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The Clients of Street Prostitutes: Common Men or Criminals? Evidence of Two Distinct
Behavioural Clusters in the Client Population

by

Rebecca Jane Carter

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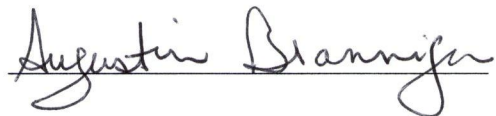
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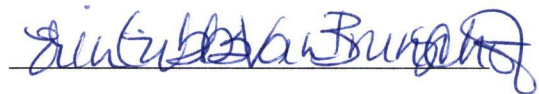
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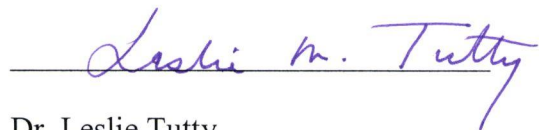
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "The Clients of Street Prostitutes: Common Men or Criminals? Evidence of Two Distinct Behavioural Clusters in the Client Population" submitted by Rebecca Jane Carter in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.



Supervisor, Dr. Augustine Brannigan
Department of Sociology



Dr. Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot
Department of Sociology



Dr. Leslie Tutty
Faculty of Social Work

20 September 2007

Date

ABSTRACT

Relative to the broad literature examining street prostitutes, there is a paucity of scholarship examining their clients. This study addresses this, utilizing control theory, cluster analysis, multiple bivariate techniques, and logistic regression to examine Monto's (2000) sample of U.S.-based clients (N=1342), so as to explore whether there are significant individual differences among clients in terms of anti-social behaviours, and whether such behavioural differences correspond to systematic attitudinal differences. The results illustrate that there is a complex structure to the client population; that membership in the deviant cluster significantly correlates with greater use of pornography, dimensions of social incompetence, intimate relationship disruptions, and histories of perpetrating sexual violence; and that being non-married, having lower levels of education, and childhood histories of physical abuse predict deviant cluster membership. These results suggest that future research should attend to the nuanced structure of deviance in this population, using criminological theory as an analytic tool.

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DEDICATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval Page.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Dedication.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	xiii

CHAPTER ONE: Prostitution and Violence—Definitional Issues, Prevalence, and Direction of Analysis

1.1: Historical and Contemporary Examples of Violence Against Prostitutes.....	1
1.2: Defining Prostitution.....	2
1.3: Prevalence of Violence Against Prostitutes.....	5
1.4: Summary and Direction of Analysis.....	8

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review, Critique & Direction of Analysis—The Significance of the ‘Everyman/Peculiar Man’ Debate

2.1: Overview: The Small Scope of Client-based Prostitution Research, and the ‘Everyman/Peculiar Man Debate.....	10
2.2: Demographic Characteristics of Clients.....	12
2.3: Psychological Characteristics of Clients.....	14
2.4: Sexual Practices of Clients (Inside and Outside of Prostitution).....	16
2.5: Violence-Specific Research: Power, Control & Rape Myths.....	20
2.6: Discussion of Extant Literature: A Critique.....	23
2.7: Rationale for Study.....	26
2.8: Theoretical Perspective: Control Theory.....	28
2.9: Summary & Direction of Analysis.....	32

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology & Descriptive Statistics

3.1 Overview.....	34
3.2 Data Source.....	35
3.3 Cluster Analysis.....	36
3.4 ANOVA, Cross-Tabulations and Chi-Square Tests of Significance.....	40
3.5: Logistic Regression Model.....	52

CHAPTER FOUR: Results

4.1: Overview.....	61
4.2: Cluster Analysis.....	61

4.3: ANOVA, Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square. Calculations.....	63
4.4: Logistic Regression Model.....	72
CHAPTER FIVE Discussion of Results & Conclusion	
5.1: Overview.....	76
5.2: Revisiting the Research Questions.....	76
5.3: Conclusion.....	84
REFERENCES.....	87
APPENDIX: Additional Statistical Information.....	94

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER THREE:

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics for Cluster Analysis Variables.....	40
Table 3.2a: Descriptive Statistics for Pornography Use.....	43
Table 3.3a: Descriptive Statistics for Conservative Attitudes Measures.....	44
Table 3.4a: Descriptive Statistics for Social Competence in Intimate Relationships.....	46
Table 3.4e: Descriptive Statistics for Social Competence in Non-Intimate Relationships.....	46
Table 3.5a: Descriptive Statistics for Recent Intimate Relationship Disruptions.....	47
Table 3.6a: Descriptive Statistics for Frequency of Condom use with Prostitutes (Recoded).....	48
Table 3.7a: Descriptive Statistics for Similarity of Sexual Interests between Respondent and Respondent's Partner.....	49
Table 3.8a: Descriptive Statistics for Rape Myth Acceptance Agreement Statements....	50
Table 3.8j: Descriptive Statistics for Rape Myth Acceptance Percentage Statements....	50
Table 3.9a: Descriptive Statistics for Histories of Sexual Violence.....	51
Table 3.10a: Descriptive Statistics for Logistic Regression Predictor Variables (Including Recodes).....	56

CHAPTER FOUR:

Table 4.1: Cluster Analysis Results—Cluster Descriptions.....	63
Table 4.2: Cluster Analysis Results—Final Cluster Center Scores.....	63
Table 4.3a: Means of Clusters for Pornography Use, Condom Use, and Sexual Violence Perpetration History.....	64
Table 4.3b: Means of Clusters for Sexual Conservatism Measures.....	64
Table 4.3c: Means of Clusters for Social Competence Measures.....	64
Table 4.3d: Means of Clusters for Intimate Relationship Disruptions Measures.....	65
Table 4.3e: Means of Clusters for Rape Myth Acceptance Measures.....	65
Table 4.4: Chi-Square Values for Relationship between Membership in Deviant Cluster & Other Variables.....	70
Table 4.5: Logistic Regression Results—Factors Predicting Membership in Deviant Cluster.....	74

APPENDIX:

Table 3.1b: Preference for Violent Sex Distribution.....	94
Table 3.1c: Number of Sexual Partners in the Past 12 Months Distribution.....	94
Table 3.1d: Age at Onset of Sex with Prostitutes.....	94
Table 3.2b: Frequency of Viewing Pornographic Magazines.....	95
Table 3.2c: Frequency of Viewing Pornographic Videos Distribution.....	95
Table 3.3b: Conservative Attitudes Measurement—Teenage Sex Distribution.....	95
Table 3.3c: Conservative Attitudes Measurement—Extramarital Sex Distribution.....	96
Table 3.3d: Conservative Attitudes Measurement—Premarital Sex Distribution.....	96

Table 3.4b: Social Competence Measurement—Attractiveness to Women Distribution..	96
Table 3.4c: Social Competence Measurement—Difficulty Meeting Women Distribution.....	97
Table 3.4d: Social Competence Measurement—Shy and Awkward with Women Distribution.....	97
Table 3.4f: Social Competence Measurement—Respect for Other's Feelings Distribution.....	97
Table 3.4g: Social Competence Measurement—Effort to Help Others Distribution.....	97
Table 3.4h: Social Competence Measurement—Listening to Others Distribution.....	98
Table 3.5b: Intimate Relationship Disruptions—Recent Trouble With Partner Distribution.....	98
Table 3.5c: Intimate Relationship Disruptions—Recently Separated From Partner Distribution.....	98
Table 3.5d: Intimate Relationship Disruptions—Recently Broke up with Partner Distribution.....	98
Table 3.6b: Frequency of Condom Use with Prostitutes.....	99
Table 3.7b: Similarity of Sexual Interests between Respondent and Respondent's Partner Distribution.....	99
Table 3.8b: Rape Myth Acceptance—Going Home with a Man Implies Willingness to Have Sexual Intercourse.....	99
Table 3.8c: Rape Myth Acceptance—Provocative Dress Invites Sexual Victimization Distribution.....	100
Table 3.8d: Rape Myth Acceptance—Rape Victims have bad Sexual Reputations Distribution.....	100
Table 3.8e: Rape Myth Acceptance—Forcible Sexual Intercourse Following Necking is the Female Victim's Fault Distribution.....	100
Table 3.8f: Rape Myth Acceptance—Women Who Hitchhike Deserve to be Raped Distribution.....	101
Table 3.8g: Rape Myth Acceptance—Stuck Up Women Deserve a Lesson through Sexual Violence Distribution.....	101
Table 3.8h: Rape Myth Acceptance—Sex is more Fun if a Woman Fights Distribution.....	101
Table 3.8i: Rape Myth Acceptance—Some Women Enjoy being Abused Distribution.....	101
Table 3.8k: Rape Myth Acceptance—Percentage of Women Who Report Rape to Protect Their Reputation Distribution.....	102
Table 3.8l: Rape Myth Acceptance—Percentage of Women Who Report Rape to Exact Revenge on a Man Distribution.....	102
Table 3.9c: Use of Threats of Physical Harm in Order to Obtain Sexual Intercourse Distribution.....	102
Table 3.9d: Have Used Physical Force in Order to Obtain Sexual Intercourse.....	103
Table 3.10b: Hollingshead SES Categories of Respondents.....	103
Table 3.10c: Respondent's Level of Education.....	104
Table 3.10d: Racial Category of Respondents.....	104
Table 3.10e: Marital Status of Respondents.....	104

APPENDIX, CONTINUED:

Table 3.10f: Divorce Status of Respondent's Parents.....	104
Table 3.10g: Respondent's History of Childhood Physical Abuse.....	105
Table 3.10h: Respondent's History of Childhood Sexual Abuse.....	105
Table 4.2a: ANOVA Test for Differences Between Cluster Variables.....	105
Table 4.3f: Frequencies and Percentages of Pornographic Magazine Use by Cluster Membership.....	106
Table 4.3g: Frequencies and Percentages of Pornographic Movie Use by Cluster.....	106
Table 4.3h: Frequency and Percentages of Conservative Sexual Attitudes Regarding Premarital Sex by Cluster Membership.....	107
Table 4.3i: Frequency and Percentages of Conservative Sexual Attitudes Regarding Teenage Sex by Cluster Membership.....	107
Table 4.3j: Frequency and Percentages of Conservative Sexual Attitudes Regarding Extramarital Sex by Cluster Membership.....	108
Table 4.3k: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Difficulty Meeting Women.....	108
Table 4.3l: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Shy and Awkward with Women.....	109
Table 4.3m: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Most Women Find Me Unattractive.....	109
Table 4.3n: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Try to Hurt Other's Feelings.....	110
Table 4.3o: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Effort to be a Good Listener.....	110
Table 4.3p: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Effort to Help Others.....	111
Table 4.3q: Intimate Relationship Disruption Measures by Cluster Membership—Recently Broke up With Partner.....	111
Table 4.3r: Intimate Relationship Disruption Measures by Cluster Membership—Serious Trouble with Partner.....	112
Table 4.3s: Intimate Relationship Disruption Measures by Cluster Membership—Recently Separated from Partner.....	112
Table 4.3t: Condom Use Patterns with Prostitutes by Cluster Membership.....	113
Table 4.3u: Similarity of Sexual Desire to Partner by Cluster Membership.....	113
Table 4.3v: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Going Home with a Man Implies a Woman's Willingness to Have Sex.....	114
Table 4.3w: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Provocative Dress asks for Trouble.....	114
Table 4.3x: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Rape Victims Have bad Reputations.....	115
Table 4.3y: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Women Hitchhiking Deserve Rape.....	115
Table 4.3z: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Stuck Up Women Deserve a Lesson.....	116

Table 4.3aa: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Sex is More Fun if a Woman Fights.....	116
Table 4.3ab: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Some Women like Being Smacked.....	117
Table 4.3ac: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Percentage of Women who Report Rape to Exact Revenge on a Man.....	117
Table 4.3ad: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Percent of Women who Report Rape to Protect Their own Reputation.....	118
Table 4.3ae: Histories of Sexual Violence Perpetration by Cluster Membership—Threatened Rape.....	118
Table 4.3af: Histories of Sexual Violence Perpetration by Cluster Membership—Perpetrated Rape.....	119

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER TWO:

Figure 2.1: Statement of Research Questions and Analytic Techniques.....33

CHAPTER THREE:

Figure 3.1: Hypotheses Regarding the Covariates of Deviant Cluster Membership.....59

Figure 3.2: Summary of Logistic Regression Model Predicting Deviant Cluster
Membership.....60

Chapter One:
Prostitution and Violence—Definitional Issues, Prevalence, and Direction of Analysis

1.1: Historical and Contemporary Examples of Violence Against Prostitutes

The disproportionate commission of violence against prostitutes is not a unique historical or cultural phenomenon. Alternatively, there is relative stability to crimes of this nature, in that they span geographic locations as well as historical periods. For instance, the historically infamous ‘Jack the Ripper’ (a pseudonym) was connected with the murder of at least five prostitutes—referred to as the ‘canonical five’—working in the Whitechapel area and adjacent districts of London, England in the latter half of 1888 (Sugden, 2002). Furthermore, the documented murdering of prostitutes in the past decade alone includes evidence of such crimes in the People’s Republic of China (Ren, 1999); Ireland (Fagan, 2000); the United Kingdom (BBC News, 2006); the United States (Rule, 2004) and Canada (Brannigan, 1994; Goulding, 2001; Lowman, 2000).

In the contemporary context, examples of violence committed against prostitutes—particularly homicide—are ubiquitous, particularly within North America. For example, the currently in-process trial of Robert Pickton, a British-Columbia based pig farmer, has connected him with approximately 26 murders of prostitutes who had worked in the East Vancouver area. Additionally, a significantly less known Canadian serial killer, John Crawford, was convicted of four murders of women working as prostitutes in the province of Saskatchewan (Goulding, 2001). Also, in Suffolk, England, Stephen Gerald James Wright has recently been charged with the murder of 5 women who worked as prostitutes in the Ipswich area. Finally, the Washington-based investigation and arrest of Gary Leon Ridgway—dubbed the ‘Green River Serial Killer’

by the local media—connected him with at least 48 counts of homicide, the majority of which were committed against prostitutes. In fact, this perpetrator admitted to an obsession with women working in the sex trade, claiming that they “did to him what drugs do to a junkie” (Rule, 2005: 26).

Given the widespread nature of this type of victimization, research regarding prostitutes generally, and their exposure to violent victimization specifically has flourished. This body of research collectively examines the antecedents to prostitution, the experience of prostituting, the various forms of prostitution, and the complex socio-legal landscapes of prostitution in various global contexts. This multitude of research spans numerous disciplinary perspectives, cultural contexts, and encompasses an impressive array of methodological orientations. Despite the proliferation of this large body of research, however, few studies have systematically examined the *clients* of prostitutes, despite the fact that substantial empirical research (reviewed below) has suggested that clients are among the leading perpetrators of violent acts. This research will attempt to address this gap. However, prior to launching a discussion of how this will practically be achieved, this piece of research will be situated in the theoretical and empirical terrain from which it stems. This involves offering: (1) a clarifying definition of prostitution; (2) a brief review of literature that outlines the prevalence of violence against prostitutes; and (3) an outline of the content and direction of this project.

1.2: Defining Prostitution

Prostitution may be defined as the exchange of sexual access to one’s body for something of value, most frequently money or drugs (Monto, 2004). In Canada:

Prostitution *per se* has never been a crime...rather, it has been, and continues to be, attacked indirectly. Currently, there are many prohibitions surrounding the act of taking money for sex that, in most cases, seem to bring in an element of illegality, whatever form the practice takes. These provisions are included in the *Criminal Code* and include offences such as those relating to bawdy-houses (s. 210 and s. 211), procuring (s. 212), and communicating (s. 213) (Department of Justice Canada, 1998).

While Monto's (2004) definition may offer a generalized or heuristically useful conceptualization, it is equally important to note that the definition of prostitution varies widely historically and regionally. For example, Friedrich Engels' early writings on the subject (1880; 1884) critically examined monogamy as the foundation upon which marriage as an institution rested. In doing so, he forwarded that the 'ownership' of women fostered within the legal bounds of marriage subjected women to their husbands, effectively rendering them theoretically equivalent to prostitutes: "[marriage is] the legally recognized form, the official cloak of prostitution" (from Tucker, 1978: 693).

In terms of regional definitions, working as a prostitute and paying for the services of prostitutes may or may not be illegal. For example, in certain districts of the U.S. (particularly parts of Nevada), Europe and Asia, prostitution does not carry the same criminal sanctions it does in other parts of the globe. Certainly, these regional disparities in definition carry significant legal and scholarly ramifications, thus making a working definition of prostitution somewhat difficult to conceptualize.

Further mitigating consensus over the definition of prostitution are the assumptions embedded within it: while the prostitution exchange is often conceptualized as the private behavior of consenting adults, many scholars have contested the degree to which prostitutes consent to this form of work. This is largely due to the fact that much

research has demonstrated that many prostitutes began working prior to adulthood (Benson & Matthews, 1995; Silbert, 1981; Weisberg, 1985); work in the field as a result of dire economic circumstances (Barrett & Beckett, 1996; Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Sezgin, 1998; Farley & Kelly, 2000) or drug addiction (Inciardi, 1995; Miller, 1995); and many fear violence from a partner or pimp who has forced them to participate in prostitution at the outset of their involvement (Giobbe, 1993). In addition, many women and children are forcibly trafficked into the United States and Canada each year for the purposes of prostitution (Monto, 2004). In concert with one another, these factors effectively mediate, or directly mitigate, the assumption that prostitution is an occupational 'choice' made by a consenting agent.

Further clouding these definitional issues is the fact that although both colloquial and academic language tends to describe prostitution monolithically, there is a rich diversity among the various forms of prostitution that are practiced both locally and globally. Prostitution can encompass activities (and involve individuals) such as:

.....car sex, in-call or out-call escort services, long-term relational sex, crack house sex, massage parlors, brothels, and sex tours... Sex workers can include homeless women and men, women trafficked and held for the purpose of sex, runaway children, financially independent and educated women and men, and many other categories and combinations of categories (Monto, 2004: 164).

Weitzer (1999; 2000) argues that there are systematic differences between these various forms of prostitution, with street level work generally being more problematic, violent, and exploitative than indoor forms¹. It has been estimated that 10-20% of all prostitution

¹ It should be noted, however, that a burgeoning body of literature suggests that significant levels of physical and sexual violence occurs against most categories of sex workers, regardless of whether their venue is indoor or outdoor (Benoit and Millar, 2001; Church, Henderson, Barnard, & Hart, 2001).

is conducted at the street level (Alexander, 1987), and it has been suggested that there are extensive differences amongst street prostitutes as a group themselves, especially for prostituting women who use crack cocaine (Ratner, 1993). This particular group of women has been popularly labeled as 'crack-whores,' a term colloquially used to depict the ultimate symbol of shame and sexual degradation (Roche, Neaigus, & Miller, 2005). A large body of scholarship has amassed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives that critically illustrates the interconnections between crack-cocaine, prostitution, and violence (Auerhahn & Parker, 1998; Falck, Wang, Carlson, & Siegal, 2001; Ward, Pallearos, Green & Day, 2000; Miller, 1995). Ultimately, the existing literature demonstrates that incidents of violent victimization are more likely to occur while prostitution is being practiced at the street level; given this well-established finding, this analysis will generally—unless otherwise noted—refer to street level work in discussing the phenomenon of violence against prostitutes.

1.3: Prevalence of Violence Against Prostitutes

In the Canadian context, it has been estimated that between 1991 and 1992, 22 murders of prostitutes took place (Wolff & Geissel, 1993), and that 39 prostitutes were murdered during the course of their work between 1992 and 1995 (Fedorowycz, 1996). However, these figures have been contested as underestimates, given that they only include cases in which the victims were murdered while actually working; estimates that encompass all homicides committed against prostitutes—regardless of whether or not they occurred while the victim was working—report that between 1993 and 1995 alone, there were 41 murders within Canada (Duchense, 1997).

Regardless of the debates over counting techniques, however, research has clearly demonstrated that prostitutes face a drastically higher rate of homicide victimization while working as compared to any other occupational group, particularly within the United States and Canada: it has been reported that the homicide rate for female prostitutes was estimated to be 204 per 100,000 in the United States (Potterat, Brewé, Muth, Rothenberg, Woodhouse, Muth, Stites, & Brody, 2004), which is especially alarming, given that the next riskiest occupations demonstrate significantly lower homicide rates at 29 per 100,000 for male taxicab drivers and 4 per 100,000 for female liquor store workers (Castillo & Jenkins, 1994). Moreover, research focusing on Canada, Kenya, the United Kingdom, and the United States reports homicide as the leading cause of death in prostituting populations (Potterat, et al, 2004; Ward, et al., 1999). Taken together, these statistical estimates of prostitute victimization demonstrate Potterat and colleagues (2004) conclusion, that “prostitute women have the highest homicide victimization rate of any set of women ever studied” (p.1101).

Additionally, it is important to note that prostitutes tend to be victimized not only in terms of homicide, but in multiple arenas, including sexual assault, physical assault, and robbery. Williamson and Folaron (2001) conducted in-depth interviews with thirteen street prostitutes from an undisclosed mid-western U.S. city, and reported that 12 out of 13 participants had been exposed to violent acts by their clients, including physical assault (being kicked, slapped, punched, hit, thrown from a moving vehicle, beaten with a blunt object, crashed through glass, or tied up against will), sexual assault (attempted or actual), and torture with perversion (including being stuffed into a trunk, having a knife

inserted into the vagina, being forced to sit on a gear shift anally, branded, and being severely bitten on the vagina and nipples) (p.467).

Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff and Ursel's (2002) qualitative study of 47 women who worked as prostitutes in three western Canadian provinces suggested that violence constitutes an 'everyday occurrence' (p.1023) in the lives of prostituting women, in that it is ubiquitous across the life-course, as well as across their contact with acquaintances and representatives of social institutions. Specifically, their qualitative interview data suggested that the prostitutes interviewed experienced physical and sexual violence during childhood (pp.1023-1025), from pimps or intimate partners (pp.1025-1027), from customers (pp.1027-1030), from professionals such as police, teachers, and group home staff (pp.1030-1031), and from members of the public who passed by their strolls or who they attended school with (pp.1031-1032). Furthermore, their findings also suggested that prostituted women tended to direct violence towards others (such as police, johns, group home staff, intimate partners, or other prostitutes) or themselves (pp.1032-1033).

Sociological research and findings of this nature have also been reflected in a more local manner. Brannigan (1994) compared victimization rates per 100 000 for prostitutes and other women in the Calgary area; this involved estimating the prostitute population in Calgary and subsequently extrapolating their victimization rate as compared to the category of 'other women' in the area, which was estimated then at 365 000 (i.e., half of Calgary's then total population of 730 000) (Brannigan, 1994: 14). His analysis revealed that prostitutes were 20 times more likely to be murdered; 1.7 times more likely to be assaulted; 9.2 times more likely to be raped; and, 16 times more likely to be robbed than other women in the same city who did not work as prostitutes (p.14).

Furthermore, he pointed to the fact that these sharp disparities may, in fact, be underestimates, due to the fact it is virtually impossible to estimate both the police report rate and the precise prostitute population (p.13).

1.4: Summary & Direction of Analysis

Taken in concert with one-another, the aforementioned articles demonstrate that violence committed against street level prostitutes has been well explored by collecting self-report data from people (primarily women) who work in the sex trade. Interestingly, however, research focusing on the *clients* of prostitutes is comparatively scant, leading Perkins (1991) to suggest that less than 1% of all prostitution studies have focused on this population. This is quite problematic in light of the well-established finding that clients are among the leading perpetrators of violence against prostitutes. Furthermore, while victimization and perpetration may be conceptually separate, they are also inextricably linked insofar as crime is an *event*, involving victims, offenders, and temporal, social, and spatial dimensions that exist in dynamic relation to one-another (Sacco & Kennedy, 1996). Thus, in order to fully address the disproportionate victimization of prostitutes generally, and perpetration by clients specifically, a deeper social scientific examination of clients is warranted.

With these considerations in mind, this study will attempt to contribute to the body of literature on the clients of street prostitutes generally, and their tendencies to violence specifically. This will be practically accomplished by employing both exploratory and explanatory data analysis techniques on a U.S.-based sample of street prostitutes' clients (N=1342). This will involve the following components: (1) a review of the literature on prostitutes' clients; (2) a discussion of this literature and how it may

be expanded upon; (3) the research design that will accomplish such an expansion; (4) the results of the statistical analyses; and, finally, (5) a discussion of the findings, their limitations, and how they may be effectively used as a starting point for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review, Critique & Direction of Analysis—The Significance of the ‘Everyman/Peculiar Man’ Debate

2.1: Overview: The Small Scope of Client-based Prostitution Research, and the ‘Everyman/Peculiar Man’ Debate

Social scientific investigations of the clients of street prostitutes are lacking, and as such, the literature in this area is quite underdeveloped relative to the broader field of prostitution studies. Despite this paucity, however, certain disciplines have tackled the subject matter. For example, sociological and criminal justice literature has critically examined either the effectiveness and/or philosophical underpinnings of the contemporary phenomenon of ‘john schools,’ which are designed to rehabilitate the patrons of prostitutes (Monto, 1998; Gibbs Van Brunschot, 2003). Additionally, a burgeoning body of literature from the public health perspective has focused on the role of condom use in prostitution exchanges, with a focus on the prevention of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) transmission (Faugier, 1995; Pickering, Quigley, Hayes, & Todd, 1993; Thorpe, 1997; Wong, Lee, Lo, & Lo, 1994). Generally, this literature directs its analytical lens on developing nations, where the transmission of HIV is substantially hindered by a lack of education about, and access to, preventative methods for reducing the risk of sexually transmitted infections (Wong, Lee, Lo, & Lo, 1994). Last, a limited number of studies have completed ethnographic and/or phenomenological analyses of men who employ the services of street prostitutes (Holzman & Pines, 1982; Bernstein, 2001).

While all of this literature is useful in gleaning a comprehensive understanding of the complex phenomenon of prostitution and the people who pay for it, it cannot and does not inform the basis of this particular analysis. Instead, literature that has focused more

specifically on the socio-demographic and behavioural characteristics of prostitutes' clients—and, where available, the relationships between such characteristics and tendencies to violence—informs the basis and direction of this research. The literature in this area may be conceptualized as focusing on the following topics, as applied to data on prostitutes' clients: demographic characteristics, psycho-social characteristics, sexual practices, and violence-specific literature. Compartmentalizing the literature into these pre-determined categories necessarily implies that they are discrete, which may be misleading. Alternatively, the categories often exhibit complex connections to others, as will be demonstrated in this literature review.

A seminal theoretical consideration stemming from existing research on the clients of prostitutes is Monto and McRee's (2005) observation of the 'everyman' or 'peculiar man' debate: this centers on the fact that on the one hand, several studies have argued that prostitutes' clients differ little from men who do not employ the services of prostitutes in terms of socio-demographic and behavioural characteristics. On the other hand, however, some studies have demonstrated that clients differ from non-clients in significant and/or meaningful ways, particularly in terms of tendencies toward violent behaviour.

This debate has historically been fuelled by some researcher's assertions that virtually all men visit prostitutes at one point in their lives: in early social scientific research on the topic, this was reported descriptively by Kinsey, Pomeroy, Wardell and Martin (1948), as well as Benjamin and Masters (1965), who estimated that between 69 to 80 percent of American men visited prostitutes at some point in their lives. Subsequent research and theorizing from the anti-prostitution feminist perspective supported these

estimates, but did so more critically by forwarding that sex with prostitutes was socially naturalized as a culturally legitimate 'passage' into healthy masculine sexuality (Barry, 1995; Dworkin, 1993; Schrage, 1992). However, other researchers have strongly opposed this perspective, suggesting that the number of men who visit prostitutes in North America is significantly lower, likely around the 16% range (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michaels, 1994), and that sex with prostitutes is not a seminal aspect of the typical male sexual experience.

The review of the following articles will attempt to comprehensively outline what contemporary social scientific research has uncovered regarding prostitutes' clients generally, and their tendencies to violence specifically. As will be demonstrated, this disparate body of research does not satisfyingly resolve the 'everyman/peculiar man' debate, but alternatively, further clouds it.

2.2: Demographic Characteristics of Clients:

Age

Extant research from the U.S. and abroad demonstrates that a wide range of age groups employ the services of prostitutes (Faugier, & Cranfield, 1995; Freund, Lee, & Leonard, 1991; Pickering, Todd, Dunn, Pepin, & Wilkins, 1992; Singh, & Malaviya, 1994; and Wong, Lee, Lo, & Lo, 1994). In the Canadian context, few studies offer insight into the age groupings of clients, although one study by Wortely, Fischer and Webster (2002) found that 65% of men arrested for attempting to hire a prostitute were 39 years old or younger. No studies have confirmed a relationship between the age of clients and a tendency towards violence against prostitutes.

Level of Education and Occupational Status

Much like age, clients' level of education also demonstrates much variability. Wortely and colleagues (2002) found that levels of education amongst men arrested for attempting to hire a prostitute were almost evenly divided between those with high school level education or less and those with postsecondary training. Similarly, other research has demonstrated that the occupational status of clients tends to range from unskilled laborers to business professionals, with no occupation being overrepresented (Morse, Simon, Balson, & Osofsky, 1992; Faugier & Cranfield, 1995; and Pickering, Quigley, Hayes, Todd & Wilkins, 1993).

However, Busch and colleagues (2002) found that lower levels of education were statistically significant predictors of pro-violent attitudes towards prostitutes. In a survey administered to 1342 men arrested for attempting to hire a prostitute, the authors found that men with less than high school education tended to exhibit attitudes that justified violent behaviour, as well report an attraction to violent sex (p.1105). The same results were found in Gamper's (2004) study using the same data.

Marital Status

Also showing great diversity is the marital status of prostitutes' clients. Some studies suggest that relatively low percentages of married or common law men solicit the services of prostitutes (27%), while others suggest that the figure is probably closer to the 60% range (Faugier & Cranfield, 1995; McKeganey, 1994). Customers who have never been married have been reported as ranging from 22 to 66 percent, with divorced customers ranging from 6 percent to 31 percent, (Faugier & Cranfield, 1995;

McKeganey, 1994; Morse, Simon, Balson, & Osofsky, 1992; Pickering, Todd, Dunn, Pepin, & Wilkins, 1992; Singh, & Malaviha, 1994; Sawyer, Rosser & Schroeder, 1998).

More interesting, though, are findings that go beyond merely measuring intimate relationship status to measuring the quality of the union (if applicable). In particular, Busch, Bell, Hotaling and Monto (2002) found that men who had serious problems with a partner, or who had temporarily separated or permanently broken up with a partner within the year prior to being surveyed, were significantly more likely to report pro-violent attitudes towards prostitutes (p.1106).

2.3: Psychological Characteristics of Clients

Psychopathology

Sawyer, Rosser, Simon, and Schroeder (1998) developed a psychometric instrument called the 'Attitude Towards Prostitution Scale' (ATPS), which was designed to sample attitudes toward prostitution and the prostitute, common beliefs about the prostitute and prostitution, and attitudes toward marriage and family behaviors (p.365). Employing this scale in a subsequent study with a different set of authors (Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, & Brucker, 2001) the authors found that approximately 29% of their sample was characterized by the presence of significant psychopathology, encompassing disorders such as bizarre mentation, cynicism, antisocial practice, paranoia, schizophrenia, hypomania, and hysteria (p.372). Although the authors do not explicitly turn their analytic focus to violence as a result of these disorders, they do conclude by noting that this particular sub-group of men are "typically impulsive, flighty, likely to drink excessively, grandiose, irritable, impatient and manipulative" (p.374).

Sexual Addiction

Gordon-Lamoureux (2007) administered Carnes Sexual Addiction Screening Test (1991) to a sample of 42 men recruited through an Ontario 'john school' program. Her results indicated that approximately 33% of the research participants were 'possibly' sexually addicted, and that a statistically significant relationship exists between possible sexual addiction and first prostitute visit between the ages of 15 and 24. Furthermore, subjects who reported a 'strong sex drive' were more likely to fall into the category of 'possibly sexually addicted.'

Motivations for Using the Services of Prostitutes

Pitts, Smith, Grierson, O'Brien & Mission (2004) completed an analysis of the social and motivational factors associated with male clients of female sex workers in Victoria, Australia. Using the survey responses of 143 men recruited at a Melbourne sex exhibition, the authors completed a factor analysis that attempted to clarify clients' motivations to use the services of prostitutes. Using a principal components extraction approach to reduce the data (p.356), the authors extracted a three-factor solution, which demonstrated that 'ease,' 'arousal,' and 'engagement' were strongly associated with motivation to pay a prostitute for sex. 'Ease' centered on the desire "*to avoid a relationship, the wish for a specific service another partner wouldn't provide, and the belief that paid sex is less trouble*" (p.356); the second factor, 'arousal', was loaded negatively by the *influence of alcohol or drugs* and positively by the desire for *relief*" (p.356); and the third factor, labeled 'engagement,' "was loaded positively by the desire for *company* and negatively by the wish for *entertainment*" (p.356). These three factors accounted for 55.6% of the variance in the sample (p.356).

Faugier and Cranfield (1995) and McKeganey and Barnard (1996) also investigated self-reported reasons for employing prostitutes' services among male clients in the United Kingdom. The respondents indicated that prostitutes were willing to perform sexual acts denied by their partners; that temptation had 'overtaken' them while en route to or leaving a night-club establishment; that their female partners were pregnant and were avoiding any kind of sexual activity; that they desired being dominated, were lonely, or would rather use a prostitute than have an affair; and, finally, that they had experienced erectile dysfunction during sexual contact with their regular partner and sought to 'test' its generalizability with another partner.

2.4: Sexual Practices of Clients (Inside and Outside of Prostitution)

Frequency of Sexual Activity with Prostitutes and Non-Prostitutes

A small body of literature has offered insight into the frequency with which clients engage in sexual activity with prostitutes and non-prostitutes. In particular, two studies using Monto's (2000) data offered insight into the variant sexual practices of 1342 men arrested for attempting to procure the services of a prostitute (Busch, et. al, 2002; Monto & McRee, 2005). The data demonstrated that nearly 70% of the sample had engaged in sex with a prostitute only 1-2 times within the previous year, while only approximately 3% had engaged in sex with a prostitute on a weekly or daily basis. In terms of sexual activity outside the parameters of prostitution, Monto's (2000) data demonstrated that almost half (46.5%) of the respondents had only one partner in the year prior to being surveyed, while a very small percentage (2%) reported sex with between 21 and 100 or more partners within the last year. Last, 87.7% of respondents reported the

frequency of their sexual activity (regardless of whether or not their partner was a prostitute) over the year ranged from non-existent to between 2-3 times per week.

Expanding on these descriptive statistics, Busch and colleagues (2002), as well as Monto and McRee (2005) both found that an increased number of sexual partners, as well as a longer history and greater frequency of visits to prostitutes, were highly correlated with pro-violent attitudes towards women generally and prostitutes specifically, which will be more comprehensively reviewed in the 'violence-specific literature' section (below).

Nature of Sex Acts

Overall, Monto's data demonstrated that the most common sex act between clients and prostitutes was oral sex (36%), followed by vaginal sex (9.76%). These findings are somewhat at odds with the findings of de Graaf, van Wesenbeeck, van Zessen, Straver & Visser (1993), who found that the most common sexual act between clients and prostitutes was vaginal intercourse (76%). However, both Monto's data and de Graaf's and colleagues' results converged in the finding that more deviant or atypical sexual activities were not well represented amongst their respondents: the least common activities were anal sex, tying up, or watching the prostitute have sex with someone else.

Despite the fact that most clients do not report partaking in non-mainstream sexual activities with prostitutes, evidence offered by Monto and Hotaling (2001) suggests that those who do participate in such acts warrant further examination. Specifically, their findings indicated that the small percentage of respondents who enjoyed rough/hard sex, or violent sexuality were more likely to exhibit rape myth

acceptance (which will be discussed more comprehensively in the subsequent section on this topic).

Attitudes towards Sexuality

Subjective assessments of human sexuality have also provided social scientific insight into prostitutes' clients. In comparing 1342 arrested clients of prostitutes to a sample of non-arrested men selected from the U.S. General Social Survey, Monto and McRee (2005) found that the clients expressed greater sexual liberalism than non-clients: this assumed the form of being more supportive of teenage sexual activity, participating in non-conventional sexual activity more often, and reporting that they thought about sex, masturbated, and participated in other aspects of the sex entertainment industry more frequently than men in general. However, previous studies completed using Monto's (2000) data that specifically examined pro-violent attitudes on the part of clients (Monto & Hotaling, 2001; Busch, et. al, 2002) both found that *conservative*—rather than liberal—sexual ideologies were statistically significant predictors of pro-violent attitudes.

Condom Use

Last, condom use patterns amongst the clients of prostitutes have also offered interesting social scientific insights into this population. Conducting their research from a public health perspective, Vanwesenbeeck and colleagues (1993) surveyed 87 clients of female Dutch prostitutes on their reasons for using or not using condoms during the prostitution exchange. Although condom use research is primarily concerned with issues of public health, the results of the study nonetheless demonstrated that condom use might represent a proxy for markers of deeper psychosocial characteristics of prostitutes' clients. In particular, the authors found that there were eight types of condom users,

whose choices to use condoms corresponded to their perceptions of prostitution and prostitutes: 'convinced' users (46% of the study group), were clients who consistently used condoms and took responsibility for both the pleasure and safety of their sexual encounter, and exhibited a positive and straightforward attitude towards prostitution as a practice and prostitutes as people. 'Guilty conscience' users (11%) tended to be married and used condoms largely due to fear of infecting their wives with sexually transmitted infections, and tended to have ambivalent attitudes towards prostitution and prostitutes. 'Angst-ridden' users (13%), were motivated to seek out the services of prostitutes largely due to loneliness rather than the pursuit of sexual pleasure, and also tended to perceive their personal risk of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) as higher than that reported by 'convinced' users. As such, the authors concluded that this particular group used condoms largely due to fear. 'Defaulting' users (6%) perceived themselves as the victims of temptation and expressed a lack of control over the sexual encounter that placed them at risk of unprotected sex. 'Maximum selective' users (8%) consistently used condoms when having sex with a prostitute, except when it involved a prostitute whom they saw regularly and frequently. 'Minimum selective' users (3%) tended to seek frequent contact with prostitutes and base condom use on a subjective assessment of whether the woman was healthy or not. 'Indifferent' users (8%) were often disabled and lonely men with no other source of sexual contact, and based their condom use or nonuse solely on the wishes of the prostitute. Finally—and perhaps most relevant to this research project—'recalcitrant' users (5%) were characterized by a strong desire for power and control, and adamantly protested condom use, particularly if it was the wish of the prostitute. In light of these results, the authors concluded that consistent condom use

was—overall—related to a positive attitude towards prostitutes, higher levels of education, and better health status.

2.5: Violence-Specific Research: Power, Control & Rape Myths

Monto's (2000) survey administered to the clients of street prostitutes (the data source for this project, discussed at length in Chapter 3) included eight rape myth statements, and respondents were asked to indicate their agreement with them on a Likert-type scale. Additionally, the survey posed many questions related to sexually violent and/or deviant practices (which will also be discussed more comprehensively in Chapter 3). These questions allowed researchers to examine the complex connections between violent behaviour, either against women generally or prostitutes specifically.

Although pro-violent attitudes and rape myths are not the specific focus of this research, a brief overview of the literature that has explored these myths using Monto's (2000) data is warranted, largely because these are the only studies that critically examine the possibility or commission of violent behaviour on the part of prostitutes' clients. In concert with one another, they constitute the key pieces of available literature that have probed the violent tendencies of clients of street level prostitutes; as such, they provide a large portion of the empirical basis for this research, which attempts to both critique and expand upon these extant studies.

First, Busch and colleagues (2002) completed an exploratory study that explicitly measured clients' attitudes towards prostituted women in terms of constructs of power and control (p.1094). Three prominent areas of research informed their study: literature on violence against prostituted women, feminist theory regarding violence against women, and research on men who solicit the services of prostituted women (p.1094).

Methodologically, this involved two phases of statistical analysis: 1) a factor analysis, in which the data were reduced to the underlying constructs; and 2) the calculation of correlation coefficients, in which statistical relationships between the factors and other variables were identified. In the factor analysis, three factors that explicitly related to the pre-determined theoretical constructs of power and control were identified: violence against women, violent sexual practices, and the use of violent physical behaviour to have sex (p.1102). In the second phase of the analysis, it emerged that variables significantly related to the violence measures representing power and control constructs included greater use of pornographic videos, sexual conservatism, being sexually touched or physically abused by an adult during childhood, breakup or separation from a partner during the past year, and having different levels of sexual desire from a regular partner (p.1107).

Second, two separate studies have attempted to examine the endorsement of rape myths among the men represented in this data set. The concept of the 'rape myth' has amassed an enormous body of literature since its conception, particularly since the nineteen-eighties, when sexual violence was addressed both socially and politically in unprecedented manners (Koss, 1991). Early on, Burt (1980) defined rape myths as prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists. Other theorists have noted that individuals who believe rape myths tend to believe that the victims of rape are ultimately responsible for their victimization, rather than the perpetrators. Last, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) have suggested that male sexual aggression directed towards women has been rationalized as a corollary of the existence of rape myths.

Monto and Hotaling (2001) began their rape myth acceptance study by inferring that the endorsement of pro-rape attitudes on the part of prostitutes' clients may contribute to the systematic victimization of prostitutes by making men indifferent to the victimization of this population (p.277). They hypothesized that five types of clients would score higher on their pre-determined 'Rape Myth Acceptance Scale': men who were regular clients of prostitutes; men who enjoyed rough or hard sex; men who were more sexually conservative; men who viewed pornography more often; and men who had been physically or sexually abused during childhood (p.279). The results indicated that overall, rape myth acceptance was not high amongst respondents (p.288), although it was found to be strongly associated with an attraction to violent sexuality (p.288). Also, men with longer histories of sexual contact with prostitutes were more likely to support rape myths (p.288). Conservative sexual ideas were also statistically significant predictors of rape myth acceptance (p.288). Their hypotheses regarding pornography use were not confirmed, because while the frequency of pornography use was *correlated* with rape myth acceptance ($p < 0.05$), it was not a statistically significant *predictor* of rape myth acceptance ($p < 0.05$) (p. 289). Last, and also contrary to their hypotheses, the experience of physical or sexual childhood abuse was not a statistically significant predictor of rape myth acceptance (p.289).

Last, Gamper (2004) examined the relationship between perceived social competence on the part of clients and their endorsement of rape myths. Gamper's research was centered in an 'attribution theory' perspective, which she outlines as follows:

....the attribution model advanced by Bernard Weiner (1985) contends that a person who experiences a negative or undesirable outcome in a social situation will hold that other person responsible for the negative outcome and consequently may feel negative affect toward that person. Weiner's cognitive model of motivation is an attributional theory that considers how outcome judgments affect an individual's future behavior (p.135).

Adopting this theoretical perspective as her foundation, Gamper points the direction of her study on the hypotheses that:

perceived social competence (i.e., degree of comfort or success in heterosexual social situations) influences acceptance or dismissal of rape myths among individuals. It is thus proposed in this study that the inability to effectively interact and receive positive feedback regarding social interaction with women ultimately influences men's perceptions of their social competence. Continual reinforcement of this state of social incompetence with women could result in men generalizing blame to women for behaviors that might result in an act of sexual assault (pp.139-140).

Three variables from the data set that measured social competence focused on whether or not clients perceive that most women find them unattractive, have difficulty meeting women, or are shy and awkward with women. Controlling for race, age, level of education, and occupation, Gamper regressed all of these variables on Monto and Hotelling's (2001) 'Rape Myth Acceptance Scale'. Her findings suggested that non-white men with low levels of education (high school or less), who also reported low levels of social competence were significantly more likely to endorse rape myths (p.145).

2.6: Discussion of Extant Literature: A Critique

The existing literature may be conceptually divided into two categories: the first is a highly disparate body of literature that has emerged from public health, psychological and sociological perspectives, which offers a myriad of mostly descriptive information on the clients of prostitutes. The second is a very specific body of attitudinal research

conducted using Monto's (2000) survey data, which focuses primarily on the endorsement of violent behaviour by clients, and is underpinned by power/control, feminist and attribute theoretical perspectives.

Taken in concert with one-another, the findings of the literature do not clarify the ongoing 'everyman' or 'peculiar man' debate Monto and McRee point to in their (2005) research, but alternatively, confound it even more: on the one hand, much research has confirmed that the clients of street prostitutes represent the spectrum of socioeconomic classes and behavioural/attitudinal profiles, and has also illustrated that most clients align with the 'typical' behavioural and sexual practices of men outside of the client population. On the other hand, there is equally strong evidence to suggest that there is a particularly deviant population of prostitutes' clients who are characterized by multiple markers of deviance, such as violent sexual preferences, and strong desires for, or tendencies toward, violent behaviours.

In terms of evidence of a subpopulation of deviant men, multiple psycho-social and demographic variables appear to correlate with, or predict their pro-violent attitudes and behaviours. There are particularly prominent and recurrent variables that appear to correlate with the endorsement of violence, as reflected in several studies. Specifically, several of the aforementioned studies have confirmed that the following factors seem to correspond with pro-violent attitudes and/or behaviours on the part of prostitutes' clients:

1. Preferences for violent sexuality
2. Lower socioeconomic standing
3. Sex with multiple partners (including both prostitutes and non-prostitutes)
4. Longer histories of sex with prostitutes

Certainly, other variables have also strongly correlated with violence, including greater use of pornographic materials, low levels of social competence, sexual conservatism, histories of child abuse, recent disruptions to, or endings of intimate relationships, and resistance to condom use. However, these findings are more contentious than the list offered above, largely because certain studies have identified them as important in predicting or correlating with violent attitudes and behaviours, while others have dismissed them as unimportant.

Furthermore, while the list above is extremely useful in informing the basis of this research, it is also problematic in nature. In particular, although these findings may be reiterated in disparate studies, there is no consensus on their distinct connections to the commission of violence against street prostitutes. Alternatively, a small number of studies have pointed to these variables while situating their studies in starkly different theoretical perspectives, and posing largely unrelated research questions. Thus, the results of existing research remain largely *exploratory* and often, merely *descriptive*. As a result, *confirmatory* or *explanatory* accounts of the causes of violent attitudes and behaviour—and their connections to violence against street prostitutes—are entirely absent in the literature. As a result, existing studies have offered no coherent explanations of why some men who are the clients of prostitutes are seemingly typical in their psychosocial characteristics, while others seem to be characterized by behavioural deficiencies that are related to, or promote violence.

Given these shortcomings, it is apparent that the burgeoning field of research on street prostitutes' clients could benefit from a social scientific investigation of the causes and manifestations of criminal behaviour within this population. This is not to suggest

that other research efforts have not attempted to offer explanatory accounts of violent attitudes and behaviours within this population, given the aforementioned research that has adopted feminist, power/control, and attribution theories of behaviour. However, feminist, power/control and attribute theoretical perspectives are problematic insofar as constructs of power, control, and a tendency to endorse rape myths arguably represent the behavioural or attitudinal *manifestations* of criminal tendencies, rather than the *origins*. Furthermore, these theoretical perspectives and their empirical applications have failed to effectively distinguish between the background factors that predict the development of pro-violent behaviours, and the attitudinal and behavioural manifestations of them. Given these shortcomings, it may be advanced that the absences in the literature largely stem from the fact that virtually no existing studies attempt to situate the behaviour(s) of clients within an explanatory framework of deviant or criminal behaviour.

2.7: Rationale for Study

To reiterate, the previous review and critique demonstrate there are two overarching gaps in the literature on the clients of street prostitutes:

The first relates to the ‘everyman/peculiar man’ debate and the variables used in exploring it: there is no consensus on whether or not prostitutes’ clients are in fact either the ‘everyman’ or the ‘peculiar man,’ and the variables comprising the basis of this debate have produced confusing results when subject to various quantifications and interpretations. Since there is strong evidence for both groups, it seems that attempts to resolve this debate by definitively designating this population as ‘deviant’ or ‘normal’ are futile; alternatively, attending to the *nuance* of the people comprising this population, and

their connections with other socio-demographic and psychosocial variables may be more appropriate.

Second, if there is in fact a subpopulation of violent-prone ‘peculiar men’ within this population, no studies have attempted to track what factors may: (1) predict membership in this population; and (2) clarify how membership correlates with multiple manifestations of deviance in terms of attitudes and behaviours.

This study will attempt to address these gaps both methodologically and theoretically by quantitatively examining Monto’s (2000) cross-sectional sample of prostitutes’ clients. This will involve three phases of analysis, which are both exploratory and explanatory in nature: first, the data will be explored for evidence of two distinct subpopulations within the total client population (one that is deviant, and the other that is non, or less, deviant), thus addressing the ‘everyman/peculiar man’ debate. Second, based on the identification of a deviant subpopulation, the contentious relationship between membership in this group and the multiple other variables previous research has struggled to understand will be examined by way of ANOVA testing, cross-tabulations and Pearson’s chi-square tests of significance. In addition to clarifying these relationships, this portion of the analysis will examine whether or not social scientific theories of crime and deviance may offer insight into their nature.

The third phase of analysis will be explanatory in nature. Specifically, if the identification of two distinct clusters is possible, factors predicting membership in the deviant cluster will be examined. This will practically involve specifying a logistic regression model in which membership in the deviant cluster serves as the dependent

variable. An overview of the theoretical framework phases two and three are based upon will be reviewed in section 2.8 of this chapter.

This research design (reviewed more thoroughly in Chapter 3) may effectively offer clarity into the nuanced structure of this population generally, and the causes and correlates of this nuance (particularly as it relates to deviance) specifically. Certainly, such an approach is warranted, given that a subpopulation of such men may be responsible for a significant portion of the violence committed against prostitutes.

2.8: Theoretical Perspective: Control Theory

Control theory represents the dominant explanatory model guiding contemporary criminological research (Curran & Renzetti, 2001). Formed on the philosophical principles of Positivism, Neo-Classicism, and Right Realism, control theory begins with the theoretical supposition that human beings are innately prone to gratify their desires in manners that may be harmful to self and others (Curran & Renzetti, 2001). As the name suggests, rather than exploring why people *do* commit crime, control theory is more concerned with the sanctions in place that may explain why people do *not* commit crime.

The presupposition of human nature as self-gratifying, and the quest to understand formal and informal systems of social control that effectively mitigate self-gratifying tendencies in favor of social order are the two major constructs underpinning contemporary control theory. However, it is impossible to speak of control theory as though it represents a singular approach; alternatively, control theory may be more effectively termed a *paradigm*, insofar as it's basic philosophical assumptions have undergone many permutations, resulting in multiple (often competing) explanations of criminal behaviour, despite the fact they rest upon similar principles.

Travis Hirschi was a pioneer of control theory in the field of sociology, and his pioneering work, *The Causes of Delinquency* (1969) captures his original contribution. This text chiefly sought to critique existing explanations of crime found in Strain Theory and Conflict Theory, two leading approaches preceding his own. Hirschi rejected the tenets of both Strain and Conflict theory, which argued that individuals engaged in crime as a result of spending time with delinquent peers, or by being constrained by structural forces that mitigated their ability to obtain culturally legitimate 'ends' through legitimate 'means.' Rather, he argued that social bonds constituted the main deterrent to criminal activity, and situated this main argument in an empirical examination of juvenile delinquency. Social bonds, he argued, consisted of four interconnected dimensions: attachment to parents, peers, or education; commitment to conventional patterns of social life; involvement in conventional activities; and belief in the appropriateness of conventional social behaviour. If an individual's social bond was weak on any of these dimensions, she or he were more likely to disregard the legitimacy of conventional lines of action, and thereby, engage in criminal activity.

Hirschi later teamed with sociologist Michael Gottfredson to append his social bond theory by developing *A General Theory of Crime* (1990). This approach explicitly sought to examine the *nature* of crime, distinguish this from the *nature* of criminality, and offer a causal mechanism explaining both, which, they forwarded, was the trait of 'low self control.' Based on a comprehensive review of official crime data and extant research, the theorists described crime as acts that are thrilling, risky, require little skill or planning, provide few or meager long term benefits, result in pain or discomfort for the victim(s), and provide the immediate, easy gratification of desires (Gottfredson &

Hirschi, 1990: 89). They further distinguished crime from the disposition to commit it: criminality. Criminality, they argued, was an individual level trait caused by 'low self control,' which represents an individual's (in)ability to defer the gratification of their desires in exchange for the pursuit of long-term goals that yield more permanent rewards (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990: 95-97). Gottfredson and Hirschi maintained that low self control was inculcated early on in life as a result of ineffective parenting, and as a result of such early inculcation, remained stable over the life-course; thus, they maintained that although *criminality* remained relatively constant, *crime* may not, insofar as crime required that individual disposition be met by ripe opportunities to express it. Thus, they clearly delineated two separate, yet equally important variables responsible for both criminal motivation and action.

Last, based on their 'illustration' of both crime and criminality, Gottfredson and Hirschi forwarded two important observations: (1) given the nature of criminality, offenders will be versatile (i.e.: non-specialists), insofar as the motivation to gratify their desires will not be limited to a single type of crime; and (2) given the nature of crime, criminals will tend to engage in analogous acts that represent the immediate gratification of desires and disregard of long term consequences; such analogous acts, they argued, could encompass behaviours/activities such as smoking, drinking, gambling, drug use, having children outside the parameters of committed relationships, engaging in illicit sex with multiple partners, having unstable employment histories, and being involved in unstable intimate and non-intimate relationships (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990: 89-90).

Another widely cited variant of control theory is found in Sampson and Laub's (1993) life-course perspective. This approach deviates from Gottfredson and Hirschi's

(1990) approach by contesting the degree to which propensity to commit crime remains stable as people age. Specifically, Sampson and Laub (1993) argued that despite early criminal behaviour, contact with adult-oriented systems of social control—such as careers, higher education, long-term relationships and parenthood—would effectively result in disengagement from criminal activity as former delinquents became more receptive to the rewards attached to conventional lines of action. Thus, in sharp contrast to Gottfredson and Hirschi, Sampson and Laub advance that *both* crime and criminality are variant across the life-course, insofar as institutions of social control effectively interact with them to influence criminal motivation and action.

Multiple empirical applications of control theory—regardless of the particular variant used—have repeatedly demonstrated that certain individual and social level factors strongly predict criminal behaviour: individual level traits include younger age, non-Caucasian racial status, and being male. Social level factors include being non-married, having lower socioeconomic standing, having criminal parents, and coming from extremely large or unstable (i.e.: ‘broken’) families (see, for example: Agnew, 1991; Grasmich, Tittle, Bursik, & Arneklev, 1993; Junger Tas, 1992; Keane, Maxim, & Teevan, 1993).

Unfortunately, an explicit test of a single variant of control theory is beyond the scope of this analysis: for one, the dataset this analysis utilizes simply does not contain enough information to explicitly test the tenets of one specific control theory. Such endeavors require far more comprehensive measures of crime, criminality, and individual and social level traits that this dataset simply does not contain. Second, no existing studies have applied the tenets of control theory to the clients of street prostitutes; this is

problematic, since the findings of previous research could provide a basis for the expansion of statistical models of deviance in this population. The implications of these limitations, and suggestions for how they may be overcome in the future, will be more comprehensively discussed in Chapter 4.

However, these limitations do not entirely eclipse the possibility of applying the overarching findings of control theory more generally to this population. Certainly, the aforementioned variables control theory has consistently posited as predictors or correlates of crime/deviance can be incorporated into a model predicting violence against prostitutes. Furthermore, the contentious findings of previous research on the topic may be clarified/reinterpreted in light of control theory's tenets. Thus, while a more comprehensive empirical application of control theory stretches beyond the limits of this analysis, it is nonetheless possible to offer a fresh perspective on previous research by adopting control theory as a foundation.

2.9: Summary & Direction of Analysis

Collectively, the information reviewed in this chapter demonstrates that the study of prostitutes' clients is limited, particularly in relation to: (1) understanding the structure of the population in terms of the 'degrees of deviance' it evidences; (2) the correlates of such degrees of deviance with multiple behavioural and attitudinal variables; and finally, (3) the background factors that influence these varying levels of deviance. This study will seek to address these limitations using both exploratory and explanatory statistical techniques. For clarification, an explicit statement of the research questions posed by this study, and proposed ways of answering them, are offered in Figure 2.1. The practical means of achieving such answers will be the focus of the next chapter.

Figure 2.1: Statement of Research Questions and Analytic Techniques

<i>Research Question</i>	<i>Analytic Technique</i>
Is there statistical evidence of both deviant and non-deviant subpopulations among the clients of street prostitutes?	K-Means cluster analysis (exploratory).
If there is statistical evidence of both deviant and non-deviant subpopulations among the clients of street prostitutes, how does membership in either of these clusters associate with other variables research in this area has struggled to understand? Furthermore, can the tenets of control theory shed light on the nature of these relationships?	Bivariate cross-tabulations, ANOVA testing, and Pearson's chi-square calculations (exploratory and explanatory)
If there is statistical evidence of both deviant and non-deviant subpopulations among the clients of street prostitutes, can individual and social-level factors specified by control theory's applications predict membership in the deviant cluster?	Specification of a logistic regression model with deviant cluster membership serving as the dependent variable (explanatory)

Chapter Three: Methodology & Descriptive Statistics

3.1 Overview

In order to address the research questions this study poses, a multi-phased quantitative research design was developed using Monto's (2000) survey data on the clients of prostitutes. First, the 'everyman/peculiar man' debate was addressed by exploring the data for evidence of two distinct groups of clients. Since the literature review suggested that there was evidence for both groups, a cluster analysis was undertaken in order to statistically clarify whether or not two distinct behavioural clusters could in fact be identified (i.e.: a deviant and non-deviant population). Second, membership in the deviant cluster was correlated with several other variables via cross-tabulations, in order to offer clarifying insight into the relationship between deviant attitudes and behaviours and other variables. The association between these variables and membership in the deviant cluster was calculated using ANOVA testing for significant differences between the groups, as well as the calculation of Pearson's chi-square statistics. The selection of these 'other' variables stemmed directly from the findings of previous research, which suggested a connection between deviant behaviour and other attitudinal and behavioural characteristics. The nature of the bivariate relationships was also predicted using the tenets of control theory as a guide. Last, using the tenets of control theory as an analytic guide, a predictive model of membership in the deviant cluster was specified and tested using logistic regression. All statistical analysis techniques were accomplished using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 14.0.

This chapter will focus on the dataset the study was conducted using, and the specification and measurement of variables of import to the analysis. Descriptive statistics in the form of tables will accompany this discussion. A discussion regarding these measurement techniques—and the problems associated with some of them—will be included in Chapter 4.

3.2 Data Source

Martin Monto's (2000) dataset on the clients of street prostitutes was obtained in order to conduct this analysis. Referred to many times in the preceding chapter, Monto's dataset contains a broad scope of information on the clients of street prostitutes. The data was collected at 'john schools' in Santa Clara, California, San Francisco, California, Portland, Oregon, and Las Vegas, Nevada. The data set encompasses 1342 responses. The data were collected by administering a survey to program participants, which focused on sexual behavior, including the number and type of partners, frequency of sex, interest in pornography, age and circumstances of first sexual encounter with a prostitute, sexual acts performed with prostitutes, and condom use with prostitutes. Clients were also asked about their attitudes toward teenage sex, premarital sex, extramarital sex, and sex between adults and children. Other questions probed men's views about prostitutes, the legality of prostitution, and violence against women. Background information gathered on clients included race, educational level, sexual orientation, marital status, work status, socioeconomic status, age, parents' marital status, history of childhood sexual or physical abuse, military service, intimate relationship history, and sexual preferences.

Monto's (2000) data were collected over a 3 year period (1996-1999), and are now publicly available through the University of Michigan's Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). The ICPSR houses a substantial amount of social scientific data on a variety of topics.

3.3 Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis is a statistical technique that encompasses a variety of approaches, including agglomerative hierarchical clustering, k-means clustering, fuzzy c-means clustering, and QT clustering (Romseburg, 2004). Essentially, cluster analysis aims at grouping objects (data) into clearly distinct, delineated categories (Romesburg, 2004). Regardless of the particular algorithm used, cluster analysis attempts to mathematically maximize the degree of association between objects that belong to the same cluster, and minimize the degree of association between objects that belong to others. Cluster analysis is not used as frequently in the social sciences as other techniques (particularly applications of the general linear model), largely because its aim is to discover structures in data without providing an explanation or interpretation of the results (Romesburg, 2004).

The k-means clustering algorithm was employed in this analysis. Unlike other cluster algorithms, K-means clustering involves an *a priori* establishment of how many clusters are expected to emerge in the analysis, leaving the researcher to establish this value at the outset (Romesburg, 2004). Based on evidence emerging from the literature review, the 'k' value was set at two, given the evidence of both a deviant and non-deviant population amongst the client population. Thus, although cluster analysis does not

operate in the spirit of hypothesis testing, *expectations* of distinct clusters on the part of the researcher is reasonable (Romesburg, 2004).

In K-means clustering, initial 'cluster centers' are randomly selected by the statistical software package the researcher uses. Once these initial cluster centers are selected, a series of iterations are performed (typically not exceeding ten) using a centroid sorting technique, which is based on a calculation of Euclidean distance. Pure mathematicians consider the Euclidean distance (also referred to as the Euclidean metric) the 'ordinary' distance between two points that one would measure with an unbiased instrument (such as a ruler), which can be mathematically proven by repeatedly applying the tenets of the Pythagorean Theorem (Romesburg, 2004). By using the Euclidean formula as a measure of distance, Euclidean distances become a metric space which, essentially, measure the distance from the initial cluster center to each case in the sample.

Because cluster analysis is largely exploratory, establishing criterion variables comprising a cluster may present a difficult task at the outset; however, previous research, coupled with clearly delineated research questions, can serve as a useful guide for inclusion decisions (Romesburg, 2004). More specifically, the preceding literature review revealed that certain variables consistently correlated with pro-violent attitudes or actions on the part of prostitutes' clients within a subset of the sample.

1. Preferences for violent sexuality
2. Lower socioeconomic standing
3. Sex with multiple partners (including both prostitutes and non-prostitutes)
4. Longer histories of sex with prostitutes

Although the significance of these variables are reiterated within disparate analyses, only variables that represented *behaviours* or *attitudes* were determined to be of

import as criterion variables; as such, preferences for violent sexuality, sex with multiple partners, and longer histories of sex with prostitutes were selected as the sole variables for this portion of the analysis. The logic underpinning this decision was the fact that number 2 (lower socioeconomic standing) represents a *background* factor, rather than a *behavioural* or *attitudinal* characteristic. Since the aim of the research questions is to first examine the data for evidence of violent and non-violent behaviours amongst the men, and then subsequently trace their etiology (if applicable), variables measuring background were used in the logistic model (which represents the latter). The clusters were labeled as the 'deviant' and 'non-deviant' cluster².

Preferences for violent sex was measured using a single variable asking respondents whether or not they preferred rough sex versus gentler approaches. Respondent's agreement with whether or not they preferred rough sex were ranked on a Likert-scale, ranging from answers of 'strongly agree' (receiving a score of '1') to 'strongly disagree' (receiving a score of '4'). This variable was recoded in the opposite direction, such that higher scores (particularly a score of '4') corresponded to greater preference for rough sex, while lower scores indicated the opposite.

Sex with multiple partners was also measured using a single variable. This variable surveyed respondents on how many partners they had engaged in sexual intercourse with over the past year, and then located the responses into one of eight rank ordered categories, ranging from none to over one-hundred (with none corresponding to a score of '0' and over one-hundred corresponding to a score of '8'). Unfortunately, the

² This nomenclature was decided upon since the variables comprising the clusters were not entirely criminal: although hiring a prostitute is certainly illegal in most jurisdictions, early onset of sexual activity and having a number of sexual partners, while deviant, does not constitute a criminal offense.

survey contained no information on how many prostitutes the clients had engaged in sexual intercourse with, either over the life course or over a more discrete period.

Last, life-history of sex with prostitutes was measured by a single variable. Respondents were asked to report the age at which they first engaged in sex acts with a prostitute, to which they could report any value. Responses ranged from age 10 to 62. Rather than leaving the variable as a ratio-level measure, it was dichotomized such that men who engaged in sex acts with prostitutes prior to adulthood (i.e.: at age 17 or younger) were assigned a score of '1', and men who engaged in sex acts with prostitutes at 18 years of age or older were assigned a score of '0.'

Based on the available literature, it was expected (though not hypothesized, since cluster analysis is not a confirmatory technique) that the deviant cluster would encompass a smaller number of cases, and the respondents who comprised it would have greater mean values for preferences for violent sex, number of sexual partners, and onset of sex with prostitutes. Tables displaying descriptive statistics for the variables that the clusters were comprised of are offered in Table 3.1a. For further insight into the distribution of these variables, see Tables 3.1b-d in the Appendix.³

³ Note that in all descriptive statistics tables in this chapter, 'N' values may deviate from the 'N' values listed in the distribution tables in the appendix, since summary statistics were not calculated on missing data. Also note that the descriptive statistics—particularly the mean and standard deviation values—represent ordinal, and sometimes dichotomous variables; this is largely why tables displaying more descriptive distributions are displayed in the Appendix, such that a more sensical and/or detailed description of these variables is provided.

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics for Cluster Analysis Variables

Descriptive Statistic	Early onset of sex with prostitutes	Violent Sex Preferences	Number of Partners
Observations (N)	1342	1342	1342
Mean	3.80	2.44	0.38
Standard Deviation	1.76	2.03	0.09
Minimum Value	1	0	0
Maximum Value	4	8	1

3.4 ANOVA, Cross-Tabulations and Chi-Square Tests of Significance

Once the cluster analysis was complete and cluster membership was established, the analysis aimed at clarifying the bivariate relationships between membership in the deviant cluster and a number of other variables measuring various attitudes and behaviours (subsequently discussed below). This involved two statistical applications. First, one way ANOVA testing for the differences between the means of the final cluster centers on these multiple other behavioural and attitudinal variables was conducted. This statistical test informs the researcher if there are statistically significant differences in the means of one or more groups. This is based on an 'F-Test,' which essentially, tests the null hypothesis that the means of normally distributed populations are equal (Elifson, Runyon & Haber, 2006).

Second, membership in the deviant cluster was cross-tabulated with the behavioural and attitudinal variables. Essentially, cross tabulation displays the joint distribution of two or more variables, which may be subsequently tested for evidence of statistical significance between them (Elifson, Runyon & Haber, 2006). The Pearson's chi-square test (also known as the chi-square goodness-of-fit test) is the most common type of chi-square significance test, and tests the null hypothesis that there is no association between the columns and rows in cross-tabulated data (Elifson, Runyon, & Haber, 2006).

Additionally, Eta statistics were calculated along with each of the chi-square tests, which provide a numerical expression of the percent of variance in the dependent variable explained linearly or nonlinearly by the independent variable(s) (Elifson, Runyon, & Haber, 2006).

A central problem in using the Pearson's chi-square test is that the approximation to the chi-square distribution breaks down if expected frequencies are too low (generally below 5) (Elifson, Runyon, & Haber, 2006). Furthermore, the statistic cannot be calculated if the cross-tabulated data contains percentages. However, since neither of these circumstances characterized the data set, no adjustments to this statistic were unnecessary. The predetermined alpha significance level for both portions of this analysis was 0.05, which is widely recommended as an acceptable level in social scientific research (Allison, 1999; Elifson, Runyon, & Haber, 2006).

This analysis incorporated both ANOVA testing and Pearson's chi-square/Eta statistic calculations in order to separately examine the statistical significance of the distribution of the clusters (ANOVA), as well as the relationships between the rows (cluster membership) and columns (multiple other variables) in the data. Unfortunately, t-tests could not be calculated along with the ANOVA values, since all of the variables this study employs are either dichotomous or ordinal in nature.

Variables posited in previous research as correlates with, or predictors of, violent behaviour or attitudes were examined in terms of their bivariate relationship with membership in the 'deviant' cluster through both the ANOVA and chi-square tests. The logic underpinning this methodology was—as mentioned earlier—the fact that the relationships between these variables and violence was contentious. Specifically, certain

studies confirmed the import of certain variables in leading to or accompanying violence, while others failed to find them statistically significant. These variables included:

1. Greater use of pornographic material
2. Sexually conservative attitudes
3. Low levels of social competence
4. Recent disruptions to, or endings of intimate relationships
5. Refusal to use condoms during the sexual exchange with prostitutes
6. Different levels of desire than partner
7. Greater endorsement of rape myths

Much like this portion of the analysis contained a two-fold statistical design, it also contained a two-fold theoretical task: first, it sought to establish if bifurcating the population into distinct groupings could clarify results that were enormously confounding in previous research; and second, it sought to examine if the tenets of control theory could serve as an explanatory framework for the bivariate relationships that emerged. Given that this involved a theoretical interpretation, hypotheses regarding the expected relationships were specified, which are described below and illustratively depicted in Figure 3.1. Several measures were available within the data to represent these variables of interest, and some of them could be collapsed into overarching categories, as outlined below.

Pornography Use

The use of pornographic material was measured by a Likert-scaled response to two questions, which surveyed respondents on how often they viewed pornographic magazines or videos, ranging from 'never' to 'several times per day.' Scores on this measure ranged from '1' through '6,' with a score of '1' representing respondents who never view or watch pornographic magazines or videos, progressing to a score of '6,'

which represents respondents who view or watch them several times per day. Descriptive statistics for these variables are displayed in Table 3.2a. A more detailed distribution of these statistics is offered in Tables 3.2b-c, in the Appendix.

It was hypothesized that greater use of pornography would be associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level, since this may reflect a tendency to gratify desires using illegitimate or deviant means.

Table 3.2a: Descriptive Statistics for Pornography Use

Descriptive Statistic	Magazines	Movies
Observations (N)	1311	1311
Mean	3.80	2.22
Standard Deviation	1.76	1.48
Minimum Value	1	1
Maximum Value	6	6

Sexually Conservative Attitudes

Sexually conservative attitudes were measured using three separate survey questions, all of which were scored in a Likert-scale fashion. These included attitudes toward teenage sexual activity, extra-marital sex, and pre-marital sex, all of which were scored on a scale of 1-5. These variables were recoded such that a score of '1' represented 'not wrong at all,' which progressed to a score of '5' representing 'always wrong.' Thus, higher scores represented greater sexual conservatism. Descriptive statistics for this variable are displayed below, in Table 3.3a, while more detailed distributions are offered in the Appendix in Tables 3.3b-d.

It was hypothesized that sexually conservative attitudes would not be associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level. This is because sexual conservatism may arguably represent a form of delayed gratification of desires:

choosing not to partake in sex at earlier ages or outside of marital relations may reflect awareness of the long-term consequences of sexual intercourse (i.e.: sexually transmitted infections, unwanted pregnancy, emotional harm), which tend to be exacerbated by being young and un-partnered; and resisting the temptation of extramarital sex may reflect a commitment to long-term relationships and the avoidance of the social, emotional and economic consequences attached to having an affair.

Table 3.3a: Descriptive Statistics for Conservative Attitudes Measures

Descriptive Statistic	Teenage Sex	Extramarital Sex	Premarital Sex
N	1323	1322	1325
Mean	2.37	2.13	3.72
Std. Deviation	1.62	1.51	1.20
Minimum	1	1	1
Maximum	5	5	5

Social Competence

Low levels of social competence were measured in two-dimensions, which included competence in heterosexual intimate relationships⁴, as well as competence in relationships outside of this sphere. Heterosexual intimate relationship competence was measured with three ordinal variables, which asked respondents whether or not they agreed that most women found them unattractive, had difficulty meeting women, and were shy or awkward with women. Responses varied from strongly disagree to strongly agree, and were recoded such that answers of 'strongly disagree' would reflect the lowest score ('1'), and answers of 'strongly agree' would reflect the highest score ('4'). In terms of non-intimate relationships, social competence was measured by three dichotomous

⁴ The exclusion of competence in homosexual intimate relationships was not purposeful, but was necessary given that the data did not survey respondents on this topic.

variables (i.e.: could only be answered with 'yes' or 'no' responses) that surveyed respondents on whether or not they ever purposefully tried to hurt other's feelings, help others, or listen to others. All three of these variables were recoded such that a score of '1' would reflect a lack of social competency (i.e.: purposefully tried to hurt others and failed to help or listen to others), while scores of '0' represented the opposite. Descriptive statistics for intimate relationship competence are displayed in Table 3.4a, while Tables 3.4b-d (Appendix) describes their original distributions in greater detail. Similarly, descriptive statistics for non-intimate relationship competence are displayed in Table 3.4e, with more detailed distributions offered in the Appendix (Tables 3.4f-h).

It was hypothesized that low levels of social competence would be associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level. This hypothesis was made with some pause however, in terms of competence in heterosexual intimate relationships. It is difficult to extract a clear hypothesis of what control theory would predict regarding this trait: being shy and awkward with women, or having a perception of being unattractive to women are variables that do not easily fit into the theoretical framework. However, since these variables had been specified in previous research as correlates of violence, they were nonetheless of interest to the study. However, the variables measuring competence in non-intimate relations (degree to which respondent helps, hurts, or listens to others) are far more plausible under the tenets of control theory, insofar as they gauge the individual's ability or willingness to consider the well-being of others; since all variants of control theory state that the nature of crime centers on self gratifying pursuits that potentially result in harm to others, it follows that the members of the deviant cluster would tend to be less socially competent.

Table 3.4a: Descriptive Statistics for Social Competence in Intimate Relationships

Descriptive Statistic	Attractiveness	Difficulty Meeting	Shy & Awkward
Observations (N)	1248	1244	1246
Mean	2.64	2.44	2.90
Standard Deviation	1.17	1.11	1.10
Minimum	1	1	1
Maximum	4	4	4

Table 3.4e: Descriptive Statistics for Social Competence in Non-Intimate Relationships

Descriptive Statistic	Hurt Others	Help Others	Listen to Others
Observations (N)	1252	1252	1252
Mean	0.43	0.80	0.63
Standard Deviation	0.49	0.40	0.48
Minimum	0	0	0
Maximum	1	1	1

Intimate Relationship Disruptions

Disruptions to, or endings of, intimate relationships were measured by three dichotomous variables, in which respondents answered ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to whether or not they had recently (i.e.: within the past year) experienced serious trouble with a partner, separated from a partner, or broken up with a partner. Responses indicating ‘yes’ were recoded to reflect a score of ‘1’ while a score of ‘0’ indicated the opposite. Descriptive statistics for these variables are displayed in Table 3.5a, and detailed displays of their distributions may be viewed in Tables 3.5b-d (Appendix).

It was hypothesized that disruptions to intimate relationships would be associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level. This is a logical extension of control theory’s tenets, particularly that found in the *General Theory of*

Crime (1990), which states that individuals who are deviant are more likely to have tumultuous or unhappy relationships with their intimate partners.

Table 3.5a: Descriptive Statistics for Recent Intimate Relationship Disruptions

Descriptive Statistic	Serious Trouble	Separated	Broke up
Observations (N)	1211	1211	1211
Mean	0.30	0.21	0.23
Standard Deviation	0.46	0.41	0.42
Minimum	0	0	0
Maximum	1	1	1

Frequency of Condom use with Prostitutes

Refusal to use condoms during the sexual exchange with prostitutes was measured by collapsing a single variable that probed respondents on their frequency of condom use with prostitutes. Responses indicating 'never' or 'seldom' were recoded to reflect a score of '1,' while responses indicating 'sometimes,' 'often,' or 'always' were recoded to a score of '0.' Descriptive statistics for this variable are listed in Table 3.6a, while Table 3.6b in the Appendix describes its distribution in greater detail.

It was hypothesized that failure to use condoms on a regular basis would be associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level. Such a hypothesis is a logical extension of control theory, insofar as failure to use sexual protection displays a gratification of desires with little regard for the long-term consequences of doing so.

Table 3.6a: Descriptive Statistics for Frequency of Condom use with Prostitutes (Recoded)

Descriptive Statistic	Condom Use
Observations (N)	957
Mean	0.071
Standard Deviation	0.026
Minimum Value	0
Maximum Value	1

(Dis)similarity of Sexual Desire with Partner

Differing levels of sexual desire with a partner were measured with an ordinal variable, in which respondents compared their level of interest in sex to their partners. These scores ranged from '1', indicating that levels of interest were 'very similar' to '4,' indicating that levels of interest were 'very different.' Table 3.7a describes the descriptive statistics for this variable, while more detailed displays of its distribution are offered in Table 3.7b.

Generating a hypothesis about the relationship between (dis)similarity of sexual desire with an intimate partner and membership in the deviant cluster using control theory as a guide is quite difficult. Whether or not dissimilarity may be used as a proxy for a dysfunctional relationship is highly contentious, and thus was not forwarded as a hypothesis. Rather, the inclusion of this variable was intended to examine the generalizability of other studies' findings to this analysis.

Table 3.7a: Descriptive Statistics for Similarity of Sexual Interests between Respondent and Respondent's Partner

Descriptive Statistic	Similarity of Desire
Observations (N)	1342
Mean	2.31
Standard Deviation	1.62
Minimum Value	1
Maximum Value	4

Rape Myth Acceptance

Rape myth acceptance was measured by multiple variables, all of which were ordinal in nature. These included 4-point Likert-scales (ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'), in which respondents indicated their agreement regarding whether or not going home with a man implies a willingness to engage in sexual intercourse; provocative dress asks for trouble; rape victims have 'bad' reputations; forced sex after kissing is a woman's fault; women hitchhiking deserve to be raped; women who are 'stuck-up' deserve to be raped as a form of punishment; sex is more fun if a woman fights; and women enjoy being abused. These variables were recoded such that scores of '1' would reflect the lowest level of agreement with rape myths, and scores of '4' would represent the highest levels of agreement. Two additional variables surveyed respondents on what proportion of women reported rape to protect their own reputation or 'get back' at a man; these were also scored in a Likert-scale fashion, ranging from 0% to 100%. These variables were recoded such that responses of higher percentages (i.e.: 100% of women report rape) would correspond to higher scores. Table 3.8a describes the descriptive statistics for rape myth acceptance agreement statement variables, while more detailed displays of their distributions are offered in Table 3.8b-i. In Table 3.8a, due to space constraints, the following numbers correspond the following variables being

presented: 1 corresponds to 'going home with a man implies a willingness to engage in sexual intercourse'; 2 corresponds to 'provocative dress asks for trouble'; 3 corresponds to 'rape victims have 'bad' reputations'; 4 corresponds to 'forced sex after kissing is a woman's fault'; 5 corresponds to 'women hitchhiking deserve to be raped'; 6 corresponds to 'women who are 'stuck-up' deserve to be raped as a form of punishment'; 7 corresponds to 'sex is more fun if a woman fights'; and 8 corresponds to 'women enjoy being abused.' Table 3.8j describes the descriptive statistics for the rape myth acceptance percentage-based responses, coupled with detailed distributions in Tables 3.8k-l.

It was hypothesized that all measures of rape myth acceptance would be associated with membership in the deviant cluster at statistically significant levels. This is a reasonable hypothesis, given that control theory posits individuals with low self-control as likely to disregard the well being of others.

Table 3.8a: Descriptive Statistics for Rape Myth Acceptance Agreement Statements

Descriptive Statistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
N	1342	1342	1342	1342	1342	1342	1342	1342
Mean	2.69	2.82	2.67	2.59	2.25	2.15	2.23	2.73
S.D.	1.12	1.24	1.53	1.02	1.52	1.64	1.74	1.06
Min.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Max.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Table 3.8j: Descriptive Statistics for Rape Myth Acceptance Percentage Statements

Descriptive Statistic	Report for Revenge	Report to Protect Reputation
N	1342	1342
Mean	2.52	2.13
S.D.	1.96	1.82
Min.	1	1
Max.	5	5

Histories of Perpetrating Sexual Violence

Two additional variables were examined using cross-tabulations. These variables asked respondents whether or not they had ever threatened or used force in order to have sexual intercourse. Respondents answered either 'yes' or no', and answers of 'yes' were recoded to correspond to a score of '1', while answers of 'no' corresponded to a score of '0.' While these variables had not been included in existing studies, they are nonetheless of interest to this study, in that they directly measure violent behaviours/actions. As such, their relationships with membership in the 'deviant' cluster were examined. Table 3.9a describes the descriptive statistics for these variables, while more detailed displays of their distributions are offered in Tables 3.9b-c (Appendix).

It was hypothesized that committing these offenses would be associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level. This is an extremely obvious extension of control theory, in that threatening or committing sexual assault provides a direct measure of criminal behaviour in this population.

Table 3.9a: Descriptive Statistics for Histories of Sexual Violence

Descriptive Statistic	Threatened	Committed
Observations (N)	1279	1274
Mean	0.01	0.009
Standard Deviation	0.10	0.09
Minimum Value	0	0
Maximum Value	1	1

In a manner similar to the selection of criterion variables for the clusters, background variables were not examined in the ANOVA, cross-tabulations and Chi-square calculations, but alternatively, reserved entirely for the logistic regression model.

For the purpose of clarification, in formal statistical language, the bivariate analyses were implemented to evaluate the following⁵:

Null Hypothesis: There is no difference between respondents in the deviant cluster and the non-deviant cluster in terms of greater use of pornographic material, more sexually liberal attitudes, low levels of social competence, recent disruptions to, or endings of, intimate relationships, refusal to use condoms during the sexual exchange with prostitutes, greater endorsement of rape myths and histories of perpetrating sexual violence.

Alternative Hypothesis: There is a difference between respondents in the deviant cluster and the non-deviant cluster in terms of greater use of pornographic material, more sexually liberal attitudes, low levels of social competence, recent disruptions to, or endings of, intimate relationships, refusal to use condoms during the sexual exchange with prostitutes, greater endorsement of rape myths, and histories of perpetrating sexual violence.

Significance Level: $\alpha = 0.05$

Sampling Distribution: Chi-square distribution with $df=(r-1)(c-1)$ ⁶

3.5: Logistic Regression Model

Last, based on the identification of two distinct clusters of deviant and non-deviant clients, a logistic regression model was developed. This model was primarily aimed at delineating factors that influenced membership in the deviant cluster, and these

⁵ Note that similarity of sexual interest with partner is not included here, since no hypothesis was generated regarding this variable.

⁶ Where r=rows and c=columns

factors were developed under the auspices of control theory. The dependent variable in the model was membership in the deviant cluster; thus, the dependent variable was dichotomous in nature, since respondents were either members of the deviant cluster, or members of the non-deviant cluster. Given that the dependent variable was dichotomous, logistic regression was employed. Logistic regression is a generalized linear model used in instances where the dependent variable is dichotomous in nature, and is often referred to as a Bernoulli (or binary) variable (Pampel, 2000). Unlike regression coefficients emerging from other applications of the general linear model, coefficients resulting from the application of logistic regression are interpreted as 'odds ratios,' which are the natural logarithm of the odds (Pampel, 2000).

Individual and Social Level Predictors

While the bivariate analysis examined attitudes predicted to co-vary with cluster membership, a regression model was developed on the basis of background factors predicting cluster membership. A number of predictors were examined. The first of these was race, which was measured using a nominal variable, in which respondents specified their racial status. This variable was dichotomized, such that Caucasian respondents were assigned as the reference category⁷ (receiving a score of '0'), to which non-Caucasian (i.e.: African-American, Hispanic, Chicano/Latino, Asian or Native American) respondents were compared (score of '1'). It was hypothesized that non-Caucasian racial status would correspond with statistically significant odds of being in the deviant cluster.

⁷ Being coded as the 'reference category' refers to being assigned a score of '0' in the recoding process; thus, it is generally respondents receiving a score of '1' that are of particular interest to the researcher (Hardy, 1993). In this analysis, 'the reference category' and a dummy variable score of '0' generally have the same meaning, unless otherwise specified.

The second variable specified in the model was socioeconomic standing, which was measured by a single variable that Monto (2000) coded using the Hollingshead SES criteria, which rank orders occupations ranging from major professionals, proprietors, and executives to unskilled labourers. In Monto's adaptation of the Hollingshead SES, executives, proprietors, and major professionals occupy the most elite socioeconomic standings, and are assigned a score of '7'. Six other categories fall below this top score, ranging from business managers/medium proprietors with a score of '6,' administrative personnel/small business owners with a score of '5,' clerical/sales workers and technical specialists with a score of '4,' skilled manual employees with a score of '3,' machine operators and semiskilled employees with a score of '2,' to last, unskilled employees earning a score of '1.'

The measure of Hollingshead SES was further refined by appending it with a measure of respondent's level of education. This variable was also ordinal in nature, and rank-ordered educational attainment on a scale of 1-5, ranging from less than high school (score of '1'), high school graduate (score of '2'), some college (score of '3'), received a bachelor's degree (score of '4'), to received a master's degree (score of '5'). This measure was recoded such that respondents with postsecondary education served as the reference category (i.e.: received a score of '0'), to which respondents with only high school or less than high school education were compared. In keeping with the control theory paradigm, it was hypothesized that lower scores on the Hollingshead SES criteria, and lower levels of educational attainment would correspond with statistically significant odds of being in the deviant cluster.

Fourth, marital status was measured via a single variable that was also dichotomized, such that married respondents were assigned as the reference category (score of '0'), to which never married, divorced, separated, or widowed respondents were compared (score of '1'). It was hypothesized that non-married status would correspond with statistically significant odds of being in the deviant cluster.

Fifth, age was measured using an interval-ratio level measure, where respondents simply specified their chronological age. In keeping with control theory's tenets, it was hypothesized that younger respondents would have statistically significant odds of being in the deviant cluster.

Sixth, a measure of the marital status of respondent's parents was available. This dichotomous variable was recoded, such that divorced parents corresponded to a score of '1,' and non-divorced parents corresponded to a score of '0.' Seventh and eighth, measures of dysfunctional childhood environments were specified. Although the available dataset could not possibly specify all of the potentially harmful environments described in various applications of control theory, certain measures were available. These variables directly surveyed respondents on whether or not they had been the victims of physical and/or sexual abuse during their childhood. Respondents who answered 'yes' to whether or not they had been the victim of either sexual and/or physical abuse were assigned a score of '1,' while those who answered 'no' were assigned a score of '0.' It was hypothesized that divorced parents, and a history of childhood sexual and/or physical abuse would correspond with statistically significant odds of being in the deviant cluster. Descriptive statistics for all of these variables are

displayed in Table 3.10a, and their more detailed distributions are displayed in Tables 3.10b-h in the Appendix.

Table 3.10a: Descriptive Statistics for Logistic Regression Predictor Variables (Including Recodes)

Descriptive Statistic	SES	Educ.	Age	Marital	Divorced	Physical	Sexual
Observations (N)	1010	1005	949	1263	1275	1277	1274
Mean	4.26	3.05	37.81	0.42	0.35	0.13	0.12
Standard Deviation	1.84	1.10	10.14	0.49	0.48	0.34	0.33
Minimum	1	1	18	0	0	0	0
Maximum	7	5	77	1	1	1	1

In formal statistical language, the hypotheses regarding the logistic regression model are as follows:

Null Hypothesis: There is no difference in the odds of being in the deviant cluster according to race, level of education, Hollingshead SES ranking, marital status, age, having divorced parents, or being physically or sexually abused during childhood.

Alternative Hypothesis: There is a difference in the odds of being in the deviant cluster according to race, level of education, Hollingshead SES ranking, marital status, age, having divorced parents, or being physically or sexually abused during childhood. Specifically:

1. Non-Caucasian respondents will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than Caucasian respondents, controlling for all other variables in the model.
2. Respondents with less than postsecondary education (i.e.: high school or less) will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than

respondents with postsecondary education, controlling for all other variables in the model.

3. Respondents who are not married will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents who are married, controlling for all other variables in the model.
4. Respondents with lower socioeconomic standing on the Hollingshead SES criteria will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents with higher socioeconomic scores on the Hollingshead SES criteria, controlling for all other variables in the model.
5. Younger respondents will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than older respondents, controlling for all other variables in the model.
6. Respondents with divorced parents will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents with non-divorced parents, controlling for all other variables in the model.
7. Respondents who experienced childhood sexual abuse will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents who did not experience childhood sexual abuse, controlling for all other variables in the model.

8. Respondents who experienced childhood sexual abuse will be more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents who did not experience childhood sexual abuse, controlling for all other variables in the model.

Level of Significance: α 0.05

Sampling Distribution: A t-distribution with N-k-1 degrees of freedom⁸

3.6 Summary

A multi-phased statistical design of this nature may offer insight into complex social scientific study of street prostitutes' clients. Furthermore, situating the analyses in an explanatory framework of control theory may offer clarity into both the causes and consequences of being in a deviant subpopulation of clients. The results of the statistical applications outlined in this chapter will be the focus of the next chapter. An illustrative diagram of the research processes for phases two and three of the analysis are depicted in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

⁸ Where k=number of independent variables & N=sample size.

Figure 3.1: Hypotheses Regarding the Covariates of Deviant Cluster Membership

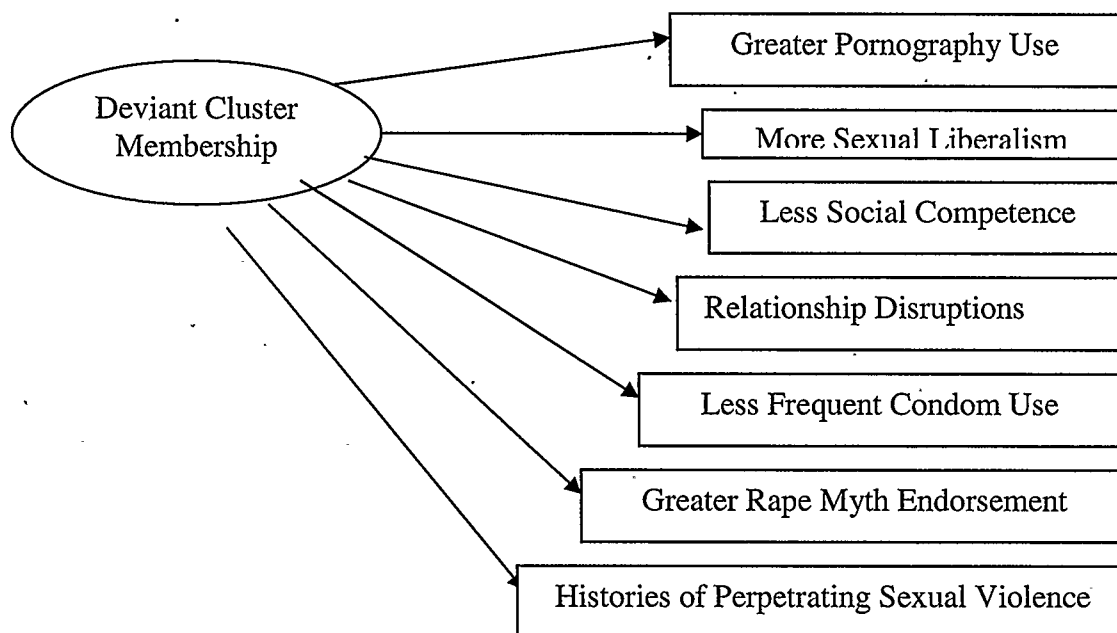
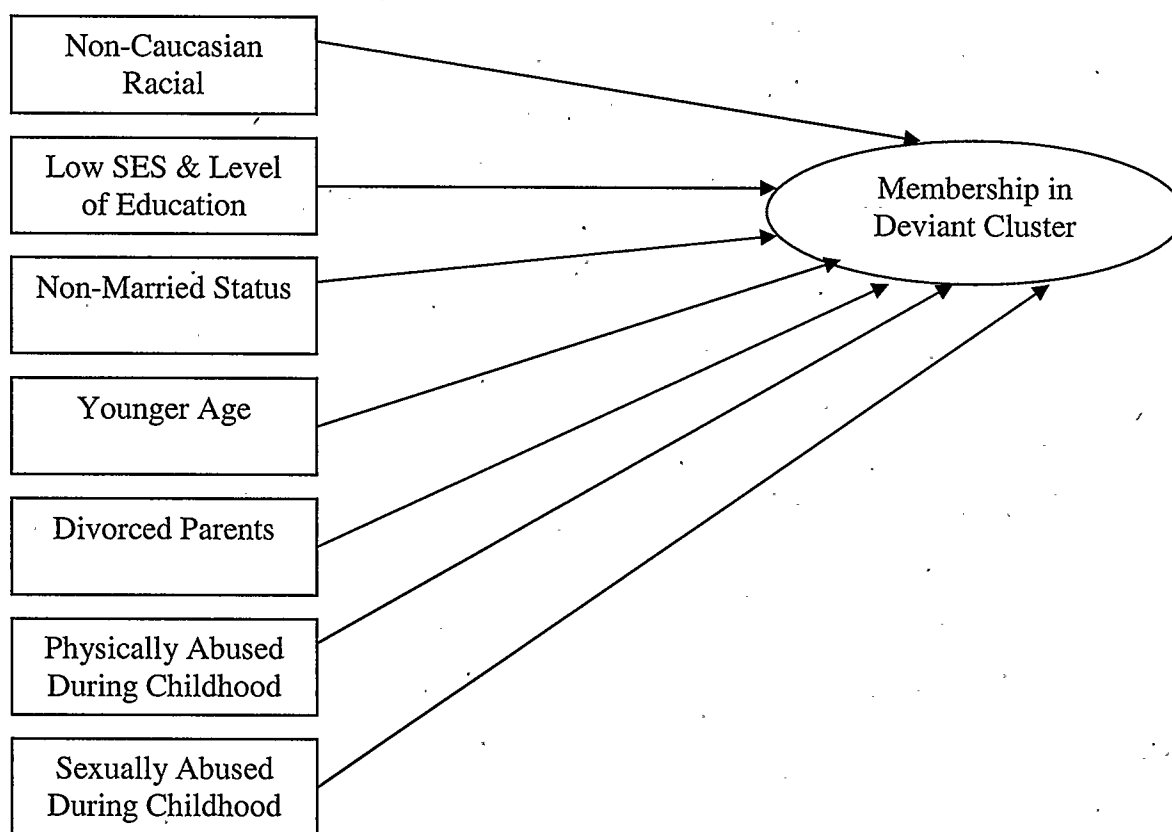


Figure 3.2: Summary of Logistic Regression Model Predicting Deviant Cluster Membership



Chapter Four: Results

4.1: Overview

The results of the multi-phased statistical analysis demonstrated that there are two distinct clusters of clients, with the population of 'deviant' clients being far less in number than the non-deviants. Additionally, the series of bivariate analyses offered insight into what variables were significantly associated with membership in the deviant cluster, and which ones were not. Last, the logistic regression model confirmed the import of only three variables for predicting membership in the deviant cluster. This chapter will focus on a description of the results.

4.2: Cluster Analysis

In keeping with the *a priori* expectation put forth in Chapter 3, the establishment of two distinct clusters was feasible with this dataset, and evidence of a smaller 'deviant' cluster was found. The final sample size for the cluster analysis was 1336, with 347 cases (25.97%) representing the deviant cluster, and 989 (74.03%) representing the non-deviant cluster. Thus, within this cross-sectional sample of prostitutes' clients, there is evidence that approximately one-quarter (25.97%) of the population is marked by deviant behavioural characteristics, including early onset of sexual activity, promiscuous sexual behaviour, and preferences for violent sexual activity (See Table 4.1).

In light of limited research on the distribution of deviance in given populations, the cluster percentages are interesting. In particular, Moffitt (1993), in her analysis of life-course persistent versus adolescent-limited delinquents, predicted that approximately 5-10% of children are in the former, high-risk category. Wade, Pevalin and Brannigan (1999), also examined the distribution of childhood deviance using the Canadian National

Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth. The results of their cluster analysis also suggested that the particularly deviant population comprised approximately 5-10% of the total population. A possible reason for the discrepancy between existing studies of a similar nature and this one is that Moffitt (1993) and Wade and colleagues (1999) use population estimates in the form of national social surveys to conduct their analyses; this differs sharply from the data used in this analysis, which is entirely comprised of men who have been arrested for soliciting street prostitutes.

The cluster encompassing 347 respondents was determined to be 'deviant' because respondents in this category ranked higher on the predetermined measures of deviance: they had an earlier onset of sexual relations with prostitutes (i.e.: prior to the age of 17), a greater number of sexual partners in the preceding year, and a greater affinity for rough sex (the numerical values expressing this are listed in Table 5.2). The cluster analysis achieved convergence after four iterations, confirming the existence of two distinct clusters with a Euclidean distance of 3.747 between the final cluster centers.

SPSS provides an ANOVA table to accompany the results of the cluster analysis, which tests for a significant difference (based on an F-test) between the clusters themselves. In this case, all three variables comprising the cluster were significant as per the F-test performed by the statistical software package ($p < 0.05$ or greater—see Table 4.2a in Appendix). However, because cluster analysis is an exploratory data analysis technique intended to maximize the differences among cases in different clusters at the outset of analysis, the significance of these statistical techniques cannot be interpreted as tests of the null hypothesis that the cluster means are equal (Romesburg, 2004). However,

the examination of the covariates of the cluster (described in section 4.3), suggests that the distinction between clusters validly differentiates the respondents.

Table 4.1: Cluster Analysis Results—Cluster Descriptions (N=1342)

Cluster Membership	Frequency	Percent
Cluster 1 (Deviant)	347	25.97
Cluster 2 (Non-Deviant)	989	74.03
Missing	6	00.45
Total	1342	

Table 4.2: Cluster Analysis Results—Final Cluster Center Scores⁹

Variable Comprising Cluster	Cluster 1 (Deviant)	Cluster 2 (Non Deviant)
Preference for Rough Sex	0.26	0.17
Sex Partners in Last Year	5	1
Early Onset of Client Status	0.22	0.16

4.3: ANOVA, Cross Tabulations and Chi-Square Calculations

The results of the ANOVA tests demonstrated differences between some means of the final cluster centers, but not others. The results of the cross-tabulations and Pearson's chi-square calculations confirmed the statistical significance of certain variables in associating with membership in the deviant cluster, while failing to find others statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Descriptive statistics for the distribution of all of the variables included in this portion of the analysis, broken down by cluster membership, are included in the Appendix (Tables 4.3f-4.3af).

ANOVA Tests for Differences between Final Cluster Centers

A graphical representation of the results of the ANOVA testing is displayed in Tables 4.3a-e. As the tables demonstrate, statistically significant differences between the

⁹ Recall that preferences for rough sex and early onset of sexual exchanges with prostitutes are categorical variables, ranging in value from 0-1.

clusters were found for pornography use, histories of perpetrating sexual violence, all measures of sexual conservatism, and only three measures of social competence.

Table 4.3a: Means of Clusters for Pornography Use, Condom Use, and Sexual Violence Perpetration History

Cluster Category	Magazines	Movies	Condom	Threat-Rape	Raped
Deviant Cluster	2.35***	2.38***	0.41	0.31**	0.22***
Non-Deviant Cluster	1.95	1.95	0.39	0.12	0.08

***p<0.001 from non-deviant cluster

**p<0.05 from non-deviant cluster

Table 4.3b: Means of Clusters for Sexual Conservatism Measures

Cluster Category	Premarital Sex	Teenage Sex	Extramarital Sex
Deviant Cluster	2.48**	3.11***	2.16***
Non-Deviant Cluster	2.21	2.67	1.97

***p<0.001 from non-deviant cluster

**p<0.05 from non-deviant cluster

Table 4.3c: Means of Clusters for Social Competence Measures

Cluster Category	Meet	Unattrac.	Shy/Awk.	Hurt	Help	Listen
Deviant Cluster	3.13**	3.16	2.78	0.53***	0.76	0.58**
Non-Deviant Cluster	3.33	3.15	2.81	0.39	0.81	0.64

***p<0.001 from non-deviant cluster

**p<0.05 from non-deviant cluster

Table 4.3d: Means of Clusters for Intimate Relationship Disruptions Measures

Cluster Category	Partner Trouble	Separated	Broke Up
Deviant Cluster	0.34	0.25	0.27
Non-Deviant Cluster	0.30	0.22	0.22

Table 4.3e: Means of Clusters for Rape Myth Acceptance Measures

Cluster Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Deviant Cluster	3.20	3.11	3.43	3.49	3.70	3.78	3.71	3.23	4.27	4.09
Non-Deviant Cluster	3.23	3.04	3.32	3.38	3.64	3.73	3.70	3.33	4.08	3.94

Cross-Tabulations and Pearson's Chi-Square Values

Closely reflecting the findings of the ANOVA testing, the calculation of chi-square values also demonstrated that only certain covariates of cluster membership were statistically significant. The actual values of the chi-square tests are listed in Table 4.3. Broken down by category, the results of these tests (as well as an indication of whether or not they confirmed the hypotheses regarding them) are as follows:

Pornography Use

In the case of pornography use, both the reading of pornographic print media and the viewing of pornographic films were significantly associated with membership in the deviant cluster ($p < 0.001$). This confirmed the hypothesis set forth in the previous chapter.

Conservative Sexual Attitudes

The variables measuring the significance of association between deviant cluster membership and conservative sexual attitudes were also all significant in this analysis ($p < 0.01$ or greater). Attitudes toward premarital sex were significant at the 0.01 level, while all of the remaining variables, including conservative attitudes toward teenage sex and extramarital sex, were all significantly associated with deviant cluster membership at the 0.001 level. This failed to confirm the hypothesis specified in the preceding chapter (see pages 52 and 56-57).

Low Levels of Social Competence

Variables aimed at gauging low levels of social competence on the part of respondents (either in intimate or non-intimate relationships) were not all found to be significantly associated with membership in the deviant cluster. In particular, respondent's reports of being shy and awkward with women, most women finding them unattractive, and making effort to help others were not significant. However, in terms of intimate relationships, reports of having difficulty meeting women were associated with deviant cluster membership at a significance level of precisely 0.01. In terms of social relationships more generally (i.e.: either or both non-intimate and intimate relationships), making a concerted effort to hurt the feelings of others was significant at the 0.001 level, while failing to be a good listener was significant at the 0.05 level. The hypotheses regarding these variables were only partially confirmed.

Disruptions to or Endings of Intimate Relationships

None of the variables measuring recent disruptions to, or endings of intimate relationships were significantly associated with membership in the deviant cluster. This failed to confirm the hypothesis specified in the previous chapter.

Condom Use Patterns with Prostitutes

Condom use patterns with prostitutes were not significantly associated with membership in the deviant cluster. This failed to confirm the hypothesis specified in the previous chapter.

Similarity of Sexual Interest with Partner

Given the coding schema outlined in the preceding chapter, a respondent's dissimilar sexual interest relative to his partner was significantly associated with membership in the deviant cluster at precisely the 0.05 level. No hypothesis was specified regarding this variable.

Rape Myth Acceptance

Somewhat surprisingly (given the findings of previous research), none of the variables aimed at measuring rape myth acceptance on the part of respondents were significantly associated with membership in the deviant cluster. Upon examination of the descriptive statistics, it instead appeared that members of the non-deviant cluster were more likely to support rape myths than the deviant respondents. This failed to confirm the hypotheses specified in the previous chapter. Note that in Table 4.3e, due to space constraints, the following numbers correspond the following variables being presented: 1 corresponds to 'going home with a man implies a willingness to engage in sexual intercourse'; 2 corresponds to 'provocative dress asks for trouble'; 3 corresponds to 'rape victims have 'bad' reputations'; 4 corresponds to 'forced sex after kissing is a woman's fault'; 5 corresponds to 'women hitchhiking deserve to be raped'; 6 corresponds to 'women who are 'stuck-up' deserve to be raped as a form of punishment'; 7 corresponds to 'sex is more fun if a woman fights'; 8 corresponds to 'women enjoy being abused'; 9

corresponds to percent of women who report sexual assault to protect their own reputation; and 10 corresponds to percent of women who report sexual assault to exact revenge on a man.

Histories of Perpetrating Sexual Violence

Both variables measuring histories of sexual violence were associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level ($p < 0.01$ or greater). This confirmed the hypotheses specified in the previous chapter.

Eta Statistic Values

The calculation of the Eta statistics accompanying the chi-square tests of significance offer further insight into the magnitude of the relationships between deviant cluster membership and other behavioural/attitudinal variables. Specifically, the Eta-squared statistic is a coefficient of association that measures the percent of variance in the dependent variable explained linearly or nonlinearly by the independent variable(s) (Elifson, Runyon, & Haber, 2006). Thus, the interpretation of Eta-squared coefficients closely parallels the interpretation of Pearson's 'r-squared' (Elifson, Runyon, & Haber, 2006).

The Eta-squared values ranged from less than 0.001 to 0.020 range for most variables, including all measures of social competence, intimate relationship disruptions, sexually conservative attitudes, condom use patterns, and sexual (dis)similarity with a partner. This illustrates that these variables explain between less than 1% and 2% of the variance in deviant cluster membership, respectively.

Variables that ranged in values exceeding 0.020 included pornography use and histories of perpetrating sexual violence. Specifically, looking at pornographic magazines

explained 3.9% of the variance in deviant cluster membership, and watching pornographic movies explained 3.8% of the variance in deviant cluster membership. Relative to other variables, histories of either threatening or actually perpetrating sexual violence accounted for much more of the variance of in deviant cluster membership (11.2% and 19%, respectively).

Table 4.4: Chi-Square Values for Relationship between Membership in Deviant Cluster & Other Variables

Variable	Pearson Chi-Square Value	Significance Level	Eta Squared
Look at Pornographic Magazines	50.511	0.000***	0.039
Watch Pornographic Movies	50.730	0.000***	0.038
Premarital Sex Is Wrong	14.491	0.006**	0.011
Teenage Sex Is Wrong	26.165	0.000***	0.020
Extramarital Sex Is Wrong	23.130	0.000***	0.018
Difficulty Meeting Women	11.410	0.010**	0.001
Shy and Awkward With Women	1.330	0.722	0.010
Most Women Find Me Unattractive	1.100	0.777	0.001
I Try to Hurt Other's Feelings	19.090	0.000***	0.016
I Do Not Try to be a Good Listener	4.773	0.029*	0.004
I Do Not Try to Always Help Others	3.396	0.065	0.004
Recently Broke Up With Partner	3.573	0.059	0.003

Table 4.4: Chi-Square Values for Relationship between Membership in Deviant Cluster & Variables of Theoretical and Empirical Interest (Continued)

Variable	Pearson Chi-Square Value	Significance Level	Eta Squared
Serious Trouble With Partner	2.240	0.134	0.002
Recently Separated From Partner	1.554	0.213	0.001
Frequency of Condom Use With Prostitutes	0.051	0.822	0.045
Similarity of Sexual Desire to Partner	16.050	0.05*	0.011
Going Home Implies Willingness to Have Sex	0.957	0.812	0.001
Provocative Dress Asks For Trouble	1.547	0.671	0.001
Rape Victims Have Bad Reputations	3.390	0.335	0.003
Women Hitchhiking Deserve Rape	1.429	0.699	0.002
Stuck Up Women Deserve a Lesson	3.152	0.369	0.003
Sex is More Fun if Woman Fights	0.746	0.862	0.001
Some Women Like Being Abused	5.078	0.166	0.009
Women Report Rape to Protect Their Reputation	9.073	0.059	0.004
Women Report Rape to Exact Revenge on a Man	4.821	0.306	0.008

Table 4.4: Chi-Square Values for Relationship between Membership in Deviant Cluster & Variables of Theoretical and Empirical Interest (Continued)

Variable	Pearson Chi-Square Value	Significance Level	Eta Coefficient (Eta-squared)
Threatened Physical Violence for Sex	10.402	0.001**	0.112
Perpetrated Physical Violence for Sex	17.566	0.000***	0.190

*** $p < 0.001$

** $p < 0.01$

* $p < 0.05$

4.4: Logistic Regression Model

The logistic regression model resulted in three significant variables predicting membership in the deviant cluster ($p < 0.05$ or greater): marital status, level of education, and a childhood history of physical abuse. In particular, the results revealed the following¹⁰:

- Respondents with lower levels of education (i.e. less than postsecondary) are 81.2% more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents with higher levels of education (i.e.: postsecondary), controlling for all other variables in the model.
- Respondents who are not married are 82.5% more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents who are married, controlling for all other variables in the model.

¹⁰ These interpretations stem directly from the recoding of the variables explained in Chapter 4. For example, marital status was recoded such that being married was the reference category, to which all other marital statuses were compared. For a more detailed explanation of recoding techniques, see Chapter 3.

- Respondents who were physically abused as children are 65.9% more likely to be members of the deviant cluster than respondents who were not physically abused as children, controlling for all other variables in the model.

The model chi-square value in the logistic regression model was 47.246, and was statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). This test is a likelihood ratio test which reflects the difference between error not knowing the independent variables (initial chi-square) and error when the independent variables are included in the model (Pampel, 2000). The Cox and Snell R-Square value for this model was 0.051, meaning that that race, level of education, marital status, Hollingshead SES score, having divorced parents, and being sexually or physically abused as a child explain 5.1% of the variation in membership in the deviant cluster.

Table 4.5: Logistic Regression Results—Factors Predicting Membership in Deviant Cluster

Variable	B	S.E	Wald	df	Exp(B)
Race	-.164	.169	.944	1	1.848
Level of Education	-.208	.084	6.083	1	1.812*
Hollingshead SES	.056	.049	1.276	1	.057
Marital Status	-.192	0.047	16.469	1	1.825***
Age	-.008	.008	.870	1	1.992
Divorced Parents	.031	.162	.036	1	1.031
Childhood Sexual Abuse	-.343	.223	2.371	1	1.710
Childhood Physical Abuse	-.417	.213	3.842	1	1.659*
Model Chi-Square	47.246***				
Cox & Snell R-Square	0.051				

*, *** Coefficients significant at *** $p < 0.001$, * $p < 0.05$

4.5 Summary

This chapter reviewed the results of the multi-phased statistical analysis aimed at delineating behavioural, attitudinal and background variables that correlate with and predict membership in a particularly deviant subpopulation of men among the clients of street prostitutes. The cluster analysis results suggested that there are two distinct subpopulations of men in this sample; the ANOVA, chi-square, and Eta statistic calculations highlighted the attitudinal and behavioural covariates of membership in the

deviant subpopulation, suggesting significant differences across the two clusters in terms of histories of perpetrating sexual violence, certain dimensions of social incompetence, and pornography use; and finally, the logistic regression model demonstrated that marital status, histories of experiencing physical victimization as a child, and low levels of education predict deviant cluster membership at statistically significant levels. The following chapter will reconnect these results with the broader empirical terrain from which they stemmed (specifically, extant literature on the clients of street prostitutes), as well as the research questions on which the statistical applications were modeled.

Chapter Five: Discussion of Results & Conclusion

5.1: Overview

A comprehensive discussion of the statistical results requires a review of two important dimensions: 1) connecting these results to the research questions from which they stemmed; and 2) outlining the limitations of the data source generally, and the research design specifically, both of which may have impacted the ability to answer such research questions from the outset. This chapter will review these two important dimensions, and will also conclude by discussing the import of this study, and recommendations for expanding on it in the future.

5.2: Revisiting the Research Questions

Research question one: Is there statistical evidence of both deviant and non-deviant subpopulations among the clients of street prostitutes?

The results of the cluster analysis suggest that there are two distinct subpopulations within this sample of clients of street prostitutes. This suggests that scholarly efforts to define this population dichotomously (i.e.: as definitively/ultimately deviant or non-deviant) are misguided. Thus, it appears that the ‘everyman/peculiar man’ debate currently preoccupying scholars of prostitutes’ clients could be more effectively addressed by acknowledging the complex nature of this population at the outset of research, and thereafter focusing analytic efforts on attending to the causes and implications of the said complexity.

However, there are undeniable limitations embedded in this conclusion. For one, cluster analysis is an exploratory technique that quite literally ‘forces’ differences to emerge in data. As a result, ANOVA testing for statistically significant differences between the clusters themselves cannot be interpreted as a test of the ‘hypothesis’ that

there are two distinct groups. Fortunately, however, ANOVA testing for differences between cluster membership and mean scores on multiple variables of theoretical interest can be relied upon to verify the results of the cluster formations (Romesburg, 2004). Given that the ANOVA calculations confirmed statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$ or greater) between group means on several of these variables, these clusters appear to be reliable. Furthermore, the fact that respondents in the deviant cluster were more 'deviant' in all dimensions comprising the cluster suggests that interpretation of the statistical results was legitimate.

The variables selected at the outset comprising the deviant cluster are defensible: certainly, the logic guiding their selection is sound, insofar as they are modeled on the findings of previous research. Furthermore, many scholars of control theory (particularly Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990)) adamantly critique the notion that there are causal differences across types of crime, and argue extensively that crime should not be defined by codified law, but rather, as an expression of low self control, rooted in the desire for immediate gratification of desires with little regard for long term consequences. Thus, the very 'character' of the sexual variables comprising the cluster theoretically align with control theory's tenets: preferences for violent sex, having a number of sexual partners, and commencing sex with prostitutes at a young age all may reflect a desire to gratify desires in manners with little regard for long term consequences to self and others, such as implications for reproductive health, or the consequences of committing a criminal act, thus reflecting the nature of both crime and criminality. If these tenets are accepted as the basis for the analysis, it follows that an exploration of sexual deviance cannot be far removed from an exploration of crime and criminality more generally.

However, the way in which one of these variables was practically measured is highly problematic. In particular, using a preference for ‘rough sex’ as a proxy for violent sexual preferences is quite contentious: the ways in which respondents view rough sex is not explicitly defined in the dataset, and thus, may not be remotely connected to an attraction to violent sexuality. Since this variable comprises a key element of the cluster serving as the dependent variable in subsequent statistical tests, the validity of these tests could be called into question. Unfortunately, however, it was the only available variable that closely approximated violent sexuality. Furthermore, this variable has been widely implemented in other studies using Monto’s (2000) data, thereby making its inclusion a logical extension of the research this study endeavored to append.

Another important, and potentially problematic issue is the designation of each cluster as ‘deviant’ and ‘non-deviant.’ By virtue of this study’s nomenclature and research design, it is implied that the non-deviant cluster is just that: non-deviant, or the ‘everyman,’ while it is readily apparent that all respondents are deviant insofar as they have all attempted to hire a prostitute. However, the explicit purpose of this study is to assess the data for *degrees* of deviance in order to contribute to the ‘everyman/peculiar man’ debate. Furthermore—though not the explicit focus of the cluster analysis—control theory (particularly Gottfredson and Hirschi’s (1990) *General Theory of Crime*) forwards that criminal and deviant behaviour is not a monolith, but alternatively, far more variable, and may manifest in multiple forms. Thus, the existence of ‘more or less’ degrees of deviance within the client population is certainly plausible under the theory motivating this analysis.

Research question two: If there is statistical evidence of both deviant and non-deviant subpopulations among the clients of street prostitutes, how does membership in either of these clusters associate with other variables research in this area has struggled to understand? Furthermore, can the tenets of control theory shed light on the nature of these relationships?

ANOVA Testing & Pearson's Chi-Square Results

The results of the ANOVA and Pearson's chi-square calculations suggest that only some variables are statistically significant correlates of membership in the deviant cluster. Hypotheses were confirmed in that greater consumption of pornography, histories of sexual violence, and disregard for the feelings of others were associated with membership in the deviant sub-population at statistically significant levels ($p < 0.05$ or greater), which can certainly be interpreted as evidence of differences across the two groups. Certainly, histories of sexual violence perpetration may constitute the most 'obvious' or explicit measure of crime and criminality in this entire dataset, suggesting that control theory may be quite useful in exploring and explaining the perpetration of violence among the clients of street prostitutes. However, heavy use of pornography may not be as straightforward a logical extension of control theory as these other variables; certainly, it reflects the gratification of desires, but whether or not it gratifies desires at the expense of long term goals and/or the well-being of others is not as clear cut as in the cases of sexual violence and intentionally hurting others. Certainly, much scholarship from the anti-pornography paradigm would suggest that pornography is indeed harmful, insofar as it disproportionately exploits women and girls who work within the industry, thus making those who consume it culpable in contributing to this harm (Dworkin, 1993).

Equally important as the hypotheses that were confirmed are the ones that were not. Perhaps even more interesting than the variables that failed to produce statistically

significant relationships was the variable that produced one in the opposite direction of the hypothesis: the measure of sexual conservatism. In no way does it follow from control theory that individuals with low self control would express greater sexual conservatism, thus seriously calling into question the efficacy of the theoretical framework in exhaustively explaining all behaviours pertaining to sexual deviance. Moreover, this hypothesis was made in the opposite direction of the results of previous research, particularly those of Monto & Hotaling (2001), and Busch and colleagues (2002), which may suggest that alternative approaches provide a superior theoretical framework for the evaluation of this particular behaviour.

Additionally surprising was the fact that no measures of rape myth acceptance were associated with membership in the deviant cluster at a statistically significant level. Again, this strongly violates the tenets of control theory. There is potential that the measurement of rape myth acceptance could have been dealt with in a more sophisticated manner, such as adopting Monto and Hotaling's (2001) 'Rape Myth Acceptance Scale.' However, the descriptive statistics for the distribution of this variable actually suggest that the non-deviant group were more likely to endorse rape myths than the deviant group. This is an extremely surprising finding, and few logical explanations can be drawn from it, particularly since another measure of sexual violence (history of sexual violence perpetration) was strongly associated with deviant cluster membership. This likely suggests a disjuncture between attitudes and behaviours, or more likely, between *reported* attitudes and behaviour; however, tracing such a disjuncture within this data is simply beyond the scope of this analysis.

The fact that failing to regularly use condoms during the prostitution exchange was not associated with deviant cluster membership at a significant level is only somewhat surprising. Certainly, it follows from control theory that failing to practice safer sex would reflect low self-control; however, this may be one of few measures within the dataset that prostitutes themselves have a role in influencing, rather than the respondent alone. In particular, it is a well-documented fact that North American prostitutes prioritize condom use during their work (Pickering, et. al., 1993).

No measures of disruption to intimate relationships were significant in the Pearson's chi-square tests. In many respects, this is not surprising. Although control theory suggests that individuals with low self-control are more likely to encounter difficulty in maintaining long-term relationships, this may be a problematic assumption. For one, many respondents in this dataset are young, a time during which it is quite typical to start and end relationships, as careers, personal developments and other commitments tend to pull people in different directions. Second, to suggest that all people who fail in relationships with their partner are automatically deviant seems quite preposterous, given the divorce rates in North America and beyond. However, it could be argued that individuals with low self-control will *continually* have unsuccessful or destructive relationships. If this is accurate, then the variables used in this study are ill-suited to properly measure this: merely asking respondents if they have recently had 'serious trouble' with, or a separation or breakup from an intimate partner does not effectively gauge the frequency of such circumstances, nor does it capture the culpability of one party in the relationship responsible for the problems. Thus, this variable would

require more precise measurement in order to be appropriately used in any test of control theory.

Last, two other categories of variables were tested as covariates of the deviant cluster: social competence in intimate relationships, and similarity of sexual desire to partner. As mentioned previously, hypothesizing the relationship between these variables and deviant cluster membership was contentious, given that hypotheses regarding them are not easily extracted from control theory. Interestingly, however, one aspect of intimate relationship competence ('I have difficulty meeting women'), and dissimilarity of desire with partner were both statistically significant in the chi-square tests. This makes sense intuitively, in that men who are struggling in either finding a relationship or having a strong sexual connection with their intimate partner may be more inclined to visit prostitutes. However, the chi-square test was not testing visits to prostitutes, but, rather, sexual deviance, as per the variables comprising the cluster. Thus, drawing a conclusion about these variables in relation to the theoretical framework is difficult. It could, however, be suggested that visiting a prostitute because of sexual discordance with a partner represents a manifestation of low self control, in that it involves the gratification of desires at the expense of the partner's emotional or physical well-being. However, this variable does not explicitly define the direction of the dissimilarity (i.e.: the respondent has greater desire than partner, or vice-versa), making such a conclusion too far a logical stretch.

Research Question 3: If there is statistical evidence of both deviant and non-deviant subpopulations among the clients of street prostitutes, can individual and social-level factors specified by control theory's applications predict membership in the deviant cluster?

Certainly, the variables that did emerge as significant in the logistic regression analysis warrant discussion. The fact that marital status, level of education, and traumatic childhood experiences strongly influenced the results while others failed to is not entirely explicable under the tenets of control theory; in no way does this approach state that these variables are more 'important' predictors of crime than others. Outside the tenets of this theory, however, some of these results seem somewhat intuitive: commitment to a partner likely reduces the want or need to procure sexual gratification outside of marriage, and it may be that higher levels of education correspond to more cognizance and careful avoidance of the 'costs' to both parties embedded in a prostitution exchange.

Furthermore, the statistical significance of childhood physical abuse in predicting cluster membership is quite interesting. This suggests that traumatic childhood experiences play an important role in influencing subsequent deviant behaviour. Certainly, control theory could account for such a relationship, insofar as being subject to childhood victimization by a parent or guardian reflects an extreme manifestation of dysfunctional childhood rearing environments. Furthermore, this finding offers preliminary evidence to suggest that the relationship between being a victim and subsequently becoming a perpetrator is quite dynamic, thus suggesting the need to further explore the causative relationship between victimization and perpetration. Additionally, this finding may be of interest not only to sociologists, but also to professionals whose work focuses on intervention and prevention in child abuse cases; certainly, it demonstrates the importance of intervention in instances of child abuse, given the potential long-term manifestations of such victimization.

5.3: Conclusion

Ultimately, this study widens the scope of existing research on the clients of street prostitutes in many ways: it synthesizes a disparate, disjointed body of literature that fails to address the 'everyman/peculiar man' debate, and in doing so, offers a degree of insight into the nuanced structure of the client population that is missing in other analyses; it clarifies and reinterprets the contentious results of previous research by utilizing the explanatory framework of control theory; and it offers a predictive model of this form of deviant behaviour, also by utilizing the explanatory framework of control theory. In concert with one-another, all of the above demonstrate that the burgeoning field of research on the clients of street prostitutes will benefit from the application of innovative methodological techniques and solid theoretical principles of deviant behaviour.

Certainly, this study is somewhat unconventional in nature when situated in the broader field of quantitative criminology, insofar as it is not modeled on previous applications of control theory. As such, this analysis represents a preliminary, and in many respects, exploratory investigation. However, rather than being a flaw to this approach, the very fact that it is preliminary constitutes its original contribution to sociological criminology: its findings emphasize the utility of control theory in empirically examining the clients of street prostitutes, suggesting the need for further research that also adopts this theoretical perspective in examining the same population. Additionally, its findings that do not align with the theoretical framework may provide a starting point for examining additional or alternative explanations of criminal/deviant behaviour in the form of soliciting prostitutes.

The findings of this project may also contribute to the policy debates surrounding prostitution. In particular, the ongoing debate regarding the decriminalization of prostitution may be informed by the empirical findings of this analysis. Much of the rhetoric surrounding the decriminalization controversy centers on the supposition that prostitution is a 'victimless' crime, and efforts to police and prosecute either the prostitutes or clients represents an overreach of the government into the private sexual behaviour of consenting adults. However, the findings of this study (particularly the relationships highlighted in the bivariate analyses) suggest that sexual 'deviance' in the form of visiting prostitutes is not far removed from other, potentially more dangerous manifestations of deviance. As such, it is apparent that decriminalization debates ought to be informed by a body of research that takes into account the potential for violence on the part of clients, which may call into question how 'victimless' the practice of prostitution really is.

Further research on this topic can certainly be conducted in a local manner. Since 1996, the Edmonton City Police Service, in concert with the Alberta Ministry of Justice, has run the 'Prostitution Offender Program' as one means of curbing prostitution within the Edmonton area (see: <http://www.paafe.org/History.htm>). Subject to ethical approval and institutional cooperation, this program could provide a rich data source to study the client population by replicating Monto's (2000) survey, revising its problematic questions, and adding more comprehensive measures of criminal histories and background experiences to it. This data could also be accompanied by a representative sample of men outside the client population for the purposes of comparison. Such an analytic strategy may strongly refine the 'everyman/peculiar man' debate, in addition to

permitting a more comprehensive, or even comparative empirical examination of one specific variant of control theory (or theories).

This analysis began with a discussion regarding the disproportionate commission of violence against prostitutes. It would be unreasonable and analytically inaccurate to suggest that this study definitively 'proves' a particularly deviant subpopulation among the clients of prostitutes is responsible, either in whole or in part, for committing this violence. In order to make such claims, the larger, more comprehensive, representative sample of the client population discussed in the preceding paragraph would be necessary. Nonetheless, this study is well-situated to inform this longstanding social problem: certainly, it points out the potential for harmful behaviour on the part of clients, and further, attempts to lay the groundwork for identifying the causes and consequences of violence in this population using criminological theory as an analytic tool. Furthermore, social scientific research generally, and quantitative criminology specifically are inherently cumulative, insofar as disparate, multiple studies may collectively shed light on abstruse social problems. Thus, it can only be hoped that this analysis, in some form, constitutes a piece of the massive social scientific puzzle addressing the disproportionate victimization of prostitutes both locally and globally.

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Appendix: Additional Statistical Information

Table 3.1b: Preference for Violent Sex Distribution

Like Rough Sex	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	51	3.80	3.80
Agree Somewhat	185	13.79	17.59
Disagree Somewhat	284	21.16	38.75
Disagree Strongly	713	53.13	91.88
Missing	109	8.12	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.1c: Number of Sexual Partners in the Past 12 Months Distribution

Number of Partners	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
None	130	9.69	9.69
1 partner	494	36.81	46.50
2 partners	220	16.39	62.89
3 partners	136	10.13	73.03
4 partners	88	6.56	79.58
5-10 partners	165	12.30	91.88
11-20 partners	55	4.10	95.98
21-100 partners	27	2.01	97.99
More than 100 partners	6	0.45	98.44
Missing	21	1.56	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.1d: Age at Onset of Sex with Prostitutes

Age Category at First Prostitute Visit	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Prior to Age 18	181	13.49	13.49
After Age 18	837	62.37	75.86
Not Applicable	254	18.93	94.78
Missing	70	5.22	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.2b: Frequency of Viewing Pornographic Magazines**How often Respondent****Views Pornographic****Magazines**

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Never	450	33.53	33.53
Less than once per month	506	37.70	71.24
1-3 times per month	224	16.69	87.93
1-3 times per week	110	8.20	96.13
Every day	16	1.19	97.32
Several times per day	5	0.37	97.69
Missing	31	2.31	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.2c: Frequency of Viewing Pornographic Videos Distribution**How often Respondent****Views Pornographic****Movies**

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Never	480	35.77	35.77
Less than once per month	449	33.46	69.23
1-3 times per month	252	18.78	88.00
1-3 times per week	89	6.63	94.63
Every day	38	2.83	97.47
Several times per day	3	0.22	97.69
Missing	31	2.31	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.3b: Conservative Attitudes Measurement—Teenage Sex Distribution¹¹**Attitude Toward****Teenage Sex**

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Always Wrong	584	43.52	43.52
Almost Always Wrong	250	18.63	62.15
Wrong only Sometimes	184	13.71	75.86
Not Wrong at all	150	11.18	87.03
Don't Know	155	11.55	98.58
Missing	19	1.42	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

¹¹ If the 'Total' N value for Distribution and Descriptive tables do not match, it is because descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values) were calculated with the missing cases dropped.

Table 3.3c: Conservative Attitudes Measurement—Extramarital Sex Distribution

Attitude Toward Extramarital Sex	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Always Wrong	637	47.47	47.47
Almost Always Wrong	310	23.10	70.57
Wrong only Sometimes	196	14.61	85.17
Not Wrong at all	68	5.07	90.24
Don't Know	111	8.27	98.51
Missing	20	1.49	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.3d: Conservative Attitudes Measurement—Premarital Sex Distribution

Attitude Toward Premarital Sex	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Always Wrong	111	8.27	8.27
Almost Always Wrong	64	4.77	13.04
Wrong only Sometimes	187	13.93	26.97
Not Wrong at all	782	58.27	85.25
Don't Know	181	13.49	98.73
Missing	17	1.27	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.4b: Social Competence Measurement—Attractiveness to Women Distribution

Most Women Find Me Unattractive	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	72	5.37	5.37
Agree Somewhat	225	16.77	22.13
Disagree Somewhat	390	29.06	51.19
Disagree Strongly	561	41.80	93.00
Missing	94	7.00	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.4c: Social Competence Measurement—Difficulty Meeting Women Distribution

I Have Difficulty

Meeting Women

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	109	8.12	8.12
Agree Somewhat	172	12.82	20.94
Disagree Somewhat	236	17.59	38.52
Disagree Strongly	727	54.17	92.70
Missing	98	7.30	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.4d: Social Competence Measurement—Shy and Awkward with Women Distribution

I am Shy and

Awkward

With Women

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	167	12.44	12.44
Agree Somewhat	349	26.01	38.45
Disagree Somewhat	294	21.91	60.36
Disagree Strongly	436	32.49	92.85
Missing	96	7.15	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.4f: Social Competence Measurement—Respect for Other's Feelings Distribution

I Have Tried to

Hurt Other's

Feelings

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	726	54.10	54.10
No	541	40.31	94.41
Missing	75	5.59	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.4g: Social Competence Measurement—Effort to Help Others Distribution

I try to be

Helpful to Others

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	1008	75.11	75.11
No	254	18.93	94.04
Missing	80	5.96	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.4h: Social Competence Measurement—Listening to Others Distribution

I try to Always be a Good Listener	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	790	58.87	58.87
No	475	35.39	94.2
Missing	77	5.74	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.5b: Intimate Relationship Disruptions—Recent Trouble With Partner Distribution

Serious Trouble with Partner	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	385	28.69	28.69
No	873	65.05	93.74
Missing	84	6.26	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.5c: Intimate Relationship Disruptions—Recently Separated From Partner Distribution

Recently Separated From Partner	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	281	20.94	20.94
No	973	72.50	93.44
Missing	84	6.56	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.5d: Intimate Relationship Disruptions—Recently Broke up with Partner Distribution

Recently Broke up with Partner	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	286	21.31	21.31
No	953	71.01	92.32
Missing	103	7.68	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.6b: Frequency of Condom Use with Prostitutes

Frequency of Condom Use with Prostitutes			
	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Never or Seldom	72	5.37	5.37
Always or Almost Always	952	70.94	76.30
Not Applicable	254	18.93	95.23
Missing	64	4.77	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.7b: Similarity of Sexual Interests between Respondent and Respondent's Partner Distribution¹²

Similarity of Sexual Interest			
	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Very Similar	315	23.47	23.47
Somewhat Similar	342	25.48	48.96
Somewhat Different	145	10.80	59.76
Very Different	65	4.84	64.61
Not Applicable	285	21.24	85.84
Missing	190	14.16	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8b: Rape Myth Acceptance—Going Home with a Man Implies Willingness to Have Sexual Intercourse

Going Home Implies Willingness to Have Sex			
	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	58	4.32	4.32
Agree Somewhat	220	16.39	20.72
Disagree Somewhat	333	24.81	45.53
Disagree Strongly	607	45.23	90.76
Missing	124	9.24	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

¹² 'Not Applicable' responses denote cases in which the respondent is not currently involved in an intimate relationship.

Table 3.8c: Rape Myth Acceptance—Provocative Dress Invites Sexual Victimization Distribution

**Provocative Dress
Invites Sexual
Victimization**

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	85	6.33	6.33
Agree Somewhat	281	20.94	27.27
Disagree Somewhat	337	25.11	52.38
Disagree Strongly	520	38.57	91.13
Missing	119	8.87	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8d: Rape Myth Acceptance—Rape Victims have bad Sexual Reputations Distribution

**Rape Victims have
Bad Sexual
Reputations**

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	61	4.55	4.55
Agree Somewhat	139	10.36	14.90
Disagree Somewhat	319	23.77	38.67
Disagree Strongly	681	50.75	89.42
Missing	142	10.58	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8e: Rape Myth Acceptance—Forcible Sexual Intercourse Following Necking is the Female Victim's Fault Distribution

**Rape Following
Necking is
Woman's Fault**

	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	58	4.32	4.32
Agree Somewhat	134	9.99	14.31
Disagree Somewhat	263	19.60	33.90
Disagree Strongly	742	55.29	89.20
Missing	145	10.80	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8f: Rape Myth Acceptance—Women Who Hitchhike Deserve to be Raped Distribution

Hitchhiking Women

Deserve Rape	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	40	2.98	2.98
Agree Somewhat	65	4.84	7.82
Disagree Somewhat	161	12.00	19.82
Disagree Strongly	937	69.82	89.64
Missing	139	10.36	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8g: Rape Myth Acceptance—Stuck Up Women Deserve a Lesson through Sexual Violence Distribution

Stuck Up Women

Deserve a Lesson	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	35	2.61	2.61
Agree Somewhat	51	3.80	6.41
Disagree Somewhat	103	7.68	14.08
Disagree Strongly	1011	75.34	89.42
Missing	142	10.58	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8h: Rape Myth Acceptance—Sex is more Fun if a Woman Fights Distribution

Sex is more Fun if a

Woman Fights	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	28	2.09	2.09
Agree Somewhat	62	4.62	6.71
Disagree Somewhat	151	11.25	17.96
Disagree Strongly	959	71.46	89.42
Missing	142	10.58	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8i: Rape Myth Acceptance—Some Women Enjoy being Abused Distribution

Women Enjoy Abuse	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree Strongly	38	2.83	2.83
Agree Somewhat	221	16.47	19.30
Disagree Somewhat	271	20.19	39.49
Disagree Strongly	659	49.11	88.60
Missing	153	11.40	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8k: Rape Myth Acceptance—Percentage of Women Who Report Rape to Protect Their Reputation Distribution

**Percent of Women Who
Report Rape to Protect**

Reputation	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
All	50	3.73	3.73
75%	72	5.37	9.09
50%	163	12.15	21.24
25%	333	24.81	46.05
0%	613	45.68	91.73
Missing	111	8.27	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.8l: Rape Myth Acceptance—Percentage of Women Who Report Rape to Exact Revenge on a Man Distribution

**Percent of Women Who
Report Rape to Exact**

Revenge	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
All	67	4.99	4.99
75%	95	7.08	12.07
50%	193	14.38	26.45
25%	331	24.66	51.12
0%	560	41.73	92.85
Missing	96	7.15	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.9c: Use of Threats of Physical Harm in Order to Obtain Sexual Intercourse Distribution

**Have Threatened
Physical Harm**

to Have Sex	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	14	1.04	1.04
No	1265	94.26	95.31
Missing	63	4.69	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.9d: Have Used Physical Force in Order to Obtain Sexual Intercourse Distribution

Have Used Physical

Force to Have Sex	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	11	0.82	0.82
No	1265	94.26	95.08
Missing	66	4.92	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.10b: Hollingshead SES Categories of Respondents

Hollingshead SES	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Executives, Proprietors, Major Professionals	92	6.86	6.86
Business Managers, Medium Proprietors	80	5.96	12.82
Administrative Personnel, Small Business Owners	237	17.66	30.48
Clerical, Sales, Technicians	124	9.24	39.72
Skilled Manual Employees	153	11.40	51.12
Machine Operators, Semi-Skilled Employees	193	14.38	65.50
Unskilled Employees	131	9.76	75.06
Not Applicable	106	7.90	83.16
Missing	149	11.10	94.26
Answered but Uncodeable	69	5.14	99.40
Unknown	8	0.60	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.10c: Respondent's Level of Education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Less than High School	140	10.43	10.43
High School Graduate	244	18.18	28.61
Some College	482	35.92	64.53
Bachelor's Degree	321	23.92	88.45
Master's Degree	142	10.58	99.03
Missing	13	0.97	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.10d: Racial Category of Respondents

Race	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Caucasian	757	56.41	56.41
Non-Caucasian	531	39.57	95.98
Neither Caucasian nor Non-Caucasian	25	1.86	97.84
Missing	29	2.16	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.10e: Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Married	560	41.73	41.73
Not Married	768	57.22	98.95
Missing	14	1.04	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.10f: Divorce Status of Respondent's Parents

Divorced Parents	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	442	32.94	32.84
No	833	62.07	95.01
Missing	67	4.99	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.10g: Respondent's History of Childhood Physical Abuse**Physically Abused**

During Childhood	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	170	12.67	12.67
No	1107	82.49	95.16
Missing	65	4.84	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 3.10h: Respondent's History of Childhood Sexual Abuse**Molested During**

Childhood	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Yes	162	12.07	12.07
No	1121	83.58	95.60
Missing	59	4.40	100.00
Total	1342	100.00	

Table 4.2a: ANOVA Test for Differences Between Cluster Variables*

Cluster Variable	Cluster Mean Square	Cluster df	Error Mean Square	Error df	F	Sig.
Preference for Violent Sex	1.935	1	0.153	1231	12.61	0.000
Early Onset of Sex with Prostitutes	0.900	1	0.146	1016	0.013	0.002
Number of Sex Partners in Previous Year	3547.95	1	0.804	1319	4411.43	0.000

*The F tests should be used only for descriptive purposes because the clusters have been chosen to maximize the differences among cases in different clusters. The observed significance levels are not corrected for this and thus cannot be interpreted as tests of the hypothesis that the cluster means are equal.

Table 4.3f: Frequencies and Percentages of Pornographic Magazine Use by Cluster (N=1305)*

Look at Magazines

Cluster Number	Never	< once/mo	1-3/mo	1-3/wk	Everyday	Sev./Day	Total
Cluster 1	74 (21.83%)	137 (40.41%)	79 (23.30%)	39 (11.50%)	5 (1.47%)	5 (1.47%)	339 (25.97%)
Cluster 2	371 (38.41%)	369 (38.20%)	144 (14.90%)	71 (7.35%)	11 (1.14%)	0 (0.00%)	966 (74.02%)
Total	445 (34.10%)	506 (38.77%)	223 (17.09%)	110 (8.43%)	16 (1.23%)	5 (0.38%)	1305 (100%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=339 for Cluster 1 and N=966 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1305)

Table 4.3g: Frequencies and Percentages of Pornographic Movie Use by Cluster (N=1305)*

Cluster Number	Never	< once/mo	1-3/mo	1-3/wk	Everyday	Sev./Day
Cluster 1	80 (23.53%)	120 (35.29%)	88 (25.88%)	36 (10.59%)	13 (3.82%)	3 (0.88%)
Cluster 2	395 (40.93%)	328 (33.99%)	164 (16.99%)	53 (5.49%)	25 (2.59%)	0 (0.00%)
Total	475 (36.40%)	448 (34.33%)	252 (19.31%)	89 (6.82%)	38 (2.91%)	3 (0.23%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=340 for Cluster 1 and N=965 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1305).

Table 4.3h: Frequency and Percentages of Conservative Sexual Attitudes Regarding Premarital Sex by Cluster Membership (N=1320)*

Cluster Number	Premarital Sex				
	Always Wrong	Almost Always Wrong	Wrong Only Sometimes	Not Wrong at all	Don't Know
Cluster 1	21 (6.10%)	13 (3.76)	49 (14.20%)	230 (66.67%)	32 (9.28%)
Cluster 2	89 (9.12%)	50 (5.13%)	137 (14.05%)	552 (56.62%)	147 (15.08%)
Total	110 (8.33%)	63 (4.77%)	186 (14.09%)	782 (59.24%)	179 (13.56%)

* Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=345 for Cluster 1 and N=975 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1320).

Table 4.3i: Frequency and Percentages of Conservative Sexual Attitudes Regarding Teenage Sex by Cluster Membership (N=1318)*

Cluster Number	Teenage Sex				
	Always Wrong	Almost Always Wrong	Wrong Only Sometimes	Not Wrong at all	Don't Know
Cluster 1	114 (33.33%)	80 (23.39%)	59 (17.25%)	51 (14.91%)	38 (11.11%)
Cluster 2	468 (47.95%)	169 (17.31%)	124 (12.70%)	99 (10.14%)	116 (11.88%)
Total	582 (44.16%)	249 (18.89%)	183 (13.88%)	150 (11.38%)	154 (11.68%)

* Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=342 for Cluster 1 and N=976 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1318).

Table 4.3j: Frequency and Percentages of Conservative Sexual Attitudes Regarding Extramarital Sex by Cluster Membership (N=1317)*

Cluster Number	Extramarital Sex				
	Always Wrong	Almost Always Wrong	Wrong Only Sometimes	Not Wrong at all	Don't Know
Cluster 1	144 (41.74%)	81 (23.48%)	65 (18.84%)	31 (8.99%)	24 (6.96%)
Cluster 2	489 (50.31%)	229 (23.56%)	131 (13.48%)	37 (3.81%)	86 (8.85%)
Total	633 (48.06%)	310 (23.54%)	196 (14.88%)	68 (5.16%)	110 (8.35%)

* Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=345 for Cluster 1 and N=972 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1317).

Table 4.3k: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Difficulty Meeting Women (N=1243)*

Cluster Number	I Have Difficulty Meeting Women				
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	Total
Cluster 1	36 (10.75%)	54 (16.12%)	75 (22.34%)	170 (50.75%)	335 (26.95%)
Cluster 2	73 (8.04%)	118 (13.00%)	160 (17.62%)	557 (61.34%)	908 (73.05%)
Total	109 (8.77%)	172 (13.84%)	235 (18.91%)	727 (58.49%)	1243 (100.00%)

* Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=335 for Cluster 1 and N=908 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 6 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1243).

Table 4.3l: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Shy and Awkward with Women (N=1245)*

Cluster Number	I am Shy and Awkward with Most Women				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	47 (14.11%)	97 (29.13%)	71 (21.32%)	118 (35.44%)	333 (26.75%)
Cluster 2	120 (13.16%)	252 (27.63%)	222 (24.34%)	318 (34.87%)	912 (73.25%)
Total	167 (13.41%)	349 (28.03%)	293 (23.53%)	436 (35.02%)	1245 (100.00%)

* Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=333 for Cluster 1 and N=912 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 6 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1245).

Table 4.3m: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Most Women Find Me Unattractive (N=1247)*

Cluster Number	Most Women Find Me Unattractive				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	21 (6.27%)	55 (16.42%)	109 (32.54%)	150 (44.78%)	335 (26.86%)
Cluster 2	51 (5.59%)	170 (18.64%)	281 (30.81%)	410 (44.96%)	912 (73.14%)
Total	72 (5.77%)	225 (18.04%)	390 (31.28%)	560 (44.91%)	1247 (100.00%)

* Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=335 for Cluster 1 and N=912 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 6 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage out of entire sample for this variable (N=1247).

Table 4.3n: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Try to Hurt Other's Feelings (N=1266)*

Cluster Number	Try to Hurt Other's Feelings	
	No	Yes
Cluster 1	159 (47.18%)	178 (52.82%)
Cluster 2	566 (60.93%)	363 (39.07%)
Total	725 (57.27%)	541 (42.73%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=337 for Cluster 1 and N=929 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1266).

Table 4.3o: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Effort to be a Good Listener (N=1263)*

Cluster Number	Try to Always Be a Good Listener		
	No	Yes	Total
Cluster 1	144 (42.35%)	196 (57.65%)	340 (26.92%)
Cluster 2	329 (26.04)%	594 (47.03%)	923 (73.08%)
Total	473 (37.45%)	790 (62.55%)	1263 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=340 for Cluster 1 and N=923 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1266).

Table 4.3p: Frequency and Percentages for Social Competence by Cluster Membership—Effort to Help Others (N=1261)*

Cluster Number	Try to Help Others		
	No	Yes	Total
Cluster 1	79 (23.51%)	257 (76.49%)	336 (26.65%)
Cluster 2	751 (81.19%)	174 (18.81%)	925 (73.35%)
Total	1008 (79.93%)	253 (20.06%)	1261 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=336 for Cluster 1 and N=925 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1261).

Table 4.3q: Intimate Relationship Disruption Measures by Cluster Membership—Recently Broke up With Partner (N=1236)*

Cluster Number	Recently Broke up with Partner		
	No	Yes	Total
Cluster 1	242 (73.11)	89 (26.89%)	331 (26.80%)
Cluster 2	708 (78.23%)	197 (21.77%)	905 (73.22)
Total	950 (76.86%)	286 (23.14%)	1236 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=331 for Cluster 1 and N=905 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1236).

**Table 4.3r: Intimate Relationship Disruption Measures by Cluster Membership—
Serious Trouble with Partner (N=1255)***

Cluster Number	Serious Trouble with Partner		
	No	Yes	Total
Cluster 1	218 (66.06%)	112 (33.94%)	330 (26.29%)
Cluster 2	652 (70.49%)	273 (29.51%)	925 (73.71%)
Total	870 (69.32%)	385 (30.68%)	1255 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=330 for Cluster 1 and N=925 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1255).

**Table 4.3s: Intimate Relationship Disruption Measures by Cluster Membership—
Recently Separated from Partner (N=1251)***

Cluster Number	Serious Trouble with Partner		
	No	Yes	Total
Cluster 1	247 (75.08%)	82 (24.92%)	329 (26.30%)
Cluster 2	723 (78.42%)	199 (21.58%)	922 (73.70%)
Total	970 (77.54%)	281 (22.46%)	1251 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=329 for Cluster 1 and N=922 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1251).

Table 4.3t: Condom Use Patterns with Prostitutes by Cluster Membership (N=1024)*

Cluster Number	Frequency of Condom use with Prostitutes		
	Always or Almost Always	Never or Seldom	Total
Cluster 1	292 (92.70%)	23 (7.30%)	315 (30.76%)
Cluster 2	660 (93.10%)	49 (6.91%)	709 (69.24%)
Total	952 (92.97%)	72 (7.03%)	1024 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=315 for Cluster 1 and N=709 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1024).

Table 4.3u: Similarity of Sexual Desire to Partner by Cluster Membership (N=882)*±

Similarity of Sexual Desires with Partner						
Cluster Number	1**	2	3	4	5	Total
Cluster 1	10 (4.74%)	19 (9.00%)	80 (37.91%)	42 (19.91%)	60 (28.44%)	211 (23.92%)
Cluster 2	44 (6.56%)	52 (7.75%)	280 (41.73%)	182 (27.12%)	113 (16.84%)	671 (76.08%)
Cluster 3	54 (6.12%)	71 (8.05%)	360 (40.82%)	224 (25.40%)	173 (19.61%)	882 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=211 for Cluster 1 and N=671 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=882).

± Sample size of 882 is smaller in this instance because many respondents were not involved in an intimate relationship at the time they were surveyed.

**Due to space constraints, the following numbers listed at the top of each column correspond to the following responses: 1 = partner much more interested; 2 = partner somewhat more interested; 3 = equally as interested as partner; 4 = more interested than partner; 5 = much more interested than partner.

Table 4.3v: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Going Home with a Man Implies a Woman's Willingness to Have Sex (N=1218)*

Cluster Number	Going Home with a Man Implies Willingness to Have Sex				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	19 (1.60%)	59 (17.77%)	91 (27.41%)	163 (49.10%)	332 (27.26%)
Cluster 2	39 (4.40%)	161 (18.17%)	242 (27.31%)	444 (50.11%)	886 (72.74%)
Total	58 (4.76%)	220 (18.06%)	333 (27.33%)	607 (49.84%)	1218 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=332 for Cluster 1 and N=886 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1218).

Table 4.3w: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Provocative Dress asks for Trouble (N=1223)*

Cluster Number	Provocative Dress asks for Trouble				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	19 (5.72%)	73 (21.99%)	93 (28.01%)	147 (44.28%)	332 (27.15%)
Cluster 2	66 (7.41%)	208 (23.34%)	244 (27.38%)	373 (41.86%)	891 (72.85%)
Total	85 (6.95%)	281 (22.98%)	337 (27.56%)	520 (42.54%)	1223 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=332 for Cluster 1 and N=891 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1223).

Table 4.3x: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Rape Victims Have bad Reputations (N=1200)*

Cluster Number	Rape Victims have bad Reputations				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	14 (4.29%)	31 (9.51%)	84 (25.77%)	197 (60.43%)	326 (27.17%)
Cluster 2	47 (5.38%)	108 (12.36%)	235 (26.89%)	484 (55.38%)	874 (72.83%)
Total	61 (5.08%)	139 (11.58%)	319 (26.58%)	681 (56.75%)	1200 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=336 for Cluster 1 and N=874 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1200).

Table 4.3y: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Women Hitchhiking Deserve Rape (N=1203)*

Cluster Number	Women Hitchhiking Deserve Rape				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	8 (2.45%)	16 (4.89%)	43 (13.15%)	260 (79.51%)	327 (27.18%)
Cluster 2	32 (3.65%)	49 (5.59%)	118 (13.47%)	677 (77.28%)	876 (72.82%)
Total	40 (3.33%)	65 (5.40%)	161 (13.38%)	937 (77.89%)	1203 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=327 for Cluster 1 and N=876 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1203).

Table 4.3z: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Stuck Up Women Deserve a Lesson (N=1200)*

Cluster Number	Stuck Up Women Deserve a Lesson				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	10 (3.06%)	10 (3.06%)	23 (7.03%)	284 (86.85%)	327 (27.25%)
Cluster 2	25 (2.86%)	41 (4.70%)	80 (9.16%)	727 (83.28%)	873 (72.75%)
Total	35 (2.92%)	51 (4.25%)	103 (8.58%)	1011 (84.25%)	1200 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=327 for Cluster 1 and N=873 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1200).

Table 4.3aa: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Sex is More Fun if a Woman Fights (N=1200)*

Cluster Number	Sex is More Fun if a Woman Fights				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	6 (1.83%)	17 (5.18%)	44 (13.41%)	261 (79.57%)	328 (27.33%)
Cluster 2	22 (2.52%)	45 (5.16%)	107 (12.27%)	698 (80.05%)	872 (72.67%)
Total	28 (2.33%)	62 (5.17%)	151 (12.58%)	959 (79.92%)	1200 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=328 for Cluster 1 and N=872 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1200).

Table 4.3ab: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Some Women like Being Smacked (N=1189)*

Cluster Number	Some Women like Being Smacked				Total
	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	
Cluster 1	11 (3.42%)	73 (22.67%)	69 (21.43%)	169 (52.48%)	322 (27.08%)
Cluster 2	27 (3.11%)	148 (17.07%)	202 (23.30%)	490 (56.52%)	867 (72.92%)
Total	38 (3.20%)	221 (18.59%)	271 (22.79%)	659 (55.42%)	1189 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=322 for Cluster 1 and N=867 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1189).

Table 4.3ac: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Percentage of Women who Report Rape to Exact Revenge on a Man (N=1243)*

Cluster Number	Percentage of Women who Report Rape to Exact Revenge					Total
	100%	75%	50%	25%	Almost None	
Cluster 1	14 (4.32%)	19 (5.86%)	45 (13.89%)	93 (28.70%)	153 (47.22%)	324 (26.07%)
Cluster 2	53 (5.77%)	76 (8.27%)	148 (16.10%)	236 (25.68%)	406 (44.18%)	919 (23.93%)
Total	67 (5.39%)	95 (7.64%)	193 (15.53%)	329 (26.47%)	559 (44.97%)	1243 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=324 for Cluster 1 and N=919 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1243).

Table 4.3ad: Rape Myth Acceptance by Cluster Membership—Percent of Women who Report Rape to Protect Their own Reputation (N=1229)*

Cluster Number	Percentage of Women who Report Rape to Protect Reputation					
	100%	75%	50%	25%	Almost None	Total
Cluster 1	11 (3.46%)	14 (4.40%)	36 (11.32%)	76 (23.90%)	181 (56.92%)	318 (25.87%)
Cluster 2	39 (4.28%)	58 (6.37%)	127 (13.94%)	256 (28.10%)	431 (47.31%)	911 (74.13%)
Total	50 (4.07%)	72 (5.86%)	163 (13.26%)	332 (27.01%)	612 (49.80%)	1229 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=318 for Cluster 1 and N=911 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1229).

Table 4.3ae: Histories of Sexual Violence Perpetration by Cluster Membership—Threatened Rape (N=1277)*

Cluster Number	Threatened Rape		Total
	Yes	No	
Cluster 1	9 (2.66%)	329 (97.34%)	338 (26.47%)
Cluster 2	5 (0.53%)	934 (99.47%)	939 (73.53%)
Total	14 (1.10%)	1263 (98.90%)	1277 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=338 for Cluster 1 and N=939 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1277).

**Table 4.3af: Histories of Sexual Violence Perpetration by Cluster Membership—
Perpetrated Rape (N=1274)***

Cluster Number	Perpetrated Rape		Total
	Yes	No	
Cluster 1	9 (2.68%)	327 (97.37%)	336 (26.37%)
Cluster 2	2 (0.21%)	936 (99.79%)	938 (73.63%)
Total	11 (0.86%)	1263 (99.14%)	1274 (100.00%)

*Percentages included in brackets below frequencies in rows 1 and 2 indicate the percentage of the cluster (in this case, N=336 for Cluster 1 and N=938 for Cluster 2). Percentages included below frequencies in row 3 and column 3 (i.e.: the 'Total' row and column) indicate percentage of entire sample for this variable (N=1274).