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Lowe, Arthur Charles

**SOCIALIZATION OF ROLE BEHAVIOR IN STREET CORNER
PROSTITUTES**

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1983

**University
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SOCIALIZATION OF ROLE BEHAVIOR IN STREET CORNER PROSTITUTES

by

ARTHUR C. LOWE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1982

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty
in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 13, 1982
date

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I. AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

While it is clearly impossible to state with any finality when prostitution first appeared in human society, the evidence from the most ancient societies suggests that it has existed from the most remote historical times. (Henriques 1962:15)

Prostitution, as the above quote indicates, is a phenomenon that has existed for countless years and accordingly, is an occupation that has been filled by untold numbers of women. Further, as an occupation (that is, providing a service [sexual access] for remuneration), it is an activity that involves not only the prostitute but a variety of other individuals in a complex set of social relationships. Given these premises, is there some method that exists whereby new individuals replace old individuals in a pre-established set of social relationships?

The mechanism by which this historical continuity is maintained is socialization:

The process whereby individuals learn to play various social roles necessary for effective participation in society; that is, how they acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to perform in accordance with the expectations of others. (Goslin 1969:6)

One implication of this definition is that prostitutes comprise a social group, or perhaps more appropriately, a subgroup or subculture because the knowledge, skills and dispositions acquired reflect those of individuals in the subculture of prostitution. There is evidence to support this view in that Jackman, O'Toole

and Geis (1963) found two major "orientations" among the prostitutes they studied; a "criminal world contraculture" and a "dual world" (or middle class) orientation. Consequently, when examining the socialization of prostitutes, societal as well as occupational considerations must be taken into account.

Writing on the subject of occupational socialization, Goslin states:

An occupation is a social construct and its performance a social role or set of roles. This is true even if the occupation is technically antisocial . . . At the very minimum, occupational norms must be learned if the worker is to perform satisfactorily. (p.868)

In both definitions of socialization, societal and occupational, the focus is on the acquisition of information that will allow the individual to function appropriately in that role.

What is involved in "functioning appropriately" for the prostitute?

The Prostitute's Social Milieu

To appreciate the complexity of the prostitute's social milieu, it is necessary to understand:

1. the levels at which social interaction occurs
2. the variety of individuals encountered by the prostitute

Goffman (1959) maintains that for social interaction to occur one must know something about the person with whom one is communicating. This knowledge is based on cues emitted by the individual (not necessarily with intention) and is used to categorize the person according to role, from which certain

assumptions can be made (based on the "rights and obligations" associated with that role).

Goffman writes:

Many sources of information become accessible and many carriers (or 'sign vehicles') become available for conveying this information. If unacquainted with the individual, observers can glean clues from his conduct and appearance which allow them to apply their previous experiences with individuals roughly similar to ones before them . . . (p.1)

These sign vehicles can be situational (based on the time or place of the interaction) or behavioral (based on the individual's dress, speech, posture, actions--what Goffman refers to as "personal front").

Thus, for each of the types of individuals, or role-reciprocals, that the individual in the role of prostitute is likely to interact with, it is necessary, if she is to function appropriately, to be able to properly categorize the individual and perform in accordance with the expectations of the role-reciprocal. Conversely, her role-reciprocals must be able to identify her as an occupant of the role of prostitute.

The variety of individuals that may be encountered by a prostitute is succinctly described by Sheehy (1973) in which she characterizes the social world of the streetwalker:

Surrounding the obvious streetwalker is an assorted multitude of major and minor hustlers, all of whom play their part and earn their pay directly or indirectly from prostitution. The case extends from pimps, madams, Murphey men, knobbers, call girls, play girls, and courtesans to preying street hustlers and hotel operators, pornographers and prostitution lawyers, politicians, police "pussy posses" and prominent businessmen and includes, always off-stage, the Mafia. (p.59)

How does knowing "what to do" with "who" manifest itself?

Perhaps the three most significant role-reciprocals for the

prostitute are: the police, clients and pimps.

The ability to properly categorize an unknown male who has shown interest in, and has approached, her, as either an undercover policeman (the "vice") or a legitimate client will determine the type of interaction the prostitute will engage in with the individual. In effect, she tests the legitimacy of the individual's overt appearance.

Winick and Kinsie (1971) describe such a legitimacy testing interaction:

It begins with her smiling pleasantly, but weakly at a potential client. She usually continues on her way and does not turn to see if he is following, but may glance into a store window to observe him while keeping a few steps ahead. She will be alert for a place to stop and chat unobtrusively . . . She will probably greet him cautiously: 'Hello,' 'Lonesome?,' 'How are you today?' . . . If the man responds, she will suggest where they might go . . . A customer or a streetwalker may ask the other, 'How would you like to do something?' The other will reply 'Okay,' and both will understand that they have made an arrangement for sexual activity for pay. (p.164)

Another example of legitimacy testing is provided by Hirschi (1962), quoting a prostitute explaining how she tries to detect whether or not a possible client is the "vice":

What you got to do before you begin to talk price with a trick is to feel all over his body to make sure he's got no gun on. Another thing's to make sure his hands are rough if he claims to be a worker. (p.36)

By employing techniques such as these, she is, in essence, attempting to make a probability estimate of the individual's legitimacy by correlating cues with expectations.

Once the determination is made that the individual is probably not the "vice," the nature of the interaction changes. While this matter will be further dealt with later in this section,

it is important to note that expectations relative to clients are often a function of the type of prostitution being performed (call girl, flat backer, streetwalker, etc.).

Stella, a high-priced call girl, writes: "A man spending this amount of money [\$75-\$100] expects deception and romance, as well as an orgasm" (Greenwald 1970:15). Or as another call girl has written "they want to take you out to dinner, want to talk to you; they want to mimic the behavior of lovers" (Millett 1973:48). At the other end of the spectrum, the streetwalker, the expectations of the client differ considerably in that little more than sexual access is anticipated. As one observer put it: "Those hos [streetwalkers] they brag about how they only take off one leg of their pantyhose and never get their hair messed" (Milner and Milner 1972: 159). Actually, to attribute this kind of behavior to all streetwalkers is not only doing them a disservice, but is not entirely accurate. What the individual streetwalker is willing to provide does vary, and those interested in building up a regular trade are likely to provide some atmosphere.

While the frequency of interaction with clients and police is high, there is a considerable amount of latitude in these interactions. Each prostitute develops her own style of detecting "vice" or soliciting clients. Interaction with pimps, however, is often substantially more structured. For example, being "out of pocket" (i.e., showing disrespect to a pimp not one's own) results in a fairly stylized set of behaviors that ultimately ends up with the offending prostitute being penalized. A fascinating and excellent example of the complexity of pimp-prostitute role expectations is

presented by Milner and Milner (1972) in which they describe the spatial arrangements in a bar frequented by both pimps and "working" prostitutes:

When both pimps and hos were present in a bar, the sexes would divide into territories. Prostitutes gathered in the section of the bar nearest the door, where they could easily be seen by the tricks [clients] while the pimps sat at the back of the bar. Only when members of one group were absent would members of the other group sit outside their usual areas . . . When a prostitute unfamiliar with the bar entered she was approached by two pimps who . . . assumed she was fair game. She quickly analyzed the social division of the room and moved to the 'ho' side where she was fair game only for tricks and off limits to the pimps. (pp.21-22)

Hirschi's Areas of Expertise

Hirschi (1962) delineated seven broad categories in which a prostitute must become proficient in order to "survive":

1. find customers
2. "sell" them
3. provide a suitable place in which to transact business
4. please the customer
5. collect her money
6. protect herself from disease, pregnancy and physical injury
7. avoid the police

It would be useful to elaborate on each of these skills to convey the wealth of information that must be acquired and to dispel the notation that what a prostitute does "comes naturally."*

Find Customers--This varies, of course, with the form of

*A belief often expressed even by prostitutes.

prostitution. A call girl, for example, often works through referrals either from clients or from others in the business (e.g., other call girls, madams, referral services). Bryan (1965), in a study of the apprenticeship of call girls, shows that one of the (unintended) functions of the training period is to provide the initiate with names of clients. However, for a call girl to simply wait around until called is not economically sound; consequently, she will often initiate calls to past clients or potential new clients in an effort to drum up business. Some will even go out on to the streets in order to acquire new customers.

For the prostitute who acquires clients by sampling among strangers through direct contact (i.e., in bars, hotels, street corners, truckstops, etc.) the act of "finding customers" requires even more knowledge. She must know in what locations in town she can "operate," not only in terms of whether the risk of getting arrested (as a result of a phone call to the police by an unsympathetic bartender, storekeeper or hotel desk clerk) is high or low, but also in terms of where potential "tricks" or "dates" (clients) are likely to be seeking prostitutes. For that matter, she needs to know the type of client she is likely to encounter in certain areas. In Sacramento, California (the location of this study), for example, there were three main "strolls" (areas where working prostitutes may be found), and each stroll has its own reputation and price range. If a woman is not willing to go below a certain fee for her services, then it would be unproductive to work in an area where the prevailing rate is below what she charges. Clients tend to be aware of both the reputations and prices of these strolls,

and thus frequent a stroll within their range. (In a somewhat related vein, it is interesting to note that one of these strolls has a reputation for robbing the client while he is engaged in a sex act; yet, despite this they return to the area repeatedly--often with the same outcome.)

In addition to knowing appropriate locations, the street prostitute must also know how to dress and present an appropriate appearance. She must be able to "advertise" the fact that she is a prostitute (especially if there are non-prostitutes around, such as in bars and hotel lobbies) while at the same time be able to merge with the crowd if she suspects the "vice" is lurking nearby.

"Sell" Them--Prostitution would appear to be a competitive business. Certainly when there are numerous women working a "stroll" the individual must offer something to initiate a transaction. Observation of a stroll reveals women dressed in a variety of styles; some in hot pants and halter top (despite the dictates of fashion and weather); some in fashionable pantsuits; some in grubby jeans. Conversations with streetwalkers suggest that many dress with the "john" in mind. Some feel it is good business to dress in a sexy and provocative manner; others feel a more conservative or sedate appearance is more effective because it conveys a sense of cleanliness and therefore is more likely to attract better paying clients. Still others feel that it does not matter what you wear, or for that matter what you look like--if a client is interested in the person, outward appearance is secondary. Supporting this belief is a comment from a former prostitute-drug addict, discussing the relationship between the two roles:

Prostitution goes with addiction. Because it's a means of supporting a habit. Something that'll sell when nothing else will. I don't think you ever get too sick or too ragged or too ugly or too beat up to turn a trick. There's always someone out there buying. (Millett 1973:116)

While this is probably true, in a competitive area she is not likely to do as well as others.

Essentially, "selling" is a matter of convincing a potential client to "select" a particular individual from among a multitude of competitors. Yet, there are limitations on what is considered appropriate. There tends to be a minimum fee scale within a stroll, for example, and going below the minimum can result in peer group pressure from the other working women.

For the call girl, having established contact with a potential client (whether initiated by her or by the client), she must convince him by phone that she is someone that he both wants and needs (particularly when she has contacted him). In effect, she must make herself desirable over the telephone.

Provide a Suitable Place to Transact Business--The place in which the sexual act occurs can range from the legendary splendor of a sumptuous brothel to a sparsely furnished "trick pad" containing little more than a cot and a curtain door in a cubicle. In fact, some street prostitutes do not offer any place, but rather provide their services in the client's car or room.

Not infrequently, a street prostitute will rent a room for the night and bring her "dates" to the room. Because her activity would invariably attract attention, it is usually necessary to select a hotel or motel that is "safe," in that the desk clerk is aware of what is going on. Of course, the desk clerk generally

gets a share of the action, either in a percentage of her fee, higher room rates, or occasionally, a "freebie" from her (i.e., sexual access provided at no charge).

Again, the concept of providing the customer with more than just sexual access arises, and the environment in which the interaction occurs is another aspect of the package. This is particularly important (though not, apparently, a necessity) if one is to build up a regular clientele.

Please the Customer--Under most circumstances, this is probably the most significant of Hirschi's areas of proficiency if the woman is to survive in the business.

"The ability of a girl to make money does not depend upon beauty, although that may be an asset. It depends entirely upon her ability to flatter and please men . . ." (Hirschi 1962:34). Or as quoted earlier, a client "expects deception and romance, as well as an orgasm" and that "they want to mimic the behavior of lovers."

Yet, as suggested above, what constitutes "pleasing a customer" is a function of what type of prostitution is being engaged in. The statements above are certainly applicable to a high-priced call girl. In addition, she must often be presentable so that the client's image is not "soiled" if he is seen in public with her.

As you go down the price scale, the "extras" become fewer until the bottom of the scale is reached and the client is merely purchasing sexual access for a minimum amount of time. While this sliding scale truism tends to apply to call girls and women in

brothels, it is less applicable to women on the streets and bars. As a rule, they depend more on high turnover and a minimal amount of time with the client. Perhaps the only "extras" additional money might buy are non-standard sex acts, a somewhat longer period of time or, for some women, sex without a "rubber." They do not have time for "mimicing lovers." This tendency to provide only sexual access is somewhat mitigated by the fact that some bar and street prostitutes do try and build up "regular" clients. This would seem to suggest that they must be providing the client with something more than the other prostitutes do--be it "love," cleanliness, trust, or appearance. Pleasing the customer can also range from meeting some elaborate sexual request (acting out fantasies, bondage, etc.) to merely having the ability to put the client at ease.

Stewart (1972) in his first of a series of participant-observation visits to a brothel in Nevada, describes one such "calming" experience:

When Colette came back into the room, I told her that I had never visited a brothel before and that I was unsure as to what I was supposed to do . . . She told me not to worry and to relax. She said she could see that I was very nervous, but that I wasn't to worry. Everything would be all right. . . . 'What do I do?', I asked. . . . 'Don't worry, honey' Colette replied, 'I'll take care of you. Just lie there and get raped.' (pp.268-269)

Collect Her Money--In actuality, there are two skills involved here; collecting her fee and keeping it.

Traditionally, the prostitute, regardless of the type of prostitution, receives her money "up front," that is, prior to performing a sex act. This generally occurs at the site at which

the sexual activity is to take place. For the bar and street prostitute it is usually a simple, non-refundable, business transaction; the money is requested after it is determined what sex acts will be provided and the money is given directly to her. In the case of a brothel, the fee is generally paid to whomever takes on that duty in the particular house although it is rarely the prostitute. Though the call girl too, usually requires her money "up front," the request for it must often be of a subtler nature so as not to diminish the illusion she may be creating.

The "up front" custom also dictates that the client does not get his money back regardless of outcome (dissatisfaction, failure to achieve orgasm, etc.). On the other hand, it is not unusual for the prostitute to try and get the client to spend more money, either for additional "activities" or for a longer stay with her, once the sexual encounter is underway. In this case, it is not always feasible to collect the additional fee until after the activities are completed.

Perhaps more difficult than collecting the money is keeping it. This is particularly true for women on the street or in bars. Unlike the call girl who can deposit her money in a safe place between appointments, or the women in brothels whose money is handled by a third party (assuming there is no need to collect for "extras"), the street prostitute usually returns directly to the same area where she was picked up by the client. To journey home would take too much time. As a result, she may accumulate the earnings of several encounters before she has an opportunity to deposit it in a safe place. (One function of a pimp is to make

the rounds of his women and to collect their earnings for safe-keeping.) Thus, these women must come up with places to hide the money on their person. One typical hiding place is in a shoe, though other places (wigs, pantyhose leg) are also employed.

Protect Herself From Disease, Pregnancy and Physical Injury--The extent to which a prostitute takes precautions against any one of these three problem areas varies with the individual. Checking for venereal disease is a practice found in all forms of prostitution though the efficacy of the procedures varies with the technique, knowledge, experience and type of disease. On this matter, Winick and Kinsie (1971) write:

For many years it has been routine for prostitutes to examine potential customers for a chancre as a sign of syphilis or for a discharge, which would be a clue to the possibility of gonorrhea. . . .
 . . . Some relatively naive prostitutes may not recognize the symptoms of gonorrhea and feel that it is 'just the whites' (leucorrhea). But others are so aware of venereal disease that they regularly take penicillin or other antibiotics and get frequent medical check ups. (p.63)

Again, Stewart's (1972) experiences at a brothel reveal some of what goes on in terms of disease control:

Colette told me it would be necessary for her to inspect me for venereal disease. She did so, manipulating me in a manner reminiscent of someone milking a cow. . . .
 . . . I asked Colette why she was doing that, following that particular procedure. She said she was checking for gonorrhea. That if I had gonorrhea, pus would come from my penis. . . .
 . . . Colette removed her bikini and went to the wash stand. She filled the plastic bowl with water and then turned, holding the bowl in front of her. What was she doing? 'Hold this,' she said. Unquestioningly, I got up from the bed, walked over to her, and took the bowl. . . . I held the bowl about on a level with my stomach. She smiled and told me to hold the bowl lower. Oh, I see. She was washing my genitals.
 (pp.266-268)

The manner in which the check for venereal disease is

performed, ranging from clinical to subtle and even suggestive, varies with the form of prostitution and the fee involved. For the high-priced call girl, who relies on building regular clients who may often be concerned about their own images, the acquisition of a venereal disease could be disastrous to her business. Thus, Greenwald's (1970) "elegant prostitutes" go to considerable lengths to minimize the chance of getting and transmitting venereal disease:

Many of the girls go for monthly check-ups to ascertain whether they have venereal disease, and some go to the length of getting prophylactic doses of antibiotics to prevent the possibility of contracting a venereal disease. (p.13)

Related to both disease prevention and birth control is the use of "rubbers" or condoms. Use of condoms also varies according to personal preference; some do not use them, relying instead on other forms of birth control and "knowledge" of venereal disease to protect themselves; some prefer to use them, but if the client is willing to pay more, then they will forego their use; some insist upon wearing them regardless of the incentives. Regarding this latter group, several of the women I interviewed mentioned using a technique (when a client insists on, and is willing to pay for, her not using a condom) whereby she covertly slips a condom into her mouth and under the pretext of starting the encounter off with oral sex (or performing oral sex as part of the paid service) puts the condom on the client without his knowledge.

Regarding contraception, Winick and Kinsie (1971) write:

The availability of reliable contraceptive information among prostitutes varies widely. Many believe that contraception is unnecessary because different strains of semen destroy each other. But other prostitutes do not share this belief, and there seems to be a considerable exchange of information

on anti-conception measures. Some prostitutes have even had permanent pessaries fitted. In recent years an increasing number of prostitutes have been using birth control pills. . . . Many prostitutes use an antiseptic solution for their hands. Some douche with bichloride of mercury, permanganate of potash, proprietary preparations, vinegar, or soap and water after each client. The desire for a douche is one reason many prostitutes do not like to work away from their established place of business. The vaginal suppository and diaphragm are used relatively infrequently . . . (p.61)

While the threat of physical injury is ever present for any type of prostitution, it is the streetwalker who is most prone to it. The call girl reduces the likelihood because there is often a screening or referral process involved. In a brothel there is usually some type of a security system established and help can be summoned by the discrete push of a button near the bed. The streetwalker or bar girl, however, will often get into a client's car or go to a place selected by the client. Even if the woman selects the place (such as a hotel room rented for the night) there is no guarantee that help can be summoned. Almost every streetwalker I interviewed relayed at least one "horror" story about a client that tried to (and often did) harm or rape her.

As a result of the street prostitute's vulnerability, various techniques have developed to help her cope with these dangers. Two women might use a buddy system, with one noting down the license plate of the car the other one gets into and if she does not return within a reasonable time, the buddy might notify someone (e.g., their pimp, police). Some street prostitutes will simply, as a matter of practice, refuse to get into a client's car (unless, perhaps, he is a well established regular) and either have a place within walking distance or have the client

follow her while she drives her own car. In addition, it is not unusual for a prostitute to carry some type of weapon, most often a sharp nail-file or a knife.

Interestingly, one of the reasons given by the streetwalker, as to why she has a pimp, is to provide her with protection. Presumably he is in a position to protect her from being harmed. However, because the pimp will not usually stay in the immediate vicinity of the stroll for extended periods of time (it scares away clients and increases the pimp's chances of getting harassed by the police), his effectiveness in this capacity is questionable. A related advantage in having a pimp is for protection from other pimps; that is, when a streetwalker is known not to have a pimp she will become the target of other pimps (and his girls) to join with him. Some women, who do not wish to work for a pimp, merely tell others when asked about their pimp, that they do have one and thereby avoid the potential for harassment.

For the most part, the prostitute must depend on herself for protection. Many of the women interviewed indicated that they must rely on their "instincts" and on their ability to talk their way out of life-threatening situations.

Avoid the Police--If "turning a trick" (completing a transaction with a client) is the most important aspect of the prostitution game, then avoiding the police would have to be a close second. In 1981, the Department of Justice reported that 73,621 women were arrested for prostitution and related crimes. (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1982) Of the women I interviewed who were asked if they either knew of, or heard of, any street prostitute never getting

arrested, all responded that they knew of none.

Though it seems inevitable, the attempt to avoid arrest is an important part of the prostitute's work. Depending on local laws and law enforcement methods, prostitutes develop techniques they believe effectively protect them or at least provide them cues that warn them that a person may be an undercover member of the vice squad (the "vice") or a decoy working in conjunction with the "vice." Some women, for example, look for visual cues--type of car, manner of dress, whether the person is nervous (hence, probably a client) or confident (hence, probably the "vice" or a decoy), age, etc. Some, on the other hand, based on the assumption that they cannot get arrested unless they actually state a price, will go beyond visual cues to make a determination. The prostitute may feel around the man to check for weapons, handcuffs or tape recorder; she may offer to let the man feel her breasts (on the assumption that "vice" or decoys are not permitted to do this); she may ask the man (while he is seated in his car) to expose himself (again on the assumption that "vice" and decoys will not do this); she may simply ask the man if he is a policeman (on the assumption that he is required to say yes if it is true); or she may ask for some type of identification, business card or other evidence to corroborate what he tells her.

Techniques vary, but as revealed during the interviews for this research, none of the methods seem to be foolproof, either because the assumptions are wrong or because (according to the interviewees), the "vice" or decoys exceeded their legal limits. Parenthetically, the feelings I gleaned from these comments

regarding these violations of limits was one of resentment, not so much for getting arrested, but rather because the police did not play fair. This feeling of resentment did not seem to be present when the woman clearly felt it was her own fault for being careless, as long as the "vice" or decoy played fair.

The prostitute also needs to be aware of the expectations of the uniformed police. The uniformed police, again depending on the local law enforcement policies, may have an "understanding" with the visible prostitutes (i.e., the streetwalkers) so that as long as the prostitutes play the "game" right (e.g., avoid certain areas, do not harass local residents, do not steal from clients, provide information), they will not be bothered by the uniformed police. In fact, it is not uncommon for a mutually beneficial relationship to develop so that the police may warn of individuals known to be going around harming prostitutes.

Of course, much of the above concerns the streetwalker, as well as the other types of prostitutes that deal directly with the public to solicit business.

Independent call girls, when acting strictly as such, are more immune in that they will generally work from referrals from known clients or other sources. Those who work through a referral service may depend on the service to screen out the police. Similarly, prostitutes in brothels are relieved of this concern as well, because the house operator generally has some method of screening visitors.

The situation varies in massage parlors in that in some places the "masseuse" does the screening, soliciting and collecting,

whereas in others, all the business is handled at the front desk.

Regardless of the form of prostitution (with the exception of the legal brothels in Nevada), no one is totally immune from arrest.

This concludes the examination of Hirschi's seven areas in which a prostitute must be proficient in order to function. Conspicuously missing from the list was any consideration of the pimp. As stated earlier, the pimp, police and clients are probably the most significant types of people with whom the prostitute must interact on a day-to-day basis.

The social milieu of the prostitute, as I have tried to convey, is a complex one; there are numerous skills and considerable knowledge required in order to function as a prostitute. Much more is involved than just providing sexual access or having a repertoire of sexual techniques. The sexual aspects of prostitution seem to play a relatively minor role in terms of the knowledge required; it is the numerous activities preceding and subsequent to the sexual act that comprise the bulk of the knowledge, skills and attitudes required of her.

II. SOCIALIZATION THEORY AND PROSTITUTION

Occupational and Societal Socialization

Among students of socialization, there is a tendency to divide the field between occupational and societal socialization. The former concerns the process by which an individual acquires the requisites of an occupational role, such as doctor, teacher, pool hustler, etc.; the latter deals with how an individual acquires the information necessary to function adequately in a culture, society or subculture. The distinction is not clear-cut because some occupations entail becoming part of a subculture or group which extends beyond the work aspects of the occupation, thus encompassing non-work aspects of the individual's life as well. This would certainly be the case for those prostitutes that fall under Jackman, O'Toole and Geis's (1963) category of "criminal world contraculture" in which their entire lifestyle is affected by their occupation. The criminal world orientation requires identification with the criminal world and a rejection of middle class values. In other words, it is a complete immersion into the subculture surrounding prostitution. Another orientation suggested by Jackman et al. is that of the "dual world" in which the person continues to maintain strong familial ties and middle class values, while rejecting all but the occupational aspects of prostitution. Presumably, a woman who has acquired a "criminal world" orientation has encountered a socialization experience different from a woman who has acquired a "dual world"

orientation--at least if they both originated from middle class backgrounds.

There is evidence to suggest that the shift for some women who live in low-income "ghettos" does not require acquiring an entire new set of values, but rather refining skills and values that already exist. Binderman, Wepman and Newman (1975), in a study of "The Life" ("a community where daily flow of interaction emphasizes the element of a contest, but with survival-hinged outcomes dependent on the outcome of the game" [p.219]) suggest that many of the members of the community already share a degree of the "criminal world" orientation in that here are "men and women engaged in the perpetuation of petty crime . . . and victimless crimes" (p.215). Their contention that women coming from a ghetto lifestyle have probably already acquired a good deal of the information and attitudes necessary to function in the prostitute's milieu suggests that socio-economic status may be an important variable to be considered. That is, a woman from a middle income background might require more extensive indoctrination than a woman who was raised in a situation paralleling or exposing her to at least some form of prostitution.

The "pure" dual world prostitutes are relatively few in number (to the extent that such assessments are quantifiable). Further, because they tend to maintain low profiles (i.e., are less apt to work the streets and hence considerably less subject to arrest), there is little data available on them other than some biographical sketches (e.g., Scarlet, 1972). The bulk of the research on prostitution would appear to focus on those women who

have acquired, to various degrees, a "criminal world" orientation, at least to the extent that their involvement in prostitution extends beyond merely the work aspects. They become involved in the milieu described earlier by Sheehy.

Nature of Subcultures

What does it mean to gain entry into a subculture? A useful concept, which relates indirectly to socialization, is offered by Valentine (1968) who maintains that a subculture, though distinct from the parent culture in certain respects, is nonetheless very much a part of the parent culture. It is not an isolated society within another society, but rather a variation (or "dialect," to use Valentine's analogy) of the society to which it belongs. Without a fair amount of similarity, "organized interaction or predictable relations" between members of the subculture and the larger society would be extremely difficult.

This view of a subculture is particularly appropriate in regard to the prostitute because not only must she interact with individuals within her subgroup (other prostitutes, pimps, bartenders, etc.), but she must also traverse these boundaries and interact with members of the "parent" group (e.g., clients, police, etc.).

As suggested above, the transition for some may be minimal, if as Binderman et al. maintain, there is already some similarity in the "life" and the social milieu of prostitutes, particularly streetwalkers. However, even for the woman coming from a middle class background, there is evidence to suggest that the transformation

is not to an entirely alien culture. According to Rosenblum (1975) "the transition from non-deviance to deviance within prostitution requires only an exaggeration of the situation experienced as a non-deviant woman" (p.169) and that "it is the call girl form of prostitution that stands as the clearest extension of the female sex role" (p.179). This is particularly true for the high-class call girl who generally comes from a middle class background.

Most necessary for the call girl's development of a stable, monied clientele is the ability to provide not just sex for a price but sex couched in a style comparable to that of the buyer. While some of those accoutrements can certainly be purchased, the importance of unselfconscious speech patterns, topics of discussion, and surroundings cannot be underestimated. The prostitute who is to successfully meet the demands of the more wealthy segments of society must be in a position to understand and fulfill even the most subtle of expectations. (p.172)

In both circumstances described above, where there is a shift from being a non-prostitute to being a prostitute within one's socio-economic milieu (i.e., lower class and middle class), those qualities that are brought to the role are either attitudinal or social (in the sense that one feels "comfortable" interacting within that milieu). Yet, this is not sufficient if the individual is to function within the more defined realm of the prostitute. One must still acquire additional skills and information, which the individual probably would not have had exposure to otherwise. Thus, while some of the individual's experiences and prior socialization may aid or ease the transition to the new subculture, it is not sufficient preparation. This also implies that crossing basic socio-economic lines (e.g., coming from a ghetto and aspiring to be a high-class call girl) may entail additional effort in that the skills required may go beyond the "technical" aspects of being a prostitute.

The Concept of Role Within the Subculture

To appreciate, as well as study, the necessity and consequences of adequate socialization, it is helpful to focus on the "role," which may be conceived of as the basic building block of a social system.

Role theory stipulates that each individual occupies (whether by intent or not) a position (or positions) within a social system and that associated with that position is a set of expectations or norms. These expectations are the basis for defining what an occupant in a position may appropriately initiate toward the occupant of a similar or different position and what the occupant of the other position may appropriately initiate toward the occupant of the first position. Basically, these mutual expectations of a position constitute a role (Deutsch and Krauss 1965).

From a role theory perspective, the prostitute is expected to conform to prescribed rights and obligations in relation to the other types of roles she encounters as a prostitute (e.g., client, pimp, police). These are her role-reciprocals. Perhaps the prostitute's most significant role-reciprocal is the client, for without the client, the role of prostitute would be meaningless. As exhibited in the earlier discussion of the kinds of information the prostitute must know, there are numerous role-reciprocals and for each of these there is a set of expectations.

The nature of the prostitute's role would seem to be a function of her orientation (criminal world or dual world) and her mode of operation (streetwalking, call girl, etc.). A streetwalker, for example, might never encounter a madam, or any of the other

individuals generally associated with a brothel. A call girl, particularly a high-class type, may never have to deal with a pimp (though this is not always the case). A woman who spends her entire career working in a legal brothel (such as in Nevada) may never deal with, or even know how to deal with, the vice squad. Once again, the situation is more complex than it would seem. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to have said: The nature of the prostitute's role is a function of her orientation and her mode of operation at the time. This qualification is necessary because switching between modes does occur (though there is a tendency to stay within a particular mode). A call girl may solicit in bars, when business is slow, in an effort to build up her trade (WNEW 1973) though Rosenblum (1975) reports that according to the high-class call girls in her study, this is seen as crude. Some of the women interviewed in my study indicated that they would periodically travel to the legal brothels in Nevada, and then return to their regular mode of operation, street hustling. The significant point here is, not only is the role a function of orientation and operation, but that the expectations relative to the various role-reciprocals vary as well. Thus, the same prostitute, when functioning in the capacity of call girl, will initiate interaction with a potential client in a very different manner than she might if she decided to try her luck on the streets or in a bar. Parallel differences exist for the client as well, whose expectations of the prostitute are also a function of the mode of operation. Even locations influence expectations. Certain "strolls" have reputations, and clients apparently seek out prostitutes knowing this fact. There

are exceptions to this, in that transients may not be aware of the stroll's reputation, and fiscal restraints may preclude a client from going elsewhere. In general, it would be fair to say that these mutual expectations are acted out at the time of contact.

While many of the expectations alluded to are often subtle aspects of behavior (e.g., a client may be somewhat nervous, the "vice" tend to be overconfident and in a hurry), they also take on larger qualities such as some of the stereotypic attributes that prostitutes associate with ethnic groups. Many of the women I interviewed, both black and white, stated emphatically that they would not "date" (have as a client) a black man; and though some of the white women admitted that this stemmed from prejudice on their part, most indicated the belief that black men were often troublesome--either because they might not pay them, might rob them, or would just want to spend too much time with them. Interestingly, one white prostitute I interviewed claimed that she did a lucrative business "dating" black men. Her explanation was most business-like; the area she was working at the time (Oakland, California) was near several military installations. Many of the men looking for prostitutes were black (which is apparently somewhat unusual for most strolls) and she figured it was just not sensible to turn down a potential client simply because he was black. She preferred to judge each potential client as an individual, rejecting those she was suspicious of (either because she thought they might be "vice" or just troublesome) and "dating" those she felt were safe.

The importance that role expectations play in interaction

cannot be overemphasized. In any given encounter, according to Weinstein (1969), continued interaction is contingent upon the ability to successfully assess a "situation" (i.e., "all stimuli present in an encounter at any given time which are potentially meaningful" [p.755]) in order to establish role identities (and hence expectations) for guiding behavior. Related to this is the ability to "take the role of the other" so as to predict how the other will react to an action by the self. Underlying the capacity to "take the role of the other" is the ability to entertain "multiple perspectives" and the ability to be sensitive to "cues." This, Weinstein defines as the capacity to select out from all of the stimuli available in a situation, the cues relevant to inferring how the other is defining the situation.

While the ability to maintain multiple perspectives correlates positively with intelligence (according to Weinstein) and as such, is a given, cue sensitivity can be altered and consequently is an area in which socialization can have an impact.

An example of how cue sensitivity is increased during the socialization of a prostitute is provided by Hirschi (1962), as a prostitute reflects back on how she learned to detect undercover policemen:

I learned plenty: like what you got to do before you begin to talk price with a trick is feel all over his body to make sure he's got no gun on. Another thing's to make sure his hands are rough if he claims to be a worker. (p.36)

Perhaps Goffman (1959) best describes the sociological significance and interplay surrounding the individual in a social situation:

When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him or to bring into play information about him already possessed. They will be interested in his general socio-economic status, his conception of self, his attitude toward them, his competence, his trustworthiness, etc. Although some of this information seems to be sought almost as an end in itself, there are usually quite practical reasons for acquiring it. Information about the individual helps to define the situation, enabling others to know in advance what he will expect of them and what they may expect of him. Informed in these ways, the others will know how best to act in order to call forth a desired response from him. (p.1)

A Framework for Analyzing Socialization

Inkeles (1968) states that for a society to function it must have role differentiation and assignment; shared modes of communication; goals and orientations; and regulation of choice of means, emotional expression and disruptive behavior. These attributes would seem to be applicable to the subculture of the prostitute as well. As previously demonstrated, there are a multitude of roles surrounding that of the prostitute. That a shared mode of communication exists, at least in the form of specialized jargon, has been noted and studied by Mauer (1939) and Gagnon (1968). Evidence of goals and orientation among members of the subculture has been substantiated by Bryan (1966) in his study of call girls. Shared goals and orientations, though not the focus of their studies, have been found in the works of Rosenblum (1975) in her study of call girls; Bryant and Palmer (1975) in their analysis of massage parlor "hand whores"; Gray (1973) in her study of teenage streetwalkers; and Heyl (1975, 1977) in her study of house prostitutes.

Heyl also details a number of areas in which the trainer at the brothel devotes time regarding behavior of the novices,

particularly toward co-workers. The pimp, police and client also act to structure emotional expression and behavior.

To achieve this functioning social system, Inkeles has identified four broad categories of socialization methods:

1. exposition of the expected--"Society makes its most concentrated effort to influence socialization through direct instruction" (p.94). Thus, an individual is told how one should be, or what one should do. Not only are expected behaviors expressed directly, but they may also be passed on through folklore, anecdotes and jokes. An example of exposition of the expected is found in the autobiography of a pimp, in which he is instructing a relatively new prostitute on what to do prior to going out on the streets:

Now listen carefully. I want you to work nothing but the street. Stay out of bars. Don't drink, smoke gangster [marijuana], or use anything while working. Your skull [mind] has got to be sharp and clear out there. Otherwise you could lose your life, and almost as bad, my scratch [money]. (Iceberg Slim 1969:115)

In addition to the more obvious means of direct instruction, there are other ways in which it may occur. In acquiring the language of the prostitute, socialization is aided in that the way in which an individual learns to classify one's environment will define one's social nature and thus be incorporated into their way of thinking and acting (Elkins and Handel 1972:46). Gagnon (1968:59) writes that the argot of the prostitute is "highly value laden and, in and of itself constrains the neophyte into patterns of actions and beliefs." In addition, Moore (1969:879) maintains that language acquisition "serves to identify and exclude and thus confirm occupational identity." That is, it fosters group cohesiveness.

2. explicit training--This entails the actual instruction and demonstration of a technique or behavior to be performed (whereas exposition of the expected concentrates more on ideals and values or generalities). This can occur at an intended overt level, such as a trainer purposely setting out to instruct a trainee in some task, or it can occur in a covert fashion, such as through modeling, or what Bandura (1969) labels the "identificatory process." In this process, an individual "patterns his thoughts, feelings or actions after another person who serves as a model" (p.214). These models, in turn, exhibit "the accumulated cultural repertoires in their own behavior" (p.213). Bandura goes on to explain that "the complex repertoires of behavior displayed by members of society are to a large extent acquired with little or no direct tuition through observation of response patterns exemplified by various socialization agents" (p.213) and that factors such as sanctions, fear and salience operate to enhance or retard the modeling process.

An example of overt, explicit instruction is found in Heyl's (1975) description of the training of house prostitutes:

In teaching fellatio, Ann describes in detail, and often demonstrates--using a banana--the movements of the head and tongue and the techniques of breathing during the act. (p.7)

Bryan (1965) reports, in regard to the training of call girls, that while direct teaching seems to be uncommon, the "bulk of whatever learning takes place seems to take place through observation" (p.294).

Another apparently common technique used during training is that of the "double date" in which both the trainer and the novice conduct business with a client. While specifics vary, it

provides an opportunity for both direct, overt instruction as well as observation and modeling by the novice.

3. sanctions as a direct means of socialization--

For instruction to be effective, it must be supported by a system of rewards and punishments. Sanctions are an essential underpinning of society's efforts at formal instruction. The mere allocation of sanctions among different acts constitutes a declaration of society's intent and sets a standard which will affect the individual regardless of whether or not he, himself, receives the punishments or rewards specified by the system. (Inkeles 1968:100)

A crucial assumption made by Inkeles concerning sanctions is that individuals tend to select a course of action that they believe will "maximize reward and minimize punishment." However, given that many of the behaviors performed by the prostitute and positively sanctioned within her subculture are the very same behaviors that are often subject to negative sanctions within the dominant culture, it would seem to be necessary to resolve the apparent conflict of the reward/punishment axiom if we are to accept sanctioning as part of the socialization process. That is, if performing as a prostitute results in negative sanctions by the dominant culture (e.g., getting arrested, harassed, going to jail) then why do these sanctions fail to deter women from continuing in that occupation?

There appear to be at least two types of explanations. One explanation is that the benefits of being a prostitute within her subculture exceed the costs of being a prostitute in the eyes of the dominant culture. A second explanation lies in the fact that during (or perhaps prior to, depending upon the individual's socio-economic background) the training period, her values change

such that what may be seen as a significant negative sanction (e.g., being in jail) no longer has the same significance (e.g., "it's part of the game"; "it happens to everyone").

Bryan (1966) in his study of the ideologies and attitudes of call girls found that initially there are certain attitudes shared among novices that do aid in the transition:

It seems reasonable to assume that such ideologies serve a variety of purposes for both the individual prostitute and her related audiences, and do so with varying importance over time . . . [T]he myth of man's exploitative nature suits not only the economic aspirations of the novice, but also those of her trainer. The belief that women are hypocrites and that prostitution provides a valuable social service may not only reduce moral conflicts, but serve additionally as a defense against public stigma. (p.448)

Therefore, given the conflict between the dominant culture and the subculture, it is still possible to accept the fact that the act of sanctioning in one milieu may not have the intended effect in another milieu. Consequently, it is possible to accept the role of sanctioning in the socialization process.

Sanctioning, within the subculture of prostitution, exists in many forms. Each of the prostitute's role-reciprocals has the potential for producing both positive and negative sanctions (as does she to them). A client may provide a substantial "tip" if pleased, or, if appropriate to her mode of solicitation, may become a "regular" and perhaps even tell his friends about her. (Having regular clients, or having new clients with reliable "references," is a boon because it reduces her chances of arrest or the likelihood of encountering a client that may harm her.) Conversely, if she robs a client, she may find herself the object of a vendetta. (All of which leads to a very unclear topic, that is, what is it that a

client wants from a prostitute? One thing does seem certain; it goes beyond just, or sometimes, even sex. Winick [1962] delineated 19 categories which clients used to describe their perceptions of prostitutes and the clients' reasons for going to prostitutes. Sexual activities, per se, did not appear to be a significant reason, though the type of partner, e.g., someone different than the individual they normally have sex with, was significant. Even in the course of my interviews, as mentioned previously, there appear to be men who seem to repeatedly set themselves up to be robbed and, not infrequently, by the same prostitute. Whether or not this situation, as described by the interviewed prostitutes, is accurate or rather just a way of justifying it in their own minds, is not known. At any rate, accounts abound of men who do spend time and money on prostitutes without any intention of engaging in sex with the prostitute.)

The pimp, too, when there is one, serves as a source of sanctioning. While the mass media is filled with accounts and depictions of the pimp beating up his women (which does happen), he is also the source of positive sanctions for the prostitute as well. He may buy clothes and/or drugs for her, take her places, show her off, etc., (no matter that this is all done on the money she has earned) and he can be a friend, lover and/or legal aid, as long as she stays on good terms with him. (The role and function of the pimp appears to vary considerably. For some pimps, the prostitute is strictly a business property; for others, the line between business partner and living/sexual partner is not very distinct.)

A third role-reciprocal of considerable sanctioning potential is that of the police. But even here, the obvious sanctioning structure is not the only one that exists. At least in the region under study in this research, behavior vis-a-vis the uniformed police in patrol cars ("black and whites") is acted out very differently than behavior vis-a-vis the "vice." In general (but subject to prevailing political pressure), the uniformed police tend not to harass those women who are "respectful" to them and who have a friendly attitude toward them. The reward for "appropriate" behavior is not getting arrested or harassed, and in fact, can also result in cooperation by the police when a prostitute encounters a life-threatening situation.

The "vice," however, though occasionally a rapport is established, tend not to befriend the prostitutes. The interaction between the two take on the quality of a game in which one tries to outsmart the other. The positive sanctions for the prostitute comes from avoiding arrest or by "beating" the charge, whereas getting arrested and going to jail constitute examples of negative sanctions.

There are a myriad of role-reciprocals relative to the role of prostitute, each of which, in their own way, serve as sanctioning sources. Other prostitutes encountered by a novice fall into this category, as do taxi drivers, bellhops, bartenders, etc. The point to be made here is that sanctioning does play a vital part in the socialization process and that these role-reciprocals are therefore a part of the process.

4. retraining--Inkeles cites this as the fourth and last

category in his socialization framework. While this is a valid category in terms of societal socialization, its relevance to subcultures is less significant. To some extent, entrance into prostitution constitutes one form of retraining; similarly moving from one type of prostitution to another might be conceived of as retraining. However, because it is necessary to utilize the other three categories in order to accomplish this one, it does not seem to be useful to pursue retraining as a unique category.

Inherent in the three categories described above: exposition of the expected, explicit training and sanctioning, is a one way information flow--that is, information is transmitted from the trainer to the trainee, either overtly or covertly. Even in terms of modeling behavior, it is the action acted out by the model (trainer) that is transmitted to the novice. What appears to be lacking in the above framework is recognition of the fact that the novice is capable of acquiring knowledge and skills on her own, often by trial and error, by observing her effect on others.

Gray (1973), in her study of teenage streetwalkers in Seattle, writes:

Although nearly all began without any training, approximately two-thirds of the girls reported that later they were explicitly briefed by the pimp or another prostitute in how to wash the customer, check him for venereal disease, and get him to wear a condom. But even then, only about one-third reported ever being instructed in other specific techniques, such as watching for cops, guarding against pregnancy, picking up customers, or locating trick houses. They learned these things by trial and error on the job. (p.413)

A role-reciprocal can serve as an agent of socialization without even being aware of doing so. By observing behaviors over time, the novice prostitute can acquire information about different

types of people, and as a result, appropriately respond to them. In this form of socialization, she is seeking out information rather than merely acting as a repository for information. To what extent this activity occurs at a conscious level is not clear, but it does seem to be an integral part of the socialization process. For our purposes, this phenomenon will be termed "implicit training."

While Inkeles' framework is useful, some modification is necessary for the purposes of this research. That is, what is required is a more explicit definition of the processes involved regardless of the contents. Thus, though Inkeles' terminology is used, there are some slight changes in the meaning of the terms. In addition, while "retraining" is not used, the concept of "implicit training" is incorporated.

Consequently, the four mechanisms that provide the basis for approaching and analyzing the socialization of role behavior in prostitutes are:

1. exposition of the expected--in which the information is generally conveyed verbally
2. explicit training--whereby the intent to convey information is done by some form of demonstration
3. implicit training--whereby the recipient surmises information based on observations not intended to be transmitted
4. sanctioning--in which either negative or positive rewards are used as a reinforcement to the learning process

Furthermore, a behavior by an agent of socialization may include more than one mechanism in a single action. In the case of a pimp explaining to a novice what it is she is supposed to do, he may employ exposition, explicit training and sanctioning as well.

Finally, as a means of placing the various socialization elements into a larger theoretical framework, Sutherland and Cressey (1974) offer the theory of "differential association" to explain the "process by which a particular person comes to engage in criminal behavior" (p.75).

Basically, "differential association" maintains that criminal behavior is learned, and that a person becomes a criminal because of contacts with criminal patterns and isolation from anti-criminal patterns. That is, an individual "inevitably assimilates the surrounding culture unless other patterns are in conflict" (p.76). Thus, a criminal subculture promotes criminal behavior and attitudes in excess of the degree to which the dominant (law-abiding) is able to maintain prevailing non-criminal behavior and attitudes. Sutherland and Cressey also contend that the behaviors and attitudes are learned (using all of the mechanisms typically associated with learning), and that the learning process generally takes place through interaction within intimate personal groups.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Sociological literature on the subject of prostitution has not been prolific. Of what has been written, only a very small portion, either explicitly or through inference, deals with the issue of socialization. This review focuses upon the few studies that deal directly with the socialization of prostitutes.

Perhaps the earliest study of the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes by novice prostitutes was conducted by Bryan (1965, 1966). His research concerned itself with the "induction and training" of call girls. Bryan characterizes this process as an "apprenticeship" period. He writes that this period of time:

. . . seems to consist of two broad, inter-related dimensions one philosophical, the other interpersonal. The former refers to the imparting of a value structure, the latter to 'do's' and 'don'ts' of relating to customers and, secondarily, to other 'working girls' and pimps. (1965:291)

(It is interesting to note the parallel between Bryan's "philosophical" and "interpersonal" dimensions and the mechanisms of socialization described by Inkeles: exposition of the expected and explicit training.)

Most often, according to Bryan, the apprenticeship is served under the direction of a more experienced call girl, though on occasion, a pimp may serve as the trainer. The "classroom" is generally an apartment. The average apprenticeship period was reported to be two or three months, however, some ran as long as eight months.

While Bryan does describe the types of information conveyed (e.g., how to solicit by phone, how to relate to a client, how to check for VD, etc.), not much is revealed on the techniques used to convey this information. (He does mention that "eavesdropping" on interactions, followed by a critique, is one technique employed by the trainer.) Finally, Bryan does conclude that the "bulk of whatever learning takes place seems to take place through observation."

In 1973, Gray published a study of teenage prostitutes which dealt with why particular women become prostitutes. A considerable portion of the study also dealt with the "turning out" (training) process as well. Gray writes:

The girls reported little or no training period prior to their first act of prostitution. However, some received minimal supervision during their first few weeks on the streets. These juveniles required very little skill and training to carry out an act of prostitution. Generally they were able to engage in their first act without any job-related briefing. They operated on the basis of the informal information acquired up to this point in their life through association with others in, or on the periphery of, prostitution. (p.4)

In addition, as quoted in an earlier section, Gray maintains that two-thirds of her interviewees eventually received some training, generally minimal, and that only one-third received any training beyond the basics. She attributes their learning largely to "trial and error." Consequently, while Gray downplays "training" in the "turning out" process, it seems, from a socialization perspective, that she underestimates the dynamics involved. In fact, it could even be argued (as this paper is trying to demonstrate) that an extensive, even structured, amount of information acquisition takes place. The various role-reciprocals of the "turn-out"

act as socialization agents and they use a variety of techniques (explicit training, sanctioning, etc.) in addition to the novice's use of implicit training (through "trial and error") to accomplish this.

A study specifically aimed at the techniques of training was published by Heyl (1975, 1977). In this work, the trainer was the madam in a brothel.

Her description of the activities of the madam during the training process (generally of women with no previous experience as prostitutes, which according to Heyl is unusual because most madams prefer more experienced trainees) demonstrates the fact that many competency areas need to be covered. Heyl reports that the topics include: the physical and psychological aspects of various sexual techniques, hygiene, grooming, house rules and "client management" ("hustling"). Heyl writes that Ann (the madam):

. . . considers teaching hustling skills her most difficult and important task. In spite of her lengthy discussion on . . . the rules and techniques for dealing with the customer sexually, Ann states that it only takes a few minutes to 'show a girl how to turn a trick'. . . .
 . . . To be adept at hustling, the woman must be mentally alert and sensitive to the clients response to what she is saying and doing and be able to act on those perceptions of his actions. (p.549)

As for methods used for conveying this information, Ann apparently would demonstrate techniques, engage in extended conversations, and stress, as in the above quote, the reliance on the novice's perceptions.

Verlarde (1975), in his study of massage parlor prostitution, also considers some of the elements involved in the socialization process. Unlike most forms of prostitution, the typical

novice masseuse, at least in Verlarde's study, is naive to the fact that she will be engaging in sex acts. Further, the owner of the parlor generally withholds this information in order to avoid arrest for "soliciting a woman to perform a lewd act." Instead, the owner relies on the client to broach the subject, and the novice, confronted with the solicitation must make a decision to either perform a sex act for pay or reject the offer. If she chooses to perform it, then apparently, she must learn her skills on the job. Unfortunately, beyond describing this initial act of socialization, Verlarde does not further detail subsequent activities suggesting how the masseuse acquires additional information.

Essentially then, this comprises the literature that deals directly with the socialization of prostitutes. None, it should be noted, attempt to quantify any aspects of the process.

Throughout the remaining literature on prostitution, occasional mention or inference to elements in the socialization process are made. These references are cited at various points in this study.

IV. METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

Research Objectives

There are two primary objectives to the research presented here. One objective is to gain greater insight into the socialization process experienced by the prostitute. In particular, the focus is on the mechanisms that constitute the socialization process. That is, what are the sociological factors that are present in the prostitute's milieu that enable the socialization process to occur? The concern here is on the mechanics of the process rather than the results of the process.

The second objective is to move research on the socialization of prostitutes in a quantitative direction. In my review of the literature on prostitution, particularly in regard to socialization, the researchers used either "semi-structured and employed open-ended questions" (Bryan, 1965, 1966) or a "relatively open-ended, unstructured interview" (Gray, 1973), or observation and conversation (Heyl, 1977; Verlarde, 1975). These studies, while useful in obtaining some sense of the dynamics involved in the socialization process, do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis. As a result, comparisons between studies are severely limited. Comparisons require some form of measurement, even if it means only having the ability to rank significant factors.

To achieve these two objectives, an interview schedule (described in detail below) was developed that incorporated both

close-ended and open-ended questions. The close-ended questions were designed to provide the data necessary for producing a quantitative measure of the socialization process. The open-ended questions were incorporated for several reasons. First, because the research in this area has been sparse, these questions provide a means for capturing potentially relevant information not anticipated by the close-ended questions (and thus possible candidates for inclusion in future studies of this kind). In addition, they provide a method for examining the outcomes of the socialization process. While this latter consideration is not a primary issue in this research, it does provide some indication of the efficacy of the process. Finally, the responses to these questions provide a context for interpreting the quantitative results.

The Focus on Street Corner Prostitutes

While the preceding discussions on the socialization of prostitutes examined all forms of prostitution, the specific focus of this research is on prostitutes that work the streets. There are several reasons for this focus.

From a sociological perspective, the street prostitute functions in a role that, both in terms of variety and frequency, deals with a greater number of role-reciprocals. As Bryan (1965) points out, in making a comparison between call girls and street-walkers:

In fact, it is reasonable to assume that the complexity of the job confronting the street-walker may be considerably greater than that confronting a call girl. The task of avoiding the police, sampling among strangers for potential customers, and arrangements for completion of the sexual contract not only

require different skills on the part of the street-walker, but are performances requiring a higher degree of professional 'know how' than is generally required of a call girl. (p.296)

Further, the socialization of call girls has already been studied by Bryan (1965, 1966) as has the socialization of brothel prostitutes by Heyl (1975). The socialization of street prostitutes, however, is an area that has not been well documented.

Due to resource limitations, the scope of this study was further refined to street prostitutes in the Sacramento (California) area. The type of prostitution employed by women in this area is actually a variation of the more traditional form of streetwalking in that they do not do much walking, but rather, are available on street corners and are propositioned, almost exclusively, by people in cars. In Sacramento there is little of the traditional form of streetwalking, probably because there is not a great deal of pedestrian traffic in the areas where prostitution has flourished. Soliciting in bars does exist, and a call girl business also prevails, but the vehicular mobility of clients (and most everyone else) has minimized the need for the traditional streetwalker. Instead, a two block area in an older residential area of the city was the primary place one goes to in order to "pick up" a prostitute. The area, known as "4th and T," has served as a "stroll" since 1965. Prior to that the major Sacramento "stroll" existed, from the time of its inception in 1849 (during the California gold rush) until 1965, in an area now referred to as "Old Sacramento." However, when faced with massive urban renewal and restoration projects, the prostitutes shifted the "stroll" to "4th and T." The new area was ideally suited for street corner prostitution in that

the streets that run the length of the two blocks were one way (in alternating directions) thus providing a circular flow of traffic without the inconvenience of having to deal with clients driving in two different directions. In addition, several of the homes within the immediate area provided "trick pads" which a number of the prostitutes used for completing the "sexual contract."

A further refinement necessitated by limited resources narrowed the selection of interviewees to those women in jail on prostitution and/or prostitution related charges. This decision resulted from the fact that in order to obtain at least fifty, one and a half hour interviews, it would have been prohibitively expensive to attempt to pay these interviewees for their time (especially if it meant compensating them for time away from their customers). Furthermore, I felt there was a certain degree of methodological risk involved in putting myself in the position of paying a prostitute for her services (albeit verbal rather than sexual). It seemed that there may have been too great of a temptation for her to tell me what I wanted to hear. A voluntary, non-payment situation seemed preferable.

The Interview Setting

Following the administration of four preliminary interviews to pre-test both an interview style and questionnaire, 56 women were individually interviewed (from February 1979 to February 1980) at the Sacramento County (California) jail (Rio Consummes Correctional Facility, Women's Detention Center). Interviews were voluntary and the only criterion for selection was that the person was either

currently (at the time of incarceration) working as a prostitute or had, in the past, worked as a prostitute.

Each interview was conducted in a private room with only the subject and myself present. Smoking was permitted and the kitchen staff provided coffee for both the interviewee and me. Hence, the interview took place in an environment that provided both privacy, quietness and a relative degree of comfort. Prior to beginning each interview, I introduced myself, asked if they were told what I was doing (providing further explanation if requested), and then conveyed to them that a) if they felt uncomfortable discussing something to simply tell me and I would go on to something else and b) that I did not want to know the names of people we might discuss. Finally, I explained that anything they said would be confidential and that I had no way of linking the interview schedule with their names. Again, the intent was to provide a reasonably "safe" environment.

On a few occasions, I was asked (during the interview) whether some of the things they spoke of would be repeated to the authorities--to which I reassured them it would not--and this seemed to satisfy them. On even fewer occasion did any of the interviewees decline to discuss a subject.

Despite my attempt to try to make the interview situation as comfortable as possible, I still wondered how I was being perceived. Was I a "necessary evil" that they had to put up with, perhaps "encouraged" by the correction officer who served as my liaison? If so, how might this influence their willingness to respond openly and truthfully? Part way through my interviewing

(which took place over several months because I could only interview on weekends and subject availability was such that I tended to average two to three interviews per time on the weekends that I was able to conduct interviews), an interesting incident occurred.

I had made my usual Friday afternoon call to my liaison, who told me that she had not been able to find anyone willing to talk to me that weekend, though several women, who qualified as subjects, had arrived since my last interview session. However, she suggested that I call back the next morning to see if there was any change. When I did call on Saturday, she told me that there were several women (four to five, if I recall correctly) who were now willing to talk. The reason, she explained, was that one of the women I had previously interviewed had been recruiting for me!

This event suggested to me that my efforts to provide a "comfortable" and trusting setting were successful, and that hopefully this reflected on their being open and truthful with me.

The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule (Appendix A) consisted of two parts: 14 open-ended questions and seven sets of multiple response questions. In addition, some minimal demographic data was collected.

The open-ended questions were structured with the intent to obtain as much information as possible regarding their initial experiences and feelings upon making the transition into the role of prostitute.

The open-ended questions, and my rationale for asking them,

were as follows:

1. What did you know about prostitution before entering the business?

With this question I probed to determine whether they had any friends or relatives in the business (who may have served as role models) or whether they may have had any special exposure beyond typical media contact or general awareness. Was prostitution something that existed in their neighborhood or prevalent among peers at school? In essence, I was looking for evidence of prior socialization.

2. How did you get into it?

While this probably paralleled the classic question asked of most prostitutes by clients and others ("How did a girl like you get into a business like this?") and responded to with a heart rendering response, what I hoped to ascertain were those individuals that were instrumental in the transition--those individuals that participated in the early stages of socialization. To a lesser degree I also was looking for factors that provided impetus for taking on the role.

3. Describe, in detail, the first time you worked.

With this question I stressed to the subject that I was not interested in intimate sexual details (again to reduce the potential for an uncomfortable situation), but rather was interested in the people that were involved, how did it come about, where did it occur, how did they feel during all of this, was she alone, under someone's guidance, or did she "double" (i.e., accompanied by another prostitute). Here too, my concern was for

determining what factors seemed operant during the early stages of her socialization.

4. Recall in as much detail as possible, the training that took place before this first time.

Here the issue of training is openly addressed. At this point I began probing for details in terms of the content of the socialization messages. What kinds of things were taught? This question allowed me to specifically ask questions about structured knowledge acquisition as perceived by the subject. (It is interesting to note that often, after my introductory explanation as to my research interests--i.e., how they learned what they need to know in order to function as a prostitute--a frequent response was that "it comes naturally.") In addition, the "methods" of conveying these messages were also broached.

All of the above questions were designed to approach the notion of relevant role-reciprocals that existed at the time of entry into prostitution as well as determining the methods by which they were conveyed (implicit/explicit training, etc.)

5. General information on 4th and T Streets, how did you start working there? Do you drink or take drugs when you work?

This question served several purposes. If the individual "turned out" (was initiated) at 4th and T, then this question further enhanced information about the initial socialization period. If the subject "turned out" elsewhere and later came to 4th and T, then I hoped to gain some insight into such transitions. How much knowledge is transferable from one situation to another? Does one acquire certain skills and knowledge that related to

making the transition?

The question regarding drugs and drinking was an after-thought added at some point after the interviews were in progress, and consequently, not asked of all subjects. The rationale for inquiring arose when it occurred to me that the skills and knowledge acquired by a person would only seem functional if one is able to adequately perceive one's environment and assess cues. If one is "stoned" or drunk, to what extent would socialization matter? I was attempting, by this question, to get a feel for the prevalence of prostitutes on the street who may not be at their perceptual best.

6. What techniques do you use for soliciting?

My intent with this question was twofold. To some extent I was looking at outcomes of socialization and presumably consistent patterns. More importantly, the question served as a "confidence" check on the overall validity of the study. I wanted to see the extent to which their responses correlated with my own, independent, observations of behavior on 4th and T.

7. When working, how do you dress and why?

As with the previous question, the general intent was to seek outcome patterns and verification.

8. Describe other training periods during your career--such as when moving to a new place, or changing styles (e.g., call girl to street hustler).

The rationale for this question was to provide information on retraining, which might not have been covered in question 5. It also provided some indication of the geographic mobility (or lack

of it) experienced by prostitutes. Part of my probing included asking what they would do when they arrived in a new area, unfamiliar to them.

9. Describe the training of others.

Here the focus was on the interviewee as a transmitter of knowledge, in terms of message and method. It also provided a different perspective on the role played by the prostitute in the socialization of other prostitutes. Further, it was intended to provide insight in to what she perceived as being essential attributes of her role.

10. Can you recognize another prostitute? How?

My reason for asking this question was to get some indication for the extent to which the individual perceives, and can identify, cues associated with the role of prostitute. I phrased the question such that it asked if recognition could occur in a non-work setting (thus avoiding such responses as "if she's standing in that area she must be a prostitute").

11. How do you try to avoid getting arrested?

Once again similarities in outcomes of socialization were sought. Do similar beliefs prevail among similar types of prostitutes (i.e., street corner prostitutes)? How much information regarding this aspect of their behavioral repertoire did they acquire and how valid and useful is it?

12. If arrested, how did it come about? How many times have you been arrested on prostitution related charges? (Do you know, or ever heard of, any prostitute who has never been arrested on a prostitution related charge?)

This question, which also evolved somewhat during the course of the interviews, served several functions. Initially, by means of the first questions, I was attempting to assess "on-the-job" socialization--information that is acquired through experience or "trial and error." I particularly focused on the first arrest; what went wrong with what they thought they knew (about avoiding arrest) and what actually took place. The question regarding number of arrests I originally believed might provide a measure of the degree to which socialization was adequate--that is, I assumed that the more successful the socialization the fewer the arrests. However, in the process of doing the interviews, it became apparent that in high visibility prostitution (such as that of the street corner prostitute) there are too many other factors influencing this outcome. The third question, which, like the one on drinking and drugs, was added after the interviews had started. The reason for its addition arose out of concern for the appropriateness of the sample I was using. Were these 56 women I was interviewing a valid sample for making inferences about other street corner prostitutes? I reasoned that if it turned out that a substantial number of those queried indicated that they did know of other prostitutes who were never arrested on prostitution or prostitution related charges, then it would be difficult to make the argument that the sample was representative. It might even suggest that there was some factor in their socialization that separated those who get arrested from those who do not get arrested. Conversely, if a substantial number reported that they did not know of another prostitute who had never been arrested, then I could feel more

confident that the sample was representative--at least for Sacramento street corner prostitutes. The result of this question, as well as a more detailed discussion of this study's generalizability, will be discussed in a later section.

13. Do you recall having discussions with others about whether it was right or wrong to go into the business?

This question represents an attempt to assess some of the "ideological" aspects of socialization discussed by Bryan (1966) in his study of call girls. In addition to volunteered responses, I also directed it to conversations between other women and/or prostitutes in jail.

14. How do you feel about prostitution now?

The intent here was to get an indication of "satisfaction" with her current role. Also, as above, it was another way of addressing the issue of "ideologies."

The second part of the interview required giving specific responses to a set of multiple response questions. Having determined that there appear to be seven categories of socialization agents, a series of questions were asked concerning each category. The series of questions related to seven areas of expertise (closely paralleling those of Hirschi) which seem essential.

The seven categories of socialization agents are:

1. Pimps

The pimp is often seen as an individual responsible for providing a means of aiding the prospective prostitute into entering the business. Presumably, he is responsible for instructing her in where, what and how to perform. Similarly, as discussed

earlier, he may be a prime source of both positive and negative sanctions.

2. Other Prostitutes

For the street prostitute working a "stroll," varying degrees of interaction with other prostitutes working the same area is not uncommon. In fact, a pimp may have several women working for him, in which case, considerable interaction ensues. This is further enhanced when one of the women is assigned the role of "bottom woman" in which she functions as a type of foreman of the group. Then too, there is the situation, as described by Bryan (1965), where an experienced prostitute is given the task of "training" a novice.

3. Clients

Though the client does not normally take on the task of instructing the novice, if one considers the "implicit training" described in an earlier section, that is, the ability of the novice to acquire skills through observation on her part, then it would seem the client has the potential for being a source of socialization. Further, considering the salience of the role of the client to the prostitute (without him she could not function) the potential could be considerable.

4. Mass Media

Given that television, movies, books, magazines and newspapers periodically deal with the subject of prostitution, in both fiction and non-fiction forms, and that a large proportion of this society is exposed to some of these mediums, it seems reasonable that the women interviewed have been exposed, at least to some

extent, to this material. While no causality is necessarily suggested here, the inclusion of this category is an attempt to determine the degree to which the interviewee is aware of acquiring information from these media.

5. Judicial System

This is a rather broad category, and is meant to include the full range of the system--police, lawyers, judges, etc. All of the women participating in this study, by virtue of the fact that they are in jail (though not all of them have been convicted yet) have had some experience dealing with the judicial system.

6. Procurers

This potential source of socialization is not one as likely to be encountered by all prostitutes, and even when it does happen, can occur in different forms. The "madam" of a brothel would qualify as one example, as would someone who arranges "dates" for call girls. In the earlier description of a training session conducted by "Ann" (Heyl [1975]) the extent of the madam's role as teacher is quite evident; hence, the inclusion of this category.

7. Others

In general, this category is a "catchall," and the examples given during the interview were usually bellboys in hotels/motels and cab drivers. While those in these lesser roles are part of the social milieu of the prostitute, it is not clear as to what extent, if any, they are perceived by the prostitute as being sources of information.

For each of these seven categories, the same set of seven questions were asked. The questions focused on the types of

activities that are necessary for the prostitute to function. While they are somewhat similar to the activities mentioned by Hirschi, they are directed more to socialization concerns rather than occupational ones. The questions, and the rationale for their inclusion, are:

1. Did you ever learn anything about dates* from [the socialization agent], such as how to approach them, things to look out for, or where to take them?
2. Did [the agent] ever teach you anything about things like what to wear, where to stand, places to go--or not to go (things about working)?

These two questions concerned themselves with whether the socialization sources were responsible for imparting knowledge regarding the "finding" of clients--things necessary, essentially, to initiating social interaction. That is, how to make oneself "visible" and available, and then how to establish contact with a prospective client. In the subsequent analyses, these areas are referred to as initial client interaction, and work milieu, respectively.

3. Did [the agent] ever teach you anything about how to avoid getting arrested?

This question, as is apparent, attempts to get some indication as to the extent to which the various socialization categories contributed to the novice's knowledge regarding the topic of arrest avoidance (as it will be referred to in later analyses).

*The term for "client" at the time and place of this study.

4. Did you ever learn from [the agent] about how to handle dates once you were with them?

Assuming the person approached is legitimate and that an agreement is reached to provide sexual access, the next area of competence, and hence this question involves knowledge acquired regarding behavior once the prostitute is with the client. This area is referred to as client interaction.

The remaining questions deal with learning competencies concerning other significant role-reciprocals in the prostitute's life: the pimp, the procurer and other prostitutes she may encounter.

5. Did [the agent] ever teach you how to act toward pimps? (pimp interaction)

6. Did you ever learn anything about having someone set up dates for you from [the agent]? (procurer interaction)

7. Did you ever learn anything about the other girls at 4th and T from [the agent]? (other prostitute interaction)

For the last question, in the event the respondent worked a different stroll, that area was substituted in the question.

For each of the seven questions, two responses were requested. The two responses, and the choice of answers were:

Would you say you learned _____ about this?

- a. a lot
- b. some
- c. very little
- d. nothing

How did you learn?

- a. through demonstration

- b. from talking
- c. figured it out for yourself
- d. from sanctions applied

The second response was coded by the interviewer based on the interviewee's reaction to the question. If multiple responses were given, then multiple codes were used. If, for example, the respondent said: "He would tell me what he wanted me to do--and sometimes he would hit me if I got it wrong . . ."--then both the "talking" and "sanction" codes would be checked.

The demographic data collected was intentionally kept at a minimum for several reasons. First of all, it was felt that only absolutely necessary questions should be asked and, because the focus of this research is on the socialization process (i.e., the events occurring external to the prostitute, individually or collectively), the usual demographic questions (such as education, family, socio-economic status, etc.) did not apply. Items included were:

1. ethnicity--used primarily as a means for determining the extent to which the interviewed population resembled the street population
2. current age/age at time of becoming a prostitute--used to determine the length of time the person has been a prostitute as well as start age; both used as variables in determining differential socialization patterns
3. location of initial experience as a prostitute--used to determine the generalizability of the Sacramento experience with that of other street prostitutes

V. ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter presents an in-depth examination of each "agent" or "source" of socialization and the methods associated with the source. Thus, it will be remembered that seven "agents" or "sources" of socialization were identified (pimp, other prostitutes, clients, mass media, judicial system, procurers, and "others"). These "sources" were not just limited to types of people or roles (e.g., pimp) but also included institutions as well (e.g., judicial system, mass media). The "other" category, during the course of the interview was defined as "bellboys," cabbies" and "hotel clerks."

It was also suggested earlier that there were seven areas in which the prostitute should be competent in order to be able to function "appropriately." These areas of competence, and the mnemonic used to refer to them in subsequent portions of this analysis are:

ICC	Initial Client Contact
CI	Client Interaction
PI	Pimp Interaction
AA	Arrest Avoidance
PRI	Procurer Interaction
WM	Work Milieu
OPI	Other Prostitute Interaction

Finally, it was suggested that the socialization sources convey information regarding the areas of competence by using one

or more of the following methods:

1. Exposition
2. Implicit Training
3. Explicit Training
4. Sanctions

Before examining each source in detail, however, it might be useful to consider some general results.

Characteristics of the Interviewed Population

The average period of time that the interviewed women performed as prostitutes was 6.0; the range extended from less than one year to 25 years. The average age at which they became prostitutes was 17.02, with one reporting that her first act of prostitution occurred at age 11 (46.4 percent indicated that they "turned out" at 16 or less years of age, 39.3 percent reported starting between the ages of 17 and 19, while 14.3 percent stated that they were at least 20 years old when they started). The oldest reported starting age was 27. At the time of the interviews, the average age of these women was 23.02; the youngest being 18 and the oldest being 39. (Anyone younger than 18 would not have been a part of the interviewed population because they would have been in the custody of the juvenile authorities.)

Ethnically, 51.8 percent were Caucasian, 41.1 percent were Black, and 7.1 percent were Hispanic. In view of the fact that the determination of ethnicity was made on the basis of observation by the interviewer, there is the possibility of some error in judgement.

In terms of initial "turn out" locations, 26.8 percent started

in Sacramento; the remaining 73.2 percent started elsewhere.

General Findings

By applying a weighted score to the responses regarding areas of competence (see Appendix B for a detailed explanation) it was possible to generate a composite score which reflected the extent of influence by the source of the competency area. Consequently, the higher the score, the greater the influence.

The table below depicts the actual total scores for all areas of competence for each source as well as the percent distribution among the sources.

TOTAL COMPOSITE SCORES FOR
EACH SOCIALIZATION AGENT

<u>Agent</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Pimp	367	17.7%
Other Prostitutes	629	30.2
Clients	540	26.0
Mass Media	57	2.7
Judicial System	190	9.1
Procurers	122	5.9
Others	<u>174</u>	<u>8.4</u>
Total	2,079	100.0%

While it is probably not surprising that the first three categories (pimp, other prostitutes, clients) account for nearly three quarters (73.9 percent) of the information acquired by the prostitute during her socialization, it is interesting to note the

extent played by the client in the socialization process. Typically, in both scientific and popular literature, the pimp (as well as other prostitutes) are identified as having the major roles in socializing the street corner prostitute. The data here suggest, however, that it is the other prostitutes with whom the novice associates, as well as the clients she encounters, that account for more than half of the information she acquires (56.2 percent).

The data generated from the composite scoring system also provide a method for dealing with the issue of generalizability of the findings. While the interviewees were street corner prostitutes (at least at some point in their careers), the focus was on those working 4th & T streets in Sacramento. Not all of the subjects "turned out" at that location, or even in the immediate geographical area. By examining the socialization experience of those who did "turn out" at 4th & T with those who "turned out" elsewhere, some sense of the generalizability of this data can be formed. The table below compares the percent distribution of the total composite scores for "4th & T" and "non 4th & T" prostitutes.

COMPOSITE SCORE AS A FUNCTION
OF "TURN OUT" LOCATION

<u>Agent</u>	<u>4th & T</u>	<u>Not 4th & T</u>
Pimp	18.6%	17.3%
Other Prostitutes	33.6	29.0
Clients	27.4	25.4
Mass Media	0.2	3.7
Judicial System	8.8	9.3
Procurers	3.3	6.8
Others	<u>8.1</u>	<u>8.5</u>
	100.0%	100.0%

Thus, even in comparing two different turning out experiences, at least in terms of location, the general rankings of the relative contributions of each source remain the same. Interestingly, the pimps contribution varies by only slightly more than a percentage point (1.3). Other prostitutes and clients account for 61.0 percent and 54.4 percent, respectively, for 4th & T and non-4th & T turnouts.

This comparison suggests the basis for making the claim, with some assurance, that the data presented here is generalizable to more than just the Sacramento area.

A final consideration that should be addressed is the nature of the quantitative data being presented. Essentially, what is being measured is the frequency of occurrence. That is, how often an event took place in the aggregate. However, it does not capture the quality of the event (either on the individual or aggregate level). Both admonitions and physical abuse, for example, are treated equally as sanctions. While this might be construed as a limitation, it must be remembered that the focus of this study is an examination of a process--how it occurs, and less so an analysis of what is being transmitted in the process.

Analysis of Individual Socialization Agent Categories

I. Pimp

As the composite score indicated, the pimp accounted for 17.7 percent of the street corner prostitute's socialization, which makes it the third most influential agent in her acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Table 1.A. provides an indication of which areas of

TABLE 1

PIMPS AS SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

A. Distribution of Information Acquired From The Pimp

<u>Competency Area</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Initial Client Contact	16.1%
Client Interaction	15.5
Pimp Interaction	22.9
Arrest Avoidance	13.1
Procurer Interaction	3.3
Work Milieu	19.3
Other Prostitute Interaction	9.8
	100.0%

B. Socialization Methods Of The Pimp

<u>Method</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Exposition	70.0%
Explicit Training	15.0
Implicit Training	6.3
Sanctions	8.7
	100.0%

competence the pimp was useful in providing information to the prostitute.

Not surprisingly, the area of competence which the pimp stressed most was that of dealing with pimps, himself as well as other pimps. This was followed by an emphasis on the prostitute's work milieu, which according to the literature, as well as comments elicited from interviewees, concerns topics regarding clients and police. This is substantiated by the fact that these categories of competency also received percentage ratings within three points of each other (suggesting fairly equal coverage and hence concern on the part of the pimp). Somewhat surprising, if one accepts literary and scientific literature, is the relatively low score for the competency area of "other prostitute interaction," though this may have been somewhat skewed by the focus on 4th and T streets. Typically, the pimp is responsible for defining the rules governing behavior among the prostitute's "stable sisters" and, secondarily, to other prostitutes the novice may encounter. However, because most of the pimps in the 4th and T area are generally "small time" operators (i.e., engaged in pimping on a part-time basis and usually with only one or two prostitutes) they may be less concerned about this matter.

The low (3.3 percent) score on "procurer interaction" is no doubt a reflection of the fact that most of the interviewees had no contact with individuals acting in that capacity.

Another quantitative picture of the pimp's role can be seen in Table 1.B., in which the method of socialization is compared.

Of those interviewees having pimps (80.4 percent), exposition

was perceived by them as constituting, by far, the major method of socialization. That is, most of the information was imparted through conversation containing instructions on what and how to accomplish things. Other forms of instructions, such as demonstration or modeling (explicit training) and figuring things out on her own through observations on her part (implicit training) ranked fairly low (15.0 percent and 6.3 percent, respectively). Application of sanctions (either negative or positive), according to the interviewee's perceptions, also constituted a relatively small amount of the training. Of course, this last category, as dealt with in this research, is subject to debate. No distinction is made between negative and positive sanctions. Further, it is conceivable that just a few severe threats or beatings (which some of the women interviewed did report), though possibly few in number, may have been more than adequate to accomplish its purpose.

II. Other Prostitutes

This category of socialization agent appeared to be the most significant in the socialization process of the street corner prostitute. Again, a comparison of the competency areas is provided in Table 2 as well as a breakdown of the methods used by the agents.

With the exception of procurer interaction, the other prostitutes encountered by the interviewees provided information in all of the competency areas. No one area was rated exceptionally high because information from this source was fairly well distributed. Somewhat more information appears to have been shared in the areas concerning clients and police, yet almost as much was conveyed regarding the work milieu, interaction with other prostitutes and

TABLE 2

OTHER PROSTITUTES AS SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

A. Distribution of Information Acquired From Other Prostitutes

<u>Competency Area</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Initial Client Contact	20.9%
Client Interaction	19.7
Pimp Interaction	11.3
Arrest Avoidance	17.2
Procurer Interaction	3.7
Work Milieu	14.8
Other Prostitute Interaction	12.4
	100.0%

B. Socialization Methods Of Other Prostitutes

<u>Method</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Exposition	55.4%
Explicit Training	22.7
Implicit Training	21.1
Sanctions	0.8
	100.0%

dealing with pimps.

As can be seen by the data on methods used in socializing, acquisition of information through conversations constituted the largest method, and accounted for slightly more than half of the socialization process. However, demonstrations and the ability to observe other prostitutes (explicit training) as well as the opportunity for implicit training accounted for much of the remaining information acquisition. In view of the time spent together on the streets between "dates," the predominance of exposition is not unexpected. Similarly, the opportunity to observe other prostitutes during this waiting period, or accompanying them on dates (during their early novice periods) provides the individual with the chance to see what others experience.

III. Clients

The client, which the general data portray as the second most potent socialization agent for the prostitute, is particularly interesting not so much for the fact that he plays such a significant role, but rather that he provides information regarding a number of competency areas. Table 3 shows the concentration areas and the methods employed by the client.

One would expect the prostitute to learn a great deal of information about clients from clients, and indeed, almost half (48.8 percent) of what she acquires from the client does concern the client. Further, it is reasonable to postulate that she can infer a lot about arrest avoidance from clients in that the better she becomes at recognizing legitimate clients the better she may become in distinguishing between clients and police decoys posing

TABLE 3

CLIENTS AS SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

A. Distribution of Information Acquired From Clients

<u>Competency Area</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Initial Client Contact	21.5%
Client Interaction	27.3
Pimp Interaction	6.1
Arrest Avoidance	14.4
Procurer Interaction	0.2
Work Milieu	17.2
Other Prostitute Interaction	13.3
	100.0%

B. Socialization Method Of Clients

<u>Method</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Exposition	30.9%
Explicit Training	7.5
Implicit Training	61.6
Sanctions	0.0
	100.0%

as clients. However, it is somewhat surprising to find that clients also impart information regarding the work milieu and other prostitutes. Interviewees did report that it was not unusual for clients to talk about other prostitutes.

Paraphrasing, in regard to information relating to pimps, two asides are noteworthy. Almost invariably, when the subject of clients and pimps arose, the interviewee would state that it was not unusual for the client to ask if the prostitute had a pimp. Most of the women indicated that they would tell him that they did not have a pimp (regardless of whether it was true or not) because they felt it was bad for business. (Either the client might fear the pimp showing up or that the client might be willing to pay more, believing that the money was only going to her.) The act of figuring this out about the client may explain at least some of the 6.1 percent rating received by the pimp interaction category. That is, by observing the client's reaction to various statements by her regarding her pimp, she may have concluded what she felt was an appropriate way to act--thus gaining this information by means of implicit training (although the client was not overtly, or intentionally, responsible for the training).

Suggestive evidence substantiating knowledge acquisition through indirect means is supported by the table showing the distribution of socialization methods (Table 3.B.). Implicit training accounts for 61.6 percent of the knowledge acquired by the prostitute from her client. Another example of implicit training relating to the client is dress style. Many interviewees mentioned that they dress, in effect, according to what they believe the client wants.

Judging from the variety of dressing styles, however, there does not seem to be much consensus on the client's perceived tastes in dress.

An additional 30.9 percent of the information is gained through conversational means--and judging from comments made during the interviews, this usually means relaying information about sexual activities, their likes and dislikes, to the prostitute. In fact, there is anecdotal evidence suggesting that when a prostitute is a novice, the client is happy to give advice.

Explicit training plays a small role for this socialization agent. Here too, training of this type is likely to revolve around sexual interests. That sanctions were not indicated at all is somewhat strange, particularly in view of the fact that many of the interviewees, at some point during the interview, made mention of incidents in which they were either threatened or hurt by the clients and, as a result, became more cautious of who they would date. While this would seem to constitute a form of knowledge acquisition and sanction application, apparently it was not perceived as such.

IV. Mass Media

While it is clear that, according to the data collected here, the role of the mass media appeared to have the least amount of influence (in a quantitative sense) in the socialization process, it is perhaps reasonable, retrospectively, to understand this in light of the questionnaire. All of the other "agents" of socialization being presented represent people with whom the prostitute actually deals with--many on a frequent basis and often with outcomes of some salience (getting paid, getting arrested). By comparison, exposure to and influence by the media is a relatively insignificant event

(though some did recall, by name, movies or books regarding prostitution, that they had either seen or read). In spite of the low response to this category some interesting findings emerge from the data on the mass media. (See Table 4)

Of what little was acquired from the media, knowledge concerning clients seemed to be the highlight. Similarly, information regarding pimps and the work environment (particularly news reports concerning their "stroll") was also supplied by the media. Little information, however, was gleaned from the media regarding arrest avoidance, or dealing with other prostitutes and procurers.

An analysis of the data on the media's role is further complicated by the fact that several women mentioned that what is portrayed on television or in the movies is unrealistic. Perhaps the fact that they were willing to accept information regarding the client may be due to the fact that of all the competency areas being focused on, portrayals of clients were the least unrealistic. Further, as the socialization methods distribution shows, about 76 percent of the information acquired was inferred (i.e., by implicit training) so that actually, rather than learning things directly, they came to their own conclusions, or came up with their own ideas. Of course explicit training, the method usually believed to be the media's strongest influence, also is evident here.

V. Judicial System

As the category suggests, this is a somewhat inclusive label which takes into account anyone connected with the criminal justice system including, but not limited to, uniformed police, vice squad, decoys, lawyers, etc. In reality, however, it appears that the

TABLE 4

THE MASS MEDIA AS SOCIALIZATION AGENT

A. Distribution of Information Acquired From The Mass Media

<u>Competency Area</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Initial Client Contact	28.1%
Client Interaction	29.7
Pimp Interaction	15.8
Arrest Avoidance	5.3
Procurer Interaction	3.5
Work Milieu	15.8
Other Prostitute Interaction	1.8
	100.0%

B. Socialization Methods Of The Mass Media

<u>Method</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Exposition	2.4%
Explicit Training	21.4
Implicit Training	76.2
Sanctions	0.0
	100.0%

bulk of the socialization was provided by either uniformed police or vice squad (and decoys).

Not surprisingly, respondents indicated that the largest amount of information (40.6 percent) acquired from this source dealt with the competency area of "arrest avoidance." Table 5 shows this and the extent to which other areas were enhanced by this socialization agent.

Not anticipated is the fact that the women also reported that 22.6 percent of the content pertained to "initial client contact." However, if one recalls that the respondents also indicated that 14.4 percent of the information acquired from clients related to "arrest avoidance," then this percentage of information regarding "initial client contact" does fit. As several prostitutes mentioned, as they gained increasing experience, either by direct interaction or through conversations with others, they believed themselves to be more proficient in distinguishing between legitimate clients and decoys (or vice squad). This also ties in with the high "arrest avoidance" score, although in addition to acquiring better skills at discerning legitimate clients, they also reported that they would also acquire information from uniformed police regarding anticipated crackdowns by the vice squad. The uniformed police were also sources of information regarding dangerous clients known to be preying on prostitutes (which probably explains part of the 16.3 percent regarding the prostitute's milieu). Similarly, information regarding other prostitutes was occasionally obtained from uniformed police.

As an aside, it might be mentioned that some of the

TABLE 5

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AS SOCIALIZATION AGENT

A. Distribution of Information Acquired From The Judicial System

<u>Competency Area</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Initial Client Contact	22.6%
Client Interaction	2.6
Pimp Interaction	3.2
Arrest Avoidance	40.6
Procurer Interaction	2.1
Work Milieu	16.3
Other Prostitute Interaction	12.6
	100.0%

B. Socialization Methods Of The Judicial System

<u>Method</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Exposition	67.5%
Explicit Training	1.0
Implicit Training	30.5
Sanctions	1.0
	100.0%

interviewees indicated that it was mutually beneficial to establish a working rapport with the police, especially the uniformed police who patrolled the area. By answering questions (albeit minimally) regarding investigations, the police would provide them information regarding troublesome or dangerous clients or they would help them if a prostitute was being harassed. Not all of the prostitutes, however, were willing to be cooperative and this led to the possibility of harassment by the police.

Acquisition of information by means of conversation accounts for more than two-thirds of how knowledge was transmitted from this source to the prostitute. Slightly less than the remaining information was obtained through inference, in which the prostitute "figures out" something on her own based on observations of the socialization agent. At first, it is likely to strike one that this seems to be an inordinately large amount of information to be passed on directly to the prostitute through conversation with police, but the sum total of all of the information emanating from this source only constitutes 9.1 percent of all of the information acquired by the prostitute. (Further analyses of relative contributions will be examined in a later portion of this paper.)

VI. Procurers

As with pimps, not all of the prostitutes interviewed had been involved with procurers. In fact, only 53.6 percent indicated some experience with a procurer--defined here as either a madam or anyone that set up "dates." As it turned out, because the women interviewed were basically street prostitutes, some of whom would periodically work in either legal (in Nevada) or illegal brothels,

none indicated that they had another person arranging dates (at least on any regular basis) for them. Consequently, the data in Table 6, in effect, refers to house madams as socialization agents.

More than half of the information imparted by the madams concerned dealing with the client, and of that, nearly two-thirds (65 percent) focused on interaction with the client after the initial contact. Given that building up clientele is an important consideration in a brothel, it is not surprising to find the madam concentrating on this area of competency. The second most significant area of focus was the work milieu--the brothel, in which rules regarding deportment, interaction with others in the brothel, and procurers ranging from handling money to personal safety are conveyed. Heyl's (1975) study of a madam's instructions to a new recruit support these findings.

As might be expected, "arrest avoidance" was not a topic receiving a great deal of discussion. Either the brothel was legitimate, and hence not concerned with police interference (at least on prostitution charges) or, in the case of an illegal brothel, the prostitute was insulated from having to decide whether a potential client was a bona fide client or the vice squad. Someone else, such as the madam, would perform this function.

One would expect that the area of "other prostitute interaction" would have received more attention. Indoctrinations have traditionally included instructions on proper behavior toward other prostitutes in the brothel. It may be, however, that these rules and regulations were perceived by the interviewees as falling under the "work milieu" category.

TABLE 6

PROCURERS AS SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

A. Distribution of Information Acquired From Procurers

<u>Competency Area</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Initial Client Contact	20.5%
Client Interaction	37.7
Pimp Interaction	8.2
Arrest Avoidance	0.8
Procurer Interaction	4.1
Work Milieu	27.9
Other Prostitute Interaction	0.8
	100.0%

B. Socialization Methods Of Procurers

<u>Method</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Exposition	65.5%
Explicit Training	22.2
Implicit Training	3.7
Sanctions	8.6
	100.0%

In terms of the methods employed, this is the only other socialization agent, in addition to the pimp, to receive such a high percentage in the sanctions category. Of course, as noted earlier, there is no way to know the nature or direction of the sanctions, and so a strict comparison to the pimp is not possible. Yet, judging from the interviews, it does not seem likely that there was an abundance of positive sanctions. In fact, several of the interviewees described life in the legal brothels as being "jail-like" because of the rules, regulations and environment.

The primary method employed by this socialization agent is exposition. Once again, the material by Heyl (1975) substantiates this finding as well as the fact that demonstrations are also used (which account for 22.2 percent of the techniques applied in this study).

Given the low percent attributed to implicit training, it would appear that socialization within a brothel is fairly structured and that there is little room for the novice to be creative. Perhaps this too contributes to the "institutional" atmosphere mentioned above.

VII. Others

While this is a category that was intended to be general in order to accommodate any unique socialization agent, most interviewees reported cab drivers and hotel/motel personnel (e.g., bellboys, most often) as the "others." Data for this agent appear in Table 7.

In view of the fact that individuals in this category play a relatively minor role in the daily routine of the prostitute, it is interesting to note that, as a category, "others" ranked higher

TABLE 7

"OTHERS" AS SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

A. Distribution of Information Acquired From Others*

<u>Competency Area</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Initial Client Contact	38.6%
Client Interaction	5.7
Pimp Interaction	2.9
Arrest Avoidance	21.8
Procurer Interaction	4.6
Work Milieu	17.8
Other Prostitute Interaction	8.6
	100.0%

B. Socialization Methods Of Others*

<u>Method</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>
Exposition	81.5%
Explicit Training	13.0
Implicit Training	4.6
Sanctions	0.9
	100.0%

*Hotel/motel personnel, cab drivers, etc.

than "procurers" and "mass media" as a source of socialization. Of course, the fact that not all of the interviewees had occasion to deal with procurers partially explains the low ranking received by them, yet it may well be that individuals in the category of "others" contribute more to the socialization process than is generally believed.

As one might expect, the greatest contributions occur in areas in which the "others" are most likely to have knowledge. Bellboys, in particular, are in a position to pass on information about potential clients, advise when the vice squad may be in the area, or who among the hotel/motel personnel are aware of what she is doing (and thus, who to avoid). Contact may also involve "pay-offs" to these individuals, either in the form of money or by means of free sexual access to the prostitute.

Though not quantifiable from the data presented here, it did appear, based on the interviews, that cab drivers did play a considerably lesser role than the hotel/motel personnel. Occasionally, they would bring clients to the stroll area and sometimes they would serve as conduits of information regarding events in the neighborhood. (It was interesting to observe that, while the interviewees played down the role of cab drivers, their frequent presence in the stroll area was apparent. Perhaps there is more to this phenomenon than the interviewees are willing to admit.)

The primary means used by these socialization agents was exposition (81.5 percent). While it is not surprising that information is transmitted by conversation, of greater interest is that 13 percent of the information was conveyed by explicit training.

Presumably this refers more to socialization passed on by hotel/motel personnel rather than cab drivers, but there is no concrete evidence to support this contention.

Comparison of All Socialization Agents

Having examined each socialization agent individually, further insight into their contribution to the socialization process can be gained by looking at them collectively. Table 8 compares all of the socialization agents and the extent (in percentages) to which they contribute to each of the competency areas.

Two sets of data are provided. The upper level indicates percentages across the rows; the lower level lists the percentages down the columns. From this information, one can tell not only the extent to which a topic is covered by a particular source, but one can also judge the degree to which that source contributes to that competency area (relative to the other sources). For example, 29.7 percent of the information received from the mass media dealt with client interaction, yet this information only constituted 4.2 percent of all the client interaction information acquired. Thus, the table provides an additional perspective for putting the source's contribution into context.

For the pimp, the major focus of his instruction to the novice appears to be regarding interaction with other pimps (PI) and similarly, of all of the information the novice obtains concerning this subject, the largest portion (38.5 percent) comes from the pimp. On the other hand, whereas the topic least dealt with by the pimp concerns procurers (PRI), it nonetheless constitutes almost

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF ALL SOCIALIZATION AGENTS FOR ALL AREAS OF COMPETENCY

<u>Agent</u>	<u>ICC</u>	<u>CI</u>	<u>PI</u>	<u>AA</u>	<u>PRI</u>	<u>WM</u>	<u>OPI</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pimp	16.1%→	15.5	22.9	13.1	3.3	19.3	9.8	100.0%
	12.9%↓	14.0%	38.5%	13.6%	21.8%	19.5%	15.9%	17.7%
Other Prostitutes	20.9%	19.7	11.3	17.2	3.7	14.8	12.4	100.0%
	28.8	30.5	32.6	30.6	41.9	25.7	34.4	30.2
Clients	21.5%	27.3	6.1	14.4	0.2	17.2	13.3	100.0%
	25.3	36.3	15.1	22.1	1.8	25.7	31.7	26.0
Mass Media	28.1%	29.7	15.8	5.3	3.5	15.8	1.8	100.0%
	3.5	4.2	4.1	0.8	3.6	2.5	0.4	2.7
Judicial System	22.6%	2.6	3.2	40.6	2.1	16.3	12.6	100.0%
	9.4	1.2	2.8	21.8	7.3	8.6	10.6	9.1
Procurers	20.5%	37.7	8.2	0.8	4.1	27.9	0.8	100.0%
	5.5	11.3	4.6	0.3	9.1	9.4	0.4	5.9
Others	38.6%	5.7	2.9	21.8	4.6	17.8	8.6	100.0%
	14.6	2.5	2.3	10.8	14.5	8.6	6.6	8.4
Total	22.1%	19.5	10.5	17.0	2.6	17.4	10.9	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

a fifth of the information on procurers acquired by the prostitute.

"Other prostitutes," unlike any of the other categories, has five competency areas (ICC, AA, PRI, WM, OPI) in which it is the prime provider of information. (Actually, there is a tie with "clients" for WM.) This is particularly interesting in regard to the competency area of procurer interaction (PRI) because, while it only makes up 3.7 percent of the information covered by other prostitutes, they are, by far, the greatest source for knowledge in this area. In addition, initial client contact (ICC) is the topic most covered by this agent and, it is also the largest source of information regarding the topic.

Predictably, client interaction (CI) is learned more from clients than any of the other agents of socialization and it is also the topic most covered by clients. Not expected is the fact that clients vie equally with other prostitutes as to the largest source of information regarding the work milieu (WM). Furthermore, clients are the second greatest source of information on other prostitutes, contributing almost as much (quantitatively) as other prostitutes. Here again, the issue of quality and content of information differentiates the client and other prostitutes as sources. Judging from conversations, the information supplied by other prostitutes in this matter can be fairly broad, while the client supplies fairly limited information. (Typically, a client might compare one prostitute to another or mention whether he liked or disliked a particular prostitute.)

Generally speaking, the aforementioned agents seem to be the primary sources of information in all of the competency areas.

In the remaining cases, even though certain areas may have received considerably more attention than other areas, they still did not prove to be the major contributors. This is particularly true in the case of the "judicial system" in which 40.6 percent of the information acquired dealt with avoiding arrest (AA), yet other prostitutes were seen as being the most significant source and clients were seen as a source almost as valuable as the judicial system (in spite of the fact that neither other prostitutes nor clients provide nearly as much information on this topic in comparison to other topics).

Table 8 also provides insight into the concept of the "thoroughness" and "adequacy" of an agent. As defined here, adequacy refers to the extent to which a particular source deals with a particular area of competence whereas thoroughness refers to how many areas of competence are covered by a source (regardless of adequacy). In effect, these two criteria represent attempts to get a sense of how pervasive a role each agent plays. Thus, as the table depicts, even though a competency area may receive considerable attention by a source, the relative amount of information acquired from that source (in comparison to the other sources) may be relatively small. Similarly, even if an agent is responsible for the novice having acquired a great deal of information in a particular area, what is the relative worth of that agent, compared to others, if the information is limited to one or a few competency areas?

It is possible to develop a simple measure of thoroughness and adequacy, based on the average (mean) percentages and standard deviations contributed by each agent to all of the competency areas.

That is, an average based on the lower level of each agent's scores on Table 8.

The ranking, average and standard deviation of each agent is as follows:

THOROUGHNESS/ADEQUACY RANKING AND RATING
OF SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

<u>Agent</u>	<u>Rating</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
1. Other Prostitutes	32.1	4.75
2. Clients	22.6	10.53
3. Pimps	19.5	8.35
4. Judicial System	8.8	6.20
5. Others	8.6	4.73
6. Procurers	5.8	3.78
7. Mass Media	2.7	1.44

What this ranking suggests, is that the novice prostitute acquires more information, in general, about more competency areas, from other prostitutes, than from any other source. Other prostitutes exhibit the highest degree of thoroughness/adequacy. Further, this high degree of thoroughness exists even though in specific areas of competency, other sources may score higher.

While the rankings are the same as would be obtained if they were ranked on the basis of the percent distribution of the composite scores presented in the beginning of this chapter, the ratings differ and, more importantly, the thoroughness/adequacy rating accentuate the relative differences between these agents of socialization. For example, in the thoroughness/adequacy rating, there is almost a 10

point difference between other prostitutes and clients, whereas in the distribution, only about four points separate these two categories. Also, the difference between pimp and client categories is only 3.1 here, though the earlier distribution indicated a difference of 8.3 points. The thoroughness/adequacy rating is a more direct indication of contributions in each area, unlike the percentage distribution which is a cumulative measure of the relative overall contribution of all sources.

The standard deviation is provided as a measure of the variation with which the agents deal with competency areas. That is, the lower the standard deviation, the more evenly distributed is the knowledge acquired by the prostitute from the socialization source.

Therefore, not only are other prostitutes responsible for providing a large quantity of information, but the low standard deviation suggests that all of the categories of competency are dealt with more or less equally. Clients, on the other hand, though ranking second, have a high standard deviation. This would imply (and is borne out by the competency distributions table) that while some competency areas receive a lot of attention, others receive little attention. Pimps provide even less information, though they do not vary quite as much as clients, which leads to the conclusion that pimps too, tend to be better sources in some areas than in others. As for the remaining sources, the relatively low averages precludes making any strong statements based on standard deviations.

Comparison of Socialization Agents by Length of Career

Table 9 depicts the cumulative influence of each socialization agent grouped by length of time the interviewees reported being prostitutes. As will be noticed, the numbers of individuals responding to some of the years are quite small. Hence, the variation from the total influence regardless of time (presented in the "Overall" column) may be explained by the small numbers in the instances where they occur.

However, because the main focus of interest is on the early period of their careers, the data below collapses the first three year categories and compares it to the overall influence of these socialization agents.

RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF AGENTS ON PROSTITUTES WITH ONE
AND TWO YEARS OR LESS EXPERIENCE WITH ALL RESPONDENTS

<u>Agent</u>	<u>One Year or Less</u>	<u>Two Years or Less</u>	<u>Overall</u>
Pimp	21.8%	20.3%	17.5%
Other Prostitutes	33.5	30.4	30.2
Clients	24.4	24.3	26.0
Mass Media	0.5	2.7	2.7
Judicial System	9.6	10.5	9.1
Procurers	6.6	5.4	5.9
Others	<u>3.6</u>	<u>6.4</u>	<u>8.4</u>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(7)	(10)	(56)

In analyzing the above data, an underlying assumption is that the more recent the transition into prostitution, the better

TABLE 9
COMPARISON OF SOCIALIZATION AGENT INFLUENCE BY LENGTH OF CAREER

Agent	Years As Prostitute											Overall
	< 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 +	
Pimp	36.7%	15.3	17.3	16.3	12.2	19.2	19.7	17.3	0.0	26.6	17.5	17.7
Other Prostitutes	28.3%	35.8	24.2	30.7	32.7	31.6	28.3	20.0	55.2	29.8	29.2	30.2
Clients	18.3%	27.0	24.2	24.0	28.8	28.5	27.9	27.2	34.2	24.5	23.4	26.0
Mass Media	0.0%	0.7	7.1	1.6	4.7	3.7	7.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	2.7
Judicial System	3.3%	12.4	12.1	11.8	6.1	9.6	8.7	16.4	3.4	5.3	7.5	9.1
Procurers	11.7%	4.4	3.0	3.5	7.9	1.2	0.0	9.1	0.0	6.4	12.4	5.9
Others	1.7%	4.4	12.1	12.1	7.6	6.2	8.2	10.0	6.9	7.4	9.1	8.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(2)	(5)	(3)	(8)	(7)	(10)	(5)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(10)	(56)

the recall of events that took place and that apparent changes are the result of declining ability to adequately recall events. It could also be argued, however, that because socialization is an ongoing process (a contention that is discussed in conjunction with the analysis of the qualitative replies in the next chapter), any changes that occur may be attributable to changes that do take place in the process after the initial socialization period. Regarding the above table specifically, an analytical dilemma surfaces in terms of the utility of including the category of "two or less" years. On the one hand, inclusion increases the number of cases analyzed; yet the cost of including the additional year may be one of contaminating the results by virtue of increasingly faulty recall (over time) or changes in the socialization process. Hence, whether to include or exclude this category is not clear. The information is presented, but its significance must be weighed in light of the potential problems.

Though no changes in the ranking of the socialization agents occur among the three primary agents, it is interesting to observe some of the shifts in the distribution of influence. In the earlier years, there appears to be greater dependence on the pimp and other prostitutes than in the cumulative (overall) distribution. This appears to be the case regardless of whether one looks at the one or two year categories. Clients appear to be depended upon less in the first years than is the general perception of the entire group.

Another seemingly significant shift, among the lesser socialization agents, takes place in the "others" category in

which 3.6 percent of the influence exhibited within the first year jumps to 8.4 percent for the total group.

Before considering the implications of the findings in light of the assumptions and limitations, further thought should be given to the nature of the data. It seems reasonable to suggest that the influence distribution for "One Year or Less" reflects responses that are probably the least tainted by declining recall and, similarly, the least affected by changes that may have occurred in the socialization process. Hence, it is probably a good indicator of the influence of the various socialization agents as perceived by the interviewees (though somewhat hampered by the small numbers).

The overall rates (which has been the basis of the quantitative analyses in the previous sections) by virtue of the fact that there are differences in the distributions, suggests that factors are operating to produce these differences. If one could create a situation of ceteris paribus, then it might be possible to say that the variations are due to poor memory or to the cumulative effects of the socialization process over time. But is it reasonable to assume that "all else is equal"? This would imply that there have been no changes in the type of pimping, in the characteristics of the clients or even in the nature of the relationship with the criminal justice system. While it is not feasible to document changes such as these in this study, some changes have taken place-- particularly in the Sacramento area, in the relationship with the police. (As a result of heavy pressure and intense publicity by the homeowners in the area, a massive, and apparently successful, campaign was waged by city officials to eliminate prostitution from

4th and T.) Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that changes have occurred in the 10 years preceding the interviews conducted for this study. Yet, one must consider the fact that not all of the interviewees turned out at 4th and T. In fact, of those interviewed, only 24.5 percent indicated having started their career at 4th and T. Further, because of the extensive traveling to different "strolls" experienced by many of the interviewees, subsequent socialization events have likely been quite diverse. Essentially then, there is no way to take into account the varying changes, and in fact, it would seem reasonable to assert that the overall cumulative influences represent a composite of these experiences. (A similar statement concerning the variety of turn-out locations can also be made about those with one year or less experience.) Therefore, while it is not possible to claim a state of ceteris paribus over time, it might be argued that the variety of possible experiences equalize each other.

The next question is whether the apparent differences in the distribution are the result of faulty recollection of events or the effects of ongoing socialization, in which different agents have different effects the longer one is in the business? These are not mutually exclusive conditions, nor is it unlikely that in some cases they operate simultaneously. Yet, in view of the fact that both the previous quantitative analysis as well as the qualitative analysis to come will show, there is good reason to support the contention that the overall distribution is the result of cumulative effects over time. Also supporting this is the wording to the questions which (although initially each interview was

directed toward early experiences) begin "Did you ever learn anything from (the socialization agent) . . .," suggesting that it was appropriate for the respondent to include information beyond the initial period.

Consequently, it would seem reasonable, within limits, to suggest that the variations between the one year or less category and the overall category reflect real differences that can be attributable to changes that occur in the relative influences of the socialization agents.

What then do the distribution shifts imply about the socialization process? In retrospect, it is not surprising that the novice's dependence on the pimp decreases over a period of time. As the discussion on thoroughness pointed out, the pimp is limited in the areas in which he can provide useful information. His greatest value is in providing information about work locations and in introducing the novice to other prostitutes. Similarly, the novice is heavily dependent upon other prostitutes for much of the remaining information she requires. For the first year these two agents are responsible for providing her with 55.3 percent of the information she acquires, whereas their overall contribution is 47.7 percent. Once she has a better grasp of what is expected of her, she is in a position to evaluate the efficacy of her role-reciprocals as sources of information and where appropriate, can increase her use of them as sources (as exemplified by the increase in the "client," "mass media" and "other" categories).

If the data actually reflect what it is reasoned that they do reflect, then it can be said that not only is the socialization

process an ongoing phenomena, but that the influence of the applicable socialization agents vary during the process.

Comparison of the Socialization Experience by Age of Novice

It could be argued that the extent of socialization required by an entrant into prostitution may be a function of the novice's age. That is, it is possible that the older the individual, the greater the degree of prior information the individual has already acquired (from friends, the media, etc.). Prostitution is an institution whose existence is, it would be reasonable to say, fairly well known and, though exposure to it may vary amongst individuals, most people are aware of it. Conceivably then, the older the individual, the more the amount of "ambient" knowledge of prostitution.

To examine whether the novice's age is a factor, distributions of both the socialization agents' influence as well as competency areas were generated for three age categories. (See Table 10) The age categories (based on age at entry) are: 16 years of age or less; 17 to 19 years of age; and 20 or more years of age. The groupings, somewhat arbitrary, represent an attempt to balance seemingly significant age differences with reasonable numbers for analysis.

The greatest variation from the overall score, in terms of agent influence, occurs in the 20 plus category, although this may be partially attributable to the comparatively smaller number of individuals in this category. There is considerably less dependence upon the pimp for information. Similarly, there is also a noticeable

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF THE SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCE BY AGE OF NOVICE

A. Comparison of Socialization Agents By Age of Novice

<u>Agent</u>	<u>≤ 16</u>	<u>17-19</u>	<u>20 +</u>	<u>All</u>
Pimp	17.0%	20.0	13.6	17.7
Other Prostitutes	31.9%	27.2	32.6	30.2
Clients	25.0%	27.0	26.7	26.0
Mass Media	1.7%	4.3	2.7	2.7
Judicial System	9.0%	7.8	13.6	9.1
Procurers	6.5%	6.2	2.3	5.9
Others	8.9%	7.5	8.5	8.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(26)	(22)	(8)	(56)

95

B. Comparison of Competency Areas By Age of Novice

<u>Age Category</u>	<u>ICC</u>	<u>CI</u>	<u>PI</u>	<u>AA</u>	<u>PRI</u>	<u>WM</u>	<u>OPI</u>	<u>Total</u>
≤ 16	21.7	18.8	10.6	17.1	3.2	17.8	10.8	100.0%
17-19	22.4	20.9	9.9	16.9	1.6	17.8	10.5	100.0%
20 +	22.1	18.6	11.6	16.7	3.5	14.7	12.8	100.0%
All	22.1	19.5	10.5	17.0	2.6	17.4	10.9	100.0%

lack of dependence on procurers (i.e., madams). Both of these could be a result of a desire by either agent to recruit younger women (often believed to be more attractive to clients). In terms of reliance on the pimp, it may also reflect the fact that the interviewees felt he had little to offer (a point brought out in the open-ended responses by some).

This age group also shows a considerably higher awareness of information acquired from the judicial system. Within the limits of the information collected, as well as the literature on prostitution, it is difficult to say why this is the case.

Generally speaking, the other two age groups do not demonstrate any strong deviations from the overall influence score although some differences, particularly between the three groups, is apparent. The 17 to 19 year old group shows the least dependence on other prostitutes, and in fact, they find other prostitutes about equal in influence to clients as sources of information.

Data provided by Table 10.B., depicting age categories by competency areas, appear to show no significant deviation, with the possible exception of the decline in work milieu (WM) in the 20 plus age group. (Again, the smaller numbers in this category may be a consideration.)

As a result, though it does appear as if there is some change in the nature of the socialization process as evidenced in the differences in the relationships between the variously aged novices and their role-reciprocals, there does not appear to be any major differences in the content of information that is conveyed. Consequently, it would seem appropriate to reject the

contention that older women enter prostitution with a greater degree of previous knowledge.

Comparison of All Agents by Methods Employed

It is also possible to compare all socialization agents on the basis of perceived methods of socialization used by these sources. As with earlier tables, Table 11 depicts two sets of data for examining these methods. The upper level represents the relative percentage of times a particular socialization technique was employed by the agent. These percentages are distributed across the rows. The second, lower level, compares the extent to which a particular technique is used by the various socialization agents. The percentages indicating this are distributed down the columns.

Of course, the earlier caveat regarding quality and quantity should be reiterated. The distributions presented here are based on the frequency with which an event occurs, and all events are weighted equally. An incident of admonition is treated the same as a physical beating in terms of sanctioning. Similarly, positive and negative sanctions are not distinguished. A short conversation is counted the same as a lengthy discussion.

The use of demonstration (explicit training) as a socialization technique appears to be the one employed most often by the other prostitutes. This is hardly surprising because they have the greatest amount of knowledge, in a greater number of competency areas, than do the other agents. Having actual experience with many of the topics, the other prostitutes are in a position to "show" the novice what she needs to know. Further, in many cases,

TABLE 11
COMPARISON OF ALL SOCIALIZATION AGENTS BY SOCIALIZATION METHODS

<u>Agent</u>	<u>Demonstration</u>	<u>Talk</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Sanctions</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pimp	15.0%→	70.0	6.3	8.7	100.0%
	19.9%↓	25.3%	4.5%	64.8%	19.9%
Other Prostitutes	22.7%	55.4	21.1	0.8	100.0%
	46.2	30.7	22.8	8.8	30.2
Clients	7.5%	30.9	61.6	0.0	100.0%
	12.0	13.6	52.7	0.0	23.9
Mass Media	21.4%	2.4	76.2	0.0	100.0%
	4.7	0.1	8.9	0.0	3.3
Judicial System	1.0%	67.5	30.5	1.0	100.0%
	0.5	10.1	8.9	2.9	8.2
Procurers	22.2%	65.5	3.7	8.6	100.0%
	9.4	7.6	0.8	20.6	6.3
Others	13.0%	81.5	4.6	0.9	100.0%
	7.3	12.6	1.4	2.9	8.4
Total	14.9%	54.4	28.0	2.6	100.0%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

it is probably easier to demonstrate things rather than attempt to convey the information through conversation. Yet, in spite of the fact that demonstration is used considerably more by this agent, it only constitutes 22.7 percent of the techniques used by other prostitutes. Conversation comprises over half of the means used in transmitting information.

Somewhat unusual is the fact that the pimp accounts for 19.9 percent of the use of demonstration while the client category uses 12.0 percent of this method. While data indicate that 15 percent of the pimps' information is transferred by use of demonstration (in comparison to 7.5 percent for the client), the impression obtained in the course of the interviews (and in reading autobiographical accounts), is that the pimp is generally not in a position to relate much information beyond such topics as where to solicit, appropriate rates and where to consummate the prostitute-client encounter. This is not the type of information likely to be conveyed by demonstration, but rather by conversation. (This is borne out by the fact that the pimp uses "talk" 70 percent of the time.) On the other hand, one would have expected clients to have utilized the demonstration method more often than suggested by the data, particularly in the realm of specifying sex acts. However, as "C" (1980:107) writes, in her own account of dealing with clients, the client is not always very specific in indicating what he wants, and so sometimes it is necessary for the prostitute to coax or surmise what is desired.

This raises the issue of the distinction between demonstration and implicit learning. It would seem that the difference, in

some instances, is one of intent. If a novice happens to observe another prostitute behave in a certain way in a given situation, without the latter intending it to be instructional, then this would be an example of implicit learning. If the prostitute prefaced the activity in some fashion by indicating that the novice should watch her in order to learn a particular behavior, then this would constitute "demonstration" (explicit learning). Consequently, it is interesting to note that although the client category has only 7.5 percent in the demonstration mode, it received 61.6 percent under implicit learning (self). That is, a large part of what the novice acquired from clients resulted from her surmising information based on her own observations of this agent.

A further example of this distinction between explicit and implicit learning appears in the data for the mass media. About 76 percent of the methods used is comprised of implicit learning whereas 21 percent is based on demonstration. While it could be argued that anything seen on television or in the movies constitutes "demonstration," generally, at least in terms of prostitution, it is not presented in a "how to" context. The observer (i.e., prostitute) must decide if what is portrayed is appropriate and feasible (assuming she has sufficient knowledge to do so, otherwise she may incorporate inappropriate behaviors into her repertoire) and then adapt it to real life situations. Actually, in the case of the media, one would expect an even higher percentage of implicit learning, but the choice of category is one made by the interviewee and thus is a matter of interpretation.

The mass media differs from the other sources in that all of the others use "talk" (exposition) more than any of the other techniques. Overall, talk comprises 54.4 percent of the way in which information is transmitted. However, the media represent a source qualitatively different from the other sources in that they utilize impersonal, one-way flows of information. The other sources provide a two-way flow, allowing for feedback and clarification. Further, these others also have varying degrees of salience associated with them. That is, for the novice there may be something to be gained by learning the information offered.

Inherent in a two-way communication flow and subsequent feedback is the concept of sanctioning which allows the information source an opportunity to "correct" messages that seem to have been misperceived. Accordingly, one would have expected "sanctions" to have received a greater percentage of the distribution than they did. The only sources perceived by the interviewees as employing sanctions to any extent were pimps and procurers. Whether the lack of response to this category is a function of the interviewees' perceptions, inadequate interviewing technique or an actual reflection of the situation, cannot be answered.

Despite this possible shortcoming, the data do seem to show that while 69 percent of the information transmitted occurs through intent by others (demonstration and talk), 28 percent is acquired through the novices own devices. This, in turn, suggests that the socialization process is not merely a passive process in which the novice is simply an information receptacle but rather, an active process in which the novice is a seeker as well as a recipient of information.

VI. ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED RESPONSES

The nature and intent of the fourteen open-ended questions were explained in an earlier chapter. In this chapter, responses to each question will be examined in detail. As pointed out in the previous discussion of these questions, not all of them proved fruitful. Nonetheless, they will be included in the following analysis.

Question 1: What did you know about prostitution before entering the business?

In dealing with the subject of adult socialization it would be useful to have some indication of the extent of prior socialization that had occurred relative to the occupation or culture one is about to be socialized into. How much previous knowledge does the novice have prior to entry into prostitution?

In view of the fact that prostitution is a well entrenched aspect of our society, it is reasonable to contend that most adults and many younger people are aware, at least, that prostitution does exist and that, minimally, it involves the exchange of money for sex. Consequently, it would be fair to assume that all of the women interviewed had some, albeit rudimentary, knowledge of prostitution. Interestingly, about 64 percent reported that they had little, if any knowledge of prostitution before getting into the business.

Knowledge, of course, is a relative matter, and the number of those reporting little or no knowledge might suggest the extent

of knowledge that is required to function as a prostitute. Given that these respondents are now "knowledgeable" in the area, perhaps their response reflects the difference between what they knew then (prior to entry) and what they know now. The significance of this is that, despite the belief by some that it does not take much to become a prostitute, or that it "comes naturally," there is, in fact, a considerable amount of skill and knowledge necessary.

Of those reporting some knowledge of prostitution prior to entry, the most frequently cited source of this information were friends that were connected with prostitution. This source accounted for about 48 percent of the interviewees' pre-socialization. Typically mentioned in this category were girl friends who were prostitutes or male friends who introduced them to pimps or other prostitutes. Similarly, about 17 percent mentioned relatives that they had known who were either prostitutes or, again, had some connections with prostitution (e.g., owned a bar frequented by prostitutes). Thus, of those reporting previous knowledge of prostitution, about 65 percent was attributable to individuals that the novice knew to some degree.

Interestingly, the mass media was mentioned about 19 percent of the time as a source of knowledge prior to entry. This reference to the media generally referred to books, television and movies on the subject, usually of an entertaining nature, as opposed to news and/or documentary presentations.

A few (10.4 percent) indicated that they had some prior knowledge but were not able to specify any particular source of information. This probably reflects the discussion above concerning

the fact that prostitution is a part of this society and therefore, trying to identify how that information was acquired would be difficult to pinpoint.

The remaining 6.3 percent attributed knowledge about prostitution to a general category of "other people" which would include pimps or strangers they encountered.

It should be mentioned that in this and other questions, more than one item may have been identified, and the response percentages reflect the relative frequency that they were indicated.

Question 2: How did you get into the business?

Despite the fact that this question sounds like the one traditionally asked of prostitutes ("What's a girl like you doing in a place like this?"), the emphasis is intended to be on those socialization factors operating at the time of initial entry.

Responses to this question can be subdivided into two broad categories: people and events. By "people" is meant those individuals who played a role in introducing her into prostitution. By "events" is meant circumstances existing at the time that contributed to her decision to become a prostitute.

The most frequently mentioned "event" was a need for money. Of the five categories derived from an analysis of responses, "money" was mentioned 58.5 percent of the time. If one were to include the need for drugs (which usually requires money, unless it is being supplied by a pimp or traded in services) the frequency would increase to about 66 percent.

Around 15 percent indicated that they got into prostitution essentially because they "wanted to." The same percentage reported

that they were runaways at the time they decided to become prostitutes. Actually, the fact that they were runaways ties in closely with the circumstances of economic need mentioned above.

Two of the interviewees reported that they were "coerced" into becoming prostitutes. In both cases, however, it was not as a result of physical threat, but rather the men they were living with threatened to leave them if they did not start prostituting.

While economics is an often mentioned, even traditional, response to questions such as these, one would be hard-pressed to accept this as the sole factor involved in the decision. Certainly there must be other factors involved that differentiated between those needing money who choose prostitution versus those who do not chose prostitution as a livelihood. Though it is beyond the scope of this research to consider this, it is nonetheless a point that needs to be stated. That is, while economic need is being accepted at face value as a response, it should also be noted that there is probably more to it than just economics.

In terms of the individuals responsible for getting the interviewees into prostitution, the most frequently cited (33 percent) is the pimp. However, other males that the novice knew, including boy friends and casual acquaintances, together constitute an additional 33 percent.

In a small number of cases (9 percent), relatives were specified as those responsible for getting the novice started. Casual (female) acquaintances (often prostitutes themselves) accounted for about 24 percent of the reported types of people influencing the prostitute's early decision making.

In terms of this research, how is the above information to be interpreted? While events surrounding the initial decision making might seem less significant when studying socialization processes, the following bears considering.

The emphasis on "needing money" (regardless of whether or not it is the sole motivator) suggests the basis for a ready-made sanctioning system; i.e., learn well and you make money. This is ideal in that it provides a host of both negative and positive sanctions. Further, the sanctions are internally motivated rather than thrust upon her from external sources. In addition, it is a goal that is widely accepted by the society at large, and thus at some level may even help to justify the decision to become a prostitute (that is, the ends justify the means).

Among the individuals instrumental in promoting the prostitutes entry into the profession are pimps, which as discussed in the previous section also play a substantial role in the subsequent socialization process. In this case, it would seem the transition from entrant to novice is fairly smooth. When the promoter is not a participant in the process, however, it would seem that this transition would be more difficult in that there must be some way for the entrant to link up to socialization agents. This may mean a direct introduction by the promoter (e.g., her boy friend introduces her to a madam) or it may mean the entrant seeks out an agent on her own (e.g., introduces herself to other prostitutes on the street).

At any rate, regardless of the transition method, this does suggest that there is an intermediate phase that exists between the

time a person makes the decision to become a prostitute and the time the socialization process actually commences.

Question 3: Describe in detail the first time you worked.

The diversity of responses to this question makes quantitative analysis somewhat difficult. While 7 percent indicated that they "turned out" themselves, an additional 56 percent stated that, even though they had received some prior instructions, they were by themselves the first time out. Not surprisingly, almost 30 percent of the women interviewed volunteered the fact that they were scared.

Approximately 11 percent mentioned that once on the street, they met and discussed things with other prostitutes and 13 percent replied that they went out on the streets, for the first time, with another prostitute.

In a few cases (about 6 percent), a pre-arranged "date" was set up; similarly, the same number were "turned out" in establishments (brothels and massage parlors).

Also of interest are some of the outcomes expressed regarding their first time working as prostitutes. Despite the large number that indicated that making money was an important factor, only two interviewees mentioned this matter in regard to their initial work experience (that is, that they enjoyed the money they received).

About 9 percent characterized their first effort as a "good experience"; fewer (4 percent) reported it as a "bad experience."

Of particular interest is the fact that even though they were novices, only about 6 percent indicated having encounters with police the first time out.

Consideration of these responses seems to suggest that at the point at which the novice attempts to turn her first trick, slightly over half are expected to use whatever information they have been supplied with, and then are essentially on their own to acquire whatever additional information they may need. This would explain why clients and other prostitutes appear to play a significant role in the socialization process. This issue is further explored in the next question which addresses the nature of the training that occurred prior to turning their first trick.

Question 4: Recall the training that took place before the first time you worked.

Approximately 12.5 percent of the interviewees indicated that they received no training prior to going out on the streets. An additional 9 percent stated that their training was minimal. Therefore, about 21.5 percent of these novices started out with little or no prior information on what they were supposed to do on the job. This, of course, excludes any "common knowledge" regarding prostitution that they may have acquired in the course of growing up as members of the society. In fact, that they choose to become prostitutes (in most cases) suggests some pre-existing knowledge of what was expected of them, even if specifics regarding appropriate behavior may have been unfamiliar to them.

Of those who did receive some degree of orientation, about 43 percent indicated other prostitutes as a source of information. Other prostitutes, as in the quantitative data, proved to be the biggest source of information. The second most informative source (30 percent) were those individuals labeled as "friends"--which

generally were female friends. In some cases, these friends were also prostitutes. These two sources were by far the most informative, because the next most frequently mentioned source was the pimp, who was cited in only 16 percent of the cases.

Unlike the quantitative data findings, the client was referenced by only 5 percent of the women interviewed. Actually this makes sense because this question was directed at a point in time just prior to actually working, in which case client contact would have been minimal if not non-existent. (In the quantitative data, the question was directed to early stages in her working career when client contact was already taking place.)

Other sources of information offered by the interviewees included: mass media, sisters, relatives, bartenders and boy friends. None of these categories exceeded 5 percent, and some were as low as 2 percent.

In terms of the kinds of information acquired from these sources, the most common was the topic of "price"--how much to charge. About 34 percent indicated this as a subject of discussion. Dealing with the police was the next most talked about subject (27 percent), while birth control and behavior with clients ranked third (at 25 percent). Ranking fourth was the subject of places to take clients, in which 23 percent of the women indicated this matter was discussed before turning their first trick. The remaining topics included: techniques on soliciting (11 percent); keeping money safe, checking for venereal diseases and appropriate appearance (9 percent each); various types of sex acts (7 percent); selecting clients and requesting money first (5 percent each).

It is somewhat surprising that requesting money first was mentioned so infrequently as a topic of discussion. Given that this is virtually a "universal" custom, one would have expected it to have been mentioned more frequently (especially since the matter of price was reported as being the most mentioned). Perhaps the reason for this is because some of the interviewed women have been at it so long that requesting money first has become ingrained, and thus the awareness of learning this has been forgotten. If one considers the topics most frequently indicated, it seems that these are areas that are variable and certainly need to be "re-learned" if a change in location or style of prostitution occurs.

Question 5: General information on 4th and T; how did you start working there?

While the focus of this question specifically deals with work on 4th and T (when applicable) it does not necessarily mean that the respondents were novices at the time. In fact, of all the interviewees reporting having worked 4th and T, 73.2 percent indicated that they had "turned out" elsewhere. Thus, of those interviewees that specifically addressed the issue of starting work at this location, 21.7 percent indicated that they had "heard about it" in the course of their travels and contacts (though they were not able to identify the source). The same percentage also reported that they learned of 4th and T from other prostitutes they had encountered. Oddly enough the most frequently mentioned (26.1 percent) source of information as to the existence of the "stroll" was from male friends (which does not include pimps-- who accounted for 17.4 percent).

In terms of the general information sought, the focus seemed to concentrate on where business (i.e., the sex act) was conducted. Of those supplying this information, 48 percent said they used trick pads (i.e., local homes in the immediate area that had rooms established for this purpose). The reasons for preferring trick pads were several. First of all, it was generally safer for the prostitute to take the client to the trick pad because it was within walking distance and thereby avoided having to get into the client's car. In the same vein, it was also safer because she was more familiar with the surroundings and she also knew that help was generally not far away. (Conversely, the client was often at greater risk because it was easier to set up a situation for robbing him while he was engaged with the prostitute.) From a monetary standpoint, the use of a trick pad was less costly to her because both direct and indirect costs were less. The cost of using the trick pad was less than that of renting a hotel or motel room for the night and exorbitant payoffs (in trade or money) were less of a problem. Finally, because of the proximity of the stroll, she would waste less time and money in traveling to and from a hotel or motel.

However, not all of the women interviewed would rely on trick pads. Thirty-two percent indicated the use of hotels or motels. One reason cited was the fact that many of the women were aware of the client's hesitancy to go to a trick pad (because of the potential danger). Parenthetically, it should be mentioned that the responses are not necessarily mutually exclusive and, consequently, some of the interviewees would switch between a

variety of places, as conditions dictated. Some (12 percent) said they would consummate the encounter in the client's car. While this is fraught with danger, it certainly maximizes profit because of the low "overhead." Only one person mentioned using her own place and only one indicated she would go to a client's place (if she knew him well enough).

The issue of using drugs or alcohol was incorporated into the interview schedule after the interviews were well underway; hence, conclusions based on these responses must be limited. The results, however, are suggestive. Of those to whom the question was asked, 54.4 percent did say they used drugs when working (most often mentioning marijuana as the drug used) and 36.4 percent mentioned that they would drink alcohol before going out to work. My impression from the interviews was that consumption was of a quantity to "ease the pain" but still maintain an awareness. It would be very difficult to assess the actual frequency and level of consumption. Nonetheless, for the student of socialization, several concerns are apparent. If the purpose of socialization is to equip the individual with the knowledge and skills necessary for functioning in a certain social (and physical) environment, and if perception of the environment is distorted by the use of alcohol or drugs, then what does this imply about the socialization process? For example, the presumed ability to detect decoy or undercover policemen may have little latitude--either it is done adequately or you get arrested. Behavior with a client, on the other hand, probably allows for a considerable amount of latitude; essentially anything goes as long as she collects her money. (Even in this area,

however, the ability to detect or handle a troublesome client may entail the use of a particularly well defined set of behaviors.)

Another question that might be asked is whether socialization even plays an important function if a woman can work the streets in a mental state that might preclude her from satisfactorily using the knowledge she has acquired. It seems that, in response to this question, she is still acting on the knowledge previously acquired (e.g., rates, locations), even if some of the fine points of her education may not be readily available. It is interesting that among the women stating that they used neither drugs nor alcohol, some emphatically stated that they needed a "clear head" because of the many dangers they face on the streets. Yet, apparently a substantial number do not share this philosophy.

Question 6: What techniques do you use for soliciting?

As with several of the other open-ended questions, this one deals more with the product of socialization rather than the process. Presumably, if the process is similar for all who are subjected to it, then the products of it should show some degree of consistency. Of course, there are many factors that probably enter into the responses provided and, as a result, contaminate serious attempts at measuring consistent patterns. Nevertheless, a fairly circumscribed set of responses were given. For example, among those currently working the streets (about 84 percent), 36.2 percent indicated that they simply stand on the street and do nothing. Approximately 32 percent will stand there and use hand gestures to attract clients, while an additional 12.8 percent make verbal remarks to passing cars. Thus, 80 percent fall into the broad category of

"standing still." Approximately 15 percent mentioned that they walk around. Again, however, these are not mutually exclusive categories, nor for that matter, are the responses limited to the 4th and T experience.

Frequent observations of the 4th and T area would generally support these accounts. Most do tend to stand in one place. In fact, about 41 percent indicated that they have a special location where they prefer to stand. In the course of the observations, it was also noticed that a very small number would take an active, perhaps "aggressive" approach to soliciting by stepping off the curb and attempting to block oncoming cars and then make their pitch. Mention of this was made by some of the interviewees, all of whom found it distasteful (and perhaps "deviant" from a sociological perspective?).

To some extent then, despite research limitations, there does seem to be evidence to suggest that there are certain approved behaviors (followed by a substantial number) and some disapproved behaviors (exhibited by a few). This lends credence to the efficacy of the socialization process.

Question 7: When working, how do you dress, and why?

Though specific responses varied considerably as to how the individual dresses, in general, the responses can be reduced to three broad categories: casual, sexy and nicely. In addition, about 8 percent indicated that their style of dress changed according to circumstances. In the case of the latter, the example was given of when working during the lunch hour, in order to attract businessmen and state and federal workers (a large number of which

work within a few blocks of 4th and T) they felt they had to dress "conservatively"; at night, especially on weekends, however, the clientele differed and so they would dress in a different manner.

In regard to the three categories of dress, 18.4 percent said they usually dressed casually (e.g., jeans); 22.4 percent indicated they would tend to dress in a sexy manner (e.g., hot pants, short skirts), while 51.3 percent reported that they were likely to dress nicely (e.g., dresses, slacks, suits).

Of those responding to why they dressed as they did, 63.6 percent indicated that they did so because they felt it would attract clients. Nearly 32 percent indicated that they dressed the way they did so that they would not look like prostitutes. While it is not clear whether the latter group dressed this way in order to reduce the likelihood of arrest or to attract certain types of clients, it nonetheless suggests an accommodation to their social environment, which is, in effect, the result of socialization. For that matter, the same can be said of those who dress in a particular way in order to attract clients. Furthermore, whether the style of dress resulted from something they were told or something they determined on their own, it is also a reflection of the socialization process.

Question 8: Describe other training periods during your career-- such as moving to a new place or changing styles.

While it is clear that aspirants into the field of prostitution undergo some form of socialization, a secondary issue is whether or not the process continues and, if so, to what extent does it parallel the initial socialization process? One would

expect the occurrence of secondary socialization to occur when changes in either style of prostitution or location of work area has taken place. Eighty percent of the interviewed prostitutes indicated that they had changed location at least once (many indicated that such changes occur regularly), and 32 percent said that at some point in their career they changed their style of prostitution (e.g., from streets to brothel). Only 8.9 percent said that they had never changed location or style.

Though the information obtained from this question is not as extensive as the data concerning initial socialization, there are some revealing findings concerning sources of information. Of those specifying sources of information, 32.4 percent mentioned that they received information from other prostitutes; 13.5 percent indicated that pimps served as their source. Interestingly, a new source category appears when dealing with secondary socialization. The category is "friends," both male and female. Approximately 19 percent reported "friends" as sources of information. The remaining sources were: madams (10.8 percent), cab drivers (8.1 percent), media (2.7 percent), and clients (5.4 percent). Further, 8.1 percent simply indicated that they figured out what new information they needed by themselves.

In the course of conversation, it turns out that the additional information required, especially if it only involves a change in locations, is usually just a "fine-tuning" of existing information. As one interviewee commented, "Once I knew what to do I can go anywhere." Generally, this additional information entailed stroll location, prevailing rates and places for conducting the sex act.

Hence, it seems plausible that "friends" could serve as adequate sources for secondary socialization even though they might lack adequate information to serve as sources for initial socialization.

Another aspect of the socialization process raised by these findings is whether one learns how to learn? That is, is there an explicit indication of things to be determined when a change occurs or are certain elements of the job intuitively important? It does appear that some do develop a set routine for gathering the necessary information when a location change takes place. One interviewee told me that she would "hit the 'ho' stroll and talk with girls or dates to find cool hotels." Others mentioned getting into a cab and asking the driver to take them to the local stroll and then cruise around checking out the area.

At any rate, responses to this question clearly support the contention that the concept of "secondary socialization" is a valid one, that the initial process is not the only one experienced by the prostitute, but rather socialization is an ongoing process.

Question 9: Describe the training of others.

This question provides an opportunity to get some insight into the prostitute as a source, as well as a recipient, of information. About 71 percent did indicate that they had, at some time in their career, help to "turn out" another prostitute. Essentially there were three categories of "methods" used by these women. The most frequently mentioned technique was that of double-dating (either the novice and teacher dating a single client, or dating two clients). This was mentioned 40.7 percent of the time. Somewhat related to this technique, though with a focus more on the soliciting aspects

of prostitution rather than the sexual conduct, was the more experienced individual getting dates for the novice. Eleven percent of the women indicated this as a method employed. In addition, 18.5 percent said that they relied on demonstrations as a teaching aid. It could be argued that all three of these categories are variations of the novice being shown what to do. Unfortunately, because it is not clear whether the novice is expected to use her own powers of observation to acquire knowledge (i.e., "implicit training") or whether what she is being shown is spelled out (hence, "explicit training"), it is not possible to treat these methods in a manner similar to those used in the close-ended portion of the study. However, 29.6 percent did mention "discussion" as a method of training, and this, presumably, parallels "exposition." None of the interviewees mentioned the use of sanctions.

As Table 12 indicates, the topics covered by the interviewed prostitutes were quite diverse. It is tempting to suggest that there is some correlation between frequency of response and its perceived importance. To some extent there may be some validity to this contention. As an example, "soliciting behavior" was the most frequently cited (17.8 percent), and if one considers it in conjunction with "how" and "where" to solicit, the frequency increases to 21.9 percent. "Handling money" also appears to be a frequently mentioned topic (13.7 percent). This refers to what to do with the money after it is received--especially in terms of safekeeping.

The frequency with which "appearance" is mentioned (12.3 percent) is somewhat unexpected in that impressions received during other portions of the interview, as well as in the literature, did

TABLE 12

TOPICS MENTIONED BY INTERVIEWED PROSTITUTES
WHEN TRAINING OTHERS

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Frequency Mentioned</u>
Place to conduct sex act	8.2%
Use of rubbers	9.6%
Mouth trick*	2.7%
Detecting police	11.0%
Handling money	13.7%
Venereal disease	5.5%
Appearance	12.3%
Dealing with pimps	1.4%
Price	2.7%
Soliciting behavior	17.8%
Behavior with client	11.0%
Where to solicit	2.7%
How to solicit	1.4%

*Method of covertly placing a condom on a client by hiding it in her mouth and placing it on him while performing fellatio.

not suggest that this was of great significance to the street corner prostitute. Apparently, however, it is of some concern.

"Detecting police" was mentioned by 11.0 percent of the women. Here, one might have anticipated more concern for this subject, at least more so than "appearance." A similar rate occurred regarding behavior with a client. In this case, though, as with several of the other topics, the distinction between topics is not that well defined. Behavior with a client may overlap with "use of rubbers" and checking for venereal diseases. On the other hand, these latter areas may be dealt with strictly for birth control and prophylactic purposes. Consequently, without knowing the extent of overlap, it is not reasonable to make too many assumptions about the relative ranking and importance of some of these topics.

A topic conspicuously missing is that of "sexual behavior" with a client. While not mentioned explicitly, ample opportunity arises for acquiring information in this area through the practice of double-dating (mentioned above). Perhaps the fact that the knowledge transfer is made available, but was not actually mentioned, suggests something as to the relative attitude toward this aspect of the job. That is, the actual sex act may be of little concern, especially for the street corner prostitute. Of greater importance is obtaining a client, getting and keeping the money, not getting arrested and getting back on the streets with a minimum of problems.

Question 10: Can you recognize another prostitute? How?

Here too, the intent of the question was directed at the product of socialization, with the underlying premise that there should be a degree of similarity among those subjected to the

process. Thus, not only should there be some conformity in behavior, but also in the way one presents themselves. This was borne out, to some extent, in the question dealing with how they dress when working. In this question, the focus was on recognition of prostitutes not on the "stroll," but rather in different environments, such as a bar.

At a more theoretical level, if one considers the importance of presenting oneself as a "legitimate" incumbent in the role, then it is reasonable to expect that there are certain non-verbal attributes that identify the incumbent. One function of socialization is to insure that knowledge of these attributes are conveyed to the novice. This question, then, provides some insight into what attributes are deemed appropriate.

All of the women interviewed said that they could recognize another prostitute. Generally the basis of recognition was a function of either appearance and/or activity although about 16 percent alluded to a more elusive quality such as "instinct" or "something about them" without being able to be more specific. Three quarters of the attributes mentioned were in regard to appearance; the remaining quarter were in reference to activities. Among the "appearance" attributes, "dress" (defined here as a broad term including clothing, shoes, makeup, etc.) was mentioned about 25 percent of the time as an identifying characteristic. Of those who were more specific in regard to "dress," 11 percent mentioned clothes and makeup each, and 6.2 percent mentioned hairstyle and shoes each. Thus, more than half (59 percent) of the responses to "appearance" mentioned the fact that body adornments are important in recognizing

a prostitute. The remainder consists of attributes such as the way she carries herself (22.3 percent) and the way she speaks (13.6 percent). A small percentage (4.9 percent) simply referred to her general appearance.

In the course of conversation, however, an interesting phenomenon came to light. A few of the women mentioned that there have been occasions, usually while shopping and dressed casually, when they were approached by men who tried to solicit them. One woman said that it made her feel as if there was a big label on her forehead indicating that she was a prostitute. While these incidents are too few to draw any conclusion, it is intriguing to speculate on whether there is any "carry-over" of attributes from her role of prostitute to her role of "normal" woman. Further, if this carry-over does exist, it is equally interesting that these males perceived these cues in a different social setting (that is, not on the stroll or other places likely to attract working prostitutes). Finally, these incidents may support the contention that the manifestation of some of these attributes may be very unique to the prostitute (and hence recognizable in any setting). On the other hand, without knowing whether events such as these happen to non-prostitutes, these speculations must remain as speculations.

The other category of attributes mentioned by the interviewees refers to the way a prostitute performs in a public setting. The way she behaves around men (especially in a bar) was mentioned 52 percent of the time. In addition, the broader characteristic of "the way she acts" was mentioned by 20 percent of the interviewees who spoke of behavioral activities. Specific behaviors mentioned

included: being by herself in the bar (12 percent); not drinking (8 percent); being businesslike (4 percent); and acting sexy (4 percent).

Though not much detail was provided as to what constitutes behavior around men, one aspect that was specified (8 percent) was the fact that prostitutes, in contrast to other women, initiate conversation with men. This is somewhat akin to what Bryan (1965) describes as being a task that must be learned by the call girl; that is, calling men for "dates."

Question 11: How do you try to avoid getting arrested?

By virtue of the fact that these interviews were conducted in a county jail, all of the women were arrested at least once. Yet, the fact remains, as demonstrated in the quantitative analysis, that arrest avoidance constituted 17 percent (and fourth in rank of relative importance) of the socialization content.

Only four women were of the opinion that getting arrested is unavoidable, and one attributed arrest avoidance to luck. As the responses to the next question (#12) will show, for the prostitute on the street, arrest is virtually unavoidable.

Nonetheless, a host of techniques have been developed and passed on to novice prostitutes. In reality, none of them are foolproof and some are even contradictory.

Regardless of the efficacy of the information, this question does provide some idea of the nature of the information provided by the socialization process. Further, from a socialization perspective it is interesting that here is an area where the information is often negatively reinforced and yet continues to persist.

To some extent this is contrary to some of the basic concepts of learning (and socialization) theory. That is, why would these individuals continue to maintain these beliefs even if it is clear that they are not valid? While the answer may rest more in the realm of psychology rather than sociology, one possibility is that because the particular techniques are (presumably) applied each time a potential client is encountered and (presumably) more often than not the encountered individual is a legitimate client, perhaps this is sufficient reason to maintain belief in the techniques.

Twenty-one different techniques were mentioned as ways to avoid arrest. The most frequently cited (15.5 percent) was not to bring up the subject of price. They were under the impression that if they do not mention price then they cannot be accused of soliciting. Another frequently mentioned (10.9 percent) technique is to ask the person if he is a policeman or works with the police (i.e., a decoy). Here, the belief is that the person is required to say that he is a policeman if asked.

As a result of the fact that neither one of these methods is effective, a number of techniques have evolved that are supposed to allow the prostitute the chance to determine whether the potential customer is legitimate. What it amounts to is discerning cues that suggest that either the person is a policeman or that the individual is not legitimate. (That is, the person may be perceived as being a policeman, or may be perceived as not being a legitimate client, and, consequently, possibly a policeman.) Techniques for ascertaining these cues include: checking for ID that supports his claim (driver's license, business card); checking

the car for police paraphernalia; seeing if he initiates conversation; asking him to expose himself (believing that police are not allowed to do this--but also resulting in prostitutes getting arrested for inciting indecent exposure); searching him (seeking handcuffs, gun or recorder); and observing various aspects of his behavior (e.g., is he calm or nervous, did he circle the block several times before stopping, etc.).

It is perhaps significant that there are so many techniques in this area of socialization, which is unlike the other areas that have been examined. Perhaps this is a reflection of the process involved in the construction of "social reality." That is, in the other areas, functional beliefs, because they seem to work over time, have prevailed while dysfunctional ones wither. Hence, what remains is well defined and limited. Conversely, because of continually changing laws and law enforcement policies, whatever valid techniques that might have emerged are quickly challenged and counterplays are implemented. As a result, the beliefs, albeit dysfunctional, remain and proliferate because there is nothing better to replace them.

Question 12: If arrested, how did it come about? (How many times arrested? Do you know of, or heard of, anyone never arrested?)

Thirty-eight interviewees were able to provide either an actual number or reasonable estimate of the number of times arrested on prostitution charges. The average (mean) number of arrests was 6.5 (with a standard deviation of 8.039). The range extended from 1 to 30. Only three of the women interviewed claimed they were never arrested on prostitution charges, but rather on charges related to prostitution (assault on a client, running an illegal

brothel, etc.).

In discussing arrests, the question was supposed to relate, to the extent possible, to their first arrest. In some instances, however, they were not able to recollect the events, and, therefore, subsequent arrests were used.

While arrest can occur under a variety of conditions, such as a "sweep" of the area by uniformed police, only one reported getting arrested in this manner. Invariably those arrested on prostitution charges stemmed from contact with vice police or decoys.

Twenty-six percent admitted that they simply solicited an undercover policeman. An additional 10 percent claim that they were solicited by the police or decoy and, therefore, (in claiming entrapment) feel that their arrest was unfair.

Twenty-four percent admitted that they were either careless (18 percent) or greedy (6 percent) and, as a consequence, did not pay adequate attention to what they were doing. An additional 8 percent said they were either on drugs or alcohol at the time. The implication of these explanations is that for these 32 percent, they would not have been arrested if they (the prostitutes) had applied the techniques properly!

Somewhat related to this is the 10 percent of cases where the techniques were applied but that the undercover policeman or decoy did not fit the "profile." Another 10 percent conceded that they were either new to the area or new to prostitution and were unfamiliar with the techniques to be used.

As was mentioned in the general discussion of the open-ended

questions, after the interviews were already in progress, another part was added to the question: Do you know, or ever heard of, any prostitute who has never been arrested on a prostitution charge?

Of those interviewees to whom this was addressed, all agreed that they knew of no one who ever escaped getting arrested-- if not on prostitution charges, then at least on prostitution related charges. Of course, it needs to be stressed here that their information was most likely limited to others who worked the streets, and thus not necessarily applicable to other types of prostitution (such as call girls).

One conclusion that can be drawn from the responses to these questions is that arrest is unavoidable. As a consequence, getting arrested is not necessarily an indication of inadequate socialization. (At least not in terms of socialization vis-a-vis the role of street corner prostitute.)

Question 13: Do you recall having discussions with others about whether it was right or wrong to go into the business?

Bryan (1966) refers to the acquisition of ideological attitudes in the socialization process of call girls. Though his concept of these attitudes covers a number of topics (attitudes towards clients, other prostitutes, etc.), the focus here was on one area.

About 65 percent of the interviewees indicated that they have had discussions on the topic of whether it was right or wrong to become a prostitute. Further, 8.8 percent felt that prostitution is "OK." One woman, for example, stated that she "once thought

selling pussy was dirtiest thing," but now sees it as her own body to do with as she pleases. Another woman, repeating an often heard sentiment said, "Most women are prostitutes especially if they are married--but not getting paid off the top." Not all, however, shared a positive attitude about what they are doing. One indicated that she "tries to talk new turnouts out of doing it."

The types of individuals with whom they have these discussions include other prostitutes (both in and out of jail), friends, police, clients and relatives.

Essentially then, responses to this question indicate that "ideological" or "attitudinal" socialization does occur at the street prostitute level as well as at the call girl level.

Question 14: How do you feel about prostitution now?

It would be reasonable to expect a socialization process to include an element that justifies being in the role. As in the previous question, it is also a function of attitudinal socialization.

Nearly 24 percent of the responses indicated negative feelings about prostitution. Some (9.4 percent) stated that they did not enjoy the business; among specific complaints, 4.7 percent objected to the stigma associated with the job, 6.3 percent disliked having sex with clients, and 3.1 percent did not care for getting arrested. Thirteen percent of the interviewees indicated their intention to quit at some point in the future.

However, 28.1 percent found being a prostitute "OK" (an amount that is higher than in the previous question, but the previous question did not address this issue, and hence just happened to be

indicated); and an additional 9.4 percent said they liked the business. Further, 10.9 percent indicated that they intend to stay in the business.

The most frequently mentioned (15.6 percent) positive aspect of prostitution was the easy money; however, 10.9 percent indicated that they are in it out of economic necessity. As one woman put it, it's "one of the fastest growing careers in America."

Does the fact that approximately a quarter of the interviewees expressed negative feelings suggest a flaw in the socialization process? It is not possible to say unless the amount of time as a prostitute can be controlled for, because the range of time as occupants in that role varied considerably. Given that the process appears to take place over a period of time, it would be necessary to know whether the negative comments were largely from those relatively new to the profession, or distributed among novices and old-timers. Unfortunately, the structure of the data does not readily permit this type of analysis.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Significance of the Results

A reading of the socialization literature suggests that the basic elements of that process can be reduced to the following: individuals knowledgeable in the occupation or subculture impart relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes, using a variety of methods, on the individual entering the occupation or subculture. By reviewing the scientific, popular and biographic literature on the subject of prostitution, it is possible to identify who the knowledgeable individuals are believed to be, what types of information they presumably transmit, and the methods used to convey the information. The intent of this research was to describe and validate the dynamics operating in the prostitute's subculture that play a part in the prostitute's socialization. Thus, the focus is on the mechanics and not the outcomes. Using the above definition of the socialization process will provide the basis for discussing the findings resulting from this research.

Sources of Socialization

Seven categories of socialization sources (pimps, other prostitutes, clients, mass media, judicial system, procurers, others) were identified as being potential providers of information. Three of them are generally recognized and cited in the literature as being participants in the process: pimps (e.g.,

Milner and Milner [1972]), other prostitutes (e.g., Bryan [1965]), procurers (e.g., Heyl [1977]). Three other categories (clients, judicial system, "others"), though not specifically addressed in the literature, are mentioned frequently in autobiographic and biographical accounts as sources of information. The remaining one, mass media, was included because portrayals of prostitution are depicted (e.g., Silverman, et al. [1979]) and hence a possible source of information.

All of the identified sources were found to have imparted some degree of information to the novice. Other prostitutes were found to be the most informative source, and clients a close second. Because of the paucity of literature on the role of the client, this would suggest that an important contributor to the prostitute's socialization is being overlooked. (Perhaps one reason of this oversight, is a lack of appreciation for the fact that an individual being socialized is able to infer information from socialization sources; a point that will be discussed further.)

Of apparent lesser importance in the process is the pimp. This seemingly stems from the fact that his knowledge is limited to certain areas of expertise. However, his importance in the process may be more in the function he plays in the initial transition of the entrant from aspirant to novice. This concept, too, will be discussed further.

These three socialization sources account for almost three-quarters (73.9 percent) of the information acquired by the novice.

Among the remaining sources, the least informative proved to be the mass media, though what little it did provide mostly

concerned dealing with the client. Possibly the media might have been viewed as more useful were it not for the fact that much of what was portrayed was seen as inaccurate by the interviewees.

The judicial system, which judging from the open-ended questions and other comments, referred largely to the police and vice squad (as opposed to other elements of the system), was a somewhat informative source, particularly in the area of arrest avoidance. Similarly, in the prostitute's attempts to distinguish between legitimate clients and undercover police or decoys she inferred information about making initial contact with clients.

Procurers (i.e., madams), though an essential part of the socialization process for novices starting out in a brothel, or for that matter, starting at a brothel as an experienced prostitute (in other modes), scored low in this study. This presumably is a function of the fact that only a few of the interviewees mentioned working in a brothel. This should serve as a reminder that the mode of prostitution is a significant variable when studying prostitution; that the social dynamics experienced can vary considerably depending upon the type of prostitution.

While it is clear that "others" (e.g., motel/hotel staff, cab drivers) are a part of the prostitute's social surroundings (e.g., Sheehy [1973], Prus and Vassilakopoulous [1979]), their contribution to the socialization process is limited. The interviews did reveal that at least one role played by cab drivers in the socialization process is to show a prostitute, new to a town, where the "stroll" is located.

In the course of conducting the interviews, other potential

sources, not cited in the literature specifically, nor inferred from readings, were identified. Several women, in response to some of the open-ended questions, mentioned that "friends" provided information regarding prostitution. Similarly, "relatives" were also mentioned as information sources. Of course, at this time there is no way of knowing the extent of their involvement in the process, but future explorations of the socialization process might certainly wish to consider these sources.

Information Conveyed

Using Hirschi's (1962) areas of expertise as a starting point, and altering them somewhat as a result of other readings, seven competency areas were identified that categorized the types of information expected to be transmitted by the socialization sources. The need for this modification is a result of the fact that Hirschi's areas focused almost exclusively on client-prostitute interaction, and disregarded the larger social context in which she operates. The competency areas used in this research consisted of: initial client contact, client interaction, pimp interaction, arrest avoidance, procurer interaction, work milieu, and other prostitute interaction.

All of the socialization sources provided at least some information regarding each area of competence. In view of the fact that, ultimately, the interaction between prostitute and client is the most significant aspect of her role (and the basis for defining that role), it is not surprising that 41.6 percent of the information acquired deals directly with the client (initial client contact

and client interaction). Parenthetically, these two competency areas incorporate six of Hirschi's seven areas of expertise which were collapsed in order to make the interview session more manageable. Hirschi's remaining area, "avoiding the police," constituted 17.0 percent of the information acquired. This leaves 41.4 percent unaccounted for if Hirschi's areas of expertise had been used solely, and in fact, is a testimony to the complexity of the social milieu in which she functions.

Information concerning interaction with three categories of individuals (pimps, procurers and other prostitutes) comprised 24 percent of the knowledge transmitted. The remaining area in which it was believed necessary to be competent was knowledge of the work milieu (e.g., information about the particular stroll such as prevailing rates, location of "trick pads," and safe hotels). The competency area was the subject of 17.4 percent of the information provided.

Although the interviews did not reveal any areas of competence that had been overlooked, it might be worthwhile, in future efforts of this type, to consider subdividing some of the categories. For example, the two client categories might be expanded somewhat to more closely resemble Hirschi's areas.

Thoroughness and Adequacy

Given that in any particular socialization situation there may be numerous types of socialization agents operating, the concepts of "thoroughness" and "adequacy" were developed in this research to help conceptualize the extent the sources play in the process.

"Adequacy" refers to the extent a particular source deals with a competency area, whereas "thoroughness" refers to how many areas are dealt with by the source (regardless of adequacy). A simple thoroughness/adequacy measure was developed in order to compare and rank the seven identified socialization agents. The rankings, with the most influential listed first, are as follows:

1. Other Prostitutes
2. Clients
3. Pimps
4. Judicial System
5. Others
6. Procurers
7. Mass Media

This is an important concept in looking at socialization because it addresses the issue of how much (relatively) and how broadly the sources exert their influence. Further, by providing a single measure of their influence, it also provides the potential for making comparisons to other forms of prostitution.

Methods of Information Transmittal

Having examined who transmits what information, the remaining consideration is how the information is transmitted. The basis for constructing a classification scheme was based on Inkeles' (1968) categories of socialization methods. However, while the concepts were basically kept (exposition of the expected, explicit training, and sanctioning), four categories were employed in this research. In their simplest form, these categories amounted to: told

(exposition of the expected), shown (explicit training), inferred (implicit training) and sanctioning. The notion of inferred socialization was added to acknowledge situations in which individuals assess events and make inferences about them. This could include modeling behavior not explicitly intended to be instructive as well as judging reactions to behaviors initiated by the novice on her own initiative. Inference also implies that the socialization process is not merely a passive process in which the novice simply awaits input, by whatever method, but rather, has the option of seeking out input. This is an important consideration and is borne out by the fact that, in relation to all socialization agents, this method was relied on 28 percent of the time. (I would suspect, however, that the actual rate of occurrence is probably even higher, but because it can occur in such subtle ways, it is likely that the individual is not even aware that it is happening.) Thus, as suggested above, the reason that clients were perceived as such a potent information source was because the novice employed this method 61.6 percent of the time vis-a-vis the client.

Further, while Inkeles' category of explicit training included both verbal transmission as well as demonstration of behaviors, this too was altered. Exposition is defined here as conversation regardless of content (i.e., attitudinal or technical) and explicit training refers to any form of intended demonstration.

Generally speaking, exposition (talk) was the primary means of conveying information. Sanctions, overall, were employed only 2.6 percent of the time, although pimps and procurers relied on this method significantly more than the other agents. Demonstration,

though utilized less than either talk or inference (only 14.9 percent), still played an important part. Consequently, even though the definitions of the socialization methods were altered, it would be reasonable to conclude that Inkeles' methods of socialization were found to exist in this situation.

Attitudinal Socialization

Many of the preceding sections have dealt primarily with socialization as it pertains to the acquisition of knowledge and skills. However, according to Goslin's definition of socialization quoted at the outset of this paper, there is a third component required for the process to be complete. That is, the acquisition of "dispositions" or attitudes relevant to the role.

While the focus of this research is the acquisition of knowledge and skills and the mechanisms by which they are acquired, some insight can also be gained on the realm of attitudinal socialization. This was accomplished by examining comments in the open-ended portion of the interview and noting statements that reflected attitudes (e.g., "I think prostitution is a great business." or "I love the money but hate being with men."). These statements were then grouped by the number of years that the individual stated that they had been a prostitute. My expectation was to see certain patterns form, perhaps allowing for the construction of a composite profile of the "typical" street corner prostitute, reflecting the effects of socialization on attitude shifts. Minimally, however, I expected to see some evidence of a shared perspective if indeed the attitudes of the subculture were effectively enculturated.

Generally speaking, attitudes concerning prostitution regardless of the number of years were quite diverse; some made positive comments about it (e.g., "fun, exciting, challenging"); some expressed negative attitudes (e.g., "not for me, maybe good for others," "feels degrading"); and some seemed to have no strong feelings either way (e.g., "it's OK as long as you're discreet," "it's a livelihood"). This diversity may suggest a deficiency in the prostitutes' socialization process in that a sense of "job satisfaction" is not uniformly instilled. Also of interest along these lines is that fact that the frequency of negative expressions appears to decline over time, particularly for those who have been in the business for more than five years. Despite this shift, it would seem more appropriate to attribute this decline in negative statements to attrition (that is, women dissatisfied with being prostitutes seeking other forms of employment) than to socialization. The basis for this assertion is that socialization concerning "job satisfaction" is likely to occur early in the process. This is suggested by the finding that pimps and other prostitutes (the most likely sources of "job satisfaction" socialization) have their greatest impact during the early stages of the prostitute's career.

The only clear occurrence of an attitudinal shift over time concerns the feeling of "fear." Many of the interviewees (approximately 39 percent) indicated that they were "scared" or "nervous" initially, yet when questioned about current thoughts and feelings, only one stated that she was still nervous and scared when working (even after being a prostitute for two years). While limited data precludes drawing any definitive conclusions regarding this shift,

it is possible that as the novice learned (through whatever means) how to deal with her fears, or realized (through experience) that the bases of her fears were not valid, then her fears subsided.

If there is no evidence of a consistent view about prostitution (e.g., "job satisfaction") and no clear evidence of attitude change, does this mean that the attitudinal component of the socialization process is lacking? Perhaps not, because there does seem to be some evidence of shared perceptions regarding the justifications for functioning as a prostitute. These rationalizations occur through the process of "neutralization" which serves to protect "the individual from self-blame and the blame of others after the [deviant] act" (Sykes and Matza 1957:666). Sykes and Matza describe five techniques of neutralization, and, based on the analyzed comments, the justifications for prostitution offered by the women in this study fall into four of the five neutralization categories:

Denial of Responsibility--that is, that the individual feels he or she is not responsible for his or her actions, but rather, was subjected to social forces external to the individual. Examples among the comments include:

--"Society pushed me into it"

--"Need money" (variations mentioned numerous times)

Denial of Injury--that the activity does not cause harm.

In fact, some of the interviewees claim that prostitution serves a useful function in society. Examples of injury denial include:

--"Reduces rape and molestation" (variations mentioned several times)

--"My body, do what I want with it" (variations mentioned

several times)

--Outlet for "disgusting ugly old men who couldn't get women any other way"

In the case of the "my body" example, it seems appropriate to include them in this category because often (in view of the fact that prostitution is sometimes viewed as a "victimless" crime) the injured party in prostitution is the prostitute. (For example, Millett describes the plight of the prostitute as ". . . the exploitation which encircles her on all sides, the degradation imposed by the pimp and patron, the judgement of the law, the contempt of the public" [1973:16].)

Denial of the Victim--in which the deviant actions are not seen as wrong in view of the circumstances, such as rightful retaliation or punishment. Among the comments collected, evidence of denial of the victim are typified by:

--"Tricks are stupid and deserve to be ripped off"

--"Men are toys to be played with"

Condemnation of the Condemners--represents a rejection by the deviant of those who condemn the deviant on the basis of the condemners being, for example, hypocrites or deviants in disguise. Some comments reflecting this were:

--"All women are prostitutes especially if married, but they are not getting paid off the top"

--"Would be legal if the government could make money off of it"

--"Most women already have it in them"

The relative commonality of expressed attitudes in regard

to the neutralization process suggests that some degree of socialization may have taken place. Yet, even this assertion must be viewed with caution because Sykes and Matza contend that "there is reason to believe that they [the rationalizations] precede deviant behavior and make deviant behavior possible" (p.666). Thus, it may be possible that some of these justifications were formulated prior to entry into prostitution. Given that very few of the women reported any form of coercion precipitating their entry into prostitution, it must be assumed that the decision to become a prostitute was an intentional one. This would imply that some degree of prior socialization was necessary in order for the individual to justify the decision to engage in a deviant act. Yet, considering that many of the women in this study reported little or no knowledge of, or contact with, prostitution prior to entry, it would seem reasonable to attribute at least some portion of the expressed neutralization attitudes to the socialization process encountered upon entry.

As mentioned above, there is a fifth neutralization technique, that of "Appeal to Higher Loyalties." In this situation, the individual foregoes the demands of the larger society for the sake of the smaller (deviant) subgroup. None of the comments obtained during this research reflect this form of neutralization. This is of interest because Bryan (1966), in his study of the socialization of attitudes and ideologies among call girls, also found little evidence of attitudes indicating a strong group affiliation. He suggests that these attitudes may have existed briefly, at the beginning of their careers, and that they served a useful purpose in facilitating the training process. However, as the novices began to operate on

their own and experienced situations contrary to these attitudes, the attitudes changed.

Bryan also makes two other points relevant to this discussion. Other attitudes, such as views on clients or society at large, were also part of the initial training process, and that these, too, tend to lose their validity as the call girl pursues her career. Thus, many of the attitudes held by the call girl once she is beyond her training period, are attitudes she has formed on her own and no longer those acquired during the socialization process. Consequently, Bryan concludes that while "training periods do exist, the training appears more oriented toward the acquisition of skills than ideology" (p.448).

A similar conclusion would seem to be warranted in regard to the street corner prostitutes in this study. With the exception of some evidence suggesting a degree of similarity in attitudes concerning the area of neutralization, there does not seem to be much to suggest attitudinal socialization in other areas. It is conceivable that because this research did not focus, to any great extent, on attitudinal socialization as content in the socialization process, there may be more of it going on than is apparent. If so, it is likely that for the street corner prostitute also, it takes place early in the process and functions to support the training and transition of the novice. In fact, as the next section suggests, it may be that attitudinal socialization may start before the decision to become a prostitute is made.

Sequence of Socialization Events

Given the findings in this and other studies, it appears that there is a definite sequence of events that an individual must experience in order to not only make the transition from aspirant to prostitute, but to continue functioning as one. These events are:

Exposure
Decision
Linkage
Primary Socialization
Secondary Socialization

The first three events comprise what might be termed preparatory socialization in that they set the stage for the individual to enter the more structured primary socialization period. I use the term preparatory rather than anticipatory because the latter suggests real or imagined rehearsals of what acting out a role will be like. On the other hand, preparatory socialization, which may include anticipatory socialization, refers to a larger phenomenon, in which the individual is acquiring information which may ultimately lead up to the entry into prostitution.

Exposure--At this stage the individual becomes aware that prostitution is an option open to her. This implies that an attitudinal change has started to occur, and that elements of the neutralization process are already at work. How does this initial transformation start? Sutherland and Cressey (1974) suggests that this occurs through the process of "differential association," in which a "person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions

favorable to violation of the law over definitions unfavorable to violations of the law" (p.75). Acquisition of these definitions takes place through exposure to individuals who share these definitions. Gray (1973) alludes to this concept, when, in describing the turning out of teenage prostitutes, writes:

Most reported that they deliberately sought out persons who were 'in the life' before making any firm decision to enter it themselves. They flirted with the idea and were curious to learn more about prostitution by acquainting themselves with some of the more prominent players. (p.410)

This phase, judging from the comments provided by the interviewees can range in time from years to hours. Some of the women indicated growing up in situations where prostitution was a way of life in the family or in the neighborhood. Others (many, in fact) reported little or no contact with prostitution until just prior to entry. In many cases, they needed money and happened to meet someone who convinced them that prostitution was a way to earn a living.

Decision--At some point, assuming coercion is not an issue, the individual must make a decision about whether or not to engage in prostitution. While this research does not address this point, and in fact may be beyond the boundaries of sociological research, it needs to be recognized as a significant step. Simply because one has acquired an "excess of definitions favorable to the violation of the law" does not necessarily mean that the individual will choose to violate the law.

Linkage--Brim (1968) in describing adult socialization at a broader level, maintains that, in "seeking change, the individual frequently is dependent on a group, and by his own initiative he

must find and get into groups which provide him with the socialization experiences that he needs," and as a result, ". . . he restructures his friends and primary groups to fit the particular growing edge of his interests . . ." (p.194).

Thus, once the individual has made the decision to engage in prostitution, it is necessary to gain access to those who can provide her with the training she requires. This involves either knowing someone in the business or being introduced to such a person. It is here that friends or relatives may play an important role; thus, while they may not be direct participants in the socialization process, they may be useful in providing linkage. Judging from the interviews, often the person responsible for "exposure" is also the person who provides the linkage.

It is at this stage that I suspect the pimp, too, is of great value because he has ready-made access to a number of socialization agents (in addition to being one himself). However, with the exception of the judicial system and the mass media, any of the other previously defined agents may be able to provide linkage. (Although to some extent it can be said that even the judicial system may play a part in the linkage if, in the course of being processed through the system, an aspirant meets prostitutes that are willing to help her get started.)

The sequencing of these events can vary and may even occur simultaneously. The decision may precede exposure (in that most people have at least some awareness of prostitution, though perhaps little real knowledge of what it entails). Similarly, exposure and linkage can occur at the same time.

An important point to be made about the preparatory stage is that it seems that it is at this phase that a significant amount of the attitudinal change that does occur, takes place here. This is suggested by Sutherland in regard to differential association with purports to explain how a person becomes a delinquent, as well as by Sykes and Matza who identify the rationalization process that occurs prior to the performance of a deviant act. This has particular significance in regard to research on the socialization process. In both this study, as well as Bryan's (1965, 1966), the socialization process had been operationally defined as beginning at the point following the preparatory stage. It is not surprising, therefore, that neither this study nor Bryan's were able to track the effects of attitude acquisition. Apparently, a significant portion had already occurred.

Primary Socialization--This phase, the focus of the research in this study, is that part of the sequence in which the bulk of the knowledge and skills are provided. It is here that the aspirant is transformed into a prostitute, ready to ply her trade. In addition, it also seems that during this phase, there is some additional, probably limited, degree of attitudinal socialization occurring, at least in terms of helping to refine neutralization attitudes. Further, it is likely that there are also some short-lived attitudes that are imparted in order to aid the training and transition.

Secondary Socialization--Even when a full-fledged prostitute emerges from the primary socialization process, it can be argued that subsequent socialization (generally to a lesser degree) will be required. As pointed out in the open-ended responses, when

changes in location take place, even though the prostitute may have acquired considerable knowledge, there are new things she must learn (or perhaps existing information she must revise). If she changes modes of operation (e.g., from street to brothel) there may be a considerable amount of new information she may need to acquire. Even when changes in modes or location do not occur, events may happen which require the modification of previously acquired information. A significant shift toward more stringent law enforcement policies regarding prostitution would warrant a change in her arrest avoidance beliefs and techniques.

Each of the events in the above sequence would seem to be necessary in order for the overall socialization process to work. One must progress through all of the stages in order to achieve socialization.

Consideration of these sequences raises several questions. Probably the most important question is how does one define the socialization process in light of these findings? As previously mentioned, the definition used in this research was largely limited to the primary socialization phase. Yet, as is now apparent, important elements in the process appear to occur during the preparatory stage as well. For that matter, it would even be difficult to identify when various stages begin. For an individual brought up in a milieu in which prostitution exists, the "exposure" stage could very well begin at a young age. Furthermore, even in the process of observing the actions of a prostitute, regardless of whether one is contemplating becoming one or not, allows one to retain the event in one's memory and, therefore, have it available

for recall if necessary. Thus, "modeling," a potent element in the primary socialization process can occur long before the individual even considers prostitution as a career.

What about attrition between stages of the sequences? As suggested in the previous section on attitudinal socialization, some degree of attrition seems to occur over time. It would seem that attrition is likely to occur as one progresses through each step. The very nature of a decision stage suggests that some will opt for prostitution whereas others will choose not to pursue prostitution. Further, even if one does decide to become a prostitute it may be that linkage is not available.

Another issue is the amount of time required to reach the point of perceiving oneself as adequately trained. (That is, at what point does one think in terms "I am a prostitute" rather than "I am becoming a prostitute" or "I am learning to be a prostitute"?) Both Bryan (1965) and Heyl (1977) report that the training of call girls and house prostitutes, respectively, takes two to three months. However, termination of the training is usually a function of external events and/or people rather than a self determination by the individual being trained. In my interviews, some of the women reported being out on the stroll, on their own, within a day of linking-up with a contact in the subculture. Yet, this does not mean that they were adequately prepared.

Is Socialization Necessary?

The question of preparation raises a very significant question: Is it necessary for an individual to undergo socialization

in order to become a prostitute? While it is abundantly clear from the literature (e.g., the two studies cited above), as well as this research, that the individual does acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to the performance of her role, is it necessary? Gray (1973), in studying teenage street prostitutes, states:

The girls reported little or no training period prior to their first act of prostitution. However, some received minimal supervision during their first few weeks on the streets. These juveniles required very little skill and training to carry out an act of prostitution. They operated on the basis of informal information acquired up to this point in their life through association with others in, or on the periphery of, prostitution. (p.412)

Yet, Gray then provides a direct quote from one of her interviewees, who says:

We got the idea in our head that we were going to try it. We went down on Pike, downtown, and we were walking down there. I didn't say anything. I didn't know how the girls called out to ask for a date. We both went down there and didn't say anything . . . then another girl explained that I would have to call out to them and speak to them. I did like she told me and caught my first trick. I took him to a trick house and he spent \$25. (p.413)

Gray then goes on to report that:

Although nearly all began without any training, approximately two-thirds of the girls reported that later they were explicitly briefed by the pimp or another prostitute in how to wash customers, check him for venereal disease, and get him to wear a condom. But even then, only about one-third reported ever being instructed in other specific techniques, such as watching for cops, guarding against pregnancy, picking up customers, or locating trick houses. They learned these things by trial and error. Nor were they schooled in specific sexual techniques; usually they were taught by customers. . . . The typical briefing a novice might receive from the pimp emphasized the proper attitude toward work. . . . (p.413)

The fact that Gray uses terms like "training," "supervision" and "schooled" perhaps suggests that she was expecting a formal socialization structure; that is, organized explicit training and

exposition as one might find in a brothel. It seems that she, too, underestimates the importance of inference, such as through "trial and error." Gray's description and statements, when viewed within the context of the material and research presented here, would suggest that these girls were indeed the subject of a substantial degree of socialization before long. Further, while the initial act of prostitution may not have required "any job related briefing" (though the quote she uses to substantiate this would seem to contradict her), her statement that these teenagers "required very little skill and training to carry out an act of prostitution" does not seem valid. Thus, it would seem reasonable to assert that socialization is necessary in order for the individual to function as a prostitute. While a person may be able to perform an "act of prostitution" in the sense of receiving some form of remuneration for sexual access, this is not the same as being a prostitute operating in a social milieu inhabited by other prostitutes and their various role-reciprocals. How much information is necessary is not a question that can be answered as a result of this research.

Essentially then, this research has demonstrated and validated that the process does occur; who the socialization agents are; the information that is transmitted; and the methods used for transmitting the information.

In addition, this research substantiates many elements of Sutherland's theory of "differential association" in that it demonstrates support for the contention that criminal behavior, acquired through communication with intimate personal groups (i.e., significant role-reciprocals) using mechanisms associated with learning

(e.g., modeling behavior, discussion, sanctions) does occur. Thus, the subculture of the prostitute is a critical element in her acquiring appropriate behaviors. In terms of acquiring "an excess of definitions favorable to violations of the law over definitions unfavorable to violations of the law" as a result of contact with the prostitute's subculture, the evidence in this study is less definitive. However, this is largely a result of the fact that the research presented here did not focus extensively on this issue. Nonetheless, there is evidence (as brought out in the discussion on the preparatory stages of socialization) that would suggest that there is validity to this aspect of Sutherland's theory, as well.

Finally, in considering the necessity of socialization, another issue is raised. If, as it appears, socialization does occur, then what is involved in leaving prostitution? What does the "desocialization" process entail? Is it a gradual process (perhaps as attitudes change) or a sudden process (perhaps as the risks and costs become unexpectedly excessive)? Are there formal or informal mechanisms involved in the process? Unfortunately, this does not appear to be an issue addressed in the literature on prostitution.

A Consideration of Methodology, Reliability and Generalizability

If the findings of this research are to be considered of any value, then it is necessary to ask whether appropriate research methods were used. While an earlier section dealt with the rationale for the approach pursued, it seems reasonable that this method be examined retrospectively.

One intent throughout the development of this research project was to bring to bear quantitative analysis on the subject of socialization. My hopes were to provide a benchmark from which other studies on the socialization of prostitutes (particularly at other levels of solicitation) could be compared. I believe that I have achieved this goal. Furthermore, continued development of this approach, particularly of the close-ended questions, can lead to the development of self-administered questionnaires with the advantage of allowing for the study of large numbers of individuals.

What of the sample selected for interviewing? The claim could be made that it is biased on at least two points: that it was conducted amongst an incarcerated population, and further, even for a jailed group, it excludes those that, because of their age, are in juvenile detention facilities.

To some degree, the first issue has already been addressed in the response to the open-ended question about the interviewee's knowledge of other street prostitutes getting arrested. None of the women I interviewed knew of any street prostitute that was never arrested. The prevailing attitude was that sooner or later it is bound to happen. Consequently, if all of the street corner prostitutes in this geographic area have an apparently "equal" chance at getting arrested and jailed, then there should be no significant bias in the extent to which the jailed population represents the street corner population. Therefore, the fact that the interviews were conducted among a jailed population does not make for a biased sample in this situation. I would say, however, that this might not be the case if the research focused

on other forms of prostitution such as call girls, or those in a legal brothel, in which the inevitability of arrest is not as likely.

While it is true that no interviews were conducted among those in juvenile facilities, this poses no real drawback. My research focused on events early in the prostitute's career, and over half (55 percent) reported launching their careers as prostitutes at age 17 or less. Consequently, a substantial number of those interviewed reflect the socialization experiences of those in juvenile facilities. (Further, 4 of the interviewees were 18 years old and 11 were 19 years old at the time of the interview and thus, not much beyond the upper age group in juvenile detention.) I would suggest, therefore, that the fact that juveniles did not participate in the study does not deter from the appropriateness of the sample because the experience of those 17 and under were included (in a significant number, at that).

Perhaps the only criticism that could be made regarding sampling bias stems from incarcerated prostitutes who chose not to talk to me. I have no evidence to support or deny this claim. However, I had no indication from my liaisons that this was an issue. My impression was that the lack of interviewees for any weekend interviewing session was due more to the fact that no new prostitutes were jailed rather than a reluctance to talk to me. In addition, participation did offer a reasonably good diversion from their other activities. Also, based on the incident described earlier (in which one of the previously interviewed prostitutes recruited for me) suggests that I was reasonably well received and not seen as a threat.

Therefore, in general it would seem that the sample was representative of the street prostitute population in this geographic area.

Given this, the next consideration might be the reliability of the interview schedule; that is, to what extent was it producing accurate and consistent results. In view of the fact that no previous studies of this nature have been done and, hence, the inclusion of tried and true questions was not possible, the answer to this concern must depend on the extent to which the results fit with existing, qualitative knowledge on the subject. Throughout the analysis of data from both the open- and closed-ended questions, though there were some anticipated and some unanticipated outcomes, few of the latter outcomes were truly inexplicable. For example, while it certainly was not surprising that other prostitutes were the biggest source of information, it was somewhat surprising (in terms of the literature) that clients were far more informative than pimps. Yet, when it is realized that pimps generally have little knowledge of the broader spectrum with which the prostitute must contend, and that she is capable of both direct and indirect means of acquiring information, then it can be seen how clients can be a rich source of information. Thus, while there is no "hard" measure of reliability available, the results seem to "fit" logically.

What of the generalizability of the results? This issue was addressed to some degree in an earlier section by comparing the experiences of those who turned out on 4th and T and those who turned out elsewhere. While there were some minor fluctuations, in general it appeared that the relative contributions of the

socialization sources were similar. As stated previously, there is evidence to support the claim that the results are generalizable beyond the immediate geographical area. However, I would be hesitant to suggest that it is applicable to all street prostitutes, or even more specifically, to all street corner prostitutes. Generally, the areas where many of the non-4th and T turnouts started were smaller western communities where pimping exists on a smaller scale, and may be characterized as "soft" pimping, in contrast to "hard" pimping on a larger, more structured scale. Unlike the pimping described in Milner and Milner (1972), for example, in which pimps are overt, showy and participate in a well defined social structure, pimps in the Sacramento area have been labeled "simple" or "tennis shoe" pimps. That is, they are low key, small time operators, generally having only one or two prostitutes working for them. It is conceivable that in "hard" pimping locations, the contribution of the pimp may be different, and it is very likely that the methods used might vary (e.g., possibly greater use of sanctions).

Similarly, variations might be expected where significantly different law enforcement attitudes towards prostitution prevail. This would affect the frequency and nature of the prostitute's encounters with the police.

Hence, the application of these specific results to distinctly different communities may be questionable. In terms of general results, however, these findings do have broader application.

Perhaps one of the most significant consequences of this

research is the verification of the fact that a distinct and measurable learning mechanism does exist. To the extent that any deviance theory recognizes that a learning process is a necessary element in the acquisition of criminal behavior (in the sense of knowledge and skills), then the approach used here for quantifying the learning mechanism would be valid. While the role-reciprocals who act as socialization agents may vary, as would the competency areas, the socialization techniques would remain the same. In fact, this approach could be applied to non-deviant roles, as well.

While this study only reported the results obtained from the interviews, other data was also collected. This consisted of making random observations of the 4th and T stroll and recording factors such as the specific location and ethnicity of the street corner prostitutes, time of day, weather conditions, traffic flow, presence of police, and any unusual activity. Well over a hundred observations were made.

The original intent of doing the observations, in addition to gaining some familiarity with the stroll, was to provide some basis for checking on the validity of some of the responses that I would be getting from the interviews. The observations were not essential to the research in that they contributed little in attempting to understand or validate the socialization process (though they may be of value if one were to focus on the outcomes of socialization). Ultimately, however, the effort required to analyze the information exceeded my resources for doing so.

Summary

The results of this research are twofold. It pulls together various elements of socialization theory as it applies to prostitution and then determines, through structured interviews with prostitutes, the extent to which these elements operate.

Based on the assumption that in order for an individual to perform the role of prostitute within the complex social milieu of the street corner prostitute, a considerable amount of information must be acquired. This acquisition of information, entailing knowledge, skills and attitudes, is obtained from a variety of the prostitute's role-reciprocals who also are participants in the social milieu. The process by which this occurs is socialization.

By identifying these individuals (socialization agents), the information they provide, and the methods used to convey this information, it was possible, by the use of structured interviews, to quantify the nature and extent of their participation in the socialization process.

It was demonstrated that all seven of the identified socialization sources do, in fact, play a role in the process. The three most significant sources, in order of their potency, are: other prostitutes, clients, and pimps. Further, it was found that the novice is responsible for acquiring a considerable amount of information on her own by making inferences based on interactions with the various socialization agents. This is in addition to the information acquired from these agents from more direct means of instruction.

As a result of this research, a method now exists for

examining other forms of prostitution and a benchmark is available for making comparisons between street corner prostitution and other forms of prostitution.

APPENDIX A.
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

4. Recall in as much detail as possible, the training that took place before this first time.

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5. General info on 4th&T, how did you start working there? (N/A)
(Do you drink or take drugs when you work?)

6. What techniques do you use for soliciting?

7. When working, how do you dress and why?

8. Describe other training periods during career-- such as moving to a new place, or changing styles.

9. Describe training of others.

10. Can you recognize another prostitute, how?

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11. How do you try to avoid getting arrested?

12. If arrested, how did it come about? (How many times on pros charges)
(Do you know, or ever heard of, any who has never been arrested on a pros charge?)

13. Do you recall having discussions with others about whether it was right or wrong to go into the business?

14. How do you feel about prostitution now?

1. SOCIALIZATION STUDY
PIMPS

1. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT DATES FROM PIMPS, SUCH AS HOW TO APPROACH THEM, THINGS TO LOOK OUT FOR, OR WHERE TO TAKE THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
2. DID YOU EVER LEARN FROM PIMPS ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE DATES ONCE YOU WERE WITH THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
3. DID PIMPS EVER TEACH YOU HOW TO ACT TOWARD PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
4. DID PIMPS EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO AVOID GETTING ARRESTED?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
5. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT HAVING SOMEONE SET UP DATES FOR YOU FROM PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
6. DID PIMPS EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THINGS LIKE WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO STAND, PLACES TO GO - OR NOT GO - (THINGS ABOUT WORKING)?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
7. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT THE OTHER GIRLS AT FOURTH & T FROM PIMPS?
(GIRLS YOU WORKED WITH: GIRLS WHO ALSO WORKED THERE.)
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)

2.
OTHER PROSTITUTES

SOCIALIZATION STUDY

1. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT DATES FROM OTHER GIRLS _____, SUCH AS HOW TO APPROACH THEM, THINGS TO LOOK OUT FOR, OR WHERE TO TAKE THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
2. DID YOU EVER LEARN FROM OTHER GIRLS _____ ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE DATES ONCE YOU WERE WITH THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
3. DID OTHER GIRLS _____ EVER TEACH YOU HOW TO ACT TOWARD PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
4. DID OTHER GIRLS _____ EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO AVOID GETTING ARRESTED?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
5. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT HAVING SOMEONE SET UP DATES FOR YOU FROM OTHER GIRLS ?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
6. DID OTHER GIRLS _____ EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THINGS LIKE WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO STAND, PLACES TO GO - OR NOT GO - (THINGS ABOUT WORKING)?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
7. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT THE OTHER GIRLS AT FOURTH & T FROM OTHER GIRLS _____ ?
(GIRLS YOU WORKED WITH: GIRLS WHO ALSO WORKED THERE.)
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)

3.
CLIENTS

SOCIALIZATION STUDY

1. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT DATES FROM DATES, SUCH AS HOW TO APPROACH THEM, THINGS TO LOOK OUT FOR, OR WHERE TO TAKE THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
2. DID YOU EVER LEARN FROM DATES ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE DATES ONCE YOU WERE WITH THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
3. DID DATES EVER TEACH YOU HOW TO ACT TOWARD PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
4. DID DATES EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO AVOID GETTING ARRESTED?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
5. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT HAVING SOMEONE SET UP DATES FOR YOU FROM DATES?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
6. DID DATES EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THINGS LIKE WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO STAND, PLACES TO GO - OR NOT GO - (THINGS ABOUT WORKING)?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
7. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT THE OTHER GIRLS AT FOURTH & T FROM DATES?
(GIRLS YOU WORKED WITH: GIRLS WHO ALSO WORKED THERE.)
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)

4.

SOCIALIZATION STUDY

MASS MEDIA

(TELEVISION, BOOKS, MOVIES, RADIO, NEWSPAPERS)

1. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT DATES FROM TV OR MOVIES, SUCH AS HOW TO APPROACH THEM, THINGS TO LOOK OUT FOR, OR WHERE TO TAKE THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing) about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
2. DID YOU EVER LEARN FROM TV OR MOVIES ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE DATES ONCE YOU WERE WITH THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing) about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
3. DID TV OR MOVIES EVER TEACH YOU HOW TO ACT TOWARD PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing) about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
4. DID TV OR MOVIES EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO AVOID GETTING ARRESTED?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing) about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
5. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT HAVING SOMEONE SET UP DATES FOR YOU FROM TV OR MOVIES?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing) about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
6. DID TV OR MOVIES EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THINGS LIKE WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO STAND, PLACES TO GO - OR NOT GO - (THINGS ABOUT WORKING)?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing) about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
7. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT THE OTHER GIRLS AT FOURTH & T FROM TV OR MOVIES?
(GIRLS YOU WORKED WITH: GIRLS WHO ALSO WORKED THERE.)
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing) about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)

5. SOCIALIZATION STUDY
JUDICIAL SYSTEM

(POLICE, LAWYERS, COURTS, JUDGES)

1. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT DATES FROM THE POLICE, SUCH AS HOW TO APPROACH THEM, THINGS TO LOOK OUT FOR, OR WHERE TO TAKE THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
2. DID YOU EVER LEARN FROM THE POLICE ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE DATES ONCE YOU WERE WITH THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
3. DID THE POLICE EVER TEACH YOU HOW TO ACT TOWARD PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
4. DID THE POLICE EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO AVOID GETTING ARRESTED?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
5. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT HAVING SOMEONE SET UP DATES FOR YOU FROM THE POLICE?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
6. DID THE POLICE EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THINGS LIKE WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO STAND, PLACES TO GO - OR NOT GO - (THINGS ABOUT WORKING)?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
7. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT THE OTHER GIRLS AT FOURTH & T FROM THE POLICE?
(GIRLS YOU WORKED WITH: GIRLS WHO ALSO WORKED THERE.)
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)

SOCIALIZATION STUDY

6.

PROCURERS

1. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT DATES FROM A MADAM _____, SUCH AS HOW TO APPROACH THEM, THINGS TO LOOK OUT FOR, OR WHERE TO TAKE THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
2. DID YOU EVER LEARN FROM A MADAM _____ ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE DATES ONCE YOU WERE WITH THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
3. DID A MADAM _____ EVER TEACH YOU HOW TO ACT TOWARD PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
4. DID A MADAM _____ EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO AVOID GETTING ARRESTED?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
5. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT HAVING SOMEONE SET UP DATES FOR YOU FROM A MADAM _____?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
6. DID A MADAM _____ EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THINGS LIKE WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO STAND, PLACES TO GO - OR NOT GO - (THINGS ABOUT WORKING)?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
7. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT THE OTHER GIRLS AT FOURTH & T FROM A MADAM _____?
(GIRLS YOU WORKED WITH: GIRLS WHO ALSO WORKED THERE.)
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)

7.

SOCIALIZATION STUDY

OTHERS

(BELLBOYS, TAXI DRIVERS, ETC.)

1. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT DATES FROM OTHERS, SUCH AS HOW TO APPROACH THEM, THINGS TO LOOK OUT FOR, OR WHERE TO TAKE THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
2. DID YOU EVER LEARN FROM OTHERS ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE DATES ONCE YOU WERE WITH THEM?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
3. DID OTHERS EVER TEACH YOU HOW TO ACT TOWARD PIMPS?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
4. DID OTHERS EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO AVOID GETTING ARRESTED?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
5. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT HAVING SOMEONE SET UP DATES FOR YOU FROM OTHERS ?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
6. DID OTHERS EVER TEACH YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THINGS LIKE WHAT TO WEAR, WHERE TO STAND, PLACES TO GO - OR NOT GO - (THINGS ABOUT WORKING)?
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)
7. DID YOU EVER LEARN ANYTHING ABOUT THE OTHER GIRLS AT FOURTH & T FROM OTHERS ?
(GIRLS YOU WORKED WITH: GIRLS WHO ALSO WORKED THERE.)
Would you say you learned (1-a lot 2-some 3-very little 4-nothing)about this?
How did you learn? (1-demo 2-talk 3-self 4-sanctions)

APPENDIX B.

Composite Score Calculations

Calculation of the composite scores was based on a simple weighting of responses to the close-ended portion of the interview schedule (Appendix A.) regarding the following question in reference to information acquired from a particular socialization source about a specific competency area:

Would you say you learned (1--a lot; 2--some; 3--very little; 4--none) about this?

The responses were weighted accordingly:

"A lot" = 3

"Some" = 2

"Very little" = 1

"None" = 0

Thus, the total score for a particular agent, regardless of competency area, would be the summation of all the weighted scores received by that socialization agent. Scores for various sub-categories were derived by summing the weighted scores for the particular category. Invariably, the scores were converted to percentages.

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GLOSSARY

Bottom Woman--The pimp's favorite prostitute amongst the prostitutes in his stable.

Date--A prostitute's customer.

Decoy--A member of the vice squad, or an individual working with the vice squad, pretending to be a potential customer in order to arrest prostitutes for soliciting.

Flatbacker--A prostitute who makes her money by having intercourse with as many men as possible in a short time; may refer to a prostitute who operates by having a number of men brought to her while she remains at the place where the sex act is conducted (such as might occur at a farm labor camp).

Ho--(whore) Streetwalker.

John--A prostitute's customer.

Knobbers--Men, dressed as female prostitutes, who offer sexual services; generally the customer is not aware that the prostitute is male (intercourse is not one of the services offered).

In the Life--Individuals who are participants in the subculture of the prostitute.

Murphy Men--Con artists who sell dummy keys to potential tricks, with the latter believing that a prostitute will be waiting for them at a specified time and place.

Out of Pocket--Inappropriate behavior on the part of a prostitute toward a pimp.

Rubber--Condom.

Stable/Stable Sisters--A group of prostitutes working for the same pimp.

Stroll--An area where working streetwalkers or street corner prostitutes congregate so that customers may locate prostitutes.

Trick--A prostitute's customer.

Trick Pad--A place where a prostitute and a customer can engage in sex; usually small, minimally furnished and inexpensive.

Turning a Trick--A term used to describe a prostitute's conducting and completing a transaction with a trick; the transaction includes soliciting, getting paid and providing sex.

Turning Out--The training of a prostitute; initiating a novice into prostitution.

Up Front--In this context, the term refers to the practice of the customer paying for the requested services before they are performed.

Vice--Plainclothes police who are members of the vice squad.