

Developing and Testing a Theory of Intentions to Exit Street-level Prostitution:
A Mixed Methods Study

by

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ABSTRACT

Exiting prostitution is a process whereby women gradually leave prostitution after a number of environmental, relational, and cognitive changes have taken place. Most women attempting to leave street prostitution reenter five or more times before successfully exiting, if they are able to at all. Prostitution-exiting programs are designed to alleviate barriers to exiting, but several studies indicate only about 20-25% of participants enrolled in such programs are successful. There is little quantitative knowledge on the prostitution exiting process and current literature lacks a testable theory of exiting.

This mixed-methods study defined and operationalized key cognitive processes by applying the Integrative Model of Behavioral Prediction (IMBP) to measure intentions to exit street-level prostitution. Intentions are thought to be a determinant of behavior and hypothesized as a function of attitudes, norms, and efficacy beliefs. The primary research objective was to measure and test a theory-driven hypothesis examining intentions to exit prostitution. To accomplish these aims, interviews were conducted with 16 men and women involved in prostitution to better capture the latent nuances of exiting (e.g., attitudinal changes, normative influence). These data informed the design of a quantitative instrument that was pilot-tested with a group of former prostitutes and reviewed by experts in the field. The quantitative phase focused on validating the instrument and testing the theory in a full latent variable structural equation model with a sample of 160 former and active prostitutes.

Ultimately, the theory and instrument developed in this study will lay the foundation to test interventions for street prostituted women. Prior research has only been

able to describe, but not explain or predict, the prostitution exiting process. This study fills a gap in literature by providing a quantitative examination of women's intentions to leave prostitution. The results contribute to our understanding of the cognitive changes that occur when a person leaves prostitution, and the validated instrument may be used as an intervention assessment or an exit prediction tool. Success in predicting an individual's passage through the exiting process could have important and far-reaching implications on recidivism policies or interventions for this vulnerable group of women.

For my brother, Nick. May you rest in peace with Mom and Dad.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND IMPORTANCE

Overview

Broadly, sex work involves the exchange of money or goods for a direct (e.g., intercourse) or indirect (e.g., stripping) sexual service. Prostitution is a form of direct sex work that is further delineated by whether it is performed *indoors* such as through a brothel, or *outdoors* on the streets (Sanders, O'Neill & Pitcher, 2009). Street prostitution is well documented to be the most dangerous form of prostitution (Sanders et al.; Weitzer, 1991, 2005, 2009; West, 2000), and is illegal in most of the U.S. where over 800,000 persons are arrested annually for prostitution and related charges (Puzzanchera, et al., 2009).

Some of the risks associated with street prostitution are physical and sexual assaults from customers (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Surratt, Inciardi, Kurtz & Kiley, 2004) and “pimps” who are persons living off the earnings of a prostitute (Giobbe, 1993; Norton-Hawk, 2004; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Persons engaged in street prostitution, most of whom are women, are at an increased risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Farley & Kelly, 2000) and have murder rates that are nearly 18 times higher than the general population (Potterat et al., 2004). Many street prostitutes meet criteria for clinical depression, bipolar disorder, or posttraumatic stress disorder brought on from a combination of job stressors, fear of violence and arrest, and social stigma (Davis, 2000; Farley & Kelly; Farley et al., 2003; Norton-Hawk, 2000; Sanders, 2004; Williamson & Folaron, 2003; Weitzer, 2009; Young, Boyd & Hubbell, 2000). Some prostitutes also have co-occurring disorders and

use drugs or alcohol to cope with their lifestyle (Allen, Flaherty & Ely, 2010; Hedin & Månsson, 2004).

Statement of the Problem

Despite the profound risks to one's health and wellbeing, leaving prostitution, or "exiting" is difficult and far more complicated than simply ceasing to sell sex (Dalla, 2006a; Williamson & Folaron, 2003). Most women cycle in and out of prostitution five to six times before successfully exiting (Saphira & Herbert, 2004), if they are able to leave at all. Many women attempting to leave prostitution seek assistance from or come into contact with child protective services, hospitals, domestic violence shelters, substance abuse treatment centers, or the criminal justice system (Burnette et al., 2008; Hester & Westmarlans, 2004; Hotaling, Miller & Trudeau, 2006). Yet, even when women make deliberate attempts to leave prostitution by enrolling in a formal intervention, only about 20-25% successfully exit (i.e., Davis, 2000, $N = 291$; Saphira & Herbert, 2004, $N = 47$; Dalla, $N = 18$).

Multiple unsuccessful attempts to exit prostitution can lead to a number of problems for women engaged in prostitution. First is their health and safety; the longer a woman is involved in prostitution, the more likely she is to experience dangers threatening her life some of which include an increased risk of sexually transmitted diseases and mental illnesses, rape and/or violence from customers and pimps, and a murder rate 18 times that of nonprostitutes.

Unsuccessful exiting attempts are harmful not only to women engaged in street prostitution, but also the local community and society. Prostitution's "revolving door" (i.e., arrest, incarceration, re-arrest) poses a significant financial burden to criminal

justice systems throughout the country (see Mueller, 2012) as well as social service programs where women seek assistance. Criminalization has done little to thwart prostitution, and legal costs amount to over \$12 million a year for major metropolitan cities (Pearl, 1987). For example, in several states four or more prostitution arrests result in a felony charge. In Texas, about 350 prostitutes reside in state prisons, costing the state over \$6.3 million annually (Ward, 2012). Prevention programming, on the other hand, would only cost \$1.5 million.

A better understanding of the exiting process may lead to interventions that minimize the number of exiting attempts women make as well as improve outcomes for this vulnerable group of women. Current research on exiting is primarily qualitative and describes exiting as a process that develops from a complex interplay of structural (e.g., employment, welfare), relational (e.g., family, friends) and individual (i.e., belief in personal change) factors, which come together to facilitate one's exit from prostitution (Hedin & Månsson, 2004). Literature also suggests that "a profound internal change" or "desire to leave" is a necessary precursor to successfully exiting prostitution (Baker et al., 2010). As eloquently stated by Williamson and Folaron (2003), "it is the sum total of daily hassles, acute traumas, and chronic conditions that precipitate a woman's decision to exit prostitution" (p. 283).

The chief problem with the exiting literature is that what constitutes these psychosocial and cognitive changes are unclear, and there are not ways to tally up daily hassles to objectively assess the likelihood that a woman will leave prostitution. Furthermore, we do not understand the degree to which structural, relational, or

individual influences coalesce to prompt a successful exit from street prostitution, or how to harness these factors to provide better services to women trying to leave prostitution.

Purpose of the Study

This mixed methods study addresses the theoretical gap in understanding the exiting process by 1) defining and 2) measuring the cognitive elements of exiting, and 3) testing the relative importance of cognitive, relational, and individual factors thought to precipitate an exit from prostitution. To accomplish this aim, an exploratory sequential mixed methods design was used. Specifically, qualitative interviews with former or active prostitutes helped explore and refine a theory of exiting that synthesized current exiting literature with the Integrative Model of Behavioral Prediction (IMBP; Fishbein, 2000), a well-known behavioral health prediction theory. These data were used to develop items for an instrument measuring intentions to exit. Next, a focus group with women in a prostitution-exiting program and an expert review with practitioners and survivors working in the field helped finalize the instrument. In the quantitative phase, these items were validated via confirmatory factor analysis, and a full structural model tested the relative strength of the various components of exiting (e.g., cognitive, individual, relational) with a group of former and active street prostitutes. The reason for collecting both qualitative and quantitative data was to better capture the latent nuances of exiting (e.g., attitudinal changes, normative influence) that current literature failed to define, and then empirically test a theory of exiting. Corroborating qualitative and quantitative results brought about greater insight into the exiting process than either method alone.

In summary, IMBP presents a sophisticated method of defining and quantitatively measuring constructs that may model the prostitution exiting process. This study represents an empirically testable way to evaluate the relative importance of cognitive, relational, and individual factors that are shown in the literature to precede an exit from prostitution. Ultimately, this study may help assess one's risk of returning to prostitution and may be used to design more effective interventions that address various components of the prostitution exiting process.

Demarcation

Street prostitution is one facet of a complex and varied commercial sex industry. The experiences of a sex worker, prostitute, and trafficked victim differ greatly as well as their respective motivations to enter or leave the sex trade. Therefore, a theory of exiting needs to clearly demarcate the type of prostitution it attempts to explain. This dissertation focuses on the experiences of U.S. street prostituted women for the following reasons:

1. This study focuses on explaining an exit from street prostitution, which is the most risky form of sex work in terms of violence and the health, safety and wellbeing of prostitutes. Such experiences may be different for “call girls” or women in engaged in other types of indoor sex work.
2. Because prostitution is a gendered experience, meaning women more than men are likely to engage in prostitution, the theory presented in this study was developed to address situations common among female prostitutes. Although men and transgendered persons engage in prostitution, their experiences were not a focus in this study.

3. This study is based on prostituted women who are not victims of domestic or international sex trafficking. Although trafficked persons may be forced to engage in street prostitution, there is consensus that these women experience more intense dynamics of power and control because they are more dependent on their captors for survival (Leidholdt, 2003). Incorporating their unique experience is beyond the scope of this study.

4. Developmental differences between adults and juveniles engaged in prostitution likely affects their motivations for entering or leaving the trade. For instance, adults may have a heightened cognitive awareness of their motivations to exit, and certainly, they have more ability to obtain a legitimate job than persons under age. Given these assumed differences, this study only applies to adult women engaged in street prostitution.

Relevance to Social Work

Social work literature has reflected a professional concern for the safety and well being of marginalized and vulnerable populations such as women involved in street prostitution. The most vulnerable persons engaging in street prostitution are young women of color (Davis, 2000; Lucas, 1995) who disproportionately experience poverty, have unequal access to educational and occupational opportunities, and may be runaways attempting to flee abusive homes (Saphira & Herbert, 2004). As these girls and women become more immersed into the prostitution lifestyle they are likely to come into contact with social workers through a variety of services such as child protective services, hospitals, domestic violence shelters, substance abuse treatment centers, or the criminal justice system (Burnette et al., 2008; Hester & Westmarlans, 2004; Hotaling et al., 2006).

Thus, social workers are in a unique position to help women exit prostitution, should they desire to leave.

Though some of our professional responsibilities are met by helping women leave prostitution, the social work field and other professions have not effectively answered why women cycle in and out of prostitution despite receiving formal support services. Research is needed to identify factors that uncover how some women are able to successfully exit prostitution, while others are not (Baker et al., 2010). Ultimately, a deeper understanding of the cognitive changes necessary to exit can be used to create more effective interventions that address women's specific needs and barriers to exiting. Exiting prostitution is a long and difficult process for most, but social workers are uniquely situated to offer frontline support to help men and women who wish to leave street prostitution.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Prostitution is a complex social problem that can only be understood through a broad read of the literature. The following literature review draws from sociology, gender studies, political science, and criminology to describe philosophical perspectives of prostitution, leading into a discussion of the variations of sex work and there associated dangers. Reasons for entry, negative events suffered while prostituting, and prostitution exiting is discussed, followed by current theoretical perspectives on the exiting process.

Variations of Prostitution and Sex Work

Philosophies

Prostitution is viewed as a moral, legal, and public health problem in the U.S. that is shaped by two opposing perspectives: the empowerment and oppressive paradigms. A main distinction between these paradigms focuses on whether prostitution is framed as “work” or “sex” (Lucas, 1995). There is a lively debate between sex work advocates and prostitution abolitionists who make compelling arguments as to the consequences each perspective has on women’s health, safety, and status in society.

In the empowerment paradigm, sex work represents legitimate work and a means for women to gain economic independence and control over their working conditions (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Weitzer, 2005, 2009). It is framed as a mutually beneficial transaction between the buyer and seller, similar to any other economic exchange. In countries where prostitution is legalized, sex work is regulated and licensed, and therefore, considered safer for sex workers and their customers. Abolitionists argue that this perspective minimizes the violent and exploitative nature of prostitution.

The oppressive paradigm insists that prostitution is an exploitation of women, and frame it as a form of gender-based violence that is controlled, encouraged, and reinforced by patriarchy (Lorber, 2001). Central to this belief is that prostitutes are unwitting victims to their own oppression: “to the extent that any woman is assumed to have freely chosen prostitution, then it follows that enjoyment of domination and rape are in her nature” (Farley & Kelly, 2000, p. 54). Consequently, simply making prostitution safer or less coercive is not possible (Farley, 2004). Abolitionists have been criticized for taking away a woman’s right to choose to engage in prostitution and for labeling prostitutes as victims needing to be rescued or as criminals needing to be punished (Davis, 2000).

Types of Sex Work

In the U.S., “sex work” usually refers to the empowerment paradigm of sexual exchange (Rabinovitch & Strega, 2004) that can include direct or indirect sexual contact and is typically found indoors. Indoor prostitution tends to be organized as a business. Examples are brothels, massage parlors, or “call girls” who provide sex in hotel rooms or in private homes. In contrast, the term “prostitution” encompasses the more oppressive view of sex work (Sanders et al., 2009). It is frequently used to refer to street prostitution, which is typically solicited for on the street. Prostitutes and their customers, called “tricks” or “johns” then drive to secluded spots like parking lots, hotels or drug dens and crack houses to exchange sex.

A third type of sex work, “sex trafficking” describes persons who forced into sexual commerce, including street prostitution, brothels, or pornography. The United Nations’ Palermo Protocol (2000) defines sex trafficking victims as persons being recruited, transported or harbored by force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception or the

abuse of power, a position of vulnerability or exchanging payments to achieve consent to control a person for the purposes of sexual exploitation. With the exception of pimp-controlled prostitution, it is believed that women not sexually trafficked have chosen to engage in prostitution (Leidholdt, 2003), whereas trafficked persons are strictly victims of force or coercion.

Street prostitution is more dangerous than indoor prostitution for a variety of reasons. First, street prostitution is more publically visible than indoor prostitution, so police are able to identify and arrest buyers and sellers easier than other hidden forms of sex work. To reduce their visibility, street prostitutes spend less time screening clients or will engage in riskier acts at a higher price (i.e., unprotected sex, anal sex) to make money quickly (Alexander, 1998). Other women go with customers to remote or unfamiliar places where rape or abuse can occur unnoticed (Pauw & Brener, 1997).

Entry into Street Prostitution

Although leaving prostitution is the focus of this study, it is also necessary to understand how young women and girls begin prostitution. Women engaged in prostitution are not homogenous in terms of demographics or experiences; however, women and persons of color are disproportionately represented in street prostitution (Day, 2008; Farley, 2004; Flowers, 1998; Lucas, 1995; Norton-Hawk, 2001). The age of entry, routes of entry, and experiences also greatly vary (Sanders et al., 2009; Weitzer, 2005). On average, girls begin street prostitution careers as early as 14 years old, whereas adult women begin around age 18 (May, Harocopos & Hough, 2000; Norton-Hawk; Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Silbert & Pines, 1981).

Reasons for Entry

There are many reasons why young girls and women enter prostitution and literature describes them as “push and pull” factors (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007). Push factors largely center around poverty and an unstable home life. For example, girls and young women seeking to escape abuse from their home or foster care are “pushed” into prostitution so they may support themselves; they may lack education or job skills and see prostitution their only option to make money (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Mitchell, Finhelhor & Wolak, 2010; Saphira & Herbert, 2004; Silbert & Pines, 1981; Weitzer, 2009). Others are coerced or forced into street prostitution by their friends, family members, lovers or pimps (Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, & Yuille, 2007; Silbert & Pines; Weitzer). Factors that portray prostitution as positive and alluring are said to “pull” young girls and women into the life. These include the sense of excitement from risky behavior (Dalla, 2006a), feeling powerful or in control (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007), or simply the desire for economic independence (Edlund & Korn, 2002; Weitzer). Others, like children who are compelled to have sex (i.e., forced), learn to exchange “sex-for-things” like gifts, money, or clothes without understanding this act is prostitution (Dunlap, Golub & Johnson, 2003).

Childhood and familial factors. It is well documented that many street prostitutes have histories of childhood sexual abuse (Dalla, 2001; Davis, 2000; Day, 2008; Silbert & Pines, 1982) and other forms of child maltreatment including physical abuse and neglect (Dalla, 2003; Dalla, 2006a; Kramer & Berg, 2003; McClanahan, McClelland, Abram, & Teplin, 1999; Nadon, Koverola, & Schludermann, 1998). Furthermore, their families of origin are rarely pillars of stability. In a study of 200 adult

and child prostitutes, 67% reported having a parent missing from their home; 19% said their father and 11% said their mother was convicted of a crime; 51% witnessed their father violently hit their mother and 22% saw their mother violently hit their father (Silbert & Pines). Another study of 50 incarcerated female prostitutes found that close to 60% had one or both parents addicted to alcohol or drugs (Norton-Hawk, 2001). For these women, running away is common and is seen as an improvement to their abusive and unstable home life (McClanahan et al., 1999; Norton-Hawk; Silbert & Pines).

Childhood abuse and neglect is a correlate, not a cause of prostitution. However, experiencing early childhood victimization does make these young girls and women especially vulnerable to engaging in prostitution. Runaways, for instance, may trade sex for food or a place to stay (“survival sex”) instead of prostituting for money (Dalla, 2006b). Pimps may also prey on these young girls and women by exploiting their emotional vulnerabilities with offers of love and money (Kennedy et al., 2007).

Financial motives and a lack of alternative options. Some have argued that prostitution exists because of wider economic and social inequalities that limit financial opportunities for women (McLeod, 1893; O’Connell Davidson, 1998; Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). Thus, one’s choice to participate in prostitution might be a result of diminished alternatives to improve one’s impoverished circumstances (Davis, 2000). Prostitution becomes an attractive option because it represents a job earning quick money with few skills or time commitments, and often exceeds earnings possible through legitimate employment (Edlund & Korn, 2002).

Media often reports that prostitutes earn thousands of dollars a day, serving to recruit women to the trade—the reality is that most endeavors are not lucrative, nor are

they steady (Høigård & Finstad, 1992). In Vancouver, Canada, the median income for street-level prostitutes younger than 25 was \$300 (*IQR* = \$100-560) per week over an average of 5.5 clients (Deering, Shoveller, Tyndall, Montaner & Shannon, 2011). For women over 25 years old, their median income dropped to \$200 (*IQR* = \$100-500). Street prostitutes in Los Angeles averaged \$458 per week in 1991 (Edlund & Korn, 2002). Not reflected in these statistics are income variability due to a lack of clients, and the effect of age (e.g., older women have are harder time attracting customers) or substances use.

Although poverty may have pushed women into prostitution, it is the lack of viable alternatives that cause some women to stay engaged prostitution for survival (Edlund & Korn, 2002; Silbert & Pines, 1982; Weitzer, 2009; Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). Some girls are too young or inexperienced to obtain legitimate employment, and turned to sex work out of a lack of other options (May et al., 2000). For others, securing legitimate employment is difficult after extensive periods of unemployment while prostituting (Dalla, 2006a). Felonies from prostitution or other charges may disqualify women from some positions, and others have reported losing their jobs once an employer found out about their prostitution history (May et al.; O'Neill & Barberet, 2000; Sanders et al., 2009). In any case, it is unlikely that legitimate employment will pay as much as sex work, and thus seem like a less viable option (Edlund & Korn, 2002; Manopaiboon et al., 2003; Norton-Hawk, 2001).

Coercion from others. Many girls and young women enter prostitution on the urging of friends who showed or convinced them of the benefits of prostitution. For example, strippers in a nightclub tell their co-workers that they can make more money by offering hand jobs or other sex acts (Weitzer, 2009). Being around others who prostitute

help to normalize experiences and minimize any moral objectives formerly held (Williamson & Folaron, 2003). These friends become an underground social network providing a sense of belonging and understanding, which can make it more difficult to leave prostitution (O'Neill & Barberet, 2000).

Some girls and women are coerced or forced into prostitution by family members, pimps, or intimate partners (boyfriends, husbands) acting as pimps (Silbert & Pines, 1982; Weitzer, 2009; Williamson & Folaron, 2003; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Pimps are persons who find customers for prostitutes, control the actions of prostitutes, and live off the earnings of prostitutes (Kennedy et al., 2007; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar). They seduce young and insecure girls with promises of love, money, or travels to exotic places. Once emotionally attached, grooming takes place whereby pimps convince women that selling themselves is how they show love for their pimp (Hotaling et al., 2006). Other pimps use indebtedness, threats, or violence to maintain power and control. The psychological hold is powerful as some women genuinely report feeling love and loyalty to their pimp despite the abuse (Dalla, 2006a), and some feel like they cannot leave prostitution even when offered a chance to escape (Silbert & Pines). Pimps provide prostitutes protection, shelter or other necessities, increasing their dependency. Between 42 to 80% of street prostituted women were at some time in pimp-controlled prostitution (Giobbe, 1993; Norton-Hawk, 2004; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar).

Prostitution and the role of drugs. Estimates vary greatly but as many as 40 to 86% of women in prostitution are drug users (Goldstein, 1979; Potterat, Rothernberg, Muth, Darrow & Phillips-Plummer, 1998). Some women use prostitution as a way to obtain drugs or money for drugs, while other women use drugs after beginning their

prostitution career as a way to cope with the psychological distress of prostituting (Edlund & Korn, 2002; Kennedy et al., 2007; Young, Boyd & Hubbell, 2000; Weitzer, 2009). In a cross-sectional study involving 237 prostitutes in Colorado, 66% of prostitutes used drugs before prostitution, 18% used drugs and prostitution simultaneously, and 17% used drugs after their entry into prostitution (Potterat et al.). Regardless of the chronological of one's prostitution and drug use onset, there is a visible co-morbidity between both phenomena where the use of one leads to an increase of the other (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Young et al.). For women who use prostitution as a means to obtain drugs, their addiction needs to be resolved before they can leave the trade (Edlund & Korn; Kennedy et al.).

The Cost of Street Prostitution on the Individual

Once involved in street prostitution, the majority of persons experience negative consequences whether they are physical, psychological, or legal. The damaging effects prostitution has on women's emotional and physical health is undeniable, particularly among street prostitutes. At times, these consequences act as barriers that can make exiting prostitution more difficult, and in other cases they act as a catalyst for women to leave prostitution (Dodsworth, 2011).

Violence

Persons engaged in street prostitution disproportionately experience poverty making them especially vulnerable to exploitation and violence as they take greater risks to continue prostituting. The occupational hazards of street sex work are unique: exploitation, robbery, violence, rape, and murder (Dalla, 2002; Farley, 2004; Farley & Kelly, 2000; May et al., 2000; Pauw & Brener, 1997; Sanders et al., 2009; Williamson &

Folaron, 2003). A San Francisco study of 200 women found that 70% had been raped (San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution, 1996). The murder rate for prostitutes is 18 times higher than the general population (Potterat et al., 2004). Though studies vary, about 60% prostitutes have suffered abuse from customers (Pearl, 1987). Customers were responsible for 57-100% of prostitute homicides throughout urban cities in the U.S. (Brewer et al., 2006). Around 60% of pimps are physically or mentally abusive (Giobbe, 1993; Silbert & Pines, 1982). Although clients and pimps are the main source of violence against prostitutes, there are reports of police officers raping prostitutes (Williamson, Baker, Jenkin & Cluse-Tolar, 2007; Pearl) or demanding free sex for police protection (Pauw & Brener).

Drugs and alcohol play an unfortunate role of increasing one's risk of violence, robbery, and sexual abuse (Norton-Hawk, 2000; Sanders et al., 2009). Some customers may even prefer prostitutes to be on drugs as their inhibitions are lowered and they are easier to manipulate (Norton-Hawk). Customers under the influence may be easily provoked to violence. For instance, being intoxicated makes achieving orgasm more difficult and women, frustrated by this, may ask for money or decline encounters causing some men to physically act out (Norton-Hawk).

Physical Health Risks

Multiple partners and risky sexual practices place prostitutes at a higher risk for contracting human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) than the general U.S. population. Indeed, their STI rates are higher, however, considering the vast numbers of sexual encounters prostitutes have, their rates of HIV can be as low as 8% (Piot & Laga, 1988). One speculation about prostitutes' lower rates of

HIV may be because some offer vaginal and oral sex (versus anal sex), which results in less exposure to blood and mucosa. Street prostitutes who use intravenous (IV) drugs and have unprotected sex with non-paying customers by force have the greatest HIV rates (Alexander, 1998; Piot & Laga). Thus, it is the type of sexual activity that increases risk.

An under recognized consequence of engaging in prostitution are the physical tolls it takes to perform sex acts continuously. These include repetitive stress injuries from hand jobs and fellatio, and pain from walking long hours in high heels (Alexander, 1998). Repeat urinary track infections are another risk of having so much sexual intercourse. Being homeless and living on the streets can further diminish one's physical health as well as illicit drug use (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Williamson & Folaron, 2003).

Psychological Harms

Street prostitutes are likely to experience some form of mental health problems (Dalla, 2006a; Davis, 2000; Farley & Kelly, 2000; Williamson & Folaron, 2003; Weitzer, 2009; Young et al., 2000). In a study of 130 street prostitutes, 68% met the criteria for posttraumatic stress disorder (Farley & Barkan, 1998), due in part, from abuse suffered in prostitution (Williamson & Folaron). Daily stressors such as avoiding arrest and fear of violence from customers or pimps exacerbate mental health problems (Norton-Hawk, 2000; Farley & Kelly, 2000; Sanders, 2004; Williamson & Folaron; Young et al.). In one study of over 1600 women, prostitutes' odds of attempting suicide was 1.44 times higher than nonprostitutes after adjusting for age and childhood sexual abuse (Burnette et al., 2008). Unfortunately, mental health problems persist even after women have successfully left sex work (Benoit & Millar, 2001).

Experiences of stigma can exacerbate psychological harms. Briefly, stigma is social and psychological rejection due to a socially undesirable attribute, such as being a sex worker, which then taints one's identity and damages his/her sense of self (Bradley, 2007; Goffman, 1963; Sallman, 2010). Stigma comes from a variety of sources including family members, friends, clients, the criminal justice system, and society at large (Sallman). For the prostituted woman, stigma is linked to occupational burnout (Vanwesenbeeck, 2005), stress and anxiety from hiding and lying about one's identity (Tomura, 2009), and avoiding resources for fear that one's involvement in prostitution will be discovered (Weiner, 1996). Many prostitutes go to great lengths to hide their involvement in sex trade from virtually everyone not engaged in prostitution because they fear they will be judged or discriminated against (Sallman; Tomura). Stigma results in feelings of isolation, and some women report that their self-perceptions were permanently altered because of daily experiences of stigma (Sallman). Even after leaving prostitution, a long-lasting sense of shame may make it difficult for women to maintain a conventional lifestyle (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007).

The Impact of Criminalization Policies

The criminalization of prostitution in the U.S. has driven it deeper underground and made selling sex more dangerous (Musheno & Seeley, 1987). About 800,000 persons are arrested for prostitution and related offenses in the U.S. (Puzzanchera et al., 2009), and even though the prostitute and her customers are both breaking the law, policies tend to criminalize female providers of sex more often than male customers who make up about 10% of persons arrested for prostitution (Weitzer, 2000). Pimps capitalize on the women's fear of arrest and they market their pimping service to post bail if a prostitute

gets arrested or to provide protection. While some pimps legitimately help and protect prostitutes, many are exploitative (e.g., take profits, force drug use, demand quotas) and use physical violence to control their prostitutes (Kenndey et al., 2007; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Another consequence of anti-prostitution policies is that it is more difficult to find customers or locations to perform sex acts, causing women to go to isolated or secluded spots where any number of dangers is waiting for them. Many street prostitutes report being raped or beaten and left for dead in unfamiliar places by customers (see Abdool Karim et al, 1995; Marcus et al., 1995; Pauw & Brener, 1997).

Exiting Street Prostitution

Exiting prostitution is not an event, but rather a process whereby women transition out of prostitution and into a conventional lifestyle. Leaving street prostitution can be difficult even if a woman makes a deliberate attempt to exit. Much like addiction literature describes, recovery from prostitution requires a whole life transformation (Månsson & Hedin, 1999; Sanders, 2007; Baker et al., 2010). To date, no studies have attempted to define an exit from prostitution through explicit criteria such as the length of time one must abstain from prostitution (Baker et al.). However, one study considered a complete exit to be about two years of abstaining from prostitution in order to “leave behind most aspects of the identity and activities in being a sex worker” (Benoit & Millar, 2004, p. iv). Literature describes a number of barriers that complicate the exiting process, which are examined in the following section.

Individual Barriers

Individual factors that hinder the exiting process include drug addiction, mental health issues, and physical health considerations. Significant proportions of women

involved in street prostitution are addicted to drugs (Allen et al., 2010; Benson & Matthews, 1995; Mayhew & Mossman, 2007; Farley & Kelly, 2000), and some prostitutes meet the criteria for severe mental illness (Farley & Barkan, 1998). These co-occurring disorders make it difficult for women to live conventional lives because they cannot leave prostitution without dealing with their addictions, and they use substances in order to cope with a life in prostitution. Addiction can complicate the helping process, as formal support programs often do not serve active drug users. Poor physical health, lack of job skills, and a history of arrest are other individual barriers that limit legitimate employment options after a woman has left prostitution (Edlund & Korn, 2002).

Relational Barriers

Relationships can be complicated for the woman involved in street prostitution. As discussed, some women are forced or coerced into prostitution from friends, family members, or intimate partners. These folks can hinder the exiting process as they serve to normalize and reinforce continued prostitution (Baker et al., 2010; Kennedy et al., 2007; Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff & Ursel, 2002) and provide an underground network of social supports that are difficult to leave behind (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007). The pimp-prostitute relationship can be deeply psychologically abusive; such a relationship can make it difficult for a woman to leave prostitution even when she is presented with a way to escape (Silbert & Pines, 1982). Pimps are often boyfriends or lovers and leaving sex work may mean leaving one's intimate partner (Kennedy et al.).

Family relationships can be difficult as well. On one hand, positive family relationships provide support for women trying to leave prostitution (Dalla, 2006b; Hedin & Månsson, 2004). On the other hand, family members were responsible for some

women's involvement in prostitution (Kennedy et al., 2007). A number of women in prostitution are estranged from their parents or relatives either because they ended the relationships (e.g., from childhood abuse, running away, etc.) or their family severed ties (e.g., no longer willing to support them, drug addiction, etc.); thus, familial support is unavailable. Moreover, some women hide their involvement in prostitution due to stigma and feel uncomfortable asking relatives for help leaving prostitution (Kennedy et al.; Mayhew & Mossman).

Motherhood plays an unpredictable role in one's motivation to leave prostitution. In a sample of nearly 2,000 women, over two-thirds had children (Weiner, 1996), a minority of whom were primary caretakers. Rather, it is often the case that a grandparent or family member cares for the child, or custody is lost to child protective services. Some women prostitute to support themselves and their children (Sloss & Harper, 2004). Whereas another group of women get pregnant and leave prostitution, and yet another group of women exit prostitution because they wish to reunite with children lost to child protective services (Dalla, 2002; Dalla, 2006b; Hedin & Månsson, 2004).

Structural Barriers

The structural barriers to exiting are largely the result of economic inequalities including poverty, a lack of affordable housing, and reduced welfare assistance (Farley & Kelly, 2000; Mayhew & Mossman, 2007; Sanders, 2007). Criminalization policies are another structural barrier to exiting (Mayhew & Mossman). In countries where prostitution is legalized and subsequently accepted as a form of work, there is less incentive to exit the trade (Weitzer, 2009). However in countries where prostitution is criminalized, a felony record makes it much more difficult for women to leave

prostitution because they are unable obtain legitimate employment. Pimped prostitutes averaged 50 sex work-related arrests, and non-pimped prostitutes averaged 22 arrests (May et al., 2000). Furthermore, most persons involved in prostitution have extensive criminal histories that also include shoplifting, burglary, fraud and drug charges beginning as young as 12 years old (average age was 16). Women of color are notoriously overrepresented in U.S. street prostitution, and are more frequently arrested for prostitution due to institutional racism (Lucas, 1995).

Successful and Unsuccessful Exiting

Despite the aforementioned barriers to exiting, many women are able to successfully leave prostitution. In one study, a catalyst for leaving was “hitting bottom,” which included being severely beaten, losing custody of one’s children, facing lengthy jail sentences, or recognizing the declining economic viability of the profession (Dalla, 2006a). Dalla (2006b) identified access to formal supports such as residential treatment and counseling; significant relationships or attachments to family, partners, and friends; and connection to church as influencing women’s ability to successfully exit. In a study of women in Thailand who left sex work, participants reported economic issues, relationships with partners, the threat of HIV or other STIs, and their changing attitudes toward sex work as motivators to exit prostitution (Manopaiboon et al., 2003).

Unfortunately, unsuccessful exiting attempts are common. For example, in Benoit and Millar’s (2001) study of Canadian sex workers, 70% attempted to exit sex work at least once ($N = 201$), while over half exited three or more times, and women who successfully exited made an average of 5.6 attempts. Similarly, in a study of brothel sex workers in Thailand, 60% ($N = 42$) quit and re-entered sex work at least once

(Manopaiboon et al., 2003). While 16 of these women successfully left prostitution (38%), nearly a quarter said they would return to prostitution if their situation made it necessary. Further, in respective studies by Davis (2000; $N = 291$), Saphira and Herbert (2004; $N = 47$), and Dalla (2006a; $N = 18$), only about 20-25% of women successfully left prostitution. These studies indicate the pervasiveness of the ‘enter, exit and re-enter’ cycle among prostituted women. Furthermore, it highlights the need to examine underlying factors associated with a successful exit from prostitution.

Current Theoretical Perspectives on Exiting Prostitution

Researchers have attempted to explain why it is so difficult to leave prostitution. Four theories have been proposed that shed light on the prostitution exiting process. These theories are based on in-depth interviews between prostituted women and scholars in the field, and give much insight into the lived experiences of the exiting process. It is clear that exiting is a non-linear process that requires patience as the right elements align to prompt an exit from prostitution (Mayhew & Mossman, 2007).

Månsson & Hedin’s *Breakaway Model*

Ebaugh’s (1988) role exit theory has been the most popular theory typifying the street prostitution exiting process and it is the basis of Månsson and Hedin’s (1999) breakaway model (see also Oselin, 2010 and Vanwesenbeeck, 1994). In this model, one experiences a turning point such as a traumatic, eye-opening event that spurs a seed of doubt about one’s current status as a prostitute, and replaces any ambivalence about leaving prostitution. Afterwards, women quickly or gradually leave prostitution. After exiting, she is tasked with creating an identity that does not center on prostitution, and this is where structural, relational, and individual factors can impact her ability to

successfully exit prostitution. Structural factors include access to welfare or resources for securing conventional employment; relational factors include seeking or repairing relationships with loved ones as well as accessing formal supports; individual factors are a belief in one's ability to change. Old habits sometimes clash with a new identity; the more one identifies with the former role, the more difficult it is to change old ways (Ebaugh). Hedin and Månsson (2004) found the ability of ex-prostitutes to change their social networks was vital to their successful exit from prostitution. In sum, they concluded that exiting prostitution required several elements: "the restructuring of everyday life and the occurrence of critical incidents..." (Månsson & Hedin, p. 72), believing that positive change is possible, and building a network of supports.

Williamson & Folaron's *Stages of "the Life"*

Williamson and Folaron (2003) described five stages that make up "the life". First, women are enticed into prostitution, and as time progresses they learn the prostitution culture, and how to survive and thrive in prostitution. Disillusionment with the lifestyle begins after violence, addiction, arrests, and trauma take their toll. This last stage was described as "taking stock and getting out" (p. 283). While Williamson and Folaron's description was not solely about exiting, it highlights the accumulation of negative events and attitude changes that are necessary precursors to exiting: "It is the sum total of daily hassles, acute traumas, and chronic conditions that precipitate a woman's decision to exit prostitution" (p. 283). At what point the negative events outweigh the enticing and lucrative aspects of prostitution is unknown and sometimes fluid. For example, one experience of arrest or rape is enough for some women to exit, whereas other women suffer many more abuses and still may never leave.

Sanders' Typologies

In another exiting model, Sanders (2007) identified four pathways or transitions out of prostitution that are rooted in interpersonal or environmental changes. Some street-level prostitutes experienced *reactionary transitions* out of prostitution that were the result of violence, poor physical health, or a significant life event, such as pregnancy or incarceration similar to what Månsson and Hedin (2004) described. Other women made a *gradual transition* out of sex work as they sought drug treatment, counseling, and safe housing or elements of a conventional lifestyle. Sanders also discussed a *natural progression* out of prostitution whereby an intrinsic desire for a new and safer lifestyle leads women to leave. The fourth transition she described was 'yo-yoing' or the constant and unplanned drifting in and out of prostitution, treatment centers, and the criminal justice system. Two important components of Sanders' transitions were the positive impact of a cognitive shift (e.g. willingness to change, cutting off old ties and developing new ones) and the amelioration of structural disadvantages such as the lack of affordable housing or employment.

Baker and Colleagues' Integrative Model of Exiting

More recently, a theory combining earlier exiting models with nonprostitution-specific theories such as Prochaska et al.'s (1992) *Stages of Change* was proposed by Baker et al. (2010). Their integrative model described how exiting begins with a visceral and conscious awareness about leaving prostitution, followed by deliberate acts to exit prostitution (e.g. seeking formal and informal services) that would ultimately lead to an initial exit. This initial exit, however, often results in re-entry. A 'final exit' might not occur until after several unsuccessful exiting attempts are made. In any case, a final exit

would require a complete change in identity, habits, and social networks. Baker and colleagues' research highlighted cognitive, behavioral, and environmental changes necessary to leave prostitution.

Limitations and Gaps in the Literature on Exiting

To date, prostitution literature has focused on the experiences of a street prostitute (Weitzer, 2010) and reasons why they enter and remain in prostitution (Sanders, 2007). A smaller body of research has been devoted to interventions and outcome studies, perhaps due to the lack of measurable outcomes (Davis, 2000; Mayhew & Mossman, 2007). Research on the prostitution exiting process has garnered more attention in the last few decades. It is clear that the transition out of prostitution and into a conventional lifestyle is a complex process, as it has been described as “a patience game” (Mayhew & Mossman, p. 28) requiring a number of psychosocial changes. Researchers agree that exiting is the result of a complex interplay of structural (e.g., employment, welfare), relational (e.g., family, formal supports) and individual factors (i.e., resolution of addiction; Månsson & Hedin, 1999). Exiting involves the restructuring of everyday life, habits, social networks, etc. and believing in one's abilities to make positive change (Baker et al., 2010; Hedin & Månsson, 2004) that may take as many as two years to achieve (Benoit & Millar, 2001).

Previous qualitative examinations of the exiting process have provided rich insight into the lived experiences of prostituted women and have described the stages street prostituted women naturally experience as they transition out of prostitution and into a conventional lifestyle (Cimino, 2012). Undoubtedly, prostituted women experience role changes and seek supports as they leave prostitution (Månsson & Hedin, 1999), but

variables underlying their contemplation to exit have remained relatively unexamined. For example, “taking stock and getting out” (Williamson & Folaron, 2003, p. 283) refers to the point of disillusionment with the prostitution role that occurs after the sum total of violence, drug addiction, arrests, and trauma take their toll, but what makes up this point of summation is not yet known. Likewise, there is consensus that a profound internal change is necessary to exit prostitution. However, the cognitions that accompany such a change are ambiguously defined: doubts about one’s role, a visceral and conscious awareness about leaving, or belief in one’s ability change. Thus, the point at which one has “exited” is unclear and researchers are unable to quantitatively measure cognitive changes that constitute an exit. As a result, we have limited empirical understanding of the factors associated with a successful exit from prostitution, and why some women fail to exit despite making deliberate attempts (i.e., enrolling in a treatment program).

Another major gap in research on street prostituted women is the relative importance of cognitive, structural, relational, and/or individual changes. For example, does obtaining legitimate employment end prostitution and survival sex behaviors? How important is breaking off ties to pimps and associates versus changing one’s attitudes towards prostitution? Does no longer glamorizing prostitution prompt the resolution of a drug addiction, or is it the other way around? Is the strength of these factors stable or fluid across the lifespan? Issues such as these pose gaps in our understanding of the exiting process, and may limit our ability to best serve this group of vulnerable women.

In sum, existing theories have only been able to describe the stages street-level prostitutes naturally experience when transitioning out of prostitution and into a conventional lifestyle. A more rigorous theoretical model that draws from these earlier

models, and one that builds on the cognitive change processes is needed to deepen our understanding of the prostitution exiting process (Baker et al., 2010).

Chapter 3

THEORY

Theoretical Foundation: The Integrative Model of Behavioral Prediction

One theory well known in health-related behavioral research that may reveal factors underlying a successful exit is the Integrative Model of Behavioral Prediction (IMBP; Fishbein, 2000). IMBP builds upon the Health Belief Model, Social Cognitive Theory, the Theory of Reasoned Action, and the Theory of Planned Behavior (Fishbein & Yzer, 2003). Behavioral prediction theories allow researchers to identify testable variables that serve as determinants of ongoing behaviors (Fishbein et al., 2001). Thus, among persons in a given population, we are able to distinguish between those who perform a behavior from those who do not. This theory and its predecessors have been used to predict a range of behaviors such as condom use, weight loss, and voting behaviors (see Ajzen, 2010; Sheeran & Taylor, 1999). A meta-analysis of meta-analyses showed that intention explained 28% of the variance in a variety of behaviors (Sheeran, 2002). Other studies have shown anywhere from 27% to 64% of the variance in intention can be explained by the constructs in IMBP (e.g., attitudes, norms, efficacy; Yzer, 2012).

At the crux of IMBP is the focus on one's intention to perform a behavior. Specifically, IMBP theorizes that *intention* to perform/not perform a behavior is a determinant of one's actual behavior (i.e., exiting prostitution), and that one's intention is a function of his or her a) *attitudes*, b) *norms*, and c) *efficacy beliefs*. Application of this theory to prostitution exiting may uncover some factors related to a successful or unsuccessful exiting attempt. For instance, if we are able to measure one's attitudes, norms and efficacy beliefs towards leaving prostitution, we may be able to measure how

likely a person intends to exit, and potentially whether or not he/she leaves prostitution. The following chapter summarizes IMBP and provides examples of how the components are related to concepts identified in prostitution literature.

Behavioral Prediction: The Essential Components

As mentioned, Fishbein and colleagues have focused on the relationship between attitude and behavior, and its link to intention (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, 2010).

Conceptually, any number of variables may shape and influence whether a person to behaves in a particular way. However, IMBP and its predecessor theories posit that just a few constructs are needed to predict, and even change, a particular behavior.

As shown in Figure 1, the performance of a behavior (e.g., exiting prostitution) is likely to occur if a person has 1) strong intentions to perform the behavior, 2) the necessary skills and abilities to perform the behavior, and 3) does not experience environmental constraints that prevent the performance of the behavior (Fishbein, 2000; Fishbein et al., 2001; Fishbein & Yzer, 2003; Yzer, 2012). Intention is further delineated by attitudes, norms and efficacy, which has a direct path to one’s underlying belief system. Finally, a number of background variables have an indirect influence on one’s underlying belief system. Table 1 summarizes all of IMBP’s construct definitions.

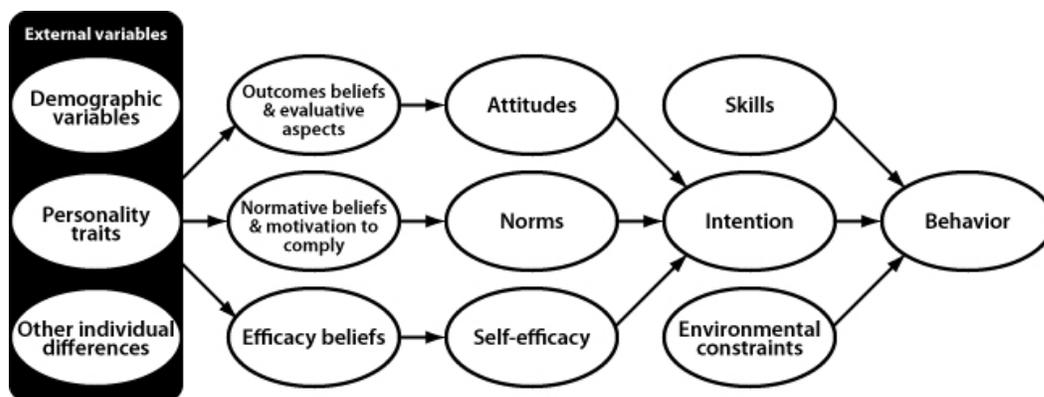


Figure 1. Integrative Model of Behavioral Prediction.

Skills and Environmental Constraints

It is important to note a few paths in the IMBP model. First is that intention is the most immediate predictor of a target behavior (e.g., exiting a prostitution), and that skills and environmental constraints are separate from intentions. This is because a person can act on their intention once they acquire skills to perform the behavior and do not face environmental barriers against it. Alternatively, one may intend to perform a behavior, but without the skills or means (i.e., environmental constraints) they cannot perform the behavior. In this sense, skills and environmental barriers moderate the relationship between intention and behavior. In other words, without the skills and means to exit, intention alone will not predict an exit.

Skills are often required to perform most behaviors though they may vary from behavior to behavior. For example, one needs coordination to drive a car, just as someone needs skills on how to correctly use a condom. Many of the skills women need to leave prostitution are obtained in prostitution-exiting programs: life skills to lead a conventional life, job skills for legitimate employment, or coping skills to deal with trauma or drug addiction (Dalla, 2006a). Again, these women may intend to leave prostitution, but without the necessary skills, they may not be able to exit.

Environmental constraints are circumstances that make it nearly impossible for the behavior to occur. In the context of prostitution, homelessness or unemployment are examples of an environmental constraint. Despite having intention to leave (or even having the skills to leave), experiencing homelessness or joblessness might halt a person's exit from prostitution (Sanders, 2007).

Intention: Attitudes, Norms and Efficacy

As discussed, figure 1 shows that intention is a latent variable consisting of a) attitudes, b) norms and c) efficacy, which represent various beliefs held by a participant.

Attitudes are the outcomes or results of a behavior and a person's evaluation of those outcomes (e.g., glamorization vs. disillusion, risk vs. benefit). These beliefs represent the most likely outcomes that would occur when a person imagines performing the target behavior. It is simply an attitude toward the consequences of performing (or not performing) a behavior. Support for these variables are found in prostitution literature. For example, it captures the sum of daily hassles that must occur for a person to shift from glamorizing the life to being disillusioned with it (Williamson & Folaron, 2003).

Norms are a) the perception of a significant others' expectations about a behavior, b) whether these significant others are performing the behavior, and c) the target person's motivation to comply with what that person thinks they should/should not do. It represents normative expectations from important others (versus nonsignificant others) that produce social pressure and a behavioral proscription for the target person. Examples in prostitution include persons such as children (Dalla, 2002; Dalla, 2006b; Hedin & Månsson, 2004), or other close relationships (Månsson & Hedin, 1999; Sanders, 2007).

Efficacy is a person's belief that he/she can perform the target behavior under specific barriers or obstacles (e.g., belief in personal change). Efficacy requires a sense of competence in one's ability to perform the behavior. In other words, the more a person believes he/she has the skills and abilities to perform the target behavior under difficult circumstances, the stronger his/her efficacy will be with respect to performing the behavior. Under this definition, it is possible that a person who perceives him/herself as

incompetent cannot perform the target behavior, which is different from a person who does not intend to act in such a manner; the efficacy construct captures this distinction. Efficacy is analogous to Månsson and Hedin's (1999) description of how one's internal drives and abilities to achieve positive results were part of the breakaway process.

Table 1.
IMBP Construct Definitions

Construct	Definition
Skills	A set of skills needed to perform a given behavior, which are independent of one's intentions to perform the behavior
Environmental constraints	Barriers that interfere with the ability perform a given behavior independent of one's intentions
<i>Micro</i>	Personal barriers to performing a behavior that can be remedied to some degree by the individual
<i>Macro</i>	Societal, legal or other systemic barriers that cannot be remedied at the individual level
Intention	An intermediate determinant of behavior that varies by strength or likelihood, which can be estimated by one's attitudes, norms, and efficacy beliefs about the behavior
Attitudes	The outcomes or consequences of a behavior and a person's evaluation of those outcomes
Norms	Belief about whether the significant people in one's life approve or disapprove of a given behavior, and how motivated one is to comply with their behavioral expectations
Efficacy	One's belief that he/she can perform a given behavior under specific barriers or obstacles
External Variables	Individual characteristics that indirectly influence one's attitudes, norms and efficacy beliefs
Agency	The capacity of a person to act independently and to freely make a choice to perform a given behavior

External Variables

The last component of IMBP identifies *external variables* (e.g., demographics, culture, personality traits) as indirectly influencing behavior because there may not be a stable relationship between them and the behavior. For example, men and women may

have similar attitudes, norms, and efficacy beliefs about dieting, but may differ with respect to condom use. In other words, the influence of external variables shifts depending on the behavior and the context. Regarding how external variables might indirectly influence prostitution-exiting, Davis's (2000) study demonstrated that women involved in prostitution less than 4.2 years, and those who were older than 25, were more successful leaving prostitution. Another study found that being older (31 vs. 37) was associated with completion of a 90-day prostitution-exiting program (Roe-Sepowitz, Hickie & Cimino, 2012). These data provide support for age at exit and length in prostitution as external variables in the model. Severity of drug addiction, incidence of mental illness, or presence of STIs are other factors that may indirectly affect exiting.

Intention: The Missing Link?

IMBP is well suited to measure and predict intentions to exit prostitution as it captures the cognitive, relational, and environmental variables that help or hinder an exit from prostitution as described in existing theoretical models (see Baker et al., 2010; Månsson & Hedin, 1999; Sanders, 2007; Williamson & Folaron, 2003). For example, risks and rewards of prostitution are captured in the attitudes construct; influence of significant relationships is represented in the norms construct; and belief in one's ability to leave is incorporated in the efficacy construct. A gap in existing theories on exiting is detail about the cognitive change process that occurs as a person transitions out of prostitution. One advantage that IMBP offers is an emphasis on latent psychosocial motivations (i.e., attitudes, norms, efficacy) underling one's intentions to exit, and examining them may provide a more nuanced approach to explaining an exit. Furthermore, a measure of intentions to exit may identify where a person is on a

continuum of readiness to leave prostitution. Said differently, it may assess one's risk for returning to prostitution.

It is interesting to note that prostitution-exiting interventions currently available largely focus on enhancing skills and minimizing environmental constraints. For instance, most programs offer services such as immediate medical care, stable housing, trauma counseling, life skills education, and opportunities for gainful employment (Dalla, 2006a; Davis, 2000; Farley & Kelly, 2000; Norton-Hawk, 2001; Williamson & Folaron, 2003). These services are aimed at providing the skills and means to leave prostitution as they alleviate many of the practical barriers to exiting. However, as theorized by IMBP, in addition to the skills and means to exit, one also needs the intention to exit, and vice versa without the skills and means to leave prostitution, intention alone will not predict an exit. In other words, having the necessary skills to exit and alleviating the environmental constraints are a part of the exiting process, but having strong intentions to exit may be the tipping point.

In summary, interventions targeting skills and environmental barriers are necessary to exit, but a focus on enhancing one's intentions to exit may be a better predictor and facilitator of one's actual exit from prostitution. The fact that 75-80% of women in such programs fail leave prostitution, coupled with statistics showing that an exit is achieved after five or more unsuccessful attempts demonstrates two points: first, we need a better understanding of the cognitive changes that occur during the exiting process; and second, tapping into those factors may predict and facilitate an exit from prostitution. For example, interventions can focus on changing glamorizing attitudes towards prostitution, challenging normative influences to stay in prostitution, or

enhancing one's efficacy beliefs. Furthermore, an assessment measuring these constructs may help measure where a person exists on a continuum of exiting, and may potentially identify a targeted intervention plan tailored to one's attitudes, norms, or efficacy beliefs.

Enhancements to the Theory

An assumption underlying IMBP is that the targeted behavior is under a person's volitional control. However, for women in pimp-controlled prostitution, one's ability to exit prostitution may not be within her control, for example, if she was threatened with violence or forced to prostitute. Additionally, participants in Dalla's (2006a) study reported that their severe drug addiction was a force keeping them in prostitution despite their desire to stop. In both cases, having volitional control to leave prostitution is questionable. In the Theory of Reasoned Action, Ajzen's (2002) notion of perceived behavioral control, defined as the "perceived ease or difficulty of performing a behavior" (p. 665) attempted to deal with a lack of volitional control. An example Ajzen provided was one's perception of how much control you have in getting a job interview; you can control your resume and ensure it gets to the correct people, however, whether that person decides to hire you is not within your control. "I have no control over getting a job" is different than "someone is forcing me to stay in a job I don't want to be in". In particular, the former fails to recognize the power and control dynamics that may be caused by external entities, while the latter emphasizes a lack of personal agency.

Agency

Agency refers to one's ability to freely and independently make a behavioral choice (i.e., without force or coercion). Agency accounts for power and control dynamics sometimes found in prostitution that is present despite a strong intention to exit.

Measuring agency would be the degree to which an external entity is forcing the target person to perform an unwanted behavior, and would potentially moderate intention. At first glance, agency may appear similar to norms (e.g., social environment and social pressures). However, agency's focus on one's capacity to act independently makes it conceptually different. In other words, agency refers to one's actual, physical ability to stop prostituting, whereas norms refer to a motivation to comply with social or environmental pressures and expectations. For example, normative pressure would include peer pressure, whereas agency would encompass forced prostitution (i.e., rape, trafficking); real or perceived threats of violence from pimps or lovers; or drug addiction so severe that one is compelled to prostitute, all of which are in spite of one's intention to do so.

Micro and Macro-level Environmental Constraints

For the street-level prostituted woman, an environmental constraint against exiting is her ability to support herself with means other than prostitution, such as legitimate employment. However, as Baker and colleagues (2010) and Månsson and Hedin (1999) have suggested, structural forces (e.g., ability to find a job, other material conditions) affect whether a woman is capable of exiting prostitution. For instance, employment and equitable wages may be a function of one's skills and qualifications, but are also influenced by wider societal forces like an economic downturn where there are fewer jobs available. In this case, the availability of employment is independent of one's intentions to exit and out of one's ability to change. Another example would be changes to welfare assistance programs that defund prostitution-exiting programs. Again, the availability of formal services is independent of one's intention or abilities.

Another enhancement to this model would be to differentiate between micro and macro-level environmental constraints. Specifically, adding *societal context* could capture environmental constraints occurring at the institutional level, such as access to welfare or criminalization policies, and environmental constraints would then refer strictly to environmental barriers that could be addressed at the individual level, like having a place to live (versus access to affordable housing). Distinguishing between micro and macro is important because interventions tend to target a particular level. For instance, a prostitution-exiting program may help women individually, but may do not address wider policies regarding prostitution.

Research Objective and Hypothesis

The specific research objectives of this dissertation study were to 1) qualitatively explore the fit between IMBP and street prostitution with interviews with men and women involved in prostitution, 2) develop and refine an instrument measuring the IMBP constructs; 3) validate the instrument through confirmatory factor analysis; and 4) test a theory-driven hypothesis examining the relative importance of a) attitudes towards exiting; b) subjective norms about exiting; and c) efficacy beliefs regarding exiting. Accordingly, the following hypothesis can be empirically tested:

Women with high intentions to exit street-level prostitution will have:

1. less glamorizing attitudes toward prostitution
2. stronger normative beliefs against prostitution *and*
3. higher efficacy than women with low intentions to exit.

Chapter 4

METHODS

Introduction

To adequately address the proposed research aims, this study utilized mixed methods. The reason for collecting qualitative and quantitative data was to better capture the cognitive nuances of exiting (e.g., attitudinal changes, normative influence) that current literature has not yet defined, and to empirically evaluate their importance in a structural equation model. Thus, mixed methods were ideal for this study because they offer more breadth and depth of understanding than either method alone (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). Mixed methods also allow researchers to answer confirmatory and exploratory questions within the same study (Tashakkori & Taddie, 2003), which are the principal aims of this study (i.e., establishing and validating a theory). Another benefit offered by mixed methodologies is that they can enhance the significance of the research as both methodologies corroborate findings (Collins, Onwuegbuzie, & Sutton, 2006).

Exploratory Sequential Design

This dissertation utilized an exploratory sequential design, which is a mixed methods approach characterized by a qualitative portion that develops and guides the quantitative portion (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Padgett, 2008). In this sequential analysis, qualitative data were collected and analyzed first, and its results shaped the second quantitative component. At the end of the study, the two methods merge, or crossover, and the results are discussed in light of how they built upon or expanded the qualitative and quantitative findings. Figure 2 shows the exploratory

sequential process. The study is organized by presenting the procedure, analysis, and results for each method in sequential order as they occurred over the course of the study.

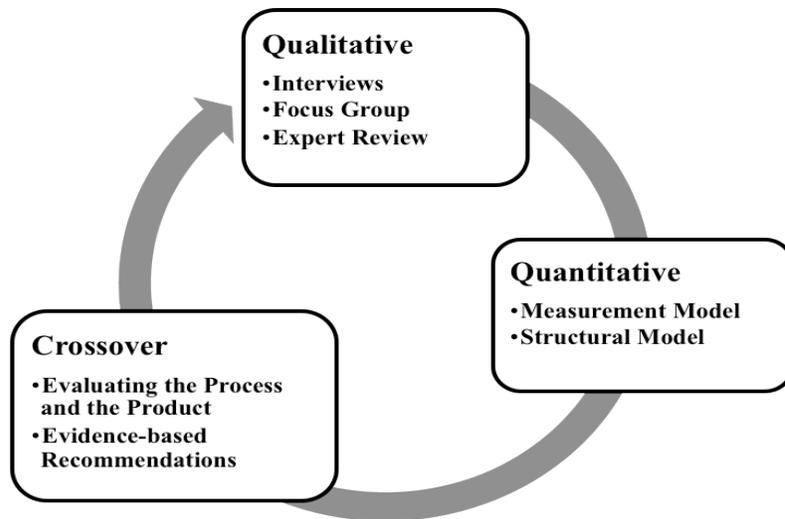


Figure 2. Mixed Methods Process

In this study, the qualitative phase consisted of individual interviews, a focus group, and an expert review. Interviews with 16 former or active prostitutes helped corroborate and expand upon a theory of intentions to exit prostitution. Qualitative exploration of the exiting process was necessary because there is a gap in our understanding of the exiting process, the constructs that make up the exiting process are undefined, and there are no instruments to measure these variables. Data collected from the interviews were used to develop items for a measure of intentions to exit street prostitution. The interviews were followed by a focus group with women who were in a prostitution-exiting program. The qualitative phase ended with expert reviews from practitioners and survivors working in the field, which helped finalize the instrument.

The quantitative phase began after the qualitative component was completed. The purpose of the quantitative component was to evaluate the fit of the measurement model for the theoretical constructs developed during the qualitative phase. Finally, a path

model was used to examine the strength of the various components associated with exiting (e.g., cognitive, individual, relational, etc.), thus empirically testing the theory developed in the previous phases.

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was granted for this study (HS#1110006969; see Appendix A) and modifications were obtained as needed for each phase of the study. All programs participating in the quantitative data collection agreed to the IRB procedures, and obtained their own internal approvals to participate in the study.

Epistemological Assumptions

Exploratory sequential designs are a hybrid of constructivist and postpositivist worldviews (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). These types of studies qualitatively explore a relatively unknown or *atheoretical* topic, and generate a theory that is later quantitatively examined. The qualitative portion is guided by constructivist principles, which posit that meaning is subjectively created as people interact with the world. During the quantitative phase, the paradigm shifts to postpositivism, which emphasizes that there is an objective reality that can be measured and tested or verified.

In this particular study, exiting prostitution is not an unknown phenomenon as it has been shaped by at least four qualitatively developed theories of exiting. But, rather than ignore the previous depth of inquiry with a strictly quantitative approach, this study sought to synthesize and enhance existing qualitative theories on prostitution-exiting in a constructivist paradigm, and find a suitable way to measure them. As such, the qualitative portion of this study draws from the lived experiences of prostitutes so that it better integrates the existing literature with IMBP, and yet is enhanced by any nuances that are revealed during the interviewing process. Finally, the paradigm shifts to postpositivism as

the qualitative findings are tested quantitatively, and in doing so presumes that intentions to exit prostitution are a measurable phenomenon.

Issues of Rigor

Threats to trustworthiness (i.e., reactivity, respondent bias, and researcher bias) affect all qualitative studies. In this study, a number of techniques were used to ensure qualitative rigor. First, methodological triangulation (i.e., mixed methods) may help to reduce all three trustworthiness threats (Denzin, 1989). This study used open-ended questions to solicit interviewees' experiences and may have minimized reactivity and researcher biases (Padgett, 2008). The confirmability of the study was strengthened via thick descriptions (Lietz & Zayas, 2011), which are intense and detailed accounts of a phenomenon (Denzin). The chosen analytic technique (i.e., template analysis) allowed for coding flexible enough to develop new subthemes, yet still stay close to participants' descriptions (King, 2004). Furthermore, the use of a focus group helped establish credibility in that purposefully selected participants helped identify item wording that reflected their experiences (e.g., "fast money," not "easy money"). The stratified purposeful sampling of male/female, former/active, and street/non street-based prostitutes strengthened the transferability of the study because participants represented a variety of "authorities" on prostitution and supported whether the findings did or did not apply to their respective positions (e.g., female, street prostitutes). Auditability of the study was maintained through an audit trail that was kept detailing each step of the data collection and analysis processes (Padgett).

Chapter 5

QUALITATIVE COMPONENT

Introduction

The qualitative portion of this study consisted of 1) individual interviews and 2) a focus group and expert review. These methods of formative research represent a part of a comprehensive theory and instrument development process. The overall intent of the qualitative component was to gain an in-depth look at the population and the exiting process to help develop and finalize a measure of intentions to exit. The individual interviews with former and active prostitutes helped identify attitude, norm, and efficacy beliefs specific to street-level prostitution, and allowed for new constructs to emerge. Lastly, the focus groups and expert reviews with survivors and practitioners in the field assisted in finalizing the instrument before administration in the quantitative phase.

This chapter is organized into two sections: individual interviews, and the focus group and expert reviews. For each section the purpose, methods (i.e., sample, data collection and analysis) and results are presented in the sequence that they were conducted during the study.

Individual Interviews

The first stage of this research involved interviewing prostitutes. Interviews with former and active prostitutes were important because Fishbein & Ajzen (1980) indicated that the relative importance of attitudes, norms, and efficacy likely differ depending on the population and the target behavior (i.e., exiting street-level prostitution), thus it was important to discern differences among persons in and out of prostitution. Participation was open to former or active prostitutes (18+) of any gender, but recruitment focused on

females. Initially, only persons involved in street-level prostitution were eligible to participate because the proposed theory is intended to apply to street prostitution. However, the study was opened up to all types of prostitution after several participants revealed that they engaged in multiple types of prostitution throughout their lifetime. In light of this fact, and because a diverse sample would offer further evidence that this theory was most applicable to street-level prostitutes, a mix of street and online/independent prostitutes were sampled.

Sample

A total of 16 persons completed the interview. The sampling procedure for this study was a stratified purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990). In this type of sampling, participants are selected because they represent major variations of the phenomenon, rather than a core, homogenous group. For instance, active and former prostitutes were recruited instead of only women who successfully exited prostitution. Purposive snowball sampling was also used as interviewees referred participants who represented rich cases, often a different experience than their own. For example, a street prostitute referred an escort, and another referred a pimped street prostitute. Recruitment stopped after redundancy was achieved, and the depth of responses (i.e., rich information about the experience of exiting) was prioritized over breadth (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

To recruit participants, flyers (see Appendix B) were distributed via three methods: 1) high prostitution areas around Phoenix and local agencies where the researcher had pre-established relationships; 2) a key informant posted a flyer at her Prostitute Anonymous (PA) group and another was posted at a health clinic; and finally 3) an advertisement was placed in the “Adult Jobs” section of Backpage.com, a website

that is known to facilitate prostitution. The flyers and online ads included a phone number and email address that were made especially for this study. Participants were offered a \$15 gift card for participating in the interview, which was given to them in person or via email.

Flyer recruitment. The researcher posted flyers in high prostitution areas twice (one week apart). Most of the flyers were torn down. A total of 12 people called in response to the flyers, but only two completed an interview. Two women scheduled but did not show up for their interview. The fourth person declined interviewing after being told the study paid \$15 to which she said, “that ain’t enough” and hung up. Two customers of prostitutes called, but were told they were not eligible for the study.

Outcomes for all of the called are shown in Table 2.

Table 2.
Street Flyer Recruitment Call Outcomes

Response time after each event		Call outcome
First flyering event	Within 1 hour	Scheduled interview but did not show
		Prank call
	Within 12 hours	Unaware of the study, denied contacting researcher
		Did not contact after three messages
		Number no longer in service
	Within 48 hours	Did not contact after three messages
Scheduled interview but did not show		
Second flyering event	Within 5 days	Did not contact after three messages
		Customer of prostitutes; not eligible
	After 7 days	Completed face to face interview
		Completed face to face interview
		Declined interview because incentive was too low

One woman said she saw the researcher posting flyers, and scheduled a face-to-face interview for the next day but did not show up. The second person to call within the hour spoke vulgar things, and was considered a prank call. Six additional persons called

with in 48 hours of posting flyers and left messages with their contact information (four calls were between 2-4am). One number was not in service; one woman claimed to not be aware of the study; and two persons did not respond to the researcher's voicemail messages. One woman scheduled an interview but did not show, and did not respond to subsequent calls. Two persons were unaware of the study and denied leaving a message.

Backpage.com advertisement. Five of nine Backpage.com responders completed the interview. All persons recruited from this method were *e-prostitutes*, or persons who solicited for sex online vs. the street or in a brothel. One woman who responded to the Backpage.com ad scheduled and cancelled a face-to-face interview several times. She was offered a phone interview, but did not call or answer the phone at the scheduled time. Another Backpage.com call was from a woman wanting help leaving prostitution (several resources were given to her), but ultimately declined an interview. A man scheduled and cancelled a phone interview twice; it was not clear whether he was a pimp, customer, or prostitute. One woman emailed asking if the study was still open, but did not respond to subsequent attempts to contact her.

Key informant and snowball recruitment. Key informants (a member of PA and a doctor at a health clinic) recruited four participants who all completed interviews. Four other interviewees referred five more participants who all completed the interview (two were from a PA source, a referral from a PA referral, and one participant each from Backpage.com and street flyer).

Data Collection

Suggestions by Fishbein et al. (2001) helped develop a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix C). The semi-structured nature of the interview guide meant that

participants were free to discuss points that were not specifically asked in the interview guide and that the researcher could explore other themes that emerged during the discussion. The interview focused on participants' entire prostitution experience, and specific probes about 1) the risks and benefits of prostitution (attitudes), 2) people who supported their decision to stay or leave prostitution (norms); 3) situations that might make the interviewee return to prostitution (efficacy); 4) whether the interviewee felt forced to engage in prostitution (agency); 5) any skills that helped them leave prostitution; and 6) barriers they faced exiting. A key informant who exited street prostitution over eight years ago reviewed the interview guide and participated in a mock interview. She suggested minor changes to the wording of some questions.

Participants had the option of a face-to-face interview, or if they felt more comfortable, a phone interview. The option to have a phone interview was offered after participants expressed hesitation or difficulties meeting in person. Eight of 16 persons interviewed chose an in-person interview, several of who thought the study might be a "sting". One participant brought her Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) sponsor to the interview, and another brought his partner to the interview. Two other participants were related (sister and brother) and were present at each other's interview, but remained quiet while the other was speaking. In all cases, bringing another person was for the interviewee's comfort. Two phone interviewees recruited from Backpage.com were actively prostituting through the Internet and did not want to meet face-to-face. Other interviewees opted for a phone interview out of convenience: one recently entered a treatment program; another had childcare responsibilities; and three reported work

schedule conflicts. Three participants scheduled face-to-face interviews but did not show up or answer phone calls to reschedule.

All participants were provided a consent form (in person or via email) that was read aloud to them. Participants were able to decline answering any question they did not feel comfortable answering. Participants were informed that the interview was expected to last one hour, but they were free to go more or less if they desired. After the participant indicated that he or she had nothing else to share, participants were asked to provide demographic data (some declined to answer). Interviews ranged in time from 45 to 109 minutes (average of 71 minutes). All interviews were audio recorded. A paid transcriptionist transcribed the interviews and the researcher listened to the recordings to verify the accuracy of transcription.

Data Analysis

The interview data was collected so that it might support a match between IMBP and prostitution exiting, as well as explore new constructs or themes specific to exiting. Because a “theory” was already specified, grounded theory and its method of inductive theory building would be inappropriate for this study. Instead, a similar technique, template analysis (TA), was chosen to analyze these data. TA is a more flexible than grounded theory, but retains the development of broad and clustered themes (King, 2004). The main advantage of TA over other methods is that it utilizes *a priori* codes that are based on existing data or theory (King, 2004; Waring & Wainwright, 2008). In this case, the construct definitions of attitudes, norms, efficacy beliefs, and agency were the *a priori* codes. These pre-defined codes help guide the analysis, but were revised and updated over the course of the analysis (King, 2004). Essentially, the coding template

provided a hierarchical coding organization, whereby attitudes, norms, efficacy beliefs, and agency, etc. were higher-order themes, and various instances of them were lower-order codes clustered within each theme.

Data analysis was performed on QSR's Nvivo 10 software. Each interview transcript was read and then coded into one or more of the *a priori* higher-order codes. For example, *attitudes* (outcome beliefs of prostitution) represented a higher-order theme that contained lower-order codes consisting of actual or potential outcomes of one's prostitution experience. Some of the lower-order codes were collapsed. For example, lower-order codes within attitudes were organized into positive or negative outcomes of prostitution. After all coding and collapsing of codes was complete, the text was read once again code-by-code to verify that it was under the appropriate theme. These data were used to create an initial instrument piloted in a focus group and by expert reviewers.

Interview Results

Participants

Interviews were conducted in spring 2012. A total of 16 persons completed an interview and 13 (81.3%) were female. The race and ethnicity of the sample was representative of the area in which they were sampled: 62% Caucasian ($n = 10$), 25% Non-white Latino ($n = 4$), and 13% African American ($n = 2$). The average age of the sample was 33.8 ($SD = 11.9$), though participants ranged in age from 19 to 57 years old. The average age at entry for participants who started prostitution as a youth was 15 years old, and those who started as adults was 25 years old; both of which are slightly more extreme than typical (16 and 18, respectively, Silbert & Pines, 1981). All the women and

one male identified as heterosexual, the other two males identified as homosexual. Half of the sample had children (average number of children was 2.4, $SD = 1.4$).

Table 3
Prostitution History for the Qualitative Sample (N = 16)

Pseudonym	Type of sex work	Number of "pimps"	Age of entry	Years in prostitution	Years out of prostitution
Erika	Escort	--	21	16	8
Theresa	Online	--	26	0.25	--
Becka	Street	--	37	19	1
Serenity	Street/Escort	3, by partner	10	24	9
Fiona	Street	5	15	4	.04
Katy	Online	--	23	4	.25
Megan	Street/Online	2, by partner	20	2	1
Mila	Online	--	20	1	--
Sierra	Street	3	17	12	.25
Mara	Street	1	15	13	5
Sandy	Street	--	19	24	.5
Roxanne	Escort/Online	--	46	3	1
Beth	Escort/Online	--	19	4	1
Stefan	Street/Online	--	16	10	13
Donald	Online	--	17	3	2
Brian	"Gigolo"	--	22	6	3
Mean (<i>SD</i>)		2.8 (1.5)	21.4 (8.8)	9.1 (8)	3.2 (3.9)

Table 3 shows the prostitution history for the participants (all names have been changed to pseudonyms). Five persons (31%) were involved in street prostitution; four (24%) were in e-prostitution (i.e., solicited customers by posting ads on the Internet); and one (6%) was an escort (i.e., worked for an organized house of prostitution). Another five (31%) engaged in a combination of street, escorting, or e-prostitution¹. One person (6%) described himself as a “gigolo” who was paid to have sex or had romantic relationships with women (married and single) in exchange for cash, rent, cars, clothing, etc. He was

¹ Two e-prostitutes were also sugar babies who meet sugar daddies through the Internet. Sugar daddy/baby

so adept at this that he did not have sex with all of the women he dated because "...they'd pay to just hang out."

The sample varied in terms of length of time in and out of prostitution. One participant started prostituting three months ago, while another woman prostituted for about 24 years (average of 9 years). The average number of years out of prostitution was about three, though this ranged from two weeks to as many as 13 years out of prostitution. Two participants were actively prostituting at the time of the interview.

About 31% ($n = 5$) of the sample was in pimp-controlled prostitution at some point in their lives. Two of them said their "pimp" was their intimate partner at the time, and he demanded or forced her to prostitute while they were together. Although one woman did not identify as being pimped, she supported her husband and herself with earning from prostitution, but he never forced or asked her to prostitute.

Most of the participants ($n = 11$, 68.8%) had a serious drug addiction at some point in their lives and were using drugs during their prostitution career. Only 5 participants said they were not addicted to drugs or alcohol, though a few of them admitted to smoking marijuana or drinking alcohol to intoxication. Seven participants had prostitution charges ranging from 1 to 22 (average of 7 charges). Four participants had drug or other charges, and four participants had no criminal histories.

Entry into prostitution. The entrance histories of the sample were not atypical of other studies, which have found child abuse, running away, drug use, survival, and force as reasons for entry. Seven participants in this sample experienced abuse of some form as a child, which was a precursor to their entry into prostitution. Four of them started prostituting as children for survival (i.e., shelter, food, etc.) shortly after running away

from an abusive situation at home or in foster care. Sandy, a street prostitute said, “It was never exactly like money exchanged for sex, but I was having sex with older men to have a place to stay or alcohol or weed and stuff like that.”

Sexual abuse. Four participants disclosed that childhood sexual abuse taught them that they could use their bodies for personal gain. Brian, the gigolo, described how being sexually abused as a child changed him, “I wasn’t like the other boys swinging on the swing, I was looking at older women, you know... I knew what was in their clothes because they showed me. I shouldn’t have known that.” He became “girl crazy” and started manipulating women to get money and gifts.

Similarly, street prostitute Serenity at eight years old and with a cigarette addiction said:

...it seemed like every time I turned a corner, someone wanted to touch me. So I knew there were these people in the trailer park I could get cigarettes from or whatever I wanted as long as I let them touch me.

Addictions. Another group of participants were prostituting to support their addiction, which typically developed before their entrance into prostitution. Donald’s (e-prostitution) brother introduced him to meth, “I took one drag of it and I liked it, so I got hooked on it. I dropped out of school. I just started sleeping with guys for money.”

Becka’s crack addiction was too expensive,

I was selling [drugs] but I wasn’t making enough money to support my habit so I went up to one of the girls and said, “Hey, you know I want to work the streets.” And they said it’s not a good thing but I persisted and that’s how I started.” For these participants, drugs and money for drugs was the main incentive to prostitute.

Forced prostitution. Only one participant in the sample was forced or deceived into prostitution. Mara, a young runaway, was buying “dope” from a man on the streets,

and what she thought was marijuana was actually crack, “Everyone has a different definition of dope.” She explained what happened next:

He continued feeding [crack] to me for 3 days, and then he put me to work... in a hotel room. He kept me undressed... I wasn't allowed to walk through the parking lot dressed because he was scared I was going to run and I went through that for close to a month.”

Mara managed to escape, and while naked running through the hotel parking lot, she was picked up by a couple that turned out to be another pimp and prostitute, who also tried to force her into working for them. She escaped from them as well, but continued to work the streets independently to support her new addiction to crack.

Income. For some interviewees, prostitution seemed like the best option to a bleak financial situation. Pregnant and disowned by her family, Sierra, a street prostitute said, “My boyfriend went to jail, that’s how I lost the apartment. He was supporting me. He was pretty upset when he found out [I was prostituting]. We didn’t stay together so I just continued to do it.” E-prostitute Mila said, “I didn’t have a job at the time, I just finished school, and nobody wanted to hire me so I thought, why not? I wanted to move out from my Mom’s that year.” Two other participants were unable to work because of their disability and used prostitution to supplement their income. E-prostitute Katy said she used prostitution “to afford amenities like food, pet healthcare stuff.”

Recruitment into “the life”. Participants were introduced to prostitution from a variety of sources. Friends and coworkers glamorized prostitution, suggesting it was an opportunity to make a lot of money. Erika began escorting after a friend said, “‘you can get high all the time and dance and make a ton of money.’ And I just thought, ‘Wow, that sounds like a great idea.’” Megan, an escort-turned-street-prostitute said, “the people I

moved in with brought up the idea of escorting. I had thought about it but didn't really know how to get into it. Within a short period of time, I had my introduction into the life." Two younger women found out about e-prostitution from the media. Theresa said:

One night I was watching a show... they showed a couple of [sex work] websites. I was really struggling so I went to the websites and I saw how many guys were looking for girls. That's basically how I got into it, the ways of prostitution.

Themes

In line with the purpose of the study and the analytic technique, the following themes and subthemes are organized by construct. All quotes are verbatim and all names were changed to pseudonyms. Where relevant, the prostitution type (street, e-prostitute, escort) is noted. Table 4 shows a summary of the qualitative results.

Table 4	
<i>Summary of Qualitative Results Per Construct (N = 16)</i>	
Construct	Results
<i>Attitudes</i>	Easy money
Positive outcomes	Drugs and money for drugs Positive attention from feeling loved, worthy, valued and desired Party-like lifestyle Not needing a man to support oneself Making others happy
Negative outcomes	Violence including rape, beatings, and murder attempts Robbery Arrest Sexually transmitted diseases Physical and emotional distress
Prostitution as an outcome of joblessness	Lacking alternative sources of income and feeling like there are no other options but prostitution
<i>Norms</i>	Boyfriends or intimate partners Family members and children Friends who were in and out of prostitution God or a "higher power" Regular customers
<i>Efficacy</i>	Prostituting as necessary for survival Supporting one's addictions Quick money for non-necessities
<i>Agency</i>	Being helpless from addictions Controlling and threatening behaviors from another person Being forced into prostitution for survival
<i>Skills</i>	Relapse prevention and coping skills Life skills such as budgeting Education and job skills Intrapersonal insight and coping skills
<i>Environmental Barriers</i>	Unemployment due to a lack of education, felonies or disability
Micro-level	Safe and sober living in a new geographic area
Macro-level	Criminalization policies The availability of welfare, health care, and affordable housing Economic disparities between genders

Attitudes

According to IMBP attitudes are the outcome beliefs of prostitution and how good or bad those outcomes are. Any actual or perceived risks and benefits of prostitution were coded as belief outcomes. Themes were organized into positive and negative outcomes. A third theme, alternative means to make money, also emerged from the data.

Positives outcomes. All participants experienced positive outcomes of prostitution, and the three most endorsed outcomes were money, drugs, and attention.

“Easy Money.” By far the biggest benefit to prostitution was the easy, instant money, and was often the sole reason for entering prostitution, as was the case for Donald who said, “I did it for money... that’s all it was, just for money. ” Money made varied by age and type of prostitution. For example, Fiona reportedly made \$100 in 15 minutes as a young, street prostitute whereas Mara, in her 30s made \$100 in an hour. Roxanne’s monthly income as an escort was \$8,000 to \$10,000. Although the potential earnings sounded great, the money did not last long. “It’s fast money, but it also leaves fast,” said Sierra. Few participants saved their money and many of them used it for basic survival or to feed their addiction (e.g. drugs or gambling). The lure of quick money was often a catalyst to re-enter prostitution. Roxanne said:

I tried to leave multiple times but the money was too good. I left for a while and got a job, a regular job, and wasn’t making as much money and so I went back. I tried once or twice to get out. But the money draws you back, big time.

Sierra recently stopped prostituting after she secured stable housing living with her brother. But, if things were to change Sierra would fall back into prostitution. “I’ll just go back to the streets if I don’t have a job.”

Drugs. The second most endorsed positive outcome of prostitution was access to drugs or money for drugs, which was the case for all persons involved in street-level prostitution. “I’d be lying if I said I didn’t do \$5 or \$10 blow jobs, when necessity strikes, or you want the drugs so bad, you’ll do practically anything,” said Becka. Stefan thought prostitution was a good idea at the time because he was already a budding drug addict:

I was already doing cocaine, already doing meth, smoking pot and those things are an incentive. It seems like the two [drugs and prostitution] went hand in hand very nicely and so when I say [prostitution was] good idea, it just kind of fit into the lifestyle I was already creating. (street/e-prostitution)

Positive attention: Feeling loved, worthy, or valued were at least initially, a benefit to prostitution. As Fiona, a young, pimped street prostitute said:

I thought it was love. That was really the main reason. I was really just looking for a daddy. ...I was always fat and ugly when I was little. But with them, people wanting to buy me, that made me feel like I was sexy, “Oh they will pay to have sex with me, I must be pretty or something.”

Erika, a stripper-turned-escort said it was “fun” to be wanted by men:

I enjoyed it in the beginning. I liked to dance and I was good at it and I loved it, probably a lot of self-esteem was involved here where I loved being on stage and men throwing money at me and that power or ego of, “I’m so beautiful and I’m adored by all these men” that mentality was huge.

Stefan implied that the positive feeling he felt while prostituting was desire:

When you work like that, it’s such a weird ego thing where it is sort of like someone wants me. That’s so gross to say but that is *so* how it becomes. Not someone loves me, wants to care about me, but someone *wants me*.

Often the positive feelings were fleeting. Sandy described them as a double-edged sword, “It makes you feel like you’re attractive, but in another way, you feel like a piece of meat, worthless.” After the relationships with her lover/pimp ended, Serenity realized

she used prostitution make herself feel better, which at the time, she said made her “feel worthy and valuable and whole.”

Once the initial adoration wore off, it was easier to see the situation for what it was—a transaction. When asked whether the fading attention contributed to leaving prostitution, Becca said:

Yea, I do. Because it’s like, c’mon, what are you thinking? How can you be out there just because somebody says supposedly a kind word to you, tells you [that] you are fine or sexy? You don’t even know this person. I mean it’s all just because they want sex. Yes, [recognizing] that had a lot to do with [leaving]. You’re being used. Of course, you’re getting paid, but why put your body through that abuse? Especially, you get in a car and don’t know you are coming back, how worth it is that just to be told you are pretty or desirable? But really, you’re just a sexual object... I’d rather not have that attention. It was good at the time and it felt good, yeah, it does. But, it’s not worth that, not worth that at all.

Other benefits. After several probes for more positive outcomes of prostitution, a few participants shared less common and unintended positive outcomes. As an underage prostitute, Sierra liked the party-like lifestyle:

It’s like every day you just go to a party... I guess you get addicted to that lifestyle and having that money. ...when you’re at a certain age you want a certain lifestyle—being gone all day with the pimps and the friends you have, you want to do that. Now that I’m older, yea it’s like, I don’t party like that no more.

Beth liked not needing a man to support herself:

There are women who [enjoy prostitution because they can] support themselves. Technically they lived off of guys, but you could support yourself, it’s ironic. That was my whole thought too while I was doing it, “Oh, I don’t have to live off of some guy.” When I think back on it now, I was living off a bunch of guys.

Megan got a self-esteem boost by thinking that she made her customers happy:

... I was able make other people happy. Like, the men that I was going on dates with or turning tricks for. I was able to, you know, fulfill what they wanted but at the same time, I was getting paid for it. So my justification was that if I’m making someone else happy, then life was okay. So I guess it kind of benefited me at the moment and my self-esteem... knowing I could do for other people what certain

people couldn't... The men that I was dating they were obviously finding a reason to pick up girls or call girls and I was able to fulfill that need. (e-prostitute, later pimped by lover, and briefly in street prostitution)

Negative outcomes. All 16 participants experienced at least one negative outcome of prostitution, including violence or threats to one's wellbeing (i.e., rape, beating), robbery, arrest, or contracting a sexually transmitted disease (STD).

Violence. None of the 16 participants were naïve about the risks associated with prostitution. In fact, most of them experienced some form of violence early in their prostitution careers, but continued to prostitute anyways. As Sandy (street) said, "people figure no one is looking for me... no one is going to say 'Hey, she's missing' so people will do really bad things to you." Several "bad things" were common among the street prostitutes interviewed, including rapes at gunpoint, knifepoint, or a screwdriver to the temple; being hit or severely beaten by customers; and other near death experiences like being thrown from a moving vehicle.

Becka (street) knew the dangers. She "talked her way out of being killed" many times, but could dismiss its importance while she was prostituting, "basically, your life is in your own hands. But it's not because at the time it seems like, 'well it's okay, I am doing alright,' but I wasn't." Stefan (street, e-prostitute) was also raped and beaten, and in multiple situations where he thought he was going to be killed. "But," as he said, "here's the other part of that—if you are high enough you feel like you are 50 feet tall and bullet proof and it doesn't really matter."

Prostitutes were murdered on the streets, like one of Sierra's friends who just never came back, "ended up she got killed. They kidnapped her and killed her. That

makes you want to stop, but if you can't stop at that time, you can't stop. You gotta keep working." Fiona (pimped street prostitute) described one of her near death situations:

[tricks] will chase you and kill you... This one guy, wanted to push me off a freaking cliff... And then this other guy, he was laying on top of me and was like, 'I can tell you hate your life' and I just saw this look in his eyes like he was going to kill me. He wanted me to be like, 'Yea, I hate my life' so he could kill me or something, and I was like, hell no, and I pushed him off of me and jumped out of that car butthole naked. Hell no. I was not gonna die, nah uh.

Even Brian, the gigolo, got into fistfights with jealous husbands:

'I am not raping her she is paying me for my service,' when I tell them that, they blowing up more at me. There's been lots of times I dodged some terrible situations with husbands, jealous husbands. There's been some [women that] told me they had no [husband], and I've been caught on the bed before, closets, jumping out of windows.

The fear of violence was enough to make Theresa (e-prostitute) stop taking new customers, "I feel like luck so far has been on my side, but if I keep on going, I'm going to run into the serial killer or the person that, you know, doesn't have good intentions." Risking her life is a negative outcome of prostitution, but mildly so because she continues to see regular customers even after being stalked and raped at knifepoint by a customer.

Robbery. Non-payments were one frustrating aspect of the job. Mila (e-prostitute, sugar baby) had a few clients skip out on paying her, "I was putting my pants on and [the client] thought he heard someone outside so he went to check and by the time I got out there, he was gone." Other women experienced more than just non-payments. Sierra described a troubling series of events that happened more than once:

Even if you get the money first and you don't 'hide it, hide it' they take the money back and when you looking for your money, they're gone. And sometimes they leave you to catch a cab back... It's like you have to find your own way back. And [when] hitchhiking you can get robbed, [the people you hitch with] still rob you and kick you. So you're in a worse predicament than you were first—now you have no money and no ride.

Becka had her money and drugs stolen. She said, "...it goes with the territory, just like getting beat up, robbed or raped. You expect that."

Arrest. Seven of the 16 participants had been arrested for prostitution, and three more had been arrested for drugs. Most of the escorts and e-prostitutes took steps to avoid getting arrested, as this would mean their friends and family would find out that they were prostitutes. Other women were not as lucky, especially street prostitutes. Mara, who had 18 arrests, and Becka who had 22, got so tired of being arrested that it was a motivator to finally leave prostitution. For example, Mara entertained the idea of going back, "but with my luck, I will get arrested and then do six months." E-prostitutes Roxanne and Beth, on the other hand, were arrested once and exited almost immediately.

Sexually Transmitted Diseases. Participants knew that contracting STDs could be an outcome of their involvement in prostitution, and at least eight admitted to catching an STD while prostituting. Erika used protection "all the time" but still got three STDs. "Condoms only do so much and they break, and then there is risk of pregnancy as well, I've had numerous abortions. That's a risk but that is all part of the job I guess," she said. Becka described the not-so-pressing risk of contracting an STD:

I was always scared of STDs. It's funny because you may have that fear but it doesn't really register at the time you're trying to make money because the want or need for drug is a lot stronger than your safety. It is an evil feeling that you want that drug more than you like your life, than you love your life.

The risk of dying from a syphilis infection did little to stop Serenity's crack addiction or her continued involvement in prostitution:

It didn't matter. If you had a condom, fine. If you didn't, fine. I didn't care, I just used them for crack. ...[The doctor at a clinic] told me there are there are three stages [of syphilis] and I was fixing to go into the third stage. ...I married [a trick]

a week later and he was like, “this is the deal, this is our room and this is the room you turn your tricks.” And I was like, “this is the perfect set up. I don’t have to be in the street, I can smoke crack, and I can still do what I need to do to contribute.”

Physical and emotional tolls. A few women described how the physical and emotional tolls they experienced while prostituting drove them to exit prostitution. Beth was the most profoundly affected and she attempted suicide multiple times. The severe depression was eventually why she stopped prostitution.

I’m sitting here with fear, I’m depressed, I don’t like what I am doing, I don’t feel good, I just want all this to disappear. Then, it clicked one day. I’m going to stop. I don’t know how [it clicked], I think it was a combination of depression and an inner battle. I didn’t feel right and it wasn’t moral. It didn’t stick with my morals. Just feeling wrong all the time, that’s tiring, fighting with yourself, it gets to be too much.

It was only when Becka became so physically tired from drugs and living on the streets that she realized she needed to leave prostitution:

I finally got so tired of having to be out there... it was always a constant state of “ok, I am going to go make money so I can get drugs”. After that, “I need more money to get more drugs.” Just the same cycle, over, and over. This is the definition of insanity. I finally said, you know what—I got to do something. If I don’t, I am going to die.

Only three months as an e-prostitute, and the life was already affecting Theresa. “...It has made me a lot more insecure and paranoid... I’m not as happy of a person. I’ve been struggling with depression...every single thing that has happened has made me super on edge, like from getting robbed, everything.”

Alternatives to prostitution. There was one unexpected theme that emerged from the interviews. Women who did not have or were not successful at getting a legitimate job internalized prostitution as their only opportunity for income. In other words, prostitution became an acceptable outcome of being jobless.

Theresa, a Certified Nursing Assistant, explained her frustration after not getting hired at McDonald's:

...I dressed really nice, I had great interviewing skills and I never got a call back once. And it was really discouraging because I always worked in hospitals, really nice hospitals, and I couldn't understand why I couldn't get a job. ... I always thought people that worked in fast food it must be easy for them to get a job, like anyone could work there. And it made me feel like a piece of crap because I couldn't get a job there. And I tried for a long time to get a job... just something to pay rent. That was another factor that influenced my decision to go into it.

Having an alternative to prostitution was important to combat the necessity of prostituting, and appeared to offset the powerful draw of prostitution. It was an important reason for Beth leave:

I fix cars, mechanical and body work.... I realized I really enjoy doing that. ...It's nothing compared to prostituting, but it gives me a sense of peace, I earned that honestly, I made that, I actually worked for it. ...I enjoy the heck out of it. I'm glad I found something I like because if I did something I don't like, I don't think I could handle it. If I didn't do [this job], I might be out prostituting again. I know myself and well enough to figure that out. So I had to find something I enjoy and [this job] is definitely one of them.

Differences in Attitudes. Many of the positive and negative outcomes were common across all types of prostitutes. However, there were several differences among genders, and between e-prostitutes, pimped-prostitutes, and independent street prostitutes. Highlighting these differences gave credence to the applicability (or lack thereof) of this theory to different types of prostitution. The differences are described below.

Sex vs. desire. One difference that emerged between male and female prostitutes dealt with notions of sex and desire. All three men said they enjoyed the physical act of having sex, and that was one of their motivations for entering or staying in prostitution. Stefan recalled his first trick, "I was walking down the road at 16, basically horny all the time. ...So he was really blunt about, 'hey, why don't you come with me, I will give you

this much money and we will do this.’ I was like, ‘sure.’ It was kind of an accident.” Even 13 years post-exit he is still tempted, “...it’s kind of that pull, that thing, fast money, and you know, who doesn’t like to have sex? I don’t know anyone on earth who doesn’t like sex.”

Except for Roxanne, an e-prostitute with bipolar disorder and a gambling addiction, no other women liked having sex in prostitution. Instead, the mental/emotional aspects like feeling wanted and desired were appealing aspects of prostitution for most women. For instance, Sandy, who was sexually abused as a child said:

...I thought [prostitution] is where my worth came from. I thought it meant I was pretty; I had something to offer. One of the benefits of prostitution is that they felt I was attractive, they felt I had something to offer; they want to be with me.

Gifts and experiences. There was a courting phase that the e-prostitutes and pimped-prostitutes experienced that independent street-prostitutes did not experience. Most e-prostitutes regularly received gifts, dinners, and other experiences like travel to exotic places. Theresa said:

I sounds sad but I like being treated like a princess. I have never had that before, it makes me feel good, and I never enjoyed the expensive, luxurious things that I have experienced doing [prostitution]. (e-prostitute)

In the grooming phase, pimped-prostitutes were often promised clothes, cars, money, and houses. Only one of Fiona’s five pimps delivered on his promises, which made her fall deeper in love with him:

We went to his hotel room—he stayed at the Clarendon or something. It was really nice, and I was like, “damn, this guy really does have money”. So I chilled up with him and my friend chilled up with some other people. And he was my pimp and he really fulfilled his promises and he took, he didn’t take me to Miami but he took me to Vegas, LA, San Francisco, St. Louis, all more than once too. That’s the circle I did. He took me shopping, a \$500 shopping spree. I did not pay this man \$500 yet. He really fulfilled his promises. And he sent me to go to my

brothers, which I really wanted to do. Honestly, he is a good guy but what he is doing is wrong.

Real and perceived violence. All of the street prostitutes experienced severe violence. The fear of being killed on the streets was real for street sex workers and was one of the reasons many of them left prostitution. Escorts and e-prostitutes, on the other hand, knew violence was a possibility, but it was not always a reality for them. For example, Erika (escort) said, “there is always a chance someone will turn on you. I fortunately never had a bad experience... but like I said, I had a lot of security with the escort service.” Roxanne (escort, e-prostitute) was raped the first time she went on a date without the escort agency’s bodyguard. After it happened a second time, she hired her own bodyguard. Theresa acknowledged her chances of being robbed or murdered, but downplayed those risks despite being robbed at knifepoint. She said, “I just stopped talking to that person... I took it as a learning experience because I was still new to it... I wasn’t very smart at first. I was really naïve about it.”

Norms

In IMBP, norms are a source of social pressure referring to significant others’ expectations about a behavior and the target person’s motivation to comply with said significant others. To draw out this theme, participants were asked if any of the significant people in their lives encouraged and discouraged their continued participation in prostitution. Commonly, the persons identified were boyfriends or intimate partners, family members, children, friends, and customers. An unexpected finding was that persons who discouraged prostitution for one woman were the same persons encouraging prostitution for a different woman (i.e., boyfriends, friends). Furthermore, people

unsupportive of exiting prostitution later became supportive, and vice versa. Even further, some participants never disclosed their prostitution to anyone, thus they experienced no source of normative pressure.

To compare and contrast the dual roles significant others played in the lives of prostitutes, this theme is organized by type of significant other and presents evidence of encouragement and discouragement from each norm type. Differences between street, e-prostitution, and escorting did not emerge. In other words, regardless of prostitution type, participants largely had the same persons encouraging and discouraging prostitution.

Lovers, boyfriends, and intimate partners. Many participants had boyfriends, and even husbands, who knew about their involvement in prostitution. Some of them were former clients who became an intimate partner, and others were lovers who were also pimping them out. In many cases, intimate partners encouraged participants to stay in prostitution, especially if they were using drugs together. For example, Serenity started prostitution as a child but stopped from ages 16 to 18 while she was married to her high school boyfriend. After they divorced, she was involved with a series of men who pimped her, “I think because my father was so mean, that is kind of what I was drawn to, the biggest, baddest, meanest guy on the street, who just happened to be a pimp...” She had no problem prostituting to support her lovers’ drug addiction as long as they loved her in return, “[I was] just looking to be loved, just looking for a good partner. I’m always willing to pull my 100% but someone needs to pull theirs.”

E-prostitute Katy used prostitution to supplement her disability income and to care for her disabled husband and mother. Katy’s husband supported her decision whether it was to stay or leave prostitution:

He didn't want me to have to do it, but I made a lot of [money] so I could afford stuff I wanted... In other cases, it was to help the family, so he understood. ...I guess we have an understand relationship like that, if anything, he saw me as being able to go out and bring some money home and food on the table.

When she came home upset from a date, she and her husband would cut back on food and soda so she did not need to prostitute. Katy's husband would say would say to her, "yeah, you feel better about yourself. We're totally fine. You can drink water for a couple more days..." Her husband did not work, and when asked whether that bothered her, Katy said, "Yea, definitely.... but I don't know, there was a need for extra income and I did what I had to do to make that. That's the way I see it. I had blinders on about it."

Roxanne had a long-term love affair with a client. One time he overheard her counseling an AA sponsee on the phone, and said, "wow, you're a natural at that. You need to get your ass in school." She stopped prostituting and he completely supported her for two years while she earned her bachelor's degree. "In return, he only wanted an invitation to my graduation," she said. Roxanne started prostituting again when he got into IRS trouble and could not support her. Soon after, Roxanne met her fiancé, also a former client, who wanted her to leave prostitution. "I think I may have done one or two calls after him, and he was not happy."

Mara said her son's father made her prostitute, "He used to kick my ass and tell me to make money... And it's expected that [you prostitute], not really forced, but it's expected of you after awhile." Megan also felt pressure to prostitute from her boyfriend. She started living with and dating him to escape a bad living situation. "He made me feel safe, wanted, protected, and that was everything I was looking for...and needed to validate myself." The relationship changed shortly thereafter. "It didn't matter what I did,

I needed to go out and get money... I had to support us. I felt like I had to do it or he wasn't going to care about me as much and be disappointed and upset.”

Through out her nearly 20 years of prostituting on the streets, only one of Becka's several boyfriends wanted her to stop:

...he said, "you can't be my lady if you work the streets so you have to stop doing that." So I did. But at the same time...when he went to jail, of course I had no money. I always had [prostitution] to fall back on. I had a couple boyfriends that didn't like me doing that... when you are out there you have a lot of boyfriends, there's a lot of them that really didn't say a lot. [They] didn't really care either way, I think really they were mainly with me because I dealt drugs, so I had money and I supported their habit. Why wouldn't you want to be with somebody that supported your habit?”

Family members. Research indicates that family members are sometimes responsible for forcing or coercing their children into prostitution (Kennedy et al., 2007). This was not the case for any of the participants in this sample. Only Serenity's family remotely pushed her into prostitution. Her mother was a known prostitute who killed herself when Serenity was eight years old. Serenity lived with her physically and mentally abusive father who told tell her she would become a prostitute like her mother:

I feel like the words were planted in me early [by him]. He'd say, "You are a whore like your mother, you are going to end up on the track just like her." And that is exactly where I ended up. ... I just feel like we really have to watch our words because words are powerful.

Most participants hid their prostitution from their family. Erika's parents knew she was "a dancer" and used drugs, but they did not know she was a prostitute. "I don't think they knew the extent of the prostitution, they just thought I was dancing, because I lied to them, of course." Despite hiding it from their family, participants were still concerned about their family's perception. Theresa, only three months into an e-prostitution career, hid it from her family because the disappointment would be too much:

...I think they'd say, "...if you have any respect for yourself," I think that's all they would say.... I would be crushed... heartbroken. I wouldn't be able to look my family in the eye ever again. Their approval is really important to me.

While the thought of one's parents finding out wore on them, it did little to stop them from prostituting. Stefan hid his prostitution "from everyone," but thought about what his mom would say if she found out, especially towards the end of his prostitution career. "...I did not want my mother to get a phone call that they found me dead with a needle in my arm in some tricks house...I thought about that a lot...it took a lot of drugs to drown out that thought, believe me." Oddly enough, he left prostitution after asking his mother for help. "I have a very loving mom... I showed up at her house one day and I said 'I can't do this for one more second, I'm going to die.'" She took him to a detox facility and to a sober living program, where he was able to successfully leave prostitution.

Megan's family knew that she was using drugs and prostituting, but they simply did not want to be a part of her life, nor did they try to stop her:

...at that point I had been through rehab a couple times and a couple detoxes. They knew that if they couldn't help me with my drug addiction, anything else I was doing because of it or during it, they had no influence on me.

Sierra was estranged from her family as a teen. Their lack of support was why she got involved in prostitution in the first place. One family member did help her get out:

...my brother, finding him, he's finally around, us together... he helped me [by saying], 'let's try to find something else to do.' He didn't know I was doing it, well just here on the streets, but he didn't *know-know* 'til I moved to Seattle with him. We didn't do it anymore.

Children. About half of the sample had children, and their children were not always around, nor did they know what their mother was doing. Sierra's daughter was taken out of her custody by her second birthday. Within a year of their birth, Sandy left

both her children to be cared for by Sandy's parents. At the time, Sierra and Sandy could only be affected so much by the loss of their children. On the one hand, they were letting go of their children, but they acknowledged that they chose a lifestyle where children did not belong. Sandy tried keeping in touch with her children, but said that it felt "superficial" because she did not know what they liked or what they did since she spent so little time with them:

I think that might have played a little part in [my last relapse] because I went out there and I felt like I didn't know what to say. I didn't want them looking at me, just real ashamed. It was real uncomfortable, and that made me feel like a piece of crap because you don't know what to say to your children.

Roxanne's two children had mixed feelings. Her oldest son found out about her prostitution when he typed her phone number into a website and her Backpage.com ad showed up. "My younger son didn't judge me, but my older son judged me very hard." Prior to her children finding out, Roxanne did not have a problem with prostituting. However, hurting her oldest son, "...that was a real strong pull to get out." Roxanne's relationship with her son was repaired when her fiancé, a former customer, told him she stopped prostituting and announced their engagement.

For a long time, Serenity managed to support her, her boyfriend and her children's lives as a prostitute, "I continued to do it, it was great money. I thought I can support his drug habit, take care of my kids." However, within six months of graduating from a regular meth user to a crack user, she lost her home and custody of her children, and sunk deeper into street prostitution and drugs. She disclosed that she desperately wanted "a normal life" with her children, but at the same time did not:

...the only thing that kept me from completely choosing [prostitution] and being okay with completely choosing it, was that I couldn't fit my two girls into the

same picture...I could not imagine my two girls in that with me. That's what kept me from fully choosing [the life], but at the same time I was out there fully choosing [the life], and I couldn't get out of it.

Children were not a reason for all women to stop prostituting. Beth talked about her friend who initially got her into prostitution, "she has six children, I don't think she can do anything else and really support them unless she got three jobs." Becca said her two daughters were prostituting before she was. Once she started crack and heroin, before she knew it, she was prostituting on the streets with them:

It was bad. I have even done drugs with my kids, smoked crack with my kids. ...I know it's not an excuse, but they were out there before I was and they were addicted more than I was. I was dealing they'd say, you know, "mom, can I have a rock so I don't have to work, c'mon... I don't want to go to work [the streets]." So I'd give her a rock. I think about it now, oh my, it was horrible. But it is what it is. Addiction is a motherfucker.

Mara, on the other hand, was motivated to leave prostitution when her son watched her get arrested in the hotel room they were living in:

I got arrested and I had to bring the cop to the hotel room to get my son. That was it, I was done. My son watched me get arrested for prostitution. That was it. He was four years old, so that's pretty bad. He still remembers it, he still talks about it to this day and he will be 10.

Friends. Friends often encouraged prostitution because they too were prostituting. In fact, several interviewees started prostituting after their friends brought up the idea. Roxanne's AA sponsor's daughter was an escort, "So I called her up and said 'how did you do it?' Then I went and joined an agency." Fiona met several prostitutes while in foster homes. She described how she became involved with one girl's former pimp, "[My friend] told me how she loved it and all this stuff. So I thought he would be a good guy on top of being super sexy." Mara described the social pressure from friends as a subtle look or expectation:

If you're with a group of friends and guys have no money, everyone turns and looks at you, they don't say anything but you know...if bills aren't getting paid or someone's broke, they automatically lean on you. ...if they're a friend or something, they won't automatically ask you to do it. Like I said, they will just turn and look at you like, 'don't make me ask you.' You know what they are thinking; you know what they want.

Sandy's friends and dealers also encouraged her to prostitute, and she felt "special" when she had money to get high with them:

So when I tried to sober up, it's really funny how all of a sudden they want to give you free drugs. You can't get free drugs for shit when you're out there but if you want to try to get sober, they're like, "here..."

Donald was in a prostitution ring with two friends who would pool their money together to buy drugs. "They would encourage me, and I'd encourage them, and we'd just encourage each other." He recalled being scared for his life when he pulled up to a new client's house and noticed bars over all the windows:

I was like, 'shit, I'm gonna get raped here'. I sat in the car, called my friend, and was all like, 'I don't want to do this' and she was like, 'just do this for me please and you'll get more than half of [the money]'. And I was like, 'what if something happens?' and she's like, 'nothing is going to happen, trust me.'

Knowing he was losing relationships with non-prostitute friends, however, was the biggest consequence Donald faced and he was conscious of it:

Every time I did the drugs I'm like, 'damn, I'm losing my friends,' but at the same time I was like 'oh wow, I don't care.' It's like one on each side. It's like you have that feeling sometimes. It'd be hard, but at the same time, I wouldn't care because ... I'd just listen to the other part, the other half, the mean one that wants to do everything he wants to do.

Non-prostitute friends were ignored, and in other cases they were left unaware that their friends were prostitutes. Serenity said, "my friends were looking me at like, 'what are you serious [about hooking up with a former pimp]?' but I was so into him, I didn't even notice that they were looking at me like I was crazy."

Friends were not too much of a concern for Katy either. Her two closest friends knew nothing about her prostitution, but even if they did know she said, “one of them I am pretty sure wouldn’t judge me at all, but the other one would be disappointed in me and would have been scared for me.”

Fiona’s friends did not judge her, and their acceptance strengthened her bond with them. When she left prostitution, it felt like she ended a relationship. She returned because, “I missed what I thought were my friends and family. I thought they were my family... I missed them, that’s really [why I went back].”

Becka witnessed the power that missing “the life” had on those trying to leave prostitution. “I’ve seen the best go out there after they’ve stopped using... they go out there one day to just say ‘hello’ and they never leave.” Friendships were complicated for Becka, including her decades-long friendship with Sarah, a fellow prostitute. The two were inseparable and watched each other’s backs around cops, clients, and pimps. “We kept each other safe, it was the buddy system.” While participating in the life, it was good for Becka to have a friend, but after leaving, friends in prostitution were different story:

At certain times, like when I did get out for a while, I did kinda miss the streets. I didn't miss “the work,” I’d miss the people, missed being out there, and I think a lot of times that is what takes women back out there, back into the streets.

Becka would drive by the track and see her friend Sarah in her 60s still prostituting:

Now that I think about it, it wasn't even really a friendship. If [Sarah] was really a friend she wouldn’t have encouraged me to hook, “Oh come on,” a lot of times she’d say, “I’ll work and you handle the money and dope.” That's not a friend.

On the other end of the spectrum, some women who prostituted together also left prostitution together. Beth and Roxanne met and became friends when they worked for the same escort agency. Later, they worked together as independent e-prostitutes until

being arrested in a prostitution sting, after which they exited together. Beth would call Roxanne like a sponsor when she thought about returning, “After I quit, maybe a week after, I wanted to go back, but I didn’t because [Roxanne] brought up one of my bad experiences and I was like, ‘Yea, that’s not a good idea.’”

Customers. The money and the attention customers provided were a motivation to stay in prostitution. Erika said, “my self-esteem was based on what men thought of me and how much money I could make.” She described her last trick, which came two years after exiting prostitution, she was cleaning houses and barely had enough food to eat, let alone enough money pay her rent:

...one of my clients called me and he wanted to know if he could see me, and I hadn’t seen him in two years. It was a \$500 deal, I turned that one trick and it was over... I said to myself, I was never going to do this again. It just didn’t feel right anymore. ...He did call me back, I said I couldn’t and he respected that. So it was just one of those situations where the opportunity presented itself. I took advantage of it and I regretted it.

Similarly, calls and texts from customers were a trigger for Theresa who would be pulled her back into sex work. Other customers planted momentary seeds of doubt, “A couple of the guys I see they ask me, why I do this, why you do this because you are such a nice girl? I just need the money.”

A higher power. One constantly positive force was God or a higher power. However, not everyone believed in a higher power. Serenity attributes her exit from prostitution to God, who saved her in prison when she heard him call to her:

...he called me by name and said “just surrender” and I didn’t even know what surrender meant, but it was peaceful and I love to hear his voice. ... “[God] let me see there is a difference between me, him, and what is going on inside me. This addiction, this thing that was ruining my life, I did whatever it told me to do. And [God] let me see there was a difference between that, what I truly was, and him.

And he showed me I had one choice. I had to choose him or be taken down against my will. I said I choose him. I chose [God], with everything I had.

Similarly, Becka knew she was still alive by “the grace of God.” She said, “I’m very blessed to be alive today...God must have been with me so many times...I’m lucky that someone didn’t blow my head off or stab me to death.”

Stefan was an atheist, but he said a “9-1-1 prayer” to God in moments of serious desperation. “Oh my god if you get me out of this I swear I will never do it again,” he said, not actually believing in God, “it was just a default if you will.” He did not realize he needed spirituality in his life until he started a 12-steps program, which he still attends.

Efficacy

According to IMBP, efficacy is how certain a person is that he or she can perform/not perform a behavior even under difficult situations. Participants were asked to describe situations where they might return to prostitution. Evidence of this theme was fairly universal among participants and across types of prostitution. These situations included prostituting for survival, to get drugs/money for drugs (or returning to drugs if they were new to recovery), and money for miscellaneous items not essential to survival.

Survival. The most common reason participants said they would return to prostitution was if they needed money for survival particularly food and rent. Sierra said, “if I haven’t found another job to put a little more in [my bank account], you know, I have done it before it’s not nothing new now, I’ll just do it.” Serenity broke two years of prostitution sobriety to get \$500 for food and rent. After Katy’s identity was stolen, causing a delay in getting her disability check, she used prostitution to get by despite having reservations about seeing a new client:

...it was at the beginning of that month and I felt pressure. It was a really far job, farther than I felt comfortable driving and I went at night, but I did it anyway because I had 5 cents on my debit card. It was always a monetary thing.

Beth's rent was due in a week and she panicked:

You get into your old thinking that just one call will do it. You do one call and before you know it, two calls, then three calls and it's never just one call. I'd tell myself I can do one call and stop. But you can't do one call and stop; it's stop altogether or not. If you do one call you set yourself up for jumping right in again.

Drugs and addiction. Drugs were another situation that made it hard to resist prostitution. Most of the street prostitutes used prostitution to support their serious drug addiction. "The quick money and needing it for drugs, it went straight to drugs," Sandy said. Stefan "absolutely" believes he would be on the streets today if he were still using drugs, "I had an addiction to feed ...it was par for the course, like, of course you're a drug addict, you're a prostitute. Of course you're a prostitute, you're a drug addict." This finding was true for e-prostitutes as well. Roxanne was the only person in the sample who was addicted to gambling, which was an \$8,000/month habit. Beth, an e-prostitute who was not an addict, knew that being one would make it hard for her to escape, "...it'd be different if I were doing it for drugs. I'd probably still be doing it. But I am just glad I wasn't motivated by drugs. That was a big thing." Seeing old drug buddies was a trigger for Becka who ran into a friend who offered her a hit that she refused:

But you that little yearning inside, just one hit won't hurt, and I said [to myself] "No, once you do one, you want to keep going," so, I didn't take it. ... I gave him \$5 and left...and thought "Oh thank God, Jesus."

Quick money for non-necessities. Several participants said they needed the quick money that prostitution provided but that conventional employment did not.

Theresa gave many reasons why her part-time nanny job was not enough:

...I have to get some medical stuff done, some dentist stuff done that I can't get done unless I make some quick money. ...I have to buy a new clutch for my car. There are just a couple big financial things and with my other form of income it would not be able to cover it all. I want to get those covered and I just want to be able to be normal again...

Despite exiting, Becka felt the desire to make quick money for small things like gas, "Yea I need the money, but not that bad. I can't think like that because that is the fastest way to go back out there. Oh yea, it'll get you back out there faster than anything." Even eight years after leaving prostitution, Serenity still felt it. Her daughter needed money to buy books, and even though she knew the money was coming, "...my mind went straight back to, 'I know how to get this money really quick'...I was like, 'oh, no where did that come from? ...and I went back to Prostitutes Anonymous.'"

Agency

Agency is a new construct that refers to the one's ability to make a behavioral choice (i.e., to leave prostitution) without force or coercion. A measure of agency would be the degree to which an external entity is forcing the target person to perform/not perform a behavior. To explore this theme, participants were asked whether they felt forced to prostitute or whether they felt free to stop prostitution at any time. About half of the participants said they felt forced to prostitute, which originated from one of three sources: severe addiction, force from someone else, or for survival.

Power and control of addiction. Drug addiction was what kept many street prostitutes in the life. Stefan said that as his addiction progressed he "definitely" felt forced, "but not an outside forced, more of an internal forced. Like you know, if you want to support this habit, you have to get and do this. So I did." Similarly, Sandy "felt like I had to get high and I had no choice." Megan also attributes her drug addiction to driving

her deeper into the lifestyle and into dangerous situations, “I know that drugs had a big part to do with it because I know initially that’s why I started doing it, to support my habit.” Mara also felt like the drugs kept her prostituting, “if you have an addiction, you will pay for it somehow, [prostitution] was the easiest way for me.”

Sierra felt forced to prostitute, but it was because of the addictive lifestyle of partying, sex, pimps and drugs:

Yes, a lot of times [I felt forced]. Because it, in your mind, okay I want to stop this, but I can’t because it’s addiction. I want to stop but I am forcing myself to do it, but I am listening to you and you’re forcing me to do it. I want to leave but you’re forcing me to stay ... you know, it’s force from all different angles. Like I say, the drugs just help cover up everything, everything you’re going through.

Once their addiction was resolved, most interviewees were able to stop prostituting.

Stefan described how his mentality was wired to prostitute for drugs, “I had to get sober in order for that to change. There was no way around it, absolutely no way around it.”

Power and control from another person. Several participants felt they were forced to prostitute by another person. The most blatant instance was with Mara who was drugged and forced to prostitute in a hotel room for three months. Serenity was pimped by several of her lovers. With each one, she was beat up, threatened and trapped, “If I didn’t come back, then I was on the run, and he told me he would find me the next time. There was no getting out of there.” She only escaped after being arrested and jailed.

Megan had a very abusive relationship with a former client-turned-husband. He paid for most of her living expenses including a house, car and cellphone. Unfortunately, this also meant, “he controlled where I was living and what I had to do to keep living there, everything was definitely conditional.” When he “wasn’t getting what he wanted,” he drained her account, turned off her phone, and evicted her. When she needed money

she would hooked up with him again. This last time, they decided to live together and get married in order to get his insurance benefits and go to rehab. During this time he pimped her out on Backpage.com and drove her to tricks' houses. He soon became mentally and physically abusive, and without friends or family, she felt like she had no way out:

...so the only thing I could do was stay with him. I tried to do everything I could to make sure it didn't happen again. I had money, I was doing what he wanted me to do but no matter what, it wasn't good enough. I wasn't saying things the way he wanted me to say them, I didn't do things the exact way he wanted me to do it and that triggered worse situations and he'd hit me. Towards the end it was a daily routine. We'd get into an argument and I was always walking on eggshells, and he hurt me so bad that I thought I'd end up hospitalized or dead.

Megan felt like she was not in control of her own life, "I felt like he wanted me to do exactly what he wanted me to do, and how he wanted me to do it. And because of my codependence at that point, I didn't think I had any other options." Megan finally escaped his grasp when she was picked up on an outstanding warrant. While in jail, she cleaned up and decided to exit prostitution. Coincidentally, before she was released her husband was sentenced to six years in prison for forgery. If her husband had not been incarcerated, Megan would be fearful that he would force her back into prostitution.

Power and control of survival. A few participants who left prostitution returned to it for survival. After exiting the first time, Roxanne re-entered prostitution because she needed necessities, "I had a strong desire to get out, the whole time I was doing it– the second time, I wasn't happy about it, you know. I just had to survive, you know."

Serenity prostituted for survival from ages 8-10, "I didn't know then that I was prostituting, for me, it was survival... the word prostitute never connected for me because it was a means of survival." She stopped prostituting from ages 10-19 when she found a stable home, first with a foster family, and later after marrying her boyfriend at age 16,

with whom she had a child. Within a short amount of time, he was abusive so she decided to leave him, but never having a job or a high school degree, Serenity was scared because she had a baby. “I knew how to survive on the streets by myself, but I didn’t know how to survive and take care of a baby, or have a normal life.” She returned to prostitution and started using meth, which she said gave her confidence to leave her husband and enter the “unknown world” of caring for herself and her child.

Mara shared an insight into the agency/survival concept when she discussed how being arrested and jailed 18 times did not get her off the streets. Rather, she said learning how to survive without prostitution is what she needed to exit:

Obviously, the jail time was not what taught me a lesson. Jail time does not teach these girls a lesson. Prison time does not teach them a lesson. If you think about it, [stopping because you are in jail] it’s not because you’re not doing it [prostitution], you’re doing it [prostitution] for survival. So, whether you go to jail for it or not, is not the issue. [Getting arrested] is not going to teach you not to do [prostitute]. You feel like you have to do it... [I left because] I didn’t want to do it anymore. I wanted to not *have* to do it. You gotta show somebody that they can actually survive and not do [prostitution].

No force/complete agency. Not everyone felt forced to prostitute, especially the e-prostitutes who did not have addictions or were not homeless. Theresa, who was prostituting to take care of miscellaneous financial obligations said:

I definitely feel like it is up to me when I want to stop. There’s nothing to make me not stop. When I talk to [tricks], I have a different phone, it is a pay-as-you-go phone and I can just turn it off.

Katy also said it was always her decision to prostitute and that she was in control of when she prostitutes and whom she sees, “I was the one who took the call, placed the ad, did the driving to the job. ...I turned jobs down that I wasn’t comfortable doing...”

Fortunately, Katy did not have an addiction and could live with the consequences of not

working, “there was definitely desperation to it, but in the same token, there wasn’t.

There would be a whole lot less food on the table... I wouldn’t have any gas in the car.”

Evidence for Agency as a New Construct

Discussions about being forced to prostitute gave credence to agency being a new construct in a theory of intentions to exit prostitution. Specifically, participants highlighted differences between norms and agency, and intention and agency. Evidence for these distinctions are discussed below.

Norms vs. agency. There were a few examples that illuminated the difference between normative pressure and being forced to prostitution (i.e., agency). First, was Mara who at 17 years old, was fed crack for three days and forced to prostitute in a hotel room for three months—this was clearly against her will and demonstrates a lack of agency. Later, she felt forced to prostitute by her son’s father who kicked her “ass out on the street” and told her to make money, and “expected her to go out there”. She also described the normative pressure from her friends and their expectations of her, “they notice that you have money and they start depending on you a little bit for this and that and the next thing you know, it’s expected of you.” In both instances, she said she was *expected* to prostitute, *not forced*, so these are instances of normative pressure, not a lack of agency.

Fiona’s pimps represented another example of normative pressure to prostitute, and her motivation to comply with them was based on her desire to be loved by her pimps, not force. Throughout her short prostitution career, Fiona had five pimps all of whom “turned out to be worse than the last.” She did not describe her situation as being forced to prostitute. Rather, she was looking to be loved by her pimps and feeling desired

by her customers. “That’s how I go out there, but [that desire has] really been taken from me. Now, I get disgusted at the thought of these men.” She even interpreted her pimp’s anger and abuse as a sign of love. “I really thought they did love me... Especially when they get mad at me, which is sick and disgusting, but when they got mad at me because I would gawk at other guys, I thought it was because they really loved me.”

Fiona only left a pimp when she felt he did not love her back. For example, her last pimp was the most loving and the most abusive. When he started paying more attention to another one of his prostitutes, Fiona was jealous and decided to leave him. “I slapped him in the face and he punched me so fucking hard.” Bleeding in a hotel parking lot, her pimp grabbed Fiona’s belongings and told her to get into the car, “of course, I got in the car,” and he drove her to his sister’s house. His sister was the first person to tell Fiona that she deserved better treatment:

[His sister] should have been on his side, but was like, “Girl, you can’t be out here. As a woman, I don’t want to see another woman like this.” I respected her so much and I was like, alright. So [his sister] talked to him and was like, “you do not do this girl like this.”

He gave Fiona some money and dropped her off to stay with a friend from Prostitutes Anonymous, where she got her two weeks of prostitution sobriety. Him taking her to a friend’s house demonstrates that he is not forcing her to prostitute, though these are likely pimp tactics—he wants her to want to be with him, which is exactly what she feels, as she describes how she still thinks about him and talks to him:

...I told him I’m in prostitution recovery all this kind of stuff. He said, he acts like he supports what I’m doing... but I’m still, I told my friends, if you need a pimp—go to him. So he knows that I’m still in love with him and it’s working. Out of all my pimps, he was the one that fulfilled his promises and it really fucked me up. He loved me, and he tells me that he loves me. It’s really hard, but I know I can’t go back out there this time.

Roxanne also discussed the difference between being forced to prostitute because of circumstances (i.e., survival) versus being pimped out:

I think, in a way, women that go into [prostitution] are forced into it by their own circumstances, unless they hook up with a pimp that pimps them out, you know. Even in that case, it's because of circumstance. So it just depends on the circumstances. If you're starving, you're gonna do what you need to do.

Intention vs. agency. As discussed, once street prostitutes resolved their addiction, most stopped their prostitution as well. In other words, they regained their agency that was once lost to drugs. Mara and Serenity were exceptions to this rule because they both continued to use prostitution after stopping drugs because they wanted to prostitute. Mara said, “When I quit using drugs, it didn’t become mandatory to work, it just became easy.” Mara’s quote reflects her positive attitudes toward prostitution, and garners further support that agency could be a moderating variable which is distinct from one’s intention. Later, Mara said prostitution is not something she is willing to do despite needing money, “I’m broke right now. I only make unemployment. You can’t survive on \$200-something a week.... but [prostitution is] not something I want to do.” Again, she intends to stay out of prostitution, even though she feels a force to prostitute for survival.

Serenity had a similar experience. She thought that if she could stop using crack, she could stop prostitution. “Basically, I thought the only reason the only reason I was out there turning tricks was because I had this crack addiction.” She managed to stop crack, joined a 12-steps program, lived in a halfway house, and worked a legitimate job:

...I took the bus and everyday on the way there I’d turn tricks, and on the way home I’d turn tricks. Basically, now I am at a drug or 12-step meeting and they are talking about how they have a hard time not getting high and I’m not having a hard time getting high, I’m having a hard time not doing tricks because I couldn’t say no.

For six months and with a paying job, she prostituted while *not using crack*. In time, however, Serenity started dating an old boyfriend who was a user, and was back on crack and on the streets. “I thought if I stopped smoking this crack everything would be okay. But obviously, crack really wasn’t the problem. I was the problem.” The problem Serenity was alluding to was her desire to be loved by the “biggest and baddest men” who were pimps (normative pressure); and equating her self-worth with how much men paid to be with her, which for her, was an outcome of prostitution (attitude).

Support for Other Variables in IMBP

The qualitative interviews also provided evidence that skills and environmental constraints were factors separate from intention, but also necessary for a successful exit from prostitution. The following section describes the various skills and environmental factors the interviewees faced as verification that there is a fit between IMBP and prostitution. Skills and environmental constraints are only examined in the qualitative portion, and will not be explored in the quantitative phase of the study.

Skills. As defined by IMBP, skills refer to the skills or knowledge participants need in order to carry out the behavior. Participants who exited prostitution were asked in the interview what skills they needed in order to leave the life, and they named immediate needs such as addiction recovery skills, life skills, education and job skills, etc., which were common regardless of prostitution type. One theme that emerged was that as participants gained longer sobriety from prostitution, the type of skill shifted from immediate needs to intrapersonal issues such as digging deeper into the reasons why they began prostitution in the first place.

Relapse prevention and coping skills were a need for nearly all participants with a history of an addiction. These skills were typically learned from 12-step programs like AA, Narcotics Anonymous (NA), or Gamblers Anonymous (GA; for Roxanne). Becca enrolled in a prostitution-exiting program where she had to go to 60 AA or NA meetings in 60 days, which were helpful for her to abstain from prostitution. However, 12-steps programs did not work for everyone, like Mara, “I saw through them. How the heck is this supposed to keep me clean when I still want it? I questioned it too much.” In order to get off the drugs, Mara removed herself from the drug scene “until the urge lessened.”

Life skills were another skill men and women needed in order to leave prostitution. Mara described the need for these skills because, “when you first stop, you’re as dependent as any baby. You have no money, you have no skills, you have nothing.” Stefan described life skills as basic knowledge that “most people learned at 15,” such as budgeting and what it means to live a conventional life.

Adjusting to a reduced income and learning to wait for a paycheck was a common difficulty for most participants. Mara described, “The hardest part about when I first quit was waiting for the paycheck... we have no budgeting skills. If we need money, we just step outside.” Sierra also had to learn to save her money for rent and other necessities, “you gotta save your money to change your future... I know it’s hard [changing from] ‘now, now, now,’ but now I am glad I know how to save.”

Education and job skills were important for obtaining a conventional job so participants did not need to prostitute. Stefan attended college and worked a corporate job for a few years before he was heavily involved in prostitution, “...I knew what it meant to put on a tie and show up in an office and work.” Instead of prostituting, Katy had the

education and skills to do copyediting at home. She only had to adjust to living “with chump change” in comparison to what she made in prostitution. Becka had credentials and skills, but during her 10+ years on the streets, they were no longer relevant. She recognized how this would be a problematic in her prostitution-free life:

...where did all the time go? I mean, I had skills, I graduated high school, I went to one semester of college, I went to two training schools, I'm a certified typist and word processor. But my skills on the computer are not up to date and technology has gotten so huge that I'm not that computer literate. I have caused all my problems, I have no one to blame but myself, with that being said, it's like now I think, where am I going to go from here? I am 57 years old and, I am thinking, "wow, what do I do know?"

Intrapersonal insight and coping skills. As participants got further out of the life, many were able to start dealing with the childhood traumas that brought them to prostitution in the first place. Serenity referred to these intrapersonal insights as “getting down to the causes and conditions” of her prostitution. “I'm walking back through all those childhood memories and letting out the pain and getting into healing, and when I do the healing, I feel like I am mature emotionally a little bit more each time,” she said.

Similarly, Megan talked with a trauma counselor about personal issues that happened before she was in the lifestyle, what led up to it, and what happened during it that made her dependent on men and their affection for her self-worth. Sandy had to learn that the abuses done to her were not her fault. Rather, she was a causality of being at the wrong place at the wrong time. She now understands “that just because I was [prostituting] doesn't give someone a right to hurt me.”

Another advanced intrapersonal skill was to reframe how participants viewed sex. Stefan said, “I had to learn that every man who appears interested in me I didn't have to have sex with because the life I lead pretty much where I went was 'Oh you're interested,

let's have sex.' I had to relearn how to do that." Beth, who was the most emotionally affected by prostitution, was still struggling to answer why she went into the life:

I still can't figure out why I did what I was doing. If I figured that one out, I think it would make a big difference mentally. To figure out why, why I did that. And the money, yea the money. But that's, it's not everything. I could be flat broke and be happy.

Sierra, on the other hand, was unwilling to seek counseling because she felt judged, "they see you with judgment and that's why I don't want to go into help because someone's gonna judge you."

Another advanced coping skill participants developed as they exited were self-confidence and the ability to reframe their experiences. Erika went to court and successfully got her nursing license reinstated. She attributed it to, "having the self-confidence to know, 'Hey I am going to appeal this and see what happens' and if it is not granted, I will have to seek out something else." Serenity learned a great deal of self-confidence. Initially, it was difficult for her to talk about her past because she felt very ashamed for the things she did. However, in time she came to a place of peace knowing that what she had been through could help others, "if my story is able to help anybody, it is okay to explain what I had went through, and why I am who I am now." Her ability to reframe her experiences gave her strength and purpose.

Being able to talk to someone who formerly prostituted was helpful, as was being a person that other girls and women could talk to when contemplating an exit from prostitution. Prostitution Anonymous (PA) was an outlet where women could get and give peer support. Fiona felt stronger from attending PA meetings with other women who successfully exited. In the last meeting she attended, she encouraged two 17 year old girls

that they could leave prostitution, “One girl really wanted to change, you can kind of tell by just her demeanor...I was all proud of her and gave her a hug.” By believing in them, it seemed like Fiona believed in herself.

Environmental Constraints. The IMBP model defines environmental constraints as circumstances that make it nearly impossible for the behavior to occur. In regard to street prostitution, it was hypothesized that there were both micro and macro-level environmental constraints that are barriers to exiting prostitution. These two types were delineated by the participants’ ability to change them. For example, a person could change their unemployment status if he or she started working (i.e., micro). But a recession that caused a lack of jobs is a structural, macro-level, environmental constraint because an individual cannot change the global unavailability of jobs.

It is important to differentiate between micro and macro environmental constraints because social service interventions for this population typically work on a micro-level. Keeping with the employment example, some prostitution-exiting programs have partnerships with businesses that hire persons with felony records—this is a micro-level intervention addressing a micro-environmental constraint. However, the availability of positions within these businesses is dependent on larger economic concerns that neither the former prostitute or the intervention can change. Another reason to identify micro-level environmental constraints (i.e., employed/unemployed) is to control for them in statistical models that attempt to predict an exit from prostitution.

To elicit micro-level environmental constraints, participants were asked what barriers they faced when trying to leave prostitution, and what helped them to leave. Participants were not asked to identify whether they experienced micro or macro barriers.

Rather, all environmental barriers were coded as a single theme and split into subthemes post hoc.

Micro-level barriers were similar to what has been described in the literature: lack of education, being unemployed or being unemployable due to a criminal record, or having a physical limitation. Becca left prostitution and had a high school diploma, but a decade without job history and 22 prostitution arrests later, her only job prospect was a clerk at Goodwill, pending a criminal background check.

Employability, or lack thereof, impacted a person's ability to afford basic necessities like clothing, food, housing, and health care. In many cases, unemployable participants went back to prostitution (and would return again) in order to survive. This micro-level barrier even made Fiona scared to leave prostitution, "I dropped out of school right after the 9th grade. I have no experience. I'm just scared, you know. And again, back to the money thing."

Katy's disability meant that she could not "handle a regular in-person job." Although she could not change having a disability, she was able to find a job working from home that did not interfere with her disability.

Micro-level facilitators tended to center around one's living situation and the availability of programs or family members to help with living expenses. For example, Beth lived with her grandfather so she does not need to pay rent, "If I had to pay rent now, I might go back out and [prostitute]." Sierra said the only reason she would go back to prostitution was if she were homeless, and though currently living with her brother, she would turn tricks if it were necessary. Several other women left prostitution by enrolling

in a residential prostitution-exiting program or a halfway house because it only cost a small percentage of their income.

Moving to a new area was another micro facilitator. For instance, it was necessary for Mara to completely take herself out of the environment she prostituted in. “In order to get out [of prostitution], I just didn’t take any [boyfriends or regulars] with me. I didn’t tell them where I was going, I just didn’t take them with me, they didn’t have a way to contacting me.” Serenity, on the other hand, stayed in an area where she knew where to obtain drugs, and after time, she ended up becoming a drug addicted, street prostitute.

Macro-level barriers and facilitators. Several participants discussed how criminalization policies contributed to their exit from prostitution. For example, both Roxanne and Beth were “scared out of prostitution” from their first and only prostitution arrest. Fortunately for them, the charges were dropped after attending a diversion class.

A criminal record was also a barrier for some women, like Erika, who could not find a legitimate job because of her felony history. “Okay, you’re arrested, you quit the industry, but you still have to make a living.... But then you are unable to get a job because of a criminal background. It’s insane.” Sandy’s felony record made her question being out of the life, “my record made it really difficult to go straight for a minimum wage job when I could have gone out in a day to make what I do in a week.”

Arrest played another unexpected role. Becka was no stranger to the law with 22 prostitution charges nearly 10 years in and out of jail. Although her record made it difficult to get a legitimate job now, she said, at the time, she was grateful for being arrested. “It is a godsend to be arrested sometimes because there were times if I weren’t

arrested, I wouldn't be here today.” She continued to describe how being in jail was like a time for rest and rejuvenation:

Oh well, I'm here [in jail]. Even though the food is shitty, you get rest, you get exercise, walking around, you get better, you get healthy. You get healthy again just to get out and go back [to the streets], and you get unhealthy again. You get out [of jail] just to do the same shit.

Part of Becka's motivation for leaving prostitution was because of a change in how prostitution was criminalized. In the state where she lives, if a person has three or more prostitution violations and incurs a subsequent violation, that person is charged with a class five felony and sent to jail for six months (Prostitution Classification, 2012). She described how the change in jail time influenced her decision to leave and why:

It's basically, 'yea, okay I've got a prostitution charge, it's a misdemeanor'. But now I get so many prostitution charges and I'll get a felony and go to prison? So yea [it changed me], but I think it is mainly the thought of being gone from the streets for so long...you don't want to have to go out [of prostitution] and in six months find out everything has changed. There were people there that aren't there anymore. All the dope houses have moved. Yea, it is a lot of change to get back into the swing of things.

For Mara, the law contributed to her exit from prostitution, “my main thing was being arrested and doing six months after six months [in jail]. By the fourth charge here in Arizona, you get six months for each charge. I have 18, so I was in jail constantly.”

The availability of health care and insurance was another macro factor that made it difficult to leave prostitution. Sandy's sponsor who was present at her interview, discussed how Sandy was doing “everything right” by staying safe at a halfway house and working. However, the amount of money Sandy makes at her job affects her ability to qualify for state healthcare benefits. Her sponsor said, “[Sandy] is willing to get out there, willing to work and make a better life. Then you have this, 'you can't see your

doctor' and that's not right at all." Sandy cannot afford to lose her healthcare and she declined overtime at her job so that she would meet the income limit.

Brian hinted at macro-level barriers, like affordable housing and welfare, when he described what he thought could be done to help women leave prostitution:

I feel they should have a better shelter, organization, you know for [prostitutes]... but even after they get counseling, they ain't being helped without getting a roof over their head and their children is being stripped from them... They need 100% help, 50% isn't helping. Where you going after you leave [prostitution], your counselor? You going right back out there because you gotta pay your rent. Rent still gotta be paid, lights, water, kids, diapers, whatever. It takes money to do that.

Roxanne believed that prostitution should be legalized because of gender income disparity. "Women earn two-thirds of what men earn and [prostitution] kinda levels the playing field, if a woman is willing to go that route." Later she said that if women did not experience the circumstances that brought them into prostitution (i.e., survival), then fewer women would enter prostitution out of necessity:

If women could earn more money, if we could educate women, free education for people like they do in some parts of Europe, you know. Yeah, I definitely think that if [economic] circumstances were different less women would go into it. I heard that there's million women in this country that [prostitute] full time.

Intention

Participants also described the feeling they had the last time they left prostitution. For most, this change in desire to prostitute was hard to identify. Fiona said, "until you get that feeling that I really can't do this, I want more for myself, no one can tell you anything [to change your mind], and that sucks but it's the truth." Serenity, however, credits God telling her to "just surrender" for spurring her latest exit from prostitution.

Other women were less hopeful. Becka said, "You got to want it... To tell you the truth, the only way, because I really haven't seen very many people leave the streets, the

only way I've seen people get out of the streets is unless they're dead. ” Mara, described it as desperation and an all in kind of feeling:

If they are still wanting to [prostitute] a little bit—if they want to at all—they are gonna [prostitute]. You have to hate it, you have to not want it so bad, you are willing to give up everything to not do it again, and by everything, down to the clothes on your back. Everything. You have to give it up.

Summary of Qualitative Interview Results

To summarize, the 16 interviews with former and current street and other prostitutes seemed to support a fit between IMBP and prostitution. Attitudes consisted of positive and negative outcomes of prostitution, and also a feeling that there were no other options than to prostitute. Norms were a bit more elusive as significant others played dual and divergent roles as participants progressed into their prostitution careers. Participants described situations where their ability to remain prostitution-free was put to the test, which exemplified their efficacy. Skills and environmental constraints were similar to what the prostitution literature has described—lack of job skills, diminished employment opportunities and criminal backgrounds were barriers. Agency, a construct added to account for a lack of volitional control, was also supported in by the interviewees and was different from social pressure (norms) or intention. The qualitative interviews completed the first part of the elicitation phase, and provided important context for the remaining components of the study.

Focus Groups and Expert Reviews

The next part of the qualitative component of the study was to develop and refine an initial instrument that would be validated in the quantitative phase. An instrument, *Intentions to Exit Prostitution (IEP)*, was designed based on the interview results and a literature review. The IEP was piloted with a focus group of women in a prostitution-exiting program and later reviewed by practitioners and survivors working in the field (expert review).

The purpose of the focus group was to provide an opportunity for prostituted women to assess the readability and understandability of the initial instrument, as there were several scoring schema options to choose from. Also, poorly worded questions were changed based on focus group and expert review feedback. In addition to identifying confusing items, expert reviewers also helped ensure the instrument was sensitive to the population (i.e., not stigmatizing), and would not trigger or traumatize participants.

Sample

Focus groups and expert reviews were conducted with ex-prostitutes and/or practitioners in the field. This represented homogeneous sampling (Patton, 1990), as participants were selected because they shared the phenomenon of interest. Specifically, the focus group participants consisted of eight women in a prostitution-exiting program, chosen because they resemble women who would take the final instrument. The focus group was held on-site at the program, and a representative of the agency recruited the participants. All the women received a \$15 gift card incentive for participating in the focus group and participation was voluntary.

The expert reviewers were five practitioners working in two prostitution-exiting programs. These persons were ideal candidates to review the instrument because practitioners would ultimately administer the validated instrument at a similar program. Two experts were masters-level counselors from a local, faith-based, residential prostitution-exiting program. The other three experts were staff from an outpatient, mental health prostitution-exiting program in Portland, OR. One reviewer was the agency's mental health therapist and a licensed clinical social worker with over five years of experience counseling street prostitutes. The other two reviewers from Portland were former prostitutes; one was a peer mentor, and the other was a substance abuse counselor. Expert reviewer participation was voluntary and no incentives were provided for participating.

Data Collection

A survey was designed for the focus group that acted as a discussion guide and had various response format options and rating scales for participants to choose from (see Appendix D). The survey covered: a) instruction options, b) format options, c) item content and ranking in order of importance, and d) demographics. Participants were also provided a preliminary version of the instrument so that they could understand how the focus group feedback shaped the finalized instrument. The focus group was audio recorded and transcribed by a paid transcriptionist. The completed surveys were collected after the focus group ended. The focus group was 71 minutes long excluding a warm up activity and introduction to the purpose of the study.

Expert reviewers were provided a preliminary version of the instrument via email and were asked to comment on the participants' potential reaction to the items (i.e.,

offensive, burdensome) and to provide feedback on the overall design of the instrument (i.e., appearance, readability). Reviewers were contacted on the phone to discuss their feedback and suggested changes. After the focus group, additional changes were made to a version of the instrument, and three experts reviewed it a second time before it was administered in the quantitative phase.

Data Analysis

The focus group surveys were collected and results pertaining to the instruction options, format options, and content rankings were entered into Statistics Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21. Frequencies and percentages were calculated for each option or item. The choice to retain a particular option/item was based on a majority vote. For example, most participants thought a seven-point Likert scale contained too many options and suggested changing it to a five-point scale. Ties or ambiguous decisions were discussed with input from the expert reviewers via phone. Decisions to include or exclude items was at the researcher's discretion. For example, focus group participants did not find any benefits to prostitution other than money, whereas the qualitative results showed that some women liked the positive attention or access to drugs/money for drugs.

Focus Group and Expert Review Results

The majority of women in the focus group participated fully in the group discussion and survey. A 100% response rate was achieved on survey sections A and B (directions and response format), but participants tended to respond inconsistently in section C (content). About 75% ($n = 5$) of the women answered the demographic questions. Among them, the average age was 38.8 years old (range was 25-48); 40% ($n = 2$) each were Latino or mixed race, followed by 20% ($n = 1$) American Indian. Most of

the sample had a high school diploma/GED or some college (both were 33.3%, $n = 2$), and 16.7% ($n = 1$) each were a college graduate or had a vocational education. Two women were street prostitutes, one was a call girl, one “used sex when needed to feed my addiction or get inside for the night,” and one was involved in the porn industry (three declined to answer).

Directions. The first section of the focus group instrument presented participants with three sets of directions and an example question from which they were asked to select the option they most preferred. The directions were written to introduce the topic and then how to respond to the question (many questions were two parts). Participants did not like any version of the directions presented to them. Instead, the participants recommended that the directions be 1-2 sentences and focus on just telling them how to answer. Their reasoning was that because women taking the survey will likely be coming off the streets and still on drugs, they would not be able to follow complex and detailed instructions. Participants suggested this simplified sentence:

Read the statement on the left and circle the choice that reflects your opinion on the right. Answer all questions for how you *feel now*, not how you felt in the past or how you want to feel.

Response Formats. IMBP presents a sophisticated way to measure constructs often relying on two-part questions that reflect 1) the likelihood an outcome would occur and 2) a participant's evaluation of how good or bad that outcome would be. Formatting the two-part questions in an understandable way can be complicated because the statements could be unipolar (1 to 5) or bipolar (-3 to +3), or use words to represent gradation (very unlikely to very likely). Section B presented two response formats for the attitudes questions (numbers and arrows, or multiple-choice words) and three response

formats for norms (variations of numbers and arrows; see figure 3 below). The norms options were the most difficult to assess for readability because the question was split up by the response as shown in Figure 3.

Version A

On a scale from 1-7, my children (ANSWER) eat lots of vegetables.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 should ← → should not
Check here if you do NOT have children <input type="checkbox"/>	

Version B

My children...	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 should ← → should not	...eat lots of vegetables.
Check here if you do NOT have children <input type="checkbox"/>		

Version C

My children...
← should 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 → ...eat lots of vegetables.
Check here if you do NOT have children <input type="checkbox"/>

Figure 3. Response Format Options for the Norms Construct.

More than half of the sample chose the multiple-choice words option for attitudes because there was an obvious separation between the options and the arrows were too confusing. Almost all of the participants like five-point Likert scales versus seven-point scales. In regard to the three different numbers and arrows options for the norms construct, participants liked option A over B (47% vs. 33%; 0% for C). However, participants were still confused about how to respond, and were unsure of how to improve the response formats other than reducing the scale to five points.

Content. Table 5 shows the results for each item ranked in the participants' top five choices. For all constructs (attitudes, norms, efficacy, agency), participants were provided a list of potential items and were asked to rank them in order of importance.

Table 5.

Percent of Top Five Items Endorsed by Focus Group Participants (N = 8)

Construct	Item content	Top 5 %	Suggested changes
<i>Attitude</i>	able to get quick money	87.5	"fast money"
Rank the most likely outcomes of engaging in prostitution	sexually transmitted disease	87.5	get sick or die; STD
	feel in control	33.3	in charge; lose control
	physically hurt	62.5	risk my life; physical danger
	access to drugs	100	score/get drugs easy
	raped	50	
	robbed	66.7	
	feel powerful	28.6	
	arrested	66.7	
	feel wanted	50	needed; empty inside
<i>Norms</i>	intimate partner	71.4	
Identify the most important people who might influence a decision to stay or leave prostitution	pimp	83.3	
	child / children	87.5	
	family member	57.1	
	higher power	50	
	associates	33.3	
	boy / girlfriend	66.7	
	regular customer	33.3	
	close friends	50	
	acquaintance	0	
<i>Efficacy</i>	was offered me money	85.7	a lot of money (2x)
Rank the statements "I am confident I could avoid prostitution even if I ..."	was offered me drugs	75	drugs for sex
	needed money	85.7	had no money; penniless
	needed food	85.7	without food; hungry
	needed a place to stay	57.1	was homeless
	needed "a fix"	66.7	wanted a fix
	was drunk or high	66.7	under the influence
<i>Agency^a</i>	partner or pimp did not want me to	85.7	no matter what someone said
Rank the statements "I could choose to leave prostitution even if..."	threatened with physical violence	71.4	no matter what someone did to hurt me
	might lose an important relationship	71.4	and everyone associated with it
	was using drugs or alcohol	42.9	
	didn't need the money	33.3	tempted by money

^a denotes item was ranked within the top 3 choices

Participants were also provided space to change the wording of any item and to write-in new content that they thought was important. Each participant's top five rankings were tabulated and a percentage was calculated by dividing the number of persons who endorsed an item by the number of participants who responded to that item (i.e., seven out of eight people rated "fast cash" in their top 5, or 87.5% of participants). Because participants did not rank write-in items, consideration of the other items and researcher discretion was used to determine which suggestions were included in the final instrument.

One of the most beneficial aspects of the focus group was the content ranking. Generally, participants rated positive outcomes of prostitution less likely, which may be because this sample had already left prostitution. Participants also said that the items were too wordy and suggested simpler sentences throughout as well as only 3-4 questions per construct as to not fluster or confuse responders. Other participants suggested adding dichotomous yes/no or scaling questions (e.g., how often did you...), which did not fit the purpose of the instrument. They recommended "sexually transmitted diseases" be changed to STD as street involved women are more familiar with the abbreviation.

Rationale for Items Rejected or Retained

Attitudes. For the attitudes construct, a mix of positive and negative outcomes was picked for the final instrument. Fast cash, feeling wanted or loved, and get drugs easily were positive outcomes; and getting robbed, getting arrested, and risking my life were negative outcomes. Another item, "I have other ways to make money besides prostitution" was added because it was an important theme in the qualitative interviews. Risking my life was chosen over other items because it captured highly endorsed items

such as rape, physical violence, and danger. STD, while rated high in the focus group, was omitted because qualitative data suggested that contracting an STD was a lesser concern compared to getting money for survival, evading arrest, and experiencing violence (also see Alexander, 1998).

As mentioned, focus group participants did not like positive outcomes like feeling in control or powerful, because they felt that they lost control of their life from being engaged in prostitution and, were in fact, powerless to prostitution. A few women acknowledged the positive outcome of feeling wanted or needed, but described it as, “an emptiness [inside of] you that needed be satisfied [by prostitution].” It was decided that feeling wanted or loved better captured the positive feelings some women felt.

For the direct measure of attitudes (bipolar adjectives), participants rated necessary/unnecessary, wise/unwise and safe/unsafe as top choices for staying in prostitution. However, participants were generally confused by the adjectives and how to respond. One participant did not understand the bipolar nature of the question and said it should be a yes/no question for each word. Others felt that changing the response options for only a few questions would be too confusing (i.e., from likely/unlikely to numbers -3 to +3 representing very unwise/very wise, etc.). Taking into account potential confusion and the length of the survey, the semantic differential questions were omitted from the instrument.

Norms. For the norms construct, the following significant others were chosen for the final instrument: child/children, intimate partner/spouse, pimp, higher power, and close friends. Close friends were picked over family members as the qualitative data revealed that prostitutes were sometimes estranged from their family or hid their

involvement in prostitution from family (also children could be considered a family member). Although it scored low, higher power was picked because God played such a strong role in several qualitative participants' reason for exiting.

Efficacy. Items picked for the efficacy construct were: offered a lot of money, offered drugs, had no place to stay, and had no food. The situation of being penniless and being offered a lot of money seemed redundant, so being offered a lot of money was picked because the qualitative participants lauded the great sums of money that could be made in prostitution. Furthermore, the desperation of "being penniless" was captured in the items referring to having no food and no place to stay.

Agency. The top rated items for the agency construct (pimp/partner did not want me to, threatened with violence, lose an important relationship) were similar to items in the norms construct, so the agency items were rewritten to include the phrase "forcing me to stay in prostitution" in hopes that it would better differentiate between the expectation that is a result of social pressure/norms versus being forced to prostitute against one's will. The final agency items were: someone is forcing me, drugs are forcing me, and the threat of violence is forcing me to stay in prostitution.

Changes Based on Expert Review

All five expert reviewers stated that the items were sensitive to the needs of the population and would not trigger or harm participants. After changes were made based on the focus group, a second round of expert reviews were conducted to help finalize the instrument. Specifically, expert reviewers were asked whether the numbers and arrows or multiple choice response formats were easier to read, and how best to format responses for the norms construct. The expert reviewers recommended multiple-choice responses

over the numbers and arrows. Furthermore, the expert reviewer said that the norms questions should contain a complete sentence (vs. splitting up the sentences) and the response options should refer to how much the participant agrees/disagrees with the statement. The researcher rewrote the questions to be simpler and to minimize changes in response options. The finalized instrument is included in Appendix E.

Chapter 6

QUANTITATIVE COMPONENT

Introduction

The quantitative component of this study involved the validation of the IEP instrument and theory through structural equation modeling (SEM). SEM is a factor analytic process that attempts to explain latent variable covariances (Kim & Mueller, 1978; Preacher & MacCallum, 2003). Such techniques can be applied to measurement models in a confirmatory factor analysis framework or as a path analysis to assess the structural components (i.e. direct and indirect paths among the factors) in a full latent variable model (Green & Thompson, 2003). Both uses of SEM were sequentially employed in this study as recommended in methodological literature (Jöreskog, 1993; Kline, 2010). This chapter discusses the study design and procedure, sample descriptive statistics, instrument scoring and data analysis, and concludes with the study results.

Design

Data for this non-experimental study were cross-sectional. A major limitation of this design was that the data are correlational and no causal claims can be made. Another limitation was that the sample was nonrandom (i.e., purposeful) because of the hidden nature of the population, and external validity of the study was threatened; though having participants come from six programs across five states (AZ, CA, OH, OR, WI) may have helped increase generalizability. Another strength of this study's design was that it was theory-driven throughout each phase, and the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods helped to establish other forms of validity.

Procedure

Partnerships were formed with substance abuse treatment and prostitution-exiting programs in Arizona, California, Ohio (2), Oregon, and Wisconsin, all of which agreed to recruit participants for the study. Table 6 shows a brief description of each program and the number of surveys returned per site. Arizona State University's IRB approved each agency's participation and the agencies obtained their own internal approval to participate in the study. All participation was voluntary and participants, as well as staff who helped recruit participants received a \$10 gift card for their participation.

The researcher mailed each agency a packet that contained materials to administer the surveys, gift card incentives, and postage to send back the completed surveys (see Appendix F). The packet also included an overview of the study, research protocol, frequently asked questions, and an introductory script that agency staff used to announce the survey. Great care was taken to protect the anonymity of the participants and to increase honest responses. For example, a waiver of signed consent was obtained so that participants did not need to disclose their name in order to participate. Second, participants were assured that their responses would not be disclosed to agency staff and they returned the completed surveys in a sealed envelope.

Agencies were given the choice to recruit participants as they sought fit. For example, some agencies used regularly scheduled group time to administer the survey, and other agencies offered the survey in a one-on-one setting such as at a case management appointment. The substance abuse program chose the latter option as to not identify clients as being former prostitutes. The survey took 15-20 minutes to complete depending on participants' reading level. After the survey was finished, staff provided the

\$10 incentive to study participants. The researcher checked in with the agency via email every two weeks, or as needed. Questions or other concerns that arose at one data collection site were communicated to all the sites. No adverse events were reported.

Table 6
Participating Agencies (N = 6) and Survey Return Rates (N = 160)

Location of Agency	Description of Services	N (%) of Surveys Returned
Columbus, OH	Residential and outpatient treatment for female ex-felons offering drug and mental health counseling, trauma recovery groups, education and skills training, and a halfway house for program graduates.	58 (36.3)
Milwaukee, WI	Interfaith, non-profit agency for female ex-felons offering psycho-educational classes on prostitution, trauma, substances and anger management; court-mandated diversion; and education and job skills.	28 (17.5)
Van Nuys, CA	Residential, drop-in, and transitional living programs for street sex workers offering counseling, groups, emergency support services, family reunification, and intergenerational prevention programming.	40 (25)
Akron, OH	Faith-based, street-outreach program and ministry center offering one-on-one visits and a drop-in center offering food, clothing, and bible study.	20 (12.5)
Portland, OR	Police-supported diversion program for persons arrested for prostitution offering individual and group drug and mental health counseling, case management, peer support, and emergency financial assistance.	11 (6.9)
Phoenix, AZ	Prostitution Anonymous groups in the community for women involved in prostitution and their families.	3 (1.9)

Quantitative Sample

The study was open to any adult (18+) with a history of street prostitution, which included former and active prostitutes or persons who were involved in a combination of street or another form of prostitution. Although most agencies served only women, men

and transgendered persons were allowed to participate. Participants could only take the survey once and programs tracked these data with their own records. Persons who declined to participate were not tracked, so a response rate was not calculated.

Prostitution-exiting and residential treatment programs were targeted because it was assumed that they would provide the necessary life skills to live a conventional life as well as alleviate most micro-level environmental constraints identified in the IMBP model. In other words, being enrolled in a treatment program helped hold constant the skills and environmental constraints that participants may have had. Hence, these two factors will not otherwise be addressed in the quantitative component of the study.

Data collection began in September 2012 and ended in March 2013. A total of 167 surveys were returned. Seven surveys were excluded from the analysis because the respondent self-disclosed that he or she was not a prostitute, and thus, not eligible to participate. The final sample size was 160. Although the final sample was small, a sample of 150 was the minimum sample size sufficient to test the hypotheses with adequate statistical power (Kline, 2011; using 3-10 participants per parameter being estimated).

Sample Descriptives

Table 7 shows the demographic characteristics of the sample. The majority of the sample was female (96.95%), and Caucasian (38.5%), followed by African American (36.6%). The average age of the sample was 33.4 years old ($SD = 10.4$), and ranged in age from 18 to 60. Seventy-two percent ($n = 108$) had a Christian affiliation (i.e., Christian, Catholic, Baptist or Protestant); whereas 12.7% each identified as ‘spiritual but not religious’ or no religious affiliation; and 2.7% as “other” religion ($n = 4$). Nearly half of the sample had children ($n = 71$, 44.4%; average number of children was 3.8).

Table 7

Quantitative Sample Demographic Characteristics (N = 160)

Characteristic	<i>n</i> (%)	Characteristic	<i>n</i> (%)
<i>Gender (n = 159)</i>		<i>Marital Status (n = 153)</i>	
Female	154 (96.9)	Single	91 (59.5)
Male	3 (1.9)	Intimate partner	36 (23.5)
Transgender	2 (1.3)	Married	11 (7.2)
		Separated	6 (3.9)
		Widowed	3 (2.0)
<i>Race (n = 156)</i>		<i>Children (n = 160)</i>	
Caucasian	60 (38.5)	Yes	71 (44.4)
African American	57 (36.6)	No	89 (55.6)
Mixed Race	26 (16.6)	<i>M</i> number of children = 3.8	
Latino/Hispanic	7 (4.5)	<i>Actively prostituting (n = 147)</i>	
Asian	3 (1.9)	Yes	62 (38.8)
American Indian	3 (1.9)	No	85 (53.1)
<i>Age in years (n = 139)</i>		<i>Income from prostitution (n = 39)</i>	
18 to 21	15 (10.8)	In the last 30 days	39 (24.4)
22 to 34	70 (50.4)	Average = \$3,721.15 (<i>n</i> = 19)	
35 to 44	30 (21.6)	<i>R</i> = \$102 to \$25,000	
45 to 54	20 (14.4)	<i>Mdn</i> = \$3,000	
55 to 65	4 (2.9)	<i>Ever worked for a pimp (n = 146)</i>	
<i>Education (n = 157)</i>		Yes	47 (32.2)
Less than high school	38 (24.2)	No	99 (67.8)
High School/GED	66 (42)	<i>M</i> number of pimps = 2.5	
Some college/Trade	42 (26.8)	<i>R</i> = 1 to 20	
College graduate	11 (7)	<i>Experience violence prostituting (n = 62)</i>	
<i>Home for the past 30 days (n = 153)</i>		Yes	50 (80.6)
Alone in own home	19 (12.4)	No	12 (19.4)
With family or friends	50 (32.7)	<i>Ever in an exiting program (n = 140)</i>	
Homeless	18 (11.8)	Yes	67 (47.9)
Drug facility	10 (6.5)	No	73 (52.1)
Halfway house/shelter	24 (15)		
Jail	32 (20.9)		

About 39% (*n* = 62) of the sample was still involved in prostitution. Women who were actively prostituting were nearly six years younger than those who were out of

prostitution (average ages were 29.8 and 35.9, respectively). The average age of entry for the sample was 21.3 (*Mdn* = 19), though the range was from four² to 45 years old. The average length of time involved in prostitution for the entire sample was about 9 years, with a median of 7 years and a range of 6 months to 34 years of involvement.

The average number years out of prostitution was 2.5, with a range of one month to 30 years. One hundred and six participants (66.3%) indicated they made at least one attempt to exit prostitution (*M* = 3.9, *n* = 89), 17 of which reportedly exited “100s of times” or “every time.” About 40% of the sample (*n* = 63) had a prostitution arrest or conviction with an average of 7.9 arrests and 7.3 convictions, and a median of three arrests or convictions. About 70% (*n* = 99) of the sample screened positive for PTSD.

Instruments

Each of the six agencies administered a questionnaire consisting of the 20-item IEP instrument, demographic and prostitution history questions, the Addiction Severity Index (ASI), and the civilian version of the Posttraumatic Checklist (PCL-C; see Appendix E). These measures and their psychometric properties are discussed below.

Intentions to Exit Prostitution

As discussed, results from the literature review, interviews, focus group and expert reviews were incorporated in a final instrument that was administered to participants across the six agencies. Table 8 shows the number of items and scoring schema for each construct in the IEP. The psychometric modeling (i.e., bipolar evaluative scale, semantic differentials) and scoring procedures were pre-established by Fishbein et al. (2001), though some changes were made per the focus group feedback. In particular, a

² This participant revealed that her father pimped her out when she was four years old.

five-point Likert scale was used instead of a seven-point scale. Also, semantic differentials (i.e., direct measures of attitudes) did not screen well and were removed. During data collection, the instrument was updated twice due to survey design errors (i.e., readability and applicability of questions) resulting in systematic missing data in the demographic questions and norms constructs.

Table 8
Items and Scoring Schema for the IEP

Construct	Scale	Scoring
<i>Attitude beliefs:</i> Seven 2-part items including Glamorizing attitudes (3), Risk-recognition (3), and alternatives (1)	<i>Part A Glamorizing:</i> Unipolar scale from Very unlikely (1) to Very likely (5)	Parts A and B are summed per item (range -1 to +7)
<i>Part A</i>) the likelihood of an outcome	<i>Part A Risk & Alternative:</i> Unipolar and reversed to Very unlikely (5) to Very likely (1)	Higher scores indicate more positive attitudes towards prostitution (i.e., prostitution is glamorous and not risky)
<i>Part B</i>) the importance of that outcome	<i>Part B:</i> Bipolar scale from not important (-2) to extremely important (+2)	
<i>Norm beliefs:</i> Six 2-part items ^a	<i>Part A:</i> Unipolar scale from Not at all (1) to Absolutely (5)	Parts A and B are summed per item (range -1 to +7)
<i>Part A</i>) specific people's expectation to exit	<i>Part B:</i> Bipolar from Not at all (-2) to Absolutely (+2)	Higher scores indicate more social pressure to leave prostitution
<i>Part B</i>) respondent's motivation to comply		
<i>Efficacy beliefs:</i> 4-items assessing how certain one will not prostitute under a difficult circumstance	Unipolar scale from Not at all (1) to Extremely certain (5)	Higher scores indicate higher efficacy to resist prostitution (range 1 to 5)
<i>Agency beliefs:</i> 3-items assessing how much one is forced to prostitute	Unipolar scale from Not at all (1) to Absolutely (5)	Higher scores indicate forced prostitution (range 1 to 5)
<i>Intention:</i> 1-item assessing one's intention to exit ASAP	Unipolar scale from Not at all (1) to Absolutely (5).	A single score from 1 to 5 where higher scores indicate higher intentions to exit

^aThe sixth item, family norms, was added in the second iteration of the instrument.

Demographics

Participants provided basic demographic information and were asked about their prostitution history, including length of time involved in prostitution, age of first prostitution act, number of attempts to leave prostitution, length of time out of prostitution, and exiting programs attended and how helped they were. Participants were also asked about their sources of income in the last 30 days, substance use in their lifetime and in the past 30 days, criminal history, and whether they experienced significant personal relationship and psychological distress in their lifetime and in the past 30 days.

Abbreviated Posttraumatic Checklist-Civilian Version

Participants took a brief version of the Posttraumatic Checklist designed for civilian use (PCL-C; Lang & Stein, 2005; Weathers, Huska, Keane, 1991). The PCL-C is a six-item measure scored on a five-point Likert scale (1 = not at all to 5 = extremely). Scores were summed and if the total was 14 or more, participants screened positive for PTSD (Lang & Stein, 2005). The measure was previously used with sexual assault victims and found to have excellent reliability and validity with other PTSD measures (see Norris & Hamblen, 2004). While the six-item version was not normed with a sample of prostitutes, the original 17-item version of the PLC-C was used in Farley and Barkan's (1998) study of PTSD among prostitutes.

Quantitative Data Analysis

There were two aims of the quantitative data analysis: 1) to assess the validity of each construct individually and with all of the constructs in one measurement model, and 2) to examine the strength of each construct in a full latent variable structural model. These aims were accomplished through a missing data analysis, descriptive statistics, a CFA of the hypothesized measurement models, and a SEM analysis. Data were entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21, which was used for the missing data analysis and to generate descriptive statistics. EQS version 6.1 (Bentler, 2004) was used to obtain preliminary analyses (i.e., multivariate normality, reliability). Mplus version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012) was used to perform the CFA and SEM.

Missing data analysis

Aside from one construct, very little missing data were present on the IEP. Specifically, the attitudes construct contained four cases with missing data (3.1%), the intention item contained two missing cases (2.5%), the agency construct contained one missing case (.6%), and the efficacy construct contained zero missing cases (0%). These missing data were determined to be *missing completely at random* (MCAR) via Little's MCAR test (Little, 1998; Little & Rubin, 1987). Because listwise deletion is prone to biased estimates (Allison, 2003; Peugh & Enders, 2004), missing data were handled with expectation maximization on 50 imputed datasets (Schafer & Olsen, 1998). For the attitudes construct, missing data on parts A and B were imputed separately before summing the parts. All imputed values were rounded to the nearest whole number so that the data could maintain its categorical nature (Schafer & Olsen, 1998).

The norms construct, which asked about whether specific people expected the respondent to leave prostitution, contained a significant proportion of missing data because not all of the respondents had relationships with the persons identified in the question. As such, the cases were *missing not at random* (MNAR), and listwise deletion yielded zero cases for the entire construct. After the systematic missingness was noticed, a less specific item referring to ‘family members’ was added towards the end of data collection (about 25 participants). A composite variable, *collapsed family*, was obtained by averaging the scores from child/children, intimate partner, and the family items; this variable was still MNAR and could not be imputed. Instead, the average of all the norms items was made, which contained no missing data, and will be used for all the analyses. Table 9 shows the number and percent of cases missing per item on the norms construct.

Table 9.

Number and Percent of Cases Missing Per Item on the Norms Construct (N = 160)

Item	Number of cases missing	% of cases missing
Child/children	91	56.9
Intimate partner	114	71.3
Pimp	138	86.3
"Higher power"	36	22.5
Close friends	1	0.6
Family ^a	135	84.4
Collapsed family ^b	62	38.8
Average of all items ^c	0	0

^aItem was later added to the instrument. ^bAverage scores of child/children, intimate partner, and family.

^cAverage of child/children, intimate partner, pimp, higher power, close friends and family.

Some of the demographic and prostitution history questions contained systematic missing data. For example, several participants were unwilling to answer the amount of money made from prostitution in the last 30 days. Data were also missing on the ASI and PCL-C items as a number of participants stopped responding after the demographics

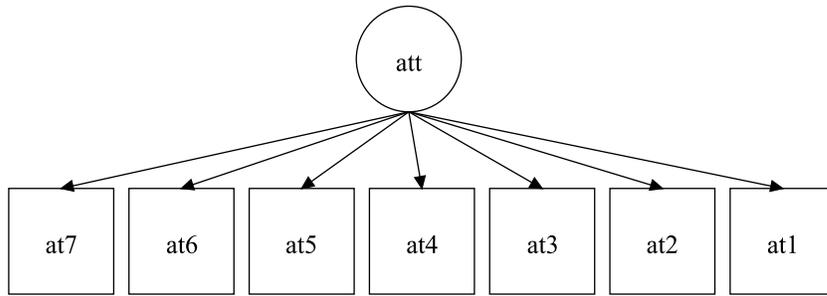
page. Missing data for these items were not addressed as they were primarily for descriptive purposes.

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

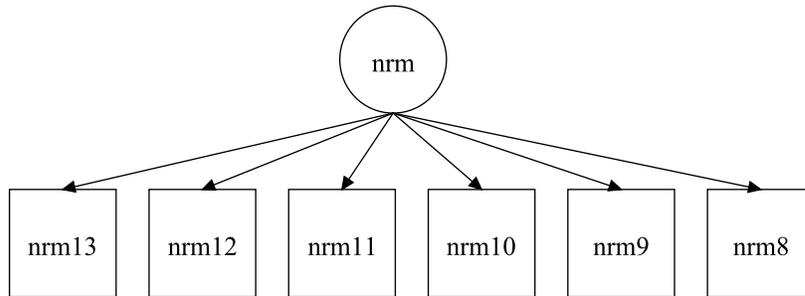
Due to the complexity of the model, each construct was individually assessed and modifications were made before assessing all the constructs in a single model. A total of 160 cases were read into Mplus (see Appendix G for correlation matrix). The data were considered ordered categorical (i.e., ordinal) because the theoretical range of scores was from -1 to +7 and not every category contained a case. For these reasons, the assumption that continuous variables be normally distributed was not met (Bentler, 2004). In these instances, a weighted least squares estimator (i.e., *WLSMV*) is recommended because it is an asymptotic distribution free estimator that is robust to non-normality, and is shown to yield accurate estimates with small to moderate samples of varying model complexity (Byrne, 2012; Flora & Curran, 2004; Finney & DiStefano, 2006).

Model fit was assessed with the chi-square (χ^2); Normed chi-square (NC; ratio of a chi-square vs. $df \leq 2.00$); Comparative Fit Index ($CFI \geq .95$); Weighted Root Mean Residual (WRMR $< .95$); and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA $\leq .06$ to $.08$ with a 90% confidence interval) (Byrne, 2012; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2010; Schreiber, Stage, King, Nora & Barlow, 2006). Figure 4 shows the individual hypothesized measurement models and the full intentions model. Model 4a is the seven-item attitudes construct, model 4b is the six-item norms construct, model 4c is the four-item efficacy construct, and model 4d is the full latent variable model with the intentions question regressed on the attitudes, norms, efficacy latent constructs.

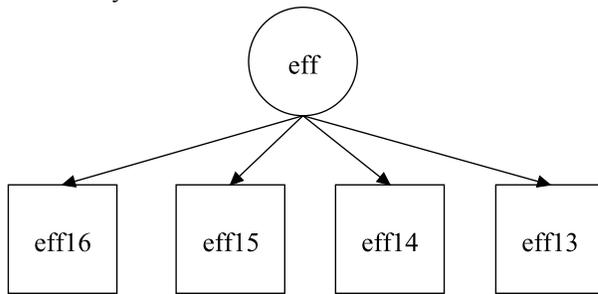
4a Attitudes Model



4b Norms Model



4c Efficacy Model



4d Full Latent Variable Intentions Model

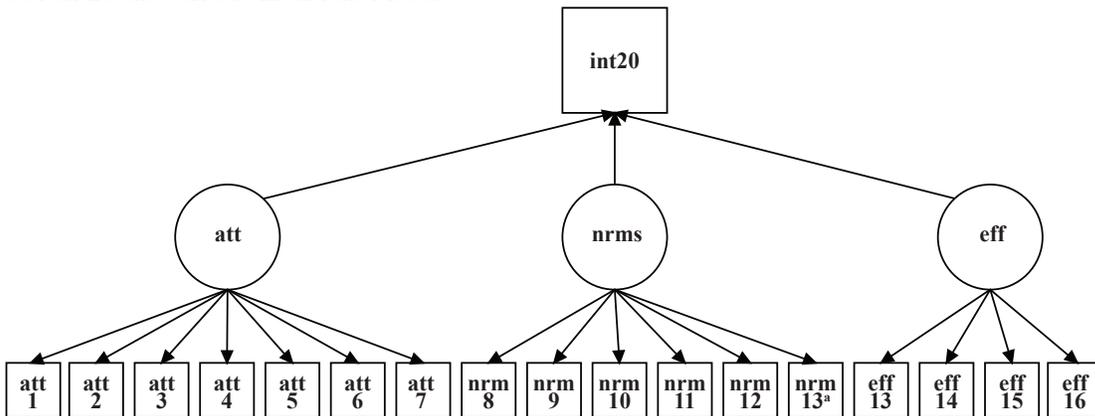


Figure 4. Hypothesized measurement models.

Note: att = attitudes, nrms = norms, eff = efficacy, int = intention item.

^anrms13 is the item about family that was added in the second iteration of the instrument.

Quantitative Results

This section of the chapter presents results from the preliminary data analyses, sample descriptive statistics, and individual CFA models; and concludes with the full latent variable structural model.

Preliminary analyses

Sample. Descriptive statistics for the sample were presented in Table 7 (above). Because data collection occurred between six sites, chi-square tests were performed to examine any significant differences between the sites excluding Portland, OR and Phoenix, AZ, which had too few participants (11 and 3 participants, respectively). There were no significant differences in age, sex, education, relationship status, age of entry into prostitution, years involved in prostitution, or income made from prostitution. However, there were significant differences in race/ethnicity among the sites, specifically between the proportion of Caucasian and African Americans. The only other difference was that the Columbus, OH site had fewer than expected women currently prostituting; likely because they were a residential drug treatment program, whereas the other sites were outpatient or drop-in centers specifically for women in prostitution.

Data examination. Next, data were examined for normality and internal consistency reliability. There were no univariate skewness and kurtosis values above ± 2 or ± 7 , respectively (Curran, West, & Finch, 1996). However, for the 12 intentions items (i.e., attitudes 1-7, norms average item, efficacy 1-3), the multivariate normalized estimate was 9.74, and values greater than 3 suggest multivariate non-normality (Bentler & Wu, 2002), which was to be expected with categorical data. Violation of this assumption was minimized with the *WLSMV* estimator (Finney & DiStefano, 2006).

Next, internal consistency alpha was assessed for the entire instrument ($\alpha = .38$), and for each component (7-item attitudes $\alpha = .50$; 3-item glamorizing attitudes $\alpha = .58$; 3-item risk-recognition attitudes $\alpha = .73$; 4-item efficacy $\alpha = .85$; 2-item resistance efficacy $\alpha = .66$; 2-item survival efficacy $\alpha = .91$; 3-item agency $\alpha = .62$). While some of the constructs had acceptable alpha levels, a lack of internal consistency among scales is common in IMBP studies because individual beliefs (i.e., attitudes, norms and efficacy) may or may not be internally consistent (Jarvis, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2003; Streiner, 2003). For example, a person could view prostitution as a great way to make fast cash, but that same person may not feel loved or wanted from prostitution. Thus, low alphas are not too concerning for this instrument if construct validity is present.

Results of the Hypothesized Measurement Models

Attitudes 1. An initial measurement model for the attitudes construct was specified as a single factor consisting of all seven items. This initial model demonstrated very poor fit, $\chi^2(14, N = 160) = 164.27, p < .001$; NC = 11.74; RMSEA = .26 (.24, .30); CFI = .64; WRMR = 1.48, suggesting that a one-factor model did not adequately represent the observed data. This result was anticipated because the items were written to capture both positive and negative outcomes of prostitution.

Attitudes 2. Next, a two-factor, correlated model was specified with items representing the glamorization of prostitution on one factor; and the second factor representing the risks associated with prostitution and the alternatives to prostitution item (“I have ways other than prostitution to make money”) because the sign and interpretation of scores were the same. This two-factor model demonstrated decent, but unacceptable fit, $\chi^2(13, N = 160) = 45.61, p < .001$; NC = 3.51; RMSEA = .125 (.09,

.17); CFI = .92; WRMR = .78. The poorest performing item was the alternatives to prostitution question ($R^2 = .17$).

Re-specified two-factor attitudes. The same two-factor correlated model was tested (i.e., glamorizing and risk-recognizing factors), except that the alternative to prostitution item was removed. Removing this item was of substantive value due to it not referring to an outcome of prostitution, but rather that entering prostitution was an outcome of being jobless, as per the qualitative findings. This re-specified model demonstrated acceptable fit, $\chi^2(8, N = 160) = 5.99, p = .65$; NC = .75; RMSEA = 0.0 (.0, .08); CFI = 1.0; WRMR = .29. In fact, it resulted in a non-significant chi-square, a very low WRMR, and perfect CFI and RMSEA indices. It is important to note that the correlation between the factors was significant and negative ($r = -.18, p < .05$), which is consistent with the hypothesized direction. Figure 5 shows the final attitudes model with standardized results.

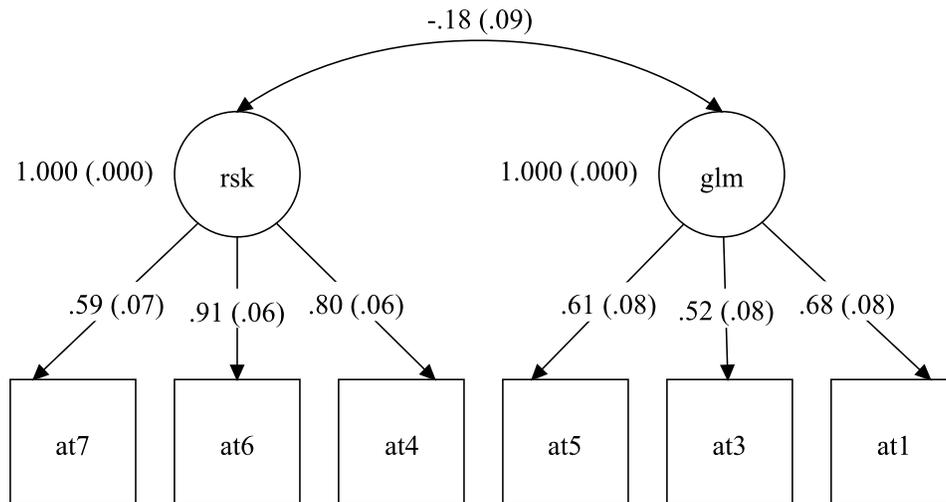


Figure 5. Final attitudes construct consisting of glamorization and risk-recognition latent factors.
 Note: Shown only with significant standardized estimates and standard errors in parentheses. Model $\chi^2(8, N = 160) = 5.99, p = .65$; NC = .75; RMSEA = 0.0 (.0, .08); CFI = 1.0; WRMR = .29
 Note: rsk = risk-recognition, glm = glamorizing attitudes, at = attitude items.

Norms. The norms construct had a lot of data *missing not at random* which could not be imputed. Several models were tested but listwise deletion severely impacted the ability to analyze the construct, as there were too few cases to generate reliable estimates. Specifically, for a one-factor model of norms (a) using all five items yielded zero cases; (b) using four items: collapsed family, pimp, god, and friends, yielded 74 cases; (c) using three items: collapsed family, god, and friends, yielded 79 cases; 4) and using two items: collapsed family and friends, yielded 95 cases. Unfortunately, the single factor, two-item model was not identified, (too few known to unknown equations) and could not be estimated. Even if this model were to run, estimates would be unreliable because the sample size was too small. Thus, a composite variable, *nrms*, which is an average of all the norms items, was used in subsequent analyses.

Efficacy 1. A measurement model for efficacy was specified as a single factor consisting of all four of the efficacy items. This initial model demonstrated a near perfect fit on the CFI index and a low WRMR value, but the NC and RMSEA were poor, $\chi^2 (2, N = 160) = 11.22 p < .05$; NC = 5.62; RMSEA = .17 (.08, .27); CFI = .99; WRMR = .44, suggesting that this model may not adequately represent the observed data. Inspection of the items showed that all of the loadings were significant, and that items 15 and 16 (no place to stay and no food, respectively) had very large standardized factor loadings (.99 and .92, respectively), which may mean they are not two distinct items. Furthermore, the correlation matrix (Appendix E) shows that correlation for these items was .84. Loadings for items 13 and 14 (offered lots of money and offered drugs, respectively) were also significant and large (.74 and .69, respectively). Figure 6 shows the results for this model.

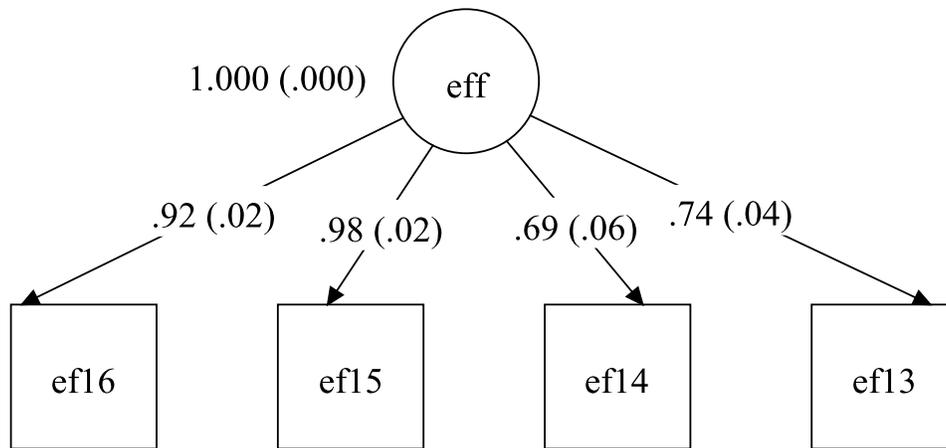


Figure 6. One-factor efficacy model. Model shown only with significant standardized estimates and standard errors in parentheses. Model $\chi^2(2, N = 160) = 11.22, p < .05$; NC = 5.62; RMSEA = .17 (.08, .27); CFI = .99; WRMR = .44. Note: eff = efficacy factor, ef = efficacy items.

Re-specified efficacy. A two-factor model for efficacy was re-specified so that items relating to “resistance efficacy” (i.e., not prostituting when offered lots of money, offered drugs) were on one factor, and items referring to “survival efficacy,” which is efficacy to resist survival sex (i.e., no food, no place to stay) were on a second, correlated factor. The re-specified model resulted in a non-significant chi-square, with a very low WRMR, and perfect fit on the CFI, indicating that this model represented the observed data well, $\chi^2(1, N = 160) = 1.99, p = .16$; NC = 5.62; RMSEA = .08 (0.0, .24); CFI = 1.0; WRMR = .12. Furthermore, the between factor correlation was in the hypothesized direction (i.e., positive). Unfortunately, the model performed poorly on the NC and was marginally acceptable according to the RMSEA. The high factor correlation ($r = .87$) indicates poor discriminant validity between the two factors, suggesting that the factors may be redundant. Figure 7 shows the final efficacy model with standardized results.

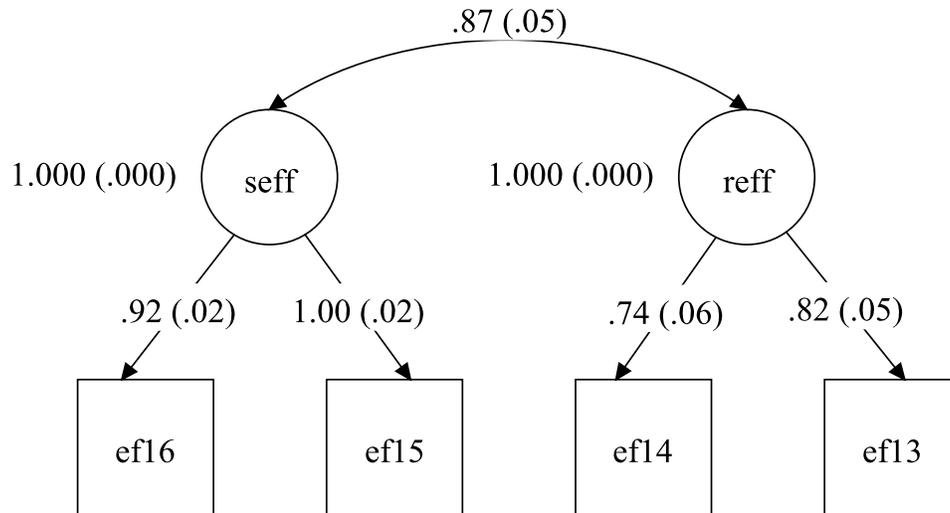


Figure 7. Final efficacy construct consisting of survival efficacy and resistance efficacy latent factors. Model shown only with significant standardized estimates and standard errors in parentheses. Model $\chi^2(1, N = 160) = 1.99, p = .16$; NC = 5.62; RMSEA = .08 (0.0, .24); CFI = 1.0; WRMR = .12. Note: seff = survival efficacy, reff = resistance efficacy, ef = efficacy items.

Agency: As shown in Figure 8, agency was hypothesized to be a one-factor model consisting of three indicators. While this single-factor model was theoretically identified via the three-indicator rule (i.e., at least 3 indicators loading onto a single factor), it was empirically under-identified, as were combinations of two-indicator models.

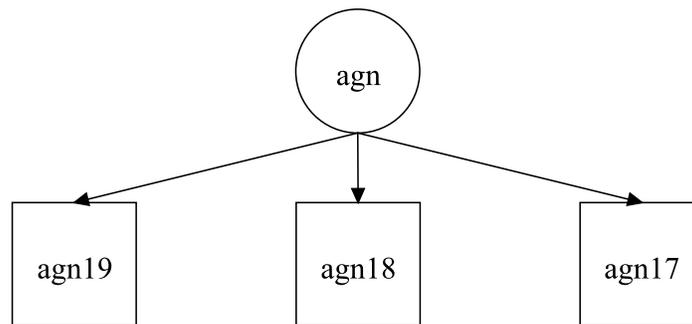


Figure 8. Hypothesized model for the agency latent construct. Model was under-identified.

Results of the Hypothesized Intentions Model

The next hypothesis tested the full intentions model, whereby the single item, *intentions* (“I intend to leave prostitution as soon as possible”), was regressed on attitudes, norms, and efficacy constructs. The originally hypothesized measurement

model was changed based on the above measurement model results by adding two factors for attitudes and two factors for efficacy. The new intentions model, shown in Figure 9, was now a higher order model comprised of five 1st order factors, two 2nd order factors, and the single-item norms. Specifically, the 1st order factors were the 3-item *glamorization* factor, the 3-item *risk recognition* factor loaded onto the 2nd order *attitude* factor; and the 2-item *resistance efficacy* factor and the 2-item *survival efficacy* factor loaded on the 2nd order *efficacy* factor.

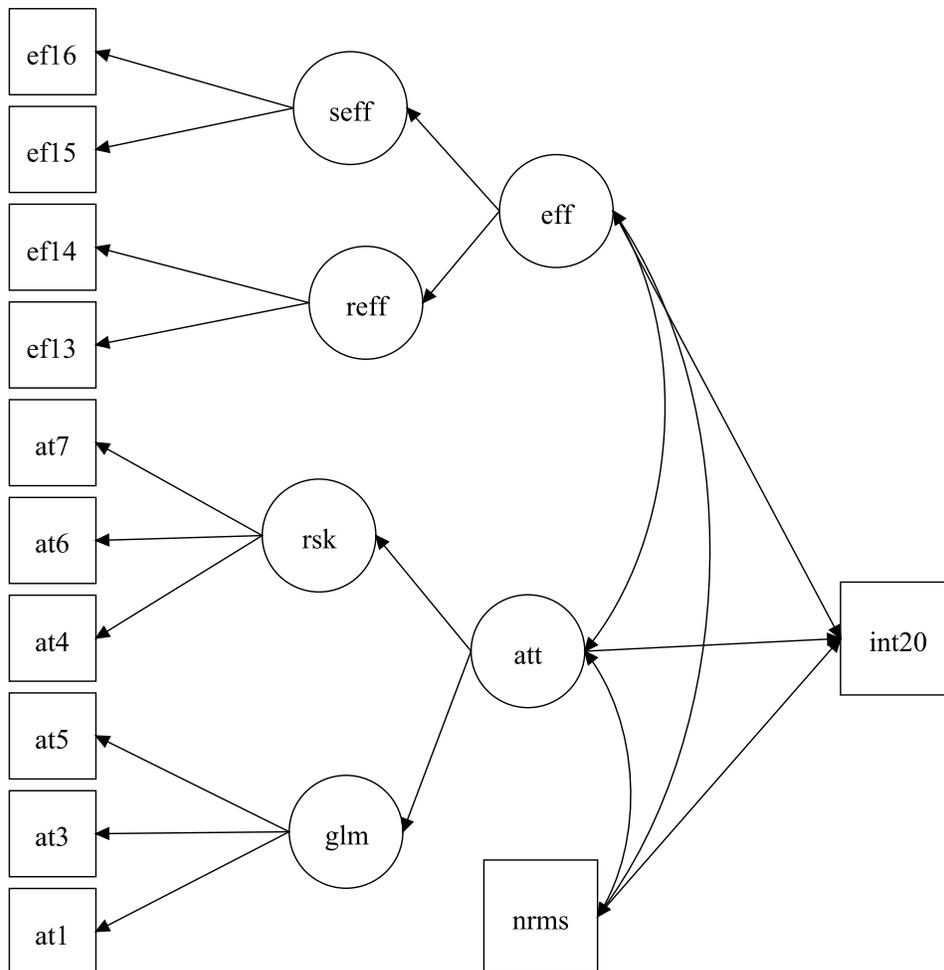


Figure 9. Newly Hypothesized Intentions Model.

Note: int20 = intention item, eff = efficacy factor, seff = survival efficacy factor, reff = resistance efficacy factor, att = attitudes factor, rsk = risk-recognition attitudes factor, glm = glamorizing attitudes factor, at = attitude items, ef = efficacy items, nrms = norms composite item.

Intentions Model: The intentions model was defined by (a) setting the unit of the first order factors by constraining the first item to one, (b) setting the unit of the second order factors by constraining the first path to one, (c) having each indicator constrained to load only on the factor it was designed to measure, (d) fixing the residual terms for all indicators to be uncorrelated, and (e) allowing the factor covariances to be freely estimated. Additionally, (f) factor residuals for glamorization and resistance efficacy were fixed to zero because they contained negative residual variances; this modification did not significantly impact the fit indices.

This model showed good fit with the CFI, however, it had poor fit with the other indices, $\chi^2(48, N = 160) = 150.77, p < .001$; $NC = 3.14$; $RMSEA = .12 (.09, .14)$; $CFI = .96$; $WRMR = 1.09$, suggesting that this model is not a good representation of the data. The measurement portion of the model showed that the items loaded fairly well on their respective factors, except for the negative residual variances on resistance efficacy and glamorizing attitudes, which may indicate model misfit. However, because the single-model CFAs had nearly perfect fit, the misfit observed in the full model may be a result of too small of a sample. Additionally, while the second order factor correlations were not significant, the negative correlation between risk-recognition and glamorizing attitudes, and efficacy and attitudes were both in the hypothesized direction. Figure 10 shows the model with a standardized solution and Table 10 shows the full model results.

In terms of the structural model portion, only the norms composite variable was a significant predictor of *intentions* (“I intend to leave prostitution as soon as possible”), while the rest of the model (e.g., attitudes, efficacy, etc.) contributed to the overall good fit on the CFI. Such findings may be the result of too few participants for this complex of

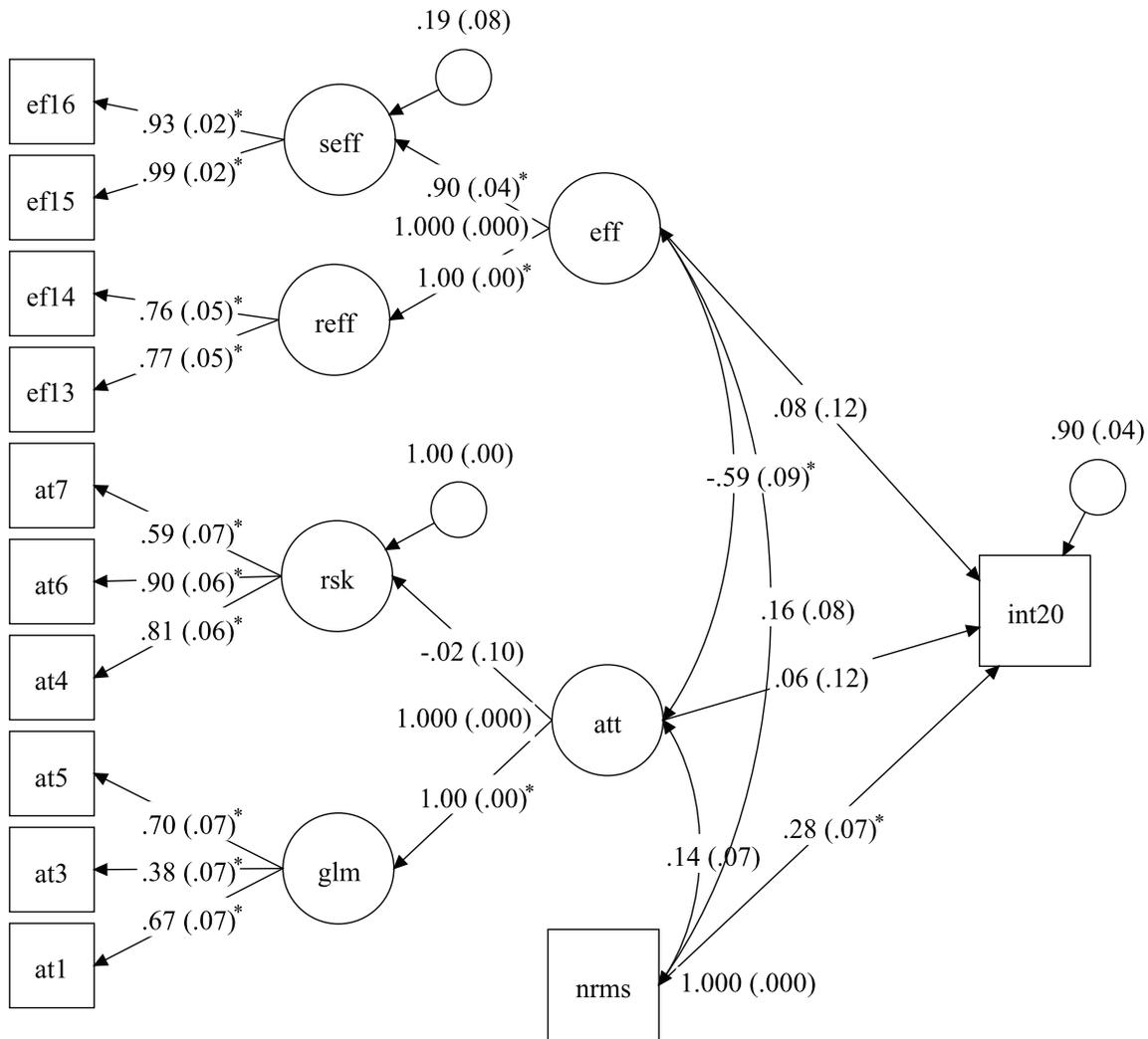


Figure 10. Intentions to Exit Street Prostitution Full Structural Model. Shown with standardized estimates, standard errors in parentheses and * to indicate path is significant at .01 level. Model $\chi^2(48, N = 160) = 150.77, p < .001$; NC = 3.14; RMSEA = .12 (.09, .14); CFI = .96; WRMR = 1.09. Note: int20 = intention item, eff = efficacy factor, seff = survival efficacy factor, reff = resistance efficacy factor, att = attitudes factor, rsk = risk-recognition attitudes factor, glm = glamorizing attitudes factor, at = attitude items, ef = efficacy items, nrms = norms composite item.

a model, which is causing unstable parameter estimates, or model misspecification as the negative residuals indicate. The more likely cause, however, is the result of a poorly worded outcome variable for intentions. The path from norms to intention is .28, a statistically significant, but very small value (i.e., for a one unit increase in norms, intentions to exit increases by .28 SD). Additionally, the residual error on intention was .90, indicating there is a large amount of random and systemic measurement error.

Table 10

Unstandardized, Standardized, Significance Levels and R² Values for the Intentions Model in Figure 10 (Standard Errors in Parentheses; N = 160)

<i>Parameter</i>	<i>Unstandardized</i>	<i>Standardized</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R²</i>
<i>Measurement Model Estimates</i>				
Glamorization --> at1	1.00	.67	--	.45
Glamorization --> at3	.56 (.13)	.38	.00	.14
Glamorization --> at5	1.05 (.18)	.70	.00	.66
Risk-recognition --> at4	1.00	.81	--	.50
Risk-recognition --> at6	1.10 (.14)	.90	.00	.80
Risk-recognition --> at7	0.73 (.10)	.59	.00	.35
Attitudes --> Glamorization	1.00	1.00	--	--
Attitudes --> Risk-Recognition	-.02 (.12)	-.02	.85	--
Resistance--> ef13	1.00	.77	--	.60
Resistance--> ef14	.99 (.08)	.76	.00	.58
Survival--> ef15	1.00	.99	--	.98
Survival--> ef16	.94 (.03)	.93	.00	.86
Efficacy --> Resistance	1.00	1.00	--	--
Efficacy --> Survival	1.15 (.11)	.90	.00	--
<i>Structural Model Estimates</i>				
Covariance Attitude and Efficacy	-.31 (.06)	-.59	.00	--
Covariance Attitude and Norms	.16 (.09)	.14	.08	--
Covariance Efficacy and Norms	.20 (.11)	.16	.06	--
Attitude --> Intention	.11 (.22)	.06	.62	--
Efficacy --> Intention	.13 (.19)	.09	.49	--
Norms --> Intention	.20 (.06)	.28	.00	--

Note: Model $\chi^2(48, N = 160) = 150.77, p < .001$; Normed chi-square = 3.14; RMSEA = .12 (.09, .14); CFI = .96; WRMR = 1.09. , at = attitude items, ef = efficacy items.

To be thorough, a similar model was run but without the efficacy, attitudes, and norms factors correlating, as this was a better representation of the IMBP hypothesis.

This model had even poorer fit, $\chi^2(53, N = 160) = 252.27, p < .001$; NC = 4.76; RMSEA = .15 (.14, .17); CFI = .91; WRMR = 1.67, suggesting it was not an accurate representation of the data, and similar to the previous model, only the norms composite variable was a significant predictor of intentions. In all, the first model had better fit.

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter begins with a qualitative examination of the quantitative analyses (i.e., crossover analysis), which is used to present evidence-based changes to the instrument. Next, is a summative evaluation of the instrument and construct development process and product. This chapter concludes with study limitations, recommendations for future research, and implications for social work practice.

Crossover Analysis: A Qualitative Interpretation of Quantitative Findings

Predicting Intention

While there was evidence that the individual components of the instrument demonstrated content validity, the full structural model did not reveal a relationship between the constructs and intentions. This could be a reflection of reality, or it could be because the intentions item (“I intend on leaving prostitution as soon as possible”) was poorly written, which is the more likely the case. *Intention* should have been a three-item construct but because of pilot testing and concerns over the length of the instrument, it was reduced to one item. By specifying intention as a single item, this implies that the item is measured with perfect reliability—which is highly unlikely, and poses a serious problem with respect to the analyses presented in this study. A third-order model was tested wherein *intention* was a latent construct made up of the factor correlations of the 2nd order constructs: attitudes, norms, and efficacy; each of which were made up of the 1st order factors: glamorizing and risk-recognition attitudes, and resistance and survival

efficacy. This model was unidentified and would have required a much larger sample to obtain reliable estimates.

Aside from the botched outcome variable, the full structural model results seemed antithetical to the qualitative interview findings. Namely, the fact that the norms composite variable was the only significant predictor of intention seemed erroneous with respect to the interview results and existing literature. Normative influences were but one factor that shifted throughout the lives of the women and men interviewed in this study. Rather than having a steady, direct influence on one's intentions to exit prostitution, persons who were significant to the respondent acted as encouragers and discouragers, but only within the context of one's current desire to remain in or leave prostitution—some women even hid their prostitution from significant others, like their children and family, and subsequently felt little to no normative pressure to exit prostitution. In other words, it seemed as though social supports became a source of pressure only when it was agreeable to the target person and his or her current life choices. For example, Stephan admittedly thought about his mother and what she might say about his involvement in prostitution. However, his mother did not become a major player in his decision to exit until he already wanted to leave prostitution and his drug addiction. Beth's friend Roxanne helped teach her how to prostitute when they both wanted to prostitute, and later, Roxanne and Beth helped each other leave the trade when they both wanted to exit sex work. Going back to the quantitative results, perhaps norms are significant inasmuch as we wish them to be at a point in time, not because they are the sole predictor of intentions to exit. Hence, for the quantitative participants, norms was significant because a majority of participants had already left prostitution.

Norms: Eluding Capture

The norms construct was very difficult to measure, which is why the results should be taken with caution. First of all, a majority of the quantitative sample did not have children, partners, or pimps, etc., so the norms questions did not apply to them. Secondly, a few participants in the quantitative sample indicated that they had children but wrote-in that their children did not know the participants were prostituting. Another inconsistency was observed on the norms item referring to a pimp, in which respondents answered parts A and B of pimp item, but later indicated that they never worked for a pimp. Thus, for these and possibly other participants, the norms construct had a significant amount of measurement error. However, in the quantitative analysis the norms variable was analyzed as an observed item (i.e., not latent because it was a single item), when in fact, it is truly an unreliable, composite indicator of normative pressure. One recommendation to fix these issues is to reword the items so that they reflect hiding prostitution from important people. For example, an item could be reworded as, “if my children knew I prostituted, they would want me to stop.” Additionally, less specific questions can be included to future iterations of the IEP.

Another improvement that could be made to the norms construct is to include stigma as a potential mediator of norms. As previously described, stigma represents a social and psychological rejection, which has been linked to social isolation and other psychological harms (Bradley, 2007; Goffman, 1963; Sallman, 2010; Tomura, 2009). Because some women feared being stigmatized by family, friends, etc., they hid their involvement in sex trade from these significant others. For example, Serenity and Sandy broke off relationships with their children so that they could prostitute unabated. Only

after both women exited did their children's perceptions weigh on their conscience. Roxanne, on the other hand, did not intend to stop prostitution until her son found out about it and "judged [her] very hard" (i.e., stigmatized her), and then she felt "a strong pull" to get out. Thus, it is possible that stigma mediates the relationship between intentions and norms. A new iteration of the IEP should include stigma once qualitative work has fully explored the relationship between stigma and normative pressure.

Attitudes: More than a Feeling?

It was surprising that attitudes did not have a relationship to intentions to exit prostitution, especially the risk-recognition construct. Indeed, experiencing brutal acts of violence or near death experiences was the impetus for nearly all of the interviewees to finally exit street prostitution. For example, Stephan, Becka, Fiona, Sierra, Mara and Sandy were held at gun or knifepoint and/or knew other prostitutes who were murdered and felt as if they might be next. However, experiencing the risks may be different than recognizing them because these same persons continued to prostitute, for some length of time, as if they were able to bracket the violence from their everyday lives. It seemed as though each person had an invisible scale weighing the positive and negative aspects of prostitution. On one side were the money, the thrill, and other glamorous aspects—some of which never go away, and on the other side were the bad experiences. In order to keep balance among the scales, they rationalized reasons to remove or discount some of the negative experiences. It was only when danger became so imminent, so irrefutable that one's luck was running out, did these participants exit prostitution or face certain death.

The duality of prostitution resulting in positive and negative outcomes made it no surprise that 'attitudes' was made up of glamorizing and risk-recognition factors, which

were significant in both the measurement and full structural models. In reevaluating why attitudes did not significantly influence intentions to exit, perhaps this negative finding was the result of having former and active prostitutes in the sample, and maybe a larger and more homogeneous sample would have yielded different results. Alternatively, there may have been too few items to fully capture all the facets being weighed on an individual's invisible attitude scale. For example, the literature discussed how the "prostitution lifestyle" is addictive, an outcome mentioned by only one interviewee as she described her juvenile-self's motivation for prostituting. Other positive, but uncommon outcomes of prostitution that were named by participants were enjoying meeting new people and having good conversations.

Efficacy: Two for One?

The efficacy construct posed another issue in the quantitative analysis. Based on qualitative findings, efficacy was hypothesized to be a single factor construct, however, it did not fit well in the quantitative analyses. For example, efficacy to resist prostitution was diminished when one's survival depended on it, when a participant had an ongoing drug addiction, or when he or she wanted a non-necessity quickly. The individual measurement model supported splitting up efficacy into two factors: resistance and survival efficacy. However, this relationship broke down in the full structural model and resulted in a negative residual variance (i.e., misfit). Further examination of the correlation matrix (see Appendix G) showed that the survival efficacy items were nearly the same ($r = .84$). Furthermore, the correlation between the survival and resistance efficacy factors was very high ($r = .87$), also indicating that these poorly discriminating factors may be the same. Additional full structural models were tested that removed the

redundant items and re-specified efficacy as a single-factor, however, these models fit poorly. Again, these findings may be a result of too small of a sample, or that efficacy is indeed made up of two latent factors as the items are currently written.

Rethinking these results in light of qualitative findings, there are two possibilities. First, perhaps survival efficacy is not a part of efficacy at all, but rather agency (i.e., forced prostitution in order to survive), and should be rewritten with the same language as the other agency items; this may also solve the identification problems with agency. Alternatively, perhaps efficacy is a more general desire or belief in oneself to stay in/out of prostitution, versus these same beliefs when faced with a difficult circumstance. In other words, perhaps the construct definition for efficacy should be re-conceptualized. Namely, IMBP's definition of efficacy is too similar to IEP's agency because the external force component that is part of agency could be the difficult situation defined in efficacy.

Internalized efficacy. Turning back to the prostitution literature for guidance on how to redefine efficacy, Hedin and Månsson (2004) enigmatically described 'an internal driving force' (to exit, presumably) as both a will to fight and the ability to dream, hope and fantasize about a more positive future ("positive illusions," pp. 74-75). Baker and colleagues (2010) described a similar feeling as a conscious and visceral awareness to leave. Both descriptions refer to a general and future-oriented belief in oneself and in one's abilities, whereas the definition of 'efficacy' is simply the ability to make something happen. The main difference between how 'efficacy' is described in the literature versus IMBP is the unconscious or internalized component. In other words, if efficacy is an actualized ability to make change, then "internalized efficacy" is an unconscious belief that one *can change* his or her life. As such, the efficacy definition

should emphasize an internal reflection that life *could* change for the better, or reflect dissatisfaction with one's current life as a prostitute. For example, "I can't think of any other life than prostitution," demonstrates that one is unable to internalize efficacy, whereas "I've dreamt about a life away from prostitution," shows positive, future-oriented thinking and an internalized ability to believe it can happen.

Indeed, this internal desire for "something better" was present, but overlooked, in this study. Donald said, "I was getting killed and I didn't want to get killed. I have a whole life to live and I want to live it and see what's out there..." Fiona, the young street prostitute, said it was not the severe violence she suffered that made her want to exit, but rather her "fear of hell" and her wish to be happy. "I remember thinking... what could hell be like if it's worse than [prostitution]? I can't imagine anything worse... I'm not spending eternity in some shithole. Let me go to heaven and be happy, I just wanna be happy." Becka considered reentering prostitution but thought to herself:

What am I thinking? That's crazy! I can't get back into that shit; it's just insanity. Then, go to jail again and maybe end up in prison? No, I'm not doing that... it's not a good life. I thought, "I have to stop, I have get a job, I have to live a life. This isn't living. This is not a life, it's just existing. I want a life," and that's why I got out. ...I thought there has got to be something other than this. I know there is something better than this.

It is interesting to consider whether "alternatives to prostitution," originally coded as an attitude belief (i.e., prostitution as an outcome of being jobless) and removed from the attitudes CFA, may actually be internalized efficacy, particularly because it could be interpreted as a belief in one's ability to have a life or livelihood not involving prostitution.

IMBP and Prostitution: Does it make sense?

Theory testing and measurement is an iterative process. This study's quantitative results may have been inconclusive, but does that mean there is no support for this theory? A verbatim excerpt from Sandy's interview seems to answer this question:

It's dangerous. People figure no one's looking for me, I'm not around my family, no one's going to say, "Hey, she's missing," so people will do really bad things to you. Catching stuff, catching diseases. Just, you know, in one way, as I was saying, it makes you feel like you're attractive, but in another way, you feel like a piece of meat, worthless. So that's a disadvantage. Of course another disadvantage is looking for a job now. I've got all these years with no work history, felonies on my record. It makes it really difficult to go straight. Minimum wage job when I could've gone out in a day to make what I do in a week.

So what keeps you from going back?

I just don't want to be that person anymore, I wasn't happy. Bad things would happen, the drugs stopped working like they used to and it just wasn't worth it. The disadvantages outweighed the advantages. And they did a long, long time ago but I just didn't know what to do. I mean, you want to stop but you have no work history, no job history, you have no friends, your family pretty much doesn't want anything to do with you, and you're stuck.

How did you make it to where you are now?

Well first I went to [a residential exiting program] and I wound up getting a job and I didn't do real well when I was back on my own. And this time I am staying in [a halfway house]. The rent is cheaper there, it's affordable, I've got some accountability, and support stuff going on.

Sandy's interview exemplifies the cognitive shifts she went through in order to leave prostitution. First, she recognized the dangers (people doing bad things; not having family), and then rationalized how the risks outweighed the advantages, and even contemplated how much efficacy she had to resist prostitution when she knows she can make money quicker and faster in sex work. In the end, Sandy realized that she did not want this life and was able to tap into resources and get formal support to exit

prostitution. These cognitive shifts were a large part of her being able to leave prostitution, whereas she was unsuccessful before.

Evaluating the Process and Product

Accessing the Population and Building Relationships

Prostitutes are a hard-to-reach population and accessing them for this study was difficult. With regard to the qualitative interviews, recruiting active street-level prostitutes was the most challenging. Several women who responded to the street flyers scheduled but later cancelled their interviews, as if they wanted to participate but were not allowed to or “chickened out” in the last minute. A key informant said that active street prostitutes who were in pimp-controlled prostitution could be in physical danger if they spoke to anyone else, including the researcher. For example, very controlling pimps watch their prostitutes to make sure they only speak to tricks. If a prostitute is seen talking to the wrong person (e.g., fellow prostitute, another pimp), or perceived to be talking too long or about topics other than a transaction (called “being out of pocket”), then a pimp may beat her up to teach her a lesson. Thus, it can be dangerous to speak to active street prostitutes, even for a research study. The majority of interview participants in this study were former prostitutes who were willing to share their experience in order to help other women. The only active prostitutes were those working independently in e-prostitution. Once the interview was initiated, it ran rather smoothly and it took less than four months to recruit and interview all 16 participants.

Recruiting the quantitative sample was a bit easier because partnerships were established with programs serving the target population. Most of the collaborations were made via networking at a professional conference focused on human trafficking. Several

partners volunteered their agency after seeing a presentation on the instrument and its potential application on a program-level (i.e., evaluation and clinical utility). There are few agencies working with this population and even fewer evidence-based practices that several of my partners expressed feeling like they were “working in silos” and without proper interventions designed specifically for women in prostitution. Framing the benefits of this study to programs as well as the population helped establish buy-in from partners. Working with multiple partners meant that the data collection efforts could be shared among them, thus making data collection rather speedy. In all, the sample size of 167 was achieved in about six months.

Because most of the partners were out-of-state, great care was made to ensure the survey was easy to administer. The agency information packet was a self-directed training manual and several partners said having the information, especially the frequently asked questions and the postage-paid envelope, made participating in the study simple. All of the partners received handwritten thank you notes and gift cards, which helped to maintain positive relationships.

One issue that needed to be navigated was overcoming other researchers’ monopolization of the population. There were a few programs that were hesitant to collaborate because they were currently working with a researcher or they previously worked with a researcher that overburdened the participants with very long surveys. In one case, a face-to-face meeting cleared up any uncertainties about participating. Unfortunately, in two other cases, partnerships were not established despite several attempts. Even after framing the study as a way for program participants to quickly and anonymously earn a \$10 gift card, the political red tape could not be overcome. I

approached a few other agencies on my own (i.e., not through the conference). However, none of them responded to my emails or phone messages. I can only imagine that these agencies were strapped for time, were skeptical about working with another researcher, or had other restrictions to protect their clients' privacy. For obvious reasons, I wish this were different.

Interview Technique

Initially, a small focus group was designed to take place of the individual interviews because all that was needed to develop the instrument was a list of potential outcomes and beliefs. This plan was changed after a mock interview with a key informant revealed that a question-and-answer format did not flow well for the participant. Instead, talking about one's experiences in prostitution was best said in a narrative, as if the participant was sharing his or her life story. The change in methods proved to be a good choice once the interviews began. Several participants were asked one question ("tell me how you got involved in prostitution") and shared their prostitution history from start to finish in a few hours with almost no opportunity to interrupt. Only minimal follow up was needed to address the aims of the study (e.g., probing for skills, barriers).

The narrative format provided context for the rich description of interviewees' motivations for staying in and leaving prostitution, and was far more beneficial than a focus group would have been. As mentioned, several participants expressed that the interview had a therapeutic effect. Many stated this was because they could freely discuss their past with someone who did not judge them. Two interviewees stated that the interview was the first time they talked about their involvement in prostitution.

Furthermore, their narratives provided a wealth of data and explored themes that would not have been discovered otherwise.

Items, Identification and Power

One trade off of making the instrument easy to administer and non-burdensome to participants was that decisions about the items were made with participants in mind, and at the expense of the statistical analyses. For example, the focus group results dictated which items were retained based on their rankings. Unfortunately, several constructs were under-identified because there were too few items (e.g., norms, agency). Additionally, focus group participants suggested eliminating the semantic differential items, but these items were needed as an indicator of reliability (via correlation between semantic differential and attitude items). Thus, while it seemed as though carefully considering which items to include/exclude based on evidence was advisable, the “shotgun approach” (i.e., asking extra questions and eliminating those that did not work) might have minimized the identification problems.

Concerns about not being able to recruit enough participants, and thus being underpowered led to another unforeseen issue with respect to the length of the instrument. Specifically, the instrument was proposed to have about 15 items and the full model was hypothesized to be rather simple (i.e., three correlated constructs); 150 participants would have been adequate for statistical power. But, as the study unfolded more items were added to the instrument, and the individual measurement models became more complex. Had these not occurred, the initial sample size might have been sufficient, but as it was a larger sample size was needed to adequately test the full model. Having too few participants may have led to the negative residual variances (showing up

as model misspecification in the full model) in the glamorization and resistance efficacy constructs. With another six months dedicated to data collection, the sample size might have been doubled.

Limitations of the Study

Like all studies, this study faced methodological challenges commonly associated with research on vulnerable and hidden populations. First, the hard-to-reach nature of prostituted women makes it difficult to randomly sample, and the sample may not be representative of women in street prostitution as a whole. Although the sample was drawn from six different programs in five different states, the assumption of independent observations was violated because the sites were providing treatment that may have influenced responses on the instrument. Furthermore, there were a few significant demographic differences (e.g., race) among participants at the different sites.

Other generalizability concerns speak to whom the instrument was designed for. As addressed by Fishbein and Ajzen, IMBP must be situated within the context of the population and the behavior. Research used to develop this instrument was based on street prostituted women in Western culture. Therefore, the instrument may not be generalizable to juveniles, male prostitutes, those engaged in indoor prostitution, or prostitution occurring other countries where social mores likely affect attitudes and behaviors differently than what was identified by this study's interviewees.

Another limitation was the cross-sectional design, and the tendency of the theory and analytic technique to make causal claims. This study was non-experimental, so temporal order was not established and confounding variables could not be controlled for. Another common maneuver in SEM is to add paths to "make the model fit," but which

also establish relationships that were not originally hypothesized to be there (i.e., splitting up the efficacy construct). This practice may capitalize on the chance characteristics of the sample, and future studies may not find these same relationships. Relatedly, the study's sample size ($N = 160$) may have been too small to assess the full model and parameter estimates may be unstable due to having an underpowered study.

Recommendations for Future Research

All is not lost in trying to measure intentions to exit prostitution. This study's findings have helped shape a new iteration of the IEP. Specifically, there are more items for each construct and efficacy has been redefined as an internalized belief in one's ability to live a life away from prostitution. More research is needed to validate the IEP instrument and replicate the results before it can be used in practice. If the IEP is as complex as this study suggested, a sample of 300 or more may be required for adequate power and to control for demographic variables. Future research may consider including stigma as a potential mediator between norms and intentions to exit.

Another goal of future research should be to explore critical events and how they do or do not facilitate an exit from prostitution. Månsson and Hedin (1999) and Sanders (2007) both discussed critical events that prompted a reactionary exit from prostitution. While not all persons in this study experienced a critical event before exiting, the realization that one's life was in serious danger acted like a critical event for many interviewees. A better understanding of critical events may help practitioners talk about the risks of prostitution in way that is meaningful to persons ambivalent about exiting. Relatedly, examining how severity of violence affects the exiting process could be a way to tap into the balance between glamor and risk.

Implications for Social Work Practice and Research

Results from this study have moved the field one step closer to measuring intentions to exit prostitution. After more testing, this instrument may be used as an assessment tool that social service programs can administer to a participant in any stage of the exiting process to objectively assess his or her readiness to leave prostitution. A validated instrument could also be used as a pre/post-test measure for single-subject research, and represents the first step towards evidence-based findings specifically for exiting prostitution. Furthermore, the IEP could be used by agencies to assess program outcomes, promoting accountability on the part of the organization and to help secure new and existing funding streams.

Clinical Practice

On a practice level, a validated instrument may help place women in interventions that focus on her specific desires and motivations for prostituting. For instance, IMBP has been used to design effective communication campaigns that target specific attitudes and beliefs underlying a variety of health behaviors (see Ajzen, 2010; 2011). The basic premise is that a behavioral intervention should target behavioral, normative, and efficacy beliefs that are identified in an elicitation phase (Ajzen, 2011). Beliefs that are most important to include in a communication campaign are those that discriminate the most between performers and nonperformers of the target behavior (e.g., active and former prostitutes interpreting the risks and benefits of prostitution differently).

A similar approach can be used to inform more effective interventions for this highly vulnerable group of women. Specifically, once a person's most important beliefs for engaging in a behavior are identified, they can be used to design interventions that

challenge glamorizing attitudes towards prostitution, combat normative influences, or address negative efficacy beliefs. The relative contribution of each component on one's intentions to exit can be examined and the most appropriate intervention can be identified. It is important to note that some beliefs may never change. For example, active and former prostitutes in the study consistently rated prostitution as a way to obtain fast cash—something that will likely never change. But, how important getting fast cash is to that person, and how much risk is involved in getting fast cash may help offset the desirable aspects of prostitution.

Criminal Justice Implications

With more empirical research, the IEP (or a similar iteration of it) could be used as a risk assessment for women involved in the criminal justice system. For instance, probation departments often use assessments to identify criminogenic risks for recidivism (e.g., Level of Risk Assessment-Revised, Correctional Assessment and Intervention System) such as antisocial/procriminal attitudes, procriminal associates, low levels of achievement, etc. (Andrews, Bonta & Wormith, 2006; Latessa & Lowenkamp, 2005). Such assessments are often used to in clinical case planning or to guide treatment recommendations in lieu of sentencing. At the most basic level, criminogenic risk assessments identify persons in need of treatment and a treatment approach that best matches the offender's profile. More often than not, offenders who score high for recidivism also screen high on most criminogenic risk factors (Latessa & Lowenkamp, 2005). A validated IEP could be incorporated into existing risk assessments for persons involved in street prostitution. One potential implication is that persons who screen low-risk for returning back to prostitution could be offered a diversion program in lieu of

being charged with a felony which makes obtaining legitimate employment much more difficult, and thus harder to exit prostitution in the long-term (Edlund & Korn, 2002; Høigård & Finstad, 1992). Diversion and prevention programming for prostitutes is much less costly than incarceration (Ward, 2012; Pearl, 1987), so accurately identifying persons at low-risk for recidivism could translate into big savings for the criminal justice system.

Conclusion

This mixed methods study attempted to fill a gap in our understanding of the prostitution-exiting process by applying IMBP to identify salient beliefs and outcomes regarding the risks and benefits, as well as normative and efficacy beliefs for staying involved in street prostitution. The primary aim of the study was to develop and test a theory of intentions to exit prostitution, which may have far-reaching theoretical and clinical implications for this group of highly vulnerable persons who are engaged in street-level prostitution.

The qualitative portion of this study included 16 interviews with current and former prostitutes, and corroborated a fit between IMBP and prostitution. Specifically, that attitudes, norms, efficacy, agency beliefs, as well as skills, and micro and macro environmental constraints are present in the prostitution exiting process. Other findings revealed in the qualitative interviews were that norms, while present, were fluid and inconsistent throughout one's prostitution career. In other words, one's "present company" may be a casual, rather than causal, influence on a person's intentions to exit prostitution. The interviews also helped clarify whether efficacy beliefs, originally defined as a belief in one's ability to resist prostitution under difficult circumstances, may better represent agency, or the ability to make free and independent choices. Instead,

efficacy beliefs were an internalized desire for a different life and believing there are alternatives to prostitution, as identified in current literature (e.g., Hedin & Månsson, 2004). In summary, there is qualitative support for a theory of intentions to exit street prostitution, which represents the cognitive changes necessary to successfully leave the trade.

The aim of this study's quantitative portion was to measure the constructs identified in the interviews, and test the relative contribution of each on one's intentions to exit prostitution. The individual measurement models showed that attitudes and efficacy were made up of two constructs each (i.e., glamorizing and risk-recognition, resistance efficacy and survival efficacy) and mirrored the qualitative findings. Results of the full structural model were inconclusive due to sample size and missing data, so the relative importance of the constructs remains unknown. While this study's quantitative portion did not predict intentions to exit, it does represent a first step towards developing an objective assessment of one's readiness to leave prostitution, a much-needed tool for social workers to establish evidence-based practices for this vulnerable population.

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APPENDIX A
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

To: Karen Gerdes
UCENT

From: Mark Roosa, Chair *MR*
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 11/14/2011

Committee Action: Expedited Approval

Approval Date: 11/14/2011

Review Type: Expedited F7

IRB Protocol #: 1110006969

Study Title: Intentions to Exit Prostitution Instrument Validation Study

Expiration Date: 11/13/2012

The above-referenced protocol was approved following expedited review by the Institutional Review Board.

It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without approval by the Institutional Review Board.

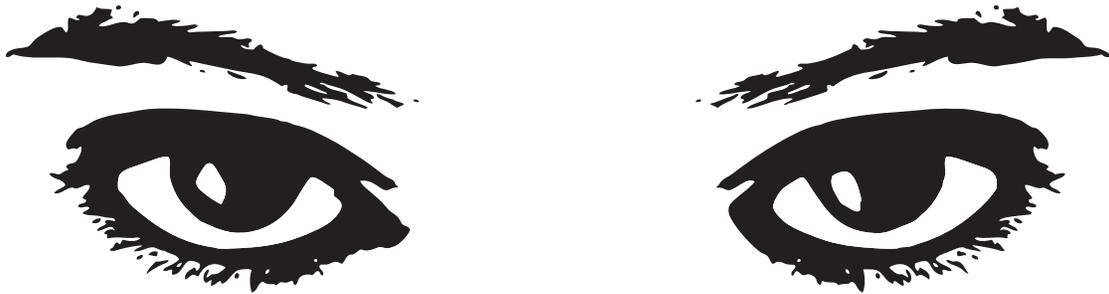
Adverse Reactions: If any untoward incidents or severe reactions should develop as a result of this study, you are required to notify the Soc Beh IRB immediately. If necessary a member of the IRB will be assigned to look into the matter. If the problem is serious, approval may be withdrawn pending IRB review.

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of this study, such as the procedures, the consent forms, or the investigators, please communicate your requested changes to the Soc Beh IRB. The new procedure is not to be initiated until the IRB approval has been given.

Please retain a copy of this letter with your approved protocol.

APPENDIX B
RECRUITMENT FLYER

Have you ever engaged
in **street prostitution**?



Are you willing to participate in an
hour-long **study on prostitution**?

Completely confidential / Incentives offered / Must be 18+
call 480-253-9489 or email ASUexit@gmail.com for more info

APPENDIX C
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. **General description of how you *entered* prostitution**
 - a. Probe for: attitudes, advantages/disadvantages of prostitution
 - b. Probe for people supported/approved or did not approve your involvement in prostitution
 - c. Probe for situations that made prostitution seem like a wise decision, what circumstances would make it difficult for you to not prostitute
 - d. Probe for did you feel “forced” to prostitute, did you feel free to leave at any time
2. **General description of how *exited* Prostitution:**
 - a. Probe for: attitudes, advantages/disadvantages
 - b. Probe for people supported/approved or did not approve
 - c. Probe for situations that made prostitution an unwise decision
 - d. Ask, did you feel “free” to stop? If so, what led to that?
3. **What does exiting, or permanently leaving prostitution mean to you?**
 - a. If you have not tried to leave prostitution, what keeps you engaged in this activity?
 - b. How would you describe someone who has exited prostitution?
 - i. Probe for age / length of time in prostitution
 1. experiences of trauma
 2. specific skills (coping, life skills, etc.)
4. **What would you tell someone who was on the fence about leaving?**

APPENDIX D
FOCUS GROUP INSTRUMENT

Introduction

Thank you for your participation. The purpose of the focus group is to get feedback on survey we are developing that may help women leave prostitution. We are not asking you to take the survey. We are only asking for feedback on the design, readability and understandability of the survey. Your knowledge and experience are essential to this project.

All information obtained in this focus group is strictly confidential. The researchers will not record your name or other personally identifying information. In order to maintain confidentiality, we ask that group members respect the each other's privacy by not repeating anything that is said in the group. Completed anonymity cannot be promised because it depends on everyone's cooperation in respecting the privacy of others.

We are asking for your verbal, not written, consent to participate in this study. This is to protect your confidentiality and to minimize potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality.

The results of this focus group may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but the researchers will not identify you by name or description. With your permission, the focus groups will be recorded and later transcribed. The audio recordings will be destroyed immediately after transcription. Access to the transcription will be limited to the researchers.

Before we begin, I want to describe how the focus group will proceed. There are three sections.

- 1) "Section A: Directions" asks for your feedback on another survey's instructions. You are provided sample instructions and space to write in feedback on whether the instructions were easy or difficult to read.
- 2) "Section B: Format" presents several formats to present another survey's questions. You are provided space to comment on which format was easiest to understand.
- 3) "Section C: Content" presents you with another survey's question content. You are provided space to comment on what you liked and did not like about the wording of the question. You do not need to answer the survey question, just provide feedback on the wording of the question. At the end of each section, we will discuss your comments as a group. You may skip any questions you do not feel comfortable answering.

First, we will introduce each section, and give you time to read and comment on the material. After everyone is finished, we will lead the group in a facilitated a discussion about each section. We will do this same process for each of the three sections. We will collect the comments you write on this packet. Do not write your name or other identifying information on it. You have the right not to answer any question. You will receive your \$15 gift card at the end of the focus group.

If at any time during the group you need to take a break, we will stop the recorder and we can continue when you are ready. You can also leave the group at anytime.
Do you have any questions before we start?

Section A. Directions

In the following section, you will be presented with outcomes some people think are related to prostitution. The first part of the question asks you to rate how likely or unlikely each outcome is *for you*. The second part asks you to evaluate how good or bad that outcome is *for you*. Bubble in your choice for both parts of the question.

1	I can get physically hurt when I prostitute:	Very likely ○	Likely ○	A little likely ○	Neither ○	A little unlikely ○	Unlikely ○	Very unlikely ○
	For me, being physically hurt is:	Very good ○	Good ○	A little good ○	Neither ○	A little bad ○	Bad ○	Very bad ○

Feedback on Instructions: _____

The following questions are about people that may be significant in your life, and what they think you should do, and how much you want to do what they think. The first part of the question asks you about how much a *specific person* thinks you should or should not do something. The second part asks you to rate how much you want or don't want to do *what that person thinks*. Circle the number on the line that shows how you feel about both parts of the question.

2	My mother thinks I... 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 should ←————→ should not	...eat lots of vegetables.
	When it comes to my mother... 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I want to ←————→ I don't want to	...do what she says.
	Check here if you do NOT have a mother <input type="checkbox"/>	

Feedback on Instructions: _____

The statements below are situations where some people might find it difficult to remain prostitution-free. Circle how confident you could *not* engage in prostitution right now. On the scale, 0 means you are not at all confident, and 10 means you are absolutely confident you could not engage in prostitution.

I am confident that I could not engage in prostitution, even if somebody offered me money.											
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Strongly disagree		←————→									Strongly agree

Feedback on Instructions: _____

Section B. Format

Below are two versions of the same survey question. Select the version easiest to understand.

Version A

It will rain today.	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>Very Unlikely ←————→ Very Likely</p>
---------------------	--

Version B

It will rain today.	<p>○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ● ○</p> <p>Very likely Likely A little likely Neither A little unlikely Unlikely Very unlikely</p>
---------------------	---

I think version ____ is easiest to understand. Comments? _____

Below are two versions of the same survey question. Select the version easiest to understand.

Version A

On a scale from 1-7, I think children (ANSWER) eat lots of vegetables.	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</p> <p>should ←————→ should not</p>
Check here if you do NOT eat vegetables <input type="checkbox"/>	

Version B

I think children...	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</p> <p>should ←————→ should not</p>	...eat lots of vegetables.
Check here if you do NOT eat vegetables <input type="checkbox"/>		

Version C

I think children...	<p>should 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 should not</p> <p>←————→</p>	...eat lots of vegetables.
Check here if you do NOT eat vegetables <input type="checkbox"/>		

I think version ____ is easiest to understand. Comments? _____

Part C. Content

Below are potential outcomes of prostitution. In our survey, we are asking participants how likely or unlikely these outcomes are for them. First, we'd like you to comment on the content of these statements, and to suggest changes you think might improve the wording. Second, we'd like you to rank them according to importance with 1 being the most important to women who have not left prostitution yet.

Statement	Comments	Rank
A. I can get quick money from engaging in prostitution.		
B. I could get a sexually transmitted disease from engaging in prostitution.		
C. I can feel in control when I from engaging in prostitution.		
D. I can get physically hurt from engaging in prostitution.		
E. I have access to drugs from engaging in prostitution.		
F. I can get raped from engaging in prostitution.		
G. I could get robbed from engaging in prostitution.		
H. I can feel powerful from engaging in prostitution.		
I. I could get arrested from engaging in prostitution.		
J. I can feel wanted from engaging in prostitution.		
If you have any suggestions for additional statements, please write them below. Don't forget to rank them.		

In our survey, we are asking participants to choose an adjective that describes how they feel about staying in or leaving prostitution. Bubble in the adjectives you think are best, and suggest others we might have missed.

A. For me, staying in prostitution is:	B. When I think about leaving prostitution, I feel:
<input type="radio"/> Wise / Unwise <input type="radio"/> Pleasant / Unpleasant <input type="radio"/> Safe / Unsafe <input type="radio"/> Beneficial / Non-beneficial <input type="radio"/> Necessary / Unnecessary <input type="radio"/> _____ <input type="radio"/> _____	<input type="radio"/> Delighted / Disgusted <input type="radio"/> Happy / Unhappy <input type="radio"/> Relieved / Scared <input type="radio"/> Anxious / Calm <input type="radio"/> Frightened / Relaxed <input type="radio"/> _____ <input type="radio"/> _____

In our survey, we are asking participants to identify significant people in their life that may influence their decision to stay or leave prostitution. First, review our list of potentially significant people, and suggest others we might have missed in the spaces provided. Next, rank your choices by importance with 1 being the most important for a person who has not yet left prostitution. For example, if a higher power is most important, write the number 1 in the box to the left.

<input type="checkbox"/> intimate partner	<input type="checkbox"/> boyfriend / girlfriend	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> pimp	<input type="checkbox"/> regular customer	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> child / children	<input type="checkbox"/> close friends	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> family member	<input type="checkbox"/> acquaintance	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> higher power	<input type="checkbox"/> _____	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> associates	<input type="checkbox"/> _____	

Below are situations where some people might find it difficult to resist engaging in prostitution. We'd like you to comment on the content of these statements, and to suggest changes you think might improve the wording. Second, we'd like you to rank them according to importance with 1 being the most important to women who have not left prostitution yet.

Statement	Comments	Rank
A. I am confident that I could avoid engaging in prostitution even if somebody offered me money to have sex.		
B. I am confident that I could avoid engaging in prostitution even if I somebody offered me drugs to have sex.		
C. I am confident that I could avoid engaging in prostitution even if I needed money.		
D. I am confident that I could avoid engaging in prostitution even if I needed food.		
E. I am confident that I could avoid engaging in prostitution even if I needed a place to stay.		

F. I am confident that I could avoid engaging in prostitution even if I needed a fix.		
G. I am confident that I could avoid engaging in prostitution even if I were drunk or high.		
If you have any suggestions for additional statements, please write them below. Don't forget to rank them.		

Below are situations where some people might not feel free to make a choice about leaving prostitution. We'd like you to comment on the content of these statements, and to suggest changes you think might improve the wording. Second, we'd like you to rank them according to importance with 1 being the most important to women who have not left prostitution yet.

Statement	Comments	Rank
A. I could choose to leave prostitution even if my intimate partner or pimp did not want me to.		
B. I could choose to leave prostitution even if I was threatened with physical violence.		
C. I could choose to leave prostitution even though I might lose a relationship with someone important to me.		
D. I could choose to leave prostitution even if I was using drugs or alcohol.		
E. I could choose to leave prostitution even if I didn't need money.		
If you have any suggestions for additional statements, please write them below. Don't forget to rank them.		

(Optional)

Sex	Race (check all)	Highest Education	Type of Sex Work (check all)
<input type="checkbox"/> Female	<input type="checkbox"/> Latino / Hispanic	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than H.S.	<input type="checkbox"/> Brothel / Massage Parlor
<input type="checkbox"/> Male	<input type="checkbox"/> Anglo (not Hisp.)	<input type="checkbox"/> High School/GED	<input type="checkbox"/> Pimped / Forced
<input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> African American	<input type="checkbox"/> Some College	<input type="checkbox"/> Streetwalker
_____	<input type="checkbox"/> Asian/Pacific Isl.	<input type="checkbox"/> College Graduate	<input type="checkbox"/> Online ads for sex
	<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian	<input type="checkbox"/> Post Graduate	<input type="checkbox"/> Pornography
Age	<input type="checkbox"/> Mixed Race	<input type="checkbox"/> Vocational / Trade	<input type="checkbox"/> Call girl / Escort
_____ yrs.	Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify)

APPENDIX E

INTENTIONS TO EXIT PROSTITUTION INSTRUMENT

How to Answer: Read the statement on the left and circle the choice that reflects your opinion on the right. Answer both parts of each question for how you feel *right now*.

E	This is an example.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Neither	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, examples are:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neither	Important	Very Important

1	I can get "fast cash" from prostitution.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, getting fast cash is:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neutral	Quite Important	Very Important
2	I have ways other than prostitution to make money.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, making money in other ways is:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neutral	Quite Important	Very Important
3	I feel wanted or loved when I prostitute.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, feeling wanted or loved is:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neutral	Quite Important	Very Important
4	I could get robbed from prostitution.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, not getting myself robbed is:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neutral	Quite Important	Very Important
5	I could get drugs easily when I prostitute.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, getting drugs easily is:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neutral	Quite Important	Very Important
6	I could get arrested from prostitution.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, not getting arrested is:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neutral	Quite Important	Very Important
7	I could risk my life when I prostitute.	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat	Likely	Very Likely
	For me, not risking my life (or keeping my life safe) is:	Not Important	Slightly Important	Neutral	Quite Important	Very Important

8	My kids think that I should stop prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
	I want to do what my kids think. <input type="checkbox"/> Check here if you do NOT have kids.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
9	My spouse / partner thinks I that I should stop prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
	I want to do what my spouse / partner thinks. <input type="checkbox"/> Check here if you do NOT have a spouse / partner.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
10	My pimp thinks I should stop prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
	I want to do what my pimp thinks. <input type="checkbox"/> Check here if you do NOT have a pimp.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely

11	My "higher power" thinks I should stop prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
	I want to do what my higher power thinks.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
<input type="checkbox"/> Check here if you do NOT believe in a higher power.						
12	My friends who don't prostitute think that I should stop prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
	I want to do what these friends think.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
13	My family thinks I should stop prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
	I want to do what my family thinks.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
14	I am certain I would <i>not</i> prostitute even if I were offered a lot of money.	Not at all certain	Slightly certain	Neutral	Very certain	Extremely certain
15	I am certain I would <i>not</i> prostitute even if I were offered drugs.	Not at all certain	Slightly certain	Neutral	Very certain	Extremely certain
16	I am certain I would <i>not</i> prostitute even if I had no place to stay.	Not at all certain	Slightly certain	Neutral	Very certain	Extremely certain
17	I am certain I would <i>not</i> prostitute even if I had no food.	Not at all certain	Slightly certain	Neutral	Very certain	Extremely certain
18	I feel like someone is forcing me to stay in prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
19	I feel like my drug addiction is forcing me to stay in prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
20	I feel like the threat of physical harm is forcing me to stay in prostitution.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
21	I intend to leave prostitution as soon as possible.	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much	Absolutely
	<input type="checkbox"/> Check here if you have ALREADY LEFT prostitution.					

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1. Sex / Age / Children			2. Race / Ethnicity (check all)			3. What religion are you?		
<input type="checkbox"/> Female			<input type="checkbox"/> Latino / Hispanic			<input type="checkbox"/> Catholic		
<input type="checkbox"/> Male			<input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian (not Hispanic)			<input type="checkbox"/> Christian		
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____			<input type="checkbox"/> African American			<input type="checkbox"/> Baptist		
How old are you? _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Asian/Pacific Islander			<input type="checkbox"/> Protestant		
How many kids do you have? _____			<input type="checkbox"/> American Indian			<input type="checkbox"/> Spiritual, not religious		
			<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____		
4. Highest grade you completed?			5. What's your relationship status			6. Home for the past 30 days?		
<input type="checkbox"/> Less than High School			<input type="checkbox"/> Single			<input type="checkbox"/> Alone in own home		
<input type="checkbox"/> High School / GED			<input type="checkbox"/> Intimate Partner			<input type="checkbox"/> Living w/ Family or Friends		
<input type="checkbox"/> Some College			<input type="checkbox"/> Legally Married			<input type="checkbox"/> Homeless		
<input type="checkbox"/> College Graduate			<input type="checkbox"/> Separated			<input type="checkbox"/> Incarceration / Jail		
<input type="checkbox"/> Post Graduate			<input type="checkbox"/> Widowed			<input type="checkbox"/> Drug / Mental Health Facility		
<input type="checkbox"/> Vocational / Trade			<input type="checkbox"/> Divorced			<input type="checkbox"/> Shelter / Halfway House		
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____		
7. For statistical purposes, how much did you make from the following in the last 30 days? (check all)								
<input type="checkbox"/> Illegal (prostitution) \$ _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Social security \$ _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Other Income (specify) _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Unemployment \$ _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Employment \$ _____					
<input type="checkbox"/> Welfare \$ _____			<input type="checkbox"/> Partner / Friends / Family \$ _____			\$ _____		
8. Questions about your prostitution history								
Do you consider yourself to still be involved in prostitution?						<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No, I'm out of prostitution		
How long have you been involved in prostitution?						_____ mo. _____ yrs.		
What age did you start prostitution?						_____ yrs.		
How long have you been out of prostitution?						_____ mo. _____ yrs.		
How many times have you ever tried to leave prostitution?						_____ # of attempts		
How many times did you work for a "pimp"?						_____ # of pimps		
Have you ever experienced violence while engaged in prostitution?						<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
Have you ever enrolled in a program designed to help you leave prostitution?						<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
If you've been to a program to help you leave prostitution, which of these services did you receive (check all)?								
<input type="checkbox"/> Mental Health Treatment			<input type="checkbox"/> Legal assistance			<input type="checkbox"/> Group counseling		
<input type="checkbox"/> Substance Treatment			<input type="checkbox"/> Employment assistance			<input type="checkbox"/> Prostitution Anonymous		
<input type="checkbox"/> Residence / shelter			<input type="checkbox"/> Housing assistance			<input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify below)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Peer support			<input type="checkbox"/> Financial assistance			_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Case management			<input type="checkbox"/> Budgeting classes			_____		
9. Could you share some reasons why you entered prostitution, and what might help you leave?								

B. Relationship Stressors

1 Check box if you had a significant period of stress from the following persons:

	In past 30 days	Ever in lifetime		In past 30 days	Ever in lifetime		In past 30 days	Ever in lifetime
None	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Brother/Sister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Close friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Partner/Spouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Neighbors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Co-workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C. Personal Stressors

2 Check box if you had a significant period (not from substances) when you experienced the following:

	In past 30 days	Ever in lifetime		In past 30 days	Ever in lifetime		In past 30 days	Ever in lifetime
Depression	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hallucinations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Suicidal Thoughts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anxiety	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Victim of Violence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Suicide Attempts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. Substance Abuse

3 Have you used these substances? Check box if used in past 30 days & enter # of years used in your lifetime.

	In past 30 days	# of years		In past 30 days	# of years		In past 30 days	# of years
Alcohol	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Barbiturates	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Cannabis / Weed	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Heroin	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Other sedatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Hallucinogens	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Other opiates	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Cocaine / Crack	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Inhalants	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Meth	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Amphetamines	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

E. Arrest History

4 How many times have you been arrested or convicted for the following? Enter # of arrests or # of convictions.

	# of arrests	# convictions		# of arrests	# convictions		# of arrests	# convictions
Prostitution	_____	_____	Weapons offense	_____	_____	Arson	_____	_____
Probation Violat.	_____	_____	Burglary /Larceny	_____	_____	Sex crime / Rape	_____	_____
Drugs	_____	_____	Robbery	_____	_____	Homicide / Mans.	_____	_____
Theft / Vandalism	_____	_____	Assault	_____	_____	Forgery	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____	Other _____	_____	_____	Other _____	_____	_____

F. Post-traumatic Stress Symptoms

5 In the last 30 days, how much have you been bothered by the following?

	None	A little	Some	Quite a bit	Always
a) Repeated, disturbing <i>memories, thoughts, or images</i> of a past event	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b) Feeling <i>very upset</i> when <i>something reminded</i> you of a past event	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c) Avoid <i>activities / situations</i> because <i>they remind you</i> of a past event	<input type="checkbox"/>				
d) Feeling <i>distant or cut off</i> from other people	<input type="checkbox"/>				
e) Feeling <i>irritable</i> or having <i>angry outbursts</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
f) Having <i>difficulty concentrating</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>				

**Thank you for your participation. Seal this survey in the envelope before returning.
Staff will give you your gift card.**

APPENDIX F
AGENCY INFORMATION PACKET

Introduction and Background to the ASU Prostitution Exiting Study

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of this study is to validate an instrument (or survey) that assesses a client's intentions to leave street prostitution, much like a Beck Depression Instrument assesses someone's depression severity. Research shows that women cycle in and out of prostitution as many as 5-6 times before they actually leave prostitution, which can be a burden on programs. Currently, there is no assessment to see how "ready" a woman is to leave prostitution, or what part of the prostitution exiting process she is struggling with. The survey being tested may help understand how much a woman intends to leave prostitution, and identify what level of intervention is needed to help her. Specifically, the researchers think that the validated survey may have clinical use for a) showing a change in one's intentions to leave prostitution, b) identifying an appropriate intervention, or c) predicting one's exit from prostitution.

Our goal in working with you is to collect data to see whether the survey works. Your agency's involvement begins at the second phase of this study. The first phase involved a series of interviews to come up with the survey questions, a focus group that piloted the questions with a group of prostituted women, and a review of the survey by treatment providers and survivors of prostitution. At this point, the survey has been "checked and rechecked" and is ready to be administered in the field. A total of 200 surveys will be collected from programs in Arizona, Ohio, and Oregon, and will undergo statistical analyses to confirm it works like it was designed.

In addition to offering each participant a \$10 gift card for completing the survey, we are offering participating agencies the survey and a pre/posttest analysis to evaluate the impact of your program. This process will help all of us in increasing our understanding prostituted women, and the ways we can help them leave prostitution. Please see the Agency Letter of Agreement for more details.

We have provided a packet that contains all the materials for your program to participate in this study, including the step-by-step process of administering and storing the surveys, giving out participant incentives, and sending the surveys back to the research team in Arizona. We will also provide a brief overview of the research process, frequently asked questions, and a contact list should you have questions. We've put together a handy folder of all the materials for you to administer the surveys.

Included in your packet is:

1. This introduction letter
2. A guide to research basics
3. The study protocol
4. A guide to responding to participants' questions
5. A script to read when administering the survey
6. 30 copies of the survey and the information letter (in envelopes w/pencils)
7. Research Letter of Agreement

**Thank you again for your participation.
This study could not happen without your and your staff's help!**

Research Basics for the ASU Prostitution Exiting Study

Evaluation vs. Research

An evaluation is a form of research that assesses the impact of an intervention or program. Evaluations are generally used by agencies to enhance their effectiveness, or to report outcomes to a funder. The ASU Prostitution Exiting study is a *research study* and is different from an evaluation. It is not intended to evaluate a program, but rather to support the development of a survey that *could be used* to evaluate a program's impact. This process is intensive and requires a number of steps before it can be used for evaluation.

Instrument/Survey Validation

The survey used in the ASU Prostitution Exiting study is undergoing "instrument validation". Instrument validation refers to the multi-step process of making sure the survey (or instrument) truly measures the concept(s) it is intended to measure. Experts in the field including survivors, practitioners and academics have reviewed the survey, and it is now ready to be analyzed statistically. We hope the last phase in this process means the version you received is "final", but the results may show the survey needs revision.

IRB and Human subjects' protections

Many institutions, including universities, have an Institutional Review Board (IRB) that monitors and oversees the measures taken by researchers to protect the rights of research participants. Studies must be approved by the IRB, and research teams must outline in their applications how the study will uphold several key rights. These include: **INFORMED CONSENT**, **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**, and **CONFIDENTIALITY** or **ANONYMITY**. You will see that materials in the packet emphasize how we are upholding each of these protections. The ASU IRB has approved our protocol, and as collaborators in this study you are bound to uphold them. If you have any questions or concerns about this, please notify us right away.

Fidelity

An important piece of this research is making sure participants are given the survey in about the same way across all locations (Arizona, Ohio, Oregon). What this means is that we want to survey participants in a "cookie cutter" fashion. You will see that our research protocol upholds this in several ways, such as reading the introductory script verbatim. This helps the researchers say that our results were not influenced by something that may have happened in one location, but not in another.

Social desirability

Surveys asking about risky behaviors (sex, drugs, etc.) may be impacted by "social desirability". This means that participants may answer questions in ways they think are socially desirable. For instance, they may downplay (or exaggerate) their involvement in risky activities to "look good" or be a "good participant." Therefore, it is very important to emphasize **HONESTY** and **CONFIDENTIALITY**. **Tell participants there are no "right answers" and to be honest because the survey may be used to help other women in similar situations. Let them know no one will know how they responded to the questions.**

“How-to-Guide” and Study Protocol for the ASU Prostitution Exiting Study

Overview

The researchers have provided for you all the materials to administer the surveys to your clients, and to send them back to the researchers. This document describes what these materials are and how to use them.

We have found that administering the survey as part of a regularly scheduled group has worked best. Other programs have chosen to include the survey in their intake/discharge materials (just be sure to tell participants it is voluntary).

Your responsibility is to 1) make sure that only persons who are eligible (i.e., women who have ever engaged in prostitution) voluntarily take the survey, 2) to give them their gift cards for completing the survey and 3) to send the surveys back to the researchers.

Materials

The researchers have provided the following materials to administer the survey and pay the participants.

- 30 printed copies of the survey, each in an unsealed white envelope and a pencil
- 30 gift cards at \$10 each
- 1 green and white envelope to store Uncompleted surveys
- 1 manila envelope to store Completed surveys
- 1 large USPS postage-paid envelope to return the surveys back to the researchers

Data Administration and Collection

You may choose to administer the survey at the beginning or the end of your group session, or during intake/discharge paperwork. For either method, please follow these steps.

1. Hand the white envelope to the participant.
2. Read the script that introduces the participant to the study.
3. Once the participant is finished with the survey, be sure it is sealed in the envelope.
4. Hand the participant the \$10 gift card.
5. Store the completed surveys in the Completed Surveys envelope (manila) until you are ready to send them back to the research team in Arizona. Seal any white envelopes.
6. You may keep the pencils.

Storing and Returning the Materials

Please store the uncompleted and completed surveys in the appropriately marked envelopes. ALL of the surveys should be kept in a LOCKED room or cabinet when they are not being administered to ensure confidentiality. When you have finished administering the surveys, please send all the materials back to the researchers in the postage-paid envelope.

Important notes

- Participants should understand that the study is voluntary and that they have the right to decline participating.
- If you need additional copies of the surveys or postage, please contact the researchers (acimino@asu.edu or 480-253-9498).
- Anytime you have a question or concern about the study, or something unexpected happens during a data collection session, please contact us right away.

Participant Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) for the ASU Prostitution Exiting Study

“Can I take the survey if... I’ve been in out of prostitution for a while *OR* I’m still actively engaged in prostitution?”

Yes! Please tell the participant to indicate this in the “prostitution history” section of the survey.

“I wasn’t a street prostitute, but I sold sex online, can I still take the survey?”

No, only women (or men) who have ever been involved in street prostitution can take the survey. Street prostitution includes persons who solicited for customers on the street (i.e., not online ads, through a friend, or business). Trading sex for money, drugs, food or a place to stay is included in this definition. Persons who *exclusively* sold sex through escort agencies, in brothels, or online are *not* eligible to participate. However, if someone also participated some street prostitution, they can participate.

“How long will this take?”

The survey takes about 10-20 minutes, depending on how fast the participant reads.

“Do I have to take the survey?”

No, the survey is completely voluntary.

“What does this question mean?”

If a participant has trouble understanding a question, please read the instructions and the question slowly and clearly. Usually, a question that is unclear becomes clear when it is read aloud. This may be done two or three times if necessary. Encourage them to interpret the question themselves by saying, “what does it mean to you?” instead of telling them what you think it means. If a participant is still unsure or unclear about the question, encourage him/her to skip it and move on.

“Is this confidential?”

Yes, the survey is confidential. The researchers will not know anyone’s name, and will not be able to identify any participant. While participants are taking the survey, please ask them to keep their responses and/or comments to themselves, and refrain from discussing anyone else’s participation, just as they would in a treatment setting.

“Can I take the survey again?”

No, participants can only take the survey once. There may be opportunities to take a similar survey in the near future. Participants can contact the researcher, Andrea, whose information is listed on the consent form.

“Can I get a copy of the study results?”

Yes, participants can have a copy of the finished results. The participant can contact the research team using the information on the consent letter to make this request. Once the results are ready, which could take 6 months or more, they can receive a copy. All results will be presented in the aggregate (i.e., as a group).

“Why are you asking how much money I make (or other demographic questions)?”

We are asking for demographic information because we are collecting surveys from several other states. We use this information to make sure that women in your state are similar to women in other states. If the women are too different, it may affect our results.

Introduction Script for Participants in the ASU Prostitution Exiting Study

- Hand out a survey packet (in white envelopes) to each participant.
- Have the Completed Surveys envelope (manila) nearby.
- **Read the following script** slowly and clearly. Instruct the participants to let you know if they have any questions.

We have been asked to participate in a research study by Arizona State University. The study is trying to better understand the risks and benefits of street prostitution. The researchers hope that it may help improve services for women who want to leave prostitution, but find it hard to do so. The study is **voluntary**, meaning you don't have to do it. If you would like to participate, you will receive a \$10 gift card for filling out the survey.

I have just passed out an envelope. Inside the envelope are a consent letter, and a survey that is stapled together. Go ahead and open the envelope and take out both items. **(STAFF: show your copies of these)** The consent letter has important information about the study, your rights, and who to contact if you have questions. Please take a few minutes to look over the consent letter. This is yours to keep.

The survey is stapled together, and is copied front and back **(STAFF: show your copy of the survey)**. On the first page, you'll read the question on the left, and circle your response on the right. Some of the questions have two parts, so be sure to answer both parts. Answer all questions for **HOW YOU FEEL RIGHT NOW**. Follow the example on the top of the survey. The second page asks demographic questions. Please check the box or fill in the blank to answer the questions. If you circle a response and then change your mind, you can cross out the response you DON'T want, and then circle the new response **(STAFF: show on your own copy of the survey)**.

The researchers want you to know that participation is **voluntary** and your responses are **completely anonymous**, meaning that no one will know your name or how you responded, not even staff. Should you choose to take the survey, you have the right not to answer any questions, or to stop taking the survey at any time, and it will in no way affect your participation at our agency. Some benefits of participating in this study are that you will be able to share your experiences, and that your experiences may help others in situations like yours. We don't foresee any risks or discomforts to participating. Do you have any questions? **(STAFF: Be prepared with the FAQ)**

If you do not want to participate in the study, please hand the survey back to me and leave the room. For those of you who want to participate, I will give you the time to do so. When you are finished with the survey, seal it in the white envelope and place it in the manila envelope marked Completed Surveys **(STAFF: show participants where the Completed envelopes will go)**. I will then give you your \$10 gift card.

The researchers ask that you please be honest in your answers. No one will know who you are, and no one will be able to connect the survey back to you. Once the surveys are collected, they will be stored in a locked closet/cabinet until they are sent to the researchers in Arizona. Be sure **NOT** to put your name anywhere on the survey. **(STAFF: Ask if there are any questions. Be prepared with the FAQ)**.

- Leave the room/step aside and provide approximately 15-20 minutes to complete the survey. You can always check in to see if they are finished or need more time.
- Collect all of the surveys in the envelopes provided and store them in the locked room or cabinet until you are ready to send them back to ASU in the postage-paid envelope.

APPENDIX G
CORRELATION MATRIX

Correlation Matrix with Means and Standard Deviations

	Att1	Att2	Att3	Att4	Att5	Att6	Att7	Norms	Eff1	Eff2	Eff3	Eff4	Agn1	Agn2	Agn3	Int
Att1	1.00															
Att2	.16	1.00														
Att3	.28	.02	1.00													
Att4	-.04	.23	-.12	1.00												
Att5	.41	.17	.28	-.05	1.00											
Att6	-.22	.34	-.11	.64	-.09	1.00										
Att7	-.07	.33	-.05	.40	-.01	.41	1.00									
Norms	-.03	-.29	.09	-.20	.17	-.30	-.27	1.00								
Eff1	-.21	-.17	-.05	-.08	-.21	-.08	-.19	.09	1.00							
Eff2	-.31	-.22	-.10	-.11	-.36	-.04	-.29	.14	.49	1.00						
Eff3	-.32	-.13	-.13	.00	-.28	.02	-.16	.09	.61	.50	1.00					
Eff4	-.36	-.09	-.09	-.06	-.26	.06	-.18	.11	.54	.49	.84	1.00				
Agn1	.13	.05	.09	-.13	.17	-.05	-.13	.02	.02	-.07	.04	.05	1.00			
Agn2	.31	.13	.22	-.01	.50	-.13	.03	.21	-.22	-.33	-.24	-.24	.25	1.00		
Agn3	.05	.08	.07	.02	.17	-.01	-.02	.03	.04	-.14	.03	.04	.57	.34	1.00	
Int	-.04	-.32	.22	-.11	.00	-.23	-.17	.31	.00	.02	.07	.10	.12	.19	.04	1.00
Mean	4.99	.94	3.48	-1.17	4.11	-1.14	.04	5.33	3.07	3.60	2.79	2.64	1.56	2.64	1.83	4.22
SD	1.77	1.91	1.87	1.21	2.35	1.38	1.47	1.70	1.63	1.59	1.66	1.66	1.14	1.64	1.28	1.20

Note. Att = Attitudes questions, Norms = average of all norms questions, Eff = efficacy questions, Agn = agency questions, Int = intention question.

