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Document Title: **Focusing on the Clients of Street Prostitutes: A Creative Approach to Reducing Violence Against Women – Final Report**

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Document No.: **182860**

Date Received: **June 9, 2000**

Award Number: **97-IJ-CX-0033**

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Final Report 1

182860

October 30, 1999

Final Report for National Institute of Justice Grant #97-IJ-CX-0033 "Focusing on the Clients of Street Prostitutes: A Creative Approach to Reducing Violence Against Women."

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Executive Summary

The Prostitution Problem

Although the number of working prostitutes in the U.S. is difficult to estimate, Department of Justice arrest statistics for prostitution hover around 100,000 per year. Concern over prostitution has led to the formation of local organizations and task forces designed specifically to address the issue in many communities. There are often complaints about the negative effects of prostitution on the livability of neighborhoods and the harm it does to local businesses. Law enforcement officials share these concerns, and are particularly concerned with the vice often associated with prostitution.

Perhaps most importantly, prostitutes are frequent victims of violent crime, including assault, rape, and murder. Reports of violence are particularly compelling when one recognizes that a substantial proportion of prostitutes begin working while still minors.

The issue of AIDS has added urgency to efforts to understand prostitutes and their clients. While prostitutes do not deserve the reputation they currently hold as polluters of the heterosexual population, prostitutes themselves are under a high risk of contracting the AIDS virus and other sexually transmitted diseases.

The vast majority of those arrested for prostitution are women, with only about 10% of arrests consisting of clients, virtually all of whom are men, a situation that has been decried as unfair and discriminatory. Additionally, arresting prostitutes has proven largely ineffective, with many compelled to continue their activities because of dire economic circumstances, drug addiction, and/or fear of violence from a partner or pimp.

An Alternative Approach

In 1995, two creative programs, Portland, Oregon's Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP) and San Francisco, California's First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) began to address the issue of prostitution by focusing prevention efforts on the clients of prostitutes, providing intervention programs for men arrested while trying to hire prostitutes. The Portland program, which has ceased operations, was a 15-hour, weekend workshop run by an independent organization in cooperation with the District Court. The

San Francisco program, which continues to function smoothly, is a one-day diversion program run through the District Attorney's Office. First-time offenders who agree to attend the workshop have charges against them dropped. Fees charged to participants fully fund the program and also contribute to programs for prostitutes and former prostitutes. The program has received national and international attention and has served as a model for several other programs. In February 1999, the National Institute of Justice, Office of Development and Communication, sponsored a demonstration of the First Offender class as part of its Innovations in Criminal Justice Program. Brief profiles of each of these programs are included as products of this grant and are provided in the Final Report.

Both the Portland and San Francisco programs identified solid research on the men who attend their workshops as one of their most essential needs. Meeting this need and providing solid information on arrested clients of prostitutes was the primary goal of this study.

Studying the Clients of Street Prostitutes

While earlier studies estimated that 69% or more men had patronized prostitutes during their lives, recent methodologically sound research provides a very different picture. The National Health and Social Life Survey, conducted in 1992 using a nationally representative sample, found that only about 16% of men in the U.S. had ever visited a prostitute, and that only about .6% of men in the U.S. visit prostitutes each year. Further, the percentage of men whose first sexual experience was with a prostitute declined among men who came of age in the 1990's (1.5%) in comparison to men who came of age in the 1950's (7%).

Client intervention programs provide an unprecedented opportunity to gather information from men arrested for trying to hire street prostitutes. Anonymous questionnaires were administered while men were gathered prior to these programs in San Francisco, California (N=986); Portland, Oregon (N=77); Las Vegas, Nevada (N=269); and Santa Clara, California (N=10), for a total sample size of 1342. The findings reported here exclude 36 San Francisco and 15 Las Vegas cases that were gathered using a Spanish-language version of the questionnaire. Information was gathered about the background characteristics, attitudes, and reported behaviors of these arrested clients, with particular attention to the issue of violence against women. Five articles were completed during the course of this two-year grant--all published,

presented or currently under review.

The Characteristics of Arrested Clients

Differences between the samples largely mirror differences in the cities, with San Francisco having a larger proportion of Asians than Las Vegas and Portland, and Las Vegas and San Francisco having higher proportions of Hispanics than Portland. Though whites make up a majority of offenders in all three cities, minority offenders make up about 40% of offenders in San Francisco and Las Vegas. Ages of arrested clients ranged from 18 to 84 with a mean age of 38 and a median of 37.

Clients were also compared to a nationally representative sample of men who responded to the General Social Survey. Clients were significantly more likely than the national sample to report having attended at least some college, contradicting the widely held view that the clients of street prostitutes come primarily from working class backgrounds. Substantial differences were found in marital status, with clients much less likely to report being currently married (41%) than the national sample (56%) and more likely to report never having been married (37%) than the national sample (29%). Of the married respondents, clients were much less likely to describe their marriages as "very happy" (38% in comparison to 60%) and much more likely to describe their marriages as not too happy (22% in comparison to 2%). While other research has demonstrated that men who have served in the military are more likely to have been with prostitutes at some point in their lives (probably during military service), men who had served were not over-represented among these arrested clients.

Sexual Behavior and Attitudes

In comparison to the national sample, arrested clients were much less likely to have had one sexual partner over the past year and much more likely to report having had two or more partners than the national sample. About 20% of clients reported having five or more partners over the past year in comparison to just over 3% of the national sample. Nevertheless, clients generally reported somewhat less frequent sexual relations over the past year than the national sample. Clients were about twice as likely to report having watched pornographic movies over the past year than the national sample. In terms of sexual liberalism,

clients were significantly less likely to describe premarital sex, homosexuality, teen sex, and extramarital sex as "always wrong" and more likely to describe them as "not at all wrong."

About 20% of respondents claim never to have had sexual relations with a prostitute. Because men in the sample were almost all arrested while propositioning a decoy posing as a prostitute, it is possible that some had never before sought out a prostitute or had not successfully completed the transaction. Another 21% claim not to have been with a prostitute over the past 12 months. Another 21% claim to have had sexual relations with a prostitute once over the past 12 months, and 28% claim to have visited more than once but less than once per month. Only about 10% of the men sampled reported visiting prostitutes more than once per month. Though one would expect an inclination to underestimate prostitution visits among arrested clients, results indicate that most of these men are not frequent participants in prostitution. Men arrested for trying to hire street prostitutes appear to be less experienced prostitution clients, with more experienced clients better able to avoid arrest, either due to knowledge of police procedures, familiarity with the prostitutes themselves, or participation in off-street prostitution.

The average age of first prostitution encounter among the men sampled was 24 with a median of 21, though ages of first sexual experience with a prostitute ranged from 9 to 62. The most common first encounter involved being approached by a prostitute (33%), followed by approaching a prostitute on one's own without others knowing (30%), though for a significant proportion, peers were involved in setting up the encounter (23%). Seventy-three percent claimed that they always used a condom during sexual activity with a prostitute.

By far, the most significant sexual activity surrounding prostitution was fellatio. When asked whether they had ever participated in various sexual activities with a prostitute, 80% reported that they had received oral sex. The second most frequently reported activity was vaginal sex at 55%. Many of the clients (36%) reported participating in "half and half," which includes both oral and vaginal sex. Being manually masturbated was reported by 35% of respondents. When asked to identify the activity in which they participated **most often** when with a prostitute, 52% selected fellatio, followed by 12% who selected vaginal sex, 10% who selected "half and half," and 6% who were manually masturbated.

Motives for Seeking Prostitution

Arrested clients were asked to agree or disagree with 13 statements designed to reflect popular and scholarly understandings of the reasons men seek out prostitutes. Many conventional understandings were supported by the results. A substantial proportion of clients appear to be excited by the illicit, risky, or raunchy quality of sex with a prostitute. Responses suggest that, for some clients, one of the appeals of prostitution is that it invites a self-focused, consumer oriented, conception of sexuality in which one can conveniently meet sexual needs through purchase. Some of the arrested clients report wanting a different kind of sex than their regular partner and liking rough sex, supporting the idea that some men seek out prostitutes because they can do things with them that other women might find unpleasant or unacceptable. Findings also suggest that some men pay for sex because they have difficulty becoming involved in conventional relationships. For some of these men prostitution is an attempt not only to have sex, but to establish intimate relationships with women. Finally, some of the men simply did not feel that they had the time, energy, or interest to engage in a conventional relationship with a woman.

Overall, most of the items seem to reflect a sense of entitlement to sex among the respondents. Though their partners may not be interested in a particular type of sex or though they don't have time to be involved in a relationship, they may feel that they have a right to sexual access.

Attitudes Toward Violence Against Women

In order to better understand the relationship between prostitution and violence, this study explored the level of "rape myth acceptance" and the predictors of rape myth acceptance among men arrested for trying to hire a prostitute. Rape myths are attitudes that have been shown to support sexual violence against women. Results indicate that prostitution clients do not exhibit high levels of rape myth acceptance in comparison to other samples that have completed the scale. In fact, none of the items received the endorsement of more than 30% of the respondents, and about 30% did not score positively on **any** rape myth acceptance item.

Only three items emerged as significant independent predictors of rape myth acceptance, attraction

to violent sexuality, sexual conservatism, and thinking about sex less frequently. Findings may point to the existence to a small population of men who are at increased risk of perpetrating violence against women, men who are judgmental about sexuality, who are attracted to violent sexuality, and who have access to vulnerable women in isolated settings through prostitution. This small group of men may be largely responsible for the substantial violence experienced by prostitutes at the hands of clients.

Treating Sex as a Commodity

Prostitution, the exchange of something of value for sexual access to someone's body, intrinsically involves treating sexuality as a commodity. This study sought to evaluate the degree to which prostitution clients conceive of sexuality as a commodity, the predictors of such a "commodified" view and the consequences of conceiving of sexuality as a commodity. A measure comprising eleven items believed to be associated with conceiving of sexuality as a commodity was developed for this study.

Not surprisingly, findings indicate a strong relationship between frequency of prostitution encounters and this measure of "commodification." More disturbing are the strong relationships between commodification and rape myth acceptance, attraction to violent sexuality, and less frequent use of condoms while with prostitutes. All of these would seem to indicate that a commodified view of sexuality could lead to a lack of respect for or even violence against prostitutes and possibly other women as well. While acknowledging that a commodified view of sexuality is not an inevitable outcome of patronizing prostitutes, these findings suggest that the commodification of sexuality associated with prostitution encounters has a number of negative implications for the men involved, their sexual partners, and for gender relations in general.

Recidivism Among Program Participants

Of the first 706 men in the San Francisco program, 14 were caught re-offending, 12 in San Francisco County and 2 in other jurisdictions, for a recidivism rate of about 2%. Among the men participating in the Portland program, 2 (about 2%) had subsequent convictions. While these small recidivism rates would seem to prove the success of client intervention programs, recidivism rates for men

who had not completed an intervention program were also very low. What these results seem to mean is that once caught, clients are unlikely to be caught again, whether or not they attend an intervention program.

Implications

This research has a number of implications relevant to those interested in reducing prostitution:

- 1) While the proportion of men who patronize prostitutes was once thought to be higher, recent research indicates that about 16% of men in the U.S. have visited prostitutes at some point during their lives, and less than 1% have visited prostitutes during the previous year. These smaller numbers bode well for the potential of intervention programs like the ones in San Francisco and Las Vegas to meaningfully reduce demand.
- 2) Background data indicate that men who seek prostitution are not dramatically different from men in general. If the offenders were highly deviant, intervention efforts would face an uphill battle. For some men prostitution may be a temporary measure during times when they are not married or are experiencing marital difficulties.
- 3) While intervention programs would be less likely to change established patterns of sexual behavior, many of the men participating are first time or occasional users and may not have established a habit of prostitution.
- 4) Many of the popular explanations as to why men seek prostitutes are supported by the findings. Underlying many of them is the sense that men are entitled to sexuality, and if conventional relationships are not available or are not meeting their wants, prostitution is an option. This sense of entitlement to sexuality could be addressed in future prevention or education efforts.
- 5) Most of the arrested clients do not exhibit attitudes that would support violence against women. This may mean that much of the violence experienced by prostitutes at the hands of clients is due to a small minority of clients. Men with conservative attitudes toward sexuality, an attraction to violent sexuality, and a habit of visiting prostitutes would seem particularly at risk for perpetrating violence.
- 6) Visiting prostitutes is associated with the development of a commodified view of sexuality. This commodified view of sexuality is in turn associated with a number of disturbing consequences, including

belief in rape myths, an attraction to violent sexuality, and less frequent use of condoms with prostitutes.

Because of its association with sexual commodification, prostitution should not be embraced as a positive form of sexual expression.

7) While intervention programs demonstrate low rates of recidivism, this is not a good measure of program success. Because it is easy to avoid arrest given adequate knowledge, re-arrest is rare among prostitution clients whether or not they participate in intervention programs.

Project Description

Prostitution has become an issue of increasing concern to law enforcement officials, women's organizations, and community members. The presence of prostitution negatively affects the livability of neighborhoods, may harm local businesses, and is associated with illicit drug use and other vice. Prostitutes are under high risk of contracting HIV and other STDs, and prostitution has the potential to become a vector for the transmission of STDs to clients and their spouses or partners. Perhaps most significantly, prostitutes themselves are frequent victims of violence. Research and policy have tended to focus attention primarily on prostitutes rather than on their clients. Recently, several communities have begun to focus on prostitution clients by providing weekend intervention programs for men arrested while trying to hire prostitutes. One of these programs, San Francisco's First Offender Prostitution Program has been the subject of a demonstration sponsored by NIJ's Innovations in Criminal Justice Program. Using data gathered from men attending these programs, this study seeks to provide information about this heretofore inaccessible population. Information was gathered about the background characteristics, attitudes, and reported behaviors of these arrested clients, with particular attention to the issue of violence against women. Grant products include brief profiles of the San Francisco and Portland (Oregon) intervention programs for men arrested for trying to hire street prostitutes (see Appendix B and C), a large machine-readable data set containing all necessary documentation for public domain use, and this report. Additionally, the grant resulted in five completed manuscripts (listed on Appendix A), all either presented, published, or under review.

The Nature of the Problem

Although the number of working prostitutes in the U.S. is difficult to estimate, Department of Justice arrest statistics for prostitution consistently exceed 100,000 per year (FBI, 1997; Barkan, 1997). These statistics tend to underestimate the number of prostitutes who are arrested each year. Prostitution-related activities may be processed under other statutes, such as nuisance laws (San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution, 1996), and arrests of juvenile prostitutes may be processed as status offenses (Alexander, 1987). Rathus (1983) estimates that the number of full or part-time working prostitutes in the U.S. numbers

between 250,000 and 500,000. However, these estimates are not particularly meaningful given the clandestine nature of prostitution and the lack of any serious attempt by researchers to attain a national sample.

One can conclude, however, that prostitution is a widespread phenomenon affecting virtually all moderate to large cities in the U.S. (Alexander, 1987; Weisberg, 1985; Benjamin and Masters, 1964) and that it is perceived as a serious community concern in many. In the Portland, Oregon metropolitan area, one of the locations from which data were gathered for this study, the privately-operated Council for Prostitution Alternatives (CPA) served approximately 3,500 women who sought assistance in leaving prostitution from 1985 to 1994, 376 in the 1993-1994 fiscal year alone (Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1994). San Francisco, another area from which data were gathered, reported 5,269 prostitution-related arrests in 1994 (San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution, 1996).

Community concern over prostitution has led to the formation of local organizations designed specifically to address the issue in many communities. Examples include the Salem (Or.), Madison (Wi.), and San Francisco (Ca.) Task Forces on Prostitution, Portland's (Or.) Council for Prostitution Alternatives, and Minneapolis' (Mn.) Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt. And existing neighborhood and business organizations have also addressed the problem (San Francisco Task force on Prostitution, 1996; Holzman and Pines, 1982). When public hearings have been held, there are frequently complaints about the negative effects of prostitution on the livability of neighborhoods and the harm it does to local businesses (San Francisco Task force on Prostitution, 1996; Special Committee in Prostitution and Pornography, 1985). According to a member of the New York Mayor's Citizen Committee, prostitution takes an "enormous toll upon the environment and the economic resources of a neighborhood or community" (Schoenfeld, 1979). Law enforcement officials share these concerns, and are particularly concerned with the vice often associated with prostitution (San Francisco Task force on Prostitution, 1996; Special Committee in Prostitution and Pornography, 1985).

Perhaps most importantly, prostitutes are frequent victims of violent crime, including assault, rape, and murder (Silbert, 1981; Davis, 1993; Horgard and Finstad, 1992), most of which is never reported to police (Silbert, 1981; McKeganey and Bernard, 1996). The statistics gathered by Portland's Council for

Prostitution Alternatives from women wishing to escape to sex industry are particularly powerful. Eighty-nine percent reported that they have been victims of rape, and ninety-three percent reported being the victims of aggravated assault (Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1994). Farley and Barkan (1998) report that among a sample of 130 working prostitutes in San Francisco (75% of them female), 82% reported having been physically assaulted and 68% reported having been raped since entering prostitution. And these percentages are not inconsistent with other research (Silbert, 1981; Benson and Mathews, 1995; Miller, 1993).

Reports of violence are particularly compelling when one recognizes that a substantial proportion of prostitutes begin working while still minors. Although estimates of the number of juveniles who engage in prostitution range as high as 500,000 (Alexander, 1987), no studies have gathered samples sufficient to confidently make such estimates. Still, studies clearly indicate that juvenile prostitution is a problem in many major U.S. cities (Wiesberg, 1985; Bracey, 1979; Harlan, Rodgers, and Slattery, 1981). Although estimates vary, the average age of entry into prostitution is thought to be younger than age 18 (Council for Prostitution Alternatives, 1994; Silbert, 1981). This means that the issue of prostitution is not simply one of violence against women but of the sexual abuse of children. Reports indicate that the clients of juvenile prostitutes are not generally individuals with a preference for sex with children, but simply men who prefer to have sex with younger prostitutes. The issue of child sexual abuse does not enter into their understanding of their behavior (ECPAT, 1996).

The issue of AIDS has added urgency to our efforts to understand prostitutes and their clients. While prostitutes clearly do not deserve the reputation they currently hold in the popular culture as polluters of the heterosexual population (Alexander 1987, McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Sacks, 1996), prostitutes are clearly under a high risk of contracting the AIDS virus. Studies show a consistently high rate of reported condom use among prostitutes. However, McKeganey and Barnard (1996) note that despite universal reports of condom use among prostitutes they surveyed, longer interviews with the women in their homes revealed that there were indeed times when condoms had not been used. Additionally, research consistently shows high rates of condom failure among prostitutes. Morgan-Thomas (1990) reports that 20% of prostitutes in Edinburgh reported having had a condom break during the previous month.

McKeganey and Barnard (1996) report that 26% of prostitutes they interviewed in Glasgow reported having had a condom break in the past month. The rate of HIV among prostitutes, while dramatically higher than the general population, appears to vary widely depending on the metropolitan area studied and the nature of the sample gathered. While Khabbaz (et al, 1990) estimates the rate to be 7% in the U.S., a sample from Los Angeles County had a much lower rate (2.5%)(Kanouse, et al, 1992), and samples from New York (Hoffman, et al., 1992) and Miami (Onorato, et al., 1992) had much higher rates (28% and 26%).

Though there has been disagreement among feminists and policy analysts about the ethics of prostitution (Alexander, 1987; Miller, Romenesko, and Wondolkowski, 1993), there is general agreement that the working conditions of prostitutes, particularly street prostitutes, are intolerable. One-sided efforts to reduce prostitution by arresting prostitutes have been decried as unfair and discriminatory (Carmen and Moody, 1985; Sullivan, 1992; Davis, 1993). Though legal statutes are phrased in gender-neutral language (Miller, Romenesko, and Wondolkowski, 1993; Sullivan, 1992), the vast majority of those arrested are women (Alexander, 1987; Miller, Romenesko, and Wondolkowski, 1993). Only about 10% of arrests for prostitution are of the clients (Alexander, 1987), virtually all of whom are men (Miller, Romenesko, and Wondolkowski, 1993).

Efforts to reduce prostitution by arresting street prostitutes are associated with substantial costs. The San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution (1996) estimates that the total costs to taxpayers for San Francisco's 5,269 prostitution-related arrests exceeds \$7.6 million per year. If the same cost-per-arrest ratio were to hold true nationwide, the total cost to taxpayers for the more than 100,000 annual prostitution arrests per year would exceed \$144 million. Additionally, arresting prostitutes has proven largely ineffective (San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution, 1996; Special Committee in Prostitution and Pornography, 1985; Carmen and Moody, 1985). Many prostitutes face frequent re-arrest, compelled to continue their activities because of dire economic circumstances (Davis, 1993), drug addiction (McKeganey and Bernard, 1996; Magana, 1991), and/or fear of violence from a partner or pimp (Weisberg, 1985; Davis, 1993). Additionally, prostitutes report a high rate of childhood sexual abuse (Briere, 1989; Bagley and King, 1990; Simons and Whitbeck, 1991), further eroding the idea that a life of prostitution is freely chosen.

An Alternative Approach to Reducing Prostitution

In 1995, two creative programs, Portland's (OR) Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP) and San Francisco's First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP) began to address the issue of prostitution differently, focusing prevention efforts on the demand side of the supply/demand equation, the clients of prostitutes. The San Francisco program is a one-day diversion program run through the District Attorney's Office. First-time offenders who agree to attend the workshop have charges against them dropped. Fees charged to participants fully fund the program and also contribute to programs for prostitutes and former prostitutes. The program was designed largely by Norma Hotaling, herself a former prostitute, now the Executive Director of SAGE, an organization that provides support and services for women seeking to escape prostitution. The Portland program, which is now defunct, was a 15-hour, weekend workshop run by an independent organization in cooperation with the District Court. Judges had the discretion to require men to attend the program or to allow arrestees the option to attend in exchange for a reduced fine. Both programs received operating funds through fees from participants. These programs are described in more detail in brief profiles that are included as products of this grant. (See Appendices B and C).

The San Francisco First Offender program has received world-wide attention. The Special Rapporteur from the United Nations and representatives from several delegations visited with Hotaling in December of 1996 to observe the program. And the program has served as a model for others in Las Vegas (Nv.) and several other cities. In February 1999, the National Institute of Justice, Office of Development and Communication, sponsored a demonstration of the First Offenders class as part of their innovations in Criminal Justice Program. Among cities sending delegations were Seattle, Washington; St. Paul Minnesota; Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; and Jacksonville, Florida.

Both the Portland and San Francisco programs identified solid research on the men who attend their workshops as one of their most essential needs. Meeting this need was one of the objectives of this study, and periodic reports were provided to coordinators of these programs during the course of this project.

Existing Research on Prostitution Clients

Even in comparison with the limited knowledge we have of prostitutes, our knowledge of their clients is meager, in part because of the difficulties associated with contacting them (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996; Special Committee on Prostitution and Pornography, 1985). Early estimates of the percentage of men who visit prostitutes were methodologically flawed, very likely resulting in overestimation (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, and Kolata, 1994). Pioneering research by Kinsey (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, 1948) resulted in an extremely large sample of about 18,000 and an estimate of 69%. However, because it was a convenience sample rather than a probability sample, it provided little basis for generalizing about the behavior of U.S. men in general. Nevertheless, it served as the basis for other estimates, such as Benjamin and Masters (1964), who used Kinsey's data and their own impressions to estimate that closer to 80% of men visit prostitutes.

Recent, methodologically sound research conducted as part of the National Health and Social Life Survey in 1992 provides a very different picture. The study found that only about 16% of men in the U.S. had ever visited a prostitute, and that only about .6% of men in the U.S. had visited a prostitute in the previous 12 months. Further, the study found that the percentage of men whose first sexual experience was with a prostitute declined among men who came of age in the 1990's (1.5%) in comparison to men who came of age in the 1950's (7%). Whether due to greater methodological accuracy or actual declines in prostitution use, the study indicates that a relatively small proportion of men regularly patronize prostitutes. These low numbers point to the potential of intervention programs like FOPP and SEEP to address the problem of prostitution by reducing demand.

Though there have been a number of studies of the clients of prostitutes in other countries, such as Scotland (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996), the Netherlands (Vanwesenbeeck, deGraaf, Van Zessen et. al. 1993), and Gambia (Pickering, Todd, Dunn, et al., 1992), there have been few in the U.S. Some research has been based on the reports of prostitutes (Boyle, 1995; Armstrong, 1978) rather than first-hand information. Holzman and Pines (1982) managed to gather a sample of 30 volunteers to discuss their experiences with prostitutes. They found that men who sought prostitution were motivated by the desire for

both sex and companionship, and that they were further drawn to prostitutes out of expectations of mystery and excitement, the element of risk, and the belief that prostitutes were women of exceptional sexual powers.

The present study provides a great deal of additional information about clients, relying on a much larger sample to provide a more detailed picture of the background characteristics, attitudes and reported behavior of men who are arrested for trying to hire street prostitutes. Additionally, grant products include brief profiles of the San Francisco and Portland intervention programs (Appendices B and C), and a large machine-readable data set that will allow other researchers to use the data. Many of the questions were drawn from surveys administered to nationally representative samples, allowing comparisons between arrested clients and other men in general

Scope and Methodology

The existence of intervention programs for prostitution clients programs provides an exceptional opportunity to gather first-hand information from men who have paid or attempted to pay for sex. This study involved administering a detailed questionnaire to men before the beginning of every workshop in San Francisco, California and Portland, Oregon. During the course of the study, the Portland program ceased operations and a new program began in Las Vegas. Following NIJ approval, the Las Vegas program also became a significant source of data. The completed questionnaires were mailed to the Principal Investigator, who supervised their conversion into a machine-readable data set by student assistants. The data was then cleaned and analyzed. Information was also gathered on recidivism for the Portland and San Francisco programs. Appendix A lists five articles completed during the course of this two-year grant--all published, presented or currently under review--and their current disposition.

Sampling

The study employed a simple convenience sampling method, gathering data from all of the consenting participants of each of these community-initiated prevention programs. Over 80% of participants completed questionnaires. Though refusals constituted the largest single category of non-

completions, language barriers and late arrivals also accounted for a substantial proportion. The sample's strength is that it is a virtual census of the men being arrested for attempting to purchase prostitution in these communities. In Portland, where judges rotate through the court position that handles prostitution cases, most chose to mandate all men who appeared in court to attend the program. The San Francisco and Las Vegas programs relieve the men of a criminal offense if they choose to participate, making them extremely popular among arrestees. The San Francisco program sees between 50 and 100 men per month, the Las Vegas program between 30 and 50, and the Portland program saw about 10 every two months. Data collection began August 1997 upon notification of grant approval, and the data set was capped in April 1999 to allow time for cleaning and analysis.

The total sample size was 1342, exceeding the 1200 projected by the grant proposal and substantially exceeding the size of the second largest sample (101) gathered in the U.S. (Freund, Leonard, and Lee, 1991). Of these 1342, 36 of the respondents from San Francisco and 15 of the respondents from Las Vegas completed a Spanish-language version of the questionnaire. Completing the English version of the questionnaire were 950 men from San Francisco, 254 from Las Vegas, 77 from Portland, and 10 from a small program in Santa Clara, California modeled after the San Francisco program. Because the principal investigator was not involved in the creation of the Spanish language version of the questionnaire and the translation has not been evaluated for consistency, the analyses described in this report use only the English language version of the questionnaire.

One weakness of the sampling method is that it is taken from cities in the Western U.S. and may differ from the general population of men arrested for soliciting prostitution nationwide. Another issue that must be taken into account is that the arrested men may differ in systematic ways from men who pay for sex but are not arrested. The sting operations through which most of the men were arrested are relatively easy to avoid given adequate knowledge and caution, meaning that more experienced users of street prostitutes may be escaping detection. Finally, the sample consists only of men who solicit prostitution from undercover agents posing as street prostitutes, ignoring the substantial number of men who participate in less detectable and less visible forms of prostitution, such as escort services and massage parlors. This emphasis on street prostitution may be justified, however, given that street prostitution is seen as

particularly harmful, and street prostitutes are under the greatest risk of violence.

Protection of Human Subjects

The research received approval from the Human Subjects Review Committee at the University of Portland. Subjects were informed orally and through a letter stapled to the front of the questionnaire about the nature and goals of the research, their anonymity and confidentiality, and their right not to participate. A signed consent form was utilized during pre-testing. However, many participants reported that, while they were willing to participate in the research, they would prefer not to sign a consent form out of concern over anonymity. Instead, a letter attached to each of the questionnaires contained all of the information included in the original consent form, but did not ask for a signature.

Research Questions and Data Analysis

The data set allows for the evaluation of a range of issues. For the purposes of clarity, research questions and the data analyses employed to evaluate them are grouped thematically below:

1. What are the background characteristics of men who solicit prostitution? How do they differ from a representative sample of men?

Simple percentages are used to illustrate the background characteristics of the respondents. The samples are also evaluated separately for comparison.

Though the grant proposal explicitly indicated that comparisons with national samples would not be completed during the award period, the principal investigator was able to complete simple comparisons between arrested clients and men sampled as part of the General Social Survey across fifteen variables. Additionally, the responses of arrested men who claim never to have had sexual relations with a prostitute or who claim not to have had sexual relations with a prostitute within the past 12 months are compared with responses of repeat users. Because there were few men in the client sample over the age of 55, the comparison with the national sample was limited to men between 18 and 55. Percentages were calculated along with Pearson Chi-squared tests of independence to evaluate statistical significance. Findings were presented at the annual meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association, in April 1999. These comparisons

warrant further analysis in the future, employing more sophisticated statistical techniques. Additionally, a number of questions from the questionnaire were drawn from the nationally representative National Health and Social Life Survey (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, and Kolata, 1994), also known as the Chicago Sex Survey. Comparisons between this sample and the sample of arrested clients will yield further information in the future but are not attempted here.

2. What types of sex-related behavior characterize men who solicit prostitution?

Simple frequencies and comparisons with nationally representative samples yield a clear picture of the sexual behavior of men who seek prostitution.

3. Why do men visit prostitutes? How consistent are their motivations with scholarly and popular understandings of the prostitution client?

Questions reflecting many scholarly and popular understandings were asked of the arrested men in this study. Respondents were asked to "agree strongly," "agree somewhat," "disagree somewhat," or "disagree strongly" to thirteen statements. No neutral category was provided out of concern that respondents could choose that response to avoid answering. All of the items are "I" statements, such as "I have difficulty meeting women who are not nude dancers or prostitutes," and "I want a different kind of sex than my regular partner." Other issues included feeling that they are unattractive physically or awkward around women, preferring prostitution to conventional relationships, excitement about approaching prostitutes, not having time for conventional relationships, not wanting the responsibility of a conventional relationship, desire for a variety of sexual partners, wanting control during sex, wanting to be with a woman who likes to get nasty, the desire to have sex immediately, and a liking for rough sex. In addition to evaluating the percentage agreeing with each statement, the responses of regular users were compared to first-time users, the responses of married men were compared to non-married men, and the responses of college graduates were compared to non-graduates. All differences were evaluated using Chi-squared tests of independence. These findings have been accepted for publication as a chapter in a book on empirical studies of the sex industry (Monto, 1999)

4. What are the attitudes of prostitution clients toward violence against women?

Analyses of this issue utilized a modified version of Burt's (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance measure as a dependent variable. Rape myths are "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (Burt, 1980, p. 217) that serve to justify or support sexual violence against women and diminish support for rape victims. They include the idea that women who are raped are in some way responsible for the violence against them, the idea that women often lie about being raped for selfish reasons, and the idea that only sexually promiscuous women are raped. Previous research indicates that acceptance of rape myths or rape supportive attitudes is associated with placing greater blame on the victims of sexual assault (Abbey & Harnish, 1995; Kopper, 1996), reported participation in sexual assault, willingness to commit rape if one would not be caught, and aggression against females in a laboratory setting (Malamuth, 1981; 1983; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991).

Statistical analyses included correlations between Rape Myth Acceptance and twelve other variables including marital status, age, military service, experience of abuse as a child, number of sexual partners in the previous year, frequency of sex in the previous year, how often they think about sex, use of pornography, sexual conservatism, attraction to violent sexuality, frequency of prostitution encounters, and participation in sexual violence. These variables were also included in multiple regression analyses with Rape Myth Acceptance as the dependent variable. Findings were presented at the annual meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association, and the manuscript is currently under review for publication.

5. What are the consequences of conceiving of sexuality as a commodity?

This question more narrowly explores a larger issue of the relationship between frequency of prostitution visits and the attitudes and behavior of clients. Framing prostitution as an economic exchange, this set of analyses evaluates the consequences of conceiving of sexuality as a commodity rather than as part of an intimate interpersonal relationship among this sample of arrested clients. Variables associated with the development of a commodified view of sexuality and the consequences that such a view has on

clients attitudes toward prostitution, prostitutes, sexuality, and violence are explored.

Framing prostitution as an economic exchange provides a potentially rich source of insight into the nature of prostitution and the larger contexts in which the prostitution exchange takes place. Prostitution is the exchange of something of value, usually money or drugs, for the sexual use of a person's body. Though this is a basic economic exchange, using an economic model to understand prostitution has become laden with political and ideological implications. Describing prostitution as an economic exchange has often been associated with calls for decriminalization, legalization, or normalization of prostitution (i.e. Posner, 1992; Jenness, 1993). However, framing prostitution as an economic exchange need not imply support. Theorists, such as Giddens (1971), point to a fundamental sociological principle that economic exchanges must be understood as occurring within a definite set of social relationships. The prostitution exchange must be understood in a particular social and historical context. Forces beyond the immediate encounter affect the value of the commodities being exchanged as well as the capacities of the parties in the exchange to impose conditions on the exchange or to refuse the exchange.

Most research on the commodification of essentially human qualities sees the process as highly negative, resulting in the dehumanization of the participants, particularly those who are commodified (Erickson, 1986; Altheide, 1987; Hill and Hirschman, 1996). In the extreme, commodification could include slavery or the sale of body parts. Though prostitution is by definition the commodification of sexuality and the human body, men who patronize prostitutes may conceive of sexuality as a commodity to a greater or lesser extent. Previous research indicates that clients have a range of understandings regarding prostitution (Monto, 1999), with some seeking prostitution because of a desire for intimate relationships with women (Jordan, 1997). This set of analyses attempts to measure the degree to which prostitution clients conceive of sexuality as a commodity and evaluates the consequences of sexual commodification.

This issue required a more elaborate set of analyses and was completed earlier, using questionnaires collected from the first 700 men who participated in the study. As with all of the other analyses described in this report, cases collected using the Spanish language version of the questionnaire were excluded from consideration. Simple frequencies of the items comprising the commodification measure were calculated to provide information about the distribution of indicators and the degree of commodification (see Table 7).

The relationship between commodification and twelve other variables was preliminarily explored through simple correlations (see Table 8).

A path model (see Figure 1) was created to depict six variables being evaluated as possible predictors of commodification and the five variables being evaluated as consequences of commodification. Predictor variables included whether the respondent's parents divorced when he was a child, whether he was sexually touched by an adult while a child, whether he was physically hurt by an adult for no reason while he was a child, whether he was married (and non-separated) at the time of the survey, whether he had ever served in the military, and his level of sexual liberalism. These six variables were also evaluated as predictors of the frequency of prostitution encounters. Covariance between commodification and frequency of encounters was also evaluated. Variables potentially predicted by commodification and by frequency of prostitution encounters included acceptance of rape myth attitudes, attraction to violent sexuality, frequency of condom use while with prostitutes, level of support for prostitution, and degree to which prostitution was seen as positive for women.

The dichotomous predictor variables were dummy coded 0 for the negative response and 1 for the affirmative response and treated as ordinal variables, not an ideal practice but necessary for their inclusion in the path model. The model was evaluated using EQS, a structural equation modeling program. One of the advantages of this program is that it allows for the evaluation of data that is not normally distributed. Parameters were calculated using an elliptical reweighted least squares method. This method relaxes the requirement that data be distributed normally and recalculates the weight matrix following each iteration rather than calculating it once from the input data. However, reweighting was not an issue because the model converged in just one iteration. The conventional maximum likelihood solution was run for comparison, yielding virtually identical results (not reported here).

Two variations of the model were run. The first (results not shown) included all six potential predictor variables, each covarying with both commodification and frequency of prostitution encounters. Commodification and frequency of encounters were each allowed to predict the five dependent variables. A second model (see Figure 2) included only significant paths. All of the variables and paths that were removed from the final model were statistically insignificant. Findings were presented at the 1999

Meetings of the American Sociological Association.

6) What are rates of recidivism for participants in prostitution client intervention programs?

The first 706 of the participants in the San Francisco FOPP intervention, who completed the program between its inception in March 1995 through September 1996, were followed at least one year after their participation. Lieutenant Joe Dutto, one of the co-creators of the program, reviewed records of convictions not only in San Francisco County but statewide, completing the review in March of 1998. The entire list of 91 participants in the Portland SEEP workshop were followed for two years following their participation in the program, and their offenses during the two years prior to the offense for which they were arrested were also recorded. This search focused only on offenses within the same county. Because some judges did not send arrestees through the SEEP program during this same time period, it was possible to compare the recidivism rates of men who attended the workshop with men who did not.

Measures

Most of the variables described in this report were measured using single items. These do not warrant detailed explanations here. The actual wording of the questions is available in Appendix D, a complete questionnaire. When possible, questions were drawn from existing surveys, particularly the General Social Survey and the National Health and Social Life Survey. Multi-item measures included the following:

Rape Myth Acceptance: Rape Myth Acceptance, was an abbreviated eight-item version of Burt's (1980) nineteen-item measure. Table 5 presents these items, as well as the percentage of subjects choosing each response. The original measure included eleven statements, such as "when women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble," that respondents responded to on a seven-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Six of these items were used but due to the need for questionnaire consistency, they were asked on a four-point scale including "strongly agree," "somewhat agree," "somewhat disagree," and "strongly disagree." Burt also included two items asking "what percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and

want to get back at the man they accuse" and "what percentage of reported rapes would you say were invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their reputation." These two items were included along with their original five-point response scale ranging from "almost all" to "almost none." The original measure also included six items asking how likely subjects would be to believe various individuals, such as their best friend, an Indian woman, a white woman, and several others, if they reported to the subject that they were raped. Because of the need to be very discriminating in question selection and methodological reservations about these items, they were not included.

Because items differed in their number of responses and their distributions, responses were converted to z-scores before adding the items to create the final rape myth acceptance scale. Though each standardized item had a mean of zero, the mean for the entire scale was $-.127$, with a minimum of -5.6 , a maximum of 23.91 , a skewness of 1.25 , and a standard deviation of 5.28 . The alpha reliability coefficient for the scale was $.83$, indicating good reliability. For the smaller sample employed in the commodification analyses the alpha was $.85$.

Sexual Violence: Analyzed as a correlate of rape myths, this was a two-item measure drawn from Koss (1988), asking whether the respondent had threatened force or used force to have sex with a woman who didn't want to.

Pornography Use: Analyzed as a predictor of rape myths, this was a two-item measure that asked about frequency of pornographic magazine and video use.

Childhood Abuse: Analyzed as a predictor of rape myths these two yes-no indicators asked if the respondent had been sexually touched or hurt for no reason by an adult when they were a child.

Attraction to Violent Sexuality: Analyzed as a predictor of rape myths and as a variable predicted by commodification, this measure include four statements to which respondents were asked to "agree strongly," "agree somewhat," "disagree somewhat," or "disagree strongly." The items are available in their entirety on Table 8. Responses were converted to z-scores before being combined. The alpha reliability coefficient for the measure was $.63$ for the rape myth analyses and $.62$ for the smaller sample employed in the commodification analyses.

Sexual Conservatism: Analyzed as a predictor of rape myths as well as a predictor of commodification, the

measure of sexual conservatism used four General Social Survey items, including questions regarding sex before marriage, sex among teenagers, sex among couples of the same sex, and extramarital sex. Responses included "always wrong," "almost always wrong," "wrong only sometimes," "not wrong at all," and "don't know." Responses were converted to z-scores before being combined. The alpha reliability coefficient for the measure was .66 in the rape myth analyses and .67 in the smaller sample used for the commodification analyses

Support Prostitution: Evaluated as a variable predicted by commodification, support for prostitution was measured using ten attitude items, such as "prostitution doesn't really harm anybody" and "it would be okay if my daughter grew up to be a prostitute," many developed by Sawyer, Rosser, and Schroeder (1997).

These items are listed in their entirety on Table 8. The measure had an alpha reliability coefficient of .82.

Prostitution Good for Women: Evaluated as a variable predicted by commodification, seeing prostitution as positive for women was measured by four items including "prostitutes enjoy their work" and "most prostitutes make a lot of money," (see Table 8) yielding an alpha reliability coefficient of .69.

Sexual Commodification: The tendency to regard sexuality as a commodity rather than as an aspect of an intimate relationship was operationalized by nine indicators, which collectively formed an adequate measure of commodification. Items included the following: 1)Number of sexual partners-greater numbers of partners increase the likelihood that some of the sexual liaisons are impersonal exchanges; 2)Having more than one sexual partner but no regular partner-this indicates that respondents are not participating in a committed sexual relationship and may not see intimacy as a requirement of sexuality; 3)Frequency of pornographic magazine use; 4)Frequency of pornographic video use-although many men view pornography, frequent use of pornography reflects an inclination to meet sexual needs through purchase; 5)Preference for prostitution over conventional relationships; 6)The belief that one does not have time for a conventional relationship; 7)Not wanting the responsibilities of a conventional relationship-these three items reflect a preference for interactions with individuals who can meet respondents' needs without demanding demand time or intimacy; 8)Wanting to be "in control" during sex; 9)The belief that one needs to have sex immediately when aroused-these two attitude variables reflect a conception of sexuality as a need to be met rather than as an aspect of an intimate relationship.

Each commodification item was transformed into a z-score and added to form a measure of commodification. The alpha reliability coefficient for the measure was .66. Table 7 depicts the response frequencies as well as the corrected inter-item total correlations after standardization.

Methodological Limitations

Virtually all of the respondents were arrested for propositioning a police decoy, and the sample should be generally representative of men arrested for prostitution. The neighborhoods targeted in these police “sweeps” are recognized as locations for prostitution, and potential clients are not primarily neighborhood residents but come from the surrounding metropolitan areas. The fact that the men participating in this study were arrested, something that is avoidable given adequate knowledge, may mean that less experienced clients are over-represented in the sample and among arrested men more generally. Though it would be impossible to gather, a representative sample of clients would probably report a greater frequency of prostitution visits and would probably differ in other ways as well. Respondents' sense of legal vulnerability may have had some effect on the responses, particularly on items that asked about illegal activities. Some of the men may be in denial about their activities, failing to acknowledge even to themselves that they were seeking prostitution. Additionally, the arrest may have led some of the men to reconsider their perspectives toward prostitution.

Another limitation in the study is the fact that some of the items reported here were developed specifically for this survey and have never been administered to other populations of men. For these items it is not possible to evaluate whether clients' responses differ significantly from the larger population of men.

Findings

Characteristics of Arrested Clients

Background characteristics, as well as comparisons between the three main sample locations, are reported in Table 1. Differences in the ethnic composition of the three samples generally reflect differences between the three cities from which they were drawn, although minority groups are somewhat over-

represented among the client samples. The San Francisco sample has a relatively high proportion of offenders of "Hispanic" (19%) and Asian (16%) origin. Though not strictly comparable, census data from the San Francisco metropolitan area reveal Hispanic and Asian populations of about 15%. The Las Vegas sample has a relatively high proportion of Hispanic offenders (17%), somewhat higher than the 11% Hispanic population of the Las Vegas metropolitan area. For the Portland sample, men of Asian origin make up the largest minority group, comprising about 8% of the sample and 3.5% of the metropolitan population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Though white non-Hispanics make up a majority of offenders in all three cities, minority offenders make up about 40% of offenders in San Francisco and Las Vegas. Ages ranged from 18 to 84 with a mean age of 38 and a median of 37.

Table 2 contains comparisons between arrested clients and a nationally representative sample of men who participated in the General Social Survey. Though the data reflect significant differences between clients and men in general according to race, this particular difference partly reflects characteristics of the populations of San Francisco and Las Vegas. Of particular note is the low proportion of Blacks (5%) among the client sample. One inadequacy of the comparison between the national sample and the client sample is that clients reporting Hispanic, Chicano or Latino ethnicities were not asked their race, and were categorized as "white" for the purpose of comparison with the GSS sample, which is divided into "White," "Black," and "Other." Hence, a small proportion of Black Hispanics may have been mis-categorized. To evaluate the consequences of having samples with different racial characteristics, all analyses were repeated using only whites. Differences between clients and the national sample remained identical to the differences found when all races were included, so they are not reported further here.

There were also significant differences between clients and the national sample according to the highest degree obtained. While about 72% of clients report attending at least some college, only about 36% of the national sample reported that level of education or more. Again, this difference may largely reflect population characteristics of these three Western cities rather than differences between clients and non-clients. However, if education is regarded as an indicator of social class, the finding does contradict the idea that the clients of street prostitutes come primarily from working class backgrounds. Additionally, clients were slightly more likely to report having full-time employment.

Substantial differences are found in marital status, with clients much less likely to report being currently married (41%) than the national sample (56%) and more likely to report never having been married (37%) than the national sample (29%). Of the married respondents, clients were much less likely to describe their marriages as "very happy" (38% in comparison to 60%) and much more likely to describe their marriages as "not too happy" (22% in comparison to 2%).

The two samples also differed significantly in terms of sex-related variables. Though clients were less likely to report that their sexual partners over the past year were exclusively male, this likely reflects the fact that virtually all of the clients sampled were arrested for propositioning female police decoys or in some cases female prostitutes. Hence, one might expect to see fewer exclusively gay clients. However, the fact that clients were much more likely to have had sexual partners of **both** sexes (5% in comparison to about 0.5%) over the past year may be meaningful, perhaps reflecting greater sexual liberalism or greater participation in sexual activities overall among a small group of clients.

Though clients and the nationally sampled men were about equally likely (about 10%) to report having had no sexual partners over the past year, clients were much less likely to have had one partner over the past year (37% in comparison to 71%) and much more likely to report having had two or more partners (54% in comparison to 19%). More specifically, 20% of clients reported having five or more partners over the past year in comparison to just over 3% of the national sample. Despite reporting more sexual partners, clients reported less frequent sexual relations over the past year than the national sample. About 9% of the men in both samples reported having no sexual relations over the past twelve months. Though 45% of clients reported sexual relations weekly or more often, 55% of the national sample did so. Clients were also much more likely to report having watched pornographic movies over the past year (66%) than the national sample (33%).

In terms of sexual liberalism, clients were significantly less likely to describe premarital sex, homosexuality, teen sex, and extramarital sex as "always wrong" and more likely to describe them as "not at all wrong." When these variables were combined to yield a scale of sexual liberalism, point biserial correlations ($r=.237$; $p<.001$; $N=1183$) demonstrated clients to be significantly more sexually liberal than the national sample.

Contrary to some research (Sullivan and Simon, 1998) prostitution clients were no more likely than the national sample to report having served in the military.

When comparing arrested men who reported never having been with a prostitute or not having been with a prostitute during the previous 12 months with men who reported more experience with prostitutes, responses of "first-timers" were significantly different from "repeat users" on seven variables. Additionally, these differences mirrored differences between clients and the national sample on five of these variables. This would seem to indicate that prostitution clients differ from other men by degree rather than quality, with repeat users more different from non-users than the first-timers. First-timers were more likely to be married, have very happy marriages, and have exclusively female sexual partners, and less likely to have watched a pornographic movie and to see homosexuality as "not at all" wrong than repeat users. Additionally, though the differences were not statistically significant, first-timers expressed less sexual liberalism in regard to sex before marriage, sex between teens, and extramarital sex than regular users, again consistent with the differences between clients and the national sample. First-timers also had some qualities that differentiated them from both repeat users and the national sample. They were more likely than either repeat users or the national sample to report having had no sexual partners over the past year and more likely to report having had no sex during the past year.

Sexual Attitudes and Behavior

Several interesting findings emerge regarding sex related attitudes and behavior as reported on Table 3. In terms of frequency of prostitution encounters, it should be noted that about 20% of respondents claim never to have had sexual relations with a prostitute. Because men in the sample were almost all arrested while propositioning a decoy posing as a prostitute, it is possible that some had never before sought out a prostitute or had not successfully completed the transaction. Another 21% claim not to have been with a prostitute over the past 12 months. These two categories of men were combined to yield the category of "first-timers" on Table 3 and used as the basis for comparison with "repeat-users." Another 21% claim to have had sexual relations with a prostitute once over the past 12 months, and 28% claim to have visited more than once but less than once per month. Only about 10% of the men sampled reported visiting

prostitutes more than once per month. Though one would expect an inclination to underestimate prostitution visits among arrested clients, results indicate that these men are not frequent participants in prostitution. Men arrested for trying to hire prostitutes may represent the less experienced prostitution client, with more experienced clients better able to avoid arrest, either due to knowledge of police procedures, familiarity with the prostitutes themselves, or participation in off-street prostitution.

The average age of first prostitution encounter among the men sampled was 24 with a median of 21, though age at first encounter ranged from 9 to 62. Repeat users were more likely to have begun their experimentation earlier in life than first-timers. The most common first encounter involved being approached by a prostitute (33%), followed by approaching a prostitute on one's own without others knowing (30%), though for a significant proportion, peers were involved in setting up the encounter (23%).

By far, the most significant sexual activity surrounding prostitution was fellatio. When asked whether they had **ever** participated in various sexual activities with a prostitute, 80% reported that they had received oral sex. The second most frequently reported activity was vaginal sex at 55%. Many of the clients (36%) reported participating in "half and half," which includes both oral and vaginal sex. Being manually masturbated, or receiving a "hand job," was reported by 35% of respondents.

When asked to identify the activity in which they participated **most often** when with a prostitute, 52% selected fellatio, followed by 12% who selected vaginal sex, 10% who selected "half and half," and 6% who selected "hand job." Seventeen percent misunderstood instructions and selected two or more responses, and of those, fellatio was the most frequently chosen.

In terms of condom use, 73% claim that they always used a condom during sexual activity with a prostitute, while another 12% claimed to use one often. It should be noted that for about 6% of respondents who had been with prostitutes, the most frequent sexual activity with prostitutes was to be manually masturbated, an activity that does not necessarily warrant a condom. More detailed questions are needed to determine the rates of condom use associated with particular sexual activities.

About 33% of clients claim never to look at pornographic magazines, and about 36% claim never to watch pornographic videos. As was shown in Table 2, pornography use is more common among clients than among a nationally representative sample. Additionally, as shown on Table 3, repeat users view

pornography significantly more frequently than first-timers.

When asked about their sexual relationship with their wife or regular partners, 36% reported that their sexual interests were "very similar" to those of their wife or regular sexual partner, while 40% answered "somewhat similar." Twenty-four percent reported that their sexual interests were somewhat different or very different than those of their wife or regular sexual partner. And when asked about their level of sexual desire in comparison to their partner, 46% responded that they were much or somewhat more interested in sex than their partner, 40% responded that they were about equal, and about 14% responded that their partners were somewhat or much more interested.

A number of other sex-related variables presented on Table 3 are also presented on Table 2 in comparison to the national sample. Though the response frequencies differ slightly due to the fact that the comparison was limited to men under 55 years of age, results are very similar and will not be reported further here.

Motives for Seeking Prostitution

As described earlier, arrested men were asked to respond to thirteen attitude statements designed to reflect popular and scholarly understandings of why men seek out prostitutes. These items are presented in their entirety on Table 4. For clarity, both levels of agreement were combined to yield a total percentage in agreement. In addition to evaluating the percentage agreeing with each statement, the responses of regular users were compared to first-time users, the responses of married men were compared to non-married men, and the responses of college graduates were compared to non-graduates.

The most frequently endorsed statements were "I like to be with a woman who likes to get nasty" (53%), "I am excited by the idea of approaching a prostitute" (44%), "I like to have a variety of sexual partners" (42%), "I want a different kind of sex than my regular partner" (41%), "I am shy and awkward when trying to meet women" (42%), and "I like to be in control when I'm having sex" (42%). All of the remaining items were endorsed by at least 18% of respondents, indicating they also meaningfully contributed prostitution seeking behavior.

Though at first glance, the most frequently endorsed item would seem to best explain men's reasons

for sex with prostitutes, the "woman who likes to get nasty" is not explicitly defined as a prostitute. Still, this item, in conjunction with the second most endorsed item, "I am excited by the idea of approaching a prostitute," supports the idea that one of the attractions of sex with a prostitute is that it is illicit, risky, or raunchy. According to a client interviewed by Holzman and Pines (1982), part of the attraction was the "element of risk...the gambling element."

Several other items seem to point to a commodified perspective toward sexuality in which sex is analogous to consumer behavior rather than associated with intimate relationships. The desire to "have a variety of sexual partners" and "be in control during sex," and the need to "have sex immediately when I am aroused" all point to this kind of self-focused sexuality that Blanchard (1994) calls "McSex" in his popular expose on "young johns." According to one man he interviewed "it's like going to McDonalds; most people are looking for a good quick cheap meal. It's satisfying, it's greasy, and then you get the hell out of there." Paying for sex because of the desire to have sex with women with particular physical attributes, a motivation described by McKeganey (1994), also reflects a conception of sex as a commodity.

Wanting a different kind of sex than one's regular partner (41%) and liking rough sex (20%) support the idea that some men seek out prostitutes because they can do things with them that other women might find unpleasant or unacceptable. According to one client "...you've got a bit more dominance, you've got the money in your pocket then you've got the dominance over them" (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996).

The data also suggest that some men pay for sex because they have difficulty becoming involved in conventional relationships. Forty-two percent agreed that they were "shy and awkward" when trying to meet women, 24% felt unattractive physically, and 22% had "difficulty meeting women who were not nude dancers or prostitutes." Among some of these men, seeking prostitutes may be an attempt not only to have sex, but to establish intimate relationships with women. Jordan (1997) describes one particular client, excruciatingly shy, who felt desperately alone and eventually ended up falling in love with a prostitute. When she quit working, he was disappointed. Though he continued to visit prostitutes, he claimed "It's not sexual relief that I go for--it's to relieve some loneliness that I feel."

Finally, results indicated that some of the clients felt that they did not have the time, energy, or interest to engage in a conventional relationship with a sexual partner. Though only 18% agreed that they

preferred sex with a prostitute to a conventional relationship, 28% wanted to avoid the responsibilities of a conventional relationship, and 32% believed that they didn't have time for a conventional relationship.

Further support for these issues as predictors of prostitution seeking is found in the fact that each item was more likely to be endorsed by regular users than first time offenders. For all but two of these items a chi-squared test of independence indicated significance at the $p < .01$ level. Some regular users appear to seek prostitution because of difficulty establishing conventional relationships. Regular users were almost twice as likely as first-timers to report that they had difficulty meeting women who were not prostitutes or nude dancers and were fifty-percent more likely to agree that they were shy and awkward when trying to meet women. A commodified approach to sexuality is also more strongly evident among the regular users as is a disinterest in conventional relationships.

Motives for seeking prostitution differ according to education level, reported here primarily as an indicator of social class. College graduates were significantly more likely than non-graduates to report wanting a different type of sex than their regular partners, a preference for a variety of sexual partners, and excitement at the idea of seeking a prostitute. Non-graduates were significantly more likely than graduates to report difficulty meeting women, awkwardness, and feeling physically unattractive. Additionally, they were more likely to report wanting to be in control during sex.

Married clients were almost fifty-percent more likely than non-married clients to report wanting a different kind of sex than their regular partners. For the married man who has a sense of entitlement to sex, prostitution may be seen as justifiable behavior should his wife not meet his perceived sexual needs. Non-married clients reported shyness, a liking for rough sex, and a desire to avoid the responsibilities of conventional relationships.

Rape Myth Attitudes

Table 5 depicts the responses of the arrested men to the items that comprised the rape myth acceptance measure. The item most frequently endorsed stated that women who wear short skirts or tight tops are asking for trouble, with 29% agreeing somewhat or strongly. Twenty-two percent agreed that a woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man implies that she is interested in sex, and 16% agree

that in the majority of cases, victims of rape are promiscuous or have bad reputations. Fifteen percent agreed that a girl who engages in necking or petting is at fault if her partner forces sex on her. Far fewer agreed that women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve (8%) or that a woman who is stuck up and refuses to talk to men deserves to be taught a lesson (6%). In terms of the questions about dishonesty in rape reporting, 28% believed that half or more of the women who report a rape are lying because they want to punish the man they accuse, and 23% believed that half or more reported rapes are invented by women who want to protect their reputation.

Overall, the level of rape myth acceptance seems relatively low. Of the men who answered all eight items, about 30% did not score positively for rape myth acceptance on any individual item. In other words, they disagreed somewhat or strongly with all of the attitude statements and believed that "almost none" of the women who report rape do so for illegitimate reasons. Another 38% scored positively on only one or two items, indicating that they somewhat or strongly agreed with one of the attitude statements or that they believed that "about one fourth" or more of the women who report rape do so falsely. Twelve percent scored positively on three items. Additionally, less than half of one-percent had answers that indicated rape myth acceptance on all eight rape-myth items. On the other hand, 20% indicated rape myth acceptance on four or more items. Of these men, thirty-three had patronized prostitutes more than once during the prior year and were also above the median in sexual conservatism, in other words, judgmental about sexual morality. These men may be at increased risk for perpetrating violence against women.

Comparing these responses to the responses of other samples is difficult because virtually all published reports fail to describe respondents' answers to individual items. The use of an abbreviated version of Burt's measure and the different number of Likert-scale responses used in this study further complicate such comparisons. However, some basic contrasts can be attempted. Burt's (1980) original article mentions briefly in the discussion section that over half of her random sample of Minnesota adults agreed that a woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man implies that she is interested in sex, that in the majority of cases, victims of rape are promiscuous or have bad reputations, and that 50% or more of the women who report a rape are lying because they want to protect their reputation or punish the man they accuse. In comparison to Burt's sample, the clients in our sample were less likely to endorse rape myths, as

none of these items were endorsed by more than 30% of the respondents. This is true despite the fact that the questions employed in the present study lacked a neutral category, which should theoretically push at least a few people into agreement.

Other studies provide even fewer details that would allow for comparison with our sample but still deserve inspection. Abbey and Harnish (1995) report a median cutoff of 2.5 among the male undergraduates in their sample for the original nineteen items, each scored on a seven-point likert scale, for a proportion of .36 ($2.5/7=.36$). The median for the eight items (before standardization) asked of the men in this study is 1.50 but six of eight items are scored on a four-point scale and two on a five-point scale for a proportion of .35 ($1.50/4.25=.35$). Kopper (1996) reports, among her sample of undergraduates, a mean of 42.63 for the total scale of 19 items, all re-scored to be on a seven-point scale. Her mean item score for the 19-items is 2.24, for a proportion of .32 ($2.24/7=.32$). In comparison, the mean item-score of respondents in our sample is 1.64 for a proportion of .39 ($1.64/4.25=.39$). Though caution is warranted in interpreting these comparisons, it seems evident that this sample of men arrested for soliciting prostitution was not substantially more likely to endorse rape myths than selected samples of non-offenders.

Table 6 reports the correlation and regression coefficients of selected variables with rape myth acceptance. Five variables were significantly correlated with acceptance of rape myths, including reported participation in sexual violence, use of pornography, attraction to violent sexuality, thinking about sex less frequently, and sexual conservatism.

For the regression analyses, two of these variables were not included, participation in sexual violence and number of sexual partners in the past year. The former was excluded because there was very little variability in response, with fewer than 2% reporting any previous participation in sexual violence, and its inclusion would not have been meaningful. The latter was not included because number of sexual partners in the past year was highly correlated with number of prostitution contacts during the past year, another included variable, causing problems with multicollinearity. In exploratory analyses, number of sexual partners did not emerge as a significant predictor of rape myths in regression equations unless number of prostitution contacts was also included.

In the first regression analysis, the predictor variables were included simultaneously in the equation

revealing three significant predictors of rape myth acceptance, attraction to violent sexuality, sexual conservatism, and thinking about sex less frequently.

The third column on Table 6 provides the results of a second regression equation in which variables were eliminated through a stepwise selection process. The same three variables emerged as significant predictors of rape myth acceptance. Though stepwise selection of the best predictors has its critics, the selected equation was identical when forward or backward selection procedures were used.

Sexual Commodification

As mentioned earlier, although prostitution is by definition the commodification of sexuality, prostitution clients differ in the degree to which they regard sexuality as a commodity. For each individual indicator comprising the commodification measure, the responses of the majority of these men arrested for trying to hire a street prostitute do not indicate commodification. Table 7 reports the frequencies for each response. For four of the five attitude measures-not having time for a conventional relationship, not wanting the responsibilities associated with conventional relationships, wanting to be in control during sex, and the need to have sex immediately when aroused-fewer than half of the respondents agreed strongly or somewhat. For the fifth attitude item-preference for prostitution over conventional relationships-only 19.3% agreed somewhat or strongly. Pornographic magazine and video use was reported to take place "less than once per month" or "never" by about 70% of respondents. Fifty-nine percent of respondents report two or fewer sexual partners over the past year, and of those with more than one partner, only 12% report having no "regular" sexual partner.

If a large number of respondents had chosen responses that did not indicate commodification for **all** variables, then the measure would lack the variability ideal for most analyses of ordinal variables. To evaluate whether this was the case, the sample was divided according to whether responses to each variable reflected commodification. Only 76 of 700 respondents chose responses that did not indicate commodification for all variables. Not surprisingly, only 3 chose responses that reflected commodification for all variables.

Four of the six variables evaluated as predictors of commodification had statistically significant

correlations with that variable, though correlations were small. Table 8 presents the correlation of each variable with commodification. Being married was associated with a lesser degree of commodification ($r = -.15$; $p < .001$). Sexual liberalism ($r = .108$; $p < .05$), being hurt for no reason as a child ($r = .112$; $p < .05$), and having served in the military ($r = .107$; $p < .05$) were all associated with higher levels of commodification.

Higher levels of commodification were strongly correlated with more frequent visits to prostitutes ($r = .403$; $p < .001$). Part of this relationship may be explained by measurement effects, as number of sexual partnerships was one of the indicators of commodification. However, in separate analyses, measuring commodification minus this indicator (number of sex partners), the relationship between commodification and frequency of prostitution visits remained strong ($r = .315$; $p < .001$).

Relationships were generally strong among the variables being evaluated as consequences of commodification. Higher levels of commodification were significantly correlated with rape myth acceptance ($r = .235$; $p < .001$), attraction to violent sexuality ($r = .252$; $p < .001$), and less frequent use of condoms while a prostitute ($r = -.189$; $p < .001$). Not surprisingly, commodification was also associated with support for prostitution ($r = .222$; $p < .001$) and the attitude that prostitution is positive for women ($r = .160$; $p < .01$).

The path model also yielded results consistent with predicted relationships. Figure 2 shows the selected model as well as the standardized path coefficients. Being married and having served in the military were significant predictors of commodification. None of these variables were a significant predictor of frequency of prostitution encounters. However, frequency of prostitution encounters was strongly associated with commodification, indicating that, though men who visit prostitutes vary in the degree to which they have a commodified view of sexuality, more frequent prostitution encounters reflect and possibly contribute to commodification. Commodification was a significant and strong predictor of rape myth acceptance, attraction to violent sexuality, less frequent condom use while with prostitutes, seeing prostitution as acceptable or normal and seeing prostitution as positive for women. Interestingly, frequency of prostitution encounters was significantly independently associated only with seeing prostitution as positive or normal.

Recidivism Among Program Participants

Of the first 706 men in the San Francisco program, 14 were caught re-offending, 12 in San Francisco County and 2 in other jurisdictions, for a recidivism rate of about 2%. Among the men participating in the Portland program 2, or about 2% had subsequent convictions.

While these small recidivism rates would seem to prove the success of client intervention programs, a closer analyses of the Portland data reveals that convictions for prostitution prior to the conviction that led men to the program were also rare, with only 1 program participant being convicted of prostitution in the two years prior to the existence of the SEEP intervention program. Additionally, recidivism rates for a comparison group of men convicted of prostitution in Portland who did not participate in the SEEP intervention were also very low, with just one conviction from among 123 men who were convicted during the SEEP program but did not attend. What these results seem to mean is that once caught, clients are unlikely to be caught again, whether or not they attend an intervention program.

Conclusions and Implications

Characteristics of Men Arrested for Soliciting Prostitution

Scholarly conceptions of the prostitution client tend toward either of two divergent perspectives. On one hand, some feminist theorists and ethnographic researchers tend to support the idea that prostitution clients are no different than men in general (Atchison, Fraser, and Lowman, 1998). For example, feminist theorist Schrage argues against treating prostitution clients as deviant on the grounds that they are "acting in accordance with dominant social values and beliefs" (1992; p.43), and Andrea Dworkin (1993) suggests the following:

He is everyone. I want you to take one hour, on Monday. I want you to walk through school, and I want you to look at every man. I want you to take his clothes off with your eyes. I want you to see him with a stiff prick. I want you in your mind to put him on top of a woman with money on the table next to them. Everyone. The dean of this law school, the professors, the male students, everyone. (p. 8).

Though Dworkin later explains that "this is the world prostituted women live in," the exercise in imagery

that she advocates clearly implies that every man is a potential prostitution client.

Qualitative researchers studying clients tend to emphasize the similarities between the clients of prostitutes and men in general. Studies, both in the United States (Holzman and Pines, 1982) and other countries (McKeganey and Barnard, 1996), have rightfully argued against stereotyping clients as psychologically inadequate or deviant. According to Armstrong (1978), the qualities typical of clients in the massage parlor he studied were the same qualities typical of visitors to the West Coast city where the research was conducted. The efforts of these researchers to debunk misconceptions about clients imply, perhaps unintentionally, that clients are no different from men in general.

Alternatively, older psychological studies tended to characterize prostitution clients as having social, or physical inadequacies that drive them to seek out prostitutes. Indeed, Glover (1943) argues that clients of prostitutes have regressed to an infant stage of sexual development, and Ellis (1959) described the irrational attitudes and neuroses of clients. These conceptions imply that prostitution clients differ strikingly and qualitatively from other men.

The results of the present study would tend to argue for a middle ground. Prostitution clients as a group differ from men in general in meaningful ways. They are less likely to be married, more likely to have unhappy marriages, more likely to have numerous sexual partners, more likely to use pornography, more likely to have sexual partners of both sexes and more likely to express sexually liberal attitudes. Future comparisons using additional variables will likely demonstrate additional attitudinal and behavior differences. Additionally, regular users tend to be more different from other men than first time or occasional users, and tend to begin their forays into prostitution earlier in life.

Men arrested for prostitution do not tend to be less educated than U.S. men in general, and, if education is employed as an indicator of social class, they do not over-represent the lower classes. Additionally, although men who have served in the military are more likely to have visited prostitutes at some point in their lives (Sullivan and Simon, 1998), men who have served are not over-represented among arrested clients.

Overall, results would tend to bode positively for efforts to reduce prostitution by focusing on clients. Though arrested men differ from men in general somewhat, the differences are not extreme and

there are not indications that this group represents a severely deviant and perhaps recalcitrant population.

Sexual Attitudes and Behavior

Results point to the importance of the desire for fellatio as a motivation for seeking prostitution. There appears to be a discrepancy between men's sexual interests and their capacity to meet their perceived needs through legal and conventional avenues. Recent findings from the National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLs) using a nationally representative sample highlight this discrepancy. While 45% of men find receiving fellatio "very appealing," only 17% of women find performing fellatio "very appealing." In contrast, the proportion of men who find performing cunnilingus "very appealing" (34%) is slightly higher than the proportion of women who find receiving it "very appealing" (29%). While results show that there are other activities, such as anal sex and group sex, which men find more appealing than women, fellatio is distinctive in that such a large proportion of men find it appealing and the discrepancy between men's and women's attitudes toward it is so substantial (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels, 1994). This discrepancy in the appeal of fellatio means that a significant minority of men may not have their perceived sexual needs met in conventional relationships. Despite the appeal of fellatio to men, only 28% report that they experienced fellatio during their most recent sexual encounter (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels, 1994).

One could interpret this social condition as consistent with the goal-means gap that Merton (1938) sees as contributing to deviance, in which individuals desire a culturally valued goal (fellatio) but do not accept or have access to conventional means for achieving that goal. The cultural tension spurred by this gap encourages alternative avenues for meeting perceived needs, in this case prostitution. Prostitution exists in the breach, fulfilling sexual interests that may be immoral or illegal.

Results also indicate that most men arrested for trying to hire prostitutes do not patronize prostitutes frequently, with about 40% reporting that they have never had sexual relations with a prostitute, or have not had sexual relations with a prostitute over the past year. This would seem to indicate that men arrested for prostitution largely represent a less experienced group of clients who may not know how to avoid arrest.

These findings have important implications for prostitution policy. We must recognize that the

conventional sting operations using police decoys on the street tend to capture less experienced users. Other types of stings may be necessary to capture more frequent users, although users involved in established networks of prostitutes may be extremely difficult to arrest. These results bode well for intervention programs focusing on clients. While it is difficult to alter established patterns of sexual behavior, many of the participants in these programs have not yet established a regular pattern of soliciting prostitutes and may be more likely to be persuaded to avoid future encounters.

Motives for Seeking Prostitution

Many of the existing popular and scholarly conceptions of the reasons men seek prostitutes are supported by this study. Prostitution seeking appears to reflect a number of motivations, including an attraction to the illicit nature of the encounter, a desire for varieties of sex that may not be provided by regular partners, defining sex as a commodity, a disinterest in conventional relationships, inability to join in conventional relationships, and a number of others. Additionally, all of these reasons for seeking prostitution are more characteristic of repeat users than first-timers. Motivations appear to differ depending on the backgrounds of the men, with college graduates more likely to seek the excitement of the prostitution encounter and non-graduates more likely to report difficulty in engaging in conventional relationships. Additionally, married men were more likely to desire a different kind of sex than their regular partners, and non-married men were more likely to avoid conventional relationships or report difficulty in securing them. Fortunately, some of the more sinister reasons for seeking out prostitution, because one likes rough sex or because one has a belief system that supports violence against women, appear to be less important for most men.

Some of the items may have direct relevance for intervention programs focusing on clients. The thrill of approaching a prostitute and the idea that prostitutes like to "get nasty" may reflect a naive fantasy about the lives and experiences of prostitutes that is easily debunked through education. Given adequate knowledge, approaching a prostitute may seem much less arousing.

Rape Myth Attitudes

Findings regarding rape myth acceptance seem to argue against a conception of the clients of street prostitutes as an unusual set of disturbed or perverted men. In particular, the clients of prostitutes do not seem to be more likely to endorse rape myths than other samples of men. One might argue that respondents in this sample altered their responses because it is socially undesirable to report negative attitudes such as these. However, there is no reason to suspect that endorsing rape myths would be more undesirable among these respondents than among other samples. Perhaps a better explanation for the relatively low levels of rape myth acceptance among the respondents in this sample might be that cultural changes have made misogyny less acceptable than it was when Burt conducted her study of rape myths in 1980.

While rape myth acceptance was not high in general, there were clear and convincing relationships between three other variables and rape myth acceptance. Rape myth acceptance was associated with an attraction to violent sexuality, sexual conservatism, and reporting that they think about sex less frequently.

The relationship between rape myths and sexual conservatism was hypothesized by Burt (1980) and supported empirically by Marolla & Scully (1986). Though being judgmental about sexuality may seem strange coming from men who have been arrested for trying to hire a prostitute, it may reflect a sexual double standard (Marolla & Scully, 1986) that sees women's sexuality as immoral, or it may reflect a moral consistency in which the prostitution client finds both his own and the prostitute's behavior as immoral. This may point to the existence to a small population of men who are at increased risk of perpetrating violence against women, men who are judgmental about sexuality, who are attracted to violent sexuality, and who have access to vulnerable women in isolated settings through prostitution. This group of men represents a challenge to those conducting client intervention programs and law enforcement officials as well.

Prostitution and Sexual Commodification

The nature of prostitution and the social policies related to it have been the subject of impassioned debate reflecting conflicting understandings of sexuality, gender relations and the exchange itself (Weitzer, 1991; 1993; Giobbe, 1994). Supporters of prostitution and the sex industry argue that women should be

allowed to freely make decisions concerning their bodies and that prostitution is a legitimate form of sexual expression (Jenness, 1993). Opponents argue that the decision to enter prostitution is often not made freely or that prostitution is intrinsically exploitative and degrading (Dworkin, 1993; Hunter, 1993; MacKinnon, 1987). The purpose of this study is not to resolve these ethical disputes but to shed light on a neglected aspect the phenomenon, the clients of prostitutes. If prostitution is conceived as an economic exchange, one of the glaring omissions in prostitution research and theory is on the demand side of the supply-demand equation.

Using an economic orientation to understand sexuality is not a new idea in the social sciences. Exchange theorists have pointed out that heterosexual partnerships may be based on the exchange of wealth and power for beauty and sexual access (Davis, 1937; Davis, 1990). Most articles invoking the concept of "commodification" tend to treat it as a problematic quality of some contemporary phenomenon (Martin and Hummer, 1987; Castile, 1996). Consistent with this perspective, the present study acknowledges that prostitution is, by definition, the commodification of sexuality. However, this study makes creative use of the concept of commodification by reconceiving it as a social psychological variable reflecting the degree to which male clients of female street prostitutes conceive of sexuality as a commodity rather than as an aspect of an intimate interpersonal relationship.

Findings indicate a strong relationship between frequency of prostitution encounters and this measure of commodification. Instead of seeing one as a cause of the other, commodification and prostitution encounters may be mutually reinforcing. If sex is depersonalized and conceived merely as a need to be met, then prostitution would seem to follow. Additionally, men with a commodified perspective toward sexuality might have difficulty establishing the intimate relationships that are often prerequisite to sexuality. On the other hand, impersonal sexual encounters, in which the client is no more than a customer, no more than his money, could lead the client to internalize that attitude and see sexuality as an economic exchange.

While one would expect to find a strong relationship between prostitution encounters and this measure of commodification, not all men who have been arrested for trying to hire a street prostitute have a commodified view of sexuality. In fact, about 11% of the respondents did not respond to any of the

indicators in ways that reflect commodification. How can it be that some of these men, arrested while trying to exchange money for sex, do not conceive of sexuality as a commodity? For many, prostitution is an occasional activity rather than their primary way of meeting their sexual needs. Most are involved in conventional sexual relationships with a regular partner. Others may downplay the monetary exchange present in prostitution, preferring to think of prostitutes as women who find them personally appealing and who have sex because they enjoy it (Jordan, 1997; Holzman and Pines, 1982). Additionally, there are many possible motives for seeking prostitution. Some include the desire for companionship, intimacy or love (Jordan, 1997). More often, men are attracted to prostitution by the desire to participate in sexual acts that they could not receive from their partners, the desire to have sex with a larger number of sexual partners, an attraction to specific physical characteristics, an interest in limited emotional involvement, and excitement due to the illicit nature of the act (Jordan, 1997; McKeganey and Bernard, 1996; Holzman and Pines, 1982), issues that would seem to reflect a commodified view of sexuality. But even men who seek prostitution for these reasons probably often desire sexuality with an intimate partner as well.

Rather than assuming the "essentialist perspective" (Satz, 1995) that there is something intrinsically wrong with impersonal sex or the exchange of sexuality for money, this analysis looks at the empirical consequences of the commodification of sexuality. As might be expected, commodification is associated with support or acceptance of prostitution and the belief that prostitution is positive for women. Were these variables unrelated to commodification it would be reasonable to question the construct validity of the measure. More disturbing are the strong relationships between commodification and rape myth acceptance, attraction to violent sexuality, and less frequent use of condoms while with prostitutes. All of these would seem to indicate that the commodified view of sexuality could lead to a lack of respect for or even violence against prostitutes and possibly other women as well.

As described earlier, empirical research and narrative accounts consistently reveal that prostitutes are frequent victims of violent crime, including beating and rape. The commodified view of sexuality associated with frequent prostitution encounters may help to explain this violence. Interestingly, frequency of prostitution encounters alone was not significantly associated with these disturbing attitudes. The findings seem to indicate that it is not prostitution itself, but the commodified treatment of sexuality that

often goes along with it, that is associated with these negative outcomes.

When prostitution is treated as an abstract issue, a mutually beneficial exchange of the sexual use of one's body for something of value, its problematic qualities may not be readily apparent. However, the strong relationship between prostitution and conceiving of sexuality as a commodity reveals that prostitution is not merely an abstract exchange. The commodification of sexuality is associated with a host of disturbing attitudes that are likely to have a negative impact on the lives of women, both prostitutes and non-prostitutes alike, and the clients themselves. The commodification measure used in this study is not prostitution specific; it reflects a conception of sexuality that would tend to objectify and dehumanize women and reduce sex to a consumer exchange. It is associated with an attraction to violence, belief in rape myths, decreased use of condoms and the naive belief that prostitution is positive for the women involved. Though one can argue on ethical grounds that people should have the legal capacity to make decisions about their bodies, including the decision to sell sex, the results of this study strongly argue against embracing prostitution as a positive form of sexual expression.

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Table 1. Background Characteristics

	<u>San Francisco</u> (N = 925)	<u>Las Vegas</u> (N = 251)	<u>Portland</u> (N = 76)	<u>Total</u> (N = 1262)
Race/Ethnicity				
White	57.4%	61.8%	77.6%	59.7%
Hispanic, Chicano, or Latino	18.5%	17.1%	3.9%	17.3%
Asian	15.6%	6.4%	7.9%	13.2%
Black	4.3%	10.4%	2.6%	5.4%
Other or Combination	4.2%	4.4%	7.9%	4.4%
Level of Education	(N = 941)	(N = 252)	(N = 77)	(N = 1280)
Did not graduate high school	7.1%	18.7%	9.1%	9.5%
High school graduate	15.3%	28.2%	18.2%	18.0%
Some college training	35.2%	38.1%	49.4%	36.9%
Received bachelors degree	28.6%	10.7%	22.1%	24.5%
Received graduate degree	13.8%	4.4%	1.3%	11.1%
Marital Status	(N = 941)	(N = 250)	(N = 76)	(N = 1277)
Married	43.5%	38.0%	35.5%	42.1%
Never married	35.6%	33.6%	35.5%	35.0%
Divorced	13.7%	18.8%	22.4%	15.3%
Separated	6.0%	6.8%	5.3%	6.1%
Widowed	1.3%	2.8%	1.3%	1.6%
Work Status	(N = 935)	(N = 249)	(N = 58)	(N = 1252)
Working full-time	81.8%	80.3%	75.9%	81.4%
Working part-time	5.7%	4.0%	10.3%	5.5%
Unemployed/Laid off	4.1%	5.2%	8.6%	4.5%
In school	2.8%	0.8%	0.0%	2.2%
Other	5.7%	9.6%	5.2%	6.4%
Age	(N = 950)	(N = 254)	(N = 77)	(N = 1291)
18-21	2.9%	3.5%	6.5%	3.3%
22-25	7.6%	12.2%	6.5%	8.4%
26-35	30.5%	30.3%	35.1%	30.8%
36-45	29.9%	26.8%	32.5%	29.5%
46-55	17.1%	14.6%	10.4%	16.1%
56-65	3.9%	5.9%	1.3%	4.3%
66 or older	8.1%	6.7%	7.8%	7.7%
Parents divorced as a child	(N = 909)	(N = 244)	(N = 77)	(N = 1232)
Yes	33.6%	42.2%	34.8%	35.3%
Touched sexually by adult while a child	(N = 910)	(N = 249)	(N = 69)	(N = 1238)
Yes	13.6%	10.8%	11.6%	12.9%

Physically hurt for no reason as child	(N = 909)	(N = 247)	(N = 67)	(N = 1233)
Yes	13.5%	12.6%	14.9%	13.5%
Served in Armed Forces	(N = 908)	(N = 257)	(N = 68)	(N = 1233)
Yes	23.3%	27.1%	45.6%	25.4%

Table 2. Arrested Clients Compared to a National Sample

	Arrested Clients (N=1114)	National Sample (N=1463)	X ² (DF)	First Timers (N=436)	Repeat Users (N=678)	X (DF)
Race of Respondent			134***			0.3
White	76.4%	84.6%	(3)	75.9%	76.7%	(2)
Black	5.3%	10.6%		5.0%	5.5%	
Other	18.3%	4.9%		19.0%	17.8%	
Age of Respondent	(N=1136)	(N=1463)	9.9*	(N=444)	(N=692)	4.4
18-25	13.2%	14.4%	(3)	15.1%	12.0%	(3)
26-35	34.9%	31.6%		36.5%	34.0%	
36-45	33.5%	31.3%		32.0%	34.5%	
46-55	18.3%	22.8%		16.4%	19.5%	
Highest Degree	(N=1131)	(N=1460)	503***	(N=440)	(N=691)	2.2
Less Than High School	9.2%	12.1%	(4)	9.5%	9.0%	(4)
High School	18.4%	52.3%		19.3%	17.8%	
Some College	37.4%	6.9%		37.5%	37.3%	
Bachelors Degree	24.3%	18.8%		24.5%	24.2%	
Graduate Study	10.7%	9.9%		9.1%	11.7%	
Labor Force Status	(N=1104)	(N=1463)	18***	(N=432)	(N=672)	7.3
Working Full Time	83.6%	77.0%	4	81.5%	83.0%	(4)
Working Part Time	5.3%	8.1%		5.8%	4.9%	
In School	2.3%	3.3%		3.2%	1.6%	
Unemployed/Laid Off	4.3%	5.4%		5.6%	3.4%	
Other	4.6%	6.1%		3.9%	5.1%	
Marital Status	(N=1127)	(N=1463)	69***	(N=442)	(N=685)	14***
Married	40.7%	55.8%	(4)	43.7%	38.8%	(4)
Widowed	0.9%	0.8%		1.8%	0.3%	
Divorced	15.4%	11.9%		12.9%	17.1%	
Separated	6.0%	2.4%		4.8%	6.9%	
Never Married	36.9%	29.1%		36.9%	36.9%	
Happiness of Marriage	(N=437)	(N=809)	148***	(N=178)	(N=259)	23***
Very Happy	38.0%	59.7%	(2)	51.1%	29.0%	(2)
Pretty Happy	39.6%	37.9%		33.7%	43.6%	
Not too Happy	22.4%	2.3%		15.2%	27.4%	
Numbers of Sex Partners in last year	(N=1124)	(N=1349)	373***	(N=441)	(N=683)	205***
0	9.0%	10.2%	(5)	12.7%	6.6%	(5)
1	37.0%	70.9%		58.7%	23.0%	
2	16.3%	8.2%		12.5%	18.7%	
3 to 4	17.6%	7.4%		9.8%	22.7%	
5 to 10	13.0%	2.8%		4.8%	18.3%	
11 or More	7.1%	0.6%		1.6%	10.7%	

Gender of sex partners during past year	(N=1088)	(N=1184)	63***	(N=422)	(N=666)	6.7*
Exclusively male	0.6%	2.8%	(2)	0.7%	0.5%	(2)
Both male and female	5.2%	0.5%		3.1%	6.6%	
Exclusively female	94.2%	96.7%		96.2%	92.9%	
Frequency of sex during last year	(N=1080)	(N=1317)	34***	(N=426)	(N=654)	15**
Not at all	9.4%	9.0%	(6)	13.1%	6.9%	(6)
Once or twice	8.9%	6.4%		10.1%	8.1%	
Once a month	15.2%	10.9%		14.3%	15.7%	
2-3 times a month	21.9%	18.5%		19.7%	23.2%	
Weekly	20.0%	21.7%		18.8%	20.8%	
2-3 times per week	17.5%	25.1%		16.7%	18.0%	
4 or more times per week	7.2%	8.4%		7.3%	7.2%	
Seen X-rated movies in last year	(N=1111)	(N=817)	205***	(N=434)	(N=677)	52***
yes	66.0%	33.0%	(1)	53.2%	74.2%	(1)
no	34.0%	67.0%		46.8%	25.8%	
Served in Armed Forces	(N=1088)	(N=476)	1.4	(N=420)	(N=668)	0.4
no	77.8%	75.0%	(1)	78.8%	77.1%	(1)
yes	22.2%	25.0%		21.2%	22.9%	
Acceptability of sex before marriage	(N=981)	(N=923)	51***	(N=374)	(N=607)	5.2
Always wrong	8.9%	16.7%	(3)	9.4%	8.6%	(3)
Almost always wrong	5.2%	7.7%		5.9%	4.8%	
Sometimes wrong	16.1%	21.0%		19.0%	14.3%	
Not at all wrong	69.8%	54.6%		65.8%	72.3%	
Acceptability of sex between teens 14-16	(N=997)	(N=932)	31***	(N=388)	(N=609)	4
Always wrong	49.0%	59.1%	(3)	52.1%	47.1%	(3)
Almost always wrong	21.8%	20.8%		21.4%	22.0%	
Sometimes wrong	16.8%	13.7%		16.5%	16.9%	
Not at all wrong	12.4%	6.3%		10.1%	14.0%	
Acceptability of homosexual sex	(N=907)	(N=958)	53***	(N=348)	(N=559)	13**
Always wrong	48.4%	65.0%	(3)	54.3%	44.7%	(3)
Almost always wrong	6.4%	5.0%		3.7%	8.1%	
Sometimes wrong	9.7%	6.8%		10.3%	9.3%	
Not at all wrong	35.5%	23.2%		31.6%	37.9%	
Acceptability of extramarital sex	(N=1030)	(N=986)	111***	(N=398)	(N=632)	4.9
Always wrong	53.0%	74.9%	(3)	56.3%	50.9%	(3)
Almost always wrong	25.5%	15.8%		25.6%	25.5%	
Sometimes wrong	16.6%	6.6%		14.3%	18.0%	
Not at all wrong	4.9%	2.8%		3.8%	5.5%	

*P<.05

**P<.01

***P<.001

Table 3. Responses to Sex Related Variables

	First Timer (N=487)	Repeat Users (N=729)	Chi- Squared (DF)	Total (1,236)
Sexual Orientation				
Strictly heterosexual	96.1%	93.0%	6.58*	94.3%
Experience with both	3.3%	6.6%	(2)	5.2%
Strictly homosexual	0.6%	0.4%		0.5%
Number of Sex Partners Past Year	(N=507)	(N=737)		(N=1271)
None	13.8%	5.8%	246.6***	9.4%
1	59%	23.3%	(5)	37.5%
2	12.2%	18.3%		16.1%
3 to 4	8.9%	23.2%		17.5%
5 to 10	4.7%	18.9%		12.8%
11 or more	1.4%	10.4%		6.8%
Frequency of Sex Past Year	(N=487)	(N=710)		(N=1219)
Never	14.4%	6.1%	30.0***	9.8%
Once or twice	10.7%	7.6%	(6)	8.8%
About once per month	13.6%	16.9%		15.5%
2-3 times per month	19.7%	22.8%		21.3%
About once per week	18.1%	20.6%		19.6%
2-3 times per week	16.2%	19.2%		17.8%
More than 3 times per week	7.4%	6.9%		7.2%
Similarity of sexual desire with partner	(N=349)	(N=493)		(N=853)
Partner much more	7.2%	5.1%	23.0***	6.0%
Partner somewhat more	7.7%	8.5%	(4)	8.2%
About equally	47.6%	35.7%		40.3%
I am somewhat more	24.4%	25.8%		25.3%
I am much more	13.2%	24.9%		20.2%
Similarity of sexual interests	(N=341)	(N=488)		(N=838)
Very similar	47.8%	27.5%	39.5***	35.8%
Somewhat similar	35.2%	42.8%	(3)	39.6%
Somewhat different	11.4%	20.9%		16.9%
Very different	5.6%	8.8%		7.6%
How often look at porn magazines	(N=501)	(N=735)		(N=1261)
Never	43.9%	25.4%	51.7***	33.0%
Less than once a month	34.9%	41.6%	(5)	39.1%
One to a few times a month	14.4%	20.1%		17.7%
One to a few times a week	5.8%	10.9%		8.7%
Everyday	1%	1.4%		1.2%
Several times a day	0%	0.5%		0.3%

How often watch porn videos	(N=502)	(N=733)		(N=980)
Never	48.4%	26.6%	65.2***	35.8%
Less than once a month	28.7%	38.3%	(5)	34.3%
One to a few times a month	16.3%	22.5%		19.8%
One to a few times a week	4.8%	8.4%		7%
Everyday	1.8%	3.7%		2.9%
Several times a day	0%	0.4%		0.2%
Age of first sexual encounter with a prostitute	(N=515)	(N=747)		(N=1291)
9 to 17	9.1%	15.8%	386.8***	13.2%
18 to 25	25.4%	53.5%	(4)	41.3%
26 to 35	9.3%	20.2%		15.6%
36 to 45	3.1%	5.8%		4.6%
45 or over	53%	4.7%		25.4%
How often sex with prostitute over past year	(N=515)	(N=747)		(N=1262)
None	52.2%		NA	21.3%
Once		35.3%		20.9%
Less than once per month		47.8%		28.3%
1 to 3 times per month		13.3%		7.8%
1 to 2 times per week		2.4%		1.4%
3 to 4 times per week		0.5%		0.3%
5 or more per week		0.7%		0.4%
Not applicable	47.8%			19.5%
Circumstances of first encounter	(N=259)	(N=739)		(N=1007)
Buddies set it up	29%	21.4%	33.2***	23.3%
Prostitute approached	36.3%	31.4%	(6)	32.7%
Approached prostitute without others knowing	16.2%	34.6%		29.8%
Family member set it up	5.8%	3.4%		4.2%
Visited a brothel	4.2%	2.7%		3.1%
During military service	1.5%	1.1%		1.2%
Other	6.9%	5.4%		5.8%
Most common sexual activity with prostitute	(N=217)	(N=712)		(N=934)
Fellatio	48.8%	52.4%	38.1***	51.7%
Vaginal sex	13.4%	11.5%	(6)	12%
Half and half (oral and vaginal)	7.4%	10.8%		10%
Hand job	9.7%	4.5%		5.7%
Anal sex	1.4%	0.7%		0.9%
Checked 2 or more	12.4%	19%		17.3%
Other	6.9%	1.1%		2.5%

What activities have you ever participated in with prostitute	(N=258)	(N=738)		(N=1003)
Fellatio	73.6%	83.7%	NA	81.1%
Vaginal sex	43.8%	58.8%		54.9%
Half and half	21.7%	40.9%		35.8%
Hand job	27.9%	37.3%		34.6%
Anal sex	4.3%	12.2%		10.2%
Cunnilingus	5.8%	10.8%		9.5%
Watching her with someone else	3.1%	2.6%		2.7%
Taking photos or videos	2.3%	2.6%		2.5%
How often use condoms with prostitute	(N=243)	(N=731)		(N=988)
Never	4.9%	4%	18.9**	4.3%
Seldom	1.6%	3.3%	(4)	2.9%
Sometimes	4.5%	8.6%		7.6%
Often	6.2%	13.8%		11.8%
Always	82.7%	70.3%		73.4%
	*P<.05	**P<.01	***P<.001	

Table 4. Motives for Seeking Prostitutes

(Percentage agreeing to the statements)

Statement	Total	Repeat User	First Timer	College Graduate	Not Graduate	Married	Not Married
I have difficulty meeting women who are not nude dancers or prostitutes.	21.9%	26.3%*	15.3%	17.3%*	24.7%	19.3%	23.9%
I think most women find me unattractive physically.	23.9%	25.0%	22.1%	17.2%*	27.6%	23.4%	24.1%
I want a different kind of sex than my regular partner.	41.3%	49.7%*	29.0%	48.6%*	36.7%	49.6%*	34.8%
I am shy and awkward when I am trying to meet a woman.	41.7%	46.7%*	33.7%	34.8%*	45.5%	33.9%	47.1%
I would rather have sex with a prostitute than have a conventional relationship with a woman.	17.8%	22.8%*	10.4%	18.9%	17.3%	18.9%	17.1%
I am excited by the idea of approaching a prostitute.	43.7%	53.6%*	29.3%	55.5%*	37.2%	46.0%	2.3%
I don't have the time for a conventional relationship.	32.0%	36.1%*	25.4%	33.3%	31.3%	27.3%*	35.4%
I don't want the responsibilities of a conventional relationship.	27.7%	32.4%*	20.6%	28.0%	27.4%	23.2%	31.3%
I like to have a variety of sexual partners.	42.2%	52.8%*	26.3%	54.8%*	35.0%	40.8%	43.4%
I like to be in control when I'm having sex.	41.8%	44.6%*	37.0%	38.9%	43.2%	38.6%	44.1%
I like to be with a woman who likes to get nasty.	53.2%	59.4%*	44.1%	53.9%	53.0%	51.0%	54.9%
I need to have sex immediately when I am aroused.	31.3%	36.2%*	23.9%	30.6%	31.8%	31.2%	31.2%
I like rough, hard sex.	19.6%	21.0%	17.5%	17.0%*	21.1%	14.9%*	22.9%

Pearson Chi-squared test significant at $P < .01$

Table 5. Responses to Rape Myth Items

<u>Item</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Percentage Selecting Each Response</u>
A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex. (N=1185)	Strongly Agree	4.6%
	Somewhat Agree	17.7%
	Somewhat Disagree	27.3%
	Strongly Disagree	50.4%
When women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble. (N=1190)	Strongly Agree	6.8%
	Somewhat Agree	22.3%
	Somewhat Disagree	27.4%
	Strongly Disagree	43.5%
In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation. (N=1167)	Strongly Agree	4.8%
	Somewhat Agree	11.5%
	Somewhat Disagree	25.8%
	Strongly Disagree	57.9%
If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her. (N=1165)	Strongly Agree	4.4%
	Somewhat Agree	10.6%
	Somewhat Disagree	21.8%
	Strongly Disagree	63.3%
Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve. (N=1171)	Strongly Agree	3.3%
	Somewhat Agree	5.0%
	Somewhat Disagree	12.5%
	Strongly Disagree	79.2%
A women who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson. (N=1168)	Strongly Agree	2.4%
	Somewhat Agree	3.8%
	Somewhat Disagree	8.1%
	Strongly Disagree	85.7%

What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse? (N=1196)	Almost All	4.5%
	About Three-Fourths	7.4%
	About Half	15.6%
	About One Fourth	26.8%
	Almost none	45.7%
What percentage of reported rapes would you guess are merely invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their own reputation? (N=1183)	Almost All	3.6%
	About Three Fourths	5.6%
	About Half	13.3%
	About One Fourth	26.9%
	Almost none	50.6%

Table 6. Correlation and Regression Coefficients of Selected Variables with Rape Myth Acceptance

	Pearson Correlation Coefficient	Standard Regression Coefficients All Variables	Standard Regression Coefficients Selected Equation
	r	Beta	Beta
Married Currently	-0.029	0.009	
Age	-0.016	0.06	
Served in armed forces	0.023	-0.033	
Experienced abuse as a child	0.038	0.03	
Participation in sexual violence	0.131***	NA	
Number of sexual partners in past year	-0.102**	NA	
Frequency of sex in past year	-0.116***	-0.031	
How often think about sex	-0.306***	-0.253***	-0.27***
Use of Pornography	-0.045	-0.007	
Sexual Conservatism	0.235***	0.211***	0.211***
Violent Sexuality Appealing	0.48***	0.439***	0.427***
Frequency of prostitution in past year	-0.023	0.031	

*P<.05 **P<.01 ***P<.001

Summary statistics for equation including all variables

r=.567 adjusted r^2 =.311 std. error=4.201 regression df=10 residual df=632

Summary statistics for selected equation

r=.562 adjusted r^2 =.312 std. error=4.196 regression df=3 residual df=627

Table 7. Frequencies of Commodification Items and Corrected Item-Total Correlations for Items After Standardization

Item	Percentage Each Response	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
How many sex partners have you had in the last 12 months?		.32
None	10.1	
1	34.0	
2	15.2	
3	10.2	
4	7.3	
5-10	14.9	
11-20	5.4	
21-100 partners	2.3	
More than 100	0.4	
(For those with more than one partner) Was one of the partners your husband or wife or regular sexual partner?		
Yes	88.4%	.23
No	11.6%	
On the average, how often do you look at pornographic magazines?		.31
Never	31.6	
Less than once a month	39.8	
One to a few times a month	19.8	
One to a few times a week	6.9	
Every day	1.6	
Several times a day	0.3	
On the average, how often do you watch pornographic movies or videos?		.32
Never	35.6	
Less than once a month	34.6	
One to a few times a month	20.7	
One to a few times a week	5.8	
Every day	3.0	
Several times a day	0.3	
I would rather have sex with a prostitute than have a conventional relationship with a woman.		
Agree Strongly	4.2	.42
Agree Somewhat	15.1	
Disagree Somewhat	18.1	
Disagree Strongly	62.6	
I don't have the time for a conventional relationship.		.41
Agree Strongly	14.0	
Agree Somewhat	19.3	
Disagree Somewhat	19.7	
Disagree Strongly	47.0	
I don't want the responsibilities of a conventional relationship.		.39
Agree Strongly	11.4	
Agree Somewhat	18.1	
Disagree Somewhat	17.5	
Disagree Strongly	53.0	
I like to be in control when I'm having sex		0.26
Agree Strongly	12.3	
Agree Somewhat	29.5	
Disagree Somewhat	31.1	
Disagree Strongly	27.1	
I need to have sex immediately when I am aroused.		.33
Agree Strongly	8.2	
Agree Somewhat	27.9	
Disagree Somewhat	30.3	
Disagree Strongly	33.6	

Table 8. Complete Wording for Multi-Item Measures and Correlations of All Variables with Commodification

Correlation w/
Commodification

- .11* **Sexual Liberalism**
 --There's been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. If a man and woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is
 --What if they are in their early teens, say 14 to 16 years old? In that case, do you think sex relations before marriage are
 --What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex--do you think it is
 --What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the marriage partner--is it
- .24*** **Rape Myth Acceptance**
 --What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?
 --What percentage of reported rapes would you guess are merely invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their own reputation?
 --A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex.
 --When women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble.
 --In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.
 --If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her.
 --Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve.
 --A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson.
- .25*** **Attraction to Violent Sexuality**
 --I like rough hard sex.
 --Sex is more fun if the woman fights a little.
 --Some women like to be smacked around a little during sex.
 --Being angry makes me more likely to want sex.
- .22*** **Support/Normalization of Prostitution**
 --Prostitution creates a lot of problems for the world. (reversed)
 --I think that the cops should crack down on prostitution. (reversed)
 --Prostitution doesn't really harm anybody.
 --There is nothing wrong with prostitution.
 --If I were thinking about getting married, I wouldn't mind marrying a prostitute.
 --Prostitution should be legalized.
 --Prostitution should be de-criminalized.
 --It would be OK if my daughter grew up to be a prostitute.
 --It would be OK if my son went to prostitutes.
 --Most men go to prostitutes once in a while.
- .16** **Prostitution Positive for Women**
 --I think prostitutes like sex more than other women.
 --Most prostitutes make a lot of money.
 --Women are prostitutes because they want to be. It's their choice.
 --Prostitutes enjoy their work.
 --Prostitutes genuinely like men.
- .15** **Married**
- .04 **Divorced as a Child**
- .08 **Physically Hurt as a Child**
- .11* **Military Service**
- .19*** **Frequency of Condom Use with Prostitutes**

* = p<.05; ** = p<.01; *** = p<.001

Appendix A. Articles Prepared During Grant Period

Martin Monto. 1999 (Forthcoming). "The Clients of Street Prostitutes." In Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography and the Sex Industry, Ron Weitzer, editor. New York:Routledge.

Martin Monto. "Rape Myth Acceptance Among the Male Clients of Female Street Prostitutes." Presented at the annual meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association, April, 1998. Currently under review in Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.

Martin Monto. "Prostitution and Fellatio." Currently under review in Journal of Sex Research.

Martin Monto. "Prostitution and Human Commodification." Presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, August 1999.

Martin Monto. "Meaningful Differences: A Comparison of the Male Clients of Prostitutes with a National Sample." Presented at the annual meetings of the Pacific Sociological Association, April 1999.

Appendix B. Profile of San Francisco's First Offender Prostitution Program

Introduction

The following is designed to provide an overview of San Francisco's First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP), a one-day diversion program designed to teach men arrested for trying to hire prostitutes about the legal, social, and health-related consequences of engaging in prostitution. The program has received world-wide attention and has served as a model for similar programs in Santa Clara and Fresno, California, and Las Vegas, Nevada. In cooperation with the National Institute of Justice, interested communities were invited to attend a demonstration of the program in February, 1999. A number of communities nationwide are in the planning stages of such a program.

Program Organization

The First Offender program is run under the direction of the San Francisco District Attorney with the cooperation of the San Francisco Police Department and a community-based organization called Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE). The DA's office determines eligibility, provides the facilities, schedules the programs, presents a session on the legal consequences of repeat offenses, and handles administrative responsibilities. The police introduce the program and the program participants, provide supportive commentary throughout the program, keep order during the program, and provide offenders, arresting customers through sweeps in which female police officers pose as prostitutes. SAGE representatives present two sessions during the program. And a proportion of the fees from the program are directed to services provided to prostitutes and former prostitutes by SAGE. Norma Hotaling, Executive Director of SAGE, Police Lieutenant Joe Dutto, and Assistant District Attorney Terri Jackson were largely responsible for designing the First Offenders Program. The program also benefits from the participation of neighborhood representatives and representatives of the San Francisco Department of Public Health.

Eligibility

Individuals arrested for violating California Penal Code 647, subdivision (b), engaging or soliciting the act of prostitution, who have had no previous arrests for violating that code within the past 10 years or no more than two arrests for violating that code prior to the past 10 years may participate in the First Offenders Program. Participants pay a \$500 fee (on a sliding scale) to participate, and in turn have their criminal case discharged. Participants must be adults, must not be registered sex offenders, and must have no criminal history of battery, domestic violence, spousal abuse, sexual assault, child assault, or weapons offenses. Participants need not be San Francisco residents.

Philosophy

The First Offenders Prostitution Program addresses the demand side of the supply-demand equation by recognizing that customers play an essential role in perpetuating prostitution. The program sees prostitution as an institution built on violence, sexual exploitation, poverty, and misogyny. The one-day workshop provides a potent range of information that provides customers with many reasons not to re-offend.

Program Content

As participants arrive, they register and complete a questionnaire designed to provide information on the demographic characteristics, attitudes, and reported behavior of the participants. The first session, entitled "Prostitution Laws and Street Facts" is presented by an individual from the District Attorney's Office. This individual vividly describes the legal consequences of re-offenses as well as the unpleasant experience of a second trip through the criminal justice system, from arrest to case disposition. The second session, "Sexually Transmitted Diseases, HIV Risk, Prevention, and Treatment," is a grim and graphic depiction, complete with slide show, of the HIV and STD risks of prostitution contacts. The third session, "HIV Risks

and Effects of Prostitution on Women's Lives, etc.," arguably the most creative aspect of the program, consists of the testimony of three former prostitutes now associated with SAGE, who describe the circumstances that led them into prostitution, the abuse they suffered as prostitutes, and how they really felt about the customers they encountered.

Following an hour lunch break, the program resumes with session four, "Effects of Prostitution on Neighborhoods, and Businesses," which consists of the testimony of neighborhood residents and business owners from areas that are hard hit by prostitution. The fifth session, conducted by a representative from SAGE, usually the Executive Director, describes sexual trafficking, the dynamics of pimping, and child prostitution, highlighting the non-consensual nature of prostitution for many women involved. The program concludes with a presentation on sexual addiction, sexual compulsivity, and intimacy issues, designed to help men learn to recognize and resist urges that may seem difficult to control. Following this session, participants complete an evaluation.

Resource Persons for Those Interested in FOPP:

Norma Hotaling, Executive Director
SAGE
1275 Mission Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 905-5050

Corolyn Peake
National Institute of Justice
Office of Development and Communication
810 7th Street NW
Washington, DC 20531
(202) 616-3234

Lisa Ortiz
FOPP Program Coordinator
Hall of Justice
850 Bryant Street
San Francisco, CA
(415) 553-9743

This information was compiled by Martin Monto. Portions of this profile were drawn directly from materials provided by the office of the District Attorney.

Appendix C. Profile of Portland's Sexual Exploitation Education Project

Introduction

The following is designed to provide an overview of Portland, Oregon's Sexual Exploitation Education Project (SEEP), a 15-hour weekend workshop designed to teach men arrested for trying to hire prostitutes about the realities of the sex industry and its exploitative nature. The program received national attention and provided workshops to about 100 men. The program ceased operations in 1997 when the Multnomah County District Attorney's Office stopped recommending it during sentencing.

Program Organization

The Sexual Exploitation Education Project was a community-based organization with no formal ties to the Police Department or the District Attorney's Office. It was formed by activists in an effort to hold men accountable for prostitution rather than simply addressing the issue by arresting prostitutes. The founders of SEEP had close ties to two other community-based organizations that continue to function, the Portland Women's Crisis Line and the Council for Prostitution Alternatives. Under an informal agreement with Judges of the Multnomah County District Court and the District Attorney's Office, men convicted of prostitution, were sent to the workshop in exchange for a reduced fine or simply required to attend as a condition of probation.

Eligibility

There were no formal eligibility requirements for participation in the SEEP workshop. Virtually all of the men who attended had been convicted of soliciting prostitution and sent to SEEP as part of their sentencing.

Philosophy

The philosophy of the Sexual Exploitation Education Project was explicitly feminist, drawing on the ideas of Andrea Dworkin and Catharine McKinnon as well as local feminist organizations in direct contact with prostitutes, such as the Council for Prostitution Alternatives. SEEP defined prostitution not as a victimless crime but as a crime with victims, emphasizing the high rates of violence experienced by prostitutes. Additionally, SEEP defined prostitution not as the behavior of consenting adults but as the product of coercion compelled by fear of violence or dire economic circumstances. A fundamental orientation of the program was to make men more accountable for prostitution by focusing on customers rather than seeing prostitutes as responsible for the problem. The SEEP workshop was designed to accomplish three ambitious goals: 1) to reframe prostitution from a "victimless crime" to a system of violence against women; 2) to deconstruct male sexual identity to identify how men's socialization leads to an increased propensity for committing acts of violence against women; and 3) to stress the choice and responsibility that men have for creating egalitarian relationships without coercion or violence.

Program Content

The SEEP workshops were small (limited to 12 participants) and consisted primarily of group exercises led by four facilitators, two men and two women. One of the objectives of the facilitators was to model healthy and non-violent relationships between men and women. While a full elaboration of the curriculum is beyond the scope of this profile, the following overview captures some of the most essential elements.

The workshop began on a Friday evening with registration and completion of a questionnaire designed to provide information on the demographic characteristics, attitudes, and reported behavior of the participants. Following an introduction that laid out the rules of the workshop and explained its purpose

and agenda, participants role-played a conversation between a father and son in which the son was told to "act like a man." A discussion and exercise followed in which participants identified what is meant by acting like a man and the problems associated with this version of masculinity. The subsequent exercise asked participants to identify the values associated with the phrase "act like a lady." Facilitators argued that a woman's failure to meet these "pedestal values" is often used to justify violence against her. These sessions like all the subsequent sessions, ended with a "closing go-round," in which participants reflected on what they had learned and what the implications were for their own circumstances, and an evaluation in which participants discussed the strengths and weakness of the sessions.

The Saturday morning workshops sessions included discussions about sexual socialization in pairs, a group discussion about pornography, and a documentary video on pornography. Facilitators argued that pornography consists of pictures of prostitution.

The Saturday afternoon sessions included a "speakout" by three former prostitutes associated with the Council for Prostitution Alternatives, who described the circumstances that led them into prostitution, the abuse they suffered as prostitutes, and how they really felt about the customers they encountered. Other sessions included a role-play in which participants took on the roles of prostitute and pimp during the solicitation process.

Sunday sessions included exercises focusing on how men felt after an experience with a prostitute or pornography, how men had participated in or contributed to sexual violence, and what they personally could do to stop sexual violence. The workshop concluded with a presentation on sexually transmitted diseases, closing comments by the participants, and an evaluation of the entire workshop.

Resource Person for Those Interested in SEEP:

Tess Wiseheart, Executive Director
Portland Women's Crisis Line
P.O. Box 42610
Portland, OR 97242
(503) 232-9751

Appendix D. Questionnaire

We want to begin by gathering a little information about your background. PLEASE PLACE AN X NEXT TO THE ANSWER THAT BEST APPLIES TO YOU UNLESS GIVEN OTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

1. Which of the following best describes you?

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ Hispanic, Chicano, or Latino
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Native American, Indian, or Inuit
- ☐ none of the above. Please describe _____

2. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ☐ did not graduate from high school
- ☐ graduated from high school
- ☐ some college or training after high school
- ☐ received a bachelor's degree from a college or university
- ☐ received a masters degree or a higher degree

3. How would you describe your sexual orientation?

- ☐ straight (heterosexual)
- ☐ straight but have had some sexual experience with men
- ☐ bisexual
- ☐ gay but have had some sexual experience with women
- ☐ gay (homosexual)

4. Which of the following best describes your marital status? Are you currently

- ☐ Married
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Separated
- ☐ Never married

If you are not married, skip the next question and go to number 6.

5. Taking things all together, how would you describe your marriage? Would you say that your marriage is

- ☐ Very happy
- ☐ Not too happy
- ☐ Pretty happy
- ☐ Don't know

6. Which of the following best describes your work status during the last week. Were you

- ☐ Working full time
- ☐ Working part time
- ☐ Holding a job, but not at work because of temporary illness, vacation, or strike
- ☐ Unemployed, laid off, or looking for work
- ☐ Retired
- ☐ In school
- ☐ Keeping house
- ☐ Other (Please explain) _____

FOR THE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS, WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

7. If you work, what do you do for a living? _____

8. How old are you? (Write a number) _____

The following questions ask about your sexual opinions and practices. PLACE AN X NEXT TO THE ANSWER THAT BEST APPLIES TO YOU.

9. How many sex partners have you had in the last 12 months?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| ☐ No Partners | ☐ 5-10 partners |
| ☐ 1 partner | ☐ 11-20 partners |
| ☐ 2 partners | ☐ 21-100 partners |
| ☐ 3 partners | ☐ More than 100 partners |
| ☐ 4 partners | |

10. About how often did you have sex during the last 12 months?

- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ Once or twice
- ☐ About once a month
- ☐ 2 or 3 times a month
- ☐ About once a week
- ☐ 2 or 3 times a week
- ☐ More than 3 times a week
- ☐ Don't know

11. Was one of the partners your husband or wife or regular sexual partner? (CIRCLE YES OR NO)

Yes No

If you are married or have a regular sexual partner, answer questions 12 and 13, if not go the question 14.

12. Now, thinking about the sexual relationship you have with your wife or partner...How similar are your sexual interests?

- ☐ very similar
- ☐ somewhat similar
- ☐ somewhat different
- ☐ very different

13. How similar are your levels of sexual desire (wanting to have sex)

- ☐ partner is much more interested
- ☐ partner is somewhat more interested
- ☐ we are about equally interested
- ☐ I am somewhat more interested than my partner
- ☐ I am much more interested than my partner

14. On the average, how often do you think about sex?

- ☐ Never think about sex
- ☐ Less than once a month
- ☐ One to a few times a month
- ☐ One to a few times a week
- ☐ Every day
- ☐ Several times a day

15. On the average, how often do you look at pornographic magazines?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Less than once a month
- ☐ One to a few times a month
- ☐ One to a few times a week
- ☐ Every day
- ☐ Several times a day

16. On the average, how often do watch pornographic movies or videos?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Less than once a month
- ☐ One to a few times a month
- ☐ One to a few times a week
- ☐ Every day
- ☐ Several times a day

17. How often does thinking about sex make you feel guilty?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Nearly always

18. There's been a lot of discussion about the way morals and attitudes about sex are changing in this country. If a man and woman have sex relations before marriage, do you think it is

- ☐ Always wrong
- ☐ Almost always wrong
- ☐ Wrong only sometimes
- ☐ Not wrong at all
- ☐ Don't know

19. What if they are in their early teens, say 14 to 16 years old? In that case, do you think sex relations before marriage are

- ☐ Always wrong
- ☐ Almost always wrong
- ☐ Wrong only sometimes
- ☐ Not wrong at all
- ☐ Don't know

20. What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex--do you think it is

- ☐ Always wrong
- ☐ Almost always wrong
- ☐ Wrong only sometimes
- ☐ Not wrong at all
- ☐ Don't know

21. What is your opinion about a married person having sexual relations with someone other than the marriage partner--is it

- ☐ Always wrong
- ☐ Almost always wrong
- ☐ Wrong only sometimes
- ☐ Not wrong at all
- ☐ Don't know

22. What about sexual relations between adults and children, say a 30 year old and a 10 year-old--do you think it is

- ☐ Always wrong
- ☐ Almost always wrong
- ☐ Wrong only sometimes
- ☐ Not wrong at all
- ☐ Don't know

23. What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?

- ☐ almost all
- ☐ about 3/4
- ☐ about half
- ☐ about 1/4
- ☐ almost none

24. What percentage of reported rapes would you guess are merely invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their own reputation?

- ☐ almost all
- ☐ about 3/4
- ☐ about half
- ☐ about 1/4
- ☐ almost none

Many men visit prostitutes at some time during their lives. The next several questions ask about your actual experiences with a prostitute. Please be honest. Remember your answers are totally confidential and cannot affect your life in any way. If you have never been with a prostitute, you may skip to question 31.

25. How old were you when you first had sex with a prostitute? _____

26. What were the circumstances in which you first had sex with a prostitute?

- ☐ A group of buddies set me up.
- ☐ I approached a prostitute on my own without anyone else knowing.
- ☐ A family member or relative set me up.
- ☐ A prostitute approached me and asked if I was interested.
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____

27. About how often during the last year have you had sexual relations with a prostitute.

- ☐ never
- ☐ only one time
- ☐ more than one time but less than once per month
- ☐ one to three times per month
- ☐ once or twice per week
- ☐ three or four times per week
- ☐ five or more times per week

28. What kind of sexual activities have you ever participated in with a prostitute at least one time? **(PLACE AN X NEXT TO ALL THAT APPLY).**

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ blow job | ☐ vaginal sex |
| ☐ anal sex | ☐ hand job |
| ☐ half and half | ☐ gang bangs |
| ☐ tying her up | ☐ having her tie you up |
| ☐ cunnilingus | ☐ watching her with someone else |
| ☐ taking photos or videos | |
| ☐ other: Please describe _____ | |

29. What kind of sexual activity do you engage in most often with a prostitute. (PLACE AN X NEXT TO ONE).

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ blow job | ☐ vaginal sex |
| ☐ anal sex | ☐ hand job |
| ☐ half and half | ☐ gang bangs |
| ☐ tying her up | ☐ having her tie you up |
| ☐ cunnilingus | ☐ watching her with someone else |
| ☐ taking photos or videos | |
| ☐ other: Please describe _____ | |

30. How often do you wear a condom when participating in sexual activity with a prostitute?

- ☐ never
☐ seldom
☐ sometimes
☐ often
☐ always

Next we have a set of yes or no questions about your experiences and behavior. (PLEASE CIRCLE YES OR NO.)

- | | | |
|-----|----|--|
| Yes | No | 31. Have either of your parents ever been divorced? |
| Yes | No | 32. When you were a child, were you ever touched or grabbed by an adult in a sexual way? |
| Yes | No | 33. When you were a child, were you ever physically hurt by an adult for no reason? |
| Yes | No | 34. Have you ever served your country in the Armed Forces? |
| Yes | No | 35. Do you always try to help others? |
| Yes | No | 36. Do you sometimes get mad when you don't get your way? |
| Yes | No | 37. Have you ever tried to hurt someone else's feelings? |
| Yes | No | 38. Are you always a good listener? |
| Yes | No | 39. During the last year did you have serious trouble with your wife or partner? |
| Yes | No | 40. During the last year did you separate from your wife or partner? |
| Yes | No | 41. During the last year did you break up with a steady girlfriend or fiancé? |
| Yes | No | 42. Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to because you threatened to use physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.) if she didn't cooperate? |
| Yes | No | 43. Have you ever had sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to because you used some degree of physical force (twisting your her arm, holding her down, etc.)? |

Now, we want to know your opinions about several different issues. PLEASE RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY PUTTING A NUMBER IN THE BLANK TO INDICATE WHETHER YOU

- 1=Agree Strongly
2=Agree Somewhat
3=Disagree Somewhat
4=Disagree Strongly

- ☐ 44. I have difficulty meeting women who are not nude dancers or prostitutes.
☐ 45. I think most women find me unattractive physically.
☐ 46. I want a different kind of sex than my regular partner.
☐ 47. I am shy and awkward when I am trying to meet a woman.
☐ 48. I would rather have sex with a prostitute than have a conventional relationship with a woman.
☐ 49. I am excited by the idea of approaching a prostitute.
☐ 50. I don't have the time for a conventional relationship.
☐ 51. I don't want the responsibilities of a conventional relationship.
☐ 52. I like to have a variety of sexual partners.
☐ 53. I like to be in control when I'm having sex.
☐ 54. I like to be with a woman who really likes to have sex.
☐ 55. I like to be with a woman who likes to get nasty.

- ___ 56. I need to have sex immediately when I am aroused.
- ___ 57. I like rough hard sex.
- ___ 58. Men have a greater need for sex than women
- ___ 59. I think prostitutes like sex more than other women.
- ___ 60. Prostitutes usually like sex a little rougher than other women.
- ___ 61. Prostitution creates a lot of problems for the world.
- ___ 62. I think that the cops should crack down on prostitution.
- ___ 63. Prostitution doesn't really harm anybody.
- ___ 64. A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex.
- ___ 65. When women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble.
- ___ 66. In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.
- ___ 67. If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her.
- ___ 68. Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve.
- ___ 69. A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson.
- ___ 70. Sex is more fun if the woman fights a little.
- ___ 71. Some women like to be smacked around a little during sex.
- ___ 72. Being angry makes me more likely to want sex.
- ___ 73. There is nothing wrong with prostitution.
- ___ 74. If I were thinking about getting married, I wouldn't mind marrying a prostitute.
- ___ 75. Prostitution should be legalized.
- ___ 76. Prostitutes are victims of pimps.
- ___ 77. Most prostitutes make a lot of money.
- ___ 78. Prostitution should be de-criminalized.
- ___ 79. It would be OK if my daughter grew up to be a prostitute.
- ___ 80. Women are prostitutes because they want to be. It's their choice.
- ___ 81. As long as a man's wife doesn't know about it, there is no harm done to the marriage if the man goes to prostitutes.
- ___ 82. Most men prefer young prostitutes.
- ___ 83. Prostitutes enjoy their work.
- ___ 84. It would be OK if my son went to prostitutes.
- ___ 85. Men who go to prostitutes have broken their marriage vows.
- ___ 86. Prostitutes genuinely like men.
- ___ 87. Most men go to prostitutes once in a while.

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

Figure 1. Initial Path Model
 Eliptical Reweighted Least Squares Method

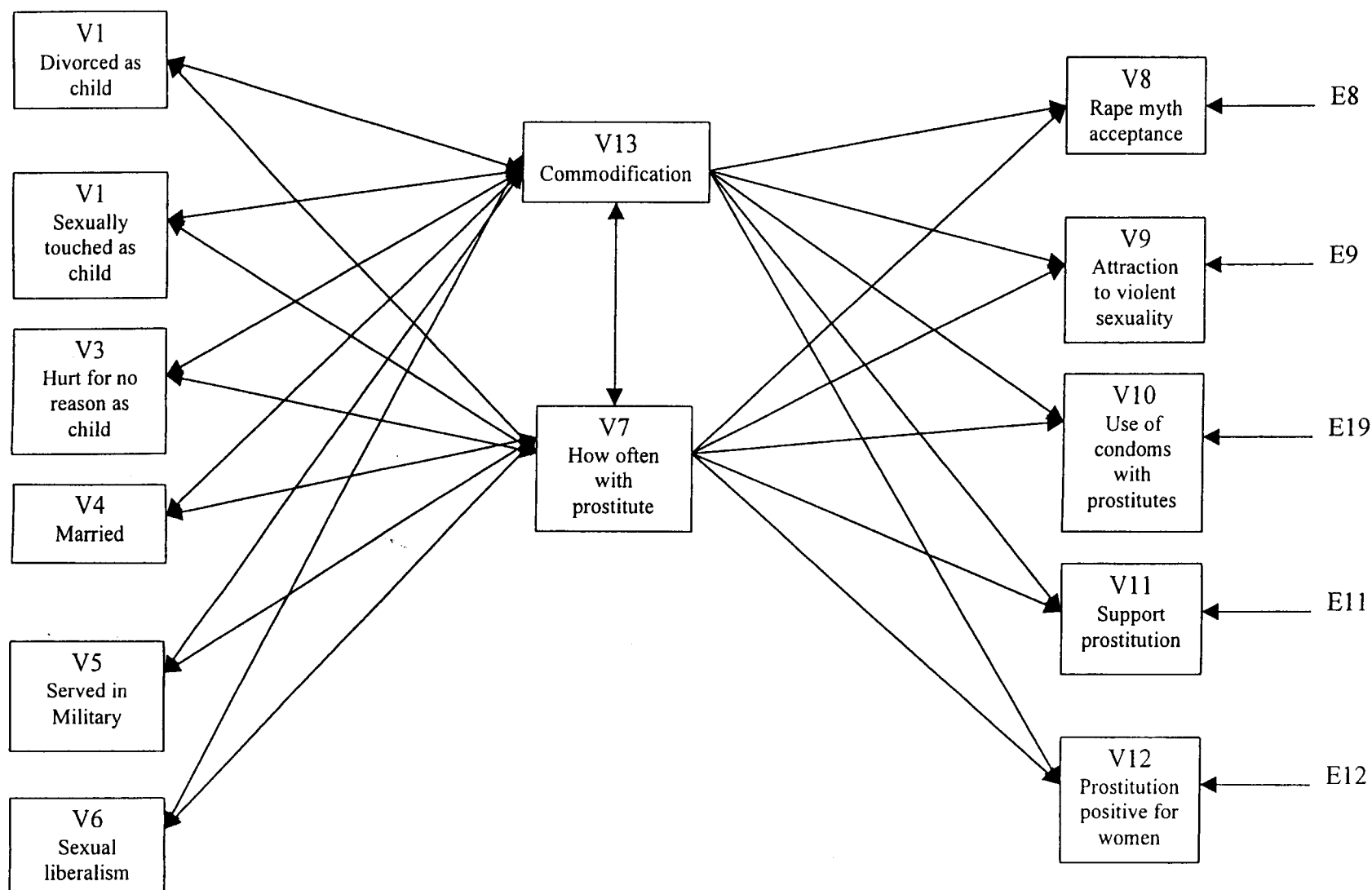


Figure 2. Selected Model
Standardized Parameter Estimates
Elliptical Reweighted Least Squares Method

