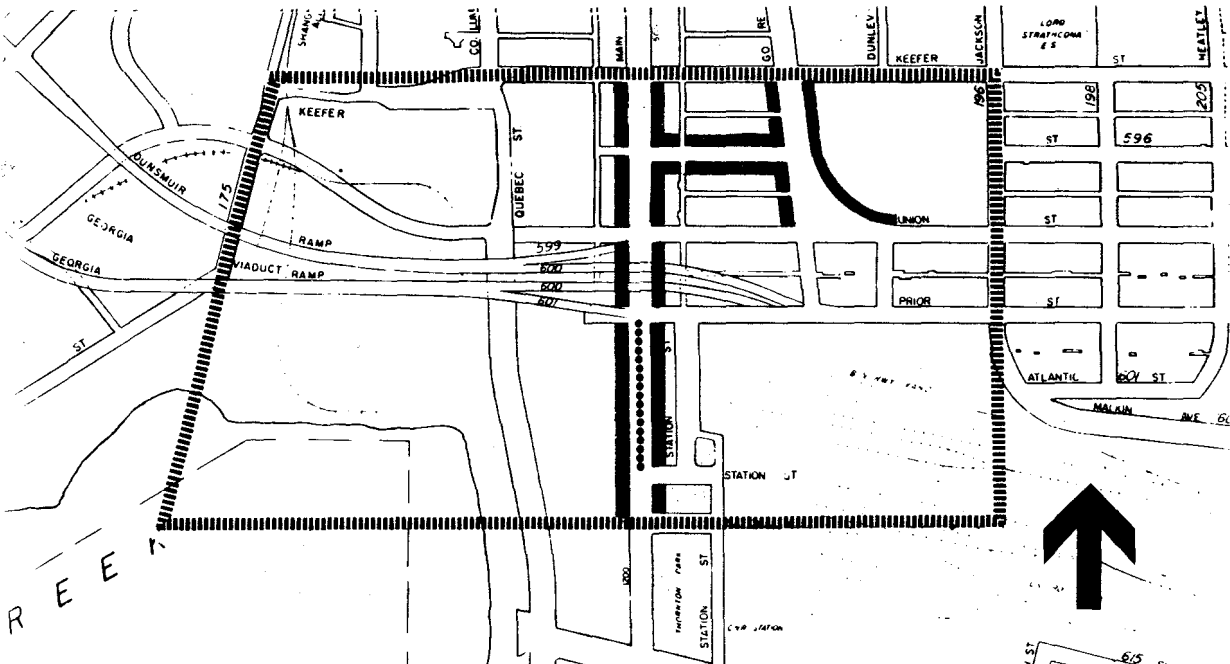


Setting 9 ▲

Figure 6.8
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings 10 & 12

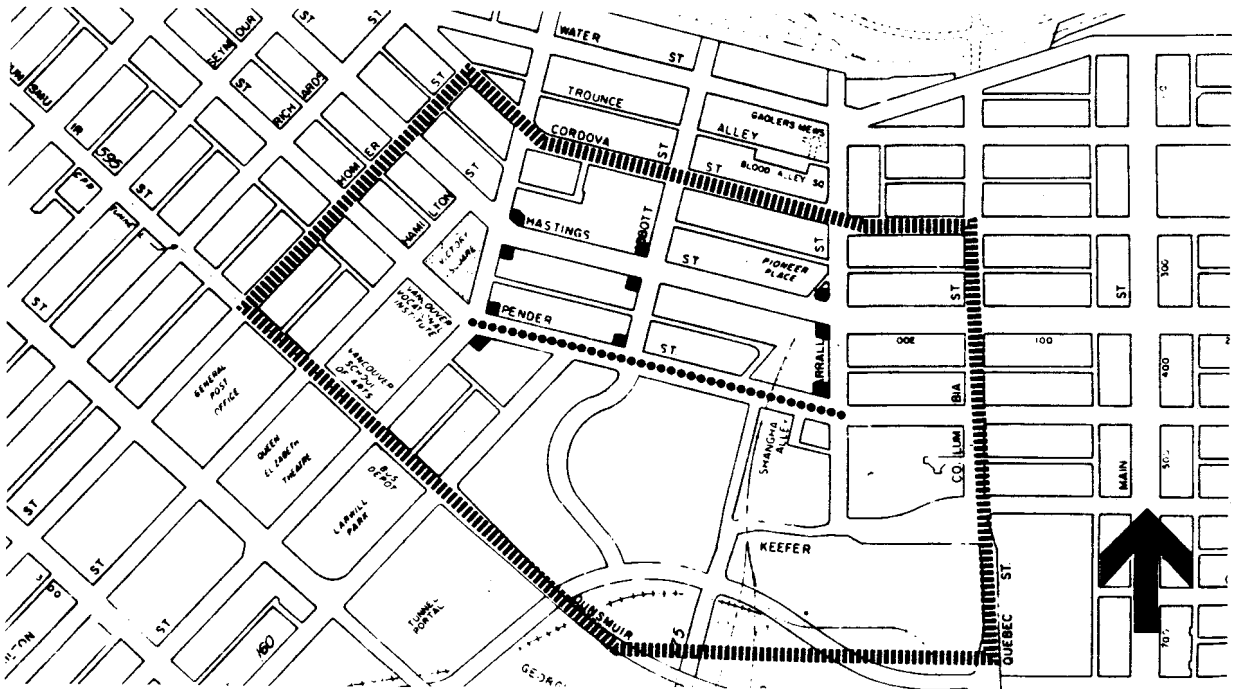


Setting 10 ▲

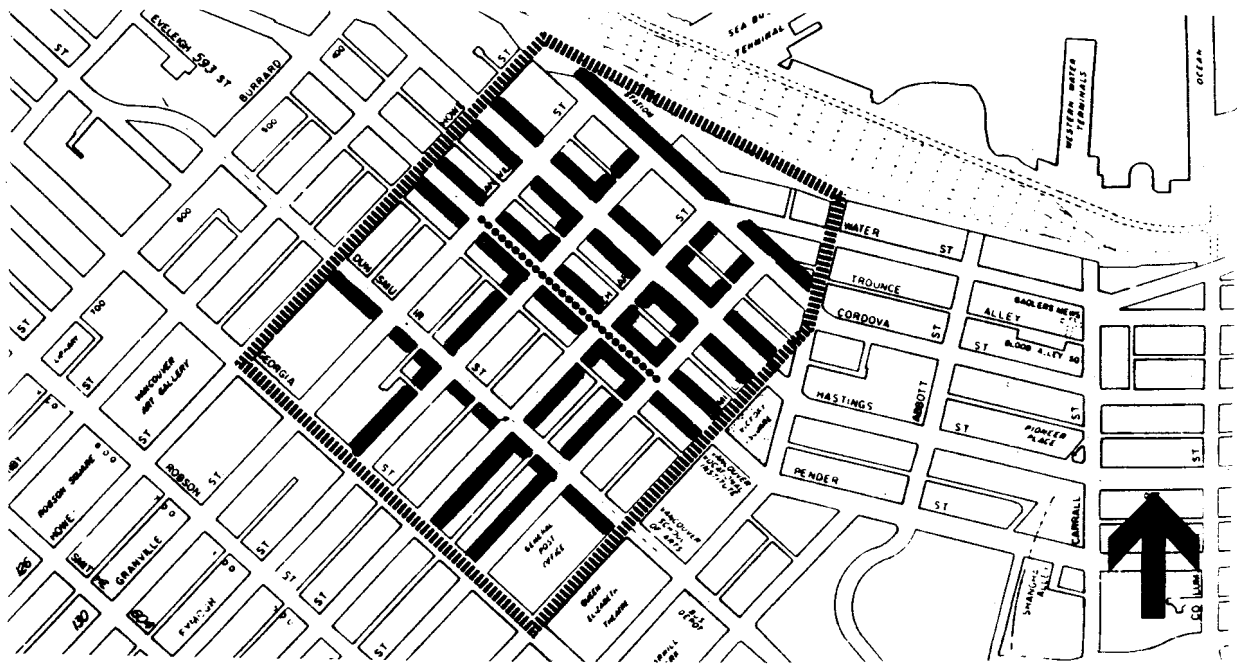


Setting 12 ▲

Figure 6.9
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings 13 & 14



Setting 13 ▲



Setting 14 ▲

Figure 6.10
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings 15 & 16

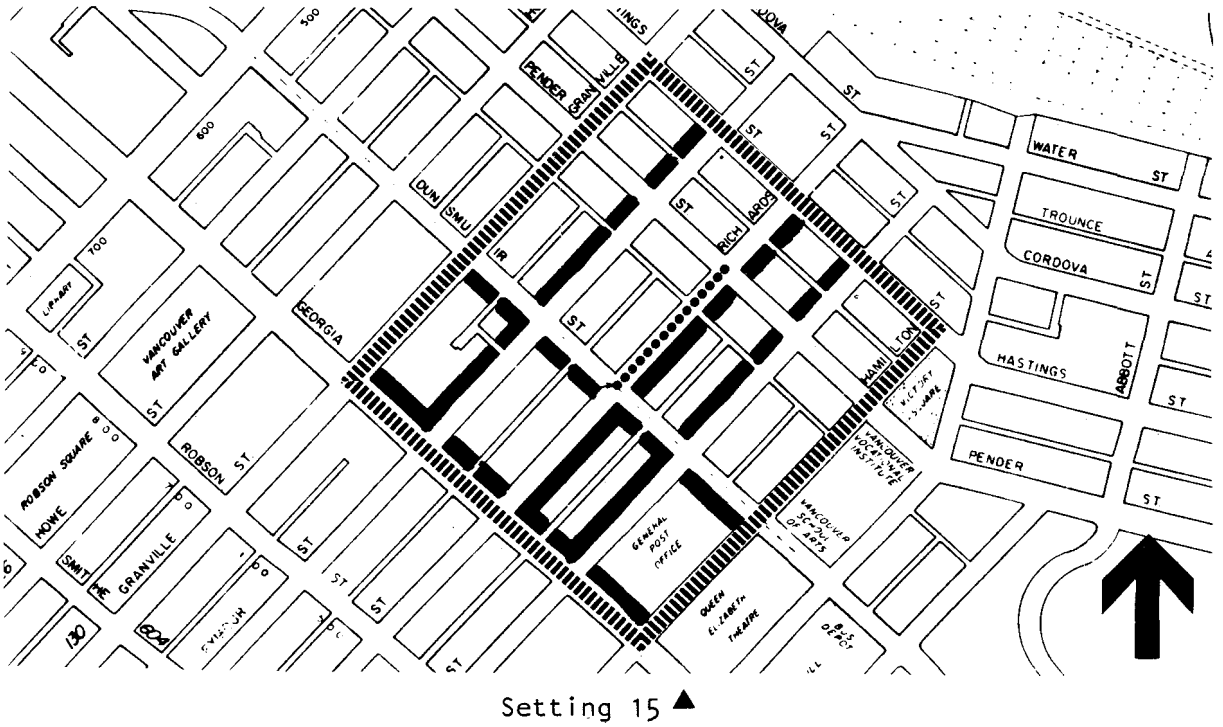
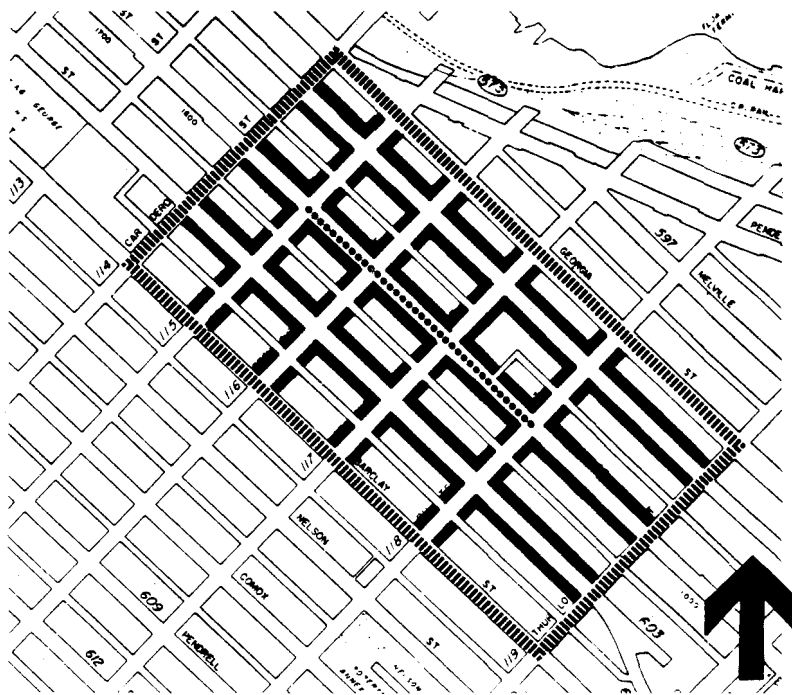
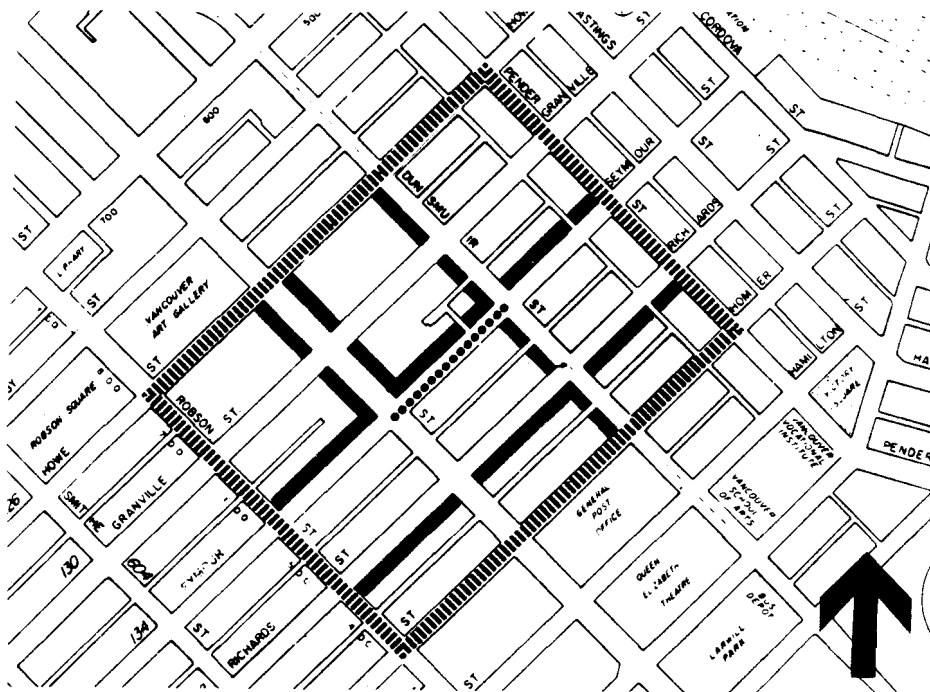


Figure 6.11
Predicted Location of Streetwalkers
On Streets Within Settings 17 & 18



Setting 17 ▲



Setting 18 ▲

Elimination By Setting Social Attributes Category Factors

The second phase in testing Cohen's model is to consider social attributes of projected settings. Data for this category are from two sources, personal observation and census tract publications. The former includes variables such as: 1) the sex and age of individuals within settings; 2) if the setting is on, or just off of, a business thoroughfare; and 3) if the area has decent housing, referring to variables such as household composition, socioeconomic area or neighbourhood, and stability(see Appendix D). Projected settings inconsistent with Cohen's model may be eliminated at this stage. Table 18, infra, based upon 1976 Statistics-Canada data at the census tract level, indicates a social "profile" of each projected setting(FP'S = FAMILY PERSONS, NFP'S = NON-FAMILY PERONS).³

³Neither 1981 census tract data, nor data collected at the primary school catchment area, are used, since both lack a "mobility" criterion.

Table 18

Social Profiles Of
Projected Settings

SETTING NUMBER(S)	HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (15 years and over)	STABILITY RATE (Vancouver = 48%)
01,02,07, 13,14,15, 16,18	a) 86% male b) 56% single c) 24% married d) 72% one-person private households e) husband and wife families = 81% f) families with no children = 62% Male to Female ratio = 6.04 to 1 FP'S to NFP'S ratio = .52 to 1	a) 37% non-movers b) 12% home ownership
03,08	a) 71% male b) 46% single c) 35% married d) 43% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 80% f) families with no children = 35% Male to Female ratio = 2.46 to 1 FP'S to NFP'S ratio = 2.47 to 1	a) 41% non-movers b) 20% home ownership
04	a) 50 % male b) 43% single c) 38% married d) 66% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 88%	a) 24% non-movers b) 4% home ownership

Table 18

Social Profiles Of
Projected Settings

SETTING NUMBER(S)	HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (15 years and over)	STABILITY RATE (Vancouver = 48%)
	f) families with no children = 72%	
	Male to Female ratio = .98 to 1	
	FP'S to NFP'S ratio = .64 to 1	
05	a) 47% male b) 37% single c) 42% married d) 64% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 89% f) families with no children = 73%	a) 24% non-movers b) 9% home ownership
	Male to Female ratio = .87 to 1	
	FP'S to NFP'S ratio = .75 to 1	
06	a) 83% male b) 55% single c) 25% married d) 69% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 83% f) families with no children = 71%	a) 36% non-movers b) 7% home ownership
	Male to Female ratio = 4.77 to 1	
	FP'S to NFP'S ratio = .49 to 1	
09	a) 58% male	a) 27% non-movers

Table 18

Social Profiles Of
Projected Settings

SETTING NUMBER(S)	HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (15 years and over)	STABILITY RATE (Vancouver = 48%)
----------------------	--	-------------------------------------

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b) 46% single c) 35% married d) 66% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 88% f) families with no children = 71% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b) 4% home ownership
--	--

Male to Female ratio
= 1.4 to 1
FP'S to NFP'S ratio
= .64 to 1

10

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 49% male b) 27% single c) 63% married d) 17% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 88% f) families with no children = 31% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 51% non-movers b) 73% home ownership
---	--

Male to Female ratio
= .95 to 1
FP'S to NFP'S ratio
= 6.01 to 1

11

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 49% male b) 27% single c) 62% married d) 15% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 87% f) families with no children = 31% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 55% non-movers b) 76% home ownership
---	--

Table 18

Social Profiles Of
Projected Settings

SETTING NUMBER(S)	HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (15 years and over)	STABILITY RATE (Vancouver = 48%)
----------------------	--	-------------------------------------

Male to Female ratio
= .97 to 1
FP'S to NFP'S ratio
= 6.11 to 1

12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 70% male b) 44% single c) 37% married d) 40% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 80% f) families with no children = 34% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 42% non-movers b) 20% home ownership
----	---	--

Male to Female ratio
= 2.34 to 1
FP'S to NFP'S ratio
= 2.72 to 1

17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 50% male b) 43% single c) 37% married d) 67% one-person private household e) husband and wife families = 88% f) families with no children = 70% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) 23% non-movers b) 3% home ownership
----	---	---

Male to Female ratio
= 1 to 1
FP'S to NFP'S ratio
= .62 to 1

Given the above data, the thesis argues that two settings can be eliminated at this stage: 1) setting 10(Kingsway I); and

2) setting 11(Kingsway II). Both areas are:

Homogeneous, single family dwelling districts, consisting of standard size lots and houses of a similar quality. The mobility rates are less than the average for the City of Vancouver as a whole (Whitlock; 1983).

These two settings are quite inconsistent with Cohen's argument that areas surrounding streetwalking locations consist of "...primary individuals, unrelated persons...single people...(with)(f)ew families" (Cohen, 1980; p.116).

The second data set relevant to this category is derived from personal observation at each setting. Variables to be considered are: 1) age(primarily between 25 to 55 years); and 2) sex(primarily males, with few women).⁴ Sample space for collecting data is Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday nights, from 22:00 hrs on, for the month of June and the first part of July, 1983(see Table 19, infra).⁵

"A streetwalker-non-streetwalker dichotomy is not considered at this stage of the thesis. In addition, the factors of "race" and "decent housing" are not considered relevant to a test of Cohen's model in Vancouver. "Business thoroughfare" is equated to primary or secondary arterial street(see Appendix D for operationalization rationale of "race", "decent housing", and "business thoroughfare").

⁵The sample space is based upon previous research by Ross and Sands(1979). Days chosen allows data to be collected at the beginning and the middle of the week, as well as on one of the "peak" week-end days for activity. Hours chosen allows for the setting to be "cleared" by shoppers, or couples from the restaurant and theatre trade. In addition, the order in which settings are observed is changed each time, to deter the possibility of a bias in the sample; e.g., being in a setting when theatres get out.

Table 19

Observational Data On Social
Profile Of Projected Settings

SETTING NUMBER	PRIMARILY BETWEEN 25-55 years of age	PRIMARILY MALE (few females)
01	YES	YES
02	YES	YES
03	YES	YES
04	YES	NO
05	NO	NO
06	YES	YES
07	YES	YES
08	YES	YES
09	YES	YES
12	YES	YES
13	YES	YES
14	YES	YES
15	YES	YES
16	YES	YES
17	NO	NO
18	YES	YES

Two more settings may be eliminated: 1) setting five(Denman Street); and 2) setting seventeen(Robson Street). Both are inconsistent with Cohen's argument that:

The...majority of persons visible at each location...(well over 80 percent)were adults...between twenty-five and fifty-five years of age. Children, Children, teenagers, young adults in their early twenties, and...senior citizens, rarely were observed at these locations...street locations when active were nearly devoid of females...Young girls and even teenagers were absent from areas occupied by prostitutes (Cohen, 1980; p.115).

In the case of Denman Street, activity exists early into the morning hours, but there appears to be as many females as males, with age ranging from teen-age years to the elderly. Robson

Street, though having fewer setting physical attributes, and less of a street population or activity to the early hours, has a similar pedestrian profile to Denman Street.⁶ Given that neither setting has a strong cluster of physical attributes, plus inconsistent social profiles, there exists sufficient support to delete these two settings from the study.

Elimination By Economic Base Category Factors

The third phase in testing Cohen's model is to consider factors in the economic base category. First, streets within projected settings are to be classified as having: 1) heavy; 2) moderate; or 3) light pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Second, to determine if there is sufficient pedestrian and vehicle traffic to support an "economic base"; i.e., night-life activities, such as theatres, bars or night-clubs, etc. (see Appendix D).

Since Vancouver City Engineering vehicle and pedestrian counts exist for day-time periods only, it is necessary to substantiate classification of streets with settings by personal observation. Essentially, Reppetto's (1974) criteria are used, except that observation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic is done from a car, rather than from a single location.

Measurements of pedestrian and vehicular traffic are classified

⁶According to Whitlock (1983), "Robson, particularly between Burrard and Bute streets, has become a highly attractive shopping street, busy during the day and vacant at night".

as: 1) light = almost no vehicles or pedestrians, to about fifteen; 2) moderate = more than fifteen, to an almost constant flow; and 3) heavy = a constant flow of pedestrians or cars(e.g., as in "bumper to bumper" traffic). Using Vancouver City Engineering data and their typology, plus the inclusion of data obtained by personal observation of vehicular traffic by the above criteria, Table 20, infra, is generated.

Table 20

Classifying Vehicular And Pedestrian
Traffic In The Economic Base Category

SETTING NUMBER	STREET NAME	PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC	VEHICULAR TRAFFIC
01	Abbott	M,1	L,1
	Cambie	X,1	L,1
	Carrall	M,1	L,1
	Cordova	M,1	H,1
	Hastings	H,1-m	H,1-m
	Powell/Water	M,1	H,1-m
02	Abbott	M,1	L,1
	Carrall	M,1	L,1
	Columbia	M,1	L,1
	Cordova	X,1	H,1
	Hastings	H,1-m	H,1-m
	Pender	X,1	*,1
03	Carrall	M,1	L,1
	Columbia	M,1	L,1
	Cordova	X,1	H,1
	Hastings	H,1-m	H,1-m
	Powell/Water	M,1	H,1-m
04	Burnaby	L,1	L,1
	Comox	M,1	L,1
	Davie	X,m-h	H,m-h
	Nelson	X,1	H,1
	Pendrell	M,1	L,1
	Thurlow	X,1	L,1
06	Burrard	H,1	H,m-h
	Georgia	H,1-m	H,m-h
	Hornby	X,1	H,1
	Howe	M,1	H,1
	Thurlow	M,1	L,1
07	Davie	M,m-h	H,m-h
	Granville	X,1	H,1
	Helmcken	X,1	*,1
	Howe	X,1	H,1
	Nelson	X,1	H,1
	Seymour	X,1	H,1

Table 20

Classifying Vehicular And Pedestrian
Traffic In The Economic Base Category

SETTING NUMBER	STREET NAME	PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC	VEHICULAR TRAFFIC
08	Abbott	M,1	L,1
	Cambie	X,1	L,1
	Carrall	M,1	L,1
	Columbia	M,1	L,1
	Cordova	X,1	H,1
	Hastings	H,1-m	H,1-m
	Pender	X,1	*,1
09	Burrard	l,1-m	H,1
	Davie	M,m-h	H,m-h
	Granville	M,1	H,1
	Helmcken	X,1	*,1
	Hornby	X,1	H,1
	Howe	X,1	H,1
	Nelson	X,1	H,1
12	Georgia	X,1	L,1
	Gore	X,1	L,1
	Keefer	X,1	L,1
	Main	X,1-m	H,1
	Union	X,1	L,1
13	Abbott	M,1	L,1
	Cambie	X,1	L,1
	Carrall	M,1	L,1
	Hastings	H,1-m	H,1-m
	Pender	X,1	*,1
14	Cordova	M,1	H,1
	Dunsmuir	H,1	H,1
	Hastings	X,1-m	H,1-m
	Homer	M,1	X,1
	Pender	M,1	*,1
	Richards	X,1	X,1
	Seymour	X,1	H,1
15	Dunsmuir	X,1	H,1
	Georgia	H,1-m	H,m-h

Table 20

Classifying Vehicular And Pedestrian
Traffic In The Economic Base Category

SETTING NUMBER	STREET NAME	PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC	VEHICULAR TRAFFIC
	Homer	M,1	X,1
	Richards	X,1	X,1
	Seymour	X,1	H,1
16	Homer	M,1	X,1
	Nelson	M,1	H,1
	Richards	X,1	X,1
	Seymour	X,1	H,1
	Smithe	M,1	H,1
18	Dunsmuir	M,1	H,1
	Georgia	H,1-m	H,m-h
	Richards	X,1	X,1
	Seymour	X,1	H,1

Vancouver

Engineering Data: H = heavy M = moderate

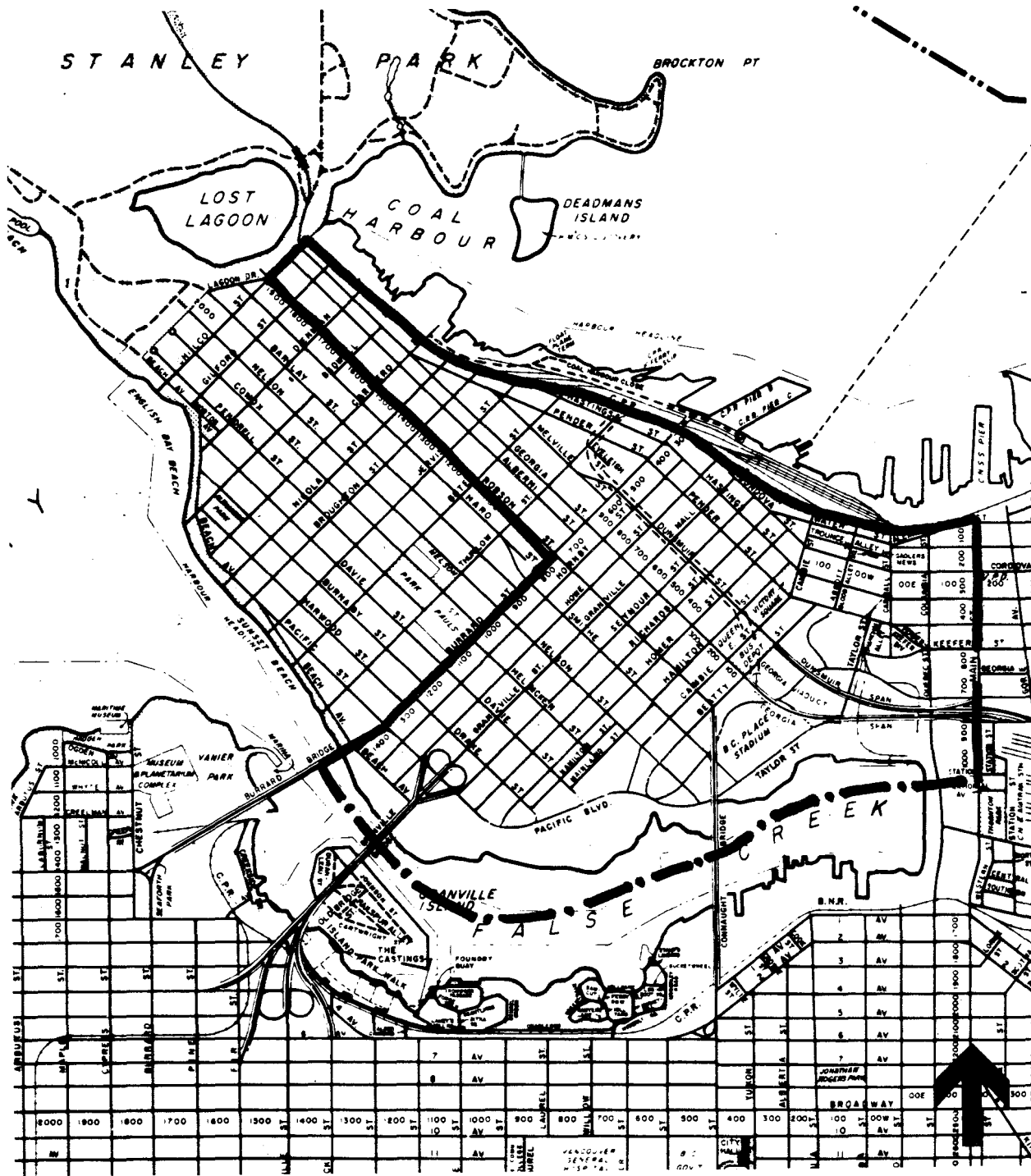
L = light X = no data

Observational Data: h = heavy m = moderate

l = light

* = CBD corridor (see Figure 7)

Figure 7
Central Business District



Based upon data relevant to the present category, it is possible to eliminate either parts of, or entire settings. The primary reason in the majority of the cases is almost the complete absence of vehicles or pedestrians, often coupled with few, if any, business enterprises open that contribute to an economic base at night(see Table 21, *infra*).

Table 21

Elimination By Economic Base Data

SETTING NUMBER	STREET(S)	REASON FOR ELIMINATION
01	ENTIRE SETTING*	a, b, c
02	ENTIRE SETTING*	a, b, c
03	Powell/Water	d
08	Abbott Cambie Hastings (Dunlevy to Princess) Pender (Dunlevy to Princess) Cordova Cordova, Dunlevy to Pender	a, b, c, a, b, c, a, b, c, a, b, c, a, b, c, a, b, c
13	ENTIRE SETTING	a, b, c
14	ENTIRE SETTING	a, b, c
15	ENTIRE SETTING	a, b, c
16	ENTIRE SETTING	a, b, c
18	ENTIRE SETTING	a, b, c

a = few or no pedestrians at night

b = few or no vehicles at night

c = few or no night-time activities

d = inconsistent pedestrian profile at night

* = streets consistent with Cohen's model within this area included within the Columbia Street setting

Elimination By Community Tolerance Category Factors

The fourth phase in testing Cohen's model is to consider factors in the Community Tolerance category. The significance of this category is that "...community consciousness...is a key factor in determining the initial emergence or suppression...of street deviance" (Cohen, 1980; p.117).⁷ As may be seen in Table 22, infra, of the original eighteen settings projected, only seven remain to be evaluated (see Figure 8).

⁷Setting 09(Helmcken Street) overlaps the Davie Street setting by one block(Burrard to Thurlow). Given that Burrard Street separates the majority of the Helmcken Street setting from this area, the thesis argues that any community identity would have a Davie Street orientation; therefore, the area defined by the overlap is considered to be part of the Davie Street setting.

Table 22

Remaining Projected Settings

SETTING NUMBER	SETTING NAME	LOCATION
03	Columbia	within CBD
04	Davie	contiguous to CBD
06	Georgia	within CBD
07	Granville	within CBD
08	Hastings	within CBD
09	Helmcken	within CBD
12	Main	contiguous to CBD

Of those remaining, only the Davie and Main Street settings may be within residential districts, or have a community identity, since they are contiguous to the CBD. The other five settings are within the CBD, and do not have populations consistent with the requirements of the present category.

Figure 8.1
Remaining Projected Settings
(Settings 3, 8 & 12)

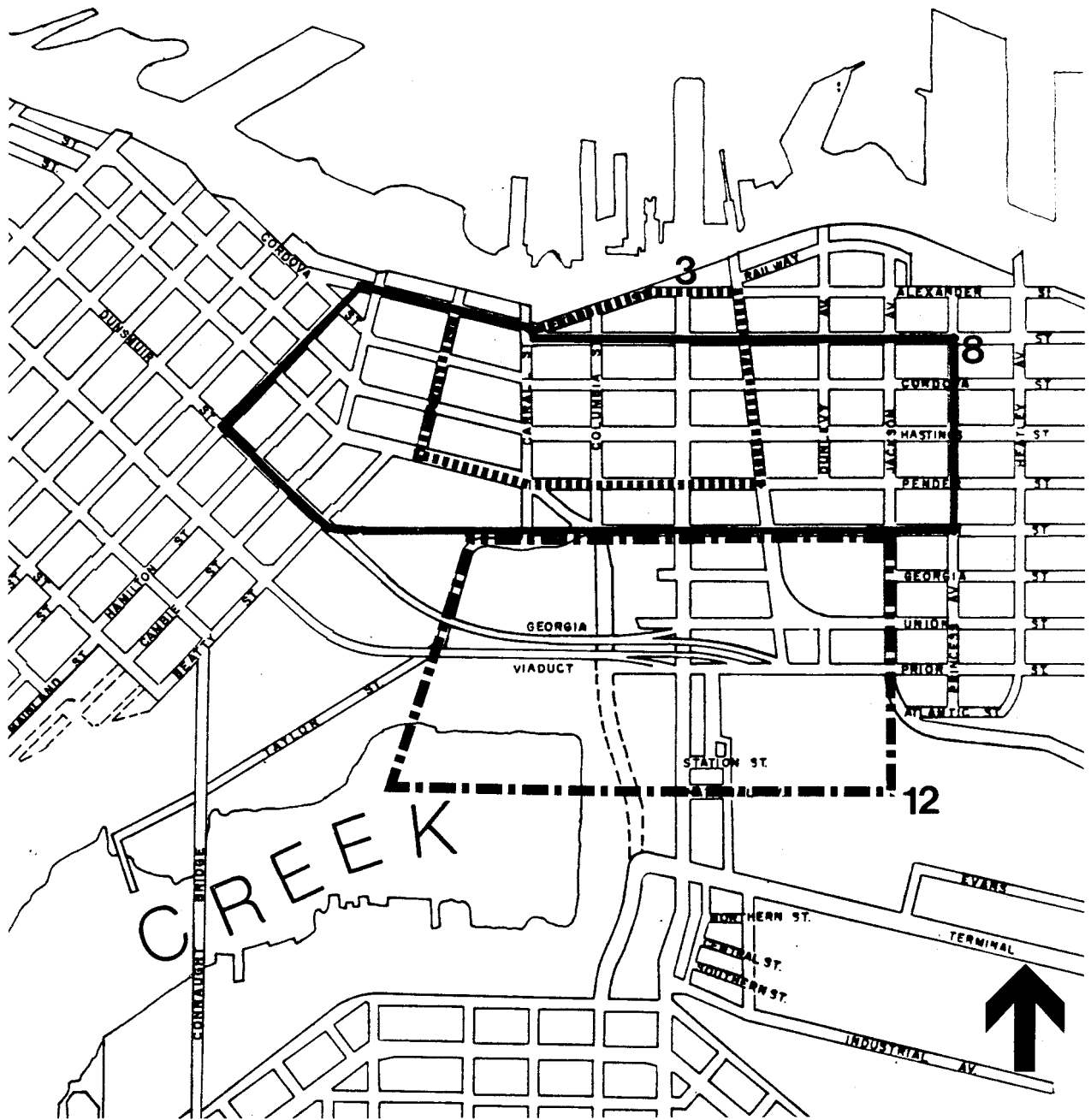
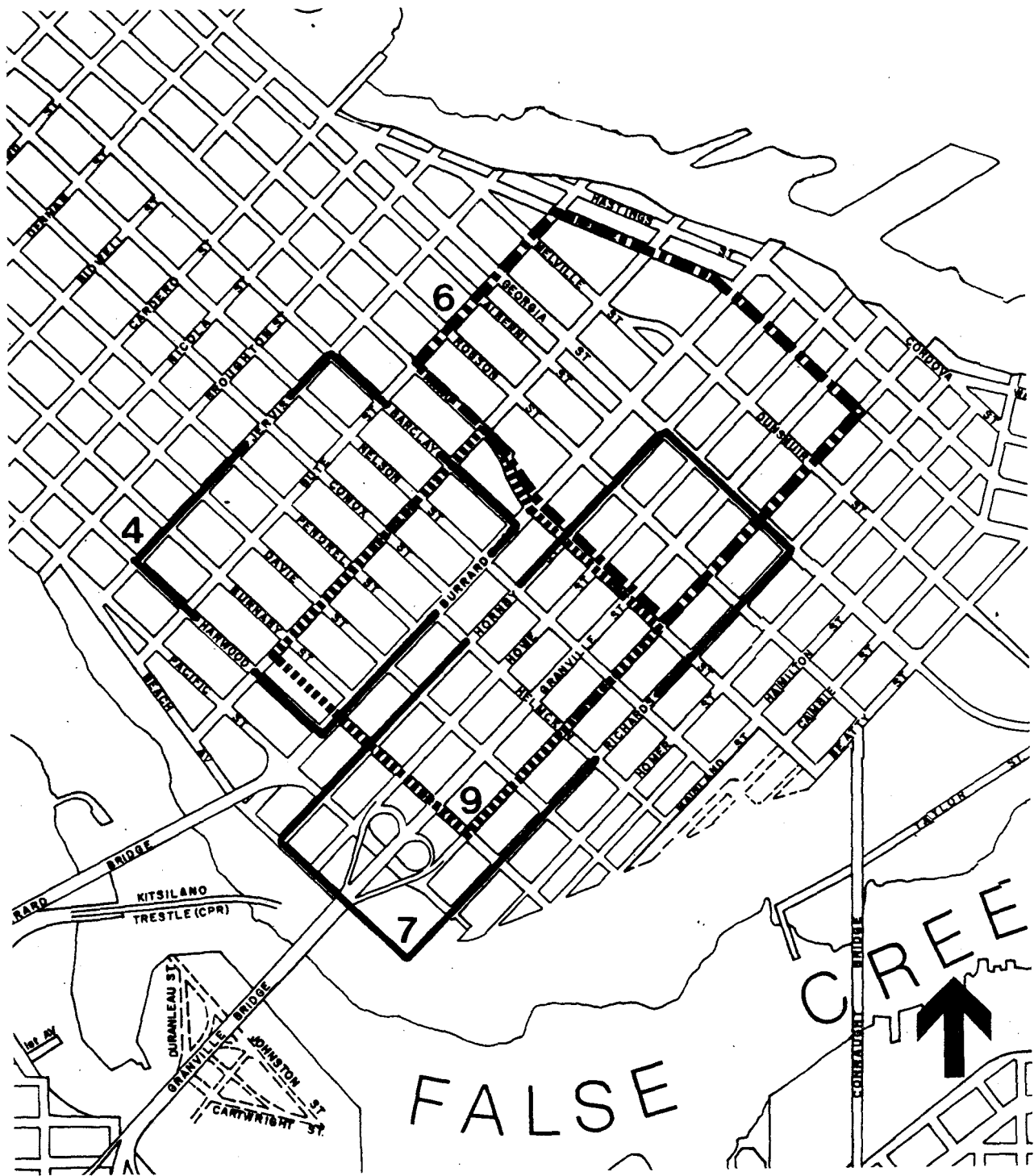


Figure 8.2
Remaining Projected Settings
(Settings 4, 6, 7 & 9)



The Main Street Setting As Part Of Chinatown

The Main Street setting falls within the boundaries of Keefer to National Streets, and the new stadium complex to Jackson(or railroad yards) or Gore Streets. As indicated in the Setting Physical Attributes category, the area is primarily composed of hotels, restaurants, stores, parks and industry:

Gore street is considered to be the eastern boundary of Chinatown, simply because Chinatown, as an ethnic area, terminates here (Whitlock; 1983).

The nearest residential dwelling units are one-half to one block off of Gore Street, separated, for the most part, by a park. Thus, it is unlikely that this setting will manifest "community intolerance" to streetwalkers, since it does not have a resident population to initiate such action.⁸

The Davie Street Setting As An Atypical Residential District

The media portrays Vancouver's West End as a residential area (The Province, May 15, 1983; The Sun, September 30, 1978;

⁸It is possible that merchants or commercial property owners within this area could manifest intolerance for streetwalking activity during the day-time. The thesis, however, since it tests the utility of Cohen's model by focusing on night-time streetwalking activity only(see Chapter Six, "Confirming Existence Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings"), does not take into account the possibility of intolerance by a non-resident population.

The Vancouver Herald, October 20, 1982; Wiseman, 1983), with a sense of community(exemplified by the existence of local organizations such as CROWE, Concerned Residents of the West End, with a purported membership of about two hundred and fifty (Wiseman; 1983)) and a consensus by residents against streetwalking activity in their neighbourhood. To those who do not know the West End, an image may arise of a stable, low density, single family dwelling district, with a population composed primarily of families and children(such as the Kingsway settings discussed above). The West End, though, is not consistent with the preceding concept of a residential district:

Historically, it was the neighbourhood of the well-to-do, essentially a single-family area of larger homes. The commercial streets of Robson, Denman, and Davie were developed in this milieu. Over time, all three streets have retained many of the physical characteristics of such commercial centres, with retail stores at grade and residential suites above. The West End itself has changed markedly, from large, single-family homes to multiple conversions; and finally, in the 1950s and 1960s, to a high-rise, high density residential area. The population is likely divided into a transient younger population, with a fairly elderly population occupying many of the older two and three storey walk-up apartments(Whitlock; 1983).

Statistics-Canada 1976 census data for the West End indicates:

1) more single than married people (43% to 38%), with 66% of the living units one-person private households; 2) 72% of the families have no children; and 3) with a 24% non-mover rate, its mobility rate is twice Vancouver's average(see Appendix D).

Community identity and consensus by residents, contrary to media coverage, may not exist or be exemplified by CROWE: At an all-candidates meeting organized by CROWE during Vancouver's

last civic election, only a small crowd attended (The Province; November 11, 1982); at a demonstration planned by CROWE, in their own neighbourhood, only about eighty "members" showed-up (The Sun; April 23, 1982); and in September of 1982, CROWE "...established a neighbourhood watch program...hoping to build a sense of community" (The Sun; September 30, 1982). Compared to the poor turn-outs of CROWE's projects, "(i)ssues, such as proposals for high-rise development in the Davie Street area, may attract three to four hundred people to public information meetings" (Whitlock; 1983).

Even though it is a mixture of commercial and residential components, Davie is the only setting that may be subject to consideration of all factors within the present category. Accordingly, Table 23, infra, compares the remaining seven settings with community tolerance factors(see Appendix D).⁹

⁹In the case of legitimate competition, the thesis argues that businesses open during the hours when streetwalkers are working at night may not only facilitate such activity, but receive benefits from it as well. For example, a cluster of bars, lounges, night-clubs and restaurants may exist in sufficient numbers to attract streetwalkers to that area; in return, clients who use the services of streetwalkers may also be consumers of these same legitimate commercial enterprises.

Table 23

Elimination By Community
Tolerance Category Factors

SETTING NUMBER	a	b	c	d	e
03	-	yes	-	no	X
04	yes	yes	yes	no	X
06	-	yes	-	no	X
07	-	yes	-	no	X
08	-	yes	-	no	X
09	-	yes	-	no	X
12	-	yes	-	no	X

- a = reports or complaints to official agencies
- b = land-use patterns consistent with Setting Physical Attributes category
- c = media coverage, indicating community intolerance
- d = legitimate competition for streetwalkers
- e = illegitimate competition for streetwalkers
 - drug-selling = 1
 - mugging = 2
 - juvenile gangs = 3
 - "wino's" = 4
- = not applicable
- X = data unavailable

Given the commercial component of the Davie Street area, its heavy pedestrian and traffic flow on some streets, and its socio-demographic profile, it cannot be said that it is simply a residential area; i.e., it "...involves a certain lifestyle, and if you don't like it you move out. You know where you are going and its reputation..." (MacDonald; in Wiseman, 1983, p.73).

Thus, with the uncertainty of the existence of a community consensus against streetwalking, plus the paucity of data for this category, no further settings can be eliminated by reason of community intolerance.

Summary Of Rationale For Eliminating Projected Settings

The first stage in testing Cohen's model projected eighteen locations where streetwalking may occur in Vancouver. After systematically applying ecological factors in all four of his categories, the total is reduced to seven sites. Table 24, infra, summarizes the rationale for eliminating twelve of the projected settings.

Table 24

Summary Of Rationale For
Eliminating Projected Settings

SETTING	A	B	C	D	ELIMINATED
01	-	-	X	-	YES
02	-	-	X	-	YES
03	-	-	-	-	
04	-	-	-	-	
05	-	X	-	-	YES
06	-	-	-	-	
07	-	-	-	-	
08	-	-	-	-	
09	-	-	-	-	
10	-	X	-	-	YES
11	-	X	-	-	YES
12	-	-	-	-	
13	-	-	X	-	YES
14	-	-	X	-	YES
15	-	-	X	-	YES
16	-	-	X	-	YES
17	-	X	-	-	YES
18	-	-	X	-	YES

A = Setting Physical Attributes Category
 B = Setting Social Attributes Category
 C = Economic Base

D = Community Tolerance
X = Setting Eliminated By Being Inconsistent With
Determinants Within Specified Category

Chapter Synopsis

By eliminating areas of Vancouver inconsistent with the determinants of Cohen's model, a total of seven settings remain and are considered as being predicted settings for apparent female streetwalking in Vancouver. The next stage of the study is to confirm that streetwalkers actually locate within these predicted settings (are "active" settings) through media and literature reviews, as well as through personal observation, and that none are working in areas used for comparison purposes by the thesis.

VI. Confirming Existence Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings

The final stage in testing Cohen's model is to confirm the existence of streetwalkers in predicted settings; in addition, observation of areas of Vancouver not predicted by the use of Cohen's model, but which have some of the factors held to support an active streetwalking setting, is done as a comparison to ensure streetwalkers are not located in these locations. Confirmation is achieved through three measures: 1) media coverage; 2) literature relevant to streetwalking in Vancouver; and 3) personal observation. The first two measures are essentially reviews of media articles and academic studies, and represent data sources not derived from Cohen's model. The third measure entails observation of predicted settings on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday nights, from 22:00 hrs to 01:00 hrs, for June and the first part of July, 1983 (approximately fifty-four hours). The same days of the week and time frame are used for control areas for the last week of July, and the first two weeks of August, 1983.¹

¹The sample space for observation of predicted settings, or comparison areas, focuses on the night-time activity of streetwalkers only and does so at the expense of considering any activity by streetwalkers during the day. The decision to adhere to these hours reflects not only the constraints realized by research of this nature, but is consistent with the sample space used by Ross and Sands (1979) in their study of streetwalkers on the corner of Georgia and Hornby in Vancouver, where they determined that the peak hours for activity started around 22:00 hrs and lasted past the observation time of 01:00 hrs. Similarly, Cohen (1980) states that "(d)uring daylight hours the

Media Confirmation Of Predicted Settings

Media coverage of streetwalking in Vancouver, from 1978 to the present, is quite extensive(see Introduction). Although five areas are referred to, Davie Street consistently receives the most attention, perhaps because it is the only setting within a "residential" district. Of the remaining settings discussed by media: 1) three(Georgia-Hornby, Granville, and Hastings-Columbia) are within the Central Business District(CBD); and 2) one(Main-Keefer) is contiguous to the CBD, with the nearest residential dwellings about one-half to one block beyond its eastern boundaries(see above).² Table 25, infra, lists areas identified by the Vancouver Sun and Province

¹(cont'd) number of prostitutes was reduced to about one-fifth its night average, although this varied substantially by individual street locations" (Cohen, 1980; p.41). The peak hours in Cohen's study have a mean of 16.2 streetwalkers across all thirteen settings between 19:00 hrs and 01:00 hrs, as compared with 32.2 between 01:00 hrs and 07:00 hrs (Cohen, 1980; p.46). Thus, having the observation period within the "peak hours" of activity increases the likelihood that streetwalkers will be noted within predicted settings; and, since there is only one predicted setting within a residential area, the hours of observation are unlikely to be biased for the most part, since activity on the streets at this time is primarily orientated towards a "night-life"(e.g., patrons of bars, lounges, restaurants, theatres, etc., which appear to be the domain of the young, and tends to exclude the presence of families or senior citizens this late at night).

²The media refers to the Columbia and Hastings location as a single location; whereas, the thesis defines them as two, inter-woven settings, with the Hastings Street setting extending slightly beyond the western boundaries of the Columbia setting.

newspapers as having streetwalking activity.³

³Reference is made indirectly to the Helmcken setting, in an article stating that a man who picked up a female "hitchhiker" at Hornby and Helmcken shortly after midnight Sunday was robbed at gunpoint... (The Sun; June 27, 1983). From personal observation, streetwalkers locate on the corner of Hornby and Helmcken, and the use by The Sun of quotation marks around "hitchhiker" would seem to imply that the woman is actually a prostitute.

Table 25

Media Confirmation Of
Predicted Settings

AREA	SETTING NUMBER(S)	DATE OF ARTICLE	
		THE PROVINCE	THE SUN
Columbia/ Hastings (Downtown Eastside)	03,08	06/21/82	09/27/82
		10/20/82	10/20/82
			10/22/82
Davie (West End)	04	07/26/78	06/14/78
		04/07/82	07/21/78
		04/08/82	07/26/78
		04/14/82	09/30/78
		04/15/82	03/15/82
		04/29/82	04/07/82
		05/14/82	04/13/82
		05/20/82	04/17/82
		06/03/82	04/23/82
		06/21/82	04/29/82
		07/06/82	05/04/82
		08/08/82	05/07/82
		11/14/82	05/13/82
		01/26/83	05/15/82
		03/03/83	05/20/82
		05/11/83	05/21/82
		05/15/83	06/11/82
		05/17/83	08/07/82
		06/24/83	09/16/82
		06/29/83	09/30/82
			10/22/82
			01/26/83
			02/11/83
	02/19/83		
	03/03/83		
	03/04/83		
	03/10/83		
	03/14/83		
	04/11/83		
	04/22/83		
	04/30/83		
	05/30/83		

Table 25

Media Confirmation Of
Predicted Settings

AREA	SETTING. NUMBER(S)	DATE OF ARTICLE	
		THE PROVINCE	THE SUN
			05/31/83
			06/09/83
			06/10/83
			006/2483
Georgia/ Hornby (Downtown)	06	05/23/78	06/15/78
		07/26/78	06/24/78
		08/05/78	07/21/78
		04/07/82	07/29/78
		04/08/82	07/31/78
		04/14/82	04/07/82
		04/15/82	04/13/82
		04/29/82	04/29/82
		06/21/82	05/15/82
			05/20/82
			08/07/82
			11/08/82
			11/19/82
	01/26/83		
Granville	07	07/26/78	06/06/78
Helmcken	09		06/27/83
Main (East Georgia)	12	06/02/82	12/10/82
		06/21/82	
		09/29/82	

Literature Confirmation Of Predicted Settings

Literature from Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia libraries that discusses streetwalking activity in Vancouver ranges from: 1) theses (Basi, 1982; Kohlmeyer, 1982); 2) to police reports (Forbes, 1977) or reports to police (Layton, 1975); 3) to academic papers (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1983; Ross and Sands, 1979) or books (Symanski, 1981); and 4) to legal decisions (Hutt v. R.; 1978). Not all of these references, though, are necessarily independent of one another; for example, in describing areas of streetwalking in Vancouver, Pendakur and Pendakur, as well as Lowman, base at least part of their work on that of Forbes' (1977). Similarly, Symanski bases his section on streetwalking activity in Vancouver on Lowman's study. Table 26, infra, summarizes areas of streetwalking identified by the literature.

Table 26

Literature Confirmation Of
Predicted Settings

AUTHOR(S)	03	04	06	07	08	09	12
Basi (1982)	X	X	X	X	X	?	X
Forbes (1977)	X	X	X	X	X		X
Hutt (1978)						X	
Kohlmeyer (1982)	X	X	X	X	X		X
Layton (1975)	X	X	X				
Lowman (1980)	X	X	X	X	X		X
Pendakur and Pendakur (1983)				X			
Ross and Sands (1979)		X	X				
Symanski (1981)	X	X	X	X	X		X
Wilson (1980)			X	X			

X = setting is identified by name, or by names
of streets within its boundaries
? = possibly identified, since reference includes
a map with shadings or outlines that overlap
into the Helmcken(09) setting

Although the thesis predicts seven settings where streetwalkers will locate in Vancouver, the literature refers to only five. The discrepancy results because Hastings(08) and Columbia(03) are usually classified as one setting by the literature (Basi, 1982, pp.15-17; Kohlmeyer, 1982, pp.52-56; Lowman, 1980, pp.21-22); whereas, the thesis does not so classify them.

Similarly, Helmcken Street may be included within either the Davie (Basi, 1983) or Granville Street settings (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1983).

Confirmation Of Predicted Settings By Personal Observation

The final measure for cross-validating predicted settings is to observe each location for the presence, or absence, of streetwalkers. The sample space used includes Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday nights, from 22:00 to approximately 01:00 hrs, for the month of June and the first part of July, 1983.⁴ Observation order of settings rotates, by starting with different areas each night, to deter incidences of bias; e.g., having late night shoppers, or patrons of theatres, give an invalid count of the "average" number of pedestrians, by sex and age break-down, within settings. The search pattern itself, of criss-crossing areas, allows each street within a setting to be observed two to three times a night. Time spent in each setting varies, depending on whether a parking spot can be found.⁵

⁴The choice of hours is derived from prior research on streetwalking, conducted in 1978 and 1979, on the activity of streetwalkers on the corner of Georgia and Hornby in Vancouver (Ross and Sands; 1979). The previous study indicates that the "busiest" hours for streetwalkers, at least at this location, are between 22:00 hrs and 01:00 hrs. The choice of days gives a sample of streetwalking activity, if any, during the beginning, middle, and end of the week.

⁵For example, at the Georgia/Hornby setting, one can easily park and observe activity from a car for as long as one wishes. In the Davie Street setting, however, since the majority of streetwalking activity occurs on narrow side-streets (usually with no parking allowed on one side, and no parking available

Criteria for identifying streetwalkers includes: 1) in a setting during an observation period, with the majority of subjects present throughout the study on a continuous basis; 2) to a much lesser extent, apparel and make-up cues, especially relevant if in extreme variance with female passers-by; 3) posturing and walking cues; 4) inter-acting with males of varying ages and apparel; and 5) interest shown by subjects in the researchers.⁶

Variance in apparel, make-up, walking and posturing cues exists between settings.⁷ Some streetwalkers in the Davie Street setting, for example, wear clothing that may be described as quite "skimpy" and revealing, even on relatively cool nights; i.e., shorts and tee-shirts, see-through blouses, or mini-skirts. Make-up and hair-styles can be quite "exotic", ranging from a "demure" look to almost "punk-rock"; and in soliciting, they may "lean over" a car to look in at its occupants. In contrast, streetwalkers on Georgia/Hornby seldom wear clothing to such extremes, with apparel and make-up more appropriate for a night-club or fine restaurant. In addition, they seldom walk over to a car, unless beckoned by its occupants. Table 27, infra, indicates whether streetwalkers locate within predicted settings, and if they are present, where

⁵(cont'd) where permitted), it is virtually impossible to stop and observe from a car, other than by slow "drive-throughs".

⁶Some subjects approached the car, even though no active encouragement to do so is given. On one occasion, a subject within the Davie Street area called out "Good evening, gentlemen, would either of you like a date?".

⁷Found by Layton(1975) as well.

they most frequently appear to be (see Figure 9).

Table 27

Confirmation Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings By Personal Observation

SETTING NUMBER	STREET NAME	STREETWALKERS PRESENT?
03	CARRALL, Pender to waterfront	NO
	COLUMBIA, Pender to waterfront	YES
	CORDOVA, Abbott to Gore	YES
	HASTINGS, Abbott to Gore	YES
	POWELL/WATER, Abbott to Gore	NO
04	BURNABY, Jervis to Burrard	NO
	COMOX, Jervis to Burrard	YES
	DAVIE, Jervis to Burrard	YES
	NELSON, Jervis to Burrard	YES
	PENDRELL, Jervis to Burrard	YES
06	BURRARD, Barclay to Burnaby	YES
	GEORGIA, Seymour to Bute	YES
	HORNBY, Dunsmuir to Smithe	YES
	HOWE, Dunsmuir to Smithe	YES
	THURLOW, Dunsmuir to Smithe	NO
07	DAVIE, Richards to Hornby	YES
	GRANVILLE, Smithe to Beach	YES
	HELMCKEN, Richards to Hornby	YES

Table 27

Confirmation Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings By Personal Observation

SETTING NUMBER	STREET NAME	STREETWALKERS PRESENT?
	HOWE, Georgia to Beach	YES
	NELSON, Richards to Hornby	NO
	SEYMOUR, Georgia to Beach	NO
08	ABBOTT, waterfront to Pender	NO
	CAMBIE, waterfront to Dunsmuir	NO
	CARRALL, waterfront to Dunsmuir	NO
	COLUMBIA, waterfront to Dunsmuir	YES
	CORDOVA, Homer to Columbia	YES
	HASTINGS, Homer to Columbia	YES
	PENDER, Homer to Columbia	NO
09	BURRARD, Drake to Smithe	NO
	DAVIE, Seymour to Thurlow	YES
	GRANVILLE, Drake to Smithe	YES
	HELMCKEN, Seymour to Thurlow	YES
	HORNBY, Drake to Smithe	YES
	HOWE, Drake to Smithe	YES
	NELSON, Seymour to Thurlow	NO
12	GEORGIA, Gore to Main	YES

Table 27

Confirmation Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings By Personal Observation

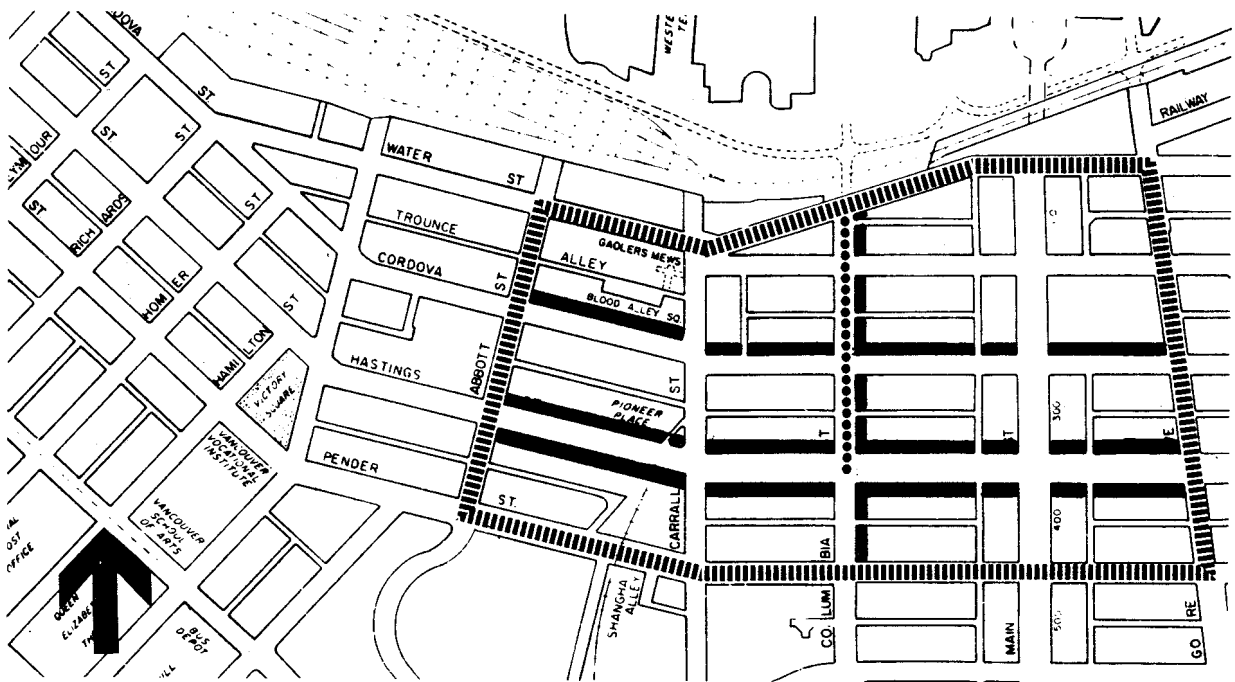
SETTING NUMBER	STREET NAME	STREETWALKERS PRESENT?
	GORE, Union to Keefer	YES
	MAIN, National to Keefer	YES
	KEEFER, Gore to Quebec	YES
	UNION, Gore to Main	YES

Figure 9.1
Location of Streetwalkers Within
Predicted Setting 3 by Field Observation

Figures 9.1 through 9.5 show the seven settings described in Table 27. Projected and actual boundaries are taken from Table 37 (Appendix E). All maps are drawn with the following symbols:

- ▬▬▬▬ Actual Boundaries (Table 37)
- Projected Boundaries (Table 37)
- ◻ Block Faces Indicating Where Streetwalkers Actually Located (Table 27)

All Maps Reduced From Originals



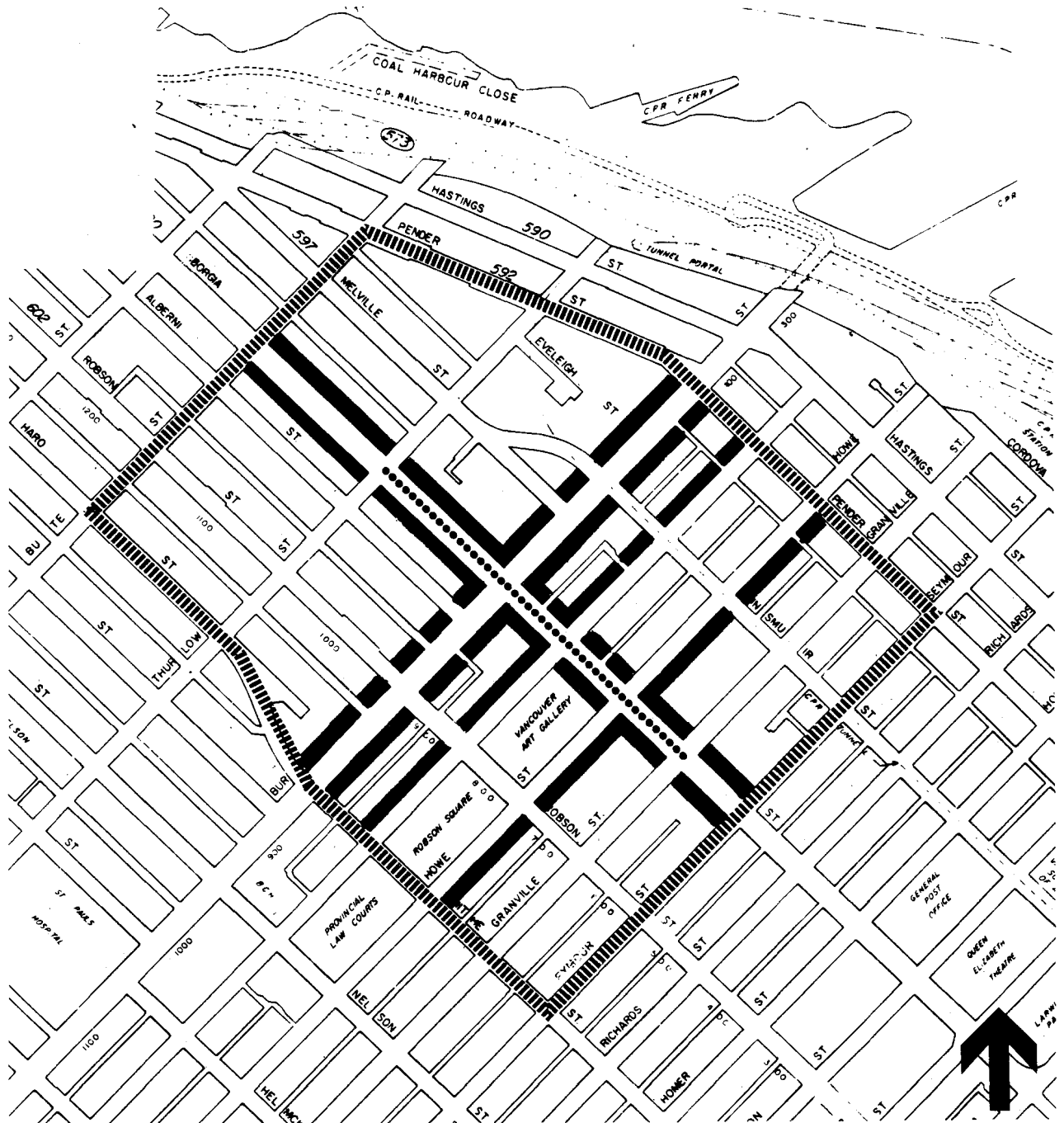
Setting 3 ▲

Figure 9.2
Location of Streetwalkers Within
Predicted Setting 4 by Field Observation



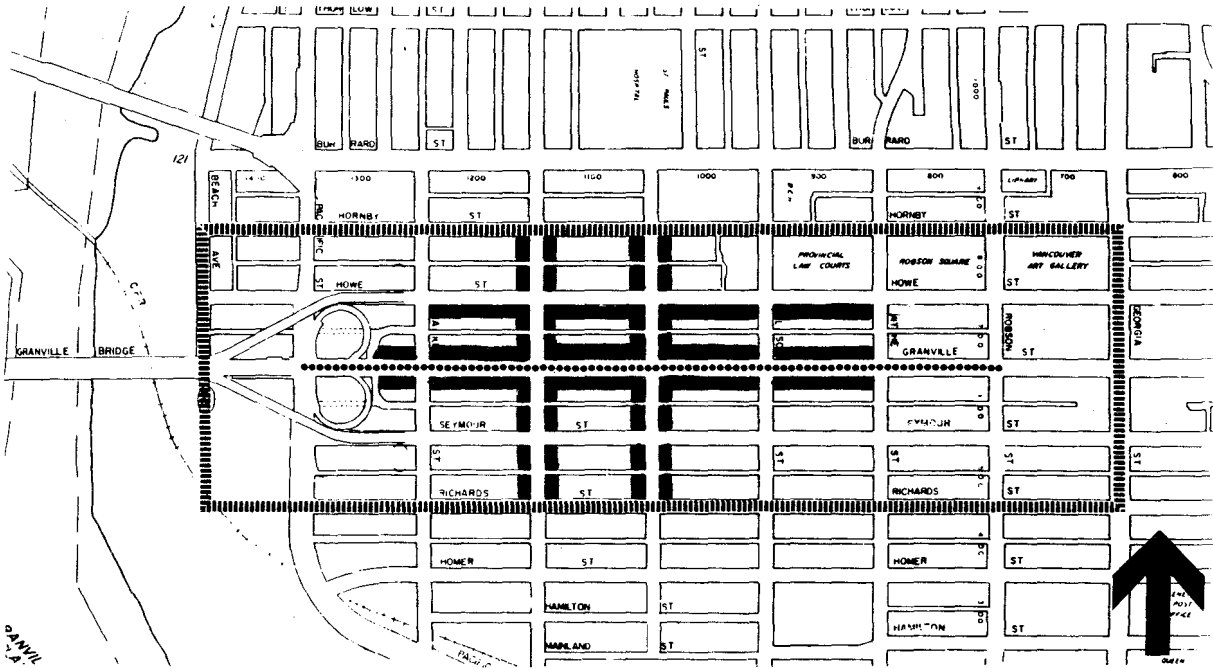
Setting 4 ▲

Figure 9.3
 Location of Streetwalkers Within
 Predicted Setting 6 by Field Observation

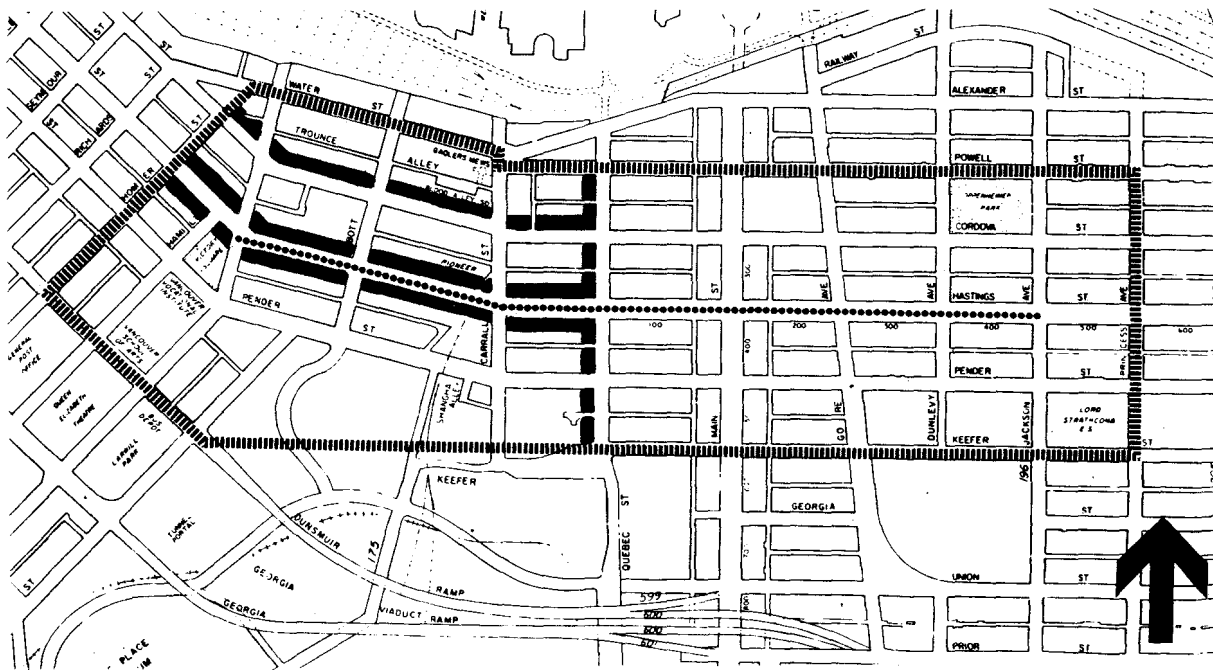


Setting 6 ▲

Figure 9.4
 Location of Streetwalkers Within
 Predicted Settings 7 & 8 by Field Observation



Setting 7 ▲



Setting 8 ▲

Summarizing Confirmation Of Streetwalkers In Predicted Settings

Data from media and literature reviews, as well as from personal observation of settings, indicate that Cohen's model is quite accurate in predicting where streetwalkers have located in Vancouver; i.e., the only "area" of streetwalking activity not predicted by the model is one block face contiguous to the Keefer or East Georgia setting.⁸ As far as can be determined by the thesis, no additional settings of apparent female streetwalkers are identified by the media or the literature: If any such further areas of streetwalking exist, it is likely the media (given the interest in streetwalking in Canada and Vancouver at present) may disclose such information.

Cohen's predictions, however, that streetwalkers would locate on one-way streets, at four-way intersections, as well as avoiding dark areas, does not generally hold-up in the data; e.g., although streetwalkers do locate on the driver's side on Hornby (a one-way street going north/south) just down from Georgia, the majority are on Georgia Street itself, "clustering" in front of the hotels and a mini-park (where the Devonshire

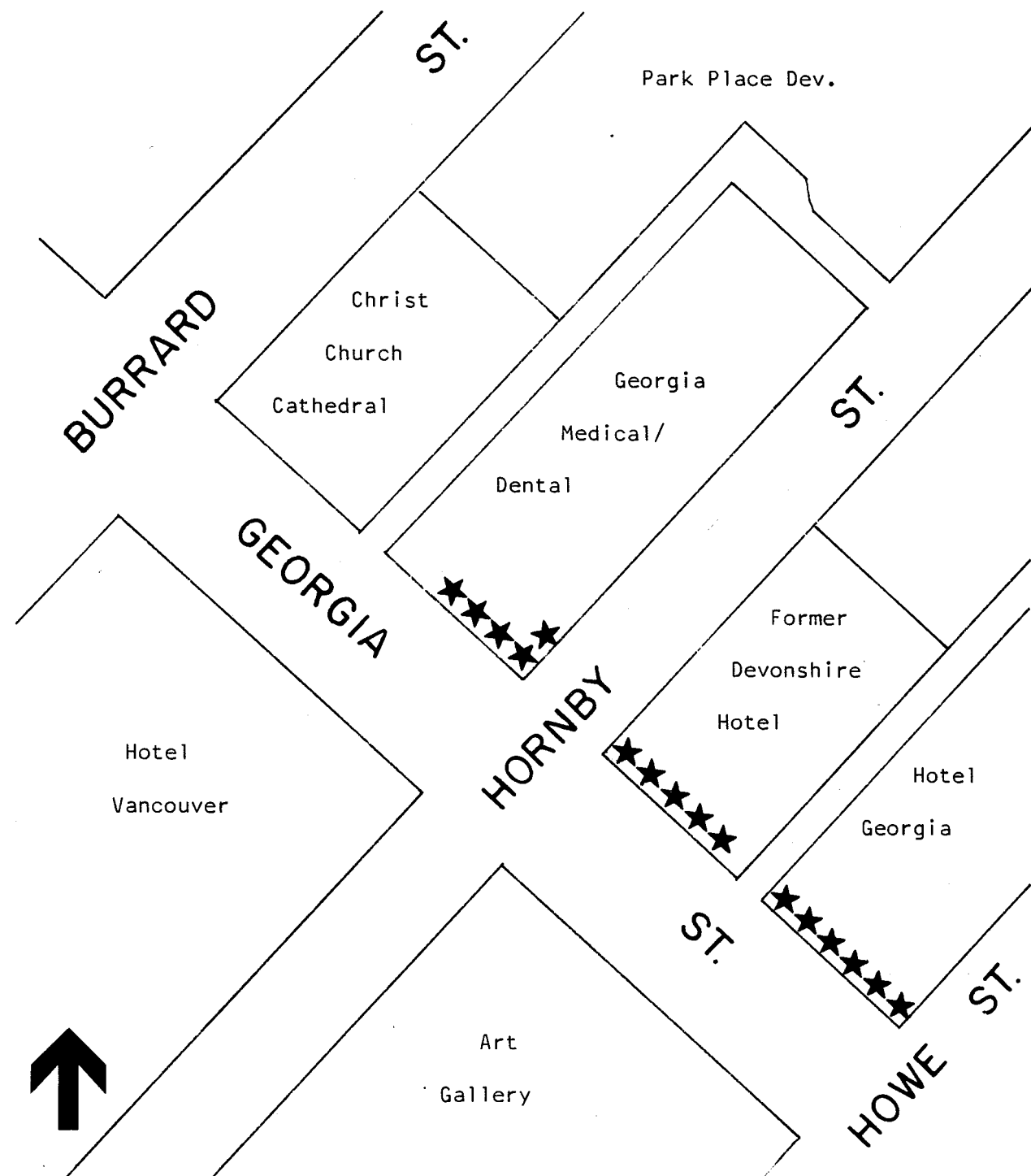
⁸That the model does not predict the block face from Main to Gore may result from the thesis' definition of the concept of "near", and the fact that not all hotels within a setting are necessarily listed in the phone book; therefore, are missed in projecting setting boundaries.

Hotel used to be; see Figure 10).⁹ Similarly, most streetwalkers in the Main/Keefer and Davie Street settings locate on very dark, side-streets, and are often no where near four-way intersections. Table 28, infra, summarizes confirmation of streetwalkers in predicted settings by media and literature reviews, as well as by personal observation.¹⁰

⁹One researcher, in commenting on Whyte's(1980) study in New York on the use of open spaces, etc., hypothesizes that people like to hold conversations on busy sidewalks at points where they create the greatest impediment to pedestrian traffic because "...finding a more convenient place to stand would commit the talkers to continue for a long time. Standing precariously in traffic made it easy for either person to break off the conversation at any moment" (Zeisel, 1981; p.27).

¹⁰One interesting adaption by streetwalkers to the imposition of traffic barriers in the West End is to solicit from traffic circles, while vehicular traffic drives "around" them.

Figure 10
Cluster Patterns of Streetwalkers in
 the Georgia and Hornby Setting



★★★★★ Actual Cluster Patterns of Streetwalkers in Setting

Table 28

Summary Of Confirmation Of Streetwalkers In
 Predicted Settings By Media And Literature
 Reviews, And By Personal Observation

SETTING NUMBER	MEDIA CONFIRMATION	LITERATURE CONFIRMATION	OBSERVATIONAL CONFIRMATION
03	YES	YES	YES
04	YES	YES	YES
06	YES	YES	YES
07	YES	YES	YES
08	***	***	YES
09	?	YES	YES
12	YES	YES	YES

*** = included as part of another setting
 ? = by implication

Control Sample Of Areas Dropped, Or Not Predicted By The Model

As a means of confirming that apparent female streetwalkers are not located in other parts of the city, a comparison is done with some settings dropped from the study and areas not predicted by the model. Included in the comparison are: 1) The two Kingsway settings, since they have "strip development" (stores and commercial property built-up along the road-front, sometimes for blocks); and 2) areas of the city that

in the opinion of R. Whitlock, an urban planner for the City of Vancouver, may have sufficient vehicular and pedestrian traffic, as well as some clustering of relevant ecological factors. Criteria for observation of these "settings" are the same as that for predicted settings, other than the fact that the period extends over the last week of July, and the first two weeks of August, 1983; i.e., "settings" are checked on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday nights, from 22:00 hrs to 01:00 hrs.¹¹ The resulting data establishes that no apparent female streetwalkers appear to be present in the comparison areas. Table 29, infra, gives the settings and areas of the City used in the control(see Figure 11).

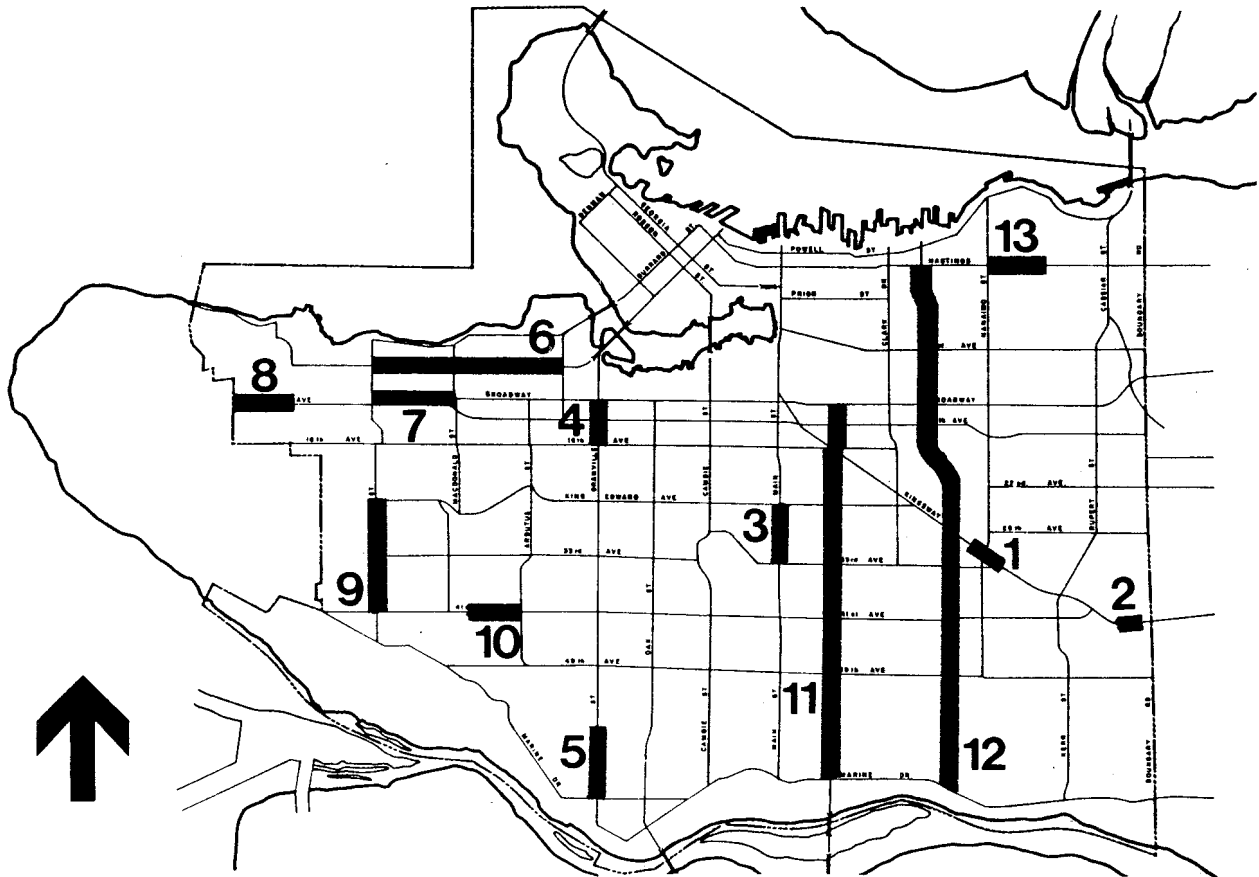
¹¹Criteria for the factors of sex, pedestrian traffic, vehicular traffic, age, and streetwalkers are the same as defined and used above.

Table 29

Settings And Areas Of Vancouver
Used In The Control

SETTING OR AREA	BOUNDARIES
KINGSWAY I	See Appendix E
KINGSWAY II	See Appendix E
MAIN STREET	25th to 33rd Avenue
GRANVILLE STREET	Broadway to 16th Avenue
GRANVILLE STREET	64th to 70th Avenue
4TH AVENUE	Burrard Street to Alma
BROADWAY AVENUE	MacDonald, west to Alma
10th AVENUE	by the University of British Columbia
DUNBAR STREET	26th to 41st Avenue
41ST AVENUE	West Boulevard to Larch
FRASER STREET	north to Broadway Avenue
COMMERCIAL/VICTORIA STREETS	Hastings Street to 54th Avenue
HASTINGS STREET	Nanaimo, east to Renfrew

Figure 11
Comparison Settings and Areas



1. Kingsway I
2. Kingsway II
3. Main Street (25th to 33rd Avenues)
4. Granville Street (Broadway to 16th Avenue)
5. Granville Street (64th to 70th Avenues)
6. 4th Avenue (Burrard to Alma Streets)
7. Broadway (MacDonald to Alma Streets)
8. 10th Avenue (Near University of B.C.)
9. Dunbar Street (26th to 41st Avenue)
10. 41st Avenue (West Boulevard to Larch Street)
11. Fraser Street (Broadway to 49th Avenue)
12. Commercial/Victoria Drive (Hastings Street to 54th Avenue)
13. Hastings Street (Nanaimo to Renfrew Streets)

Chapter Synopsis

After undertaking media and literature reviews, as well as personal observation, it is possible to confirm that the seven settings predicted as having apparent female streetwalkers in them in fact do. In addition, applying the same procedures for areas of Vancouver used for comparison purposes establishes that no other settings exist for such activity. The final step is to summarize the study undertaken by the thesis, and indicate methods for coping with the activity of streetwalking through utilization of Cohen's model by urban planners and Criminal Justice System personnel.

VII. Synopsis

Summary

The approach undertaken by the thesis starts with an explication of Cohen's model, elaborating upon: 1) the differences in legislation on streetwalking between Canada, England, and the U.S.A.; 2) the Chicago School; and 3) Cohen's determinants. The results of this initial step indicate that legislative differences exist between Canada and New York state which should be taken into account; that Cohen's basic methodological approach has a Chicago School orientation; and that Cohen's study of streetwalking in New York is the first that specifically utilizes an ecological approach. An ensuing literature review establishes that the concepts of "prostitute" and "prostitution" vary substantially, but for purposes of the present study reference to the Criminal Code of Canada (and its prohibition of solicitation for the purposes of prostitution, rather than prostitution per se), coupled with the Supreme Court of Canada's definition of solicitation in Hutt v. The Queen, provide the necessary legal definition of a streetwalker; that criteria exists for recognizing apparent female streetwalkers within active settings; and, that there is support for the determinants Cohen argues are facilitative in the emergence, or

continued existence of, active streetwalking settings.

The most critical part of conducting a test of Cohen's model occurs during the operationalization of his determinants(or ecological factors). Difficulties are encountered primarily as the result of Cohen's failure to define or elaborate upon many of the concepts and methodology he uses. Some of the conceptual problems, such as defining "near" or "neighbourhood", are resolved by reference to the literature, while others are more readily addressed by other means; e.g., the use of urban planning or city engineering typologies, or Statistics-Canada census data. To a large extent, however, the thesis must extrapolate from Cohen's work in developing its conceptual framework; therefore, it is open to question how closely the thesis' representation approximates his model as used in his New York study.

The next step projects likely areas within Vancouver for apparent female streetwalking through consideration of Cohen's determinants, as defined or understood by the thesis; i.e., projected settings are determined by looking for areas that have "several" hotels or motels "near" one another on "primary transportation routes". These projected settings, or parts thereof, are reduced to a set of predicted active streetwalking settings by eliminating those that are inconsistent with his model(either have an insufficient number of ecological factors, or are at variance with some other aspect of the model, such as an inappropriate population base), and predicting streets within

settings where streetwalkers are likely to locate. Thus, from an initial projection of eighteen settings, only seven remain as predicted to have streetwalking activity.

Field research establishes that the seven remaining settings have an active, apparent female streetwalking population. In addition, two independent measurements of cross-validation confirm that these settings have streetwalkers, and that no other areas of Vancouver not predicted by the study do. The first is a literature and media review of prostitution in Vancouver, both substantiating that the seven predicted settings are known for streetwalking activity. The second is the field observation of comparison areas of Vancouver that, although not predicted to be likely locations for apparent female streetwalkers, have, in the opinion of an urban planner, some of the ecological factors necessary for an active setting; these comparison "settings", however, do not appear to have any streetwalkers present.

The thesis, then, argues that Cohen's model, with only some minor exceptions, predicts exactly where apparent female streetwalkers locate in Vancouver. Finding, however, that streetwalkers prefer to work in the Central Business District(CBD) or locations contiguous to it, rather than in stable residential areas, is probably not astonishing: Streetwalkers, as indicated by the literature review in Chapter Three, traditionally work within this zone. The importance of testing Cohen's model in the present thesis is that: 1) it

empirically demonstrates that streetwalking settings have an underlying "logic" to them; 2) it specifically addresses the issue of streetwalking in Vancouver, questioning the media's portrayal of public intolerance when the majority of settings are within the CBD; and 3) in the thesis' inability to falsify Cohen's model, it provides a basis for predicting streetwalking settings which may have utility for police man-power deployment and urban planning considerations.

Conclusion

The Logic Of Streetwalking Settings

Testing Cohen's model entails eliminating parts of Vancouver inconsistent with his determinants, with remaining areas predicted to be settings for apparent female streetwalkers. Media and literature reviews, plus field observation, confirms that streetwalking activity exists in these settings, and that it does not exist in comparison areas; i.e., his model predicts precisely where streetwalkers actually solicit in Vancouver, with only the minor discrepancies of one-way streets and dark areas of the City. These discrepancies, however, may possibly be the result of differences in legislation, style of policing, or the perceptions of crime between New York and Vancouver. Thus, given the predictive power realized in an empirical test of Vancouver data, it seems

reasonable to conclude that Cohen's model is indicative of an underlying "logic" that streetwalkers "tap into", in choosing specific areas of a city for their transactions.

Media Portrayal Of Streetwalking In Vancouver

The media consistently portrays the activity of soliciting on the streets as a major problem in Vancouver. Streetwalkers are characterized as being noisy, aggressive, and abusive, offending both potential clients and residents in areas surrounding settings. Attention is focused on the Davie Street setting, since the West End is the only residential district in the study.

As a residential area, the West End is not known for a quiet environment, but for its "fast life" (Ross and Sands, 1979):

Those who would turn it into a stately, ersatz Kerrisdale are going to be complaining about its excesses for a long time. Once the true West Ender adapts and learns tolerance, the one thing that upsets him is waking up to silence (Wiseman, 1983; p.73).

Far from being "afraid to walk at night" (The Sun; April 30, 1983), though, residents are visible on the streets and seem to tolerate streetwalking; e.g., a senior citizen of seventy-eight states that she "...feels comfortable and safe as long as...(streetwalkers)are there...that the first night they disappeared...she felt alone and afraid on the short walk to her apartment" (The Sun; May 15, 1982). In addition, during the

observation phase of the study, two female senior citizens spoke at length to each other, at about 22:30 hrs, seemingly oblivious to three streetwalkers located no more than forty feet from them.

The extent of streetwalking activity in the West End may be difficult to determine, since "(w)omen move between...settings to a certain extent and their involvement in prostitution...can fluctuate" (McLeod, 1982; p.9). Davie street, however, appears to have only a few streetwalkers per block, and far from being a low figure, the literature states that:

Even in New York City it is rather infrequent that one finds more than two or three girls simultaneously soliciting on one block. The most notable exceptions are in or near Harlem...This is not to suggest that there is any shortage of streetwalkers in other parts of New York City; merely that they are more heavily concentrated in and around Harlem (Benjamin and Masters, 1964; p.125)¹

It is by no means clear, though, that the activity of streetwalkers is any where near as extensive or boisterous as the media has reported: It is certainly not clear, letters to the editor notwithstanding, that the Davie Street area is intolerant to the presence of streetwalkers.²

¹ In Vancouver, the highest concentration is not in the West End, but at the intersection of Georgia and Hornby; i.e., the West End may have an equal, or greater number of streetwalkers, but they are not "clustered", covering an area of twenty-five square blocks (Wiseman; 1983).

²During the observation period of the study, not one overtly aggressive, rude, or loud act could be attributed to streetwalkers. For the most part, their attitude seems to be one of indifference, as indicated by passive actions, such as standing in a particular spot and smiling at passers-by.

Utility Of The Model For CJS Agencies And Urban Planners

The thesis does not take a position on the activity of streetwalking, either in general, or as it is practiced in Vancouver. The fact that streetwalkers exist in urban areas, however, leads to a series of alternatives for coping with their activity: 1) toleration; 2) legislation; and 3) extra-legal measures, such as the use of zoning. Not all measures are necessarily satisfactory to local governments or its citizen's; e.g., legislation may be beyond the competence of such authorities.

Tolerance

The issue of tolerance is one that is raised frequently in the literature, although for different reasons. Park, for example, states that:

(V)ice districts...are found in most cities...(and that)We must...accept these "moral regions" and the more or less eccentric and exceptional people who inhabit them...as part of the natural, if not the normal, life of a city (Park, 1967; pp.43-45).

Some researchers argue that society ought to recognize the demand for prostitution, and rescind laws prohibiting this activity(e.g., Benjamin and Masters, 1964). Others warn that legislation against prostitution provides, and has provided, opportunities for abuse; e.g., arresting both innocent and guilty women, so lawyers, judges, bondsmen, policemen, etc., would get pay or kickbacks (Murtagh; 1957).

Legislation

The issue of legislation prohibiting streetwalking leads not only to questions of "What Kind?", "For Whom?", and "What Should The Penalty Be?", but to the phenomenon of "displacement". Displacement can take many forms: 1) from one area to another within a city(e.g., Benjamin and Masters, 1964; Flexner, 1914; Lowman, 1980; Reckless, 1933; Shumsky and Springer, 1981; Waterman, 1932); 2) from one city or town to another(eg., Rosen, 1982); or 3) to a different form of prostitution(e.g., Lowman, 1980; Prus and Irini, 1980; Symanski, 1981), or criminal activity(e.g., Sheey, 1973; Waterman, 1932).³ In addition to considerations, such as legislating in the area of morality, others have argued that both the client and the streetwalker must be charged(e.g., The Model Penal Code, 1964; Bill C-127, 1983).

Extra-Legal Means Of Controlling Streetwalking

The apparent failure of legislation to control the activity of street soliciting can lead to the use of "extra-legal" means; i.e., using legislation passed for reasons unrelated to streetwalking activity to control street solicitation. One form is the citing of: 1) clients who are parked illegally; 2) streetwalkers who commit "pedestrian" offences; and 3) both client and streetwalker, for creating a nuisance(e.g., Hanna, 1979; MacNamara and Sagarin, 1977).

³The list of possible displacements should not be seen as exhaustive. Lowman(1983), for example, argues that for some forms of crime a displacement occurs in time; i.e., that the offender changes his hours of "work" to meet changes in his environment.

Another form is the possibility of using zoning ordinances:

(T)he purpose of which is to keep visibility below levels that prove to be offensive...accomplished by three processes undertaken simultaneously. One would encourage prostitutes to discreetly solicit in newspapers, magazines and telephone directories. Another would promote the dispersal of brothels and streetwalkers throughout a city. A third measure would require that only so many brothels and streetwalkers be allowed in designated zones...perhaps two streetwalkers would be permitted for every two or three blocks. Alternatively, city planners could specify an acceptable number of prostitutes for a zoned area of a half dozen or more blocks, anticipating that women might prefer to congregate (Symanski, 1981; pp.33-35).

Correlations are found in the literature between the incidence of liquor outlets, such as bars and night-clubs, etc., and the activity of streetwalking(e.g., Goldstein, 1979; Gray, 1971; Walkowitz, 1980), leading to the possibility of dispersing businesses that facilitate streetwalking through zoning; e.g., similar to Detroit's "'Anti-Skid Row Plan'...that sex-related businesses be at least 1,000 feet apart..." (Symanski, 1981; p.235), agglomeration of bars, night-clubs, hotels, etc., could be prohibited. Using zoning, however, similar to many other crime prevention programmes, entails trade-offs: It may be possible to deter streetwalking activity through extra-legal means, but it results in business or private interests being subservient to the "public good".

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Model Penal Code Proposes

The Model Penal Code proposes:

Section 251.1 Prostitution and Related Offenses.

(1) Prostitution. A person is guilty of prostitution, a petty misdemeanor, if he or she:

(a) is an inmate of a house of prostitution or otherwise engages in sexual activity as a business; or

(b) loiters in or within view of any public place for the purposes of being hired to engage in sexual activity.

"Sexual activity" includes homosexual and other deviate sexual relations. A "house of prostitution" is any place where prostitution or promotion of prostitution is regularly carried on by one person under the control, management or supervision of another. An "inmate" is a person who engages in prostitution in or through the agency of a house of prostitution. "Public place" means any place to which the public or any substantial group thereof has access.

(2) Promoting Prostitution. A person who knowingly promotes prostitution of another commits a misdemeanor or felony as provided in Subsection (3). The following acts shall, without limitation of the foregoing, constitute promoting prostitution:

(a) owning, controlling, managing(sic) supervising, or otherwise keeping, alone or in association with others, a house of prostitution or a prostitution business; or
(b) procuring an inmate for a house of prostitution or a place in a house of prostitution for one who would be an inmate; or

(c) encouraging, inducing, or otherwise purposely causing another to become or remain a prostitute; or
(d) soliciting a person to patronize a prostitute; or
(e) procuring a prostitute for a patron; or
(f) transporting a person into or within this state with purpose to promote that person's engaging in prostitution, or procuring or paying for transportation with that purpose; or

(g) leasing or otherwise permitting a place controlled by the actor, alone or in association with others, to be regularly used for prostitution or the promotion of prostitution, or failure to make reasonable effort to abate such use by ejecting the tenant, notifying law enforcement authorities, or other legally available means; or

(h) soliciting, receiving, or agreeing to receive any

benefit for doing or agreeing to do anything forbidden by this Subsection.

(3) Grading of Offenses Under Subsection (2). An offense under Subsection (2) constitutes a felony of the third degree if:

(a) the offense falls within paragraph (a), (b) or (c) of Subsection (2); or

(b) the actor compels another to engage in or promote prostitution; or

(c) the actor promotes prostitution of a child under 16, whether or not he is aware of the child's age; or

(d) the actor promotes prostitution of his wife, child, ward or any person for whose care, protection or support he is responsible.

Otherwise the offense is a misdemeanor.

(4) Presumption from Living off Prostitutes. A Person, other than the prostitute or the prostitute's minor child or other legal dependent incapable of self-support, who is supported in whole or substantial part by the proceeds of prostitution is presumed to be knowingly promoting prostitution in violation of Subsection (2).

(5) Patronizing Prostitutes. A person commits a violation if he hires a prostitute to engage in sexual activity with him, or if he enters or remains in a house of prostitution for the purpose of engaging in sexual activity.

(6) Evidence. On the issue whether a place is a house of prostitution the following shall be admissible evidence: its general repute; the repute of the persons who reside in or frequent the place; the frequency, timing and duration of visits by non-residents. Testimony of a person against his spouse shall be admissible to prove offenses under this Section (The American Law Institute, 1962; pp.233-235).

Appendix B: Proposed Amendments To The Canadian Criminal Code

Proposed amendments to the Canadian Criminal Code are:

11. Subsection 179(1) of the said Act is amended by adding thereto, immediately after the definition "place", the following definition:
" "prostitute" means a person of either sex who engages in prostitution;"
12. Sections 182 and 183 of the said Act are repealed.
13. Subsections 195(1) and (2) of the said Act are repealed and the following substituted therefor:
"195. (1) Every one who
 - (a) procures, attempts to procure or solicits a person to have illicit sexual intercourse with another person, whether in or out of Canada,
 - (b) inveigles or entices a person who is not a prostitute or a person of known immoral character to a common bawdy-house or house of assignation for the purpose of illicit sexual intercourse or prostitution,
 - (c) knowingly conceals a person in a common bawdy-house or house of assignation,
 - (d) procures or attempts to procure a person to become, whether in or out of Canada, a prostitute,
 - (e) procures or attempts to procure a person to leave the usual place of abode of that person in Canada, if that place is not a common bawdy-house, with intent that the person may become an inmate or frequenter of a common bawdy-house, whether in or out of Canada,
 - (f) on the arrival of a person in Canada, directs or causes that person to be directed or takes or causes that person to be taken, to a common bawdy-house or house of assignation,
 - (g) procures a person to enter or leave Canada, for the purpose of prostitution,
 - (h) for the purposes of gain, exercises control direction or influence over the movements of a person in such manner as to show that he is aiding, abetting or compelling that person to engage in or carry on prostitution with any person or generally,
 - (i) applies or administers to a person or causes that person to take any drug, intoxicating liquor, matter or thing with intent to stupefy or overpower that person in order thereby to enable any person to have illicit sexual intercourse with that person, or
 - (j) lives wholly or in part on the avails of prostitution of another person,is guilty of an indicatable offence and is liable to

imprisonment for ten years.

(2) Evidence that a person lives with or is habitually in the company of prostitutes, or lives in a common bawdy-house or house of assignation is, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, proof that the person lives on the avails of prostitution." (Bill C-127, 1983; pp.1.1.04-1.1.05).

Appendix C: Defining "Prostitute" And "Prostitution"

The Concept Of Prostitution

Definitions of prostitution are often quite vague, and do little to further an academic understanding of the activity:

...(Prostitution is)the putting of anything to a vile use...the using of...charms by a woman for immoral purposes (Mayhew, 1967; p.35).

A more elaborate definition may include who may be a prostitute, under what circumstances, and commitment to the activity:

...(Prostitution is)the granting of nonmarital sexual access, established by mutual agreement of the woman, her client, and/or her employer, for remuneration which provides part or all of her livelihood...The prostitute may be male or female (Winich and Kinsie, 1971; p.3).

A complex definition not only includes the above elements, but may include sexual orientation and non-monetary reward:

...(Prostitution is an activity by)an individual, female or male, who for some kind of reward, monetary or otherwise, or for some form of personal satisfaction other than purely for the gratification of an awareness of love, and as a part-time or whole-time profession, engages in normal or abnormal sexual intercourse with a number of persons, who may be of the same sex as, or the opposite sex to, herself or himself (Scott, 1968; p.13).

The most elaborate definitions of prostitution, however, seem to attempt to include every possible variation and consideration, perhaps to the point of becoming too vague:

...(Prostitution)include(s) the whole range of venal sexual activity...of any sexual acts, including those which do not actually involve copulation, habitually performed by individuals with other individuals of their

own or the opposite sex, for a consideration which is non-sexual....sexual acts habitually performed for gain by single individuals, or by individuals with animals or objects, which produce in the spectator some form of sexual gratification...Emotional involvement may or may not be present (Henriques, 1962; p.17).

The above quotes indicate the diversity of the elements that may be entailed in specific definitions of prostitution. Such variance supports the belief that there is no simple definition of prostitution (Benjamin and Masters, 1964; p.22).

The Concept Of A Prostitute

Contingent upon an understanding of what is meant by prostitution, there is a further need to define the concept of a "prostitute". Similar to the concept of "prostitution", definitions of what, or who is, a prostitute, varies substantially in the literature:

I've talked to girls who work the hotel lobbies and bars. I've talked to girls who work out of clubs and houses. Each girl acts completely differently, and the girls vary just as much. There's a stereotypical prostitute in the public's mind, but that is not what's out there. There's a big difference in their lifestyles (Wilson; 1980; pp.50-51).

Typologies may cover a range, from where, why, and how prostitutes work, to terms used to refer to them by themselves and the public.

Typologies of prostitutes can be quite straightforward, perhaps at the risk of being too general for research purposes:

The order may be divided into three classes--the "kept woman"...the common prostitute...and the woman whose prostitution is a subsidiary calling (Acton, 1857;

p.54).

They may refer specifically to her commitment to the activity of prostitution, perhaps disregarding other elements, such as place of work or prostitute-type:

...(F)our types of women can...be distinguished...(1) The occasionally promiscuous...(2) The persistently promiscuous...(3) The occasional or temporary prostitute...(and) (4) The chronic or habitual prostitute (Rolfe, in League of Nations, 1943; p.52).

They may incorporate level of activity and place of work, but exclude commitment to prostitution:

...(Prostitutes are classified)based on the degree of their public visibility...Flagrant...taps on a window...or calls loudly, or stands in a window or doorway...Semi-flagrant...is readily...in a bar or on the street or knocks on the door... Semi-clandestine...gives no overt evidence of her vocation... Clandestine...(as in)the call girl (Winich and Kinsie, 1971; p.28).

Or they may classify by occupational milieu to occupational commitment (Goldstein, 1979; p.34).¹

In addition to the above typologies, prostitutes may be classified by labels ascribed to them by themselves or others. The public, for example, may refer to prostitutes as "whores", "prostitutes," "hookers," "hustlers," and "streetwalkers". The term preferred by prostitutes, though, "...is most commonly 'prostitute'" (James, 1973; p.104). That prostitutes can make distinctions between referrants, and take them seriously, may be

¹The most extensive classification of prostitutes would seem to be that of Mayhew's, having a total of: 1) three major headings(Professional, Clandestine, and Cohabitant prostitutes); 2) sixteen sub-headings; 3) ten sub-scripts; and 4) two sub-headings within a single sub-script (Mayhew, 1967, pp.26-27).

seen in the following interaction:

This girl...informed me...that I was a "whore" and she was a "prostitute"...the difference was that a prostitute could pick her customer and a whore had to take anybody...I said...I'm neither one...I'm a hustler. I make money for what I do... (Heyl, 1979; p.121).

Terms such as "hustler", "chippie", "Ho", or "sporting girl" refer to other roles, and, in some cases, may not entail prostitution; e.g., the "chippie"(housewife), picking a man up in a bar for free. The term "hooker" is simply considered out-dated (James, 1973; p.104).²

The foregoing typologies are essentially social science constructs. Another form of typology is the use of official police data; i.e., those women who are termed "prostitutes" are those who have been processed by the criminal justice system(CJS) for solicitation. Although there is the possibility that police definitions of what prostitution is, and who prostitutes are, may not be value-free, recent studies have indicated their statistics, for most crimes, are fairly reliable (P.J. Brantingham, 1983; Hindeland, Herschi, and Weis, 1979; Hood and Spark, 1974; Mawby, 1981). Thus, assuming that one may get access to official police data, it may be more useful in a study of prostitution to rely upon such data.

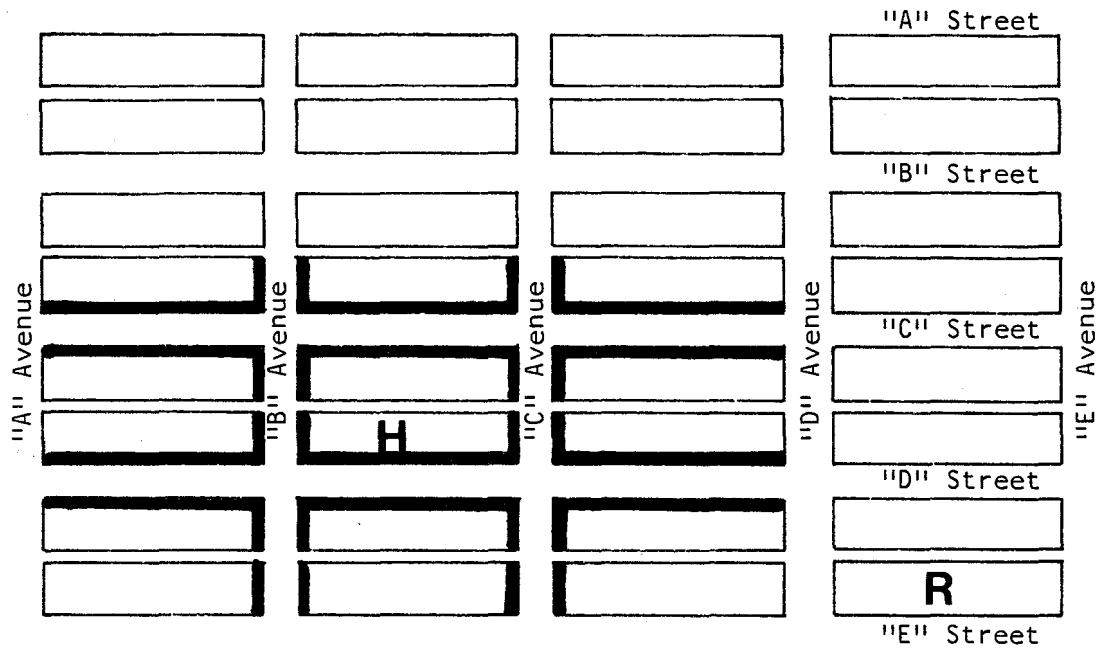
²The term "prostitute" is also preferred by streetwalkers and the police in Vancouver (Taylor; 1983).

Appendix D: Operationalization Rationale

Defining "Near"

Cohen does not give a definition of the concept of "near" in his study. Urban planning literature, however, defines "near" in context of how far one is likely to walk to a store from a parking lot (The Technical Planning Board; 1956) or to a transit stop (Edge; 1981). In both cases, the maximum distance people are willing to walk is about three blocks. For the present thesis, though, "near" is defined with respect to a search pattern initiating from a reference block, to blocks contiguous to it, whereby all faces are not at risk (see Figure 12, *infra*). The block with the hotel on it would have all four of its faces included as being "near" the hotel, plus those faces of contiguous blocks to a maximum of "two turns" from the hotel. Thus, if "near" search patterns for two hotels intersect, then the two hotels are considered to be "near" each other. Similarly, if other ecological factors, such as night-clubs or restaurants, are within a hotel's search pattern, they are "near" the hotel, etc. (though in the example given, the restaurant would not be "near" the hotel since it is not within its search pattern for "nearness").

Figure 12
Defining "Nearness"



H Hotel

R Restaurant

 Block Face At Risk

Defining "Cluster"

Cohen seems to refer to "clusters" in an informal manner, and may not necessarily use the term in a mathematical sense; therefore, it may be impossible to determine from his work how many units of any one ecological factor or determinant per se must be in a setting before a "cluster" may be said to exist. According to the literature, though, one form of clustering entails the:

(M)utual attraction among the competing units of a particular activity...(which)outweighs any repulsion that might arise from their rivalry...A tendency toward agglomeration is unmistakable...in the formation of financial districts, nightlife districts, civic centers, produce markets, and high-class shopping areas in cities...The common feature of all such clusterings is that each unit finds the location good because of the presence of the others... (Hoover, 1975; pp.75-76).

Others have argued that a cluster is "intuitive" (Lowe and Moryada; 1975); therefore, the concept may elude, or not require, specific definition. Thus, the thesis uses the term "cluster" as being within a range, from a minimum of three ecological factors per block face, to an infinite maximum.

Defining "Primary Transportation Network" And "Business Thoroughfares"

For Cohen, both "primary transportation network" and "business thoroughfares" seem synonymous with the concept of a major street. A major street may be defined in a number of ways. Vancouver City Engineering, for example, has two typologies for classifying streets within its jurisdiction (see Tables 30 and 31, *infra*). The first uses the number of lanes, plus parking and street width, in designating street classification (adapted from Vancouver City Engineering data; 1976). The second typology uses volume of traffic, in terms of the number of cars per day, to distinguish types of streets (Pinsker, Vancouver City Engineering; 1982). For purposes of the present thesis, the second typology is used, since it is consistent with City Engineering and Planning maps, and precludes the need to "count" lanes or "measure" widths of streets.

Table 30

Vancouver City Engineering
Street Typology I

TYPE OF STREET	REQUIREMENT	WIDTH
LOCAL		
single family	1 lane + parking	27'
multiple dwelling	2 lanes + parking	32-36'
commercial		
industrial	2 lanes + parking	36-40'
COLLECTOR (residential)		
	2 lanes + parking	32'
MAJOR		
4 lanes	2 lanes + parking	42-46'
6 lanes	4 lanes + parking	62'
4 lanes + left turn bay	2 lanes + parking	60'
6 lanes + left turn bay	4 lanes + parking	80'

Table 31

Vancouver City Engineering
Street Typology II

STREET TYPE	NUMBER OF CARS PER DAY
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ARTERIAL	5,000 or more
COLLECTORS (SUB-DIVISION OF RESIDENTIAL STREETS)	3,000 to 5,000
RESIDENTIAL	under 1,000 (3,000 to 4,000 in the West-End)

Defining "Cheap Or Seedy" Hotels

According to the literature, one method for defining "cheap and seedy" hotels is to develop a high-low price dichotomy; i.e., determine the average and standard deviation, and going three standard deviations above and below the mean to establish high-low price categories (P.J. Brantingham; 1982). Such a method may work well if there is a statistically normal distribution of prices across all hotels (Lowman; 1983). Vancouver, however, does not appear to have a normal distribution of hotel prices: On the basis of an S.P.S.S. (Statistical Package For The Social Sciences) frequency run on 106 hotels and motels in Vancouver that would give a price over the phone for a single room per day, the minimum is \$8.00; the maximum is \$105.00; the mean is \$31.60; and the standard deviation is \$19.00. Thus, one cannot use the high-low price dichotomy, since it is inappropriate to Vancouver data; e.g., two standard deviations below the mean would derive a figure of -\$6.40.

It is clear, then, that another measure of "cheap or seedy" is necessary. The literature, however, does not define these concepts, other than by giving examples of prices; e.g., Cohen states a price of \$5.00-\$15.00 (Cohen, 1980; p.112), Pendakur and Pendakur have a cut-off point of \$25.00 (Pendakur and Pendakur; p.31), and Miller (using 1972 census data in Seattle)

argues hotels "...charging over \$4.00 per night do not indicate Skid Row-ness" (Miller, 1982; p.51).³ Furthermore, Vancouver City Planning staff do not have a criteria for defining "cheap or seedy" (Whitlock; 1983). Consultation with the Burnaby R.C.M.P., though, indicates that a dual price structure ought to be used, since hotels and motels do not offer the same services(e.g., the former may have valet parking, restaurants, and room service, while the latter usually do not): 1) \$20.00 and under for hotels; and 2) \$13.00 and under for motels. Hotels and motels "...under these cut-off points may properly be classified as being 'cheap or seedy'" (Cpl. Montgomery; 1983).

The thesis, then, defines "cheap and seedy" with respect to R.C.M.P. criteria; i.e., those hotels that are below \$20.00, and motels below \$13.00, for a single room on a per day basis. It is a cut-off point for hotels also suggested by Lowman(1983), and would result in 36 per cent of the hotels in Vancouver as falling within the "cheap and seedy" category; whereas, Pendakur and Pendakur's price of \$25.00 and under would classify forty-five per cent of Vancouver's hotels as being within the preceding category.

³Both Miller's and Cohen's criteria entail problems. Both of their measures would be subject to the difference between American and Canadian dollars, as well as the variance in prices for hotel and motel rooms between New York, Seattle, and Vancouver. In addition, inflation would have to be taken into account for Miller's criterion, since his data is over ten years old.

Defining "Economic Base"

According to Whittick(1974), there are three classifications of economic base:

...(The first)is to determine the sources of principal economic effort, especially those elments of the economy which attract "new money"...(The second)is to define the different areas within an urban complex which, in effect, have their own economies...(The third)is to investigate the time variable and its effect on economic projections and base analyses (Whittick, 1974; p346).

Of the three uses of the term, the second seems most consistent with Cohen's concept of "economic base"; i.e., businesses that Cohen is interested in are those that contribute to a city's night-life, such as night-clubs, bars or lounges, etc. Thus, economic base "ties-back" into issues, such as "clustering" and heavy "pedestrian and vehicular" traffic, etc.

Defining "Heavy Vehicular And Pedestrian Traffic"

According to the literature, there are at least two ways to measure pedestrian and vehicular traffic: 1) by a per day count; and 2) by an hourly count, or part thereof. Vancouver City Engineering, for example, uses a daily total to determine classifications for heavy vehicular traffic (Pinsker; 1982); see Table 32, infra. Although heavy pedestrian traffic is undefined for street categories, Vancouver City Engineering does have a study giving totals for such movement on streets in the CBD. A block total is available for pedestrian populations between

10:00 and 18:00 hrs(except 14:00 to 15:00 hrs). A listing of streets with the heaviest pedestrian traffic is also given.

Using these "block counts", an S.P.S.S. frequency run gives the mean and standard deviations for streets in two areas of Vancouver: 1) within the CBD; and 2) miscellaneous streets(e.g., outside of the CBD, but are major streets, such as West Broadway). Going one standard deviation above and below the mean gives ranges for determining heavy, moderate, and light pedestrian traffic(see Table 33, infra).

Table 32

Vancouver City Engineering
Measurements For Vehicular Traffic

STREET TYPE	HEAVY VEHICULAR TRAFFIC(PER DAY)
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ARTERIAL	5,000 or more
COLLECTORS (SUB-DIVISION OF RESIDENTIAL STREETS)	3,000 to 5,000
RESIDENTIAL	under 1,000(3,000 to 4,000 in the West-End)

Table 33

Defining Heavy, Moderate And Light
Pedestrian Traffic In Vancouver

	CBD STREETS	MISCELLANEOUS STREETS
HEAVY	over 5,000 per day	over 5,500 per day
MODERATE	250 - 5,000 per day	2,300 - 5,500 per day
LIGHT	below 250 per day	below 2,300 per day

To define a street as having "heavy vehicular traffic", referring to its classification by City Engineering typology is

sufficient; e.g., a primary arterial is "primary", because it has in excess of 5,000 cars per day using it. Heavy pedestrian flow, depending on whether the street is within or without the CBD, has two classifications. Since most of the projected settings for streetwalking are within the CBD(or contiguous to it) and observation of areas occurs between 22:00 hrs to about 01:00 hrs(see Chapter Six, "Confirmation Of Predicted Settings By Personal Observation"), Vancouver City Engineering's typology may be inappropriate.

Table 34, *infra*, though, gives Repetto's(1974) typology for distinguishing between light, moderate, and heavy traffic flows. Repetto does not, however, quantify how many pedestrians or vehicles are necessary in defining "few", or "steady" or "continuous" flows. Thus, to use his typology, it is modified to: 1) light = almost no vehicles or pedestrians, to a maximum of fifteen per block; 2) moderate = more than fifteen vehicles or pedestrians, to an almost "constant flow" per block; and 3) heavy = a "constant flow" of vehicles or pedestrians per block(as in "bumper to bumper").

Table 34

Repetto's Measurements For
Vehicular And Pedestrian Traffic

VEHICULAR AND PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC	MEASUREMENT CRITERION
A) LIGHT	few or no vehicles or pedestrians over a 10-15 minute period
B) MODERATE	a steady flow of passing vehicles or pedestrians every few minutes
C) HEAVY	a continuous flow of passing vehicles or pedestrians(time-period unspecified)

Defining "Sex"

Other than a male-female dichotomy, Cohen argues that there are few women, other than prostitutes, in active settings; and those women who are non-prostitutes give numerous indications that this is the case, or leave the setting as soon as is possible (Cohen, 1980; pp.21-22). Thus, the thesis adheres to the requirements of males, and streetwalkers-non-streetwalkers within active settings.

Defining "Age"

Consistent with Cohen's approach, the age of individuals within settings is estimated (Cohen, 1980; pp.51,61). Thus, in seeking confirmation of predicted settings as having streetwalking activity, those inconsistent with Cohen's model for age are excluded, if, for example, they consistently have teenagers, families, or senior citizens in them.⁴

Defining "Decent Housing"

Cohen's factor of "decent housing" is not defined by the present thesis, since: 1) Vancouver has very little inadequate housing (MacAfee; 1983); and 2) most of the predicted settings are within the CBD, an area of few houses. Thus, this variable is not required in a formal test of Cohen's model in Vancouver.

Defining "Household Composition"

Four Statistics Canada variable categories seem to represent Cohen's concept of "household composition": 1) Population 15 Years And Over; 2) Marital Status; 3) Private

⁴For the majority of the nights during the observation period, another individual accompanied the researcher. Discussion on the ratio of males to females, as well as approximate ages, determined almost one hundred per cent agreement between both observers.

Households; and 4) Families. Table 35, infra, lists these categories, and their variables (adapted from Population and Housing Characteristics Vancouver, Statistics Canada; 1976; pp.VI-IX). For purposes of the present thesis, household composition refers primarily to: 1) males(15+); 2) singles; and 3) non-families.⁵ Thus, areas having a high proportion of singles, with few families, are more likely to have streetwalking, since singles "...are more likely to possess a less rigid set of moral standards than married couples with children (Cohen, 1980; p.116). In addition, household composition entails: 1) singles; 2) male head of house; and 3) non-family(to address Cohen's concept of "unrelated individuals" living together).

⁵The variable "non-families" is included, as a way of addressing Cohen's concept of "unrelated" persons living together (Cohen, 1980; p.116).

Table 35

Defining Household Composition By
Statistics Canada Variables

CATEGORY	VARIABLES
MARITAL STATUS	single(never married, total) single(never married, 15 yrs & older) married widowed divorced other
FAMILIES	total husband-wife by children: 0 2 3-4 5 or more
PRIVATE Households	by number of persons: 1 2 3 4-5 6-9 10 or more a) family persons in private households b) non-family persons in private households
POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER	male/female

Defining "Socioeconomic Area"

Cohen's measurements for "socioeconomic" areas constitute an evaluation of a setting's physical attributes, leading to the conclusion that streetwalking occurs:

...(I)n stable lower...middle...(and)upper-class neighborhoods...confirmed by census data...(by)mean income... (Cohen, 1980; p.117).

"Mean income", however, is not used by Statistics Canada in housing data, nor is it a variable used by the Vancouver City Planning Department for their twenty-two local areas(planning zones).

For purposes of testing Cohen's model, however, it is argued that it is not necessary to define a projected or predicted setting as being lower, middle, or upper-class; i.e., since Cohen argues that streetwalkers may locate in any stable neighbourhood, irrespective of social class, it does not matter what a setting's Socio-Economic-Status(S.E.S.)is. What is important, however, are the issues of "stability" and "neighbourhood"(defined below), since Cohen argues that "(s)treet deviance will be tolerated...where the sense of community is weak or fragmented but not so disorganized that customers are reluctant to enter the area" (Cohen, 1980; p.120).

Defining "Neighbourhood" or "Community"

The concept of a "neighbourhood" varies substantially in the literature; e.g., from opposing block faces for a one-block length (Smithson and Smithson, in Olson, ca1973;), to a few streets (The Greater London Council, in Olson, ca1973; p.17), to a one-quarter mile radius for a child's maximum walking distance to school (Whyte, in Olson, ca1973; p.19). More recent definitions, though, stress that the size of a neighbourhood approximates the area of a primary school catchment area (ANG Bulletin no. 3, 1975; Lansing, Marans, and Zehner, 1970; Montgomery, 1983). Thus, consistent with more recent literature, the thesis equates neighbourhoods to Vancouver School Board's catchment areas for primary schools.

Defining "Stable"

Two categories in Statistics Canada data seem to address the issue of "stability": 1) mobility status; and 2) occupied private dwellings. The first refers to how often the average resident of an area moves; i.e., non-movers "...are persons who, on Census Day (June 1, 1976), were living in the same dwelling as the one occupied five years earlier" (Statistics Canada, 1976; p.ix), with the converse being true for movers. The second category is an owner-renter dichotomy, by dwelling type.⁶

Variables within these two categories are given in Table 36,

⁶Home ownership is one of the variables looked at by Reckless, in his study of prostitution in Chicago (Reckless, 1933; p188).

infra, (adapted from Population and Housing Characteristics Vancouver, Statistics Canada, 1976; p.vii-viii). CMA means a Census Metropolitan Area:

The main labour market area of an urbanized core (or continuous built-up area) having 100,000 or more population. CMAs are created by Statistics Canada and are usually known by the name of their largest city. They contain whole municipalities (or census subdivisions). CMAs are comprised of (1) municipalities completely or partly inside the urbanized core, and (2) other municipalities, if (a) at least 40% of the employed labour force living in the municipality works in the urbanized core, or (b) at least 25% of the employed labour force working in the municipality lives in the urbanized core (Statistics Canada, 1976; p.vi).

CA stands for Census Agglomeration:

A geostatistical area created by Statistics Canada comprised of at least two adjacent municipal entities. These entities must be at least partly urban and belong to an urbanized core having a population of 2,000 or more. The urbanized core includes a largest city and remainder, each with a population of 1,000 or more, and has a population density of at least 1,000 per square mile (386 per square kilometre). CAs with an urbanized core of 100,000 or more (based on previous census figures) are called census metropolitan areas (Statistics Canada, 1976; p.vi).

An SPSS frequency run indicates that the mean mobility rate(non-mover) for Vancouver is 46%.⁷ The thesis, then, uses mobility(area rate compared as being above or below the mean rate for Vancouver) to determine stability; i.e., the higher the mobility rate in an area, the more likely it is "unstable".

⁷A home ownership rate is not calculated, since none of the predicted settings, with the exception of Davie Street, fall within residential areas(see Chapter Five, "The Davie Street Setting As An Atypical Residential District"). Davie Street is a commercial street, running through an area that is primarily apartments (Whitlock; 1983).

Table 36

Defining Mobility With
Statistics Canada Data

CATEGORY	VARIABLES
Mobility Status	population, 5 yrs & older non-movers movers: a) from same CMA/CA b) from same province different CMA/CA non-CMA/CA c) from different province CMA/CA non-CMA/CA d) from outside Canada e) province of residence in 1971 not stated
OCCUPIED PRIVATE Dwellings	owned/rented a) single-detached b) single-attached c) apartment d) duplexes e) movable

Defining "Community Values"

Ecological factors in this category entail concepts that are not easily defined; for example, Cohen's argument of community values is an issue that urban planners often face in questions of "public interest", and if input from organized groups is truly a representative sample or the "vocal minority"

(Stinson; 1978). There appears to be no easy resolution to this issue (Branch; 1978). Cohen gives some indication of determining "weak community sentiment", by describing such areas as having:

...(A) transient, highly mobile community mainly of unattached male adults...(an)area...peppered with cheap, seedy, transient hotels; fast-food restaurants; bars; massage parlors; and X-rated movie houses (Cohen, 1980; p.118).

The concepts of "mobility" and "unattached male adults" are essentially issues addressed in the Setting Social Attributes category. Other factors, such as "cheap, seedy" hotels, etc., "tie-back" into the Setting Physical Attributes discussion.

Community values may be ascertained by: 1) calls for service to the police(the more calls, the less tolerant a community, measured as a ratio of calls over the population base rather than an absolute figure, since a greater population may place a larger number of calls per se); 2) complaints to City Hall(same measurement as (1), but for remedies to alleged local problems); 3) community groups or organizations, committed to dealing with a perceived problem in their neighbourhood(e.g., Concerned Residents Of the West-End and their work to eliminate streetwalkers in their area); 4) land-use patterns or development(e.g., if a cluster of factors exist, consistent with Cohen's model for predicting areas of streetwalking, then it is unlikely that there are strong community values against such activity); and 5) with reference to media coverage of a particular activity in a specific neighbourhood(such as prostitution in the West End, depicting the residents'

dissatisfaction with such activity).⁸

Defining "Legitimate And Illegitimate Competing Activities"

Both "legitimate" and "illegitimate" activities are largely undefined by Cohen. However, an indication of what he means by the former is given, when he states:

The business community will not tolerate visible street prostitution during business hours because it interferes with commerce...deviant street condition(s) surface...only at night when businesses are closed, disappearing early each morning with the arrival of workers and shoppers(Cohen, 1980; p.120).

Other than the above limited elaboration, one is left to wonder what other kinds of enterprises may constitute legitimate competition for prostitutes; e.g., escort or dating services?⁹

As an indication of what Cohen means by competing illegitimate activities, he argues that drug sales or muggings will deter streetwalkers from working a setting:

Poor, unsavory conditions, including the presence of crime, repress visible street prostitution, especially the type that attracts clients city-wide, because it intimidates clients and prostitutes, who are anxious about their personal safety...These neighborhoods have a heavy police presence, which represses visible street

⁸Media coverage of an issue, though, may be biased or mis-leading, perhaps with more of a concern to sell copy than to render "honest reporting" (Cohen, 1974; Jaehnig, Weaver and Fico, 1981; Ross and Sands, 1979; Washburn, 1934; Zeisel, 1977).

⁹Cohen's argument that prostitutes must work a setting after business hours, because of the business community's intolerance to prostitution during the day, is reminiscent of Melbin's(1978) concept of a "combat zone" and Jacob's(1961) argument of deterring crime by avoiding "dead" downtown cores at night.

prostitution too (Cohen, 1980; p.120).

Other possible "crimes" in competition with prostitutes may be the presence of "wino's" or juvenile gangs.

Appendix E: Projected And Actual Setting Boundaries

Table 37

Projected And Actual Boundaries
For Streetwalking Settings

SETTING	PROJECTED AND ACTUAL BOUNDARIES
ONE	Projected boundaries: Abbott, 100 to 300 blocks. Actual boundaries: waterfront to Pender, Homer(or approximation)to Columbia.
TWO	Projected boundaries: Carrall, 300 to 400 blocks. Actual boundaries: Powell or Water(east or west of Carrall)to Dunsmuir, Cambie to Main.
THREE	Projected boundaries: Columbia, 100 to 300 blocks. Actual boundaries: waterfront or Railroad Street(west or east of Main)to Pender, Abbott to Gore.
FOUR	Projected boundaries: Comox to Burnaby, Bute to Thurlow. Actual boundaries: Barclay to Harwood, Jervis to Burrard.
FIVE	Projected boundaries: Nelson to Beach, Gilford to Bidwell. Actual boundaries: Barclay to Beach, Chilco to Cardero.
SIX	Projected boundaries: Georgia, 700 to 1000 blocks. Actual boundaries: Pender to Smithe, Bute to Seymour.
SEVEN	Projected boundaries: Granville, 800 to 1300 blocks. Actual boundaries. Georgia to Beach(or new stadium complex), Hornby to Richards.
EIGHT	Projected boundaries: Hastings, 100 West to 400 East blocks.

Table 37

Projected And Actual Boundaries
For Streetwalking Settings

SETTING	PROJECTED AND ACTUAL BOUNDARIES
	Actual boundaries: Water or Powell(west or east of Carrall)to Keefer or Dunsmuir(west or east of Main), Homer to Princess.
NINE	Projected boundaries: Helmcken, 700 to 900 blocks. Actual boundaries: Smithe to Drake, Thurlow to Seymour.
TEN	Projected boundaries: Kingsway, Tyne to Aberdeen. Actual boundaries: Euclid to 41st Avenue, Stamford to Lincoln.
ELEVEN	Projected boundaries: Kingsway, Baldwin to Claredon. Actual boundaries: Two blocks north and south of Kingsway, Beatrice to Earles.
TWELVE	Projected boundaries: Main, 900 and 1000 blocks. Actual boundaries: Keefer to National, new stadium complex to Jackson(or railroad yards).
THIRTEEN	Projected boundaries: Pender, 100 to 00 West blocks. Actual boundaries: Cordova to Dunsmuir, Homer to Columbia.
FOURTEEN	Projected boundaries: Pender, 400 to 600 blocks west. Actual boundaries: waterfront to Georgia, Howe to Hamilton.
FIFTEEN	Projected boundaries: Richards, 500 block. Actual boundaries: Hastings to Georgia, Granville to Hamilton.

Table 37

Projected And Actual Boundaries
For Streetwalking Settings

SETTING	PROJECTED AND ACTUAL BOUNDARIES
SIXTEEN	Projected boundaries: Richards, 900 block. Actual boundaries: Dunsmuir to Smithe, Granville to Hamilton.
SEVENTEEN	Projected boundaries: Robson, 1200 to 1400 blocks. Actual boundaries: Georgia to Barclay, Cardero to Thurlow.
EIGHTEEN	Projected boundaries: Seymour, 600 block. Actual boundaries: Pender to Robson, Howe to Homer.

Appendix F: Hotel Addresses And Prices For A Single Room On A Daily Basis

Abbotsford	921 West Pender	\$34.00
Almer	610 West Cordova	NO LISTING
Ambassador	733 Seymour	\$15.00
American	928 Main Street	\$12.00
Arco	83 West Pender	\$12.00
Argyll	106 West Hastings	\$ 8.00
Astoria	769 East Hastings	\$10.00
Austin Motor	1221 Granville	\$26.00
Bay	621 Seymour	\$10.00
Bay Shore	1601 West Georgia	\$80.00
Best Western M.	3075 Kingsway	\$51.00
O'Doul's Best W.M.	1300 Robson	\$40.00
Sands Motor H.	1755 Davie	\$45.00
Biltmore Motor H.	395 Kingsway	\$42.00
Blackstone M.H.	1176 Granville	\$28.00
Blue Boy M.H.	725 S.E. Marine	\$45.00

Blue Horizon	1225 Robson	\$53.00
Bon Accord	1235 Hornby	\$10.00
Buchan	1906 Haro	\$30.00
Burrard	712 Richards	BY THE MONTH ONLY
Burrard Motor Inn	1100 Burrard	\$34.00
Cariboo M&T.P.	2555 Kingsway	\$32.00
Cecil Motor Hotel	1336 Granville	\$23.00
Centennial LAH	1111 Burnaby	\$56.00
Centennial M.H.	898 W. Broadway	\$47.00
Central	42 East Cordova	BY THE MONTH ONLY FOR SENIOR CITIZENS
Century Plaza	1015 Burrard	\$52.00
Chateau Granville	1100 Granville	\$60.00
Clarence	515 Seymour	\$20.00
Clifton	1125 Granville	\$14.00
Cobalt	917 Main	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
Colonial	122 Water	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
Columbia	303 Columbia	BY THE MONTH ONLY
Commodore	889 Seymour	NO LISTING
Dominion	210 Abbott	\$15.00
Doric-Howe M.H.	1060 Howe	\$44.00
Drake	606 Powell	\$20.00
Dufferin	900 Seymour	\$38.00
Eagle Motel	2227 Kingsway	\$28.00
El-Cid	340 Cambie	\$28.00
Eldorado M.H.	2330 Kingsway	\$36.00
Empress	235 E. Hastings	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
English Bay A.H.	1150 Denman	\$32.00
Four Seasons	791 W. Georgia	\$105.00
Fraser Arms	1450 S.W. Marine	\$28.00
Georgia	801 W. Georgia	\$60.00
Gifford	1348 Robson	\$30.00
Glenaird	1018 Granville	\$15.00
Grand Union	74 W. Hastings	PRICE UNKNOWN
Grandview	618 W. Cordova	NO LISTING
Granville	1261 Granville	\$15.00
Greenbrier A.H.	1393 Robson	\$26.00
Gresham	716 Smithe	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
Grosvenor	840 Howe	\$42.00
Hazelwood	344 E. Hastings	\$14.00
Holiday Inn(C.C.)	1133 W. Hastings	\$87.00
Holiday Inn(D.T.)	1110 Howe	\$55.00
Holiday Inn(Brdwy.)	711 W. Broadway	\$65.00
Hornby	530 Hornby	NO LISTING
Balmoral	159 E. Hastings	\$14.00
Butler	110 Water	\$13.00
Del Mar	533 Hamilton	NO LISTING
Europe	43 Powell	\$22.50
Golden Crown	116 W. Hastings	\$23.00
Hildon	50 W. Cordova	PRICE UNKNOWN
Ivanhoe	1038 Main	\$13.00
Kingston	757 Richards	\$14.00
Lotus	455 Abbott	\$22.00

Metrople	320 Abbott	\$20.00
Niagara	435 W. Pender	\$22.00
Pacific	208 E. Georgia	\$11.00
Patricia	403 E. Hastings	\$ 8.00
Plaza	806 Richards	NO LISTING
Regent	106 E. Hastings	\$18.00
Royal	1025 Granville	\$13.00
St. Clair	577 Richards	\$15.00
St. Helens	1161 Granville	\$14.00
St. Regis	602 Dunsmuir	\$33.00
Savoy	258 E. Hastings	PUB ONLY
Sylvia	1154 Gilford	\$25.00
Vancouver	900 W. Georgia	\$75.00
Vogue	1060 Granville	\$15.00
Waldorf	1489 E. Hastings	\$20.00
Winter's	205 Abbott	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
Regency	655 Burrard	\$85.00
Denman Place	1733 Comox	\$65.00
Invermay Hotel	828 W. Hastings	BY THE MONTH ONLY
Japanese C.S.H.	376 Powell	DID NOT CALL
Johnny Canuck	3475 E. Hastings	\$34.00
Kings Castle	750 Granville	\$27.00
Kingsway Trvlde	2075 Kingsway	\$28.00
Lone Star	412 Carrall	\$17.00
Lucky Strike	3490 Kingsway	\$22.00
Mall Haven	936 Granville	\$14.00
Marble Arch	518 Richards	\$28.00
Marr	403 Powell	BY THE MONTH ONLY
Marshall	569 Hamilton	BY THE MONTH ONLY
May Wah	258 E. Pender	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
Mayfair	845 Hornby	\$40.00
Mr. Sport	3484 Kingsway	\$30.00
Murray	1119 Hornby	WEEKLY/MONTHLY ONLY
Nelson Place	1006 Granville	\$40.00
New Dodson	25 E. Hastings	\$12.00
New World	396 Powell	\$14.50
Oceanside A.H.	1847 Pendrell	\$40.00
Orwell	456 E. Hastings	WEEKLY/MONTHLY ONLY
Pacific Motel	2860 Kingsway	\$28.00
Palace	37 W. Kingsway	\$15.00
Pallisades	1277 Robson	\$60.00
Palms	871 Granville	\$16.00
Palms Motel	3505 Kingsway	\$28.00
Parkway	1119 W. Pender	NO LISTING
Passlin	386 W. Hastings	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
Piccadilly	620 W. Pender	\$20.00
Plaza 500	500 W. 12th	\$50.00
Powell St. Lodge	134 Powell	\$10.00
Prince Henry	915 Granville	PRICE UNKNOWN
The Miramar "C"	1160 Davie	\$45.00
Ritz International	1040 W. Georgia	\$39.00
Riviera Motor Inn	1431 Robson	\$30.00
Robsonstrasse	1394 Robson	\$24.00

St. Francis	309 Seymour	PRICE UNKNOWN
Sandman Inn	180 W. Georgia	\$55.00
Shato Inn	1825 Comox	\$30.00
Sheraton-LndMrk	1400 Robson	\$55.00
Silver	175 W. Pender	\$18.00
Surf A.H.	1861 Beach	\$35.00
Thornton Parks	956 Main	PRICE UNKNOWN
Traveller's	57 W. Cordova	PRICE UNKNOWN
Travelodge	1304 Howe	\$37.00
Tropicana M.Inn	1361 Robson	\$30.00
2400 Motel	2400 Kingsway	\$24.00
Villa Howe M.H.	1335 Howe	\$29.00
West	444 Carrall	\$18.00
Wong's Rooms	244 E. Hastings	NO PRICE OVER PHONE
Woodbine	786 E. Hastings	\$15.00

Appendix G: Newspaper References

The Province

- Hookers' numbers up, competition forces rates down. May 23, 1978; page 4.
- Council in turmoil over prostitution. July 26, 1978; page 4.
- Lawyer calls for chief to resign over prostitutes. August 5, 1978; page 4.
- Hookers--threat or aid to tourism? August 5, 1978; page 4.
- Hookers shrug off bylaw. April 7, 1982; page A6.
- New Vancouver law aims to clear streets of hookers. April 7, 1982; page A1.
- Fighting the sex business. April 8, 1982; page B1.
- AG sees dangers in hooker bylaw. April 8, 1982; page A4.
- Prostitutes shun the bright lights. April 14, 1982; page A6.
- Vice law nabs 5 males. April 15, 1982; page A7.
- Hookers in spotlight. April 22, 1982; page A10.
- New law hooks would-be client. April 27, 1982; page A5.
- New law ousts hookers. April 29, 1982; page A6.
- Undercover cop tells of life in hooker role. May 13, 1982; page A6.
- Ban street corner sex sales. May 14, 1982; page A6.
- Accused demands hooker law trial. May 18, 1982; page A1.
- Doubts and more doubts. May 19, 1982; page B1.
- Sex-law challenger demands his say. May 19, 1982; page A4.
- Eric Nicol column. May 19, 1982; page B1.

Bouwman mum on bylaw. May 20, 1982; page A4.

The bizarre bylaw battle. May 20, 1982; page B1.

Kaplan defends sex quip. May 20, 1982; page A6.

Hooker bylaw test case goes ahead. May 21, 1982; page A5.

First woman fights bylaw. May 23, 1982; page A6.

Anti-hooker enforcement a 'charade'. May 25, 1982; page A4.

Hooker bylaw trial now set for July 5. May 26, 1982; page A5.

Let cities run brothels'. June 2, 1982; page A8.

Crash kills hooker's attacker. June 2, 1982; page A5.

Top lawyers in bylaw trial. June 3, 1982; page A6.

Why they pick on prostitutes. June 14, 1982; page B2.

Sexism and prostitution. June 14, 1982; page B1.

Hookers returning to West End. June 21, 1982; page A4.

Soliciting bylaw not deterring prostitutes. June 21, 1982; page
A4.

West End hookers reprieved. July 6, 1982; page A1.

Vice law clashes with new Charter. August 8, 1982; page B3.

Anti-hooker cases proceed despite trial. September 1, 1982; page
A6.

Appeal readied as anti-streetwalker bylaw upheld. September 16,
1982; page A7.

First street-law trial ends with conviction. September 29, 1982;
page A8.

'Ripper' on loose in Seattle? October 5, 1982; page C3.

Hookers: parking lots okay. October 20, 1982; page A1.

MPs can't decide on hooker laws. November 2, 1982; page A9.

Pimps vs. prostitutes. November 2, 1982; page B1.

Hooker inquiry sought. November 14, 1982; page A8.

To book a hooker. January 26, 1983; page B1.

Supreme Court ruling puts hookers in 10-day limbo. January 26, 1983; page A1.

City won't refund fines in anti-hooker law fails. February 6, 1983; page A9.

Hooker problem demands action. February 7, 1983; page A4.

Prostitution fines should be given back. February 7, 1983; page B2.

Mayor throws curve into bylaw challenge. February 8, 1983; page B1.

Action against hookers looms. February 23, 1983; page A7.

Harcourt warns MPs on hookers. March 3, 1983; page B1.

Code change may curb prostitution. March 25, 1983; page A7.

In Japanese coffee houses there is usually more to have than coffee. March 29, 1983; page B2.

Hooker drive would suffer. April 4, 1983; page B2.

UN demands world war on hookers. April 22, 1983; page A10.

Agency called prostitution front. May 11, 1983; page A4.

Prostitution swells in West End. May 15, 1983; page B1.

Hooker pleas face rough council ride. May 17, 1983; page B1.

Clamp down on hookers. May 18, 1983; page B2.

On the prostitutional future of the city. June 10, 1983; page B2.

Prostitution unchallenged. June 24, 1983; page B2.

Prostitution amendments are 'not strong enough'. June 24, 1983; page A1.

The hookers and porn shops won't be afraid. June 24, 1983; page B3.

Hookers' toast--'good for you, for Mr. Magoo'. June 29, 1983; page A4.

The Sun

Heat, hookers and heroin all mix on Granville Street. June 6, 1978; page D10.

'Parade-weary' play hit-a-hooker. June 14, 1978; page A1.

Prostitute cleanup awaits law. June 15, 1978; page B1.

Couple ordered to trial on prostitution charges. June 24, 1978; page B8.

Immigration officials joining battle against prostitution. July 21, 1978; page A12.

Police investigate 2 slayings. July 24, 1978; page C1.

Seattle blaming Tut exhibit for increase in prostitution. July 24, 1978; page B12.

Police ship 22 women out of country. July 26, 1978; page B15.

Man charged in hooker's death. July 28, 1978; page A15.

Sailors quizzed in death. July 29, 1978; page A13.

Sailor faces murder charge. July 31, 1978; page C1.

Existing laws still enough for Toronto police to fight prostitutes on city streets. August 4, 1978; page A12.

Judge warns prostitutes, procurers to stay away from residential areas. September 30, 1978; page A11.

Uniform urged for hookers. October 2, 1978; page A16.

Zoning bylaws 'cure' for hooker hang-outs. March 15, 1982; page A8.

Harcourt tells prostitutes: Be discreet, don't use street. April 7, 1982; page A3.

Hooker bylaw 'legal'. April 8, 1982; page A2.

Vice squad tests hooker bylaw. April 13, 1982; page A1.

Men tagged in hooker crackdown. April 14, 1982; page A3.

Streets of shame jittery. April 17, 1982; page A14.

Carney, Chretien tangle. April 21, 1982; page A12.

Hookers avoid marchers. April 23, 1982; page A12.

Prostitute's client fined. April 27, 1982; page A3.

Soliciting 'falls'. April 29, 1982; page A3.

Men of the vice squad ride by night, armed with bylaw. April 29, 1982; page A9.

Carney, Robinson tangle over rape, hooker debate. April 30, 1982; page C8.

Minimum fines imposed under anti-hooker bylaw. May 4, 1982; page A7.

Harcourt switches on naming sex case names. May 6, 1982; page A1.

Council split over 'customers'. May 7, 1982; page A20.

A bylaw unlike any other bylaw. May 10, 1982; page A4.

It's not easy being a 'K. Fowler' these days. May 11, 1982; page A15.

Put the names on the record, Williams says. May 11, 1982; page A15.

Name 'customers', lawyer says. May 12, 1982; page A11.

Harcourt challenged on hooker woes. May 13, 1982; page A1.

Life on the street a nightmare for two dropouts. May 13, 1982; page A18.

Fast action urged on hooker problem. May 14, 1982; page A10.

'Reward' for guilty pleas criticized. May 14, 1982; page A3.

Lady misses prostitutes. May 15, 1982; page A5.

Harcourt changes mind over naming of hooker's clients. May 15, 1982; page A3.

Charges stayed after challenge. May 17, 1982; page A1.

Hearing set on hooker bylaw. May 18, 1982; page A3.

He won, but still lost. May 18, 1982; page A4.

Sex case names to be bared. May 19, 1982; page A1.

Hooker bylaw gets full test. May 20, 1982; page A1.

Buyers and sellers of sex: Guess who's being protected now that

the tables have turned. May 20, 1982; page A5.

A man skilled in creative obfuscation. May 21, 1982; page A5.

Defendant's names bared in prostitution bylaw cases. May 22, 1982; page A3.

Les Bewley's column, "A goddess's robes--wiping rags for sewers". May 22, 1982; page A5.

L.A. sweeps 'nuisance' hookers away. May 25, 1982; page A1.

Vancouver police chief criticizes hooker bylaw. May 28, 1982; page A17.

Criminal lawyer defends hooker bylaw. June 3, 1982; page A20.

Legal bawdy houses proposed by feminist. June 3, 1982; page A17.

Mayors frustrated on hookers. June 11, 1982; page A1.

Key players ready for bylaw fight. July 3, 1982; page A12.

Bylaw test delayed. July 5, 1982; page A2.

Hookers off hook. July 6, 1982; page A3.

Prostitute 'alliance' meeting flops. July 22, 1982; page A18.

Crackdown on hookers stepped up. July 31, 1982; page A3.

Lack of tourists, not law, causes hooker hiatus. August 7, 1982; page H8.

Anti-hooker bylaw 'violates freedoms'. September 1, 1982; page A6.

City bylaw on hookers upheld. September 16, 1982; page A3.

Rape Relief, hookers stage protest to urge legalized prostitution. September 27, 1982; page A12.

West End residents keep close watch to 'clean up corner'. September 30, 1982; page A13.

Hooker Gisele was ready to quit when killer struck. October 2, 1982; page D7.

Parking lots escape anti-hooker bylaw. October 20, 1982; page A3.

Safety of parking lot fails to sway hookers. October 22, 1982; page A15.

Pimps 'oldest profession', ex-hooker tells meeting. November 1, 1982; page A6.

Enforce bylaw'. November 8, 1982; page A5

Denny Boyd's column. November 19, 1982; page A3.

City bylaw prosecutions jam up. December 9, 1982; page B7.

Anti-hooker bylaws put to the test. December 9, 1982; page B13.

Hookers busy despite bylaw. December 10, 1982; page A15.

City hookers claim they're wanted. January 26, 1983; page A3.

Harcourt still believes in city's hooker bylaw. January 25, 1983; page A8.

Runaway teen killed in fall 'worked streets of West End'. January 26, 1983; page A16.

Ruling 'destroys' prostitute bylaw. January 27, 1983; page B5.

Hooker charges scrapped. February 3, 1983; page A3.

Man gets stay in fight over bylaw on hookers. February 8, 1983; page A7.

Of porn, prosties, and priorities. February 11, 1983; page A5.

Hooker bylaw rescinded. February 16, 1983; page A14.

Society's perverse view of sex is what's causing the trouble.

Control of prostitution is the critical problem. February 19, 1983; page A5.

What's the holdup? February 23, 1983; page A4.

Takeover by hookers feared. March 3, 1983; page B5.

Hookers and lookers. March 4, 1983; page A4.

Law aimed at customers recommended to solve prostitute problem. March 10, 1983; page A12.

CROWE willing to compromise if hookers meet two conditions. March 14, 1983; page A5.

MPs thrash out new hooker weapon. March 24, 1983; page A1.

Man clings to car's hood in wild chase. April 11, 1983; page A2.

Vast majority approves regulated prostitution. April 14, 1983;
page A5.

New hooker, obscenity laws to be combined. April 15, 1983; page
A7.

Hookers parade over proposals to change laws. April 21, 1983;
page B6.

Women demand new laws to get hookers off street. April 22, 1983;
page A10.

Ideology turns West End into largest drive-in brothel. April 30,
1983; page A5.

Streetwise at seventeen. May 7, 1983; page A15.

Hookers here all summer, West End told. May 30, 1983; page A3.

Enforce the law. May 31, 1983; page A4.

Prostitution: Victorian notions endure. June 8, 1983; page A5.

Mayors call for hooker laws. June 9, 1983; page A6.

Denny Boyd's column. June 9, 1983; page A3.

Banks deny 'prostitution index'. June 10, 1983; page A3.

Hooker law too scanty, Tory says. June 24, 1983; page C6.

Woman robs driver. June 27, 1983; page A2.

Prostitute problems worse in Vancouver, committee head says.
June 29, 1983.

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