

Childhood Victimization:
Antecedents to Prostitution

by

Susan Nadon

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of
Masters of Arts
in
Department of Psychology

Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) Susan Nadon, 1992



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-81669-4

Canada

CHILDHOOD VICTIMIZATION:
ANTECEDENTS TO PROSTITUTION

BY

SUSAN NADON

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1993

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to
lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm
this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to
publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts
from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

I authorize the University of Manitoba to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Susan Nadon

I further authorize the University of Manitoba to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Susan Nadon

The University of Manitoba requires the signatures of all persons using or photocopying this thesis. Please sign below, and give address and date.

ABSTRACT

Many adolescents who run from intolerable home situations depend on prostitution for survival. The body of research which has accumulated suggests that particular family experiences and adolescent behaviours are characteristic of prostitutes. However, few investigations utilized a comparison group of nonprostitutes. Although a link between childhood-sexual victimization and prostitution has been suggested in the research literature, some previous findings are contradictory. The purpose of the present study was to examine the background experiences of adolescent prostitutes and nonprostitutes to see if certain factors were associated with entry into prostitution. It was also expected that the examination of specific characteristics of the sexual abuse episode(s) would clarify why some victims of sexual abuse engage in prostitution and others do not. Forty-five adolescent prostitutes and 37 adolescent nonprostitutes were interviewed about their background experiences: i.e., childhood-physical and sexual abuse, leaving home, family functioning, parental alcohol use, marital violence, adolescent alcohol and drug use, and level of self-esteem. The study found few group differences in background experiences. Surprisingly, prostitutes and nonprostitutes did not differ in the incidence of childhood-sexual abuse

nor in the characteristics of the abuse episode(s).

However, compared to nonprostitute participants, adolescent prostitutes ran away from home more often and used a wider variety of drugs. Compared to the juvenile prostitutes, the nonprostitutes reported more childhood-physical abuse.

Although the results of this study replicated previous findings about the background factors of prostitutes, the same factors associated with prostitution were also found among the nonprostitute adolescents. This suggests that these factors may not be critical for entry into prostitution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my academic advisor, Dr. Eduard Schludermann, for his assistance and support while allowing me the freedom to fully develop and express my own ideas. I would also like to thank the members of my advisory committee, Dr. Elizabeth Adkins, Dr. Rayleen DeLuca, and Dr. Shirin Schludermann, for their conscientious and informative feedback at the various stages of the thesis. My appreciation also goes to Don Sharpe, not only for his helpful comments on the thesis, but also for his support, encouragement, and friendship. In addition, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Angela Halvorsen in developing the interview schedule.

I appreciate the positive response by the agencies in which participants were recruited. In particular, I would like to thank The Children's Home of Winnipeg, Knowles Centre, the Manitoba Youth Centre, Marymound Inc., P.O.W.E.R., and Seven Oaks Centre for Youth for their assistance. I would also like to recognize Child and Family Support and the Winnipeg and Regional Child and Family Services agencies for their contributions. In addition, I would like to thank the parents and/or social workers who permitted me to interview particular adolescents.

I gratefully acknowledge the research grant from the Manitoba Department of Justice, Victim Assistance Committee, which provided me with the financial support necessary to conduct this investigation.

Most importantly, I would like to thank the adolescents who took time to share their personal experiences with me for the purpose of this study. The short time that I was able to spend with each youth were the highlights of this 4-year project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
 INTRODUCTION	 1
Childhood-Sexual Abuse	3
Defining Childhood-Sexual Abuse	3
Prevalence of Childhood-Sexual Abuse	5
Outcomes of Childhood-Sexual Abuse	6
Childhood-Sexual Abuse and Prostitution	8
Theoretical Models	8
Empirical Evidence	10
Physical Abuse	13
Defining Physical Abuse	14
Prevalence of Physical Abuse	14
Outcomes of Physical Abuse	15
Physical Abuse and Prostitution	16
Leaving Home	16
Leaving Home and Prostitution	17
Family Behaviours	19
Family Functioning	19

Parental Alcohol Abuse	20
Interparental Violence	21
Adolescent Drug and Alcohol Abuse	22
Adolescent Self-Image	23
Research Problem	24
Hypotheses	27
Hypothesis 1	27
Hypothesis 2	27
Hypothesis 3	28
METHOD	29
Participant Recruitment	29
Prostitute Participants	29
Nonprostitute Participants	30
Procedure	31
Interview Schedule	33
Sexual-Abuse Measure	34
Physical-Abuse Measure	35
Runaway-Behavior Measure	36
Family-Functioning Measure	36
Parental-Alcohol-Use Measure	38
Interparental-Violence Measure	39
Adolescent-Substance-Abuse Measure	39
Adolescent-Alcohol-Use Measure	39
Self-Esteem Measure	40

Family Socioeconomic Status	41
Lie Scale	41
RESULTS	43
Participants	43
Prostitution Characteristics	43
Demographic Characteristics	44
Victimization	46
Childhood-Sexual Abuse	46
Childhood-Physical Abuse	50
Combined Sexual and Physical Abuse	51
Interparental Violence	51
Leaving Home	57
Abuse of Alcohol and Other Drugs	60
Family Functioning	61
Adolescent Self-Esteem	65
DISCUSSION	66
Leaving Home	68
Drug Abuse	72
Victimization	73
Childhood-Sexual Abuse	73
Childhood-Physical Abuse	75
Research Dilemmas	76
Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for	
Future Research	78
Conclusions	82
REFERENCES	84

APPENDICES	97
Appendix A: Consent Form	98
Appendix B: Request for Results	100
Appendix C: Parent/Guardian Consent Form	102
Appendix D: Prevalence of Familial Experiences	104
Appendix E: Interview Schedule	107

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	
Family Socioeconomic Status and Childhood Residence	45
Table 2	
Experiencing Childhood-Sexual Abuse	47
Table 3	
Characteristics of Childhood-Sexual Victimization	48
Table 4	
Experiencing Childhood-Physical Abuse	52
Table 5	
Characteristics of Childhood-Physical Abuse	53
Table 6	
Physically and/or Sexually Abused as Children	55
Table 7	
Adolescents Witnessing Interparental Violence	56
Table 8	
Adolescents Classified as Runaways	58
Table 9	
Participants Categorized as Runaways, Homeless, or Still at Home	59
Table 10	
Frequency of Parental Alcohol Abuse	62
Table 11	
Frequency of Drug Use	63
Table 12	
Categories of Family Systems	64

INTRODUCTION

There is growing concern regarding the increasing number of juveniles on the street, homeless and without viable means of support (Kufeldt & Nimmo, 1987). Age, limited education and lack of work experience result in few opportunities for legitimate employment for street youth. Quite often these adolescents turn to prostitution simply as a means of survival (Mathews, 1987). Although a popular myth involves the depiction of a runaway youth who is coerced into prostitution by a pimp, the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (a.k.a. Badgley Report, 1984) reports that few juveniles fit into this stereotype.

Most investigators find it difficult to give accurate estimates of the number of juvenile prostitutes (Pornography and Prostitution in Canada, a.k.a., Fraser Report, 1985; Making Street Connections, 1985; Mathews, 1987). Empirical data that have been gathered have been based on incarcerated prostitutes or those in treatment programs. These figures are distorted by small sample sizes and the absence of adequate control groups. Estimates are also based on street prostitutes rather than the entire realm of prostitution activities (e.g. massage parlours, call girls, escort services, etc.).

The body of research that has accumulated over the last twenty years suggests juvenile prostitution is not a voluntary activity, but one that involves young people running from abusive or rejecting homes (Bagley & Young, 1987; James & Meyerding, 1977a; Silbert, 1980). Although the possible antecedents of entry into prostitution are numerous, characteristics of adolescent prostitutes that have found support in the recent literature include: history of childhood-sexual abuse (Bagley & Young, 1987; Earls & David, 1990; James & Meyerding, 1977a; Silbert, 1980), childhood-physical abuse (Bracey, 1979; Crowley, 1977; Silbert, 1980, 1982), and leaving home (Bracey, 1979; CS/Resors, 1989; Crowley, 1977; Mathews, 1987). Other characteristics that have been identified include poor family functioning (Brown, 1979; Mathews, 1987; Silbert, 1980), interparental violence (Bracey, 1979; Silbert, 1980, 1982), parental alcohol abuse (Silbert, 1980, 1982; Silbert, Pines, & Lynch, 1982), adolescent alcohol and/or drug use (Crowley, 1977; Enablers, 1978; Silbert, 1980, 1982), and low adolescent self-esteem (Bracey, 1979; Silbert, 1980).

Childhood-Sexual Abuse

Defining Childhood-Sexual Abuse

In recent years, there have been numerous investigations into the causes, effects, and prevalence of childhood-sexual abuse. However, difficulties in finding an accepted definition of childhood-sexual abuse has hampered these investigations. One widely sanctioned definition of childhood-sexual abuse is a sexual experience between an older person and a juvenile that is exploitive because of the child's age or lack of sexual understanding (Finkelhor, 1979). Although this broad definition is accepted by most researchers in the area, difficulties arise with respect to variations in the dimensions of sexual victimization. One source of variability is the upper age limit of the victim reporting sexual abuse experiences. The upper age limit for the victim ranges from twelve (Finkelhor, 1979; Jehu & Gazan, 1983), to less than fourteen years of age (Bagley & MacDonald, 1984; Runtz, 1987; Russell, 1984), to eighteen years of age (Cole, 1986). Other researchers do not provide any age boundaries (Badgley Report, 1984; Bagley & Ramsey, 1985).

Another dimension that varies across definitions is the age difference between the abuser and the victim. Many studies designate an exploitive experience as one in which the participants differ by five years or more in age (Finkelhor, 1979; Russell, 1984; Runtz, 1987). Bagley and

Ramsey (1985) consider abuse as having occurred between a victim and a person three years older than the victim or when the use of direct force or threat of force is used to effect at least manual assault on the child's genital area. Other researchers consider the victim's judgement of consent to supersede the designation of a specific age difference (Badgley Report, 1984; Bagley & McDonald, 1984). For example, the Badgley Report (1984) considered sexual experiences with either peers or adults to be abusive if the incidents were unwanted.

A third dimension on which studies vary is the identification of those sexual behaviours that represent sexual abuse. Definitions of sexual acts that represent sexual abuse range from non-contact behaviours (e.g. exposure of genitals) to contact behaviours (e.g. intercourse). Reports of all sexual experiences, both with and without contact, are noted in several studies (Badgley Report, 1984; Cole, 1986; Jehu & Gazan, 1983; Finkelhor, 1979). More restrictive definitions include only those experiences that involve contact between the perpetrator and the victim (e.g., Runtz, 1987; Russell, 1984). For example, Bagley and McDonald (1984) define sexually abusive behavior as "manipulation or interference with the unclothed genitals of a female child less than 14 years old" (p. 16).

Prevalence of Childhood-Sexual Abuse

Several researchers have attempted to assess the prevalence of sexual abuse. In a survey of 530 university students, 19 percent of respondents reported sexual victimization (Finkelhor, 1979). Runtz (1987) found that 25 percent of her sample of 291 female college students had been sexually abused as children. Thirty-eight percent of a random community sample in the San Francisco area were identified as abuse victims by Russell (1984). Bagley and Ramsey (1985) found 22 percent of the women in a community sample of 377 women in a Canadian city had experienced sexual abuse. The Badgley Report (1984) reports that 1 in 2 females was a victim of a sexual offence, with only 20 percent of those incidents occurring after the individual was an adult. Gagnon (1965) suggests that 20-25 percent of children reared in a middle-class environment are abused sexually, with the figure for low socioeconomic status children as high as one-third. In summary, the research literature suggests that the prevalence of childhood-sexual victimization from 19 to 50 percent. Although these numbers appear to have increased over time, this is partly due to the increased awareness of the issue of childhood-sexual abuse.

Outcomes of Childhood-Sexual Abuse

The outcome of early sexual experiences on victims has been the focus of several studies. Victims of childhood-sexual abuse display serious long-term effects from the abuse. Some of the symptoms reported to be manifested by victims include: significant depression and suicidal ideation (Bagley & Ramsey, 1985; Briere & Runtz, 1986; Jehu & Gazan, 1983; Sedney & Brooks, 1984); lack of trust in men, sexual dysfunction, and promiscuity, (Bagley & McDonald, 1984; Herman, 1981; Tsai & Wagner, 1978); drug and alcohol abuse and runaway behavior (Briere & Runtz, 1987; Benward & Densen-Gerber, 1975); revictimization, dissociation, anxiety, and somatization (Briere & Runtz, 1988b); and low self-esteem (Bagley & McDonald, 1984; Curtois, 1979; Finkelhor, 1979).

Several researchers have assessed the specific characteristics of the abuse episode(s) to evaluate if the nature of victimization is associated with the degree of trauma. Evidence suggests that negative effects are more pronounced if: the abuse occurs at a young age (Bagley & McDonald, 1984; Russell, 1984), the perpetrator is the father or stepfather of the victim (Adams-Tucker, 1982; Herman, Russell, & Trocki, 1986), the sexual abuse occurs frequently (Tsai, Feldman-Summers, & Edgar, 1979), or occurs over a long period of time (Herman, 1981; Tsai et al., 1979). Additionally, a high degree of physical violation

within the assault (vaginal, oral, or anal penetration) is thought to be associated with greater negative effects (Herman et al., 1986; Elwell & Ephross, 1987). Finally, the degree of force used during the perpetration of the abuse has been hypothesized to be predictive of serious negative aftereffects (Brunngraber, 1986; Elwell & Ephross, 1987; Herman et al., 1986).

Victims who report coerced sexual contact over a long duration have demonstrated significant negative aftereffects (Gagnon, 1965). In a comparison of patient victims and a community sample of survivors, Herman et al. (1986) found that the patient sample reported a significantly greater proportion of incestuous involvement with the father or step-father. Herman et al. (1986) concluded abuse that is either prolonged, violent, intrusive, or perpetrated by a primary caregiver almost always produces long-lasting traumatic sequelae. Their conclusion was supported by Adams-Tucker (1982) who reports that emotional disturbances were more severe when abuse involved genital molestation by a father or by more than one relative, began at an early age, and continued for a long period of time.

Clinical observations revealed that significant differences between victims in treatment and non-clinical victims were evident for age of last victimization, duration of abuse, frequency of molestation and the nature of the sexual acts involved in the exploitation (Tsai et al.,

1979). Briere and Runtz (1988b) found that greater anxiety, dissociation, and somatization is characteristic of women when the sexual abuse involves paternal incest or older abusers, and is of long duration. The experience of revictimization was associated with physical force, intercourse, incest, later age of onset and non-disclosure (Runtz, 1987).

Childhood-Sexual Abuse and Prostitution

Theoretical Models. A number of researchers have developed theories that imply that one long-term effect of sexual victimization is engaging in prostitution (Bagley & McDonald, 1984; Benward & Densen-Gerber, 1975; Fields, 1980; Herman, 1981; Jehu & Gazan, 1983). Vitaliano, James and Boyer's (1981) theory of sexual labelling explains prostitution as the result of early sexual experiences. These experiences and the subsequent reactions of others results in the adolescent labelling herself as a prostitute. According to James, Boyer, Withers, and Haft (1980), the most important precursor of prostitution is early sexual experience and conditioning that directs individuals to define their self-worth in sexual terms. This sexual objectification leads to a self-fulfilling prophecy, a pattern Brown (1979) suggests is reinforced by law enforcement and social service agencies who punish female prostitutes more harshly than male prostitutes. Along the same lines, Davis (1971) argues early sexual experiences and

stigmatization are precursors to sexual precocity.

Alienation from the family and friends encourages the adolescents to seek companionship, love, and feelings of belonging. These needs are fulfilled by peers within the street subculture. Jackman and O'Toole (1963) corroborate this theory, noting that alienation and self-denigration may lead to entry into prostitution.

In a similar vein, Finkelhor and Brown (1985) present a framework for understanding the effects of childhood-sexual abuse. Four dynamics are identified as the core of psychological injury resulting from abuse. The first dynamic, traumatic sexualization, occurs when the development of a child's sexuality is shaped inappropriately as a result of sexual victimization. The second dynamic is betrayal. The child experiences betrayal when recognizing that a trusted adult caused her harm. The third dynamic is stigmatization and follows when negative connotations about the experience are communicated to the child. These negative messages may come directly from an abuser who blames the victim or from others within the child's social network who are aware of the abuse. The fourth dynamic, powerlessness, refers to the process in which the child feels helpless to stop the abuse. When the child discloses the abuse and is not believed, feelings of betrayal are magnified. These dynamics are precursors to low self-efficacy and poor self-esteem that may be expressed

either inward in the form of attempted suicide or outward through aggression and antisocial behavior such as prostitution.

Empirical Evidence. One of the most consistent findings in the literature is the prevalence of childhood-sexual victimization in prostitutes (Bagley & Young, 1987; Making Street Connections, 1985; James & Meyerding, 1977a; Silbert & Pines, 1981). For example, Silbert and Pines (1981, 1983) found that 60 percent of their sample of juvenile prostitutes had experienced childhood-sexual abuse. In a Canadian survey, 73 percent of a sample of ex-prostitutes reported being sexual victimized as children (Bagley & Young, 1987). Earls and David (1990) found in their study of street prostitutes, that 38 percent of the females and 60 percent of the males had been targets of childhood-sexual abuse. Other investigations report prevalence rates from prostitute samples that range from 31 to 65 percent (Crowley, 1977; Enablers, 1978; James & Meyerding, 1977a, 1977b). Investigators documenting the prevalence of sexual abuse in normal populations report rates ranging from 19 to 50 percent (Badgley Report, 1984; Bagley & Ramsey, 1985; Finkelhor, 1979; Russell, 1984; Runtz, 1987), lower than those reported for prostitute samples.

One of the most sophisticated studies linking prostitution and sexual abuse was conducted by Silbert (1980). This research involved personal interviews with a

random sample of 200 street prostitutes (ranging in age from 10-46) in San Francisco. Seventy percent of the sample were less than 21 years old, and approximately 60 percent were age 16 or younger. Silbert (1980) found that 45 percent of her prostitute subjects had been physically abused as children. Sixty-one percent had experienced sexual victimization. The mean age of first exploitation was 10 years (ranging from 3 to 16 years). The perpetrator of the abuse was identified as the father or step-father in the 67 percent of the cases. For 81 percent of the incidents, force (defined as physical force, promises or threats) accompanied the victimization. Fifty-nine percent reported that the sexual molestation involved vaginal intercourse in the initial victimization. Seventy percent of the victims of sexual abuse reported that the abuse had considerably influenced their decision to prostitute, and 78 percent of the sample had entered prostitution as juveniles (Silbert, 1980).

Other studies corroborate the results of Silbert's study that high proportions of prostitutes have experienced intrusive sexual victimization (e.g., vaginal intercourse) by a family member at a young age. James and Meyerding (1977a) found 65 percent of a juvenile sample of prostitutes were victims of sexual abuse. Fathers were the offenders in 23 percent of the cases, other relatives in 15 percent of the cases. A Minnesota study (Enablers, 1978) found that 31

percent of adolescent prostitutes in their sample had experienced incestuous abuse. Finally, Fields (1980) reported no significant differences between prostitutes and matched non-prostitute control subjects with respect to the frequency of occurrence of sexual abuse, yet the prostitute group had experienced significantly more severe sexual abusive experiences (Fields, 1980).

Although research with prostitute samples in the United States points to early victimization as a predictor of prostitution, a national study in Canada found adolescent prostitutes no more likely than nonprostitutes to have been sexually abused (Badgley Report, 1984). A number of researchers have identified methodological difficulties with this study (Bagley, 1985; Lowman, 1987) that might explain the discordant result. First, the prostitute and comparison samples were not comparable with respect to age. The prostitute group (229 subjects) ranged from 14 to 20 years of age, but the comparison group were adults. Second, in assessing child-sexual victimization, the comparison group was asked if they had ever experienced any unwanted sexual acts, the prostitute subjects were asked if their first sexual experience had involved the use of threats or force to which they unwillingly submitted. Third, the prostitute subjects were obtained informally, the non-prostitute group from a national random sample of adults.

A Canadian replication of Silbert's work was conducted in Calgary by Bagley and Young (1987). This study was unique in that in addition to Silbert's questionnaire, mental health measures were included. The prostitute sample of 45 adult ex-prostitutes were recruited from various social agencies. The comparison group was drawn from a random community sample of 679 individuals and matched to the prostitute subjects on age. In addition to replicating Silbert's findings, significant relationships were found between the extent of physical and sexual abuse experienced by the prostitute subjects relative to non-prostitute comparison subjects. As well, chaotic and dysfunctional family lives were significantly more characteristic of prostitute backgrounds. Significant differences were also found in a number of mental health measures (Bagley & Young, 1987).

Physical Abuse

In 1962, Kempe's "The Battered Child Syndrome" brought the issue of child maltreatment to the attention of health care workers (Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemueller, & Silver, 1962). Research assessing the incidence of child abuse in society followed: such as, attempts at determining predictors for high-risk families; development of typologies of the abusers; studies to ascertain if specific characteristics of a child puts him/her at risk for abuse; development of programs and strategies aimed at the

prevention of child abuse; and ascertaining the short- and long-term effects of physical maltreatment.

Defining Physical Abuse

As with sexual abuse, defining physical abuse has proved problematic. The Manitoba Guidelines on Identifying and Reporting Child Abuse (1988) defines "physical abuse" as:

An act or omission by the parent, guardian or person in whose care a child is, which act or omission results in harm to the child. It includes, but is not necessarily restricted to: physical beating and failure to provide reasonable protection for the child from physical harm.

Kinard (1982) suggests that repetitious or unpredictable physical punishment whether it results in physical injury or not, is abusive.

Prevalence of Physical Abuse

Although the prevalence of physical maltreatment appears to be increasing, this may be a function of public awareness with respect to the guidelines for reporting any abuse. In a retrospective survey of college students, Runtz (1987) found that 29 percent of a university sample of 291 had been physically abused as a child. Cole (1986) found that 16 percent of an adult sample reported being abused as children. Child-protection agencies in Winnipeg report that in 1991 the number of cases of reported physically abused

children has increased by almost four times from that reported in 1986 (943 cases in 1991 versus 240 cases in 1986).

Outcomes of Physical Abuse

In contrast to the sexual abuse literature, the literature on the effects of physical abuse is meagre. Low self-esteem, development of poor coping skills and lack of trust have been identified as potential consequences (Steele, 1986). Compared to nonphysically abused controls, physically abused children show significantly lower self-esteem and greater depression (Kazdin, Moser, Colbus & Bell, 1985). Results indicate that abused adolescents have significantly poorer self-images than nonabused youth (Green, 1978; Hjorth & Ostrov, 1982; Kinard, 1980; Kazdin et al., 1985; Martin & Beezley, 1977). Maternal physical abuse was demonstrated to be related to lowered interpersonal sensitivity and dissociation (Briere & Runtz, 1988a).

Fewer social competencies and general conduct disorders are characteristic of youth who have been maltreated. Juvenile delinquency, running away and chemical dependency are severe maladaptive coping mechanism which serve as means of escape from the abusive situation (Green, 1978, Martin & Beezley, 1977). Eighty-four percent of a sample of incarcerated adolescents were reported to be victims of substantial neglect or physical abuse (Gelardo & Sanford, 1987). Suicide attempts and other forms of self-destructive

behavior are apparent among abused adolescents, and appear to be the behavioral manifestation of a poor self-concept, feelings of unworthiness, and self-hatred found with battered youth (Green, 1978).

Physical Abuse and Prostitution

A history of childhood-physical abuse has been recounted by adult prostitutes. Silbert (1980) found that 45 percent of her prostitute sample had experienced childhood-physical abuse. Sixty-two percent of the respondents in the Bagley and Young (1987) investigation reported physical abuse compared to 7 percent of a non-prostitute comparison group. Similarly, 73 percent of a sample of runaways involved in prostitution reported experiencing physical violence as a child (Crowley, 1977). In another investigation, physical abuse was found in two-thirds of a sample of adolescent prostitutes (Enablers, 1978). Evidence of the widespread nature of this childhood experience is corroborated by other investigations (Brown, 1979; Bracey, 1979; MacVicar & Dillon, 1980; Newman & Caplan, 1982; Schaffer & DeBlasse, 1984).

Leaving Home

Adolescents often leave their homes to escape intolerable family situations. However, it is important to distinguish between runaway and homeless adolescents. Some youths are truly homeless in that the family has disintegrated because of the death or absence of a primary

caretaker (Ferran & Sabitini, 1985). Others have been forced from the family home. Still others leave voluntarily as a means of achieving independence or to seek adventure (Badgley Report, 1984).

Crowley (1977) points out that running away is less likely an act of demonstrating independence, but rather an adaptive response to an abusive or neglectful living situations. In a study of 149 runaway youth (15 to 20 years old) in a Toronto shelter, a significant proportion reported experiencing physical or sexual abuse or both (Hartman, Burgess, & McCormack, 1987). Seventy-eight percent of the youth interviewed in a Winnipeg investigation stated family problems was the reason for their leaving home (Social Planning Council, 1990).

Parental overcontrol and domestic violence are frequently the immediate catalysts for leaving the home. Recurrent arguments and conflicts with parents are common descriptions of family interactions by runaway youths (Roberts, 1982). Excessive use of drugs or alcohol by parents were also major causes for running (Crowley, 1977; Ferran & Sabatini, 1985). Incest involving the father or stepfather, in conjunction with paternal alcohol use and frequent use of physical punishment, were also correlates of running away (Young, Godfrey, Mathews, & Adams, 1983).

Leaving Home and Prostitution

Large numbers of subjects in studies that have

investigated correlates of prostitution have reported being runaways prior to entering prostitution (Badgley Report, 1984; CS/Resors, 1989; Crowley, 1977; Fraser Report, 1985; Gray, 1973; James & Meyerdling, 1977a; Mathews, 1987; Silbert, 1980). The percentage of runaways in these studies ranged from 64 to 100 percent. Almost all (96 percent) of the juvenile prostitutes interviewed in Silbert's (1980) study were on the run.

A direct link between being a runaway and prostitution is not being implied by investigators. Rather, entry into prostitution is a function of how long the youth has been away from home, the intensity of her needs, and the influence of friends and street peers (Mathews, 1987). Crowley (1977) reports a runaway episode of one month or longer may be predictive of entrance into prostitution. Similarly, CS/Resors (1989) found participation in prostitution increased as time on the street increased. As the extent of negative experiences in the home appears to be related to leaving home and the length of time away, it follows that these experiences may also be related to subsequent entrance into prostitution.

Other Characteristics of Prostitutes

Previous investigations have focused on early experiences and adolescent attitudes and behaviours to discover predictors of entry into prostitution. In addition to childhood-sexual abuse, childhood-physical abuse, and

leaving home, the following variables were suggested by the research literature as possible predictors: 1) family behaviours; 2) adolescent substance abuse; and 3) adolescent self-image.

Family Behaviours

Family Functioning. Research suggests that dysfunctional family environments may lead to both leaving the home and to subsequent entry into prostitution. Family backgrounds of prostitutes typically show chaos and defective parenting (MacVicar & Dillon, 1980; Newman & Caplan, 1982). Alienation from the family or a lack of strong family ties has been linked to juvenile delinquency and to prostitution (Brown, 1979; Schaffer & DeBlassie, 1984). Gray (1973) points out that the breaking of ties from conventional society may make the juvenile vulnerable to entering into prostitution. Rigid value systems (Schaffer & DeBlassie, 1984) or a lack of intimacy (Brown, 1979) have also been seen to motivate both leaving the home and entering prostitution.

Significant family disorganization and parental separation and divorce are common among prostitute subjects studied (Bagley & Young, 1987; Gray, 1973; MacVicar & Dillon, 1980; Newman & Caplan, 1982; Silbert, 1980). Prostitute subjects experience more negative, conflicted relationships with their fathers, a greater desire to escape parental control, and more feelings of parental rejection

than nonprostitute controls (Fields, 1980). Surveys of both prostitute and non-prostitute runaways find negative relationships with parents (Crowley, 1977). Eighty-one percent of the prostitute subjects in the study by Silbert (1980) reported negative relationships with their fathers, and less than one-third recalled positive relationships with their mothers.

Parental Alcohol Abuse. A significant factor that effects family interactions is parental alcohol abuse. Children of alcoholics are more likely to witness interparental violence, and more likely to be victims of physical and/or sexual abuse (Black, Bucky, & Wilder-Padilla, 1986; Famularo, Stone, Barnum, & Wharton, 1986; Liles & Childs, 1986; West & Prinz, 1987). Adult children of alcoholics describe their childhood as chaotic and unpredictable. Inconsistent physical and emotional care and inconsistent responsiveness to communication and interaction is reported (West & Prinz, 1987).

Living with a parent with a drinking problem is associated with delinquency, truancy, and stealing in adolescence (West & Prinz, 1987). Difficulties with trust, identifying and expressing feelings, and dependency are common for children of alcoholics (Black et al., 1986). Poor school performance and discipline problems are common for youth who live with an alcoholic. Children of alcoholics are at risk for developing significant anxiety,

depression, low self-esteem and aggression (West & Prinz, 1987).

Family backgrounds of prostitutes frequently involved parental alcohol use. Silbert (1980, 1982) reports that for 58 percent of her prostitute sample, one or both parents drank excessively. Prostitutes reporting parents who were alcoholic or frequent users of alcohol ranges from 35 to 53 percent in other investigations (Bagley & Young, 1987; Bracey, 1979; Enablers, 1978; MacVicar & Dillon, 1980).

Interparental Violence. Witnessing recurrent violence between parents creates substantial trauma in children. Although typically a parent tries to shield the child from the violent episodes, nearly all such incidents are seen and/or heard by the children (Rosenberg, 1984). As a result of continually seeing a parent battered, youths may become desensitized to all but the most extreme instances of interpersonal conflict. Children may become the target of this anger and frustration, and become the victims of physical violence.

Domestic violence is present in the family backgrounds of many prostitutes (MacVicar & Dillon, 1980). Fifty-one percent of the prostitutes in Silbert's (1980) study reported witnessing interparental violence prior to leaving the home environment. Recounts of an almost war-like atmosphere was evident in a sample of runaways (Crowley, 1977). Other researchers have found similarly high

proportions of child witnesses in their prostitute samples (Bagley & Young, 1987; Newman & Caplan, 1982).

Adolescent Drug and Alcohol Abuse

There have been contradictory theories regarding adolescent alcohol and drug use. Some regard adolescent drug use as an expression of alienation from the general society (Paton & Kandel, 1978). In contrast, Steffenhagen, Polich, and Lash (1978) found that drug use was related significantly to delinquency but not to feelings of alienation. In spite of these differing views, the association between parental drug and alcohol misuse and adolescent drug and alcohol abuse has been a consistent finding (Deren, 1986; Hawkins, Lishner, Catalano, & Howard, 1985; West & Prinz, 1987).

Drug abuse in the prostitute population is very high (James & Meyering, 1977a; Making Street Connections, 1985; Silbert & Pines, 1981, 1983). Both James (1976) and Silbert, Pines, and Lynch (1982) were careful to note that approximately equal numbers of prostitutes were addicted prior to first prostitution as became addicted after becoming involved in prostitution. A marginally significant interaction of race by drug use was found in James (1976b) study; black women became involved with drug misuse before entering prostitution, whereas white women became addicted after becoming prostitutes.

By age 18, 72 to 80 percent of adolescents have had

some experience with alcohol (D'Arcy & Bold, 1983; Hetherington, Dickinson, Cipywnyk, & Hay, 1978; Rachal, Hubbard, Williams & Tuchfeld, 1976). A national study found that 82 percent of the youth (15 to 17 years) surveyed, had consumed alcohol once in the past year; 56 percent, once in the past month; and 22 percent drink at least once per week (Eliany, 1989a). Hetherington et al., (1978) note that 22 percent of a sample high school students were identified as moderate/heavy drinkers. Over one-half of the Grade 12 students were classified as problem drinkers (Kline, Canter & Robin, 1987). Correlates of adolescent drinking include: parental drinking (West & Prinz, 1987), dysfunctional family functioning (Steele, 1986). Briere and Runtz (1987) found that the experience of childhood physical and/or sexual abuse was related to later alcohol use. In studies of prostitute samples both Silbert (1980) and Crowley (1977) report extensive alcohol use in their respective samples.

Adolescent Self-image

Coopersmith (1984) defines self-esteem as "a judgement of worthiness that is expressed by the attitudes he or she holds toward the self. It is a subjective experience conveyed to others by verbal reports and other overt expressive behavior" (p. 5). There is substantial evidence for poor self-images among juvenile prostitutes (Bagley & Young, 1987; Jackman & O'Toole, 1963; MacVicar & Dillon, 1980, McMullen, 1987; Silbert, 1980). Some investigators

suggests that entrance into prostitution is evidence of poor self-esteem (Vitaliano et al., 1981; Bracey, 1977), although James (1976a) argues that a poor self-concept is a result of becoming a prostitute. Both Silbert and Pines (1981) and Bagley and Young (1987) report poor self-esteem among the prostitutes in their studies. In comparison to sexually victimized control subjects, the prostitute sample had significantly poorer self-esteem (Bagley & Young, 1987).

Research Problem

Although recent investigations of prostitutes have become increasingly more sophisticated with respect to methodological soundness, the research continues to suffer from serious flaws. The use of unreliable and invalid measures is a common problem. Standardized instruments to assess the characteristics of prostitutes would facilitate the comparison of findings in the research literature. Additionally, investigations frequently rely on incarcerated or institutionalized subjects. These participants may be substantially different from individuals who are currently working as prostitutes. Participant recruitment from a variety of settings, including current, incarcerated, and institutionalized prostitutes, would allow for a comprehensive view of this population.

A further problem with this area is the age of the participants. The findings from many studies are based on adult recollections of juvenile experiences and behaviours.

In addition, adult prostitutes may enter into prostitution for variety of reasons (e.g. to supplement welfare, involvement with a pimp, extensive drug addiction, etc.), and childhood experiences may not play as significant a role in their decision as with juvenile prostitutes. Earls and David (1990) point out that youthfulness is the most marketable feature of prostitution. Therefore, adults who continue to prostitute may have different characteristics than those who leave prostitution at a relatively young age. The selection of adolescent prostitutes to participate is one solution to the above problem as this age group is possibly more homogeneous with respect to reasons for leaving home and subsequent entrance into prostitution than adult prostitutes.

Another flaw with the past research is the absence of an appropriate comparison groups. Neither Silbert (1980) nor James and Meyerding (1977a) compared the characteristics of prostitutes in their studies with a nonprostitute group. Although the Badgley Report (1985) compared the backgrounds of adolescent prostitutes with those of a nonprostitute group, Lowman (1987) questions the comparability of this sample given that the nonprostitute adults were significantly older than the adolescent prostitutes. To address this limitation, Bagley and Young (1987) matched

their sample of ex-prostitutes with a sample of adult nonprostitute females.

Although female prostitutes come from all socioeconomic classes and racial groups, it is generally believed that prostitution may be more prevalent among lower-class and visible-minority adolescents (Weisberg, 1985). Both Bagley and Young (1987) and Earls and David (1990) found their prostitute and nonprostitute groups did not differ with respect to age or ethnicity. However, Bagley and Young (1987) note that the exprostitutes were more likely to have grown up in the inner city and less likely to come from a conventional two-parent family. On the other hand, Earls and David (1990) report that the nonprostitutes were significantly more likely to be from high-income families. It is, therefore, desirable for the nonprostitute comparison sample to be similar to prostitute participants with respect to race and family socioeconomic status.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate predictors of entry into juvenile prostitution by interviewing individuals 18 years old and younger. A unique feature of this investigation is the inclusion of a comparison group of nonprostitute adolescents who were similar to the prostitute group in age, race, and family socioeconomic status. It was expected that comparisons of the adolescent prostitutes with nonprostitute juveniles would clarify why some adolescents become involved with prostitution and others do not.

Hypotheses

On the basis of the research literature the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1

It was predicted that the prostitute adolescents were more likely to have run away from home and had experienced more childhood-sexual and physical abuse compared to the nonprostitute youth.

Hypothesis 2

Additionally, it was expected that the examination of the nature of childhood-sexual abuse would clarify why some victims and not others engaged in prostitution. Compared to nonprostitute youth, it was predicted that:

- a) adolescent prostitutes had experienced earlier childhood-sexual victimization;
- b) fathers, stepfathers, and/or male guardians were more likely to have perpetrated the sexual abuse of prostitute victims;
- c) more severe sexual abuse was characteristic of the prostitute group;
- d) the prostitutes had experienced a longer duration of sexual abuse;
- e) prostitutes had experienced a higher frequency of sexual-abuse episodes; and
- f) the prostitutes had experienced more forced sexual victimization.

Hypothesis 3

It was also predicted that adolescent prostitutes would have significantly more family and behavioural problems.

Specifically, compared to nonprostitute youth, adolescent prostitutes were expected to:

- a) come from a family with an alcoholic parent;
- b) have witnessed interparental violence more frequently;
- c) have more global family dysfunction;
- d) abuse alcohol and drugs more frequently; and
- e) have poorer self-esteem.

METHOD

Participant Recruitment

Prostitute Participants. Given that adolescent female prostitutes are estimated to outnumber male prostitutes by a 4:1 ratio (Fraser Report, 1985), female prostitutes were selected to participate in this study. "Prostitution" was defined as the exchange of sexual services for a commodity such as food, clothing or money (Crowley, 1977, p. 51).

Fifteen adolescent street prostitutes were recruited from known working areas. The researcher volunteered at P.O.W.E.R. (Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights), a drop-in centre for street prostitutes, for approximately one year prior to data collection. This contact was found to be critical in establishing rapport with the adolescents involved in street prostitution. During the initial phase of recruitment, the researcher approached adolescents working in the area or those who came into the drop-in centre. Consequently, participant recruitment was confined to the centre's hours of operation (8:00 a.m to 9:00 p.m. on weekdays). An employee of P.O.W.E.R. accompanied the researcher when recruiting on the street. This person acted not only as a safeguard against street violence, but also facilitated the prostitutes' participation in the study.

As the weather became colder, occurrence of sweeps by the police, increased pimp involvement, and the closing of P.O.W.E.R. in March 1990, fewer potential participants were

available. As a result, other methods of participant recruitment were required. An additional 30 adolescent prostitutes were recruited from a work-training program for youth wishing to leave the street ($n = 11$), a training program for adolescent parents ($n = 2$), residential treatment centres ($n = 7$), and two detention facilities ($n = 10$).

Nonprostitute Participants. The comparison group of nonprostitute adolescents were recruited from the same locations as the prostitute adolescents. In total, 37 nonprostitute adolescent females were obtained from two work-training programs for youth ($n = 16$), residential treatment centres ($n = 11$), and two detention facilities ($n = 10$). A subsample of street youth not involved in prostitution and recruited from areas known to be hangouts for runaways may have enhanced the comparability of these two groups. However, obtaining interviews with these youth posed considerable practical and ethical difficulties, and consequently were not pursued.

It is noteworthy that the comparison group had considerable child-protection agency involvement. Although not representative of the general juvenile population, the fact that these youth were comparable in age, race, and family socioeconomic status yet were not involved in prostitution permitted meaningful comparisons.

Procedure

Face-to-face interviews of approximately 45 minutes were conducted between the researcher and each adolescent participant in a setting chosen by the participant. Interviews were conducted over a 16-month period, from August, 1989 to December, 1990. At the start of an interview, it was not known whether a participant would be classified as a prostitute or nonprostitute. An affirmative response to the question "Have you ever had sex for food, clothing, or money?" identified adolescent prostitutes. The use of this procedure in previous investigations suggested that this item and the context of the interview would result in a minimum number of prostitute adolescents falsely identified as nonprostitute youth and vice versa.

Prior to agreeing to participate, prospective participants were given a consent form which was read to them (Appendix A). The adolescent was required to sign this form before the start of an interview. The participants were told the approximate number of youth that were expected to participate and that these would include adolescents from the streets, as well as youth who had never been on the streets. In addition, the adolescents were told that the purpose of the study was to compare early-life experiences and backgrounds of the two groups to see if there were significant differences. Volunteers were also told about the length of time the interview was expected to take, and

that she could stop the interview any time she wished or elect to not answer any particular question. If a participant wished to receive a copy of the results of the study in aggregate form, she was required to fill out the Request for Results form (Appendix B).

Parent or guardian permission to interview an adolescent was also sought for the youth involved with social services. For adolescents recruited from T.E.R.F. and other work-training programs, the investigator distributed the parent/guardian consent forms to all the adolescents (Appendix C). Instructions and the researcher's telephone number appeared on the sheet. The consent form was brought to the interview by the participant.

For youth involved with a social service agencies, obtaining parental and/or guardian consent was a source of difficulty. Although the researcher appreciated that agencies must act in the best interest of the juvenile, the bureaucratic process was painstakingly slow. It was not unusual for a month to pass between an adolescent volunteering to participate and receiving parent/guardian permission. Often the juvenile was no longer involved with the original agency by this time. Consequently many potential participants were not accessible. Given this lengthy process, verbal consent was sought from parents and/or guardians for youth in detention centres and residential treatment centres.

The researcher was sensitive to any signs of distress by the participants that might have occurred as a result of participation. If any disturbance seemed evident, the researcher reminded the participant of her right to terminate the interview if she wished to do so. One interview was stopped before any data was gathered. Though sufficient data were gathered to identify sexual abuse victims, five participants elected to not answer questions dealing with specific characteristics of the victimization (four prostitutes and one nonprostitute).

After the interview was completed, the purpose of the research was explained. Specific sections in the questionnaire were be outlined in detail (e.g. parental alcohol use, the physical abuse scale, the sexual abuse measure, and the adolescent alcohol and drug use scales). Along with descriptions of the measures, information was given regarding the prevalence of these experiences in the general population (Appendix D). A resource card was given and explained to the youth. These wallet-sized cards, printed specifically for this investigation, listed agencies and resources for adolescents and/or prostitutes. After all data were analyzed, a summary of the results of the study was distributed to all participants for whom current addresses were available.

Interview Schedule

Questions from Silbert's (1980) Sexual Assault Experiences Questionnaire regarding background information, adolescent drug use, prostitution history, and plans for the future were incorporated into the interview schedule used in the present study. Revised measures from the Silbert (1980) questionnaire concerning non-job related juvenile sexual exploitation and adolescent alcohol use were also included. In its final form, the interview schedule used in the current study was a 35-page instrument which contained measures of the characteristics of prostitutes, items that assessed demographic and background information, prostitution history, plans for the future, Eysenck's Lie Scale (Eysenck, Eysenck, & Barrett, 1985), and a socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada (Blishen & McRoberts, 1976) (Appendix E). The schedule was constructed with the more sensitive measures dealing with prostitution and sexual victimization appearing at the end. The participants did not see the questionnaire nor the alternatives for particular items. The following are brief descriptions of each of the measures.

Sexual-Abuse Measure. The sexual-victimization measures of Silbert (1980), Finkelhor (1979) and Runtz (1987) were the basis for the sexual-abuse measure in the present study (Appendix C; Part 11). "Sexual abuse" is defined as a sexual experience between an older person and a

juvenile that is exploitive because of the child's age or lack of sexual understanding (Finkelhor, 1979). Russell (1984) placed sexual abuse onto a continuum from "very-serious" to "least-serious" sexual abuse. "Very-serious sexual abuse" was defined as completed or attempted vaginal, oral or anal intercourse, cunnilingus, analingus, fellatio, either forced or unforced. "Serious sexual abuse" was defined as completed or attempted genital fondling (unclothed), simulated intercourse, digital penetration, either forced or unforced. "Least serious sexual abuse" ranged from kissing to contact with clothed breasts or genitals or attempts to engage in any of these behaviours, without the use of force.

For the purposes of this investigation, sexual experiences that occurred prior to age 12 and involved either "very serious abuse" or "serious abuse" with a person at least 5 years older than the juvenile constituted sexual abuse. Age of onset of victimization, relationship of the victim to the offender, duration of the victimization, frequency of the victimization, nature of sexual acts involved in the victimization, and force used to ensure participation was also assessed.

Physical-Abuse Measure. Childhood-physical abuse was assessed by a version of the measure employed by Runtz (1987), (Appendix E; Part 8). Cronbach's alpha for the scale was reported to be .78 for a large university-students

sample (Runtz, 1987). Runtz (1989) added a measure of the frequency of behaviours and possible physical consequences (e.g. bruising, required medical treatment) to the scale. Any violence directed at children that resulted in physical injury (cuts, bruises, other injury or a need for medical treatment) or was repetitive in nature (occurred more than 10 times) was considered physical abuse. If any of the more severe behaviours (kicked or beaten; burned or scalded; pushed, thrown or knocked down; threw object at child; twisted or pulled arm or leg) occurred, physical abuse was presumed to have been present regardless of frequency of occurrence of the behavior (Runtz, 1989).

Runaway-Behavior Measure. Any length of time away from home greater than one month and/or being a runaway prior to first prostitution was considered runaway behavior in this study (Appendix E, Part 4).

Family-Functioning Measure. The Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scale (FACES III; Olson, McCubbin, Barnes, Larsen, Muxen, and Wilson, 1985), is a 20-item self-report measure designed to assess family members' perceptions of family functioning (Appendix E; Part 3). The clustering of concepts from family-theory literature has shown three dimensions of family behavior; cohesion, adaptability and communication. These are the three primary dimensions fitted into the Circumplex Model developed by Olson, Russell & Sprenkle (1979). FACES III was developed in order to

assess two of these orthogonal dimensions; Adaptability and Cohesion. The scale includes ten items each for Adaptability and Cohesion. There are two items for each of the five concepts related to the Adaptability dimension: Leadership, Control, Discipline, Roles, and Rules. There are two items for each of the five concepts related to Cohesion: Emotional Bonding, Supportiveness, Family Boundaries, Time and Friends and Interest in Recreation (Olson et al., 1985).

Each item is scored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from one "almost never" to five "almost always". The Adaptability score is the sum of all even items. The Cohesion score is the sum of all odd items. Moderate scores on both Adaptability and Cohesion are hypothesized to represent healthy family functioning. Extreme scores (low or high) represent dysfunctional family systems.

Due to the curvilinear nature of the relationship between the Cohesion and Adaptability dimensions and family functioning, traditional linear analyses are inappropriate (Olson et al, 1985). Calculation of the Distance from Center (DFC) of Model is suggested. This formula simultaneously accounts for scores on both dimensions and indicates the distance an individuals's scores are from the center of the Circumplex Model. The DFC, because it is a linear score, can be used in correlational analyses (Olson et al, 1985).

Reliability coefficients for the FACES III were derived from the FACES II. A national sample of 2,412 individuals was divided into two equal sub-groups. FACES II was administered to each group. On the dimension of Adaptability, Cronbach's alphas for sample 1 was .78 and for sample 2 was .79. Cronbach's alpha for each sample was .88 and .86 respectively for the Cohesion dimension. Overall, test-retest reliability was .84 for the entire scale (Olson et al., 1985).

In summary, FACES III appears to be a reliable and valid measure of family functioning. Dysfunctional family systems have frequently been noted in studies of prostitutes (Crowley, 1977; Fields, 1980; Silbert, 1980). Chaotic family systems (MacVicar & Dillon, 1980), rigid rules (Schaffer & DeBlassie, 1984) and lack of intimacy (Brown, 1979) are often descriptions of family backgrounds of these women. The measure of family Cohesion and Adaptability in this subculture is therefore, necessary.

Parental-Alcohol-Use Measure. The Children of Alcoholics Screening Test (CAST) was developed to identify children living with at least one alcoholic parent (Jones, 1982). It is a 30-item inventory which measures children's attitudes, feelings, perceptions, and experiences related to parental drinking behavior (Appendix E; Part 6). The CAST measures: a) psychological distress related to a parent's drinking, b) perceptions of drinking-related marital discord

between the parents, c) attempts to control a parent's drinking, d) efforts to escape the alcoholism, e) exposure to drinking-related family violence, f) tendencies to perceive their parents as being alcoholic, and g) desire for counselling (Jones, 1982). All items are scored "Yes" or "No". The total score is the sum of all the "Yes" answers and can range from 0, no experience with parental alcohol misuse, to 30, multiple experiences with parental alcohol abuse (Jones, 1982).

Reliability using a Spearman Brown split-half procedure is reported to be .98 (Jones, 1982). Jones (1982) found that a cut-off score of six or more reliably identified 100 percent of clinically diagnosed alcoholics and 100 percent of the self-reported children of alcoholics.

Interparental-Violence Measure. Reports of witnessing physical violence between parents or between one parent and a member of the opposite sex during childhood, together with a qualitative judgement or whether the adolescent views this behavior as abusive (however defined), constituted evidence of interparental violence (Appendix E; Part 8). This measure is a revised form of an interparental abuse measure used in Rycroft (1987).

Adolescent-Substance-Abuse Measure. The assessment of substance abuse included in this study is an adaptation of the measure used by Silbert (1980). Participants were asked if they had used drugs in the past year, what, if any, kinds

of drugs were used, and whether they believed themselves to be addicted to substances (Appendix E; Part 10, p. 25). In addition to the preceding questions, prostitute adolescents were asked about the frequency of drug use and if a reported addiction occurred before, after, or at about the same time as their entry into prostitution.

Adolescent-Alcohol-Use Measure. Adolescent drinking behavior was assessed by a quantity-frequency index and problem-drinking index (Hetherington et al., 1978; Rachal et al., 1976). Heavy drinking was defined as drinking 3 to 4 times a month and/or consuming large amounts (20+ drinks/month). Reports of being drunk four or more times in the past year and/or experiencing two or more negative consequences of drinking resulted in subjects being classified as problem drinkers (Appendix E; Part 7).

Self-Esteem Measure. The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory - Adult Form (SEI-Adult Form; Coopersmith, 1981) was used to obtain self-esteem scores from the participants. The scale is a 25-item measure which requires the subject to respond to each statement with either "Like Me" or "Unlike Me" (Appendix E; Part 9).

The SEI-Adult Form was adapted from the School Short Form to be used with individuals 16 years of age and older. The language and situations have been modified to make them more meaningful to persons whose lives are not as closely

tied to parents and school as are children's (Coopersmith, 1981).

Most of the psychometric properties of the SEI-Adult Form have been derived from research on the School Form. The Adult Form correlates well ($+ .80$) with both the School Form and School Short Form. In a study of 103 college students, Bedeian, Teague and Zmud (1977) reported a Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 of $.74$ for males and $.71$ for females for the School Short Form. The coefficient of stability (test-retest) reliability ranged from $.42$ to $.82$ with higher coefficients relating to older ages of subjects. Bedeian et al. (1977) reported test-retest coefficients of $.80$ for male and $.82$ for female college students. Concurrent validities range from $.46$ to $.75$ (Coopersmith, 1981). Validity studies suggest the SEI is related to academic achievement, creativity, and personal and social adjustment.

Family Socioeconomic Status. Blishen's Socioeconomic Index for Occupations in Canada was used to estimate family socioeconomic status (Blishen & McRoberts, 1976). This measure allows for estimating family socioeconomic status based upon the occupation of the head of the household.

Lie Scale. To measure socially acceptable responding, Eysenck's Lie Scale-Short Form (Eysenck et al., 1985) was included in the questionnaire/interview schedule. The Lie Scale is a 12-item measure that requires the subject to respond Yes or No to each question.

In a non-random sample of students, teachers and other volunteer subjects, reliability estimates for the short form are reported to be .77 for males (408) and .73 for females (494). Means and standard deviations are provided for six age groups and for each sex. For females 16-20 years, the Lie Scale mean is reported to be 2.75 with a standard deviation of 2.03 (Eysenck et al., 1985).

RESULTS

Participants

Eighty-two adolescent volunteered to participate in the study. A participant was classified into the prostitute or nonprostitute group on the basis of her answer to the question "Have you ever had sex in exchange for a commodity such as food, clothing, or money?". An affirmative response identified adolescent prostitutes. Most of the juveniles qualified their answer by explaining the exchange was for money exclusively. Scores on the Eysenck Lie Scale (Eysenck et al., 1985) resulted in the exclusion of 3 participants' responses (1 prostitute and 2 nonprostitutes) from further analyses. In total, data from 44 juvenile prostitutes and 35 nonprostitute adolescents were analyzed.

Prostitution Characteristics

The average age at the time of entry into prostitution was 14.1 years, ranging from 10 to 18 years. Approximately 89 percent of the prostitute sample were 16 or younger when they started to work as prostitutes. The majority of the juvenile prostitutes (90 percent) had been involved in prostitution for more than 2 months. Approximately 44 percent had engaged in prostitution for 2 or more years.

Demographic Characteristics

At the time of the interview, the prostitutes ranged in age from 13 to 18 years, with a mean of 16.3 years.

Nonprostitute youth were not significantly younger ($M = 15.7$). The two groups were comparable with respect to race. Thirty-nine percent of the prostitute group compared to 49 percent of the nonprostitutes were white; 32 versus 31 percent, Metis; and 18 versus 20 percent, native. None of the nonprostitute adolescents were black, compared to 11 percent of the adolescent prostitutes.

The prostitute and nonprostitute participants were similar with respect to education. The mean educational level attained by both samples was Grade 8. In addition, family socioeconomic status did not discriminate the prostitute and nonprostitute groups. The average SES scores were 35.9 and 40.3, respectively. Low socioeconomic status was predominant in both groups (Table 1). Forty-eight percent of the prostitutes compared to 63 percent of the nonprostitutes grew up in Winnipeg, 32 versus 26 percent in rural Manitoba, and 20 versus 11 percent in other provinces (Table 1). Chi-square tests revealed that group differences in SES and where youth grew up were not statistically significant.

Table 1

Family Socioeconomic Status and Childhood Residence of
Prostitute Group and Nonprostitute Group

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
<hr/>				
Socioeconomic Status				
Lower SES	34	77.3	24	68.6
Middle SES	6	13.6	6	17.1
Upper SES	4	9.1	5	14.3
Childhood Residence:				
Rural Manitoba	14	31.8	9	25.7
Winnipeg	21	47.7	22	62.9
Other provinces	9	20.5	4	11.4

NOTE: Separate chi-square tests for socioeconomic status
and childhood residence were not significant.

Victimization

Childhood-sexual abuse. Surprisingly, the prostitutes did not differ significantly from the nonprostitutes in the incidence of childhood-sexual abuse (Table 2). Prostitutes and nonprostitutes also did not differ significantly with respect to the characteristics of the sexual abuse (Table 3). Age at onset of victimization for the prostitute and nonprostitute victims was 7.8 years and 6.6 years, respectively ($t(43) = 0.22$, n.s.). In the majority of the cases, the perpetrator of the abuse was reported to be a family member. For approximately 30 percent of the episodes, the perpetrator was the victim's father or stepfather. Over 60 percent of the victims experienced "Very serious abuse" involving sexual intercourse. The frequency and duration of abusive episodes, and whether force was used to ensure participation, failed to discriminate the groups.

Table 2

Proportion of Prostitute and Nonprostitute Participants
Experiencing Childhood-Sexual abuse

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Sexual abuse:				
Yes	30	68.2	20	57.1
No	14	31.8	15	42.9

NOTE. Chi-square test was not significant.

Table 3

Characteristics of Childhood-Sexual Victimization

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	f	%	f	%
Perpetrator:				
Father, stepfather				
or surrogate	8	30.8	5	26.3
Other relative	9	34.6	9	47.4
Friend of family	5	19.2	2	10.5
Acquaintance	3	11.5	2	10.5
Stranger	1	3.9	1	5.3
Sexual Acts:				
Very serious abuse	17	65.4	11	61.1
Serious abuse	9	34.6	7	38.9
Duration:				
1 day	6	25.0	4	21.1
>1 day but <1 month	5	20.8	2	10.5
Months	1	4.2	2	10.5
Years	12	50.0	11	57.9

continued

Frequency:

Once or twice	6	26.1	6	31.6
3 to 10 times	6	26.1	2	10.5
11 to 25 times	5	21.7	3	15.8
26 to 50 times	2	8.7	0	0.0
More than 50 times	4	17.4	8	42.1

Force:

No force	6	25.0	5	27.8
Physical force	11	5.8	6	33.3
Threats	3	12.5	6	33.3
Coercion	4	19.7	1	5.6

Number of Perpetrators:

One	13	50.0	11	57.9
Two	7	26.9	3	15.8
Three	2	7.7	2	10.5
Four	1	4.3	2	10.5
Six	1	4.3	0	0.0
Eight	2	7.7	0	0.0
Ten	0	0.0	1	5.3

NOTE. Separate chi-square tests were not significant.

Childhood-physical abuse. A significant difference between the groups was evident in the experience of childhood-physical abuse in that the nonprostitute sample reported higher rates of victimization than the prostitute sample (chi-square (1, $N = 79$) = 4.50, $p < .03$) (Table 4). Further analyses were conducted to examine whether specific aspects of the physical violence discriminated between the prostitute and nonprostitute victims. Specifically, the frequency of the physical abuse, the specific acts of violence, the number of acts of physical abuse, the relationship of the abuser to the victim, the number of abusers, and the extent of physical injury incurred were examined (Table 5). Although prostitute and nonprostitute participants were physically abused more often by a parent (57 percent of the prostitutes and 76 percent of the nonprostitutes), this difference was not statistically significant (chi-square (1, $N = 46$) = 0.17, n.s.). Mothers and fathers were represented equally as abusers, and in approximately one-third of the sample, both mothers and fathers abused the participant as a child. A nonsignificant trend suggests that the nonprostitute victims were abused at a higher frequency compared to the prostitute adolescents (chi-square (1, $N = 46$) = 2.89, $p < .09$). In addition, the nonprostitute adolescents were subjected to more acts of physical violence than the prostitute youth (t (44) = 2.44,

$p < .02$). No other groups differences with respect to childhood-physical abuse were evident.

Combined Sexual and Physical Abuse. High levels of victimization were apparent in both groups. As shown in Table 6, over two-thirds of the prostitute adolescents were sexually abused as children. Sixteen of these had also been physically maltreated. Five adolescents (11 percent) experienced childhood-physical abuse. Only 9 youth (20 percent of the prostitute group) grew up in a non-abusive home. Similar proportions were reported by the nonprostitute adolescents (Table 6). These rates are substantially higher than found in the general population (Finkelhor, 1979); Runtz, 1989; Russell, 1984).

Interparental Violence

In contrast to findings from previous studies, prostitutes were not more likely than nonprostitutes to witness interparental violence (Table 7). Fifty percent of the adolescent prostitutes compared to 69 percent of the nonprostitute youth had witnessed violence in the family home. A nonsignificant trend suggests that the nonprostitute adolescents in this study witnessed family violence more frequently compared to nonprostitute adolescents ($\chi^2(1, N = 79) = 2.76, p < .09$).

Table 4

Proportion of Prostitute and Nonprostitute Participants
Experiencing Childhood-Physical Abuse

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Physical abuse:				
Yes	21	47.8	25	71.4
No	23	52.2	10	28.6

NOTE. Chi-square test was significant at $p < .03$.

Table 5

Characteristics of Childhood-Physical Abuse

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Perpetrator:				
Mother and/or father	12	57.2	19	76.3
Step-parent	4	19.1	2	8.0
Other relative	3	14.3	2	8.0
Mother's boyfriend	1	4.8	1	4.0
Other	1	4.8	1	4.0
Number of Abusers:				
One	15	71.4	16	64.0
Two	5	23.8	6	24.0
Three	1	4.8	1	4.0
Four	0	0	2	8.0
Physical Acts:				
Hit with object	12	57.1	10	40.0
Physical beating	5	23.8	8	32.0
Hit or slapped	1	4.8	1	4.0
Pushed/knocked down	3	14.3	8	32.0

continued

Frequency:

10 times or less	8	38.1	4	16.0
More than 10 times	13	61.9	21	84.0

Physical Injury:

No real hurt	1	4.8	0	0
Bruising or scrapes	13	61.9	16	64.0
Cuts	0	0	3	12.0
Medical treatment	7	33.3	6	24.0

NOTE. Chi-square tests were not significant.

Table 6

Proportion of Prostitute and Nonprostitute Participants
Physically and/or Sexually Abused as Children

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Victimization:				
Sexual abuse	14	31.8	7	20.0
Physical abuse	5	11.4	12	34.3
Physical and sexual abuse	16	36.4	13	37.1
No victimization	9	20.5	3	8.6

NOTE. Chi-square test was not significant.

Table 7

Proportion of Prostitute and Nonprostitute Adolescents
Witnessing Interparental Violence

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
Family Violence:				
Yes	22	50.0	24	68.6
No	22	50.0	11	31.4

NOTE. Chi-square test was not significant.

Leaving Home

Compared to nonprostitute adolescents, a significantly greater proportion of prostitute youth were classified as runaways (chi-square (1, $N = 77$) = 6.73, $p < .009$; Table 8). For two members of the nonprostitute group, child-protection intervention resulted in the participants' permanent removal from the family home because of physical and sexual abuse.

Additional analyses revealed that the prostitute group was associated with a higher frequency of both homelessness and true runaways compared to nonprostitutes (chi-square (2, $N = 77$) = 7.85, $p < .02$) (Table 9). Among the prostitute youth identified as living at home ($n = 6$), all of them had been classified as chronic short-term runners (run duration of less than 1 month). In contrast, 18 percent of the nonprostitute adolescents had never run away from home (Table 9).

Approximately, 60 percent of both the prostitute and nonprostitute youth who left home stated that problems within the family were precursors for their leaving. About one-half reported specific problems such as parental alcoholism, physical abuse, or sexual victimization. In terms of age of permanently leaving home, prostitutes ($M = 13.7$ years) and nonprostitutes ($M = 12.3$ years) did not significantly differ ($t(64) = 1.72$, n.s.).

Table 8

Proportion of Prostitute and Nonprostitute Adolescents
Classified as Runaways

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Runaways:				
Yes	38	86.4	20	60.6
No	6	13.6	13	39.4

NOTE. Chi-square test was significant at $p < .009$.

Table 9

Proportion of Prostitute and Nonprostitute Participants
Categorized as Runaways, Homeless, or Still at Home

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes			
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Runaways			23	52.3	15	45.5
Homeless:						
Parental death	2	4.5			0	0.0
Kicked out of home	5	11.4			1	3.0
Left home	8	18.2			4	12.1
Total Homeless			15	34.1	5	15.1
Still at home:						
Chronic short-term runners	6	13.6			7	21.2
Never left home	0	0.0			6	18.2
Total Still at Home			6	13.6	13	39.4

NOTE. Chi-square test for Runaways, Homeless Youth and
 Adolescents Still at Home was significant at $p < .02$.

Abuse of Alcohol and Other Drugs

As shown in Table 10, excessive drinking by a parent was frequently found in the families of both prostitute (77 percent) and nonprostitute (83 percent) participants. These rates are comparable to those found in provincial and national surveys of the general population (Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba, 1991; Eliany, 1989). However, direct comparisons are not possible as only rates of current drinkers, defined as consuming alcohol in the past 12 months, and not excessive drinkers, were reported in these studies.

Although the adolescent prostitutes' alcohol use did not differ from that of nonprostitutes (82 percent and 77 percent, respectively), high concordance rates between parental and adolescent drinking for both samples. Of the youth identified as problem or heavy drinkers, 79 percent of the prostitutes and 76 percent of the nonprostitutes had a parent who was alcoholic. There were also high rates of concordance between adolescent drinking and adolescent drug use. Of the prostitute youth who drank alcohol, 83 percent also abused drugs, compared to 82 percent of nonprostitute drinkers.

With respect to overall use of drugs, prostitutes did not differ from non-prostitutes in the number of participants in each group who used at least one drug (Table 11). Interestingly, nonprostitutes were more likely to use

marijuana compared to prostitutes who used other drugs such as acid, cocaine, amphetamines, and a Talwin and Ritalin combination at a higher rate (chi-square (1, $N = 58$) = 13.77, $p < .001$).

Family Functioning

The backgrounds of the participants for both groups were associated with significant family dysfunction. Surprisingly, fewer balanced families were found in the nonprostitute group (Table 12). Compared to nonprostitute adolescents, almost three times more prostitute families were categorized as balanced.

This difference may be attributed to significantly lower levels of cohesion found in the family interactions of nonprostitute youth who had experienced childhood-physical abuse ($F(3, 75) = 3.99$, $p < .01$). Although runaway and homeless youth reported high degrees of rigidity within family interactions compared to those still at home ($F(2, 76) = 4.47$, $p < .007$), prostitutes and nonprostitutes did not differ in this respect.

Table 10

Frequency of Parental Alcohol Abuse

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Alcoholic parents:				
Yes	34	77.3	29	82.9
No	10	22.7	6	17.1

NOTE. Chi-square test was not significant.

Table 11

Frequency of Drug Use in Prostitute and Nonprostitute
Adolescents and Types of Drugs Used Most Often

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Adolescent drug use:				
Yes	34	77.3	24	68.6
No	10	22.7	11	31.4
Drug used most often:				
Marijuana	15	44.1	22	91.7
Acid	4	11.7	2	8.3
Cocaine	7	20.6	0	0.0
Amphetamines	3	8.8	0	0.0
Talwin and Ritalin	5	14.7	0	0.0
Drug used most often (categories collapsed):				
Marijuana	15	44.1	22	91.7
Other drugs	19	55.9	2	8.3

NOTE. Chi-square test for Adolescent Drug Use was not significant. Chi-square test for the collapsed categories of Drug Used Most Often was significant at $p < .001$.

Table 12

Categories of Family Systems in Prostitute and Nonprostitute
Adolescents

	Prostitutes		Nonprostitutes	
	<u>f</u>	%	<u>f</u>	%
Extreme	15	34.1	16	45.7
Mid-Range	18	40.9	16	45.7
Balanced	11	25.0	3	8.6

NOTE. Chi-square test was not significant.

Adolescent Self-Esteem

With respect to the level of personal self-esteem, the prostitute and nonprostitute groups did not differ ($t = 77$) = 0.343, n.s.). Given the similarity of the adolescents' experiences thought to be linked to poor self-worth, this was not a surprising finding. However, scores on the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory indicate that participants in both groups had significantly poor self-esteem compared to normative samples (Coopersmith, 1981).

DISCUSSION

The research literature suggests that adolescent prostitutes run away from homes in which they had experienced childhood-sexual abuse, childhood-physical abuse, interparental violence, and/or parental alcoholism (Bagley & Young, 1987, Earls & David, 1990; Silbert, 1980). The purpose of the present study was to examine these family experiences and adolescent behaviours in samples of adolescent prostitutes and nonprostitutes to determine if particular factors were associated with entering prostitution. The results of this study corroborated previous findings, in that high proportions of the prostitute adolescents had experienced sexual and physical abuse as children. The presence of an alcoholic parent in the home and witnessing interparental violence was also frequently found. In addition, poor self-esteem and alcohol and drug problems were characteristic of the juvenile prostitutes.

The unique feature of this study was the inclusion of a comparison group of nonprostitute adolescents who were similar to the juvenile prostitutes in age, race, and family socioeconomic status. The findings suggest that in comparison to nonprostitute youth, the adolescent prostitutes were classified as runaways more frequently and used a wider variety of drugs, whereas the nonprostitute youth had experienced more childhood-physical abuse.

Although the other characteristics associated with prostitution were found at high rates in both groups of adolescents, significant differences were not evident. These results suggest that negative experiences in the home are not directly related to prostitution.

The comparison group was not representative of the general population. These youth had a number of familial, psychological, and behavioural difficulties including childhood-sexual victimization, childhood-physical abuse, poor self-esteem, parental alcoholism, and adolescent alcohol and drug use. Given that the nonprostitute adolescents were recruited from agencies involved with child-protection services, it was anticipated that some of the nonprostitute adolescents would have similar childhood experiences as the adolescent prostitutes. However, it was expected that the prostitute youth would have experienced significantly more negative experiences. It was surprising then, to find that the factors examined were equally common among both groups of adolescents.

Previous studies report that between 19 and 38 percent of the general population have experienced childhood-sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1979; Russell, 1984); approximately 29 percent were victims of physical maltreatment (Runtz, 1987); 30 percent may be living with a parent with a drinking problem; and up to one quarter of youth (22 percent) drink heavily (D'Arcy & Bold, 1983; Hetherington et al., 1978).

In a 1986 Gallop Poll 11 percent of Canadian youth surveyed (aged 12 to 29 years old) had used marijuana in the month prior to the survey and 2 percent reported cocaine use in the last year (Eliany, 1989b). These rates are significantly lower than those found in either the prostitute or nonprostitute groups.

Given the above prevalence rates, it would be expected that if a comparison group had been selected from the general population, very significant differences would have resulted between the prostitute and nonprostitute groups on all the factors related to prostitution. However, comparing prostitute adolescents with adolescents who had experienced equally traumatic backgrounds yet did not become involved in prostitution suggests that background variables may not be as important as factors causing entry into prostitution. Clearly, there are other factors that lead to entry into prostitution. Thus, the results of the present study differ from those of previous studies because of the inclusion of a comparison group which had similar types of problems.

Leaving Home

According to the results of the present study, there exists a strong relationship between leaving home and adolescent prostitution. Although the number of youth classified as runaways was quite high for both groups, a significantly higher number of the prostitute adolescents compared to nonprostitute youth were runaways. Furthermore,

no single family experience was associated with entry into prostitution or with running from the home. Taken together, these findings suggest that the experience of specific traumatic events in the backgrounds of youth are not directly associated with entry into prostitution.

Childhood experiences in the form of disturbed family interactions do contribute to the adolescents leaving the home. Runaway adolescents reported a variety of reasons for leaving their home or placement, including family disputes, parental alcoholism, and childhood-physical abuse and/or sexual victimization. Thus, negative childhood experiences may be seen as necessary but not sufficient conditions for entry into prostitution.

As noted in previous studies (CS/Resors Consulting, 1989; Kufeldt & Nimmo, 1987; Social Planning Council, 1990), both runaway youth and homeless adolescents are found among street youth. Homeless youth include adolescents who left home voluntarily, were kicked out of the family home, or became homeless due to the death of a parent. In these cases, an alternate caretaker did not assume responsibility for the youth and the youth did not seek help from social services. In the present study, 40 percent of the prostitute adolescents were classified as homeless rather than runaways. This represented a significant difference from the nonprostitute juveniles. Whether the adolescent runs from the home or from a social-agency placement,

leaving forces the adolescent to provide for her own basic needs at an early age. Prostitution may be the only survival strategy available to runaway girls as there are few legitimate employment opportunities for those with limited educational levels and work experience (Kufeldt & Nimmo, 1987; Mathews, 1989; Social Planning Council, 1990). This economic factor should be considered in future investigations of the predictors of adolescent prostitution.

The absence of a protective environment is strongly predictive of prostitution. Both Crowley (1977) and the Reconnect Research Project (CS/Resors Consulting, 1989) demonstrated a significant relationship between length of time away from home/placement and prostitution. This notion was partially supported by the findings of the present study. The majority of the prostitutes were away from the home or placement for greater than one month before becoming entrenched in prostitution.

Given that being a runaway or being homeless was the most significant predictor of prostitution, strategies with respect to preventing running from the home and/or placement are important. Early intervention to arrest the effects of victimization would facilitate the development of healthy psychological functioning in victims of physical and/or sexual abuse. Increased family-support programs so that dysfunctional parent-child interactions do not always have to result in the apprehension of the minor is another

approach. Intervention could also involve teaching the child adaptive problem-solving skills to cope with living in a dysfunctional family situation (e.g., living with an alcoholic parent).

The Needs Assessment on Homeless Children and Youth (Social Planning Council, 1990) observed that the majority of street youth were unaware of existing helping agencies and resources in the community. Increased education about available resources is recommended at both the school and street level. Communicating the information about options available to adolescents before they run and when they initially leave home would subsequently decrease the number who become involved in repeat runaway behaviour and prostitution. Only by allowing the adolescent to review her options can we hope to empower her to make safe choices.

Youth who are entrenched in street life are difficult to assist. They do not access traditional services, reject any services offered to them, continue to run away from home/placements, and have a global mistrust of social-service professionals. Thus, it is important to intervene before adolescents become ingrained in the street subculture. However, it is also essential that services be available for adolescents when they are ready to make the transition from the street. One way to meet these needs is to establish safe houses where youth can go for respite from the streets and for short-term shelter when they initially

leave the home/placement. A safe house serves two purposes. Firstly, it meets the basic needs of food and shelter. Secondly, it provides the opportunity for the youth to learn about existing services and consider their options. Communicating alternatives, making referrals to appropriate social services, and providing short-term crisis shelter would go far in breaking the cycle of runaways entering prostitution. It would seem that a continuum of services is required to address the problem of runaway and homeless adolescents.

Drug Abuse

Although the frequency of drug use did not discriminate between prostitute and nonprostitute participants, the range of drugs sampled did. Prostitutes not only used marijuana, but also drugs such as cocaine, a Talwin and Ritalin combination, LSD, and amphetamines at a significantly higher frequency than the nonprostitutes. The nonprostitutes primarily used marijuana. Though the data suggest that drug use is related to prostitution, the direction of this relationship is unclear. One could speculate that the use of illicit drugs may result in entry into prostitution in order to pay for the addiction. One could also theorize that involvement in prostitution may result in drug abuse in order to cope with the stress of street life. Finally, it is conceivable that prostitution and drug use may be the result of another variable. In previous studies, neither

Silbert et al. (1982) nor James (1976b) found a consistent predictive relationship between drug use and prostitution. Whether substance use precedes, or follows, entry into prostitution, addiction ensures the entrenchment in prostitution so that drugs may be purchased.

The measure of drug use in the present study was self-report. The results of this investigation must be viewed tentatively given the well-documented phenomenon of denial of problem use among drug abusers (Bailey, 1989; Niven, 1986). The inclusion of a valid measure of drug abuse and a measure of the frequency of use would facilitate our understanding of the connection between drug use and prostitution.

Victimization

A strong relationship between prostitution and childhood victimization, both physical and sexual has been suggested by the research literature. For this reason, hypotheses were generated to examine the nature of these associations.

Childhood-Sexual Abuse. It was predicted that the prostitute adolescents would have experienced childhood-sexual abuse more often than the nonprostitute adolescents. This prediction was not supported. Both prostitute and nonprostitute adolescents were victims of childhood-sexual abuse (68 percent and 57 percent, respectively). The number of adolescent prostitutes sexually abused as children is

consistent with the rates found in prior investigations of prostitutes (Bagley & Young, 1987; Earls & David, 1990; Silbert, 1980). However, the extent of sexual victimization reported by the participants in both groups exceeded that reported for the general population (Badgley Report, 1984; Bagley & Ramsew, 1985; Finkelhor, 1979).

Past investigations have found that more serious negative effects, prostitution among those, were associated with specific characteristics of the sexual abuse episode. Early age at onset of abuse (Bagley & McDonald, 1984; Russell, 1984), father or stepfather as the perpetrator (Adams-Tucker, 1982; Herman et al., 1986), high frequency and long duration of victimization (Herman, 1981; Tsai et al., 1979), or whether force was used (Brunngraber, 1986; Elwell & Ephross, 1987; Herman et al., 1986) were found to be associated with a long-lasting negative impact.

It was predicted that prostitutes and nonprostitutes would differ with respect to the specific characteristics of the abuse episodes. The results of the current study do not support this prediction. The absence of differences suggests that although traumatic-sexual victimization is associated with long-term negative effects, this factor did not differentiate between adolescent prostitutes and nonprostitutes. Previous investigations may have

underestimated the prevalence of childhood-sexual abuse among nonprostitute youth.

Childhood-Physical Abuse. It was predicted that adolescent prostitutes would have experienced more physical abuse as children than nonprostitute youth. This prediction was also not supported in this study. In fact, the nonprostitutes reported higher rates of physical abuse than the prostitutes (71 percent and 48 percent, respectively). The rate of physical violence in the adolescent prostitute group was similar to those found in previous investigations of prostitutes. Forty-five percent of the participants in Silbert's (1980) study and 73 percent in the Bagley and Young (1987) survey report experiencing childhood-physical abuse. In contrast, the prevalence of childhood-physical abuse in the backgrounds of the nonprostitute adolescents in the current study was significantly higher than that expected in the general population. Rates of childhood-physical abuse in studies of undergraduates ranged from 16 to 29 percent (Cole, 1986; Runtz, 1987, 1991).

The rate of childhood-physical abuse found in the nonprostitute group may be explained by looking at the settings in which participants were recruited. Both prostitute and nonprostitute participants were recruited from agencies connected with child-protection services. Child-protection agencies are more likely to intervene in cases where there is clear-cut, physical evidence that a

child has been abused than if the evidence is more ambiguous, as with the case for verbal abuse and sexual victimization. It is possible that a high proportion of the nonprostitute youth initially came to the attention of the child-welfare system as a result of physical violence perpetrated against them. The juveniles were subsequently included in the agency caseload and were available as part of the subject pool for the present study. Thus, the significantly higher frequency of nonprostitute adolescents, compared to the adolescent prostitutes, who reported experiencing childhood-physical abuse may reflect the reason that social services became involved with them. Future investigation should clarify if there are differences between prostitute and nonprostitute adolescents with respect to the initial reasons for youth becoming involved with child-protection services.

Research Dilemmas

This research was fraught with logistical problems and ethical dilemmas. Child protection legislation requires that any individual must report "any child in need of protection" (Manitoba Guidelines on Identifying and Reporting Child Abuse, 1990, p. 1). Given that the prostitute adolescents were most often runaways and involved in a dangerous lifestyle, it was debated whether "for the good of the child" the adolescents' whereabouts should be reported to their families or placements. One purpose of

this investigation was to obtain information about adolescent prostitutes in order to make recommendations to social services. Reporting the youth would have seriously compromised that goal. In order to resolve this dilemma, participants' names were not requested. If queried, it is doubtful whether actual names would have been given. In fact, it became known after the fact that at least two of the juveniles listed their street names on the consent forms.

With respect to the requirement of reporting disclosures of sexual abuse, it was anticipated that an adolescent would be unlikely to disclose abuse to a stranger. However, participants involved with social-service agencies were informed of the researcher's responsibility to report any disclosures prior to their participation. As a result, several adolescents declined to participate, and five youth chose not to answer questions dealing with abuse issues. This suggests that the data may be an underestimation of the actual rates of abuse in both the prostitute and nonprostitute samples.

Although the groups did not differ with respect to the experience of childhood-sexual abuse, the criteria utilized in various studies to define "sexual abuse" should be considered when comparing the current findings with those of other investigations. Some studies utilizing a broad definition of sexual exploitation have found abusive

experiences in the backgrounds of 50 percent of their samples (e.g., Badgley Report, 1984). Other researchers who used a more narrow definition report that 19 to 38 percent of their respective samples had experienced childhood-sexual abuse (Bagley & Ramsey, 1985; Finkelhor, 1979; Russell, 1984). Even though the present investigation utilized a narrow definition of sexual abuse, the extent of victimization reported was in excess of those found in studies using the broadest definition (e.g., Badgley Report, 1984). This may reflect sampling differences or an increased willingness on the part of the participants in this study to discuss past victimization. Alternatively, the results of the present study suggest that previous studies may have underestimated the problem of sexual victimization not only among prostitutes but also among nonprostitute youth.

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

The main limitation of the present investigation is the absence of a second comparison group of youth from the general population. The nonprostitute group in this study was not representative of the general population. This was a group with problems of its own, including childhood-physical abuse, childhood-sexual abuse, and parental alcoholism. Although this group had equally traumatic backgrounds, they did not become involved in prostitution

and thus, group comparisons yielded some interesting findings. However, future research should consider including a matched sample of nonprostitute juveniles from the general population, as well as a nonprostitute group similar to the one used in this study. Although a sample of nonprostitute highschool students was sought for the present investigation, school board policies made it impossible to obtain such a group.

It is possible that some of the adolescents were incorrectly classified into the nonprostitute group. Some adolescents may have engaged in prostitution but may not have recognized it as such. The question that classified youth into prostitute or nonprostitute groups has been used in several investigations of prostitutes and was seen as a reliable measure. It is also plausible that some nonprostitute adolescents chose not to disclose their involvement in prostitution to the investigator. However, care was taken to establish a rapport with the youth so that this number would be minimized.

Another limitation of this investigation was the absence of standardized measures for alcohol and drug use for the adolescents in both groups. Without these instruments it was impossible to examine the direction of the relationship of alcohol and/or drug use with prostitution. Future research should include standardized assessment tools of adolescent alcohol and drug abuse, as

well as examine the patterns of use in order to clarify the relationship between substance abuse and prostitution.

Researchers should also examine the psychological adjustment of prostitute and nonprostitute adolescents to see if there are differences between the groups. In the present study, the groups did not differ with respect to adolescent self-esteem. However, both groups demonstrated poor self-esteem compared to the general population. This is in contrast to the Bagley and Young (1987) study, that reported adult exprostitutes had significantly poorer mental health and self-esteem compared to a community sample of adults. However, the exprostitutes had also been sexually and physically abused more often than the nonprostitute comparison group. Thus, it is difficult to determine whether involvement in prostitution, the experience of childhood victimization, or both, resulted in the discrepant mental health status of the groups.

Future research should utilize similar groups as the current study to examine whether adolescent prostitutes and nonprostitutes differ with respect to psychological difficulties. In the absence of preexisting differences in mental health status, the notion that engaging in prostitution as a strategy in order to survive would be supported. Researchers should also assess whether there are differences in psychological problems in various prostitute and nonprostitute victim groups. For example, do

prostitutes who have been sexually abused demonstrate differences in psychological adjustment compared to sexually-abused nonprostitutes? Similarly, are there differences between groups of physically-abused prostitutes and nonprostitutes? Future research should also examine the differences between victims of physical and/or sexual abuse to assess if there are differences in coping strategies and whether any differences are specific to prostitute and nonprostitute adolescents.

Additional research is required to look at the relationship between prostitution and involvement with child-protection services. The majority of the participants in the current study had extensive histories of involvement with social services. It would be very informative to examine these histories for both prostitute and nonprostitute adolescents to determine if there are differences in the reasons that juveniles first come to the attention of child-protection services and whether the kinds of services provided differ. Sadly, a history of numerous and unsuccessful placements may be found to be predictive of prostitution.

Lastly, future research could examine whether prostitute and nonprostitute adolescents differ with respect to the way in which they coped with negative childhood experiences. Prostitute adolescents may have adopted active coping styles whereas nonprostitute youth may exhibit

passive ways of coping. Past research has shown that individuals who are unable to control aversive events (for example, physical abuse) demonstrate a learned-helplessness response. This helplessness is characterized by a passive acceptance of the situation, diminished avoidance behaviours, increased depression, and poorer self-esteem (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978). These same characteristics have been associated with the documented long-term effects of childhood-physical and/or childhood-sexual abuse (Jehu & Gazan, 1983; Kazdin et al., 1985; Martin & Beezley, 1977; Steele, 1986).

Conclusions

In the research literature, adolescent prostitutes were frequently characterized as victims of childhood-sexual abuse and childhood-physical maltreatment, as well as witnesses to interparental violence. Prior investigations reported that prostitution was associated with running away from home, dysfunctional families, parental alcoholism, adolescent alcohol and drug abuse, and poor adolescent self-esteem. The purpose of the present study was to compare juvenile prostitute and nonprostitute adolescents on the characteristics associated with prostitution to determine if there were differences between the groups. The extent to which the factors studied were found in the experiences of the adolescent prostitutes corroborated the results found in previous studies of prostitutes. The backgrounds of juvenile

prostitutes were fraught with a multitude of family problems, childhood experiences of physical and/or sexual abuse, parental alcoholism, and family violence. However, these factors were equally common among the comparison group of nonprostitutes.

Nevertheless, family experiences contributed to the adolescent leaving home. In the present study, adolescent prostitutes ran away from home significantly more often than nonprostitute adolescents. Given that the groups did not differ with respect to experiences in the home nor in adolescent behaviours, this suggests that background factors may be necessary but insufficient conditions which are related to prostitution. The findings also suggest that prostitution may be a survival strategy for girls who are in very difficult circumstances instead of indicative of a psychological disorder. One can speculate that if basic needs can be met by legitimate means, youth would not have to resort to prostitution. Although few group differences were found among the factors examined in the current study, individual differences may be evident in other characteristics such as coping styles. Additionally, the extent of, and reasons for, child-protection-agency involvement is another area requiring further inquiry.

REFERENCES

- Abramson, L., Seligman, M., & Teasdale, J. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 87, 49-74.
- Adams-Tucker, C. (1982). Proximate effects of sexual abuse in childhood: A report on 28 children. American Journal of Psychiatry, 139, 1252-1256.
- Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba. (March, 1991). Fast facts about alcohol. Winnipeg, MB.: The Drug and Alcohol Awareness and Information Directorate.
- Badgley Report (1984) (a.k.a. Sexual offences against children: Committee report on sexual offences against children and youth, Volumes I and II). Ministry of Justice Canada. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.
- Bagley, C., & McDonald, M. (1984). Adult mental health sequels of child sexual abuse, physical abuse and neglect in maternally neglected children. Canadian Journal of Public Health, 3, 15-26.
- Bagley, C., & Ramsey, R. (1985). Sexual abuse in childhood: Psychosocial outcomes and implications for social work practice. Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality, 4, 33-47.

- Bagley, C., & Young, L. (1987). Juvenile prostitution and child sexual abuse: A controlled study. Journal of Community Mental Health, 6, 5-26.
- Bailey, G. (1989). Current perspectives on substance abuse in youth. American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 28, 151-165.
- Bedeian, A., Teague, R., & Zmud, R. (1977). Test-retest reliability and internal consistency of short-form Coopersmith's Self-esteem Inventory. Psychological Reports, 41, 1041-1042.
- Benward, J., & Densen-Gerber, J. (1975). Incest as a causative factor in antisocial behavior: An exploratory study. Contemporary Drug Problems, 4, 323-340.
- Black, C., Bucky, S., & Wilder-Padilla, S. (1986). The interpersonal and emotional consequences of being an adult child of an alcoholic. The International Journal of Addictions, 21, 213-231.
- Blishen, B. & McRoberts, H. (1976). A revised socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 13, 71-79.
- Bracey, D. (1979). Baby pros: Preliminary profiles of juvenile prostitutes. New York: John Jay Press.
- Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1986). Suicidal thoughts and behaviors in former sexual abuse victims. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 18, 413-423.

- Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1987). Post sexual abuse trauma: Data and implications for clinical practice. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 2, 367-379.
- Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1988a). Multivariate correlates of childhood psychological and physical maltreatment among university women. Child Abuse & Neglect, 12, 331-341.
- Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1988b). Symptomatology associated with childhood sexual victimization in a nonclinical adult sample. Child Abuse & Neglect, 12, 51-59.
- Brown, M. E. (1979). Teenage prostitution. Adolescence, 14, 665-680.
- Brunngraber, L. S. (1986). Father-daughter incest: Immediate and long-term effects of sexual abuse. Advances in Nursing Science, 8, 15-35.
- Cole C. B. (May 1986). Differential long-term effects of child sexual and physical abuse. Paper presented at the Fourth National Conference on Sexual Victimization of Children, New Orleans.
- Coopersmith, S. (1981). Self-Esteem inventories. (rev. ed.). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc.
- Crowley, M. G. (1977). Female runaway behavior and its relationship to prostitution. Unpublished master's thesis, Sam Houston State University, Houston, Tx.

- CS/Resors Consulting Limited (1989). A study of the Vancouver Reconnect program and Vancouver street youth. Volume I. Suite 104 - 1718 Commercial Drive, Vancouver, B.C.
- Curtois, C. (1979). The incest experience and its aftermath. Victimology, 4, 337-347.
- D'Arcy, C., & Bold, G. (1983). Alcohol and drug dependency in Saskatchewan, 1969-1974. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 44, 630-646.
- Davis, N. J. (1971). The prostitute: Developing a deviant identity. In J. M. Henslin (Ed.), Studies in the Sociology of Sex. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, (pp. 293-332).
- Deren, S. (1986). Children of substance abusers: A review of the literature. Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment, 3, 77-94.
- Earls, C. M., & David, H. (1990, December). Early family and sexual experiences of male and female prostitutes. Canada's Mental Health, 7-11.
- Eliany, M. (Ed.) (1989a). Alcohol in Canada. Health and Welfare Canada. Ottawa, ON: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.
- Eliany, M. (Ed.) (1989b). Licit and illicit drugs in Canada. Health and Welfare Canada. Ottawa, ON: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada.

- Elwell, M. E., & Ephross, P. H. (1987). Initial reactions of sexually children. Social Casework: The Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 68, 109-116.
- Enablers, Inc. (1978). Juvenile prostitution in Minnesota: The report of a research project. St. Paul: The Enablers.
- Eysenck, S. B. G., Eysenck, H. J., & Barrett, P. (1985). A revised version of the psychoticism scale. Personality and Individual Differences, 6, 21-29.
- Famularo, R., Stone, K., Barnum, R., & Wharton, R. (1986). Alcoholism and severe child maltreatment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 56, 481-485.
- Ferran, E., & Sabatini, A. (1985). Homeless youth: The New York experience. International Journal of Family Psychiatry, 6, 117-128.
- Fields, P. J. (1980). Parent-child relations, childhood sexual abuse and adult interpersonal behavior in female prostitutes. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology, Los Angeles.
- Finkelhor, D. (1979). Sexually victimized children. New York: Free Press.
- Finkelhor, D., & Browne, A. (1985). The traumatic impact of child sexual abuse: A conceptualization. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 55, 530-54.

- Fraser Report. (1985). (a.k.a. Pornography and prostitution in Canada: Report of the special committee on pornography and prostitution, Volumes I and II.
Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.
- Gagnon, J. H. (1965). Female child victims of sex offenses. Social Problems, 13, 176-192.
- Gelardo, M. & Sanford, E. (1987). Child abuse and neglect: A review of the literature. School Psychology Review, 16, 137-155.
- Gray, D. (1973). Turning out: A study of teenage prostitution. Urban Life and Culture, 1, 401-425.
- Green, A. (1978). Self-destructive behavior in battered children. American Journal of Psychiatry, 135, 597-582.
- Hartman, C. R., Burgess, A. W., & McCormack, A. (1987). Pathways and cycles of runaways: A model for understanding repetitive runaway behavior. Hospital and Community Psychiatry, 38, 292-299.
- Hawkins, J., Lishner, D., Catalano, R., & Howard, M. (1985). Childhood predictors of adolescent substance abuse: Toward an empirically grounded theory. Journal of Children in Contemporary Society, 18, 11-48.
- Herman, J. L. (1981). Father-daughter incest. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Herman, J., Russell, D., & Trocki, K. (1986). Long-term effects of incestuous abuse in childhood. American

- Journal of Psychiatry, 143, 1293-1296.
- Hetherington, R. W., Dickinson, J., Cipywnyk, D., & Hay, D. (1978). Drinking behavior among Saskatchewan adolescents. Canadian Journal of Public Health, 69, 315-324.
- Hjorth, C. & Ostrov, E. (1982). The self-image of physically abused adolescents. Journal of Youth & Adolescence, 11, 71-77.
- Jackman, N. R., & O'Toole, R. (1963). The self-image of the prostitute. Sociological Quarterly, 4, 150-161.
- James, J. (1976a). Motivations for entrance into prostitution. In L. Crites (Ed.), The female offender. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, (pp. 175-205).
- James, J. (1976b). Prostitution and addiction: An interdisciplinary approach. Addictive Diseases: An International Journal, 2, 601-618.
- James, J., Boyer, D., Withers, J., & Haft, J. (1980). Perspectives on prostitution. Seattle: University of Washington Print Shop.
- James, J., & Meyerding, J. (1977a). Early sexual experience and prostitution. American Journal of Psychiatry, 134, 1381-1385.
- James, J., & Meyerding, J. (1977b). Early sexual experience as a factor in prostitution. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 7, 31-42.

- Jehu, D., & Gazan, M. (1983). Psychological adjustment of women who were sexually victimized in childhood or adolescence. Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 2, 71-82.
- Jones, J. W. (1982). The Children of Alcoholics Screening Test. Illinois: Family Recovery Press.
- Kazdin, A., Moser, J., Colbus, D., & Bell, R. (1985). Depressive symptoms among physically abused and psychiatrically disturbed children. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 94, 298-307.
- Kempe, C., Silverman, F., Steele, B., Droegemueller, W., & Silver, H. (1962). The Battered-Child Syndrome. Journal of the American Medical Association, 181, 17-24.
- Kline, R. B., Canter, W. A., & Robin, A. (1987). Parameters of teenage alcohol use: A path analytic conceptual model. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55, 521-528.
- Kufeldt, K., & Nimmo, M. (1987). Kids on the street, they have something to say: Survey of runaway and homeless youth. Journal of Child Care, 3, 53-61.
- Llles, R. Childs, D. (1986). Similarities in family dynamics of incest and alcohol abuse: Issues for clinicians. Alcohol Health and Research World, 11, 66-69.

Lowman, J. (1987). Taking young prostitutes seriously.

The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 24,
99-116.

MacVicar, K., & Dillon, M. (1980). Childhood and adolescent
development of ten female prostitutes. Journal of the
American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 19, 145-159.

Making street connections: Profile of Winnipeg prostitutes.

(January, 1985). Project report. Sponsored by
Elizabeth Fry Society and Y.W.C.A. with support from
Winnipeg Core Area Initiative. 200 - Vaughan Street,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Manitoba Guidelines on Identifying and Reporting Child

Abuse. Government of Manitoba, 1990.

Martin, H. & Beezley, P. (1977). Behavioral observations of
abused children. Developmental Medicine & Child
Neurology, 19, 373-387.

Mathews, F. (1987). Familiar strangers: A study of
adolescent prostitution. Toronto: Central Toronto
Youth Services.

McMullen, R. J. (1986). Youth prostitution: A balance of
power. Journal of Adolescence, 10, 35-43.

Newman, F., & Caplan, P. (1982). Juvenile female
prostitution as gender consistent response to early
deprivation. International Journal of Women's Studies,
5, 128-137.

- Niven, R. (1986). Adolescent drug abuse. Hospital and Community Psychiatry, 37, 596-607.
- Olson, D. H., McCubbin, H. I., Barnes, H., Larsen, A., Muxen, M., & Wilson, M. (1985). Family Inventories: Inventories used in a national survey of families across the family life cycle. Minnesota: University of Minnesota.
- Olson, D. H., Russell, C. S., & Sprenkle, D. H. (1979). Circumplex Model of marital and family systems II: Empirical studies and clinical intervention. In J. Vincent (Ed.). Advances in family intervention, assessment and theory. Conn.: JAI Press, (pp. 128-176).
- Paton, S. & Kandel, D. (1978). Psychological factors and adolescent illicit drug use: Ethnicity and sex differences. Adolescence, 13, 187-200.
- Rachal, J. V., Hubbard, R. L., Williams, J. R., & Tuchfeld, B. S. (1976). Drinking levels and problem drinking among junior and senior high-school students. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 37, 1751-1761.
- Roberts, A. (1982). Stress and coping patterns among adolescent runaways. Journal of Social Science Research, 5, 15-27.
- Rosenberg, M. (1987). Children of battered women: The effects of witnessing violence on their social

problem-solving abilities. The Behavior Therapist, 4, 85-89.

Runtz, M. G. (1987). The psychosocial adjustment of women who were sexually and physically abused during childhood and early adulthood: A focus on revictimization. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Runtz, M. G. (1989). The influence of coping strategies and social support on recovery from child abuse. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Russell D. E. H. (1984). Sexual exploitation: Rape, child sexual abuse and workplace harassment. Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage Publications.

Rycroft, P. (1987). Gender and abusive victimization: gender and childhood family abuse as predictors of adulthood partner abuse. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Schaffer, B., & DeBlassie, R. R. (1984). Adolescent prostitution. Adolescence, 19, 689-696.

Sedney, M. A., & Brooks, B. (1984). Factors associated with a history of childhood sexual experience in a nonclinical female population. American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 23, 215-218.

Silbert, M. H. (1980). Sexual assault of prostitutes. Final report to the National Centre for the Prevention

- and Control of Rape. National Institute of Mental Health. Delancey Street Foundation, San Francisco, CA.
- Silbert, M. H. (1982). Prostitution and sexual assault: Summary of results. The International Journal for Biosocial Research, 3, 69-71.
- Silbert, M. H., & Pines, A. M. (1981). Sexual abuse as an antecedent to prostitution. Child Abuse & Neglect, 5, 407-411.
- Silbert, M. H., & Pines, A. M. (1983). Early sexual exploitation as an influence in prostitution. Social Work, 28, 285-289.
- Silbert, M. H., Pines A. M., & Lynch, T. (1982). Substance abuse and prostitution. Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, 14, 193-197.
- Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, (1990). Needs assessment on homeless children and youth. 412 McDermot Avenue, Winnipeg, MB.
- Steele, B. (1986). Notes on the lasting effects of early child abuse throughout the life cycle. Child Abuse & Neglect, 10, 283-291.
- Steffenhagen, R., Polich, J., & Lash, S. (1978). Alienation, delinquency and patterns of drug use. International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 24, 125-133.
- Tsai, M., Feldman-Summers, S., & Edgar, M. (1979). Childhood molestation: Variables related to

differential impacts in psychosexual functioning in adult women. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 88, 407-417.

Tsai M., & Wagner, N. (1978). Therapy groups for women sexually molested as children. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 7, 417-427.

Vitaliano, P. P., James, J., & Boyer, D. (1981). Sexuality of deviant females: Adolescent and adult correlates. Social Work, 26, 468-472.

Weisberg, D. K. (1985). Children of the night: A study of adolescent prostitution. Lexington, MA: D. C. Health & Company.

West, M. O., & Prinz, R. J. (1987). Parental alcoholism and childhood psychopathology. Psychological Bulletin, 102, 204-218.

Young, R., Godfrey, W., Mathews, B., & Adams, G. (1983). Runaways: A review of negative consequences. Family Relations, 32, 275-281.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Consent Form

Dear Friend:

I would like to ask you to participate in this study for a master's thesis in psychology at the University of Manitoba. The research focuses on early experiences that may or may not have happened to you. At times these experiences effect later life choices and other times they do not. I would like to caution you that some of the questions that I will be asking you deal with issues of a very personal nature. Some of the questions deal with parental alcohol use, family violence, early sexual experiences you may have had, your own alcohol and drug use and how you feel about yourself in general. Although I would like to assure you that your responses will be kept confidential, there are some sections in the questionnaire that deal with physical and sexual abuse. The law requires that I report any child in need of protection. Therefore, if you indicate that you are or have been victimized, I will be obligated to report this to the appropriate child care agency.

Approximately 80 individuals will be participating. Forty of these people will have worked on the streets. The other half have not. Comparisons of early experiences of these two groups may allow me to find out if there are differences in the backgrounds of adolescents who have been on the street and those who haven't. This kind of information will be valuable in giving agencies direction for the kinds of programs that would be most helpful for the ones who do leave home. Examples of such programs may include: youth shelters, safe houses, employment programs, adolescent drug programs, etc.

Although I would like your cooperation, you are under no obligation to participate. You may choose to stop participating at any time you wish. All you have to do is indicate that you wish to do so. You may also choose not to answer any particular question.

Having read and understood this consent form, please indicate the decision you have made regarding participation in the the appropriate blank below.

- _____ I have read the above and have decided to agree to participate in this study.
- _____ I have read the above and have decided NOT to agree to participate in this study.

Signature: _____

APPENDIX B
Request for Results

Request for Final Results

IF YOU WOULD LIKE A SUMMARY OF THE FINAL RESULTS, PLEASE FILL IN
THE FORM BELOW. RESULTS WILL BE SENT OUT AS SOON
AS THEY ARE AVAILABLE (MOST LIKELY IN MARCH, 1990)

(Please print)

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ Province: _____

Postal Code: _____

APPENDIX C

Parent/Guardian Consent Form

Dear Parent/Guardian:

I would like to ask you your permission to allow your daughter to participate in this study about adolescent early experiences. This research will serve as partial requirements for my master's degree in psychology at the University of Manitoba. The study focuses on early life experiences that may or may not have happened to your client. At times these experiences effect later life choices and other times they do not. I would like to caution you that some of the questions that I will be asking deal with sensitive issues such as parental alcohol use, family violence, your adolescent's early sexual experiences, your daughter's own alcohol and drug use, among other things. Because these questions are so personal, you are assured that your daughter's answers will be kept **ANONYMOUS** and strictly **CONFIDENTIAL**. Names or other information that may identify you or her will not be requested at any time. All information gathered will be used in group form only.

Approximately 80 individuals will be participating. Forty of the adolescents will be street youth. The other half are youth that have not left home. By comparing the family backgrounds of these two groups, I may be able to find out why some adolescents prostitute and others do not. This information will be valuable in giving social service agencies direction for what community services are needed in order to help.

Although I would like your cooperation, you are under no obligation to give permission for your daughter to participate. Your daughter may choose to stop participating at any time she wishes. She may also choose not to answer any particular question. All she has to do is indicate that she wishes to do so.

Having read and understood this consent form, please indicate the decision you have made regarding your daughter's participation in the appropriate blank below.

_____ I have read the above and have decided to give my permission for _____ to participate in this study.

_____ I have read the above and have decided **NOT** to give my permission for _____ to participate in this study.

Signature: _____

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me:

Susan Nadon
Graduate Student,
University of Manitoba

Dr. E. Schludermann, Ph.D.,
Faculty Advisor,
Department of Psychology,
University of Manitoba

APPENDIX D

Prevalence of Familial Experiences and Adolescent Behaviours in the General Population

Prevalence of Experiences in the General Population

- 1) Physical and sexual abuse occurs across all socioeconomic classes, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, intellectual and education levels, races, religions, and geographic locations (Browne & Finkelhor, 1985).
- 2) Children of any age may be abused - from newborns to adolescents.
- 3) The prevalence of sexual victimization in the general population ranges from 19 to 38 percent (Finkelhor, 1979; Russell, 1984).
- 4) The prevalence of childhood-physical abuse may be as high as or higher than 29 percent of the general population (Runtz, 1987).
- 5) Thirty percent of school-aged children and youth may be living with a parent who has a drinking problem.
- 6) The majority of adolescents drink at least occasionally and up to one-quarter (22 percent) of youths drink heavily and/or have alcohol-related problems (D'Arcy et al., 1983; Hetherington et al., 1978).
- 7) There are treatment and counselling services in the community for those who want help and that some are listed on the resource cards to be given to the participants.
- 8) Anyone suspecting or knowing that a juvenile is in need of protection is legally responsible to report

this to a Child and Family Service Agency or the police who will then investigate the report.

APPENDIX E
Interview Schedule

Subject Number:

First number indicates group:

100 = POWER
200 = TERF
300 = SEVEN OAKS
400 = Knowles
500 = MYC
600 = Marymound
700 = Comparison

Date of Interview: _____

Time Started: _____

Part 1

Background Information - Demographic Variables

1. Age: _____

2. How would you describe yourself? (Read categories)

01 = Black

02 = Metis

03 = Native

04 = Oriental (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese, etc.)

05 = White

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

3. If you say you will do something do you always keep your promise no matter how inconvenient it might be?

01 = Yes

02 = No

4. Were you ever greedy by helping yourself to more than your share of anything?

01 = Yes

02 = No

5. Where did you grow up? (Specify city and province)

Was it a

01 = Suburb or 02 = Downtown

Was it a

03 = Small town or 04 = Big City

Was it a

05 = Rural area or 06 = Urban area

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

6. In school, what was the last grade completed? _____

0 = still in school

7. If left school, what was the reason you left school?

0 = still attending

01 = graduated/completed program

02 = economic pressure (get a job)

03 = expelled

04 = institutionalized

05 = inability to complete school work

06 = family problems

07 = married

08 = pregnant

09 = bored

10 = involved in drugs, criminal activity

11 = ran away from home

99 = other (Specify: _____)

8. How did you earn your money in the last six months?

9. How did you support yourself in the last two years?

10. Do you always practice what you preach?

01 = Yes

02 = No

11. Do you sometimes put off until tomorrow what you ought to do today?

01 = Yes

02 = No

Part 2

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your family when you were growing up.

1. Who are the people that make up your family?
(e.g. mother, stepfather, sister, etc.)

2. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
(Include step-siblings)

3. What is your position in the family? (e.g. oldest, youngest, etc.)

01 = eldest child

02 = youngest child

03 = only child

04 = middle child

4. Have you ever blamed someone for doing something you knew was your fault?

01 = Yes

02 = No

5. Are all your habits good and desirable ones?

01 = Yes

02 = No

6. Who was mostly responsible for raising you?

01 = mother and father

02 = mother only

03 = father only

04 = stepmother

05 = sister and/or brother

06 = other relatives
(aunt, grandparents)

07 = self

08 = foster home(s)

09 = adopted guardian

99 = other (or more than two of the above)

Specify: _____

7. Are your parents (major female/male figure) currently together?

01 = Yes; married

02 = Yes; common-law

03 = No

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

8. How would you describe your family's money situation while you were growing up? (Read categories)

01 = Very poor

02 = Just making it

03 = Average

05 = Comfortable

06 = Very wealthy

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

9. Occupation of father (or major male figure):

10. Occupation of mother (or major female figure):

11. What was the last grade your father (or major male figure) completed in school?

12. What was the last grade your mother (or major female figure) completed in school?

Part 3

The next series of statements describe family behaviors. Use the scale to identify the response which most closely describes your family when you were growing up. There are no right or wrong answers. What is important is that you answer as honestly as you can.

1	2	3	4	5
Almost Never	Once In A While	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always

1. Family members ask each other for help. _____
2. In solving problems, the children's suggestions are followed. _____
3. We approve of each other's friends. _____
4. Children have a say in their discipline. _____
5. We like to do things with just our immediate family. _____
6. Different persons act as leaders in our family. _____
7. Different members feel closer to other family members than to people outside the family. _____
8. Our family changes its way of handling tasks. _____
9. Family members like to spend free time with each other. _____
10. Parent(s) and children discuss punishment together. _____
11. Family members feel very close to each other. _____
12. The children make the decisions in our family. _____

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|
| | Almost
Never | Once In
A While | Sometimes | Frequently | Almost
Always |
13. When our family gets together for activities,
everbody is present. _____
 14. Rules change in our family. _____
 15. We can easily think of things to do together
as a family. _____
 16. We shift household responsibilities from
person to person. _____
 17. Family members consult other family members on
their decisions. _____
 18. It is hard to identify the leader(s) in our family. _____
 19. Family togetherness is very important. _____
 20. It is hard to tell who does which household chores. _____

Part 4

1. Have you ever run away from home?

01 = Yes

02 = No

If no, go to next section.

If yes, how many times? _____

2. How long were you gone the most recent time?

01 = 1 - 3 days

02 = 4 - 6 days

03 = 1 - 3 weeks

04 = 1 - 3 months

05 = 6 - 12 months

06 = 1 - 2 years

07 = 2+ years

3. What are your present living arrangements?

01 = living with old man

02 = living alone

03 = living with mother

04 = living with father

05 = living with stepparents

06 = living with both
natural parents

07 = living with foster parents

08 = living with aunt/uncle

09 = living with grandparents

10 = living with other
relatives

11 = living with boyfriend

12 = living with girlfriend

13 = living with counselor/teacher

14 = living with friends

15 = in transit

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

4. At what age did you leave home permanently? _____

5. What was the main reason that you left home? _____

What was the next most important reason for you leaving? _____

01 = Working required it (employment elsewhere)

02 = Education required it (training, college)

03 = Marriage; living with man

04 = Desire for independence

05 = Family split up (no home maintained)

06 = Dispute with family; didn't get along with
parents/stepparents

07 = Institutionalized

08 = Specific traumatic event
(e.g., pregnancy, suicide attempt)

09 = Parental alcoholism

10 = Parental substance abuse

11 = Emotional abuse at home

12 = Physical abuse at home

13 = Sexual abuse at home

99 = Other (specify: _____)

0 = Never left home

6. Whose decision was it?

01 = Respondent's decision (e.g., wanted to be on her own)

02 = Court's decision to have respondent leave home

03 = Parents kicked her out

04 = Parents left

05 = Not ascertainable

09 = Other (Specify: _____)

Part 5

Respond to the following by trying to remember what your family
was like when you were growing up.

1. Did your mother (or major female figure) ever get drunk?

01 = Yes

02 = No

2. How often?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 01 = Once a day | 02 = Several times a week |
| 03 = Once a week | 04 = Several times a month |
| 05 = Once a month | 06 = Several times a year |
| 07 = Rarely | 08 = Never |
| 09 = Other (Specify: _____) | |

3. Did your father (or major male figure) ever get drunk?

- | | |
|----------|---------|
| 01 = Yes | 02 = No |
|----------|---------|

4. How often?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 01 = Once a day | 02 = Several times a week |
| 03 = Once a week | 04 = Several times a month |
| 05 = Once a month | 06 = Several times a year |
| 07 = Rarely | 08 = Never |
| 09 = Other (Specify: _____) | |

5. Did your mother (or major female figure) ever use drugs?

- | | |
|----------|---------|
| 01 = Yes | 02 = No |
|----------|---------|

6. How often?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 01 = Once a day | 02 = Several times a week |
| 03 = Once a week | 04 = Several times a month |
| 05 = Once a month | 06 = Several times a year |
| 07 = Rarely | 08 = Never |
| 09 = Other (Specify: _____) | |

7. Did your father (or major male figure) ever use drugs?

- | | |
|----------|---------|
| 01 = Yes | 02 = No |
|----------|---------|

8. How often?

01 = Once a day

02 = Several times a week

03 = Once a week

04 = Several times a month

05 = Once a month

05 = Several times a year

07 = Rarely

08 = Never

09 = Other (Specify: _____)

9. How sure are you about your memories of these behaviors?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Sure		Sure		Not Very Sure

Part 6

The statements below describe feelings, behaviors and experiences related to your mother's and/or father's alcohol use. Please answer all questions in this series as either true or false. (Mother includes biological mother, stepmother or female guardian. Father includes biological father, stepfather or male guardian.) Again, respond to statements for the time when you were growing up.

1. Have you ever thought that one of your parents had a drinking problem? Y N
2. Have you ever lost sleep because of a parent's drinking? Y N
3. Have you ever encouraged one of your parents to stop drinking? Y N
4. Have you ever felt alone, scared, nervous, angry or frustrated because a parent was not able to stop drinking? Y N

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 5. Have you ever argued or fought with a parent when he/she was drinking? | Y | N |
| 6. Have you ever threatened to run away from home because of a parent's drinking? | Y | N |
| 7. Has a parent ever yelled at you or hit you or other family members when drinking? | Y | N |
| 8. Have you ever heard your parents fight when one of them was drinking? | Y | N |
| 9. Have you ever protected another family member from a parent who was drinking? | Y | N |
| 10. Have you ever felt like hiding or emptying a parent's bottle of liquor? | Y | N |
| 11. Do many of your thoughts revolve around a problem drinking parent or difficulties that that arise because of his/her drinking? | Y | N |
| 12. Have you ever wished that a parent would stop drinking? | Y | N |
| 13. Have you ever felt responsible for a parent's drinking? | Y | N |
| 14. Have you ever thought that your parents would get divorced because of their alcohol misuse? | Y | N |
| 15. Have you ever withdrawn from and avoided outside activities and friends because of embarrassment and shame over a parent's drinking problem? | Y | N |
| 16. Have you ever felt caught in the middle of an argument between a problem drinking parent and your other parent? | Y | N |

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17. Have you ever felt that you made a parent drink alcohol? | Y | N |
| 18. Have you ever felt that a problem drinking parent did not really love you? | Y | N |
| 19. Have you ever resented a parent's drinking? | Y | N |
| 20. Have you ever worried about a parent's health because of his/her alcohol use? | Y | N |
| 21. Have you ever been blamed for a parent's drinking? | Y | N |
| 22. Have you ever thought that one of your parent's was an alcoholic? | Y | N |
| 23. Have you ever wished that your home could be more like the homes of your friends who did not have a parent with a drinking problem? | Y | N |
| 24. Has a parent ever made promises to you that he/she was unable to keep because of drinking? | Y | N |
| 25. Have you ever wished that you could talk to someone who could understand and help the alcohol-related problems in your family? | Y | N |
| 26. Have you ever fought with your brothers and/or sisters about a parent's drinking? | Y | N |
| 27. Did you ever stay away from home to avoid the drinking parent or your other parent's reaction to the drinking? | Y | N |
| 28. Have you ever felt sick, cried or had a 'knot' in your stomach after worrying about a parent's drinking? | Y | N |

29. Have you ever taken over duties or chores at home that were usually done by a parent before he/she developed a drinking problem? Y N

30. How sure are you about your memories of these experiences?

1	2	3	4	5
Very		Sure		Not Very
Sure				Sure

Part 7

I would now like to ask you questions about your own drinking behavior and substance use when you were fourteen (or in the last year).

1. How often do you usually drink alcohol (includes beer wine and liquor)?
 - 01 = Do not drink at all
 - 02 = Less than once a year
 - 03 = Less than once a month but at least once a year
 - 04 = About once a month
 - 05 = Three or four days a month
 - 06 = One or two days a week
 - 07 = Three or four days a week
 - 08 = Everyday
2. When you drink alcohol, how much do you usually have at one time, on the average? (One drink=10 oz. beer; 4 oz. wine; or 1 oz. liquor)
 - 01 = Do not drink at all
 - 02 = Less than one drink
 - 03 = One drink
 - 04 = Two drinks
 - 05 = Three drinks
 - 06 = Four drinks
 - 07 = Five drinks
 - 08 = Six drinks
 - 09 = About nine drinks
 - 10 = Twelve or more drinks

3. When you were fourteen (or in the last year) about how many times did you get drunk or very high from drinking alcohol? _____

When you were fourteen (or in the last year) how many times did the following happen to you?

4. You got into trouble with your teachers or principal because of your drinking. _____
5. You got into difficulties of any kind with your friends because of your drinking. _____
6. You were criticized by someone you were dating because of your drinking. _____
7. You got into trouble with the police because of your drinking. _____
8. When you were fourteen (or in the last year) did you use drugs?

01 = Yes

02 = No

9. If yes, what drugs did you use most often?
- _____
- _____

10. Do you think that you were addicted?

01 = Yes

02 = No

11. How sure are you about your memories of these experiences?

1	2	3	4	5
Very Sure		Sure		Not very Sure

Part 8

Almost everyone gets into conflicts with members of their family and sometimes this leads to physical blows or violent behavior. Answer the next set of questions about your experiences with your family when you were growing up. (Mother includes biological mother, stepmother or female guardian. Father includes biological father, stepfather or male guardian.)

1. In your family, when you were growing up, did your father hit your mother violently? (If raised in a one-parent family, ask, "How often did you see a man hit your mother violently?"; or "How often did you see your father hit a woman violently?")

01 = Yes

02 = No

03 = Don't know

If yes, how often?

01 = Once a day

02 = Several times a week

03 = Once a week

04 = Several times a month

05 = Once a month

06 = Several times a year

07 = Rarely

08 = Never

09 = Other (Specify: _____)

2. Do you think this behavior was abusive (however you might define it)?

01 = yes

02 = No

3. Did your mother hit your father/stepfather violently?

(If raised in a one-parent family, ask "How often did you see a woman hit your father violently?"; or "How often did you see your mother hit a man violently?")

01 = Yes

02 = No

03 = Don't know

If yes, how often?

01 = Once a day

02 = Several times a week

03 = Once a week

04 = Several times a month

05 = Once a month

06 = Several times a year

06 = Rarely

07 = Never

09 = Other (Specify: _____)

0 = Not relevant

4. Do you think this behavior was abusive (however you might define it)?

01 = Yes

02 = No

5. Did anyone hit you violently or physically hurt you when you were growing up?

01 = Yes

02 = No

03 = Don't know

If no, go to next section.

6. If yes, how often?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 01 = Never | 02 = Once or twice |
| 03 = 3 to 5 times | 04 = 6 to 10 times |
| 05 = 11 to 20 times | 06 = more than 20 times |
| 99 = Other (Specify: _____) | |

7. What relationship were they to you? (Check as many as apply.)

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 01 = Mother | 02 = Stepmother |
| 03 = Father | 04 = Stepfather |
| 05 = Brother | 06 = Sister |
| 07 = Mother's boyfriend | |
| 99 = Other; other relative (Specify: _____) | |

8. What did this person ever do?

- 01 = Hit or slapped girl hard
- 02 = Pulled girls's hair
- 03 = Scratched or dug fingernails into girl
- 04 = Beat or kicked girl
- 05 = Pushed, thrown or knocked girl down
- 06 = Hit girl with an object
- 07 = Burned or scalded girl
- 08 = Twisted or pulled girl's leg
- 99 = Other (Specify: _____)

9. What injuries did you ever receive?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 01 = No real hurt | 02 = Bruising or scrapes |
| 03 = Cuts | 04 = Sprained or broken bones |
| 05 = Required medical treatment | |
| 99 = Other (Specify: _____) | |

10. Do you think this behavior was abusive (however you might define it)?

01 = Yes

02 = No

11. How sure are you about your memories of these experiences?

1	2	3	4	5
<hr/>				
Very Sure		Sure		Not Very Sure

12. Have you ever taken anything (even a pin or button) that belonged to someone else?

01 = Yes

02 = No

13. Have you ever broken or lost something belonging to someone else?

01 = Yes

02 = No

Part 9

For this section a list of statements about feelings will be read to you. If a statement describes how you usually feel indicate "Like Me." If a statement does not describe how you usually feel, indicate "Not Like Me." Remember there are no right or wrong answers.

	Like Me	Not Like Me
1. Things usually don't bother me.	LM	NM
2. I find it very hard to talk in front of a group.	LM	NM
3. There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could.	LM	NM
4. I can make up my mind without too much trouble.	LM	NM
5. I'm a lot of fun to be with.	LM	NM
6. I get upset easily at home.	LM	NM
7. It takes me a long time to get used to anything new.	LM	NM
8. I'm popular with persons my own age.	LM	NM
9. My family usually considers my feelings.	LM	NM
10. I give in very easily.	LM	NM
11. My family expects too much of me.	LM	NM
12. It's pretty tough to be me.	LM	NM

	Like Me	Not Like Me
13. Things are all mixed up in my life.	LM	NM
14. People usually follow my ideas.	LM	NM
15. I have a low opinion of myself.	LM	NM
16. There are many times when I would like to leave home.	LM	NM
17. I often feel upset with my work.	LM	NM
18. I'm not as nice looking as most people.	LM	NM
19. If I have something to say, I usually say it.	LM	NM
20. My family understands me.	LM	NM
21. Most people are better liked than I am.	LM	NM
22. I usually feel as if my family is pushing me.	LM	NM
23. I often get discouraged with what I am doing.	LM	NM
24. I often wish I were someone else.	LM	NM
25. I can't be depended on.	LM	NM
26. Have you ever said anything bad or nasty about anyone?		

01 = Yes

02 = No

27. As a child were you ever cheeky to your parents?

01 = Yes

02 = No

Part 10

This next set of questions deals with some aspects of community living. Remember that all responses are confidential. Your name and other information that may identify you does not appear on the questionnaire. The important thing is to answer the questions as honestly as you can.

1. Have you ever had sex in exchange for a commodity such as food, clothing or money?

01 = Yes

02 = No

If no, skip to Question #22.

2. Do you think you work/worked as a prostitute?

01 = Yes

02 = No

3. How old were you when you started? _____

4. Were you attending school at the time of your first prostitution involvement?

01 = Yes

02 = No

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

5. Were you employed at the time?

01 = Yes

02 = No

If yes, what? _____

01 = Housewife

02 = Sales; cashier

03 = Food service (waitress; cook)

04 = Nursing/medical technician

05 = Secretarial

06 = Domestic

07 = Blue collar (factory)

08 = Modeling/acting

09 = Teller/clerk

10 = Teaching/education

11 = Social services

12 = Administrative

13 = Professional

14 = Unemployed

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

6. Were you a runaway?

01 = Yes

02 = No

03 = Other (Specify: _____)

7. Were you drinking at the time?

01 = Yes

02 = No

8. Were you using drugs at the time?

01 = Yes

02 = No

9. What drugs did you use most often?

10. Do you think that you were addicted?

01 = Yes

02 = No

11. Do you use drugs now?

01 = Never

02 = Very rarely

03 = Occasionally

04 = Quite often

05 = All the time

12. What drugs do you use most often?

13. Do you think you are addicted?

01 = Yes

02 = No

14. When did you become addicted to drugs?

01 = Before starting prostitution

02 = At the same time as prostitution

03 = After starting prostitution

04 = Never became addicted

15. Why did you start working as a prostitute? (Circle both number and specific item mentioned)

01 = Needed money; was hungry; survival

02 = Money; clothes, cars, jewelry, nice things

03 = Glamour, excitement, adventure, fun, nightlife, fast life:
the people in the life; curiosity; meeting people who
were different

04 = Pimp

05 = Attention or response from men; self-confidence, being
able to do something well; feeling needed

06 = Recognition, power, respect; independence; being on own;
freedom

07 = Needed money for drugs

08 = Nothing; fell into it; an opportunity presented itself

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

16. Did you feel you had any other options at the time you started?

01 = Yes (Specify: _____)

02 = No

03 = Other (Specify: _____)

17. Did you see other ways of supporting yourself at the time?
Why or why not?

01 = No; on the run

02 = No; too young

03 = No; lack of skills/education

04 = No; other jobs didn't pay enough

05 = No; for another reason (Specify: _____)

06 = Yes; dealing drugs

07 = Yes; possibly get other job

08 = Yes; welfare

99 = Yes; for other reason (Specify: _____)

18. What about now? (Looking back do you see other ways you could have supported yourself at the time?) Why or why not?

01 = No; drug addict

02 = No; lack of education

03 = No; have a criminal record/runaway

04 = No; for other reasons (Specify: _____)

05 = Yes

06 = Yes; work

07 = Yes; school/training

08 = Yes; welfare

99 = Yes; some other way (Specify: _____)

19. How long do/did you expect to be working as a prostitute?

01 = Indefinitely; feeling trapped; expresses no end in sight
(e.g., "As long as I can")

02 = Limited period of time until some goal is reached
(e.g., "Until I have what I need; until I get a good job")

03 = Limited period of time specified (e.g., "few more months,
not much longer")

04 = No longer except as last resort

05 = Always a possibility

06 = Don't know

07 = No more; never; no longer; I'm not

08 = Cannot ascertain

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

Specific time mentioned: _____

20. What do you feel would help/have helped you to stop involvement in prostitution?

01 = Adequate employment

02 = Abstinence from narcotics/drugs

03 = Education/training

04 = Change in self (self-determination)

05 = Change in social environment/lifestyle

06 = Legalization of prostitution

07 = Increased alternatives/options

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

0 = No desire to stop

21. What are/were the main things that keep/kept you on the streets?

01 = Economic need

02 = Addiction

03 = Myself

04 = Lack of alternatives

05 = Social environment/friends

06 = Husband/man's influence

07 = Legal system/criminal record

08 = Lack of education/experience

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

0 = No obstacles.

22. Have you ever cheated at a game?

01 = Yes

02 = No

23. Have you ever taken advantage of someone?

01 = Yes

02 = No

Part 11

It is now generally realized that most people have sexual experiences as children and while they are growing up. Some of these are with friends and playmates, and some with relatives and family members. Some influence people's later lives and sexual experiences, and some are practically forgotten. Although these may be important events, very little is known about them.

We would like you to try to remember the sexual experiences you had while growing up. By "sexual", we mean a broad range of things, anything from playing "doctor" to sexual intercourse--in fact, anything that might have seemed "sexual" to you.

1. Was anyone sexual with you before you were 12 years old while living at home?

01 = Yes

02 = No

09 = Other (Specify: _____)

If no, skip to next section.

2. If yes, what was their relationship to you. Eg.: relative, family friend, teacher, etc.
(Write down each person mentioned starting with the first episode, then the second, third, etc.)

How many people were mentioned? _____

Of those that you mentioned which TWO were the most serious/important to you. (Ask next series of questions for each one.)

3. What was the relationship to you of the first person?

01 = Father

02 = Stepfather

03 = Uncle

04 = Brother

05 = Mother's boyfriend/common law

06 = Foster parent

07 = Cousin

08 = Other relative (Specify: _____)

09 = Friend of the family

10 = Neighbour

11 = Acquaintance

12 = Stranger

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

4. How old were you when it first happened? _____

5. What was his/her approximate age?

01 = Early teens

02 = Late teens

03 = Early twenties

04 = Late twenties

05 = Thirties

06 = Forties

07 = Fifties or older

08 = Don't know

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

6. How often did he/she act sexually towards you.

01 = Once or twice

02 = 3 to 10 times

03 = 11 to 25 times

04 = 26 to 50 times

05 = More than 50 times

07 = Cannot ascertain

7. Over what period of time?

01 = 1 day or less

02 = a few days

03 = a few weeks

04 = a few months

05 = one year

06 = a few years

07 = many years

99 = Don't know

8. What sexual acts were involved the first time it happened?

9. What sexual acts were involved in all encounters with this person?

10. Was he/she more demanding sexually over time?

01 = Yes

02 = No

03 = Not sure

11. Did he/she use any type of force, promises or threats to convince you to participate?

01 = Yes

02 = No

12. If yes, what?

01 = Forced girl

02 = Hurt girl physically

03 = Threatened girl

04 = Convinced girl to participate

Specify: _____

Details: _____

13. Did you tell anyone?

01 = Yes

02 = No

If no, skip to next section.

14. If yes, who?

01 = Mother (stepmother)

02 = Father (stepfather)

03 = Sister; brother

04 = Foster parent

05 = Boyfriend/girlfriend

06 = Husband

07 = Relative

08 = Teacher/counselor

09 = Police

10 = Medical personnel

11 = Social worker

12 = Clergy person

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

15. What was that person's response?

01 = Anger for man

02 = Disbelief

03 = Shame

04 = Sympathy (for girl)

05 = Hostility (towards girl)

06 = No response

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

16. Did you see a psychologist or counselor to talk about what happened?

01 = Yes

02 = No

17. If yes, for how long? _____

Part 12

The next series of questions focuses on your plans for the future.

1. Where do you hope to be in six months?
(Circle as many as apply. Indicate 1st, 2nd, 3rd responses)

01 = Clean from drugs

02 = Employed (legally)

03 = Married

04 = Home with kids

05 = In school or training

06 = Feeling good about myself

07 = With friends I like

99 = Other (Specify: _____)

2. Where do you expect to be in six months?
(Indicate 1st, 2nd, and 3rd responses).

01 = Clean from drugs
02 = Employed (legally)
03 = Married
04 = Home with kids
05 = In school or training
06 = Feeling good about myself
07 = With friends I like
08 = Prostituting
09 = Incarcerated
10 = Addicted
99 = Other (Specify: _____)

3. What kind of life do you want for yourself eventually?
(Circle as many as apply. Indicate 1st, 2nd, 3rd responses.)

01 = Good education; college
02 = Good job
03 = Get married
04 = Have children
05 = Stable relationship with man (no mention of marriage)
06 = Have money; financially secure; have things I want:
car, clothers, furniture
07 = Nice home; apartment
08 = Travel
09 = Happy life
10 = Settle down; quiet life; square life
11 = No change
99 = Other (Specify: _____)