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**MALE PROSTITUTION: A CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF MALE
HOMOSEXUALITY**

University of Washington

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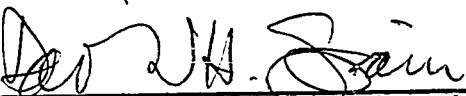
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Male Prostitution:
A Cultural Expression of Male Homosexuality
by
DEBRA BOYER

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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1986

Approved by 
(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

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to offer Degree Anthropology

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Abstract

MALE PROSTITUTION:

A CULTURAL EXPRESSION OF HOMOSEXUALITY

by Debra Boyer

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee:
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In this study I demonstrate how adolescent male prostitutes have linked the meaning of a personal homoerotic preference and subsequent homosocial identity with the social action of prostitution. In several major studies, a homosexual identity for male prostitutes was disclaimed. Prostitution was explained using socio-economic factors or perspectives of individual pathology. A recent study suggested that male prostitution has become "gayer," but does not describe the relationship of homosexuality to male prostitution in theoretical terms. Many of these studies are weakened by a Western perspective of homosexuality that is concerned with etiology and pathology. By contrast, I examined homosexuality as a symbolic construct whose expression is shaped by the dominant sex and gender system of American culture. The research approach taken was shaped by my view of homosexuality as one of a variety of permutations of social-sexual behavior to be found in various types of social organization and not the result of individual or social pathology.

The research process included a combination of quantitative and qualitative procedures. The quantitative data permitted an analysis of conditions and constraints common to male prostitutes. These included: 1) sexual identity, 2) sexual exploitation, and 3) family rejection. I have argued that these factors bounded their perceptions and alternatives. Using an interactionist perspective, I developed an interpretive model to demonstrate the interplay of objective and subjective factors from which male prostitutes construct social definitions and subjective meanings linking homosexuality and prostitution. I have argued that adolescent gay males develop a self-understanding that includes prostitution as part of their homosexual world due to: 1) stigma associated with homosexuality, 2) approval of active male sexuality, 3) sex construed as a commodity, and 4) self-objectification resulting from experiences of sexual exploitation. I show how the male homosexual subculture provided adolescent gay males with a coherent social role and identity that included prostitution.

In summary, I try to demonstrate how behavior classed as deviant is a socio-cultural phenomenon produced from cultural constructions of sex and gender. From this perspective one can begin to understand how prostitution makes sense to an adolescent gay male who is trying to understand what it means to be homosexual in American culture.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Male prostitution was once a clandestine and obscure phenomenon. It now occurs openly in every major city of the United States. Although the existence of male prostitution has been acknowledged for several centuries, the access and visibility of an open street-corner market of young boys is relatively new. There is now an exchange of sex for money between young males -- who are nearly children -- and adult men on the street corners of every major urban area of the United States. This is, by statute, criminal activity for both parties, no matter how young the prostitute may be.

In the last fifteen years, there has been a dramatic rise in the number of adolescents, both male and female, involved in prostitution. Between 1969 and 1978, arrests of males under the age of 18 for prostitution increased 315% (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1985).¹ A conservative estimate of the number of adolescent male prostitutes is 300,000 (Young 1978).

In this study I report two years of research on the lives of adolescent males whose livelihood depends upon the money they receive from sexual encounters with adult males. These boys range in age from 12 to 18. Their activities take place in a highly visible area of downtown Seattle, Washington where this study took place. The data presented here are from interviews and observations of 47 of these

prostitutes and a control group of 50 delinquent males who were not involved in prostitution. These interviews, which were conducted between 1980 and 1982, are similar to those used by James in her study of adolescent female prostitution (1980).

The purpose of the research was to identify and describe the factors that influenced these young men to become involved in prostitution. The major issue that emerged was the homosexual identity of the prostitutes. The issues of male prostitution and homosexuality have been merged in literature and research since the 1800's (Weeks 1981). The precise nature of the relationship between the two has not, however, been made clear. In this analysis I combine quantitative and qualitative data. In part one I discuss the shared characteristics and experiences of male prostitutes known through quantitative procedures. In part two I focus on subjective dimensions of male prostitution and use qualitative data to build an interpretive model. I examine the relationship between male prostitution and male homosexuality by focusing on the cultural construction of the social identity of adolescent males who are both homosexual and involved in prostitution. A related purpose of this dissertation is to discern what the phenomenon of male prostitution may tell us about ourselves and Western cultural perceptions of sexuality and gender.

I begin with a description of the lifestyle of male prostitutes. The information presented in the following section was gathered from observations of street life during the study described here on male prostitution and from a previous study of female prostitution.

A Description of the Lifestyle

The lifestyles of young male prostitutes is much the same in New York or Boston as it is in Minneapolis, Houston, or Seattle (Fisher et al. 1982). In Seattle, the lives of adolescent male prostitutes center around the "hustling corners" of downtown. It is an area of the city where indigence litters the advancing playgrounds of the chic and the real estate deals of the rich. The "hustling scene" occurs in a part of the city where the abominably old and the fashionably antique, and rich and poor, are found side by side. "Adults only" signs share blocks with boutiques, art galleries, espresso bars, and the established businesses of the city.

The hustling corners connect to form the path known among street people as the "ho stroll" -- the well established promenade of whores (hos) or prostitutes. The route of prostitutes passes through a jungle of pornography, nude dancing, pawn shops, dead end bars and flop houses. On the "ho stroll," one sidesteps the sleeping men of skid road and makes detours for renovation while passing flower shops,

produce markets, engaged surplus stores, new condos, banks and government offices. There is an extraordinary congregation of "players" in this area: hustlers, drug pushers, prostitutes, pimps, the homeless, runaways, tourists, sailors, shoppers, movie goers, transit riders, vendors, office workers, and police. A boy with a tattered ski jacket entering an expensive car driven by a man in a three piece suit is just one more unexceptionable sight in this mercurial atmosphere.

It is here, in the cauldron of the city, that dozens of adolescents seek friendship and sustenance. They live on the streets among the mentally ill, the criminal, the socially rejected, and the passersby. Their days are spent leaning against windows and sitting on the curbs of their corners. They walk around the blocks and up and down the streets. They sleep in the doorways of businesses and under viaducts. They buy food from street vendors or use the soup kitchens and drop-in centers that are available to them. Flop houses, second-hand stores, and all-night restaurants cater to their kind. There are places to hide: booths in all-night X-rated theaters. And there are places to be found: the corners where they are known to congregate. They live from the money that is available on the street.

Young male prostitutes commit a variety of illegal acts to survive: they break into parking meters, shoplift, burglarize, sell drugs or pimp younger boys or girls.

Mostly they prostitute because they say the money is easy and all of their friends do it. One young man described his feelings about prostituting this way:

I'm thinking I would rather not be doing this for money, but it's just that it's the way and means I would support myself then. And it was just what I needed to do, cause I didn't feel like going hungry and at times it varied because I didn't feel like doing robberies. Cause it's not right ripping people off like that. And I felt better about, you know, doing something like that [prostituting] because then I wasn't just taking something and hurting people, cause, you know, I'd steal a lot of jewelry that people probably had a lot of sentimental value into, you know, and I felt more guilty about that.

Life on the street is lived on an edge of uncertainty: violence, hunger, a drug overdose, or an arrest may come at any time. Yet, days are routine and often monotonous. How the day begins depends upon how one spends the night. There are several ways to find a place to sleep. If "tricking" is good, a youth may have money for a room. He might stay with friends who have money or spend the night with a trick (customer). Those without money may have slept on the street or stayed up all night walking around waiting for daylight when it is safer to sleep. If adolescents sleep on the street they are up early looking for food because they most likely did not have money for that either. If they had a room the day usually begins some time after noon.

The daylight hours are used to "take care of business." The boys may contact a caseworker, keep a court appointment, check on some clothing or friends, perhaps buy some drugs.

Later, street kids will gather on their corners and in nearby alleys to compare events of the previous night. They will speak of kinky tricks, near escapes from injury, and the money they made or almost made. They share their drugs and inquire about who is missing or arrested. They talk of moving to San Francisco or "L.A." If they have any money left over, they may eat some fries, burgers or donuts. As one watches these youth moving about on their streets, breaking and reforming groups, one sees only the social persona of the streets. Sometimes fighting and sometimes flirting, they are always strategizing to survive. Anger erupts, bonds formed, plans made, and hopes extinguished. The streets present an explosive melodrama of tears and laughter that is cut with fear, peril and adventure.

Daily needs of food, shelter, and hygiene can never be taken for granted by street youth. The mobility of their lives precludes accumulating possessions. They have few places to stay, let alone to store belongings. Clothes and radios are always in the trunk of someone else's car, long since gone. One adaptation to the fugitive-like existence of street life is a relationship with a "sugar daddy."

Sugar daddies are older adult males who enter into relationships with the boys. The nature of the relationship varies, but usually the adult has a relatively stable life and can provide financial and material support to the young man in exchange for sex and companionship. These are

usually tenuous relationships and it is not uncommon for a young man to have had many sugar daddies. The sugar daddy, however, may be the most stable adult relationship in a young man's life and provides the emotional and material resources of a pseudo-family. The sugar daddy relationship was a situation the young man quoted below could trust.

All of my clothes now are at my sugar daddy's house. This is the only pair of pants I got now. I bought these pants a while ago, the only pants I got here. I have a pair of shoes at this friend of mine's house. Brand new pair of shoes that I bought, just sittin up there. He's probably wearing them.

I wish I had one place to stay, I never had one. There's nothing I can do. If I could get the money. If I just had an average income where I could just get so much, I would, but I can't trust my income, it fluctuates too much. I mean sometimes I don't get nothin, sometimes I get a hell of a lot. Mainly, he [sugar daddy] gives me a lot of spending money. I mean my lover has

As the day recedes, people of the night begin to take possession of the streets. The boys have done what they could to appear clean, attractive, and young. They might have used the last of their money from the night before to buy a new pair of pants because the ones they had were worn and dirty. They hope adults circling the blocks in cars will like their looks and pick them out. There are several ways to be chosen. Some boys hang around pay phone booths on the streets. Customers know the number and they call to make arrangements with a boy. Or, the boys strut up and down the street wearing tight jeans that accent their body

curves all the while making eye contact with men in cars driving by.

A customer can be anyone. Most often they too are older males (age 30-60) with middle to upper incomes. The sexual orientation of customers varies; many are married and interested in sexual variety. The young men in this study believed their customers were often gay, but "closet cases" or too old to find sexual partners without paying; they called them "old trolls." The relationship between customers and prostitutes is detached and business-like for the most part. As one young man stated:

I'm there for one reason and they are there for one reason and we both make it as friendly as possible.

Young men prostitute in a variety of locations: cars, theatres, baths, and hotels. It is very common to be taken to the homes of their single customers. There is less chance of an arrest this way. A man and a young boy checking into a motel room raises suspicions that a man and woman do not. Being in the customer's home, away from the alliances and defenses of the street, however, puts young men in very vulnerable and dangerous situations. Physical assaults, rapes, and other brutalities are hazards of the profession.

As young men become accustomed to the temperament of street life, prostitution begins to mean more than just a way to survive. Prostitution is an accepted behavior in the

social environment of the street. Street youth often prostitute in pairs for protection and for emotional security. Prostitution and hustling become the focal points for material survival and social identity. It is a shared experience from which friendships, alliances, and conflict emerge.

Individual experiences and feelings about prostitution vary considerably. Some young men were fearful about their first experience:

I was nervous, very nervous. I didn't know what to expect. I knew what to do. I didn't know what to expect.

I was paranoid, afraid something was going to happen, get raped, abused or something, assaulted or something.

Others felt little at all:

I didn't care. Most of my attitude at the time is that I didn't care.

A few recognized the benefits of combining money and sex:

Cause I like sex a lot of the time but I need money. I was thinking about \$1,000 and really not looking at girls anymore. So what the hell. Get out there and do it. I did it. I liked it more and more each time. I started out at \$25 and have gone up to \$100.

The most frequent attitude expressed towards prostitution can be seen in this statement:

It was easy. It's an easy way to make money and it's a lot of money and in a short time, you know, I mean you can get \$50 a trick and it only takes you a half hour or forty-five minutes.

At first prostitution does seem easy. The quick money allows adolescents to maintain their independence, because they can buy food, clothes, and drugs. The excitement and quick reward of street money begins to wear thin as the hardness of the life becomes more oppressive and other alternatives vanish. They begin to recognize that what they have been doing is called prostitution and that they are prostitutes:

Prostitution changed people's opinion of me. People that were straight [heterosexual] and people that were against a whore and people that were gay. [A full time hustler is looked down upon by other subsets of the public male homosexual subculture.]

Yeah, because, I mean like, you know there's glamour and high life for awhile. Well not at first because you know, you're just green and not used to sex. Right after you get to date it gets a little easier and you have a little room and you like to buy a little clothes and things and after about a year or two you kind of look at yourself and go 'oh, my God that's me, you know. You look in the mirror or something, 'how did I ever get into trouble.' I mean shit, I don't know.

It will become a dependency. It is an addiction and once you're addicted to it, it becomes a pattern. That's the only way you know how to make money.

IS PROSTITUTING THE ONLY WAY YOU CAN MAKE MONEY?

You know I hope I never have to say that cause I don't want to admit that that's the only way. It's no future. People do that, they have cars, they have Cadillacs but then everything goes down the drain and they end up as skid road bums.

Male prostitutes may experience times that seem luxurious. They have money, clothes, an expensive night on the town,

and accommodations. They meet people and go places they believe would otherwise be unavailable to them. A "trick" may take them on a trip or cruise. But once their usefulness is over, they find themselves cold, broke, and hungry again within hours. Most of the young men in this study had at least one lucrative experience. These make lasting impressions, particularly if it occurs early in the street experience. These experiences have primary conversational importance but they are infrequent and the money is never saved.

The money from prostitution is spent immediately because it is considered to be "unclean" or less clean than money made from other sources that do not require selling your body. The money seems to be a constant reminder of the act; spending the money both rationalizes and rids oneself of a sullied feeling. The money from prostitution is also spent quickly because it is believed that the sum can be made over again. The belief that there is money to be made out on the streets keeps many adolescent prostitutes working. A lack of options makes them all the more hopeful for the "big trick." The norm, however, is a routine sexual interaction and a small sum of money spent the same day. The next day, they are back on the street hoping to make another \$30 or \$40 just to get by:

Depends on what kind of a night it is. If it's raining and it's a Wednesday night or on Monday night, not much, usually about \$60. But if it's a

Friday night and it's a sunny day and there's lots of cars and a lot of tricks, usually about in between \$200-400 a night. If you can believe that!

If the night was slow, I'd make about 75 bucks, sometimes on week nights. If you get working earlier in the day, you can make about \$200-300 a day. You have to start about maybe 12:00 in the afternoon. Sometimes you have to go lower. I go from \$35.

I usually average forty bucks a trick and I've pulled a hundred and twenty dollar tricks. The most I've pulled in one night is three, usually one or two.

And a fifty buck trick was a nice price. Forty is average, thirty is low and fifty is good and anything over that is excellent. And so I came back and we made a deal, whoever doesn't pull a trick, has to do the laundry and so I was just going along.

As the glamour of the street fades into the trap of street life, it becomes more and more difficult for adolescent prostitutes to tolerate the sexual part of prostitution. The self recognition, "I am a prostitute," intensifies. They begin to think more about what it means to prostitute and to be a prostitute. The money ceases to overpower their discomfort with unaffectionate sexual intimacy. The changed attitudes towards prostitution can be seen in the following quotes:

It's wrong because prostitution is wrong as far as I am concerned. Because I don't think you should have to pay for sex. I think it is their responsibility to go out and go to a bar or something and meet some people.

I didn't want them to think that I would stoop down and sell myself. I like the money, the sex

part of it -- the money is what interests me, because I wasn't attracted to older men.

I could quit anytime but I don't want to. Really, I do [want to get off the streets] but all my friends are down there and everything. I like being down there and I like the money. But I do want to quit because I don't like getting picked up by the old tricks. If I quit I'm still going to have my sugar daddy because I like him.

I can turn my emotions on and off when I'm with someone. I'm there for money. If I'm prostituting I'm there for money, therefore I'm getting their money so I'm giving them what they want and getting it over with as soon as possible. And I don't think about it.

Sometimes ... it's not easy, I mean, you don't go work, work work. It's just if someone likes the way you look they're going to stop and pick you up if they've got the money.

After awhile the money isn't so easy. There are cold nights when customers don't stop or when police surveillance is heavy. If this goes on for long, the money runs out, clothes become worn, and bodies go unbathed. It becomes more and more difficult to attract customers. Poor nutrition, drug use, and a peripatetic lifestyle eventually take their toll on health and attractiveness. Sterility, anal reconstructive surgery, and now Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) are serious consequences affecting health and functioning in adult life.

Living on the streets means being robbed of the money you have just made if you are without protection or a weapon. It means being the proof of someone else's toughness. It means days of hunger, cold, and assaults that

cannot be protested. Yet, street life is viewed by adolescents as a relief from an uncaring system. Street life offers friends, independence, and security that youth did not find with either their families or the social service system. Most importantly, street life gives youth control they have not had. The quality of life is less important than being able to exercise some control over both positive and negative events.

Characteristics of the Sample

One may be asking at this point, who are these adolescents? In the next few paragraphs I will provide an abbreviated description of demographic characteristics to introduce the reader to the young men in this study.

The average age of the male prostitutes was 16.2 years; the average age at first prostitution, however, was about 14. The youngest male prostitute I interviewed was eleven years old. Over the last four years, outreach workers have known of one or two boys as young as ten who were hustling. It is quite common to find eight and nine year olds on the street, but they are usually not involved in prostitution. I know of only one exception.

The ethnic representation of the sample resembles the general population. The majority of male prostitutes in this sample were Caucasian (70.2%). Blacks, in comparison to the area's population of 4.2%, were overrepresented

(14.9%). I had been told by Seattle police on vice duty that Native American male prostitutes were unknown. Contrary to the observations of police, 8.5% of this sample were Native American. This figure approximates the area's population of Native Americans (9%). There were two Samoans (2.1%) and one Hispanic (1.5%) in the sample. There were no Asians.

Prostitutes described family-of-origin incomes of "above average" while most controls reported "average" family incomes. The occupations of the head of household were generally not in the professional category. Education levels of parents were seldom beyond high school. Forty percent of the prostitutes' fathers were the head of their household when the boys were between the ages of 1-10. This figure fell to 14.9% between the ages of 10 and the age at the time of the interview. Mother as head of household remained constant at 31.9% for the two time periods.

The family relationships in both the prostitute and delinquent groups, as the data will show, were riddled with conflict and instability. The delinquent group tended to have more positive relations with both fathers and mothers before and after the age of ten than did the prostitutes. In both groups, relations with parents deteriorated during adolescence, but family problems were most severe among the prostitutes. Prostitutes reported more physical and sexual abuse, psychological abuse, parental disapproval over sexual

activity, and conflict about lifestyle. Broken homes were reported for 83% of the prostitutes and 74% of the delinquent controls.

The adolescent prostitutes in this study were neglected and abused. They either ran away from home or were thrown out by their families. Many have been raised by the state child care system and have been in a seemingly endless series of group and foster homes. From an early age, until they reach 18, when they are treated as adult criminals, they are locked into a cycle of street life: arrest, detention, placement.

It is not a desire to prostitute that brings these young men together on the street, but a desire to lose sight of their differentness. It is on the street that young men find others who are like themselves and find acceptance by a group of peers. Young men who survive on the streets through prostitution are part of a subculture that has been pressed into being by an immutable and shared stigma. The most significant factor that discriminates male prostitutes from other adolescents and other delinquents is their sexual identity; most are homosexual. Of the prostitutes, 70% identified themselves as either homosexual or bisexual in contrast to only 4% of the control group.

These adolescents did not come to the streets with the intention of becoming prostitutes. But once one is there, the street has a flash blinding to other paths and a pulse

deafening to other rhythms. To belong, one must conform to the rules of behavior, speaking, and dress. To survive, one must have a hustle. For money and respect -- the key elements of street status -- one must be able to hustle. One young man described his prostitution in this way:

I was just standing there with my friends and they were hustling because they were talking about pulling tricks and I wasn't about to admit that I had never done it.

In the chapter that follows, I review previous research on male prostitution. The main objective of this chapter is to review the treatment of the sexual orientation of male prostitutes by other researchers.

Footnote for Chapter 1

¹ Uniform Crime Reports are most useful when used as indicators of trends in illegal behavior and not as actual incidents of those behaviors. The reported number of adolescent males arrested for prostitution increased between 1969 and 1978 from 236 to 981. Between 1974 and 1983 reported arrests went from 742 to 691 showing a 6.9% decrease. Arrests for 1983 show a rise again with 891 arrests. Since 1978 arrests have remained relatively stable with no increase or decrease comparable to the dramatic rise seen between 1969 and 1978.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Formal studies of male prostitution date back to the mid 1800's in France, and have appeared sporadically since that time (Weeks 1981). Studies of male prostitution grew in number after 1950, most were part of the comparatively new research on various aspects of human sexuality (e.g. Kinsey et al. 1948). In this review I discuss, for the most part, only those studies that were undertaken since 1950. These studies on male prostitution are not as sparse as one might think, but their usefulness is limited in many ways. Studies before 1969 are often based on a few case studies and anecdotes. Many of these studies lack depth, are now outdated, and researcher bias is apparent. After 1969 larger samples were used, but the theoretical development is limited. A review of this literature points to several unresolved issues with regard to male prostitution. Of the many issues raised, two are of interest here: 1) the process of involvement in prostitution, and 2) the relationship between involvement in prostitution to sexual experience and sexual identity.

Studies of male prostitution are most remarkable for their contradictory and ambivalent approach to the homoerotic aspect of the sexual encounters. In general, these studies fall into one of three categories of attitudes towards homosexuality: 1) they deny homosexual preference,

2) they view it as a temporary aberration, or 3) they assume that prostitution is a practice of those who are exclusively gay-identified. The concept of homosexuality seldom, if ever, receives theoretical treatment, nor does the relationship of homosexuality to its expression in prostitution. The overall problem is that the historical and cultural dimensions of homosexuality expressed in prostitution are ignored. With these thoughts in mind, I now turn to a review of the literature on male prostitution.

Profile of the Typical Male Hustler

Most researchers agree on the basic demographic description of the typical male prostitute. The studies report a modal age range of 15 to 23. The recent studies report increased involvement of younger boys, they are seldom below the age of 12 (Fisher et al. 1982; Allen 1980; Deisher et al. 1969). The typical male prostitute reflects the ethnic composition of the general population. They may be from all ethnic groups, but they are predominantly Caucasian. The male prostitute is generally unemployed, a drifter, unskilled, and a high school drop out. They are from all socio-economic backgrounds but often report lower economic status (MacNamara 1965; Fisher et al. 1982). Male prostitutes tend to come from deprived, neglectful and/or broken homes (Cory and LeRoy 1963; Deisher et al. 1969; Ginsburg 1967; Fisher et al. 1982). Greater than expected incidences of physical

and sexual abuse have also been reported for male prostitutes (Fisher et al. 1982; Coombs 1974; Caukins and Coombs 1976; Harlan et al. 1981). They suffer from low self-esteem and concern over masculinity (Coombs 1974; Gandy and Deisher 1970; Cory and LeRoy 1963; Hoffman 1972). Coombs, Ginsburg, and MacNamara also report the importance of prostitution as a manipulative device for young men who otherwise view themselves as powerless.

Several studies attempt to categorize male prostitutes according to: 1) the particular type of sexual activity they engage in for pay, 2) the location of prostitution activity, and 3) the amount of time they commit to prostitution activity (Raven 1960; Gandy and Deisher 1970; Allen 1980; Fisher et al. 1982). All these studies show that there is extensive behavioral diversity among male prostitutes and proceed to construct various typologies. These typologies categorize various styles of prostitution, but are of little value for understanding a psychological, social, or cultural basis for prostitution.

Beyond this there is little if any agreement. Researchers are at odds, for example, over theoretical issues such as: 1) the social and psychological dynamics involved in becoming a prostitute, and 2) the social/sexual identity of male prostitutes. I turn now to a review of this literature.

Entrance Theories

Opportunity Theory

One of the more comprehensive theories in the literature on entrance into prostitution for males has been presented by Coombs (1974). Coombs found that 64% of the boys he interviewed had experienced homosexual seduction at an average age of 9.6 years. He hypothesized that early homosexual seduction when combined with immediate reward was a precursor to male prostitution. Coombs relied on opportunity theory as an explanation for prostitution involvement. He describes boys aged 10-12 as accepting the solicitation of an adult and appreciating the reward. For some boys this led to prostitution, for others a return to prostitution when other employment was unsuccessful.

Adventure

Adventure or the "street poisoning" of the "fast life" are also cited as factors influencing involvement in prostitution (Reiss 1961). Male prostitutes are portrayed as seeking freedom, independence, and excitement in an atmosphere free of conventional norms. The street hustle may provide relief from failed expectations and also be an adaptive strategy given perceived alternatives. While these factors may influence the development and maintenance of a deviant lifestyle, they do not provide a sufficient

explanation for involvement in prostitution as opposed to other forms of delinquency.

Psychosexual Development

The psychosexual development of young male prostitutes is considered by some researchers, but the data are limited and often the analyses are superficial (Russell 1971; Raven 1960; MacNamara 1965; Ginsburg 1967). The boys are described as neurotic, self-destructive and passive. These characteristics are said to stem from pathological aspects in early parent child relationships (Russell 1971). The details of these relationships are analyzed using generalizations from psychoanalytic theory and are based on a few case studies, but are not specific enough to discriminate between prostitute and non-prostitute populations. Depression and neurosis are said to be evident in some subjects, but it is not clear whether they are the cause or the result of prostitution. Suggestions for therapeutic intervention are likewise limited in these discussions as all of these authors concur in the assessment that the data base is too limited.

Other studies allude to different factors critical to psychosexual development of young men who become prostitutes. Allen cited the following factors as influential in prostitution: 1) early introduction and acceptance of sexual experience, 2) awareness and exposure

to prostitution, 3) proximity to a limited subculture in which prostitution activity is accepted, 4) interest or arousal sufficient to permit homosexual experience; and 5) a desire or need for money (1980:422). The conclusions of the Fisher study were so similar to those of Allen that his are quoted in their final report (1982:48).

A major weakness in the studies by Coombs, Allen and Fisher are in their treatment of early sexual experiences. We do not find the parameters of early seduction or early sexual experience fully defined. In light of recent research on the effects of adult/child sexuality, it is reasonable to expect that these experiences should be considered within the context of the traumatic effects of victimization (Finkelhor 1984; Conte 1984). The discussions are instead limited to explanations of prostitution behavior that rely on opportunity and reward.

Sexual Identity

The sexual orientation of male prostitutes is the subject of contradictory findings in the research. The question: "Are they or aren't they homosexual?" is of paramount concern to researchers, but ends up as little more than an aside in explanations given for becoming a prostitute. A relationship between homosexuality and male prostitution is apparent -- if not explained -- in the literature on both topics. Hustling, promiscuity and

cruising are major themes found in any comprehensive discussion of homosexuality one may choose to read (Tripp 1975; Marmor 1980; Bell and Weinberg 1978; Kinsey et al. 1948; Masters and Johnson 1979; Plummer 1975; Hooker 1967; Gagnon and Simon 1973). Cory described the willingness to "buy love" in the first descriptions of the hustling scene in the contemporary American gay male subculture (1951:129). Descriptions of gay male subcultures generally include terms such as "trade" and "market" that refer to its characteristic impersonal sexual interactions (Read 1980; Rechy 1977; Marotta 1981).

Likewise, one may consider that there is probably no comprehensive work on heterosexuality or sexuality in general that does not also mention prostitution. Prostitution, however, has a more limited place in our overall perspective on heterosexuality in contrast to the view that equates homosexuality with prostitution. This difference has been discussed by Jeffery Weeks who argues that prostitution and homosexuality have often been considered inseparable phenomena if not synonymous (1981:113). The idea that homosexual expression was confined to impersonal and economic exchanges has been a commonly held notion. Researchers in the early part of the twentieth century -- e.g., Freud (1905); Ellis (1912, 1936); Bloch (1909); and Hirschfield (1946) referred to their observations of the prevalence of prostitution among male

homosexuals. Given the historical association between male homosexuality and prostitution, it is odd that several contemporary research findings tend to refute a homosexual preference among male prostitutes.

Reiss (1961), for example, described homosexual prostitution among his sample as part of a generalized delinquent pattern of lower class gang behavior. According to Reiss, the homosexual interactions of the gang members were a reflection of the greater sexual experience of lower class males and did not include self-definition as homosexual. Homosexual activity, no matter how regular it may be, does not necessarily indicate a prevailing homosexual orientation or acceptance of a homosexual identity, as it has been understood in the United States in the last ten years. One does wonder how the males in Reiss's sample would identify themselves twenty years later.

The resistance of researchers to a permanent homosexual preference among male prostitutes is more apparent in other studies. Coombs interviewed 41 male prostitutes, aged 12-28. Seventy-two percent of these identified themselves as heterosexual. As for the others, Coombs states: "Actually he probably is not homosexual. Many subjects were super masculine in appearance. Only 6% defined themselves as homosexual" (1974:783). He supports this statement by suggesting that those reporting to be homosexual were overcompensating for their social failings: "The group

appeared to contain men for whom competition has proven too much ... losers in the game of economic survival" (1974:788). These remarks on the etiology of homosexuality are not particularly convincing. Coombs does interject the issues of gender role expectations, and sex role performance, and he does speculate, although indirectly, about a relationship between these factors and deviant behavior. In a later article, Caukins and Coombs state that most hustlers insist they are not homosexual (1976:444). A common reaction to the question of sexual identity posed to their subjects is one of hostility towards other homosexuals (Coombs 1974; Reiss 1961).

Craft, to cite another well-known study, interviewed 33 males under the age of 16 who "persistently" prostituted themselves and 17 young males who were institutionalized and participated in homosexual activity within the institution (1966). It is unclear if the latter prostituted within the institution or were identified for the study because of their known homosexual activity. The ambiguity is interesting because Craft seems to assume that prostitution and homosexuality are synonymous. Craft avoids the question of sexual preference in his sample, relying instead upon evidence from an earlier study of 300 boys in Copenhagen (Jersild 1956). Jersild stated that only 7% of his sample were "real" homosexuals and 13% were bisexual. Craft does not pursue the possibility that a homosexual orientation may

be a plausible factor in the homosexual behavior of his sample. He suggests that poor parenting and bad homes result in personality disorganization. Prostitution is an incidental feature of social and personal maladjustment. To his credit, Craft argues for community care over institutional confinement for the boys.

MacNamara's (1965) study of 37 male prostitutes suggests that his sample was homosexual, but he attributes their sexual preference to socio-economic factors. He refers to homosexual neurosis, but explains it only in terms of hostility and disinterest towards the sexual encounters of the prostitutes. MacNamara's findings are disputed by Ginsburg. Ginsburg provides a provoking but mostly impressionistic account of his observations of thirty hustlers. Ginsburg does not view male prostitution as a social or economic phenomenon nor does he view individual prostitutes as homosexual. Ginsburg concludes that the male hustler is motivated by psychological needs for identity, self-valuation, and interaction -- needs that can only be achieved through physical relationships to compensate pathological family constellations. According to Ginsburg, the motivation of the hustler in the sexual act is different than that of the homosexual, although hustlers may in time "convert" to homosexuality (Ginsburg 1967:183).

Other researchers who have argued male prostitutes were homosexual insist there is a substantial heterosexual

quality to male prostitution (Becker 1963; Shur 1965; Cory and LeRoy 1963; Gagnon and Simon 1973). Given the negative cultural valuation of homosexuality that is supported by religious, medical, legal, and scientific models, as well as popular sentiment, it would not be unreasonable to expect that researcher bias may be projected into the studies.

I suggest that in the years before the gay liberation movement, heterosexual researchers conveyed their biased attitude towards homosexuality. Subjects were quick to affirm that it (homosexuality) wasn't true for them. I suspect that findings refuting homosexual identities among male prostitutes affirm a social desire and not a social reality: subject and researcher agreed upon a mutual denial of homosexuality and reality. We are left with questionable descriptions of who male prostitutes are, their sexual identity, and the individual and cultural processes involved in male prostitution. Most of all we are left with an incomplete understanding of the relationship of male prostitution to homosexuality in this culture.

There are more recent studies of male prostitution that report a large percentage of gay identified youth among male prostitutes (Allen 1980; Fisher et al. 1982). Studies done after 1980 suggest that male prostitution is becoming "gayer" (Fisher et al. 1982). Fisher's (1982) study of 79 male prostitutes indicated that they were predominantly gay identified (16.5% identified themselves as heterosexual).

Fisher et al. do not dispute conclusions in earlier studies of the heterosexuality of male prostitutes in past decades. In fact, these researchers suggest that male prostitution is a post-World War II phenomenon that has emerged only with the contemporary gay subculture. Of course, this conclusion runs counter to the historical evidence provided by Weeks and others that demonstrates the Western tradition of homosexual subcultures being organized around forms of prostitution (Weeks 1977). If one ignores the ahistorical aspects of Fisher's study, the conclusions are fitting in a contemporary context. The findings indicate that homosexual identity, desire for sex, and the support of a gay peer group are motivating factors for involvement in prostitution for males who say they are gay identified. These findings do not, it would seem, represent a novel expression of homosexuality, but rather reflect its historical organization. Fisher et al. do not provide any theoretical discussion of these factors. Their report leads one to believe that prostitution is a part of the coming out process for gay youth. But, again, there is no theoretical discussion of this phenomenon or factors that might involve some youth in prostitution and not others. We are asked to assume the plausibility of a relationship between the growth of a gay subculture since World War II and an increase in adolescent male prostitution without a discussion of the social and cultural processes involved.

Discussion

One of the greater weaknesses of all of the studies reviewed here is the culture-bound perspective on homosexuality. A culturally narrow view of human sexuality ultimately effects the quality and utility of research. These effects include: 1) a simplistic and homogenous view of homosexuality that is dominated by a Western perspective, 2) a near exclusive concern with etiology that leads to confusion regarding sex and gender processes, and 3) an underlying assumption that homosexual behavior is an aberration. As can be seen in this review, research methods and conclusions have shifted with changes in cultural attitudes toward homosexuality. The contradictory findings on the sexual identities of male prostitutes suggest this is so.

There is also a general lack of recognition of how a Western construction of homosexuality is manifest in research on male prostitution. Historically, homosexuality has been explained using Western models that were more likely than not to have a pathological bias. In this study I attempt to put Western expressions of homosexuality in cross-cultural perspective and apply methods of symbolic analyses to our own culture. In doing so, reformulated questions on the relationship between male prostitution and homosexuality are generated. In chapter 3, I discuss the contributions an anthropological perspective can make to a study in which homosexuality is a major theme.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The major themes of this dissertation address specific aspects of human sexuality. The themes are homosexuality and sexual conduct as they are expressed in prostitution activity. As an anthropologist who is interested in cultural process, I have a theoretical interest in a socio-cultural formulation of sexuality. This means that my interest in homosexuality will focus on processes involved in the social expression of homosexuality and not its ultimate cause or origin. I explore what it means to become homosexual in a social sense and not in a biological or physiological sense. A socio-cultural perspective on sexuality permits an analysis of the link between human sexual activity and cultural roles and meanings.

In selecting a socio-cultural approach to sexuality, indeed homosexuality, it is not my intention to disavow known biological determinants of sex and gender processes. I do agree with those who have observed that research on sexuality is imbalanced in favor of biology, physiology, and pathology (Gagnon and Simon 1973; Plummer 1975). Anthropology has made important contributions that address this imbalance. More research is necessary to explicate the social nature of sexuality and gender if we are to fully appreciate the interaction of biology and culture in sexuality.

An Anthropological Approach to Sex and Gender

Margaret Mead was perhaps the first anthropologist to challenge successfully various naturalistic assumptions regarding sexuality and gender. Mead's themes have matured in the work of those who have followed her interests (see for example Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Friedl 1975; Ortner and Whitehead 1981). The significance of a cultural analysis of sexuality and gender lies in the identification of the cultural organization and variability of sexuality and gender concepts. These are concepts traditionally thought to merely reflect biological givens. Subsequent anthropologists have linked variable concepts of sexuality and gender to cultural and social processes (Ortner and Whitehead 1981).

Anthropological research has produced an important theoretical approach to the study of sexuality and gender. It is a symbolic approach that views sexuality and gender as cultural constructs. A symbolic approach to sexuality and gender is one that brings symbolic analysis into a pragmatic realm. The late Michelle Rosaldo was one who challenged the anthropological tradition of arbitrarily separating the symbolic from everyday life for analytic purposes (1980). Rosaldo argued that symbols were indeed ubiquitous and could be seen to provide meaning in everyday actions, motivations and discourse:

Rather than seeing "symbols" as the vehicles through which "external" social forms acquire "inner" meanings, one can investigate folk views of human action -- views given content through practices of daily life and talk and organized in particular ways in rituals, but views whose coherence depends ultimately on continuities people experienced among the things they do, the organization of what Wittgenstein calls a "form of life" (1980:26).

The central question of a symbolic approach is one of meaning. What do sexuality and gender mean in a particular cultural context? In the remainder of this chapter I discuss the contributions anthropology has made to a cross-cultural understanding of homosexuality and what is implied for a research approach.

Homosexuality in Anthropological Perspective

Until recently, anthropological data on homosexuality were weak. Reports were usually subsumed in research focusing on broad categories of sexual behavior or appeared as footnotes in ethnographies. These studies provided limited reports on reputed homosexual behavior (Ford and Beach 1951; Westermarck 1917; Broude and Green 1976). As such they are problematic in a number of ways (Fitzgerald 1977). Different categories of behavior -- e.g., transvestitism, transsexualism, and homosexuality -- are lumped together reflecting a Western bias, and, unfortunately, ignorance of the separate realities of sex and gender. In addition, the study of homosexuality by anthropologists in Western

cultures has virtually been ignored until very recently hindering comparative analyses (Sonenschine 1965; [see Read 1980 as an exception]).

Despite these shortcomings, anthropological data do suggest that homosexuality is pan-human phenomenon, if not universal (Whitehead 1981). The data also indicate that homosexuality is expressed in various ways depending on the confluence of specific contingencies: cultural attitudes towards sexuality, proscriptions on cross-gender behavior, and the availability of sexual partners (Carrier 1980:102). These cultural variables are in turn embedded in the larger sex and gender complex of the society. Thus, the recent upsurge of interest in sex and gender in anthropology has provided a revitalized context for cross-cultural research on homosexuality.

In the next few pages, I describe the cross-cultural evidence for homosexual behavior and then discuss homosexuality within the context of contemporary approaches to research of sex and gender in anthropology. This is not meant to be an exhaustive review. Rather, I intend to construct for the reader the perspective on homosexuality that is taken in this dissertation.

My perspective is grounded in three interrelated points. The first is that the social significance of homosexuality is diverse and depends upon a multiplicity of historical circumstances and cultural attitudes. This first

point implies the second: diverse social constructions of homosexuality reflect a mutability of human social organization with regard to the regulation of sexual activity and the perception of sex and gender identities. Finally, the significance of homosexuality at any point in time is reflected by the concerns of investigations undertaken to study it -- including, I must add -- my own research (Weeks 1977, 1979; Foucault 1980). I begin with a brief survey and discussion of the evidence for homoerotic behavior.

Cross-Cultural Evidence for Homoerotic Behavior

Citizens of high status among the African Siwan were known to exchange their sons for sexual purposes. Both married and unmarried males were expected to have homosexual as well as heterosexual relationships. They talked freely of each. The unmarried initiates of the Australian Aranda took ten to twelve year old boys as "wives" until they married. Mutual masturbation was practiced among Dahomean and Nama men (Ford and Beach 1951). The bachelors in military companies among the Azande took boy wives to avoid taboos on heterosexual intercourse for warriors (Evans-Pritchard 1970). Sodomy between older males and younger initiates is an institutionalized practice in puberty rites among the Karaki of New Guinea (Williams 1936). Schieffelin (1976), Kelly (1977), and Herdt (1981, 1984) describe rituals and

accompanying beliefs regarding the power of male semen to promote physical growth in boys. These beliefs are the basis for insemination of boys by adult males among the Etoro, Kaluli, and Sambia, respectively.

What may be concluded about human sexual behavior from these observations? Are these examples of homosexuality in the sense that it is understood within Western cultures? Do they lead one to conclude that homosexual behavior is the result of: an enduring genetic predisposition, abnormal socialization, parent child conflicts, or restrictions on heterosexual activity (Whitehead 1981). Are these people gay? Unfortunately, historical and cross-cultural data have been viewed in light of Western interpretations of homosexuality, such as those just listed (Karlen 1980; Whitehead 1981; Carrier 1980). These interpretations generally are based on the assumption that homosexuality is immanently experienced and perceived in the same way at all times and in all situations. This is also thought to be true for different periods in Western civilization.

The explanations cited above are invoked to shed light on "our" homosexuality but do little to explain other forms of homoerotic expression in different cultural contexts (Whitehead 1981:80-81). Jeffrey Weeks has argued the same point about historical studies: "...the physical acts might be similar but their social implications are often profoundly different" (1979:79). These same biases have

clouded our understanding of homoerotic expression within our own culture. One must ask how much do Western interpretations of homoerotic behavior tell us about homosexuality in our own culture, or about homoerotic behavior in general? Finally, what perspective should one adopt for research that includes homosexuality?

Homosexuality as a Symbolic Construct

The symbolic construction of gender and sexuality is, at last, gaining recognition in anthropology as a major principle of cultural organization. Perhaps the most significant contribution to come from this genre is the rethinking of a very basic assumption: men and women are natural objects whose social roles are determined by their biology. Margaret Mead must, of course, be given credit for first challenging and field testing this assumption (1935, 1949, 1961). The more recent research on the areas of sex and gender have resulted in further elaboration of the approach to concepts of male and female as constructs of social and cultural processes (see for example, Ortner and Whitehead 1981).

Over the past two decades, research on sex and gender has focused on male and female as symbolic rather than natural constructs. Attributes associated with gender, such as specific areas of productivity, have been found to vary from culture to culture. The variations in gender

attributes are further demonstrated to be embedded in culture and not the result of biological distinctions (Strathern 1981:208). The multivalent quality of gender attributes gives rise to differing perceptions of male and female. As concepts of male and female vary in culture so do internal distinctions and gradations within the gender categories (Strathern 1981; Shore 1981).

The meaning of homosexuality is part of the variable gender constructs. What homosexuality means -- if it is to mean anything -- depends upon the construction of gender categories: male, female, or any others. It is not enough, for example, to be born male. One must also be masculine in the culturally appropriate sense or risk suspicion of one's gender identity. Different gender systems generate different constructions of homosexuality. Homosexuality is, therefore, a symbolic construct, as is male or female. As such it can only be understood in relation to other cultural symbols of sex and gender. Different gender systems generate different constructions of homosexuality.

It may seem that variations in homoerotic expression can be explained as functions of variations in gender systems but -- after all -- it is homosexuality (in the Western sense of the term) all the same. We must keep in mind that the causes of homosexual behavior have not been identified. I agree with Whitehead that the mere existence of such desire does not allow one to predict when homoerotic

behavior will be manifest in institutionalized form. Nor does institutionalized homoerotic behavior necessarily prove the existence of the desire. As Jeffrey Weeks has said, the act may be the same but the social implications are so different that to impose the Western term "homosexuality" simply begs the most important question. This point is evident, for example, in the continuing debate as to whether or not Berdache is a form of institutionalized homosexuality (Jacobs 1968, 1983; Fitzgerald 1977; Whitehead 1981)

Implications for Understanding Homoerotic Behavior in
Western Cultures

A cross-cultural view reveals that "homosexuality" in our culture has the added meaning of a social identity and a special personality configuration. This is in marked contrast, for example, to the Pokot and Native North American cultures who recognize mixed or intergender statuses, but do not single out homoerotic interaction as a subject for special cultural attention. A social identity as a homosexual does not exist among the numerous tribes in New Guinea where homoerotic behavior is often institutionalized. Psychologists and psychiatrists may be unable to resist speculating about intra-psychic motivations despite the fact that cross-cultural data play havoc with Western medical models. Ethnographic data from New Guinea, for example, assert that all boys in the societies

participate in homoerotic behavior as a part of puberty rites, but ultimately move into heterosexual relations. These data challenge psychoanalytic and social learning theories of sexuality, and at the very least call for their reformulation incorporating cross-cultural data (see Stoller and Herdt 1985 as an example).

For a symbolic study, one must -- at least temporarily -- set aside questions of ultimate and universal etiology of homosexuality (particularly if the etiology of heterosexual behavior is not also questioned) and views that incorporate notions of deviance, aberration, or pathology. Homosexual behavior exists within the larger cultural organization of sex and gender and is one of a variety of permutations of social/sexual behavior found in various types of social organizations (Lindenbaum 1984:338). Homosexual behavior must be approached within the larger context of human sexual possibility. The concept of human sexual possibility draws attention to significant features of erotic expression without imposing valuations. These features are: 1) the diverse possibilities of erotic expression as dictated by the bio/physiological structures of the human body and the human imagination, and 2) the individual and group advantages that accrue with different alliances that are bonded through sexual intimacy. Examples of such advantages would be pair bonding for parenting through heterosexual

relations and male identification and socialization in warrior cults through homoerotic relations.

Homosexuality is, obviously, a form of erotic expression. The organization and meaning will vary as do heterosexual relations. Carrier's (1980) attempt to provide some order to the apparent variance in expressions of homosexuality sheds light on our own cultural arrangement. Carrier argues that a significant relationship exists between reported homoerotic behavior and cross-gender social behavior. The mere existence of normative gender roles within cultures predetermines sex role assignments and the behavior taken on by intersexed persons. It is, however, difficult to establish when cross-gender behavior is the result of homoerotic motivation. The point is that "natural" categories may not be retrievable despite the "appearances" of fact. It is cultural perceptions of "natural facts" and subsequent constructions of roles and identities that are of importance in research. Carrier has grouped these cultural responses into three major types.

The first cultural type is composed of societies that make an accommodation to cross-gender behavior. Native North American cultures that institutionalize transvestitism, are the most often cited examples. In these societies "Berdache" is given a special status such as the honorable role of shaman. Carrier argues that in these societies homosexual behavior is not conceptualized as a

specific cultural category because gender appropriate sexual behavior is not violated with full adoption of the opposite gender role. Confusing transvestite with homoerotic motivation as well as a lack of data on sexual activity leaves many questions unanswered.

Carrier describes the second cultural type as societies that have elaborate masculinity rituals that function partially to avoid cross-gender behavior. In these cultures, masculinity and growth are correlated with semen that is transferred through ritualized homosexual acts with male initiates. This phenomenon has been described in a number of New Guinea societies (Williams 1936; Van Baal 1966; Schieffelin 1976; Kelly 1977; Herdt 1981, 1984). Herdt argues that concomitant factors associated with ritualized homosexuality -- including maternal detachment, masculine secrecy, and female avoidance -- are part of a male separation and individuation process (1981:320). Some points to keep in mind here are that homoerotic acts in puberty do not preclude later heterosexual activity contrary to some Western psychological models nor do those involved incur a social identity as a homosexual.

Carrier's third cultural type includes cultures with negative formal and informal sanctions against cross-gender and homosexual activity. These cultures tend to be complex modern and peasant societies. These societies reflect the following configuration of characteristics: 1) laws and

public opinion that proscribe such behavior; 2) sharply dichotomized gender roles; plus 3) beliefs that cross gender behavior is equivalent to homosexuality.

If we accept Carrier's analysis, we are led to some interesting conclusions. First, whatever the biological or psychological motivation for homoerotic behavior may be, its expression is modified by cultural formulations. Second, Western urban cultures fall into Carrier's third culture type. In order to understand male prostitution within our culture, we must further grasp the concepts and attitudes that have shaped the expression of homosexuality in our own culture. We know that homoerotic behavior exists in other societies, but it is only within our own Western tradition that homoerotic behavior becomes organized into distinctive subcultures that have become public and are also organized around prostitution (Weeks 1981:115).

Weeks found that writings on male prostitution appeared simultaneously with the "notion of homosexuals as an identifiable breed of persons" (1981:113). In Part II of this dissertation I present an analysis of the relationship of the individual, social behavior, and the cultural meaning of homosexuality and prostitution. I discuss the social facts that shape the organization and meaning of the behavior we see in male prostitution. In doing so I attempt to provide some answers to the following questions:

1. What meaning does the phenomenon of male prostitution have in our cultural context?
2. What sort of relationship is there between homosexual orientation and involvement in prostitution?
3. Why do some adolescent males prostitute while others do not?
4. What is the relationship of prostitution to other delinquent patterns?

There are two areas of interest yet to be explored. One is an understanding of the substantive context of male prostitution; the other encompasses epistemological issues of theory and method appropriate for this study. The latter issue needs to be discussed first.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Symbolic Interactionism

As symbolic constructs, sexuality and gender are invested with meaning in a socio/cultural process and must be interpreted by social actors. Therefore, the general theoretical perspective I employ to guide this research and to interpret the data is symbolic interactionism.

The phrase "symbolic interaction" was coined by Herbert Blumer in 1937. It refers to a perspective on human group life and conduct (Blumer 1969:1). The interactionist perspective coalesced from the work of Weber (1978), G. H. Mead 1934, Cooley 1922, and others who drew attention to the subjective meanings of social life and to shared understandings as a basis for social action. Blumer has summarized the perspective of symbolic interactionism with three premises: 1) human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings those things have for them; 2) meanings are derived from social interaction; 3) meanings are handled by human beings through an interpretive process (1969:2-3).

Blumer emphasizes that meanings are not just applied but understood. The actor must first indicate to the self the things that have meaning and then through a process of communication with the self, interpret or handle those

meanings. This is a formative process in which meanings are used and understood within a particular context and become guides for conduct (Blumer 1969:5).

The interactionist perspective has been widely used even though a clear formulation of its premises were only lately set forth (Blumer 1969; Berger and Luckman 1967). As a result, there has been widespread misapplication of symbolic interactionism, particularly in the study of deviance (Plummer 1975). I feel the need, therefore, to describe my understanding and use of symbolic interactionism. In doing this, I will draw heavily upon the work of Berger and Luckman (1967), Plummer (1975), and Blumer (1969).

Berger and Luckman do not use the term symbolic interaction but they do acknowledge their intellectual debt to George Herbert Mead (1967:17). Berger and Luckman's treatise is perhaps more accurately defined as hermeneutic phenomenology because they incorporate collective aspects of culture in their formulation (Wuthnow et al. 1984). Thus, Berger and Luckman answer those who fault interactionist theory for its limited focus on individuals in microsettings (Wuthnow et al. 1984:8). I draw upon the work of Kenneth Plummer because he has provided an excellent study of the application of an interactionist perspective to matters of sexuality and deviation. Plummer's focus is on

homosexuality, and like Berger and Luckman, is concerned with linking individual behavior to cultural patterns.

The general focus of symbolic interactionism is on symbolism and meaning. A more refined definition includes an emphasis on structures and constructions of meaning and interaction as a symbolic process. Symbolic interactionism suggests a very distinct definition of: 1) culture as a contextual system of symbols, 2) the social world as one of objective and subjective experience, and 3) the individual whose identity is shaped within this context and mediated by significant others. From this perspective, culture is fluid and constantly constructed and reconstructed in a dialectical process of subjective and intersubjective shared meanings.

It is within this same dialectic that an individual acquires an identity (Berger and Luckman 1967:43-47). In the following paragraphs I will summarize major elements of the dialectic process involving the individual, society, and culture. My intent is to demonstrate how I will apply symbolic interactionism in my analysis. It also lays out the organizational framework of my analysis as it is presented in part 2. There the reader will find a continued discussion of this theory in relation to my data.

Theoretical Levels of an Interactionist View
of the World

The Objective Social World

The objective social world is one in which individuals as social actors produce the human environment including its socio/cultural and psychological formations (Berger and Luckman 1967:51). The habitualized activity of social actors produces patterned action that is "crystallized" in social structure (1967:52). Objective reality is experienced through interaction with the institutionalized structures of society. The structures I will discuss include: family, gender role, law, religion, scientific models, and institutions of normative sexuality.

Formation of the Self

A self-identity is partially formed through interaction and experience with the given structures of one's social world. Individuals, or social actors, are partially identified by the social meanings attributed to action that is undertaken by them. From this perspective, the self is conceived and defined by conduct. The formation of the self occurs within the context of the objective world (culture) in which the self is objectivated and understood in relation to the available typifications (1967:73). According to Berger and Luckman, "I" might be a nephew thrasher or an

initiate warrior. These segments of one's self identity are roles that both represent the institutional order and reflect individual experience of those institutions (1967:74). Identities, roles, and institutions are also subject to reification (1967:91).

The Intersubjective World

The intersubjective world is one in which the significant experiences of the world occur in "face to face situations" through "continuous reciprocity of expressive acts" (Berger and Luckman 1967:28-29). These interactions are affected and shaped by the available and shared stock of social knowledge (1967:41). The movement of the dialectic implies an internal conversation and the distribution of social knowledge. These are topics that I will discuss in more detail in part 2.

Link to Individuals

The intersubjective world and the individual are linked by a dialectic process composed of three moments: externalization, objectivation and internalization. An individual member of society simultaneously externalizes his own being into the social world and internalizes it as an objective reality. In other words, to be in society is to "participate in its dialectic" (Berger and Luckman 1967:129).

Identity Formation

Identity formation in the intersubjective world is constituted by two processes: primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization initiates identity formation through a dialectic between identification by others and self-identification (Berger and Luckman 1967:132). The self as a "reflected entity" first reflects the attitudes taken by significant others towards it and also takes on the world of those significant others (ibid.). Identity involves being assigned a specific place in the world and understanding self to be what you are called (ibid.).

Secondary Socialization

Secondary socialization is a more complex internalization of role-specific knowledge that includes, for example, role-specific vocabulary, tacit understandings, and subworlds or partial realities (Berger and Luckman 1967:138). The extent of secondary socialization is dependent upon the complexity of society. Inherent in secondary socialization is the problem of consistency between primary and secondary internalizations (1967:140). Secondary socialization is also considered to be less subjective and less inevitable (1967:142).

Subcultures

Subcultures may result when a conflict arises between the objective and subjective realities of individuals (1967:147). The basis for counter identities are formed when individuals have not been able to maintain the "plausibility structures" necessary for a symmetry between objective and subjective reality (1967:105). This is often true for the child without a family or who becomes the object of a social stigma. The illegitimate child or the handicapped person, for example, may find themselves out of sync with social expectations (1967:151). If there are enough people who share the same problem, and are able to communicate with each other, there is the potential for subculture formation.

The reality of the social world in a complex and pluralistic society is one in which values and norms are not necessarily coherent and in fact are often contradictory. The private experience of a homosexual individual may be, for example, vastly different from sexual feelings and desires prescribed by objective reality and intersubjective experience. The effeminate male may experience a severe conflict between social expectations and his private capabilities for achieving the masculine ideals of the culture. If individuals with similarly contradictory self-identifications interact, they may form socially durable groups (Berger and Luckman 1967:166-168, Wuthnow 1984:5)

Self-reaction and Constraints

The interactionist perspective, as developed by Berger and Luckman, has two aspects that are of particular importance for understanding my data. First, it emphasizes the formation of a self identity. Second, it links the process of identity formation to society and culture. In my cultural analysis of male prostitution, I do not have to ignore individual behavior. This perspective allows me to link individual behavior with cultural patterns through an interpretive process.

The important components of self-formation within symbolic interactionism are: 1) self-reaction, and 2) the constraints placed upon self-reaction within a particular context. These components have often been neglected or ignored in the application of this theory (Plummer 1975). In fact, symbolic interactionism has often been reduced to labeling theory, which suggests that meanings applied in an external way are enough to create an identity. This view ignores the possibility that self-reaction and self-indication may be sufficient for identity formation without external reactions acting in support of an identity. Plummer, in particular, has argued these points. He states that self-reaction is a most crucial dimension to the symbolic interactionist perspective:

It is not official labeling that matters but rather self labeling that takes its cues from an externalized reified stigma label (1975:23).

Self-reaction

Self-reaction or self-labeling as an aspect of symbolic interactionism plays a key role in my attempt to understand the relationship between homosexuality and prostitution. The process of self labeling can be called upon to explain differences in behavior among otherwise similar individuals and thus puts the reins on an overly deterministic use of interaction theory (Wuthnow et al. 1984:54). Again I refer to an argument made by Kenneth Plummer:

Rather than seeing society as a 'printed circuit' in which men [sic] are programmed to behave in the 'right way', where they blanketly absorb the values of society, the interactionist charts the daydreaming and the questioning, the funneling and the digging and the adopting of now this stance and now that stance, the recurrent problems and the turning points by which social life becomes truly social (1975:14).

Attention to self-labeling and self indication allows for analysis of the self as a reflexive link between individual and society (Blumer 1969, Berger and Luckman 1967). A self-identity may be understood from multiple sources. Social interaction and resulting self-labeling is related to the socio/cultural context in which self-indication occurs and the constraints that lie therein.

Constraints

Social life, as viewed from the interactionist perspective, is one that is constantly created and ever emerging through interpreted and negotiated meanings

(Plummer 1975:15; Berger and Luckman 1967). The creation, however, of social life is constrained by "boundaries of interaction" and "filters of the social world" (Plummer:15; Berger and Luckman:131). These constraints are both intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic constraints refer to those significant others through which primary socialization is established (Berger & Luckman:13). Extrinsic constraints refer to cultural, social, and biological systems that provide an ascribed status (Plummer:15). For example, participation in society and courses of action are, to some extent, predetermined for women, homosexuals, and black males.

Discussion

The aspects of symbolic interactionism that address the constraints of social life reaffirm Berger and Luckman's dialectic linkage of the individual, society, and culture. The socially constructed nature of sexuality, gender, and deviant behavior can be understood from this perspective. The view is one that focuses on how social meanings determine and affect sexuality and gender (Plummer 1975:32). Deviance, likewise, may be viewed as a social construction whose meaning varies according to situational context and the individual interaction (Plummer:24).

The Method of Symbolic Interaction

Philosophical Roots

A fundamental concept of symbolic interactionism is the ongoing dialectic between subjective experience and objective social reality. Thus, the symbolic interaction perspective requires a methodology that can incorporate the subjective dimensions of culture, society, and the individual. It has, however, been described as a theory without a method (Dallmayr and McCarthy 1977). Discourse on the subjective dimension in social inquiry has taken place most notably within the phenomenological traditions of German idealism. The philosophy of social inquiry that embodies phenomenology was a response and corrective to the hegemony of positivism in the human sciences (Dallmayr and McCarthy 1977). Dilthey, Rickert, and to some extent Weber, renewed interest in research methods that would elucidate dimensions of meaning that they believed had been deadened by positivist empiricism (see Dallmayr Ibid. for a discussion). Dilthey's often quoted comment: "nature we explain, psychic life we understand," underscores the bifurcation of cultural and natural sciences along the methodological axis of "understanding" in opposition to causal analysis (Weber 1978). Phenomenology embraced epistemology before it was, in the words of Jurgen Habermas, "flattened into methodology" (1968:68).

The methodological position of positivists and of the interpretive sciences (including phenomenology and hermeneutics) is the basis for a long standing debate on understanding versus scientific explanation (Ricoeur 1981). Only certain aspects of this debate are of interest here. First, positivists have argued that interpretive methods contradict the philosophy of a "rigorous" science (Taylor 1977:105). Several reasons are given, including that the methodologies are vague, underdeveloped, and intuitive. Hence, conclusions cannot be verified and the result is not an increase in knowledge because the approach only applies knowledge that is already validated by experience (Taylor 1977; Dallmayr and McCarthy 1977:91). On the other hand, those who advocate interpretive models argue that subjectivity cannot be analyzed by empirical science (Dallmayr and McCarthy 1977). The "facts" of the subjective domain are constituted and do not "exist" outside a relativistic context and thus require a different methodological framework (Habermas 1968:140-141).

In the sections that follow, I discuss my attempt to reconcile these two epistemological points.

A Methodological Approach

The methodology implied by symbolic interaction is actor oriented and reflects the symbolic interpretation of acting social beings. It focuses on actors operating within

cultural contexts and their handling of meanings within that context as a guide to conduct. It is a methodology that incorporates a dialectic of meaning and context: a hermeneutic circle that can guide data collection by attending to specific arcs of that circle. These include: 1) identification and description of objectively and subjectively experienced reality, 2) the intersubjectively shared meanings that are appropriated in context, and 3) the constraints that shape and limit interaction in context (Berger and Luckman 1967; Blumer 1969; Fabian 1971).

Berger and Luckman, as well as Blumer, suggest a methodology that focuses on human experience and describes social reality from the actor's point of view. Because the subjective dimension is shared, it can be objectified for analysis. The object of research is essentially the "construct of the constructs made by social actors" (Schutz 1967:23).

In this dissertation, I have attempted to reconstruct social reality by using both subjective and objective data. In doing so I have tried to follow the reasoning of Apel and Habermas who have argued for a "thesis of complementarity of understanding and explanation as well as a dialectic mediation of understanding" (Dallmayr and McCarthy 1977:312). This approach addresses issues of verification as well as potential contradictions of differing

interpretations by fusing subjective experience with empirical analyses (Taylor 1977:126, Habermas 1968:144).

The methodological model for this research is one that approaches interpretive understanding, not through intuition or empathy, but by generating empirical data for interpretive and quantitative analyses (Apel 1977:304). The data generated for interpretive analysis is also used for the more traditional explanatory models of empirical science. The quantitative analysis answers positivist criticisms by getting beyond subjective interpretations and attempts to posit knowledge that is not subjectively interpreted, such as contingencies of behavior. The quantitative analysis provides support for the key themes that are the focus of the interpretive model, as well as satisfying demands of empirical science.

The Model of the Text

Berger and Blumer, however, take us only so far in clarifying the kind of data one should gather. Some techniques are suggested (e.g., observation and interviewing) but they do not address the criticism of positivists that interpretive understandings are unverifiable, solipsistic, intuitive, and uncontrolled for values and biases (Taylor 1977). I am using Ricoeur's (1981) model of text interpretation as applied in the social sciences for the interpretive analysis. I believe that this

model provides a framework for systematic analyses and data collection that is an adequate response to the criticisms of Taylor and others.

Ricoeur argues that the social sciences are hermeneutic in that: 1) their object of study is meaningful action, and 2) the methodology of social science is to read and interpret human social activity as text analogs (Ricoeur 1981; Hoy 1980:658). The hermeneutic paradigm, as with symbolic interaction theory, places the locus of methodology in interpretation (Hoy 1980; Fabian 1971). Consider, for example, the case of "homosexuality." As defined by Ricoeur, the experience or recognition of "homosexuality" is meaningful action. "Meaningful action" is "text" in the social realm and is open to interpretation, as a text, if it meets the criteria of distanciation. Distanciation refers to the objectification of discourse. Homosexuality is objectivated and thus is action open to interpretation because it meets these four forms of distanciation: 1) homosexuality as an event is eclipsed by the significance or meanings attributed to that event by the culture, 2) the event is open to a series of readings or meanings, 3) a different referential dimension unfolds through interpretation for the actor, and 4) interpretation of the event moves from sense to reference, from that which is said to that which is said about (Ricoeur 1981:13015).

As applied in the social sciences, the interpretation of texts is predicated upon extending the metaphor of the text to social action. Ricoeur's hermeneutic application implies a reconciliation of using spoken as opposed to written language as text. He does so by introducing the concept of "discourse" (1981:11). Social action may be viewed as discourse that may be fixed as texts that are elicited from speech events. The inscription of discourse becomes an object for social science investigation. Discourse conforms to the paradigm of the text as it focuses on meaningful action. Action as discourse is treated as a fixed text which is subject to interpretation. In the case of my research, this means that I will view prostitution and homosexuality as social discourse.

Ricoeur's method for viewing and interpreting social action as discourse, using the text paradigm from hermeneutics, is embodied in the forms of distanciation cited above. Underlying the forms of distanciation (the objectification of discourse) is an implicit process of appropriation of meaning that is similarly addressed by the symbolic interactionist perspective. A social identity is constructed from an interpretive framework. We can begin to see how individuals come to understand themselves in a particular context and how they construct their social identity.

The model of text interpretation allows the focus of research as suggested by the symbolic interaction perspective to be more specific and thus more empirical. An interpretive analysis of male prostitution based on the symbolic interaction perspective and the methodology of text interpretation includes the following:

1. Identification of objective reality by examining texts that inform the cultural response to homosexuality and male prostitution such as religion, science, medicine, popular culture, and politics.
2. Identification of intersubjective reality by examining the discourse of male prostitution and determining the meanings that are produced and shared.
3. Demonstration of how intersubjective reality has been realized through appropriations from objective texts, as well as the interpretations and meanings given them, and by demonstrating, further, how these meanings reflect objective and subjective reality and experience.
4. Identification of the intrinsic and extrinsic constraints of interaction, interpretations, and social action or conduct.

Summary

In this study, I make some empirical generalizations after analyzing the constraints, patterns, and conditions that

define prostitutes and the control group of delinquents. These empirical regularities are subject to tests of verification. Most importantly, they provide support for the themes of my interpretive analysis in part 2. In my analysis, I attempt to incorporate the subjective dimension by using data that reflect subjective experience. These experiences, however, are known through quantitative procedures to be shared by the male prostitutes in my sample. It is by examining these experiences that one sees how the link between the individual and society is mediated through individual interpretation. In short, this is an interpretive model that assumes the task of an empirical analysis. In so doing, I try to avoid the potential "vicious circle" of hermeneutic models (Habermas 1968:171-173).

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH PROCEDURES

In 1978, I was a research analyst for a project on adolescent female prostitution. The principal investigator was Jennifer James (see James 1982 for a summary account). The research was multi-disciplinary in character, although James was strongly oriented to "street ethnography" (Weppner 1977; James 1977). During that project, I was asked to develop a study of male prostitutes. Because of the general orientation of the James research, I thought, initially, that I should replicate the previous design, which for the most part, was a quantitative study.

A few months after the male prostitute study began, I realized that the success of the female study had not necessarily been due to the use of diverse and rigorous methods. I now think it was successful largely because the investigators and the subjects were the same sex -- i.e., both were female. Because we were both female, we shared experiences that as researchers, we could understand with little effort. I began to shift the methods of what was fast becoming "my" study of male prostitutes. Rather than emphasizing various quantitative "instruments," I began to search for ways to enhance my ability to understand young male prostitutes. It was in this context that I decided to do two things: 1) emphasize field and interpretive procedures consistent with symbolic interactionism and

hermeneutic methodology, and 2) view the quantitative data I was continuing to collect as supplementary material for verifying textual analysis.

In chapter 4 I described my approach to the qualitative side of this research using Ricoeur's model of the text. In the following sections, I describe my research procedures. I describe the "instrument" (interview schedule) used to generate quantitative as well as qualitative data, and I describe my field work experience.

Research Problem and Focus

Adolescent prostitution has been considered a major social problem for several reasons. First, prostitution is believed to be associated with other criminal behavior such as larceny and drug abuse. Second, participation in the juvenile justice system is thought to contribute to involvement in more serious crime. Third, prostitution has inherent physical and psychological dangers that may affect adult life. Fourth, adolescent prostitutes fail to acquire the social, educational, and occupational skills required to succeed legitimately, forcing them into a deviant lifestyle.

To understand adolescent male prostitution, this research was originally designed to investigate the relationship between prostitution involvement and four key topics: 1) pre-adolescent sexual experience; 2) associated criminal involvement; 3) drug abuse; and 4) exposure to

prostitution. I expanded the area of sexual experience to include gender socialization and homosexuality. This change occurred in response to preliminary findings and as a result of my shifting methodological focus. These two areas turned out to be of most value in understanding male prostitution.

The samples in this research included 47 adolescent (12-18) male prostitutes and a control group of 50 male delinquents who were not prostitutes. The data, summarized in chapter 6, were collected through an extended interview schedule, field observations, and literature reviews. In this chapter I describe how the samples were defined and obtained, and how the interview schedule was developed.

Description of Samples

Prostitute Sample

Forty-seven adolescent male prostitutes, age 12-18, were interviewed over two years. For the most part, my assistant (who is described in this chapter in the section on fieldwork) and I exhausted the list of adolescent male street prostitutes known to caseworkers and outreach workers during the interview period. In fact, I did not reach the original goal of 50 prostitutes. Contacting subjects on the street presents special problems for research. The mobility of the lifestyle makes it difficult to complete all research measures on each individual. The poor quality of family

relations precluded using some individuals as subjects because consent could not be obtained. Approximately another 20 male prostitutes, age 19-22, were informally interviewed.

From previous studies one could expect most male prostitutes to be between age 15 and 23 and involved in street prostitution. The more extensive literature on male homosexuality, however, indicates that homosexual hustling may occur in any age group (Read 1980; Tripp 1975; Bell and Weinberg 1978). Male prostitution may also occur in a variety of settings including: streets, baths, bars, escort services, and houses. The parameters of a theoretical population of male prostitutes are probably unknown, or at least they are not as discrete as some researchers would lead one to believe. Defining a population of male prostitutes from which generalizations can be made about a larger population is then problematic.

The sample used in this research was identified primarily by the parameters of the perceived "social problem." These were adolescent males who could be seen hustling on the street corners of downtown areas. The social problem was identified by the media, social service, and criminal justice personnel. These adolescents were under the purview of the juvenile justice and child welfare systems, involved in prostitution, and vulnerable to

exploitation by sexual entrepreneurs (Health and Human Services Report 1983).

The sample thus focused on adolescent males involved in the street youth culture of downtown Seattle. Cases for the male prostitute sample were identified by: 1) referral from outreach workers, 2) personal contact during field work, 3) probation officer or caseworker identification and referral, 4) self-disclosure by the subject during the interview, and 5) charge at arrest as noted on daily census sheets at the King County Youth Service Center.

Arrangements were made to interview youth in the Youth Services Center (detention). Adolescents arrested for prostitution could be identified by reviewing daily intake forms. It soon became clear, however, that males were seldom arrested for prostitution. Only twenty adolescent prostitutes were identified and interviewed in detention. Other prostitutes were known to their probation officers and caseworkers. Through these informal relations, appropriate youth could be identified and asked to participate in the study.

Eventually youth came to accept the presence of my assistant and me on the street and we were able to contact youth directly on the street. We continued to use outreach workers as intermediaries for several reasons, however. Other adults in a helping relationship with the youth allowed us to verify data. They could make a judgement as

to any potential harm or discomfort the interview process might cause. Outreach workers also helped identify the appropriate persons to give consent for participation in the research.

Control Sample

A control group of 50 adolescent males, who were delinquent but not prostitutes, were interviewed in detention. The control group of delinquents were interviewed for comparison with the prostitutes to determine what factors might motivate a delinquent pattern that included prostitution. Ninety-two percent of the control subjects were identified through the King County Youth Services Center. To control for delinquency patterns, these youth all came from a special unit in which youth were serving their sentence in the youth center. This study was conducted following revisions in the Washington State Juvenile Code that decriminalized status offenses (behaviors such as curfew violations or running away that are not considered illegal for adults). Thus, the youth in the control group had been involved in behaviors that would be considered illegal for adults and juveniles. No youth who were only status offenders were included in the control group. Approximately five youth per month were interviewed during one year based on availability. The remainder of the sample was identified through street contacts.

We were first interested in control subjects who were active in the street life subculture, but did not prostitute. Early in the research process, however, I recognized that the control sample was in many ways an irrelevant comparison group for the male prostitute sample. The principal investigator and I had accepted findings from previous research, which said that homosexuality was not a major factor in prostitution. The emerging homosexual preference in the prostitute sample clearly indicated that the opposite was true. Thus, the most relevant control sample would have been a sample of delinquent youth who were gay but not involved in prostitution. I did attempt to identify a sub-sample of such youth both in detention, on the street, and through contacts in the gay community. I was able to identify only two youths this way. This failure is important to note because I believe it underscores the importance of a homosexual identity as a constraint upon one's reality and options, and its relationship to prostitution.

Interview Procedures

The adolescent males were provided with identical information and were asked to participate in the study in the same manner. The initial contact was first approved by the adolescent's parents, legal guardians, or caseworkers. Each subject was contacted individually by me or my assistant.

They were told the purpose of the research and how the information would be used. In addition, procedures to assure confidentiality and codification of data insuring anonymity were explained. Most important, each subject was told that their decision to participate was voluntary and would not affect their legal status. They were also told they were free to withdraw from the interview if they wished to do so.

Each subject was screened for participation. The criteria included ability to respond to screening questions, their general comfort with the interaction, their desire to participate, completion of consent forms, the advice of caseworkers, and the subject's general availability for future contacts. The interview took place in one of three places: 1) the detention area of the youth services center, 2) the outreach office at the downtown YMCA, or 3) the research offices at the University of Washington.

Interview Schedule

The key instrument in the research was an extensive and open ended interview schedule. Eleven variables were explored to ascertain the differences and similarities between the prostitute and control group. The variables were derived from previous research on adolescent and adult female prostitution (James 1977; 1980). Additional items were generated from literature on male prostitution and

homosexuality. The interview schedule was designed to generate precise data for quantitative analysis and a descriptive context for an interpretive analysis. In addition, the sample was stratified according to sexual orientation to examine intragroup differences.

The following is a summary of the eleven variables in the interview schedule:

1. Violation of Personal Boundaries -- Examines the incidence and effect of physical and sexual abuse on identity and behavior.
2. Parental Criminal Involvement -- Examines criminal activity and drug abuse in family of origin and learned pathology in early home life.
3. Parental Disapproval -- Considers values and attitudes displayed toward the child on issues of sexuality and gender role identity that affect self-image and identity in early home life.
4. Sources of Sexual Information -- Includes family, peers, and older non-familial adults in early home life and in exposure to prostitution.
5. Peer Criminal Involvement -- Includes peer social network, informal labeling and enculturation to a deviant lifestyle in associated criminal activity.
6. Delinquency Before First Arrest -- Considers informal labeling and the direction of criminal and

prostitution involvement with associated crime and exposure to prostitution.

7. Precipitators -- Examines factors influencing entrance into prostitution and enculturation into the subculture by exposure to prostitution.

8. Criminality -- Examines assimilation and commitment to prostitution and associated crime.

9. Drug Abuse -- Examines the direction of drug abuse with prostitution and criminal involvement, the association of drug abuse with prostitution, and assimilation and commitment into a deviant lifestyle.

10. Gender Role Socialization -- Examines the influence of cultural gender and sex role expectation on identity and delinquent behavior.

11. Homosexuality -- Examines societal reaction and social homosexual identity formation. (See appendix for a more complete description of these variables.)

Field Work

My field work took place in the territories of adolescents, both "normal" and "delinquent". I observed and interacted with "street kids" daily in the downtown areas, on their corners, along the "ho stroll," at their infamous hangout, the DoNut Shop (now closed), and outside the youth discos (I was over age and so could not get in although my assistant did). I rode with vice-officers, listening to their views

and observing their interactions, including arrests of young prostitutes. I listened to parents, businessmen, and politicians describe their views on "the problem of street kids" (as adolescent prostitutes came to be known). I spent time in the adult jail and in juvenile detention. I spent time with youth, and with the adults who were in charge of their care and punishment. I observed them in counseling sessions, with caseworkers, at home, and in their state placements, and on the street when they were on their own. I also made dozens of trips to junior high and high schools as part of a delinquency prevention curricula project I was involved in. I was able to observe and speak with youth leading conventional lives as well as street kids noting their differences and similarities.

My research is similar to other studies known as "street ethnographies" (Weppner 1977). These similarities include: 1) investigation within one's own culture, 2) research of subcultural groups of deviants, and 3) shared problems in the research process. Perhaps the strongest similarity I share with other street ethnographers is the challenge of researching deviant sub-cultures. The dangers and the opportunities recounted by street ethnographers were a prevalent part of my research experience also. It was indeed difficult to gain access to people who were involved in illegal activity, were defined as illegal persons, and who were alternately in jail, detention, or "on the run."

Occasionally, I would have the leisure of interviewing a male prostitute in the juvenile detention center, but since few are arrested for prostitution, they usually had to be located and interviewed on the street.

Loitering on the streets is a prerequisite for observing the social interactions of adolescent street prostitutes, but it does have its difficulties. The potential for violence is always present. I was once near a bar on First Avenue around midnight when a knifing occurred. The suspect was apprehended by police in a nearby alleyway. The noise of sirens and flashing lights attracted a large crowd of mostly adolescents and young adults. The police brought the suspect, handcuffed, out of the alley. As they pushed him towards the police car, the suspect yelled -- in a bold attempt at heroism: "I hope I killed the S.O.B." The crowd cheered the man's fleeting triumph. For at least a moment, he had prevailed; others never make even that much of an impression on the world. There were no signs of grief for the victim. He was just a "mark," weak and thus deserving of his fate. My illusion of security quickly vanished and I and my male escort left.

I never did take on a street identity because I knew I could not succeed. This fact was pointed out to me one summer night when the streets were full of people taking advantage of the longer days. I was standing on a corner hoping to find a young man that I knew. I was, I guess,

looking particularly dowdy. I meant to be unthreatening. A pimp walked towards me, circled around and finally put his face in mine -- I could no longer avoid eye contact. With total incredulity, he said: "What are YOU doing down here?" I could only be what I was, a researcher, and I am certain that honesty was the best policy for me that night.

If my access to youthful prostitutes was impeded in any way, it was not due to street ambiance. True access was hindered for me in the way it is for all anthropologists, I believe, by specific psychological barriers. The group I studied was adolescent and male. Most self-identified as homosexual. None of these adjectives apply to me; of most importance (and regret), I am not adolescent. An anthropologist entering a village of another culture may at least expect to identify with their gender and age group. Other researchers of urban deviants have studied people of like gender and age. Spradley and Agar studied adult males and James studied adult females. I found I had to very quickly learn to call upon pan-human experiences and emotions in order to traverse the clefts between male/female, young/not so young, and stigmatized/conventional. I was assisted in this challenge by my research assistant, a 24 year old Caucasian male who identified as gay.

As has been true of other street ethnographers, I was also challenged by ethical dilemmas inherent in my research topic. Most of my difficulties were more complex and subtle

than observing illegal activity, although that occurred. It was more troubling for me to give a 15 year old a ride downtown after an interview, have him point to "his" corner, and ask to be dropped off there.

Interested authorities, such as caseworkers who knew I had interviewed their clients, would prod me for my opinion and prognosis in order to make decisions -- in the best interest of the child, of course. I could not for long remain ignorant of the exploitation of youth on the street and their careless handling by children's services. At times, the research was set aside for advocacy. At other times, I found myself letting go of some interesting cases or never fully pursuing a reflective course with a young man because the pain of his life was all too apparent, and I had no resources for healing.

Nor could I remain sequestered in objectivity in the face of social predilections towards homosexuality and the potential misuse of my data. Most certainly I recognized the consequences of my knowledge of an oppressed group (Hymes 1968). I will be the first to admit that this recognition has affected my presentation of the data and many subsequent activities.

Yet, my experiences were not unique. They echo the ethical dilemmas of our anthropological ancestors working under the auspices of colonial governments. The cutting

edge of such work is always the same: what do we do with this information?

Fieldwork is characterized by certain hazards and produces problems, impediments, and moral challenges that emanate from the observation process of an alien other. The particular dilemmas posed by my field work allowed me to see clearly that male prostitution is a cultural product produced and reproduced by the interpretations and actions of individuals within the context of a coherent cultural whole.

Summary

As I have discussed, the techniques for this research included a combination of quantitative and qualitative procedures. The interview schedule was standardized and basic information was gathered from the samples in a systematic way. These quantitative data permit: 1) testing for validity and reliability, 2) replication of the study, 3) statistical analyses of the data and generalizations to larger populations, and 4) support for subjective observations and interpretations.

The qualitative procedures were derived from field work and from the taped interviews that were administered in an open-ended fashion. These procedures allowed for: 1) subject's frame of reference and the context of situations to be preserved, 2) a detailed examination of process, and

3) elucidating subtleties of individual interpretations and reaction that play a significant role in the larger context of a causal framework.

CHAPTER 6: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The interactionist approach views humans as being able to generate a wide range of meanings. The capacity to manipulate symbols, and thus the range of potential meanings, is, however, restricted by conditions of biology, culture, and interaction (Plummer 1975). Symbolic life is constrained by factors that are specific to an individual's social and cultural context. To understand the behavioral "choices" of male prostitutes, one must consider the constraining factors of the context in which decisions are made. How male prostitutes interpret their experiences, and how they make sense of themselves in the world can only be understood in relation to the limits that bound their perceptions and alternatives. In this chapter, therefore, I describe the situational constraints of male prostitutes using quantitative data. (See appendix for further description of quantitative analyses.)

In the sections that follow, I summarize the quantitative data from cross-tabulations of the male prostitute and delinquent control groups. I have also included data from cross-tabulations of the prostitute sample stratified according to heterosexual or homosexual orientation. The data summaries have been divided into eight categories: 1) basic demographic information, 2) early home life and family relations, 3) gender

socialization, 4) sexual history, 5) homosexuality, 6) criminal involvement, 7) drug involvement, and 8) entrance into prostitution. Each category includes percentages, a brief descriptive summary, and a list of significant findings. A finding of $p < .05$ or better is used unless otherwise indicated. The sample sizes and corresponding percentage scores used in this chapter are reported in tables 6.1 and 6.2.

Table 6.1: Size and Percentage of Sample and Sub-groups		
(n=97)	Prostitutes (n=47)	Controls (n=50)
Homosexual	51.9% (n=24)	4.0% (n=2)
Bisexual	19.1% (n=9)	0
Heterosexual	30.0% (n=14)	96.0% (n=48)

Table 6.2: Size and Percentage of Combined Groups		
(n=97)	Prostitutes (n=47)	Controls (n=50)
Homo- sexual	70.0% (n=33) combines bisexual and homosexual	100% (n=50) combines heterosexual and homosexual
Hetero- sexual	30.0% (n=14)	

The reader should note that the following abbreviations are used throughout this chapter:

P - prostitute	HomP - homosexual prostitute
C - control	HetP - heterosexual prostitute

The category HomP includes bisexual prostitutes. My reasons for combining the homosexual and bisexual categories are discussed in this chapter.

Basic Demographic Information

Age

This research focused on adolescent male prostitutes 12 to 18 years of age. The average ages of all of the groups were nearly the same. The average age of prostitutes was 16.2 and 15.6 for controls. The average age of HomP was 16.5 and 16 for HetP.

Ethnic Origin

The ethnic representation of the sample reflected the composition of the general population. Of the prostitutes, 70.2% were Caucasian, 14.9% were black, 8.5% were Native American, 2.1% were Samoan, and 4.3% were Chicano. Of the controls, 70.0% were Caucasian, 18.0% were black, 6.0% were Native American, 2.1% were Samoan, and there were no Chicanos in this group.

Residence Patterns

The living situations of both prostitutes and controls were characterized by instability and transience. Cross-tabulations show that the homosexual prostitutes were more mobile than either the heterosexual prostitutes or the controls. The young men who were homosexual tended to have been born out of state, lived in this area a shorter period of time, had moved more often in their lives, and presently had nowhere to live.

Of the control group, 86% had been in the area for three or more years. This was true for only 59.6% of the prostitutes. Of those prostitutes who had lived in the area for three or more years, most, were heterosexual. Eighty-five percent of the HetP and 48.5% of the HomP had been in the area for three or more years. Of the prostitutes, 60% had been in their current living situation for less than a year; this was true for 24% of the controls. Seventy-six percent of the prostitutes and 62% of the controls had moved a "few times" or more while growing up. Only 8.5% of the prostitutes had originally been from a rural/farm area or small town; these were all homosexual young men.

Siblings

Both groups were from families with several children. Of the prostitutes, 74.6% had at least two brothers or

sisters; 66% of the controls had two or more siblings. The modal category for both groups was two siblings.

Family income

The young men in the sample were asked to provide an income figure for their families on an eight point scale from under \$4000 per year to greater than \$30,000 per year. They were also asked to give their family income on a seven point scale from very poor to wealthy. Of the prostitutes, 25.5% (n=12) reported average family incomes, and 36.2% (n=17) reported above average incomes. Of the controls, 44.0% (n=22) reported average incomes, and 22.0% (n=11) reported above average incomes.

The occupations of the head of household were generally not in the professional category. Education level of parents was most frequently not beyond high school. Only 40% of the fathers of prostitutes were the head of the household from ages 1-10. The figure fell to 14.9% between the ages of 10 and the time of the interview. Mothers as head of household remained constant at 31.9% for the two time periods. There were more mothers as the head of household among the homosexual prostitutes.

Education

Of the prostitutes, 87.2% were not in school in contrast to 54% of the controls who were not in school. The

young men in both groups left school in the ninth and tenth grades. Most had been expelled or suspended from school primarily for absenteeism, fighting, and disrespect for teachers.

Summary

The following differences were found between the prostitute and control groups in the categories discussed above.

1. Prostitutes were more transient than controls who tended to have lived in the area more than three years; $p < .03$ with 5 degrees of freedom.
2. Prostitutes tended to live in the central and downtown areas and controls were from either the central area or the south end of King county; $p < .0009$ with 9 degrees of freedom.
3. Prostitutes usually had nowhere to live or were with lovers and friends in temporary arrangements while controls lived with their mothers, both natural parents or with foster parents; $p < .002$ with 16 degrees of freedom.
4. Prostitutes had been in their living situation less than a year in contrast to controls who had permanent places to live; $p < .005$ with 6 degrees of freedom.
5. More prostitutes than controls were not enrolled in school; $p < .0008$ with one degree of freedom.

6. Prostitutes left school in the ninth and tenth grades, a year earlier than controls; $p < .03$ with seven degrees of freedom.

7. Prostitutes were expelled or left school because of: family problems, they were misfits, they had run away, or felt hassled and forced out of school. Controls were more often expelled because of drug use; $p < .008$ with fourteen degrees of freedom.

Early Home Life and Family Relationships

Family Relationships

The family relationships of prostitutes and controls were riddled with conflict and instability: 83% of the prostitutes and 74% of the controls came from broken homes. There were slightly more broken homes among the homosexual prostitutes (84%) than among the heterosexual prostitutes (78.6%).

The control group tended to have more positive relations with both fathers and mothers before and after age ten than prostitutes. In both groups, relations with parents deteriorated during adolescence, with family problems being more severe among the prostitutes. Prostitutes reported more physical and sexual abuse, psychological abuse, parental disapproval over sexual activity, and conflict over lifestyle. Sexual abuse,

parental disapproval over sexual activity, and conflict over lifestyle were most often reported by HomP as was alcohol abuse within the family. HetP reported more physical abuse.

The following differences were found between the prostitute and control samples.

1. Prostitutes reported more physical abuse, $p < .05$; sexual abuse, $p < .0000$; and psychological abuse, $p < .008$; with 2 degrees of freedom for each category.
2. Prostitutes had more conflict with parents over their lifestyle; $p < .0000$ with 2 degrees of freedom.
3. Prostitutes more often reported having no contact with parents; $p < .0003$ with 8 degrees of freedom.
4. Non-prostitutes reported more contact with parents.

The following significant differences were found between homosexual and heterosexual prostitutes:

1. Homosexual prostitutes reported alcohol abuse as a family problem; $p < .05$ with 2 degrees of freedom.
2. Heterosexual prostitutes reported being placed outside of their home more than HomP and were placed in different living situations more often; $p < .0007$ with 4 degrees of freedom.

Gender Socialization

Cultural definitions of masculinity are important influences on how young men understand themselves. Their involvement and success in culturally appropriate male activities

affects relationships with peers and may be perceived as indicators of sexual orientation. In this section I summarize the findings on gender socialization. A more detailed discussion is provided in chapter 8. The questions in the interview schedule presented in this section replicate or were adapted from three sources: 1) a previous study (Lebovitz 1972); 2) a psycho-sexual history questionnaire developed by J. Hampson (University of Washington); and 3) a homosexual-heterosexual scale (A. Kinsey 1948).

The prostitutes in this sample expressed a lack of interest in and frustration with traditional male behaviors. The heterosexual and homosexual prostitutes were remarkably alike: they both rejected the rigidity of masculine role expectations. Compared to the control group, prostitutes were less involved in contact sports, less interested in cars, more worried about getting beaten up, more likely to avoid fighting, and enjoyed playing with girls more when they were younger. HomP and HetP had more homosexual friends than controls. The HomP considered themselves to be better students than the controls. Both sub-groups of prostitutes were called sissy and other negative names more frequently. Prostitutes tended to be average or smaller in physical development while members of the control group were quite mature physically. Both the P and C groups frequently

engaged in fighting and had learned to use guns, but HetP were more likely to be involved in gang fighting.

Interestingly, both groups devalued extreme masculine behavior -- i.e., "being macho." P saw themselves as slightly less masculine, but both groups reported being average in masculinity. P, however, reported that their parents viewed them as less masculine than did parents of C. Both groups said their fathers were more masculine than their mothers were feminine. This finding was supported by descriptive data that also indicated males perceived wider sex role options to be available for females.

The following are significant findings between the prostitute and control groups.

1. Prostitutes had more friends who were homosexual; $p < .0000$ with 5 degrees of freedom.
2. Prostitutes were physically less developed than non-prostitutes; $p < .005$ with 4 degrees of freedom.
3. More prostitutes had girls as childhood playmates; $p < .0003$ with 3 degrees of freedom.
4. Prostitutes reported being better students; $p < .001$ with 4 degrees of freedom.
5. Prostitutes were called negative names such as sissy while growing up; $p < .004$ with 4 degrees of freedom.
6. Prostitutes worried about getting beaten up while growing up; $p < .002$ with 2 degrees of freedom.

7. Prostitutes were less involved in sports; $p < .0001$ with 5 degrees of freedom.

8. Prostitutes were less interested in cars; $p < .0001$ with 3 degrees of freedom.

9. Prostitutes saw themselves as less masculine; $p < .001$ with 5 degrees of freedom.

There were two significant differences within the P group. Homosexual prostitutes had more gay friends than heterosexual prostitutes, $p < .003$ with 5 degrees of freedom; and HetP were more likely to participate in gang fights, $p < .02$ with 4 degrees of freedom.

Sexuality

Over the past decade there has been a growing concern over problems related to adolescent sexuality. In many respects the problems associated with adolescent sexuality -- e.g., pregnancy, promiscuity, abortion, and sexual victimization, are viewed as female issues. By contrast, the sexuality of adolescent males is not perceived as a social problem because adolescent male sexual activity is taken for granted, and sexual difficulties males may face as a group receive scant attention. By examining the sexuality of a large group of adolescent males, this research provides an opportunity to understand the ways their sexuality may be related to their delinquent patterns. My previous research on female adolescent prostitution strongly supported a

relationship between negative sexual experience and later involvement in a deviant lifestyle. These data on males likewise indicate that sexual experience and the subsequent interpretations made by individuals are a significant force in shaping and influencing deviant behavior. I devote an entire section to this issue in chapter 8. In this section I will provide a summary of the findings.

Sexual History

Prostitutes and controls were like other adolescents in that few received information on sexuality from parents. The control group tended to receive information on sex from male friends or through personal experience. They learned about menstruation and intercourse from friends and at school. Their information on pregnancy, however, tended to come from their mothers and information on prostitution from the media.

Prostitutes tended to receive sexual information from less personal sources, most often from school. Information on specific issues came from a variety of sources, however. They learned about prostitution from other prostitutes. Homosexual prostitutes tended to rely on personal experiences to gain information on sex while HetP had more contact with outside sources. HomP reported learning about prostitution from friends, while HetP reported learning from

other prostitutes. More HomP reported that they felt they needed more information on sexuality.

There were some differences between the groups as to parental attitudes towards their sexuality. Controls reported most often that their parents accepted or ignored their sexual behavior. While controls seldom talked to parents about sex, they felt parents were more accepting and that sex was not a factor in their conflict with their family. Prostitutes reported that parents either did not know or disapproved of their sexual activity. Once again sex was seldom discussed within the families, but for prostitutes, it was a problem because of their homosexuality. HetP reported a somewhat more accepting attitude from parents.

The age at first sexual experience for prostitutes was 10 and for controls 11. The first partner for 92% of the controls was a female. For the prostitutes, the first sexual partner was a female for 46.8%, and a male for 51.5%. For 25.6% of the prostitutes, first sexual experience was with a relative. First sex with a relative was reported by homosexual prostitutes in most of the cases.

Table 6.3: With Whom Did You Have Your
First Sexual Experience?

	P n=47	C n=50	HomP n=33	HetP n=14
no answer	2.1	0	3	
no sexual experience	0	4	0	
father/stepfather	2.1		3	
sister	6.4		3	14.3
male relative	12.8		18.2	
female relative	4.3		6.1	
male acquaintance	21.3	4	30.3	
female acquaintance	34	86	18.2	71.4
male stranger	2.1		3	
female stranger	0	2	0	
parent's male lover	2.1		3	
male authority figure	4.3		6.1	
female authority figure	2.1	4	0	7.1
customer	6.4		6.1	7.1

Sex was reported to cause problems most often by the prostitutes. Prostitutes reported more difficulties related to their sexuality that included: 1) conflict with parents, 2) being reported to juvenile authorities, 3) being victims of incest and rape, 4) contracting venereal disease, and 5) feeling psychologically and emotionally uncomfortable about sex. Within the prostitute sample, HomP reported problems related to sexuality more often than HetP.

The lack of information on sexuality given to subjects was reflected in their lack of contraceptive use. More important, there was a general lack of concern and responsibility for contraception. The young men in both groups seldom used contraceptives, seldom asked about them, and seldom thought about them. If they did, it was to say that they expected the woman to take responsibility for and to use the contraceptive. Many of the young men had been involved in a pregnancy, abortion or relinquishing of a child. They were deeply affected by these experiences even though they rarely shared them with anyone. In some instances the girl disappeared and the young man had no information on the outcome. These were very painful experiences that they had to learn to live with. At other times, the interviews were more humorous. I once asked a young man what method of contraception he used. He replied: "Contraception, you mean like in football?" I said: "No, that is interception; same idea but a different ball game."

Victimization

The rate of victimization within the prostitute sample was very high and closely paralleled the findings of the previous study of adolescent females (see tables 3 and 4). The findings on sexual victimization are so important to my argument that a more detailed discussion of the topic is provided in part 2. In the prostitute sample 36.2% had been

raped once or more; 27.7% experienced an attempted rape. Of the HomP, 42.4% had been raped. Of the HetP, 21.4% had been raped. Among controls, however, 6% reported attempted rapes only. The P groups reported being raped by strangers most often; 12.8% reported being raped by customers. I discuss the effects of victimization on males more thoroughly in chapter 8. Table 6.4 reports the incidence of sexually abuse within the sample. Sexually abusive experiences were defined to include: 1) coercion at first sexual experience,

	One Abuse includes attempts	One Abuse excludes attempts	Two or more abuses excludes attempts
Prostitutes (n=46)	83.0% (n=38)	63.0% (n=29)	52.0% (n=24)
HomP (n=32)	87.0% (n=28)	72.0% (n=23)	60.0% (n=19)
HetP (n=14)	71.0% (n=10)	43.0% (n=6)	36.0% (n=5)
Controls (n=50)	12.0% (n=6)	6.0% (n=3)	2.0% (n=1)

I dropped one HomP case in this table because there were problems with the recording and coding of the responses (n=46 for P and n=32 for HomP). See appendix C for information on consistency of responses.

2) coercion at first sexual experience with a male, 3) sexual assault/rape, 4) molestation, 5) incest, and 6) attempted sexual assault.

When comparing the prostitute and control groups, the following significant differences emerge:

1. Prostitutes learned about pregnancy from school while controls learned from mothers and peers; $p < .007$ with 7 degrees of freedom.
2. Parents of prostitutes either had no knowledge of subjects' sexual activity or were ashamed while parents of controls either ignored or accepted it; $p < .007$ with 9 degrees of freedom.
3. The attitude towards sex in the home of prostitutes was to not talk about it while the attitude in homes of controls was more accepting; $p < .0002$ with 6 degrees of freedom.
4. The first partners of prostitutes varied and involved more relatives, males and older adults while the partners of controls were most often a female peer; $p < .0001$ with 13 degrees of freedom.
5. Prostitutes experienced rape; $p < .0000$ with 4 degrees of freedom.
6. Prostitutes reported sex as problematic because of: referral to juvenile authorities, $p < .0001$ with 2 degrees of freedom; rape, $p < .0000$; venereal disease, $p < .0000$ with 3 degrees of freedom; problems with sexual

activity with men, $p < .0000$ with 3 degrees of freedom; labelling as a prostitute, $p < .0000$ with one degree of freedom; feeling personally uncomfortable about sex, $p < .0003$ with 2 degrees of freedom; and other psychological and health problems related to sexuality, $p < .0002$ with 5 degrees of freedom.

7. More prostitutes identified themselves as homosexual; $p < .0000$ with 2 degrees of freedom.

8. Prostitutes were in sexual relationships with males and controls were sexually involved with females, $p < .0000$ with 7 degrees of freedom (this variable included age of partner as well as sex).

9. More prostitutes had family members who were homosexual; $p < .0000$ with 2 degrees of freedom.

The following are significant findings within the prostitute group between those identifying themselves as homosexual and heterosexual.

1. Homosexual prostitutes were in relationships with other males while heterosexual prostitutes were in relationships with females; $p < .001$, 6 degrees of freedom.

2. More homosexual prostitutes had contracted venereal disease from homosexual activity; $p < .0003$, 2 degrees of freedom.

3. First male partner was a peer for homosexual prostitutes and a customer for heterosexual prostitutes; $p < .001$, 9 degrees of freedom

4. Homosexual prostitutes find sexual partners in bars/discos and on the street while the male partners of heterosexual prostitutes are customers; $p < .0000$, 7 degrees of freedom.

5. Heterosexual prostitutes were more likely to engage in homosexual activity as a part of prostitution only.

Homosexuality

There were 33 prostitutes and two controls who said their sexual orientation was homosexual. This finding is the central focus of my interpretive analysis in part 2. In this section I discuss the following: 1) classification of the sample; 2) findings on first homosexual experience; 3) societal response to homosexuality; and 4) the differences in first sexual experiences for heterosexual and homosexual prostitutes. The reader should note that there were two HetP who had not had any sexual experience with males. In these two instances, their prostitution was with women and was limited to a few incidents. Since the size of the homosexual control sample was two, I have not compared the homosexual control subgroup with the prostitute homosexual subgroup.

Classification of Sexual Orientation

To determine sexual preference all subjects were given two questions. They were first asked to place themselves on Kinsey's seven point scale to determine the balance of their heterosexual to homosexual involvement (1948). Next, they were asked to state their primary sexual orientation: heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, asexual, or uncertain. Tables 6.5 and 6.6 list the responses.

Table 6.5: Kinsey Scale				
	P (n=47)	HomP (n=33)	HetP (n=14)	G (n=50)
exclusively heterosexual	10.6 (5)	0	35.7	86
mainly heterosexual	6.4% (3)	0	21.4	10
mainly heterosexual/ substantial degree of homosexual	14.9% (7)	6.1	35.7	0
as much heterosexual as homosexual	12.8% (6)	18.	0	0
mainly homosexual/ substantial degree of heterosexual	10.6% (5)	15.2	0	0
mainly homosexual	17% (8)	24.2	0	2
exclusively homosexual	25.5% (12)	36.4	0	2
no answer	2.1% (1)	0	7.1	0

Table 6.6: Primary Sexual Orientation				
	P n=47	HomP n=33	HetP n=14	C n=50
heterosexual	29.8 (14)	0	100	96
homosexual	51.1 (24)	72.7	0	4
bisexual	19.1 (9)	27.3	0	0

Kinsey's research showed that homosexual experience spread across his seven point scale. This finding led him to state that:

From all of this, it should be evident that one is not warranted in recognizing merely two types of individuals, heterosexual and homosexual, and that the characterization of the homosexual as a third sex fails to describe any actuality (1948:647).

The presumption of a sexual orientation and a consequent identity is not a given but a social and historical construct. Jeffrey Weeks has also made this point:

A human identity is not a given in any particular historical situation but is the product of different social interactions, of the play of power, and sometimes of random choices. The homosexual orientation may be strong, but its significance depends on a host of factors that change over time (1981:128).

From this discussion one may conclude that heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual are arbitrary and heuristic categories. I have, however, used these categories in this study because of: 1) the small sample size, 2) the lack of

diversity within the heterosexual group, and 3) the research focus on individual perceptions. These categories function as organizing principles for individuals and society in Western culture. They are in fact part of the institutionalized reality that confront individuals and are used in determining one's self and social definition. Therefore I will use these categories in this discussion of male prostitution.

Another point needs to be made here regarding the use of the categories of sexual orientation. I have collapsed the homosexual and bisexual categories together. This is an approach commonly found in studies of homosexuality. It has also been soundly criticized because it implies that homosexuality is a homogenous category and that sexual orientation is a polarized and immutable state (De Cecco 1981:58). I may be "less guilty" in my use of these categories than others, because according to Dececco, I did use the Kinsey scale to form the categories, which recognizes the interrelated dimensions of both homosexuality and heterosexuality (De Cecco 1981; Bell and Weinberg 1978:329). I may be faulted for apparently ignoring the diversity of sexuality by dichotomizing the sample into groups of homosexuals and heterosexuals, but more so for apparently suggesting that bisexuality is the same as homosexuality.

My response to this potential criticism is that this is not a study of natural categories but of cultural ones. Whether one's self definition as a homosexual is warranted or developed, any homosexual experience has the potential of influencing how one's identity may be constructed. I concur with DeCecco's criticisms, but I will argue at length in part 2 that individuals draw upon the existing cultural categories in their attempts to gain a self-understanding. To be either homosexual or bisexual in this culture is to be suspect of an aberration. This is evidenced by experiences these groups shared. On the basis of these shared experiences and self perceptions, the category homosexual will include those young men who perceived themselves to be bisexual or homosexual.

First Homosexual Experience

Not unexpectedly, the prostitutes were most likely to report having had sexual experience with males. For the prostitutes, the first male partner was: a relative (17%), an adult whom they knew (8%), a peer (23.4%), a stranger (14.9%), and a customer (19%). The age of their partners was 10 or younger for 12%, but 36.3% were 22 or older. Of the prostitutes, 30.4% reported that they were physically or emotionally coerced at first sexual experience with a male. Table 6.7 reports the first male partners.

Table 6.7: Who Was Your First Male Sexual Partner?				
	P	C	HomP	HetP
no sexual involvement		2		
no experience w/a male	4.3	94	0	14.3
father	2.1	0	3	0
brother	2.1	0	0	7.1
other relative	12.8	0	18.2	0
adult/other	8.5	0	6.1	14.3
peer/knew well	23.4	2	33.3	0
casual acquaintance	8.5	2	9.1	7.1
stranger	14.9	0	18.2	7.1
authority figure	4.3	0	6.1	0
customer	19.1	0	6.1	50.0

Intra-group Comparison

The sexual experiences of HetP differed from HomP in the following ways. For 50% of the HetP, first male sexual partners were customers and sexual activity with males was restricted to prostitution. First homosexual experience for HetP occurred at age 13.4, and for HomP age 11 for HomP. The partners of HetP were customers age 22 or older, most being between ages 30-40.

Societal Response

Of the HomP, 42% did not tell their families about their homosexuality. They did not because they expected an ambivalent or negative reaction. The 51.5% who did their families received a punishing, negative or ambivalent reaction. There was only one instance of a positive and supportive response by family. The response from peers was the same. The HomP usually told street friends about their homosexuality and received positive and supportive responses.

Criminal Involvement

Prostitutes

Prostitutes were generally less involved in criminal behavior than the controls. This was true before and after their first arrest. Of the prostitutes, 14.1% had never been arrested. The seven prostitutes who had not been arrested were homosexual.

The crimes for which prostitutes were most often arrested the first time, in order of highest frequency, were: shoplifting, burglary, auto theft, and running away. A second arrest was most often for shoplifting. Twenty-three percent were not rearrested. A third arrest was most often for larceny and burglary. Twenty-five percent were not rearrested for a third time.

Controls

Only 2% of the controls had never been arrested (one of these youth was homosexual). The crimes for which controls were most frequently arrested the first time were in order: burglary, and shoplifting. A second arrest was most often for burglary, shoplifting, and larceny. Ten percent were not rearrested. A third arrest was for burglary and larceny with 12% not rearrested a third time.

Comparison of Groups

Prostitutes were arrested much less frequently for prostitution than for other crimes: 74.5% of the prostitutes had not been arrested for prostitution. Of the prostitutes, 72.4% had been arrested twice or more while 90% of the controls were arrested twice or more. Prostitutes were much less likely to have been in detention or institutionals than the controls. Of the prostitutes, 68.1% had been institutionalized; 98% of the controls had been institutionalized.

Differences in criminal patterns were much sharper between the HomP and the HetP than between prostitutes and controls. HetP reported more male and female friends involved in crime, but HomP reported more male lovers involved in crime. HetP were involved in more serious types of criminal activity including running away, drinking,

fighting, violence towards others, shoplifting, assault, robbery, non-narcotic drug use, vandalism, and auto theft.

1. Prostitutes had more male lovers involved in criminal activities; $p < .0000$, 5 degrees of freedom.
2. Controls were more involved in fighting, $p < .002$ with 4 degrees of freedom; and burglaries, $p < .02$, 4 degrees of freedom.
3. Controls were institutionalized more; $p < .0000$, 3 degrees of freedom.

The following were the significant findings within the prostitute sample:

1. Homosexual prostitutes had male lovers involved crime; $p < .0000$, 5 degrees of freedom.
2. Heterosexual prostitutes said they more often committed auto thefts, vandalism, assault, and running away. (These findings were not quite significant but the trend was strong enough to merit mentioning.)

Drug Involvement

The subjects in both groups used a variety of drugs on a regular basis. Marijuana and alcohol were the drugs most frequently used first by the prostitute and control groups. First drug use for both groups was most often with a family member or peers and usually at home. Subjects reported they were primarily motivated to use drugs by curiosity or the influence of a relative.

Drugs used daily by both groups were: marijuana (P 44.7% and C 36.4%), and alcohol (P 12.8% and C 10%). Drugs used twice or more per week included: marijuana, alcohol, stimulants, and hallucinogens. Prostitutes reported using drugs for more functional reasons such as to relax and to cope while controls said they enjoyed being high. Addictive narcotic use was limited, but prostitutes were more likely to be involved through street friends. Prostitutes more frequently used both heroin and methadone.

Sources for drugs in both groups were friends. Of the prostitutes, 14.9% reported prostituting for drug money. Both groups reported committing crimes to obtain drugs or money for drugs (P 12.8% and C 14%).

There were sharper distinctions between HomP and HetP than between P and C. HetP tended to be more involved in drug usage. They used a greater variety of drugs and more frequently, although HomP tended to use more alcohol. A greater percentage of HetP reported having overdosed on drugs and having been treated for substance abuse. HetP most often learned about drugs from street friends or relatives while HomP information in school or from non-street friends.

The following are significant findings in the area of drug involvement.

1. Prostitutes used inhalants more than controls; $p < .003$, 7 degrees of freedom. This was generally anyl

nitrate, available in some pornographic book stores, sex shops and theaters. It is known as "locker room" or "rush."

2. Prostitutes used more hallucinogens; $p < .0008$, 6 degrees of freedom.

3. Prostitutes experienced drug overdose and withdrawal symptoms more than controls; $p < .03$, 4v degrees of freedom.

4. HetP were more likely to use the following drugs and on a regular basis: stimulants, $p < .02$ with 6 degrees of freedom; opiates, $p < .03$, 5 degrees of freedom. More use of heroin, methadone, analgesics, and sedatives were also reported but was not significant.

5. Heterosexual prostitutes received treatment for alcohol abuse more often than homosexual prostitutes; $p < .006$, 3 degrees of freedom.

Prostitution

In this section I summarize the quantitative findings on prostitution. I also compare the findings within the prostitute group.

The mean age of male prostitutes at the time of interview was 16.2. Only 23.4% had been arrested for prostitution and they expressed strong opposition to the laws against prostitution. These young men were usually not

in school (68.1%) and not employed (83%) at the time of first prostitution. They also did not have pimps (87.2%), although nearly half had been involved with a "sugar daddy" at some time. The average age at first prostitution was 14.4 for HomP and 14.3 for HetP.

Prostitutes first learned about prostitution from: other prostitutes, 29.8%; family members, 14.9%; school peers, 12.8%; and the media, 12.8%. This result has more meaning when homosexual and heterosexual responses are compared. HomP learned about prostitution from prostitutes, 36.4%; school peers, 18.2%; and from family, 14.9%. HetP, however, learned about prostitution after being propositioned, 28.6%; from the media, 21.4%; and from family, 21.4%.

The young men reported that they first met other prostitutes on the street. They were first asked to prostitute by customers, 40.4%; other male prostitutes, 14.9%; or a sugar daddy, 8.5%. They reported being willing to prostitute out of necessity, for money, and material goods. Only 8.5% said that they prostituted because they were curious. The prostitute sample gave little consideration to the effect prostituting might have on their lives. The advantages they saw in prostitution were the money, because they had left home, and the independence afforded by the lifestyle.

Drug involvement was not significant factor influencing first prostitution. Nearly half of the sample reported an increase in drug use after they began prostituting, however. HetP were more involved in drug usage than were HomP.

The young men prostituted first on the street (78.7%). Later they learned that customers were available in other places such as restrooms and steam baths; however, most preferred street prostitution. They were usually alone with the customers the first time they prostituted, 68.1%; or were with another prostitute, 19.1%. It was most common to prostitute at the customer's home the first time, 40.4%; at a motel or hotel, 17%; or in a car, 14.9%. They described their customers as aged 30-50 and Caucasian, 85.1%.

The young men had a variety of feelings towards their first prostitution experience. Many reported feeling scared, nervous or were high at the time. They continued to prostitute on their own initiative because of the money and for economic survival. Money and material goods were reported as the best things about prostitution. Danger from customer abuse and negative societal reaction were most frequently reported as the worst things about prostitution.

The primary means of support for the prostitute sample was prostitution, 29.8%; prostitution combined with illegal activities and occasional employment, 23.4%; and prostitution combined with support from family, 23.4%. Prostitution was the only source of income for about half of

the sample. Most stated that they would accept conventional employment if it were available. A majority, 73.4%, said they would continue to prostitute even if they earned enough money elsewhere because of the additional income they could secure. Not many viewed themselves as continuing to prostitute for a long period of time but some said that they may have to because of economic necessity.

Over half of the subjects had prostituted for quite some time: 27.7% two or more years, 23.4% more than one year, and 17% six months or more. Of the HomP, 66.7% had prostituted a year or more and HetP 14%. Both HomP and HetP worked regularly: daily, 25%; 4-7 days per week, 25.5%; and 1-3 days, 17%. Most made under \$100 per night.

Other important results in this section include the following: only 21.2% of the prostitutes reported enjoying prostitution, nearly half had prostituted in other cities, only 19.1% reported committing larcenies as a part of prostituting, and 16% had been involved in making pornographic movies, although 48% reportedly knew others who had been involved.

The pattern of involvement in prostitution is different in several ways for heterosexual and homosexual young men. Heterosexual prostitutes differed in the following ways.

1. They were more involved in other illegal activities and drug usage; $p < .02$, 8 degrees of freedom.

2. Prostitution was the first homosexual experience for 50% of the HetP and 9.1% for HomP, $p < .001$ with 9 degrees of freedom.

3. Heterosexual prostitutes were not attracted to the lifestyle of prostitution and usually gave economic survival as their reason for prostituting; $p < .02$, 7 degrees of freedom.

4. HetP said they would not continue to prostitute if they had other sources of income; $p < .01$ with 3 degrees of freedom.

5. HetP prostituted for a shorter period of time, worked less often, enjoyed the sexual activity less, and made less money than HomP. They also did not see themselves continuing to prostitute as long as the HomP.

6. Prostitution was the first homosexual experience for heterosexual prostitutes; $p < .001$, 9 degrees of freedom.

7. Heterosexual prostitutes had more criminal involvement before to prostitution involvement.

In table 6.8 I have shown the average ages for each subgroup at the time of significant events.

Table 6.8: Average Age at Time of Event				
Average Age:	HetP	HomP	Het Control	Hom Control
Interview	16	16.5	16.1	15
Sexual Involvement	10.1	10.1	11.7	12
First Sexual Partner	14.1	16.1	12.7	13
First Sex with Male	13.4	11	-	12
First Male Partner	32.6	20.2	-	13
Rape	14	12.2	14(n=2)	-
Regular Sexual Activity	12.7	13.3	13.6	15
First Arrest	12	13.5	13.2	9
Second Arrest	12.9	14	14.1	14
Third Arrest	13.7	14.4	14.8	14
Prostitution Arrest	14.4	14.6	-	-
First Alcohol Use	10	11.4	11.9	11.5
First Marijuana Use	9.4	12.1	11.9	13.5
Awareness of Prostitution	11.5	13.1	11.9	12.5
Prostitution Involvement	14.3	14.4	-	
Grade Left School	9.4	9.8	-	
Grade Began Dating	7	7.5	-	
Customers	(nearly all in the 30 to 50 age range)			

Constraints of Social Action

The quantitative analysis shows the conditions common to male prostitutes that shaped their self-understanding and

limited their social life. These limiting conditions are interrelated and revolve around the sexual activity and gender behavior of the young men prior to their involvement in prostitution. The primary contrast between prostitutes and controls is one of sexual orientation. In contrast to the control group, of whom 96% identified as heterosexual, male prostitutes self-identified as homosexual or bisexual (70%). They perceived themselves as being less masculine than their understanding of the norm and rated themselves as less masculine than did controls. Male prostitutes also believed their parents viewed them as less masculine than the prescribed norm. In concurrence with this finding, male prostitutes experienced negative sex-role labelling such as being called "sissy" or "queer." The perceptions of inadequate masculinity and inappropriate gender behavior were interpreted as an indication of homosexuality by the young men and their families. Although the families of male prostitutes were seldom poor, they were unstable and often violent. The dysfunctional effect of families was compounded for male prostitutes by clear messages of rejection and withdrawal of support because of their homosexuality. Finally, male prostitutes experienced sexual exploitation and abuse that affected their self-concept and their psychological well-being. Male prostitutes reported higher incidence of physical and emotional abuse as well.

For male prostitutes, the world unfolded as a hostile and rejecting place. The young men in this study faced lives of narrowing alternatives and increasing isolation. They were not accepted by peers and, on the average, did not finish the ninth grade. Families withdrew support and often would not associate with their homosexual sons. Male prostitutes found themselves unemployable and living on the streets. They were abandoned and deprived of needed material and emotional support long before they were able to care for themselves in conventional ways.

Male prostitutes were in need of an adaptive strategy that would provide material support as well as a strategy that would help them avoid constant painful interactions with rejecting peers and family members. The available strategy that appeared to meet these needs was found through interactions within the male homosexual subculture: prostitution.

The young men in this study first prostituted at an average age of 14. They learned about prostitution from other prostitutes, adolescents from similar situations, and from customers who solicited them. As I demonstrate in part 2, the young men in this study had clearly been put in a situation that made prostitution available to them. I describe how prostitution became part of their self-understanding through recurring messages and interactions from which they build a perspective of self and a commitment

to the social role of "hustler". The components of this identity were perceived as inseparable: a gay male prostitute. In part 2, I place the social constraints of male prostitutes identified through the quantitative analysis, including: lack of family support, sexual victimization, and homosexuality within a cultural context. This is a cultural context that: 1) stigmatizes homosexuality, 2) construes sex as a commodity and object of commerce, 3) approves of open and active male sexual activity, and 4) objectifies victims of sexual exploitation and abuse. I demonstrate how the young men in this study, through exposure to the sexual subculture of male homosexuality, linked their homosexual identity with the social role of prostitute.

The factors I have discussed above are the strongest variables that discriminate between prostitutes and controls (see appendix B). The next logical step would be to ask what discriminates between male homosexuals who prostitute and those who do not. Male prostitutes represent a small subset of the male homosexual population; but as I discuss in part 2, there is a historical link between prostitution and the male homosexual subculture. For male homosexuals who participate in the public sectors of the subculture, prostitution is available as a situational activity and as a social role. Of course, not all male homosexuals prostitute, and some who do will not take on the identity of a

prostitute. This study and my informal interviews with male homosexuals not involved in prostitution lead me to hypothesize that three factors -- 1) family rejection due to homosexuality, 2) sexual exploitation, and 3) exposure to the public sectors of the homosexual subculture -- would predictably discriminate between male homosexuals who prostitute and those who do not. I recognize my study would be stronger with a control group of male homosexuals who are not involved in prostitution. In spite of this, I am encouraged at having been able to raise the relevant questions for such a study. In part 2, I describe how the meaning system linking homosexuality and prostitution became salient for the main prostitutes in this study.

PART II
INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS

Homosexual Identity and Involvement in Prostitution

CHAPTER 7: THE OBJECTIVE REALITY OF HOMOSEXUALITY AND PROSTITUTION

In this part of the dissertation, I try to demonstrate how individual actors link the meaning of a personal homoerotic preference and subsequent homosocial identity with the social action of prostitution. I will argue that the primary self understanding of the gay male prostitute is as a homosexual. Using Ricoeur's application of text interpretation, one can see how the experience or recognition of oneself as homosexual in a particular cultural context may become "meaningful action": meaningful in the sense that it is open to interpretation and may affect behavior (Ricoeur 1981).

The meaning of homosexual experience is attributed from the initial value placed on the event privately, although it may be eclipsed by the significance attributed to it publicly. This is a dialectical process that Ricoeur refers to as distanciation and appropriation (1981). Historical constructions of homosexuality have, for example, shaped our present conceptualizations and reactions to homoerotic behavior. Social roles and self-concepts of homosexuality have developed within a stigmatized context. Homosexual experience may be understood in different ways that depend upon the influence of constraining factors. As an individual interprets a homoerotic event, and then

appropriates the meaning it holds for him, a different dimension of self-reference unfolds. His understanding of the event moves from sense to reference: that which is said, to that which is said about him (Ricoeur 1981:13-15). What is said about homosexuality from cultural texts and discourse is understood to be said about and to oneself.

I will draw upon symbolic interactionism to illustrate the interplay of objective and intersubjective factors that inform the social definitions and subjective meanings linking homosexuality and prostitution. I will argue that the young men in my study have appropriated an understanding of themselves as homosexuals in a world that includes prostitution as a component of that identity. The "hustler" feature of homosexual identity is predicated upon themes evident in social definitions of male homosexuality as expressed in "public territories" (Read 1980). Using case studies elicited from informant interviews as texts, I will try to demonstrate how young gay males develop a self understanding that includes hustling as part of their homosexual world due to: 1) the stigma associated with homosexuality, 2) the cultural approval of active and open male sexuality, 3) the cultural construction of sex as a commodity, and 4) the self-objectification resulting from experiences of sexual exploitation. Under specific constraints identified as significant in this research,

prostitution becomes an appropriate construction of reality for the adolescent gay male.

Cultural Constructions of
Homosexuality and Prostitution

Emergence of Homosexuality
as a Social Identity

Michel Foucault (1980) has contributed a masterful description of the intellectual discourse that has served to create and maintain the separate and stigmatized status of both the prostitute and the homosexual. Foucault begins by describing the seventeenth century as a period in which "sexual practises had little need of secrecy," and when "bodies made a display of themselves"(1980:3). This era of openness towards the sexual aspects of human life ended in the repressive darkness of the following century. According to Foucault, "the monotonous nights of the Victorian bourgeoisie" effectively confined sexuality to family and to reproduction. Sexuality outside the parent's bedroom was silenced and hidden. There was nothing to say, to see, or to know of sexuality outside its sanctioned forum (1980:4). The repressive qualities of Victorian society, however, forced the expression of sexual practices, now regarded as illegitimate, into newly created social spheres. According to Foucault, Victorian sexual ideology, obsessed with

fecundity, installed those sexualities without procreative purpose in the "circuits of profit," the brothel and the mental hospital:

The prostitute, the client, and the pimp, together with the psychiatrist and his hysteric -- those other Victorians as Steven Marcus would say -- seem to have surreptitiously transferred the pleasures that are unspoken into the order of things that are counted. Words and gestures quietly authorized could be exchanged there at the going rate (Foucault 1980:4).

Social identities based on public knowledge of illegitimate sexual activity emerged simultaneously with the proliferation of discourse on sexuality. Homosexuality and prostitution were used symbolically by the bourgeoisie to separate themselves from the lower classes (Foucault 1980; Weeks 1979). Money, inevitably, allowed class lines to be transcended for purposes of sexual contact (Weeks 1981). But the marketing of sexual activities, otherwise unavailable, only served to further reinforce the distinctions between buyers and sellers. Foucault describes the relations that are tied to sexuality as a form of domination that he calls "bio-power." The purpose, according to Foucault, was more for the production of power rather than the restriction of sexuality. Nevertheless, sexuality became the focus of concern and the lines of sexual deviance were drawn. As we shall see, class distinctions were deepened as sexuality became the object of scientific investigation, administrative control, and social

concern. Foucault terms this unprecedented interest in sexuality as the "deployment of sexuality."

The deployment of sexuality was the result of the personalization, medicalization, and signification of sex (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:171). Foucault describes four major themes in the deployment of sexuality: 1) the hysterization of the female body and the resulting beliefs as to the pervasiveness of female sexuality, 2) the pedagogization of child sexuality and subsequent beliefs as to the dangerousness of child sexuality and the attempted eradication of masturbation, 3) the socialization of procreative sexual behavior and its rationalization as a medical and social necessity, and 4) the psychiatrization of non-procreative pleasures that led to social constructions of perversions, and the subsequent sciences of sex that focused on pathologies and interventions (Foucault 1980:43; Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:172). While all of these themes are interrelated, the theme that is most critical to my topic is the final one: homosexuality.

Foucault has described the historical context from which homosexuality emerged as a separate category of social and scientific concern. When sexual behavior had been subject only to religious judgment, sodomy, for example, was considered a temporary aberration. By the nineteenth century, the social organization of sexuality resulted in the view of homosexuals as a separate species (Foucault

1980:43). It was at this time that terms such as "homosexual" and "invert" came into common usage (Weeks 1977:3). As the definition of homosexuality congealed, it acquired analytic visibility, a permanent reality with pathological implications, and a vulnerability to the exercise of power. Both homosexuals and prostitutes came under the purview of the law and medicine and psychiatry.

The historical relationship between prostitution and the homosexual subculture has been described by Jeffrey Weeks in his research on the social constructions of homosexuality (1977; 1979; 1981). Weeks has noted that the identification of male prostitution as an issue of social concern occurred simultaneously with the identification of homosexuals as a separate social category of persons (1981:113). Weeks' historical study of homosexuality in England reveals the ties between legislation on homosexuality and changes in the laws on prostitution (1977:16). In fact, homosexuality and prostitution were barely differentiated because they were both viewed by moral crusaders of the time as part of a "continuum of lust" (1971:16). The criminalization of homosexuality and prostitution increasingly differentiated prostitutes and homosexuals into subcultures. Various moral and legal reform movements intensified their isolation. A formal social role emerged for both the prostitute and the homosexual.

Weeks has argued that the suppression of homosexuality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulted in an increase in the incidents of persons who viewed themselves exclusively as homosexual. Incidents such as the trials of Oscar Wilde promulgated a well delineated public image of "the homosexual". Wilde's trials provided a rather vivid example of Foucault's theoretical statements. Weeks quotes Havelock Ellis on this same point: "It appears to have generally contributed to give definiteness and self consciousness to the manifestation of homosexuality and have aroused inverts to take up a definite stand" (1977:22). As Weeks and Foucault point out, the "definite stand" gave shape to the contemporary homosexual identity (Foucault 1980; Weeks 1977).

Weeks's research further indicates that although homosexual activity exists in various forms and in various cultures, the expression of homosexuality in contemporary Western cultures is unique. It is in Western societies that homosexuality has been organized into distinctive subcultures, and it is in contemporary society that these subcultures are both public and organized around forms of prostitution (1979:110). In this chapter I take Weeks' argument to the level of individual behavior. I discuss, in the context of a Western culture, how the development of a homosexual self-concept is in a symbiotic relationship to involvement in prostitution for males.

The Objective Social World of Homosexuality

As we have seen, historical patterns have resulted in the concept of homosexuality emerging to constitute a separate sexual category of moral and symbolic significance. As a matter of moral concern, homosexuality has been subject to interventions and regulations. The symbolic power of homosexuality is referential in so far as "homosexuality" is subject to social definitions from which individuals are assigned a status. It is this institutionalized or objective world that is generally the focus of non-phenomenological studies. The symbolic power of the concept of homosexuality also has a productive dimension. As individuals avail themselves of the meanings of homosexuality, the category is constantly recreated, reconstituted, and further entrenched. Phenomenological perspectives focus on these intersubjective and negotiated meanings in the social world rather than discrete units of analysis. One may reconcile these approaches by examining the dialectic relationship between reified structures of society and human action as it continues to shape the social world (Berger and Luckman 1967).

The objective social world as defined by Berger and Luckman is one in which social actors produce the human environment including its socio/cultural and psychological formations (1967:51). The social order within this context is an ongoing human production that is institutionalized

through habitualized activity. Habitualized activity results in patterned action that is ultimately "crystallized" into social structure. It is this institutionalized world that is experienced by individuals and groups as objective reality.

Western cultures give special significance to homosexuality. A young man who is or becomes homosexual, has been born into a social world with a configuration of sexual meanings that will be experienced as the "objective reality" of homosexuality. Significant elements of the objective world that shape the context of homosexuality that I discuss here are: religion, law, medicine, psychiatry, and normative sexuality, including family and gender role expectations (Foucault 1980; Berger and Luckman 1967). These elements interconnect to produce a reciprocal legitimation of the other and an institutionalized response to homosexuality. The sources of stigmatization that inform the individual and collective response to homosexuality are to be found here.

In each of the sections below there is case study material that describes the encounters male prostitutes had with these cultural institutions, and how their identities were affected and shaped by these encounters. Relevant findings from the quantitative analysis of the data collected are also integrated into the text.

Religion

The history of the anti-sexual philosophy of Judaeo-Christian traditions is complex, but the ultimate message is not. The assertion of spiritual values in opposition to "sins of the flesh" singles out Christianity for its long history of hostility to and taboos against all forms of homosexuality, and much heterosexuality (Plummer 1975; Tripp 1975; Weeks 1979). Certain sexual activities, such as masturbation (spilling the seed) and especially sodomy have been construed as "crimes against nature." Thus, homosexuality has been referred to as "the crime not to be named among Christians" and as "a disgrace to human nature" (Weeks 1979:99). Religion has ordered sexual behavior according to what is "natural" and what is "unnatural," what is "clean" and "unclean," and what is "permissible" or "abominable." Any form of sexual behavior may slip into sin, but the taboos against homosexuality have been particularly persistent and vociferous.

In the case studies that follow, we find that the first information that many of the young men in this study received on homosexuality came from religious sources, or was based upon religious principles. Most of the sample had some exposure to religious doctrines on homosexuality: 19% of the prostitute sample were raised in a strict or fundamentalist religious environment; 40.4% in a moderate

religious upbringing; and 38.3% with no formal religious teaching in childhood.

I will develop the case histories of the young men that I introduce below throughout part 2. I have included some background information on each case in this first section.

Case studies: Exposure to Religious Attitudes
on Homosexuality

Matthew is 16, Caucasian, and says that he is gay. He was born in California, but lived most of his life in a small city in the eastern part of Washington. His parents were divorced before he entered school. Matthew lived with his mother and has had very little contact with his father over the years. Matthew's mother is an alcoholic. He has never felt she had much concern about him. He described several incidents of being physically abused by his mother that were associated with her drinking. When he was twelve, his mother beat him severely with an extension cord after he had broken a glass in the sink while he was washing the dishes.

Matthew recognized his attraction for males at an early age. He began to explore his sexuality at age seven with a male cousin. At age 13, Matthew was raped by an older man. He said the experience was very traumatic. Matthew's problems at home became worse. Soon after the rape he was placed in a boys home for two years.

Matthew was unhappy in this placement. He stated:

I was hassled for being gay. It was terrible. The owner of the boys home was anti gay. The staff were mostly old Christian people. I'm not knocking it (religion) down but it looks down on homosexuality. They said it was a sin.

Mark is 17, black, and says that he has not made a final decision, but he "might still be homosexual." The oldest of six brothers and two sisters, he was raised in a medium sized city. Mark was born premature and was told all of his life that he would be a slow learner as a result. He dropped out of school in the ninth grade. Mark described his father as an alcoholic who often beat his mother. He stated that he had nightmares as a child and so his mother would often have him sleep with her. Sometimes Mark slept with her because of his nightmares and sometimes because she wanted to protect herself from Mark's father. When Mark was 13 his father died in a truck accident.

Mark remembers having strong sexual feelings for males all of his life. He also reports having enjoyed wearing make-up and his mother's nightgowns. Mark wonders if he is a transvestite and if he should have a sex change operation. But, these ideas admittedly scare and confuse him. He says that he is frequently depressed and has considered killing himself many times. Mark says he has not made any decisions: "I might still be homosexual or something," but "I want to think about my future and my religion. We're really against that stuff." Mark says: "I feel like I have

two marks against me because I am black and I am gay." He says that he started to feel bad about himself because of "society and stuff; it was basically because of my religion, you know, that's what it was."

Luke is 17, Caucasian, and describes himself as mainly gay. His father was in the navy and so he lived in several states while growing up. Luke was in Oklahoma for several years before moving to Seattle at age fifteen. At that time his parents divorced. Luke described his father as being physically abusive to his mother and upon occasion to himself and his sisters. Luke described his father with unkind words: "He was ex-cop and ex-navy. I never lived up to his expectations as a son." His father is now a church deacon, "He's got Christianity, second birth and the whole bit."

Luke was in the eleventh grade when he dropped out of school. He said he had the reputation of being a fag, and consequently, he was miserable. He also described himself as being fat and lazy when he was younger. He was taken to a doctor to find out what was wrong with him. When he was about fifteen, he thought that he might be gay, but he wasn't sure. Luke's father heard from his mother that Luke was gay and he told Luke: "It's not natural." In another incident Luke's father stated: "queers were the most hated people in the world."

John is seventeen years old and a Native American. He says he is mostly homosexual: "I really would like to be bisexual but I would call myself homosexual." John lived his early life on a reservation in Montana with three brothers and five sisters. His parents divorced. Although his father was a construction worker he described him as being greedy and would not help support his children. John's mother was on welfare and often was unable to care for the children. They were intermittently taken out of their home and placed in foster care. John was put in a boarding school with his older brother at age seven. He went back and forth between living with his grandmother and the boarding school.

John had his first homosexual experience with other boys at the boarding school. His family was heavily involved in the Pentecostal faith. John realized the conflict his homosexuality presented to him in light of his religious goals. He said that his homosexuality was a problem for him "psychologically mostly from religion." Nothing was said to John directly, but the message was clear: "it was read in pamphlets and books and in the bible." John stated: "I thought that if I really did want to get into religion I'd have to stop (homosexual activity)."

John had learned about the Berdache among the Plains Indians from a school film. He felt that the present

generation of Indians had more prejudice against homosexuality and bisexuality:

It's a different law. Homosexuality in the tribes a long time ago on the plains was -- if a man or a woman decided that he or she wanted to live the life of the other sex, they could do whatever they wanted. It made me feel better about myself, but religion wise it is really different.

Despite this information, it was religion that held more authority with John. He listed religion as one of the worst things that had ever happened to him, yet he continued to seek out religion for help over other kinds of counseling. John also described an incident in which he had become friendly with a minister and was subsequently molested by him.

Other young men had similar experiences with religion that affected their feelings about themselves, their homosexuality, and which ultimately influenced their identity. The following quotes provide more examples.

My parents are Mormon. We just never talked about it (homosexuality). It's like you must not talk about it, but I get the impression they don't want me to be gay even though we never talked about it.

When I was younger we used to have home bible study night and we read from the book of Mormon. My father would do most of the reading and then we would talk about it. A couple of times homosexuality was the subject and my father would read where God said that it was unnatural and condemned. Naturally all Mormons believe what the book of Mormon preaches. They just always said it was bad whenever we asked about it.

The encounters that these young men had with religious doctrines gave them a very clear understanding of cultural

attitudes towards persons with homoerotic feelings or experiences. The message, was foremost, that homosexuality was bad. Homosexuals, as a category of persons, stood in an anomalous position to the natural order of things, and were in violation of fundamental religious traditions (Plummer 1975; Tripp 1975).

Law

What had been understood in a religious context as sinful sexual behavior was to further unfold as criminal behavior. Religious traditions that acted to protect reproductive sexuality and to regulate non-procreative sexual activity provided the basis for legal regulation of homosexual behavior. The first civil law enacted against homosexual behavior was in England in 1533 (Weeks 1977, 1979; Crompton 1976; Knutson 1980). The Act of Henry VIII specifically prohibited sodomy, which was described with the term "buggery." The American colonies followed suit. Virginia passed the following statute in 1792: "if any commit the detestable and abominable vice of buggery with man or beast, he or she so offending, shall be adjudged a felon and shall suffer death, as in the case of a felony, without benefit of clergy" (Katz 1976; Crompton 1976). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, all male homosexual activity, public or private, was illegal (Weeks 1979). It has been said of the United States that the number and

breadth of statutes, policies, regulations, and judicial decisions provide the most fervently anti-homosexual laws in the Western world (Knutson 1980).

Recent efforts by gay rights activists in the United States have resulted in localized law reform that lessens or abolishes penalties for homosexual activity. In some cases these reforms have resulted in protective legislation accorded to other groups with minority status. By 1985, the Gay Task Force had succeeded in passing protective legislation in seventy municipalities, counties, and states (Seattle Times March 12, 1985). The majority of laws in the United States that address homosexuality, however, clearly maintain the original intent of prohibiting and punishing "unnatural acts and sexual practises."

Court decisions that uphold discrimination against homosexuals are based on the "self-evident" nature of homosexuality as immoral, unnatural, abnormal, and sick (Knutson 1980). Legal opinions published between 1952 and 1976, reviewed by Knutson, describe homosexuality as: loathsome, disgusting, grossly repugnant, degenerate, anathema, and inherently aberrant (Knutson 1980:7).

The time and location of my study coincided with litigation that originated in a neighboring county challenging discrimination against homosexuals in the military and in public schools. In *Gaylord vs. Tacoma School District* (559 p.2d 1340 [Wash. 1977]), dismissal of a male

homosexual teacher was upheld because "his status as a homosexual" was an unquestionable violation of the law (Knutson:7). In another case a male homosexual was unsuccessful in stopping his military discharge. The military continues to freely disqualify and discharge gays and lesbians from service.

The saliency of the legal ordering of anomalous sexual activity based upon religious principles continues to present itself. In the women's movement, the focus on contraceptive availability, abortion rights, and female sexuality resulted in sexuality becoming a major public issue. In this atmosphere, homosexuality became politicized and at the center of a moral panic fired by contemporary moral crusaders. The use of homosexuals as scapegoats has been a common historical theme (Weeks 1979:107). The Moral Majority, who have emerged in recent years for example, perceive the ills of the world to be the responsibility of an unlikely mix of social demons from communists to homosexuals. The Moral Majority and similar groups believe that homosexuals must recruit people into homosexuality because, they believe, homosexuals do not reproduce. This public scrutiny has created a precarious condition for individuals whose homosexuality is public knowledge. The onset of AIDS has only added fuel to this fire. The suffering of persons dying from a disease without a cure,

has been interpreted by the Moral Majority as an act of divine retribution against tolerance towards homosexuals.

The following quotations from the new moral crusaders were collected by Planned Parenthood of New York in 1983. I include this information here as a demonstration of the interworking of religious and legal sentiments against homosexuality.

I believe in capital punishment and I believe homosexuality is one of those things that could be coupled with murder and other sins (Dean Wycoff, Moral Majority, Santa Clara, California).

When the Christian majority takes over this country, there will be no Satanic churches, no more free distribution of pornography (sex education), no more abortion on demand, and no more talk of rights for homosexuals (Gary Potter, Catholics for Christian Action).

We see virulent Humanism and an anti-God rebellion of which blatant homosexuality, radical feminism, the youth revolt, the Year of the Child, drug abuse, free sex and widespread abortion are only symptoms (Pat Robertson, Christian Broadcasting Network).

Gay Rights activists continue to battle with religious and legal factions that have historically been allied against them. The locale of my study provides another recent example. By 1974 Seattle had passed ordinances protecting the rights of sexual minorities in employment and housing. The county had not passed similar legislation. A protective ordinance was proposed by the county council and a hearing scheduled in March of 1985. At the time of the hearing, Christian anti-gay protesters outnumbered supporters. They

were led by a council member who entered the chambers carrying a bible and promising to vote against the proposed ordinance because, according to the bible, homosexuality was a sin. The final vote was postponed. A new hearing on a revised ordinance was held in December 1985. This time the ordinance passed by a margin of one vote.

Effect of Laws on Informants

My informants did not refer to the legal texts of homosexuality as directly as they did to the religious texts. That is not to say that the repressive legal atmosphere towards homosexuals did not affect them. Indeed, their lives are a reflection of the reality prescribed for them by law. Gagnon and Simon put it in this way: "The law is at the center of a good many of the male homosexual's dilemmas because it converts an unchosen condition into a legal disability" (1973:161). The attitudes reflected in religious and legal doctrines were most certainly communicated to those in my sample of gay prostitutes. As we have seen, the young men in this study were told that what they did sexually, and more important, who they were in total, was immoral and unnatural. As their social status, based on an oppressive definition, took shape, these young men were directed towards a lifestyle that is under the purview of criminal codes. Their lives could not be otherwise because of their illegal status as homosexuals.

The legal restrictions on homosexual activity channeled the young men in this study towards a world in which sexual activity is commensurate with "cruising," "hustling," and "soliciting." These are all illegal acts that have shaped the homosexual expression of these young men into a total lifestyle and personhood that is illegal.

Finding social and sexual partners is a major controlling factor of human behavior, perhaps even more so for adolescents. And so it was with the gay male adolescents in this study. The differences for them were that first, they could not be open about personal desires. Second, they could not meet potential partners as easily in the social settings that heterosexuals take for granted. These are experiences that are shared by homosexuals in general and consequently act to create and maintain a sexual subculture (Plummer 1975).

The relevance of the homosexual subculture to my argument will be discussed in detail in chapter 8. At this time it is sufficient to restate the main point: the path that joins homosexual behavior with criminal behavior is ordained by law. Homosexuality is illegal both as an activity and consequently as an identity. A criminal subcultural world has been called into existence to provide access to socially outlawed sex and as a safety zone for homosexually identified persons.

Medicine

Homosexuality has been perceived as sinful and criminal. By the nineteenth century, it was also viewed as sick behavior. The recasting of homosexual behavior in medical terms was informed, as were legal sanctions, by the religious model. Non-procreative sexual behavior was viewed as sinful and its transformation to a medical pathology was first rationalized by beliefs regarding the loss of semen. Samuel Tissot in the 1700s, and later Sylvester Graham of cracker fame, and Harvey Kellogg of cereal fame promulgated the belief that the loss of semen would result in madness or shock the neurosystem to the extent that sexual activity should be limited to procreative sex only (Bullough 1976). These beliefs became generalized to an understanding that only a sick person would engage in non-procreative sexual behavior. The implications for homosexual behavior are rather obvious under this ideology.

The pathological perspective on homosexuality inevitably stirred interest in possible causes and cures. Both psychiatric and medical concerns with homosexuality focused on etiology. A basic assumption of medical research on homosexuality has been the notion of masculine and feminine identity as the root of sexual preference and thus a gender deficiency as the cause of homosexuality. The search for a biological origin of a masculine or feminine deficiency in homosexual individuals has focused on

congenital anomalies potentially situated in endocrine imbalances and hereditary defects. To date there are no conclusive results indicating differential chromosomal configurations or hormonal distributions in homosexual individuals (Perloff 1965; Tourney 1980; Ross et al. 1983).

There is some evidence that suggests there may be a critical period in prenatal development when the fetus is particularly sensitive to the effects of increased exposure to androgens and estrogens (Money and Ehrhardt 1968, 1972). It has been argued by Money that such a prenatal occurrence could alter subsequent sexual object choice as a result of a biologically rooted gender incongruity. However, to posit a relationship between prenatal genderization and culturally mediated sexual object choice is a conceptual leap for which a mechanism has only been assumed and not identified. The developmental determinants of homosexuality are not known and the existing theories have been unsuccessful in predicting psychosexual differentiation.

Psychiatry

The psychogenic perspective on homosexuality has resulted in its objectification as a clinical entity and subsequent subjection to psychotherapeutic treatment. Freud has provided the most significant psychiatric formulation of homosexuality (1905). While somewhat sympathetic to homosexual individuals, Freud's theoretical development was

directed toward etiology, which in turn would suggest appropriate therapy. Freud focused on ways in which "normal" heterosexual development might be blocked. Sexual identity problems were seen as the result of developmental problems such as: 1) parental influence including poor role models in the form of domineering mothers or weak fathers, and 2) unresolved oedipal conflicts resulting in fixations and castration fears. Diverted sexual development was, according to Freud, the cause of identity "problems" that were manifest in overt homosexuality.

Complementary psychiatric and psychoanalytic theories have been criticized for a variety of reasons by contemporary researchers of homosexuality (see for example Tripp 1975; Gagnon and Simon 1973). One criticism is that behaviors clinically associated with the onset of homosexuality -- e.g., gender nonconformity and genital homoerotic sex play in childhood -- have not been found to reliably predict or precede adult homosexuality. The view that homosexuality represents a deviation from normal development is a dubious one. The elements of a potential homosexual pathology, such as oedipal fixation, traumatic weaning, poor elimination training, absence of male influence, domineering mothers, etc., that may be identified in retrospect, have neither been shown to be reliable predictors of homosexual behavior nor do these classic

developmental patterns occur in nonclinical populations (Bell et al. 1981).

Cross-cultural reports on institutionalized homosexuality at or near puberty, that do not preclude adult heterosexuality, seem to further suggest that developmental theories are inadequate as strong singular explanation for homosexual behavior (Herdt 1981, 1984; Whitehead 1981). Bell et al., have summarized this argument:

The findings reported ... clearly demonstrate that there are variations in the patterns of homosexual development among different types of homosexual men and women. Thus, in identifying patterns in the development of sexual preference, one must take into account what type of homosexual one has in mind. By noting such variations, we become acutely aware of the pitfalls involved in trying to advance a single general theoretical model to explain the development of homosexuality (1981:210).

Bell and Wineberg (1978) refute the notion that homosexuality comprises a discreet phenomenon. There are numerous ways in which individuals may be homosexual. They refer to homoerotic forms of sexual expression as "homosexualities" (1978:23).

The medicalization and psychiatrization of homosexual activity have many implications for scientific inquiry and for individual homosexuals -- not the least being the variety of change therapies homosexual individuals have been subjected to. They have ranged from hormone and aversion therapy to various forms of psychotherapy. As has been found repeatedly, there is no "cure" for homosexuality (Ross

et al. 1983:317; Tripp 1975:236; Freund 1977). Some factions of the scientific community have recently questioned the view of homosexuality as pathology. In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association deleted homosexuality from its list of mental disorders, which indicated their willingness to start redirecting the discipline's perspective. The shift away from a view of homosexuality as a symptom of a mental disorder is also evident in recent research that emphasizes socio/cultural formulations of homosexuality (see for example Hooker 1967; Gagnon and Simon 1973; Bell and Weinberg 1978; Bell, Weinberg, and Hammersmith 1981). This shift is at least partially due to the failure of psychiatry and medicine to prove their assumptions through successful "cures" of individuals (Money 1977).

Scientific research has not produced reliable theories on either the cause or the cure of homosexual behavior. The cultural ideology of homosexuality as an illness, however, still prevails. The case study material that follows provides examples of the subjects' knowledge of psychiatric attitudes towards people like themselves.

Case Studies

David is 16, Caucasian, and describes himself as gay. He has prostituted for six years and doesn't feel that he will ever be able to do anything as well as he prostitutes.

At age 11, David moved to Seattle from California to live with his sister. The move was an attempt to hide his homosexuality from his parents. David was brought up in a strict Catholic home that he describes as wealthy. His parents are still married.

David said that he was afraid to tell his mother that he was gay because he thought she would want to send him to a psychiatrist. His mother knows now that he is gay, but he believes that the information has been successfully hidden from his father. David describes his father as a "very closed human, very cold" who would "definitely kick ass if he knew." David says "no parents expect their children to turn out gay and if they (the children) do it is a total shock."

David left school in the ninth grade because he thought the streets offered a better life. He says his parents had wanted him to be a doctor, but he says, "I'm a prostitute; it kind of makes me laugh." He has not seen his parents since he was 11. He says: "I've had chances and chose not to. I don't know why. In a way I don't care what they think about me, but in other ways it's best they don't know." When asked what he thought his parents' perception was of him, he responded: "Ferrie to the hilt." David also says: "If I could go back in time I'd never leave home."

David's sister came to a point at which she felt she could no longer cope with him. He became a ward of the

state and was placed in foster homes. In one home he was raped by his foster father. After this incident, David returned to his sister's home and told her of the assault. David said: "The worst thing that ever happened to me was being raped and not being believed."

David's next sexual experience, after the assault by his foster father, was as a prostitute with a male customer. The customer, according to David, kept him drugged and with him for three weeks. (This is not an unusual experience for street prostitutes.) He remembers little of the experience except that he woke up at his sister's house. His sister sent him to a psychiatrist as a result of this incident and because his homosexuality could no longer be overlooked. David made the following comments regarding psychiatry.

She (sister) did take me to a psychiatrist and the psychiatrist said it (homosexuality) was abnormal behavior. He thought I was covering up something that I had committed a murder or something (in reference to his three week absence). I told him he was nuts and to leave me alone.

Gene is age 17, Caucasian, and describes himself as gay. He grew up in a medium-sized town in the eastern portion of the state. Gene's mother has been married five times and is an alcoholic as have been her last few husbands. She supported the family on welfare the last four years Gene lived at home. Gene described several incidents in which he was physically abused by the most recent step-father. At 16 Gene decided to leave school because his grades were poor,

and to leave home because he "could not take their [his parent's] drinking anymore." Gene had met another gay male in his home town who told him that Seattle was a good place to meet other gay people.

Gene decided to move to Seattle because he was gay:

It was mostly my family that pressured me, and the reason why is that I knew that there was no gays in [home town] and this is where all of them were [in Seattle]. Cause I thought that this [Seattle] is where I belonged, around people who felt the same way I did.

Gene left his family a note telling them where he was going and also that he was gay: "It was about time that they knew how I felt."

When Gene reached Seattle, he began to meet other gay men. He met a new friend, "Don," at a restaurant who became his "advisor" on gay issues and helped him "come out of the closet." Gene moved in with Don and decided to invite his family over. When his mother found out that his roommate was gay, she refused to come saying: "she had no use for them."

Three weeks later Gene returned to his home town to confront his family. He describes the conversation he had with his mother below.

Okay, she was saying, like she thought that I would make a woman a very happy person and they [women] would be very happy to have me as a husband. But now she don't think so. And she was saying that its [homosexuality] against the law of God and man. And she was telling me she wanted me to go to a psychiatrist to get help. And when I seen that I said no way. I am not going to no

psychiatrist cause I know I'm not sick. And so I decided, well, I might as well go over there and face them and see what they had to say to me in person.

By the time Gene finished talking to his mother, he had decided against seeing a psychiatrist.

They asked me how long had I been this way, [homosexual] or how long did I feel this way. And I told them, all of my life. Then she was going on about what was in the note [he left before going to Seattle] and then I tried to explain to her that I was more or less coming out of the closet. And she said well you still need to go to a psychiatrist where he can explain it to us, what its like. And I go we don't need to go to a psychiatrist, I can tell you what its like exactly coming out cause I was going through it. She said you mean to tell me that you can explain it better than a psychiatrist. And I go yeah, especially if the psychiatrist isn't gay. He don't know what the real feeling of it is unless he experiences it himself. That's what I told her. And her attitude is real snotty about it too.

Gene had intended to move back to his home town but decided against it:

What's the use of sticking around? There's no gay people. I would have to still stay in the closet with people which is very difficult to do. So I knew I needed to come here (Seattle).

David and Gene seemed successful in their efforts to resist arguments that their homosexual desires were due to mental illness. They may not have been as successful, however, if they had not had contact with gay people who provided them °with another point of view. David and Gene were given competing and more favorable messages by their gay friends, but I think that it would be a mistake to dismiss completely the power the psychiatric pronouncements may have had in

their overall process of understanding themselves. A lingering self-doubt persists as we see in their continuing case studies.

Gender Socialization and Social Sex Role

A convention of the gender system in Western society is the triple attribution relating gender, sex role, and erotic preference (Harry 1982:12). The perception that effeminate males are homosexuals and that homosexual males are effeminate is a corollary to the conventional understanding of sex and gender scripts. The stereotypic association of femininity with male homosexuality and masculinity with lesbianism has been expressed through history from classical times (DeCecco 1981; Bullough 1976). This association was perhaps first articulated in theory by Karl Ulrich in the nineteenth century. Ulrich suggested that homosexuals were unique human specimens, "urnings," whose biological sex was at odds with their psychic identification with the opposite sex. Ulrich's introduction of a particular homosexual identity was based on a more general notion of sexual identity that distinguished masculinity and femininity as bipolar traits.

The products of research on sex and gender generally reflect the long held assumption that homosexuality is related to deficiencies or incongruences of masculinity or femininity. Prominent researchers in the field maintain

that homosexuality is "rooted in gender incongruity" and that transsexualism, transvestism, and homosexuality are functions of opposite sex identification (Money and Erhardt 1968, 1972; Green 1980).

There are a number of studies that have in fact found significant associations between cross-gender role preference in childhood and adult sexual orientation (Bell et al. 1981; Green and Money 1966; Green 1975, 1976, 1980; Lebovitz 1972; Stoller 1968). These studies are problematic because they tend to assume a biological origin for cultural effects. It is assumed, for example, that if a male wishes to interact with other males they must perceive in themselves or contain elements of female traits. The conclusions drawn from these findings often imply a causal link between what our culture deems effeminate behavior in males and a potential or real homosexual preference. It is seldom pointed out that a predisposition towards a specific gender role is not necessary or sufficient to predispose one towards a sexual preference. The considerable variation one may find in configurations of gender, sex role, and erotic preference are seldom explained in this literature.

It may well be that the persistent use of gender incongruity as the basic structure for scientific inquiry of homosexuality attests more to the symbolic power of gender constructs for organizing reality, including science, than to any biologically based relationship between sexual object

preference and gender identity (Strathern 1976). Indeed, anthropological studies have illustrated that the diverse expressions of homosexuality in varying cultures are a function of cultural constructions of gender systems and not biological imperatives. For example, homosexual activity is viewed as imparting masculinity among some groups (Herdt 1981, 1984; Whitehead 1981). In other cultures, culturally assigned sex role behavior is the major determining factor in defining one's gender rather than sexual object choice (Whitehead 1981:96). Recent sociological research has questioned the paradigmatic assumption that biological sex, social sex role, and sexual orientation are facets of the same dimension (De Cecco 1983; Ross et al. 1983).

An alternative model to the folk belief that homosexuals represent a deficiency in sex appropriate traits -- but are "embarrassingly proficient in the traits associated with their opposite sexes," has been developed (De Cecco 1981:ix; Ross et al. 1983). Ross sees sexual preference as unrelated to opposite sex identification, hormonal conditions, or sex role difference (1983:315). Diminished masculinity is traced to rigid enforcement of masculine stereotypes, sexual intolerance, and an overinternalization of social expectations of sex role behavior. De Cecco (1981) has argued that what is occurring is a self-fulfilling prophecy in which the internalization of expected

behavior by some homosexuals produces a type of social self-fulfilling prophecy.

A similar argument has been made by Harry (1982) who suggests that those perceived as gender deviants employ conventional role behavior to give meaning to unconventional behavior. Having reviewed the existing literature, Ross concurs that: 1) no biological (hormonal) differences correlate with differences in sexual preference, and 2) sex role behavior and gender identity do not correlate to sexual behavior in homosexual men (Ross et al:322; Birke 1980; De Cecco 1981; Plummer 1975).

The equation of effeminate behavior in men with homosexuality is a major principle of the gender system of Western society. This is true whether the cause is rooted in an unknown biological mechanism or is the result of culture. Part of the objective reality confronting a young man who is or is to become homosexual, is that effeminate behavior signifies a homosexual preference. The world for the young men in this study is one in which the gender complex dictates that if you are not masculine, in the culturally approved sense, then you must be feminine. Identification with the feminine has a "spill over" effect, meaning that it is a potential source for homosexual identification (Plummer 1975:135). Meanings associated with non-conforming sex role behavior are linked with meanings associated with sexual object preference. Gender confusion

may be precipitated by conflicts associated with body image for boys who are smaller than average, or for those who are disinterested in activities dictated to be masculine such as hunting or sports (Saghir and Robins 1973:176; Green 1976; Harry 1982:27).

The case studies that follow illustrate, among other things, that the young men in this study rejected the rigidity of the masculine role expectations and were consequently identified with the feminine. They expressed a lack of interest and frustration with traditional male behaviors. Compared to the control group -- which did not express any homoerotic preference or behavior -- the prostitutes had: less interest in sports and cars. They were concerned about getting beaten up (because they were gay), avoided fights, and admittedly enjoyed playing with girls rather than boys as children. They were called sissy and other negative names. They also tended to be average or smaller in physical development. The prostitutes saw themselves as slightly less masculine and reported that their parents viewed them as less masculine than did parents of the control group. These findings are similar to those from other samples of homosexually identified males (Saghir and Robins 1973; Bell et al. 1981).

The data collected from interviews and from field observations in schools and on the street indicate that the perception of sexual preference may be a major organizing

factor among adolescent males. Indeed, the fear of being called a sissy or faggot permeates a wide range of behavior. For example, sexual orientation may be called into question by how one carries their school books; men carry them at the side and not in front of their chests. Other behaviors also "reveal" sexual preference: how fingernails are examined, how one drinks from a glass, holds a cigarette, crosses one's legs, and whether one carries a comb or a brush. Also "real men" are less concerned with cleanliness; gym clothes, for example, should be nearly rotted before washing. In addition, real men can consume and hold down vast amounts of alcoholic beverages. One of the more important criteria that designates "real men" is their sexual activity. One's masculine worth is secured through sexual prowess and bragging. Cultural and social approval of an open and active sexuality for males informs the promiscuous style attributed to male homosexuals and in some ways diffuses the negative attributes of prostitution.

Case Studies

Mark was introduced earlier. He is the young black man who expresses some transvestite needs. Mark says he has not decided if he is "still homosexual." On the masculine/feminine scale, Mark rated himself as "not very masculine but some." He describes himself when younger as skinny. "I was a skeleton. I didn't fight much but when I did fight I

did it beautifully." He played mostly with girls and liked to read. He was called a sissy a lot and as a result would "sometimes cling to teachers after school" because he was afraid of the other kids. Mark says that he is not very masculine because he was "not very co-ordinated" and "not very good in sports." He says that some men "enjoy being a full flush male but they sometimes go to extremes and just enjoy having their muscles." He says that women are "more secure because they are protected rather than vulnerable like men." Mark had second thoughts about a sex change operation. He says 75% of those who had them were unhappy.

Luke is the young man who spent part of his childhood in Oklahoma. His father had been in the navy and had been a policeman before being seriously burned in an accident. As a child, Luke said he was not very masculine and that his parents would rate him the same because he never enjoyed sports or hunting: "I did not like to go hunting and fishing and all that crap. I never wanted a gun." His father bought him a gun anyway and with anger Luke said to him: "I told you ten years ago I didn't want a gun." Luke said that he felt uncomfortable around his father and that most of his friends were girls. He said he always played with dolls and just never enjoyed sports.

Luke's mother pressured him to hunt with his father. Luke said the following about himself:

I guess I was feminine. I was. I had a lot of feminine qualities about me. I'm not saying they were from my mother. It is just that I always had them.

Luke had this to say about men:

You know, I used to hate them. I couldn't stand them. I didn't like uncles, fathers, grandfathers, you know. I didn't dislike my grandfathers but I just didn't have that much use for them. I like women. Not sexually but just preferably.

When asked what it was he liked about women, Luke said:

Umm, femininity and softness, the warmth. I can't say that my father was macho all the time you know. He was nice, I guess. It's just that he didn't know how to be nice. He didn't know how to be warm. Like one time I went in to him when he had just bought a new television and one of the guys winked at me and I was really young. I winked back and dad got all upset over that. I didn't know what the hell (to think) you know. I just don't like real macho males.

John is the Native American who attended boarding schools. John described himself as not very masculine and felt that his parents would have rated him the same. As an afterthought he said, "I am just not very good at sports." At one point his mother had told him that "they were going to knock the woman out of me." John reasoned:

I guess I was feminine when I was younger. I tended to get along better with girls than with boys. I liked the way women looked and acted. I don't like to be around people who can't be sociable without fighting.

When John was about 7 he was called a queer at school. He asked his older brother what it meant. He was told that it was "someone who acts like a girl or woman." At that point

John said that he began to think that he was different. He was often afraid of being beaten up by other boys. "I was an easy mark so I usually travelled alone because of the way I acted, feminine."

The statements below are from other young men who experienced sex role conflict.

I didn't fit into the jock category.

Men were supposed to be macho, be tough, protect his girlfriend, and never cry, but I cried a lot.

A man is a protector, he's supposedly strong, he's supposed to be head of the household. A woman is more mature than a man. A man just goes to work, brings in the money, pleases the woman, tells her she looks nice. A man is tall and handsome and built.

I didn't want to be the stereotype, hold a nine to five job. There's no excitement to it, no possibilities. The kids I grew up with were sports oriented, macho oriented, my closest friends were macho. Basically, you couldn't be too bright. That's one of the reasons I don't get along with my father because I don't get off on going hunting or fishing, that's what you were expected to do. I played with dolls and Easy Bake ovens. I tried for a long time to do the hunting and fishing trips. I just don't like doing it. From the time I was young I knew that I had to eventually get married and have kids and probably do something like my parents were doing.

I didn't do the stereotype thing. I didn't play with trucks, play sports, didn't hang around cars. I played with girls, played with dolls, dressed up. All my life I did the stereotypical things that girls are supposed to do. When I was younger the males were the dominant ones in the family. The men worked and the women stayed home. Men were supposed to be macho, be tough, protect his girlfriend, never get scared at all. Don't cry, don't show any emotion, that's the way I was brought up. Now things are changing. I talk to girls and they say they want sensitive men, men

who cry. At one time if you did those things they thought you were a homosexual. Things are still somewhat stereotyped but I think it's getting better. Women used to have to be just housewives, now they can accomplish anything. But I talk with my dad's friends and they still have the same old ideas.

If you take a group of little boys and don't condemn them for anything and let them do anything they want, let them cry and go with their feelings, they would be sensitive people. All men have feminine tendencies. Men wouldn't hide that, (their feelings) they'd do everything. It was weird. In school it was ok for a girl to be a tomboy but it wasn't ok for a boy to be a tom-girl. I think everybody should be able to do their own thing. I don't see how anybody has the right to tell anybody else how to be.

Summary

There was a consensus among the young men in both samples that "acting macho gets you in trouble" and that "macho is stupid." Unfortunately, few could provide an alternative and more positive definition of masculinity. The possibilities of substitute masculine behaviors were constrained by fears of being identified as a sissy. Among those identified as homosexual, we see a capitulation to the expected role behaviors of the non-conforming male. Although both groups devalued extreme masculine behavior, it was the prostitute group who had most thoroughly examined the consequences of male role behavior in society because they had experienced the greatest role conflict. With few alternatives, they dared to express themselves. Those who could not neutralize their differentness became increasingly

alienated from peers and from their families. The social relationships that were available to them would track them towards a gay social identity. But their counter expression was equally informed by cultural constructions of unmanly men.

The young men in this study found themselves in conflict with the cultural demands of male sex role behavior. Their innermost feelings ran counter to those prescribed by religious, legal, and medical authority. They began to discover that they were different. These differences were translated as sexual differences and from them emerged the self-understanding that they belonged to a stigmatized category: homosexuals (Plummer 1975). In the next section I discuss the implications of this discovery of self as "different" from others for identity formation.

The Objective Social World and Formation of the Self

Berger and Luckman describe the formation of self, within the reified context of culture, as a segment of the self objectivated by available typifications. Concepts of the "self" and the "other" are apprehended as performers of objectivated action. This action is generally recurrent and repeatable by any actor of the appropriate type (1967:72). The individual or social actor is partially identified by the social meanings attributed to the action undertaken.

For the young men in this study, a part of their self was defined and created by the objective reality of homosexuality as it was presented to them. The self-concept of the young men who became homosexual was shaped by their understanding of society's reaction to those whose sexual orientation is in question, who present gender conflicts, and fail to conform to male sex role expectations.

The meanings available for the construction of their self-concept were most often based on attitudes towards sexuality. The young men in this study understood that their sexuality was deemed sinful and unnatural according to religious traditions (Plummer 1975; Tripp 1975). Medical and legal discourse further indicated to these young men that they were immoral, illegal, and sick. They also began to see themselves as being in violation of prevailing male/female gender categories. The meanings available to them to interpret their status was either as an anomaly, or at the very least, a feminized male (Plummer 1975). In addition, their lifestyle violated fundamental cultural expectations of being married and having a family. As homosexuals, they were not likely to fall in love with a woman and procreate. And, of course, homosexual marriages are not legally recognized in most places (Plummer 1975).

At the time this study was undertaken, the gay liberation movement provided the potential for more positive and legitimate constructions of a homosexual identity. Some

of the young men in my sample were aware of the gay rights movement. Although they said little about the movement, they were affected by it. The young men in this study were able to learn that there was a label for their sexual feelings and that they were not the only people to have those feelings. This kind of information was accessed through the media and from other gay people who were now able to be open about their preference.

It has been suggested that Gay activism has increased the number of adolescents openly acknowledging their sexuality and at younger ages (Harry 1982). The result of more discussion of homosexuality is that the search for others like themselves begins at an earlier age and they had specific information on where they could be found. Luke finding an "advisor" or Mark's insistence that he was not sick are examples of the effects of gay activism.

The search for other gay people may not necessarily alter the experience of stigma, however. The issue at hand is the weight of authority among competing cultural texts such as religion versus gay rights (Ricoeur 1981). Which, for example, will have the greatest effect on a young man -- a psychologist saying "you will grow out of this," observing a gay pride march, or discovering in Roget's thesaurus as I did, that "abnormal" is associated with the words unnatural, aberrant, freakish, anomalous, homosexual, lesbian, queer,

hybrid, substandard, subnormal, absurd, deformed, amorphous, and shapeless.

The answer from the men themselves is one of ambivalence:

I would like to be bisexual, but I find myself being homosexual. I've only had sex with one woman and it did not work out very well. I guess I'm homosexual until I find the right woman.

I'd rather be heterosexual. I'm bisexual but I think homosexuality is unnatural. I played a rejection trip on myself after I was raped. I thought I might be bisexual. [The young man quoted here described himself as being anti-gay.]

The worst thing that ever happened to me is that I am gay. I used to lie about being straight and the sex I had with girls.

Being gay has caused me problems psychologically, because of my religion, the stuff I read in pamphlets and the Bible. I learned about Indian transvestites in a film in 1977 in school. It made me feel better about myself but I'd still go with religion.

I was more worried about being found a homosexual than a prostitute.

I feel guilty about having sex with men. I don't know why but I just feel guilty.

Summary

Among other things, the gender system of Western society promulgates individual stereotypes that are either heterosexual or homosexual. Diverse sexual experience is associated with a general orientation, identity, and social status. Bisexuality is also given a distinct identity except when categories are combined -- usually into

homosexuality. The young men in this study experienced a distinct sexual dissimilarity that was to become the source for a self-interpretation as a homosexual (Troiden 1979; Plummer 1975). The experiences related in the texts cited in this section parallel Troiden's description of the sensitization stage in the process of acquiring a gay identity. These experiences shape one's social identity as a homosexual and tend to be shared by those who are or become homosexual (Troiden 1979; Green 1980). In the section that follows, I discuss the content and context of interactions in which specific meanings were appropriated that further signified homosexual potential, and the type of social life perceived to be available by the young men in this study.

CHAPTER 8: INTERSUBJECTIVE REALITY
 OF HOMOSEXUAL PROSTITUTES

In chapter 7, I gave illustrations of events in which male prostitutes were confronted with cultural attitudes that conveyed the stigma associated with homosexuality. In this chapter, I examine their intersubjective world by looking at the meanings attributed to their homosexuality through interactions with significant others in everyday life (Berger and Luckman 1967:23). It is through these interactions that the young men learned that they too possessed the stigma. These interactions are affected and shaped by the cultural knowledge of homosexuality. It is the intersubjective world that most clearly links individuals to the social world (1967:41).

Berger and Luckman have defined society as both objective and subjective realities. The individual is born into an objectified social structure and is socialized by significant others who mediate and filter the objective world and thus induct the individual into a sector of society (1967:13,134). The objective and subjective realities of society are linked in a dialectical process that is constituted by three moments: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Berger and Luckman argue that to be in society is to participate in its dialectic: "The individual member of society simultaneously

externalizes his own being into the social world and internalizes it as an objective reality" (1967:129). Through internalization, the individual first understands others and then apprehends the world as a meaningful and social reality (1967:130). Berger and Luckman call this process primary socialization and include cognitive and emotional styles of learning (1967:131). Primary socialization along with secondary socialization constitute the process of identity formation.

Primary socialization initiates identity formation through a dialectic between identification by others and self identification. Berger and Luckman describe the self as a "reflected entity" -- reflecting the attitudes first taken by significant others towards the self (1967:132). The key point is that the self also takes on the world of the significant others. In primary socialization, children abstract from subjective and specific roles and attitudes to more general ones. For example, as more significant others support an attitude, a norm becomes understood such as "everyone is against soup spilling." (Berger and Luckman are borrowing from G.H. Mead's concept of the generalized other by which abstract roles and attitudes are internalized through associations with significant others.) In this process, society, identity, and reality are internalized in a subjective manner (1967:137). Identity involves being assigned a specific place in the world. A self-

understanding is partially based upon what is implied by what you are called (1967:132).

In this light, we may ask: "What is internalized for a young man who identifies himself as homosexual?" Once there is a mutual acknowledgement between a young man and the members of his social world that he is homosexual, he faces implicit condemnation and increasing stigmatization. A hostile and rejecting world unfolds for homosexuals in which the objective understanding they have of homosexuality as unnatural, abnormal, and despised becomes a statement of self-definition. These interactions are particularly influential because they took place within the major socializing contexts for humans -- i.e., family and peers.

The Intersubjective World

Case studies

Matthew was placed in a religiously oriented boy's home following a rape. Below is his description of the reactions he encountered to his homosexuality.

I was hassled for being gay. It was terrible. B [a friend] and I got caught experimenting sexually with each other and it got around the boys' home. I was called boof, buttfucker, faggot, and queer. One of the reasons they found out was that one of the guys I had sex with ended up telling on me. I went through two years of torment. I was not really close to the other boys. I was the 'sit by yourself' type. But it got to the point where it really racked my nerves and then I finally started kicking ass.

Two staff members were more supportive of Matthew. He quoted them as saying: "It's neat that he's doing what's right for him." But the more negative opinion prevailed. Matthew described his life:

I was teased and punched on. It put a psychological block between me and what I wanted to be. I felt that if I was gay then I would end up being beaten up all my life. I was hit on, spit on, had eggs thrown at me and shaving cream, all kinds of things would happen to me.

After two years in the boy's home, Matthew moved back with his mother. Her alcoholism and physical abuse of Matthew continued to be a problem. At the same time, he was experiencing more negative reactions to his homosexuality at the school he attended.

My friends were mostly females. Most of the guys were jocks and they called me boof. The girls didn't mind or pay attention to it. I went out with a lot of girls. As long as I kissed them they thought I was straight.

Mark is the young man with transvestite tendencies. He worries about being "found out a homosexual" and feels that his sexuality is a problem because he may always be lonely. Mark was called a sissy from the time he was five and spoke of clinging to teachers and his fear of being beaten by classmates. He says that his father tried to "protect the masculinity in him," and with a laugh, that his mother was not "100% agreeable about his homosexuality." Mark described his family's reaction to his homosexuality this way:

My mother felt strongly against it, but my brothers and sisters -- they say it don't make no difference. Well, they sort of try to encourage me to be straight and stuff. On the street they encourage me to be a 'bona fide homo.'

Mark feels that women are more tolerant than men: "They (men) don't give it very much acceptance." He describes gay life as "the pits."

Luke is the young man from Oklahoma whose father told him that queers were the most hated people in the world. He left school because he was reputed to be a "fag," and therefore was miserable.

It's terrible, I mean I'd rather go and be in the hall. I'd just get up and walk out. I was really self-conscious about even walking down the street, you know. I didn't like walking down the street because I was afraid someone was going to holler 'queer,' because it happened quite a bit. I had a pretty bad reputation and the thing was I wasn't doing anything then, you know. I thought I was gay but I wasn't sure and I still had girl friends and stuff. I had a lot of girl friends, but you know, I was, I guess, feminine, because I was around my mother for so long. Just like my hands and the way I hold my cigarette and the way I talk.

In the following quotations, Luke describes how he felt rejected by his family:

He [Luke's father] knows that I am gay because my mom told him that I was gay because I told her that I was gay in March because I was going home. I had just broke up with my lover and it was real bad. I was just fed up so I was going home and he [Luke's father] didn't know how to handle that at all which I didn't care. I told him that if he couldn't [be accepting] he could just forget about it. And after that, he made a comment to my sisters that he was going to raise Jeffrey, who is my youngest stepbrother, to be a man because he was tired of having sissies for sons.

I asked Luke if he felt rejected by his father:

I did [feel rejected] after he found out I was gay. It was just really uncomfortable because he wasn't saying much and my stepmother wasn't saying much and I just got up and left. I said: 'I can do without this.' It was like my dad didn't want me around my little brother or something like that. I thought it was just stupid and they were always asking me questions like do you think M [another brother] is going to grow up to be gay. Well my dad says this is my fault. I said I've always been like this and that's a fact.

Luke also experienced rejection from friends after they found out that he was gay:

Well I'm not straight. I just don't care. The ones that haven't accepted it you know, they can't accept it. And if they can't accept, it then they are not really good friends. I guess they're afraid I would want to do something with them, because I had a really good friend. I told him I was gay and he's not spoken two or three words to me since then. We are friendly to each other, but I guess he's afraid I'm going to lie about trying to have sex with him or attack him or something.

John is Native American and was told by his mother that they were going to "knock the woman out of him." He was called a queer and faggot from the time he was seven. He said, "I felt bad and rejected." He worried about being beaten and was often alone because of the way he acted: "feminine." John describes his sister as "a real straight person," who "does criticize people though. She says, 'I go out and drink and those things, but nothing as bad as homosexuals.' She says that homosexuals disgust her." John stopped telling people that he was gay because he didn't want to be teased anymore.

Gene moved to Seattle with his sister partly to keep his homosexuality secret from his parents. He described his school experience in this way:

Kids at school called me names. Rumors got around fast and they knew about me. So when I would go up there [to school] they would say something. I'd barely hear them but I knew they were talking and laughing [about me]. They actually said it to me when I could hear.

Gene described another reaction to his homosexuality that he experienced in a public setting:

One day I had on these Egyptian pants and it had these zippers on the side. When you zip them they are straight but when you unzip them they flare out like Egyptian pants. And so this lady looked at me and said 'oh heavens do you think he is a queer.' And I looked at her and said 'what did you say' and she said, 'you are a queer aren't you.' And I said 'yeah bitch what are you.' Boy did they [get upset] and her son just went off and said 'you want me to get him mom.' And I said 'come on punk' and everybody was turning and looking. I got on the the elevator and went upstairs. By then I was pissed.

Summary

The young men in this study who identified as gay, reported "facing fag patrols" and "faggot beaters" in school. Indeed, a heterosexual control identified himself as part of a "faggot beater" gang. Members of this gang went downtown and beat up people on the street they identified as homosexual. The young men also recalled being afraid to walk down the halls at school for fear of someone yelling "queer." They were afraid to be on the street

because people might recognize them as homosexuals "just by looking at them." One young man stated that he did not want people to know he was gay merely by his appearance: "I don't want to look like a screaming queen." Others reported walking by groups of peers and having them break into chants such as: "He's gay, stay away, he's gay, stay away."

The responses of families to the homosexuality of their sons ranged from strong condemnation to total rejection -- e.g., "It's disgusting," "we refuse to accept it," "we don't want to talk about it," "that's it, you are leaving." These young men suffered outright rejection from family and were often literally thrown away as sullied human beings. In one extreme example of a young man telling his father he was gay, his father reacted by putting a shot gun in his son's back, telling him: "Get out. I never want to see you again."

The young men in this study were beginning to hold the same beliefs about homosexuality that were presented to them by culture and society. Their ambivalence towards their own homosexual identification reflected a developing sense of shame and self-hate. I heard repeatedly from male prostitutes that being gay was the worst thing that ever happened to them. With little understanding about homosexuality and no source of support, they were neglected, rejected, and abandoned into an uncaring world.

The case studies illustrate the subjects' experiences of stigma and attempts to manage their "spoiled identity" (Goffman 1963). Matthew attempted to "cover" his homosexuality by continuing to go out with girls (Goffman:10). Luke's reputation was based on selected elements of his behavior that were considered to be signs of his femininity. His feminine behavior became a visible symbol that conveyed social information signifying his sexual preference. All of the young men experienced the phenomenon of others fearing the spread of their stigma through association. Peer relationships were terminated and parents worried about the exposure of younger children to gay siblings.

The personal and social identity of the young men, for whom it had been concluded were homosexual, was in the process of being reduced to the facts of actual or perceived sexual preference. Erving Goffman has argued that "the central feature of the stigmatized individual's situation is the pursuit of acceptance" (1963:9). The often desperate and extreme measures that characterize the drive for acceptance gives the stigmatized person a "proneness to victimization." In the next section, I discuss the sexual history and incidents of sexual victimization of prostitutes. I believe these experiences were significant factors in the formation of the prostitutes' overall

subjective sense of themselves and their role in society as gay men.

Sexual History

Several studies of female prostitution have demonstrated an association between sexually exploitative experiences in childhood such as incest, molestation, and rape, with later involvement in prostitution (James and Meyerding 1979; Boyer and James 1983; Vitalliano et al. 1981a, 1981b; Silbert 1981). With these previously established correlations in mind, I present the following discussion on the early sexual histories of the male prostitute sample, including those who identified as heterosexual. I include a discussion of the heterosexual prostitute group in this section because exploitative events in their sexual histories distinguished them from the delinquent controls. The incidence of sexual exploitation among heterosexual prostitutes paralleled that of the homosexual prostitutes and, I argue, were significant to the prostitution behavior they shared. For the heterosexual prostitutes in particular, I will argue that the sexual events that were most significant to understanding involvement in prostitution were homosexual encounters that occurred within an exploitative context. These events appear to have been traumatic and precipitated confusion regarding their sex role and sexual preference. Consequently, these young men, like their homosexual

counterparts, experienced homosexual stigma that influenced their self-understanding and their subsequent prostitution.

The discussion that follows will focus on the: 1) incidence of abuse among male prostitutes, 2) effects of sexual abuse in general, 3) long term effects of abuse, 4) effects of sexual abuse for male victims, and 5) the relationship of abuse to homosexual activity.

Childhood Sexual Experiences of Male Prostitutes

A "first sexual experience" was broadly defined to include genital or breast contact that the subjects perceived to be sexual. They were, however, allowed to define and state their "first sexual experience" according to their perceptions rather than imposing a strict operational definition.

The average age at the time of "first sexual experience" was 10.1 for prostitutes and 11.7 for controls. The first sexual partner was a female for 46.8% of the prostitutes and 92% of the controls. Of the homosexual prostitutes, 69.7% (n=33) had a male as a first partner. Only one of the 14 heterosexual prostitutes had a male as their first partner, and he was a prostitution customer. The first partner was also a relative for 25.6% of the prostitutes. A relative as a first sexual partner did not occur in the control group. Table 6.3 reports the first sexual partners for all the groups.

Of the prostitutes, 23.4% felt they were coerced in this first experience; 2% of the controls felt they had been coerced.

Not surprisingly, 95% of the prostitutes and 100% of the homosexual prostitutes reported having had a sexual experience with a male. Only 8% of the control group reported having had a sexual experience with a male; two controls identified themselves as homosexual. The first male partners are reported in table 6.7.

Of the homosexual prostitutes, 45.5% were age ten or younger at the time of their first sexual experience with a male. Of their partners, only 12% were age ten or younger; 36.3% of their partners were age 22 or older.

It should be remembered that two of the heterosexual prostitutes (n=14) never reported having sexual experience with a male. For seven of the heterosexual prostitutes, their first sexual experience with a male was with a customer. This was true for only two of the homosexual prostitutes, however. Of the prostitutes, 31.9% felt physically or emotionally coerced in this first experience with a male; 30.4% (10 of 33) of the homosexual prostitutes felt coerced, and 35.7% (5 of 12) of the heterosexual prostitutes felt coerced.

Sexual Assaults

Given the findings from previous studies of prostitutes, I expected high rates of victimization within the male prostitute sample. I was surprised by how closely the male victimization rates paralleled those for the female adolescent prostitutes (James 1979, 1980). The frequency of rape was very high in the prostitute population: 42.6% had been raped once or more; 23.4% had experienced attempted rape. Just over 42% of the homosexual prostitutes had been raped and 21.4% of the heterosexual prostitutes. No rapes occurred among non-prostitutes; 6% reported attempted rapes, however. Both prostitute groups reported being raped by strangers most often, 27.7%; and 12.8% reported being raped by customers. Of those rapes occurring among the prostitute group, only 14.9% were street related.

The subjects were also asked if they had been molested by someone at least ten years older before their first sexual activity. Of the prostitutes, 29.7% had been molested; 36.3% of the homosexual prostitutes were molested; and 14.2% of the heterosexual prostitutes were molested.

The differences between the prostitute and non-prostitute group is stunning. Of the prostitutes, 83% had at least one negative sexual experience in contrast to 12% of the control group. The frequency of abusive incidents in the childhood of prostitutes is remarkably greater than the 2.5-8% found in the general population (Finkelhor 1984).

(The univariate and multivariate analyses performed on these data showed a significant difference between prostitutes and controls on the Violation of Personal Boundaries Scale. The scale items included experiences of sexual exploitation [see appendix].) The negative sexual experiences of the young men in this study are described in the case studies below.

Case studies

Mark's first sexual experience was at age five or six with his aunt who was then eight. They attempted intercourse. He also reported sexual exploration with male peers in the bathroom in elementary school. At age seven, an older man introduced himself to Mark while shopping in a store with his mother. Mark stated that he "got to know him" and the man did molest him. At age ten, he was raped in a group home by a thirteen year old boy. He was also raped by a customer.

Luke first experimented sexually at age 8 with a male cousin who was 15. At about this time, he also became the focus of attention of two married men who were brothers. They molested Luke, who described it as "playing around." At age 16, Luke was raped by a stranger. He was walking home when a man grabbed him, threw him to the ground, and sexually assaulted him. Luke did not report the assault because he felt: "it wouldn't do any good because I am gay." Luke was also raped by a customer.

John's first sexual experience was at age six with boys in his boarding school. He had intercourse at age nine with a boy his age. At 15 he was sexually assaulted by an uncle who was a few years older than he. At about the same time, he was forced to have sex with two men at a party. John stated that "I was just too afraid to do anything." He had also been molested by a minister:

At the time I didn't know it was sexual. But then later on he told me if you ever need anything, you just tell me. One time I was stuck in town and I went over to his house and I stayed there until morning. He said I could sleep on his bed. He really didn't try anything, he just put my hand on his crotch. I woke up and he had his hand on my crotch. I didn't believe it.

John said he felt he had been picked out as someone who "would be willing to do something like that."

David's first sexual experience was as a prostitute with a customer. He was also held and drugged by a customer for three weeks. David was not completely sure of everything that might have happened to him during this time.

Gene's first sexual experience was at age eight with a female peer. At 16, he was sexually assaulted by a male stranger.

Another young man, I will call Eddie, was molested at age nine by a man 23. Eddie reported the incident to his mother, but he was disappointed by her response:

She didn't do nothing. So I went to the police station, and told them. They came up and questioned him [the offender]. He [the offender] said he didn't do nothing, but they took him to

jail. My mom bailed him out though. I felt like killing my mom.

This next young man was sexually exploited by a woman:

When I was about 15, I was [hitchhiking] in California and I got picked up by a woman. She made me take my clothes off [and have sex with her]. It's kind of funny when I think about it now, but it wasn't then. She had a gun. I kept telling her she didn't need the gun. The woman was in her early thirties.

In another example, a young man was molested from age seven to ten by a step-uncle who was 19. He stated that he did not feel forced in this situation: "it was just kind of natural the way things happened and the experiences that followed. It's not like he was my real uncle." After this relationship he was abused by his stepfather and described this experience very differently:

It's just that he was my stepfather and he had oral sex with me, you know, and then he tried to make me do it to him and I just, I don't know what it was. I had never even masturbated before, you know. I had ejaculated before, but that was with him [the uncle] and when he [the stepfather] did that in front of me I just, it really, I already had an aversion towards him because he would always beat me up. Well we were sitting in the car and there was nothing I could do. He said you can't ever tell anybody and if you were to tell your mother she'd have me arrested. I just, there was no way I could get excited or aroused about the whole thing you, know, and I guess that kind of made him think and he, after he did that, and still nothing happened he just stopped you know. I just kept it inside and I kind of avoided him for awhile and never looked at him for quite awhile. I just kept my eyes downcast all the time. I was always sad anyway when I was younger, you know. I didn't really have anything to be happy for, anything I ever did my mom found something wrong with. I was always getting beat up.

This same young man said that he decided to get involved with both women and men for the affection:

It's just there was affection there, that and touching, that I never could get before you know. You feel wanted because I never felt wanted.

The next young man was molested at age 12 by his step-father's cousin who was in his early thirties. He said that he was forced and that he told the police and the man was sent to prison. He also felt that he had once been forced to have sex with a customer. He described the situation as follows:

Yes, [I was with] a trick. He was going about 130 mph down the freeway and told me to give him a blow job or he wouldn't slow down. I was scared, so I did.

This young man also stated that he did not become sexually active until he was a prostitute.

Another young man in my sample was raped at age six by people he described as "a couple of Mexicans":

I was walking home. I was on a road outside Yakima. Its a very long road. I lived out in the country and they asked me if I wanted a ride and I said no. I have very long hair then so they probably thought I was a girl at first. But since I wasn't a girl they just decided to go for it. I didn't tell anybody but now my brother knows. I told him when I was eight.

Effects of Sexual Abuse

and Relationship to Prostitution

Sexual abuse in childhood has been related to adult psychological problems, drug and alcohol abuse, juvenile

delinquency, runaway behavior, adult sexual dysfunction, repeated victimizations in the form of rape and spouse abuse, as well as prostitution (Finkelhor 1984:189). There has been some dispute as to the validity of generalizations made from these studies because they are based on skewed samples of clinical populations. The long term effects of childhood sexual abuse seem to be less apparent in studies of non-clinical populations. A review of this literature suggests that the latter studies also suffer from design problems and are likewise misleading (Finkelhor 1984).

One of the more consistent findings in all of the studies has been that sexual abuse affects victims' sexual feelings and behaviors over time, and that they often report feeling stigmatized (Finkelhor 1984). Controlling for the design problems found in other studies, Finkelhor developed a sexual self-esteem measure to evaluate sexual satisfaction and adjustment among victims of sexual abuse. His findings are important because they: 1) suggest criteria for long term effects; 2) indicate differential effects between males and females; and 3) indicate the process by which the effects of abuse may continue throughout one's lifetime.

Finkelhor found that men and women who had been victimized as children had lower levels of sexual self-esteem. Female victims scored six points lower than non-victims and male victims scored eleven points lower. The effects of sexual victimization on sexual self esteem were

found to be independent of family income and emotional deprivation variables, for example. A lowered sense of self esteem has been associated with problematic social interaction skills and repeated future victimization (Russell 1984; Burgess et al. 1974, 1978). Finkelhor suggests that a number of factors may be at work in this regard -- e.g., being forced out or running away from one's home at an early age. Experiences related to the abuse may in turn increase vulnerability and dependency on potential exploiters. These findings echo the experiences of the male prostitutes in this study.

After a review of the research on long term effects of sexual abuse, Jon Conte stated: "it leads irrefutably to the ambiguous position that sexual abuse appears to effect some victims and not others" (Conte 1984:3). The research indicates that the effects are most likely related to a number of variables including: relationship with the offender, ages of the victim and offender, type of sexual contact, the degree of coercion, the number of incidents and duration of abuse, and whether there is a resulting medical condition. Variables that have been associated with more negative long term effects are: 1) the presence of force, 2) abuse that is long term or repeated, and 3) age of victims (Conte 1984). The older a victim is, the more likely there will be negative and long term effects. In this light, we may say that the parameters of the sexually

exploitative experience of the young men in this study place them at risk for long term and serious negative effects.

The reported effects of sexual victimization center on disruption and arrest of psychosexual and psycho-social development. The imposition of adult sexuality on children, with its incumbent complexity of arousal and meaning, has a number of interrelated pejorative results for victims. The complexity of adult sexuality, in contrast to that of the sexually developing child, plus coercive measures often used by offenders, result in physical and emotional trauma (Finkelhor 1979). More recently Finkelhor and Browne (1984) have described four traumatic effects that occur for victims. These effects are part of a generalized response of victims that has been noted by many researchers in the inability of victims to accomplish age specific tasks of development and maturation (Raymond 1981).

The first effect is traumatic sexualization. For the child who is a victim of sexual abuse, the development of their sexual feelings and attitudes are shaped in ways that will be inappropriate and dysfunctional for their age. These problems tend to erupt in their personal relationships, particularly in dating situations at puberty. Their introduction to sex gives victims knowledge and experience with sexuality that is beyond that of their peers and is inappropriate to their age level of sexual learning. The sexuality experienced by victims may leave them confused

about proper behavior with peers. Victims may be singled out by peers for their advanced sexual behavior. Incest victims often have a reputation for being "fast," for example.

A second effect in the experience of victimization is one of powerlessness. Their needs and desires have been ignored, leaving them doubting their ability to exercise even minimal control over their lives. Unable to exercise control over their bodies leaves victims with weak egos and a lack of assertiveness. These problems are apparent in repeated experiences of victimization and an inability to say no to those who want sex from them.

The third effect is betrayal. Trusting relationships children should have with parents and authority figures are violated, making it difficult for them to function well in intimate relationships and to establish non-sexual relationships with friends. As children, they were not protected by adults and often doubt that anyone will care for or protect them. Victims are so needy, however, they are especially vulnerable to those who might feign genuine affection -- e.g., pimps.

Finally, they experience stigma. They internalize responsibility for the event, and attribute the evil, shame, and guilt associated with the event, to themselves. Indeed, their responsibility for the situation is often communicated to them. For example, children who are not believed may

perceive they are responsible and thus tainted for their participation in a deviant sexual activity even if they held no power in the situation. Self-deprecation, a diminished sense of self, and a distorted body image increases the victim's vulnerability to exploiters and repeated victimization.

Long term effects of sexual abuse are linked to prostitution through sexual learning, negative attributions, and psychic trauma. Sexual abuse leaves victims with a profound sense of loss. Foremost, they feel a loss of control over their bodies. They were violated in a most intimate way and were unable to protect themselves. Robbed of normal developmental experiences for sexual learning, they are left feeling different with no avenue of atonement. Sexual abuse defeats individuation. Prostitution, I believe, is an expression of that defeat; it is both a loss of self and an attempt to reassert a self-definition.

It is through sexual violations and stigma that prostitutes were first diminished. And, it is through sexuality that prostitutes attempt to reclaim themselves. The sexual activity of prostitution can be understood in several ways. One is that prostitutes have failed to achieve the sex role ideal dictated by culture. Male prostitutes have failed as "men." They are homosexual -- an ipso facto deviation. If they were abused, they failed to protect themselves and perhaps feel the stigma of homo-

sexuality as a result. Prostitution may be a compulsive re-enactment of the earlier tragedy in which they are trying to regain control of their bodies (Miller 1984:76). They are also attempting to create a positive male role. Prostitutes couple their experience with cultural stereotypes of men as virile. As one young man put it "I can still be a stud on the street corner."

Male Victims and Homosexuality

The literature on the sexual abuse of children raises several issues relevant to our understanding of male prostitution. These are: 1) the rates of victimization of male children, 2) the effects of abuse on boys, and 3) any relationship that may exist with homosexual activity in adulthood. Until recently our knowledge of sexual victimization of males was based on only a few cases, because such incidents were rarely reported. Interest in male victimization has increased as the general level of awareness of child sexual abuse has been raised, spurred by the women's movement. Most of the attention, however, remains focused on female victimization, and on father/daughter incest in particular. The most complete review of existing studies and analysis of reporting data has been provided by David Finkelhor (1979, 1984).

Finkelhor's findings indicate male victimization occurs to 2.5%-8% of the general population. The accuracy of the

actual rate of victimization of boys is difficult to ascertain because males are reluctant to report and male abuse patterns tend not to come to public attention, as do abuses of females. The age of boys who are victimized is relatively young -- i.e., about six. They tend to be abused by other males who are known to them, but are not family members. The abuse less often includes intercourse and does not result in a medical condition as often as does the abuse of females.

It is frustrating to be so uncertain about what boys may be experiencing. The fact of their reluctance to report and the styles of exploitation may help us understand their feelings and to predict what the short and long term effects of their abuse may be. Fears of homosexuality, confusion about sexual practices, and violations of masculine role expectation are among the reasons suggested for boys' reluctance to report their exploitative experiences (Finkelhor 1979, 1984; Nasjleti 1980).

Abuse of boys has also not been taken seriously. For example, the young man who felt "seduced by his sister" or the man raped at gun point by a woman does not provoke the same reaction of concern that occurs when females are the target. On several occasions I have encountered the belief that homosexual abuse of children may be less traumatizing for them because they are "already gay." Need it be said that male children, whether gay or not, certainly have the

right to healthy and appropriate psychosexual development. There is, in fact, some indication that males may experience abuse differently than females because of different socialization patterns. Finkelhor's data, for example support stronger negative reaction by males to abuse (1984).

In general, the psychological and physiological trauma encountered by male victims may be expected to be similar to that experienced by female victims, however males carry burdens particular to their gender role. Males, too, internalize the responsibility for being victimized, they believe the abuse was their fault, and they must have in some way, caused it to happen. They often believe they deserved the abuse, because if it happened to them they must be different, and thus responsible (Burgess et al. 1974, 1978; Finkelhor 1984; Conte 1984). For the young men in this study, the abuse was severely traumatic because it was experienced with force and was usually a homosexual encounter. The result of this experience included having to cope with added burdens.

First, the sexually abused male may feel that he has violated the cultural tenets of masculinity -- e.g., men should be able to protect themselves and men do not participate in homosexual activity. Abused males may not report for these reasons. Men do not ask for protection; to be helpless, fearful, and dependent is not manly (Nasjleti 1980:270). The masculine role expectation inhibited the

young men from obtaining information, assistance, and discussing the experience. They were on their own to understand the homosexual aspects of their experience.

Second, the abused male has probably not been prepared for the possibility of a sexual assault, to the extent women are prepared. Women are warned of the possibility of rape and modify their behavior accordingly from an early age. This lack of psychological preparation intensifies the reaction of males to victimization because they are also unprepared for the aftermath of an event.

Third, the abused male may have had no prior knowledge of the sexual act imposed upon him. Forced intimacy alone may cause trauma, but if the activity is not within the experience or knowledge of the victim, it may be more harmful. In addition, the sexually abused boy may not have the vocabulary to describe the incident and may not completely understand what happened to him.

Fourth, the young man may then feel that something was identifiably wrong with him. John stated that he had felt "picked out" as a target of exploitation because there was something different about him. Again, the boy's willingness to report may be affected. The abused male is the passive receiver, which counters the male role in sexual activity. They may subsequently believe they are now homosexual; even if they were forced and victimized, they have psychologically and figuratively received the stigma.

Heterosexual Case Study

Tom is a 17 year old white heterosexual prostitute. He describes himself as the child of hippies. He moved with his family and from mother to father many times as a child. Tom describes his parents' neglect of him in a rather compassionate way. His mother, whom he has "written off," abused herself with drugs and alcohol. A step-father is presently incarcerated, but had battered the entire family. Tom's father seemed to be ineffectual and provided little guidance. Tom, however, described him as a gentle person and seemed to genuinely love him.

Tom's mother attempted to turn the children against the father, calling him a freak. She also conditioned Tom's return home upon his acceptance of Christianity: "she uses religion as a crutch." Tom is closer to his father. He describes him as being more mature.

Tom said he was an excellent student, but there were several things that bothered him about school: "You're either a jock or a stoner [someone who uses drugs] and there's nothing in between." He worried about getting into fights and so formed a relationship with a larger boy who acted as his bodyguard. Tom participated in individualized sports such as track and wrestling. He has less interest in cars than other boys his age and felt he was more intellectual because he enjoyed reading and playing music. "I was bullied because I was an intellectual," he stated.

Tom started getting high while in elementary school. He often worked with his stepfather and brother who allowed him to drink and smoke marijuana with them when he was eight years old.

Tom's first sexual experience was with his sister: "I lost my virginity with my sister when I was seven." At age eight, Tom said he felt he had "practically been raped" by an older girl. Presently, Tom is involved with a woman who is ten years older than he.

Tom first learned about prostitution when he was 15. He was hitchhiking and was picked up by several men. The men asked if he would let them give him oral sex. Tom said he was very naive at that time: "I was a real homer [not streetwise]." His first reply was: "I could use some money." The men responded by raping Tom: "I just closed my eyes and pretended [about something else]." Tom took full blame for the rape. He could not face what it meant otherwise: "I allowed myself to be raped," Tom stated, thus avoiding the issue of not having prevented it (Miller 1984).

Tom's rape precipitated enormous confusion about his sexuality, which was intensified because of his coping strategy of believing that he let it happen. Tom wondered if he had become gay or bisexual as a result of his sexual contact with men. The shame and anguish he felt led him on a "self-rejection trip." Tom stated that he put himself in situations to see how many times he could get raped: "I

victimized myself, I hitchhiked to California to see how many times I could get raped."

Tom is still confused about his sexuality and the meaning of his prostitution. He says he is "anti-gay" but identifies himself as bisexual. In the same breath he said that he "would rather be heterosexual." Tom thinks homosexuality is unnatural and has expended an inordinate amount of energy in search of an appropriate label for himself due to his homosexual experiences with men.

Tom says that now he really has little desire for sex, and that he is mostly heterosexual. He stated, however, that he has very few women friends because he can't trust them. He cannot "trust" them because he used them for sex: "How could I trust someone when I'm using them."

Discussion

Males who have been sexually abused seldom report the abuse, they therefore seldom receive the help they need to resolve the incident. Sexual abuse is a burden the young man carries alone (Nasjleti 1980). The efforts of the juvenile justice system, incarceration, varied placements, and counseling never touched upon the basic conflict experienced by these young men. Routine adjudications or specialized treatments are often futile because of a young man's sense of worthlessness and despair resulting from a sexual assault. They become more tightly entangled in a

life of crime and drug abuse. Most important, the male who has been sexually abused possesses knowledge and experience other delinquents may not have. They have more experience in crime but they also know, as do their homosexual counterparts, that there is a sexual market for young men.

Sexual Abuse

and Relationship to Homosexuality

Seventy percent (n=23 of 33) of the homosexual prostitutes had their first sexual experience with a male. It is a great temptation to suggest that this initial experience, whether forced or not, may be the "cause" of their present homosexual orientation. While many of the young men in my sample stated that they had strong feelings for males at a very early age, I did not ask specifically if their homoerotic interest had preceded their first sexual experiences. Some other studies shed light on this issue, however.

Simari & Baskin's (1982) study of incestuous experience within a male and female homosexual population indicated that almost all of the male subjects had identified themselves as actively homosexual before their incestuous experience. They reject arguments that one may turn to homosexuality as an escape. They suggest that the use of sexual orientation as a means of coping is more likely to be found in an individual whose sexual orientation is not

firmly established. They argue that a homosexual incestuous experience could not change an established sexual orientation (1982:197). The implication of their conclusion is that the sexual learning that takes place within a homoerotic experience may only influence one whose orientation is not firmly established, but otherwise may not "cause" homosexuality.

The belief that the homosexual molestation of boys will lead to adult homosexuality is a cultural myth that is available to all boys regardless of how fixed their sexual orientation may be. It is therefore available as a potential source for interpreting their experiences and shaping their self understanding and social identity. Finkelhor found that boys victimized by older men were in fact four times more likely to engage in homosexual activity as adults than nonvictims. This relationship, however, did not hold for boys who engaged in peer homosexual activity. It was true only when the partner was much older, which also increased the likelihood of long term traumatic effects (Finkelhor 1984:195). Finkelhor did not find a similar relationship for female victims. Bell et al. argue that homosexuality is not the result of atypical sexual experience (1981:185). The feelings of individuals towards homosexual activity was more significant in signaling adult sexual preference than homosexual activity alone (Bell et al. 1981:13).

There are a number of possible explanations for the phenomenon relating homosexual victimization to adult sexual preference. Finkelhor suggests that boys sexually interested in other males make themselves available. They are then vulnerable and easily exploited. Also I think effeminate males may in fact be the target of such abuse by adult users of children. Another explanation involves stigma. A boy used by another male may label himself as homosexual because of the experience, and may begin to conform to the social role available to those who are identified as homosexual in this culture. In addition, the trauma of the event may cause an extreme reaction of concern and preoccupation. Part of the behavior syndrome may be to reenact the event in order to gain control of it and to know for sure what they are (Miller 1984).

Correlations linking abuse with adult homosexuality should not be interpreted as a cause and effect relationship resulting in adult homosexual preference. Other studies of early experiences of homosexual males reinforce this point. Bell and Weinberg's study (1978) of homosexual males found that only 5% reported childhood sexual experiences with adults. The issue is not one of early homoerotic victimization causing homosexuality, but how do abused individuals interpret the meaning of that experience. The heterosexual prostitutes behaved according to the erroneous assumption that they must be homosexuals because of their

experience. A series of questions arise for both groups whose abuse occurred within the context of homosexuality:

Am I gay or not and how do I find out?

How does one behave if you are in fact gay?

What kind of social life does one lead if you are gay?

What is normal sexual behavior for gay people?

Where does one find acceptance ?

In the next section I discuss the alternatives Western society has made available to young people, like those in this study, from which they draw their conclusions to the questions cited above.

Subculture

Theoretical Aspects of Subculture

The young men in this study had experiences in which they became aware of their potential association with homosexuality. Even before their first sexual experiences with men, their identification as feminine provided the basis for a self and social reaction that was interpreted as being sexually different. They experienced a severe asymmetry between their subjective experience of themselves and their socially assigned identity. For the effeminate and/or homosexual boy, the private experience of sex and gender is vastly different from how objective reality describes and

prescribes it to be. It is through exposure and interaction with one's culture and personal social network that a personal and social identity takes shape. The incongruity faced by these males became problematic in identity formation because primary and secondary internalizations were inconsistent.

Berger and Luckman discuss methods of legitimation and other social "safeguards" used in societies to insure symmetry between objective and subjective realities (1967:147). As we have seen, however, human experience does not always sustain the socially constructed versions of reality for a child without a family, a handicapped person, a homosexual, or the sexually exploited -- i.e., persons who are the objects of social stigma. When the question "who am I" arises, the illegitimate child or the homosexual may face an irresolvable dilemma presented by the objective reality of society (Berger and Luckman:151).

While reality is internalized and maintained by social processes, it is also subject to processes of change. If the "plausibility structures" necessary for maintaining symmetry between objective and subjective reality are transformed they may become the basis for counter identities and realities (Berger and Luckman 1967:5). Thus subcultures or "subuniverses," as Berger and Luckman refer to them, may be formed if individuals with similarly contradictory self-

identifications interact (Berger and Luckman:166-168; Wuthnow 1985:5).

The next significant event that put the young men closer to involvement in prostitution was their initial association with other gay people and subsequent introduction to the "public territories" of male homosexuality (Read 1980). Introduction to gay subculture was significant for several reasons.

First, it occurred during puberty; a critical point in the developmental history of the young men. The secondary socialization phase of their identity formation was to occur in the subuniverse of gay life.

Second, the gay subculture has been expanded and elaborated in such a way in the last two decades that it now can provide a total identity and way of life (Weeks 1977, 1979; Humphreys 1980).

And finally, the facet of gay life that these adolescents had access to was deeply connected to prostitution. As a result, introduction to the gay subculture led these young men to this conclusion: "if I am a homosexual then that means that I prostitute."

Sexual Subcultures

Kenneth Plummer has argued that all sexual experience is informed by social attitudes:

No matter what form sexuality takes -- from marital copulation through to necrophiliac murder -- a social pattern is assumed: a chaotic multi-potential of sexual capacities is constantly reduced to some level of predictable, if not acceptable order (1975:85).

If stigmatized sexuality is to become a basis for group organization with collective norms, however, certain criteria must be met. Plummer has suggested six conditions necessary for the emergence of a sexual subculture. First, the condition must be widely shared so that interaction is possible. Second, individuals must require contact with similar people for sexual activity, the exchange of views, and to neutralize guilt. Third, a subculture requires effective communication so it is possible that all potential members may not participate. Not all gay people, for example, participate in the gay subculture. Fourth, the subculture must supply the form of sexual activity. This is the basis for prostitution. Fifth, the sexual problem must necessarily be a recurrent one to sustain the social process of the subculture. And sixth, the sexual activity must be such that it may not be incorporated into orthodox patterns of sexuality.

Using these criteria, one can see how a subuniverse for homosexuals, who have been oppressed and shared a sexual stigma, has come into existence. These individuals have shared a common sexual problem and have collectively evolved solutions that have been maintained through the subculture

(Plummer 1975:86). Parts of the subculture are available to the young men in this study who shared the problems from which the subculture was generated.

As I have discussed, the attitudes toward homosexuality that confronted the young men were pernicious. Meanings attributed to homosexuality -- e.g., it is illegal, immoral, and a disease -- have dictated the features of the homosexual subculture (Humphreys 1980). The opprobrium of homosexuality in Western society has obstructed individuals from meeting their social as well as sexual needs. It is difficult to openly acknowledge one's homosexuality. The demand for specialized sexual services creates a market for homosexual prostitution that must be organized in the hidden areas of the dominant culture (Weeks 1981:119).

The stigma attached to homosexuality has resulted in homoerotic activity taking its place as a commodity in the sexual marketplace. Sexual exchange is the mainspring of public territories of male homosexuality, and prostitution cannot be separated from the historical development of this subculture. Jeffrey Weeks has pointed out that "writings on male prostitution emerged simultaneously with the notion of homosexuals being an identifiable breed of persons with special needs, passions and lusts" (Weeks 1981:113). Weeks' has found historical reference to a transvestite and male prostitution subculture in England as early as the seventeenth century (1979:101). In the 1720's Weeks finds

reference to meeting places where homosexual encounters were available as markets:

In this world of sexual barter, particularly given the furtiveness, the need for caution and the great disparities of wealth and social position among participants, the cash nexus inevitably dominated (1981:119).

This pattern did not become well established until the next century (Foucault 1980). Weeks suggests that the only people whose lives were lived totally within the subculture were professionals, although men from all social classes participated (1981:119).

A basic characteristic of homosexual subcultures historically has been their formation around forms of prostitution. This pattern continues to be evident today. Evelyn Hooker has used the concepts of "sexual market" and "market mentality" to describe gay bars in Los Angeles:

I conceive of homosexual bars as free markets which could only arise under a market economy in which buyers and sellers are governed by rules whereby the right to enter in is determined by whether the buyer has the wherewithal. The term market as applied to bars has two meanings: 1) as a business enterprise in which leisure is accomplished via the market: gain from the sale of liquor and entertainment is legitimate; and 2) as a metaphor to conceive of transactions between homosexuals, a set of terms relating to the negotiation of an exchange of sexual services (Hooker 1967:174).

Hooker continues:

I turn now to the second meaning of the term market as applied to 'gay' bars, that is, as a sexual market: a place where agreements are made for the potential exchange of sexual services, for

sex without obligation or commitment -- the 'one night stand' (1967).

"Cruising" has been described as the principal method for finding sexual partners in public territories (Bell and Wineberg 1978; Humphreys 1980; Rechy 1977; Leznoff and Westley 1956). Cruising provides sexual encounters without obligation or commitment (Bell and Weinberg 1978:74). Although these encounters do not always imply an exchange of money for anonymous sex, prostitution is not an uncommon basis for an encounter. Habitual promiscuity makes payment for sex less noteworthy. Studies by Kinsey (1948) and Bell and Wineberg (1978) indicate that cruising is a prevalent mode for finding sexual partners. Of 1038 respondents interviewed by Spada, 35% reported having either paid or been paid for sex (1979). Read describes the public territories of male homosexuality as "steeped in the lore of hustling" (1980:75).

The prevalence of prostitution within the homosexual subculture is critical for understanding the young men in this study for two reasons. First, the aspect of the subculture that one first associates with will serve as a role model and as reference group, which is important to identity formation and management. How one adapts to life as a homosexual will be shaped by the subset of the gay community with which they have access and interact. The influence of the gay community may have more significance

now than in the past. In contemporary times it has become possible to organize one's entire life around the facts of a homoerotic sexual orientation (Weeks 1979:109). Homosexuality, or "being gay", is increasingly referred to as a lifestyle rather than as an individual condition (Humphreys 1980). For many, being homosexual is a central part of one's life, much like being "born again" is for others. The subculture, partially due to the successes of the homophile movement, provides not just sexual partners, but a total identity. Michel Foucault has referred to the phenomenon of gay people developing their own sense of identity and consciousness as "reverse discourse":

There is no question that the appearance in nineteenth century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and 'psychic hermaphroditism' made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of 'perversity'; but it also made possible the formation of a 'reverse' discourse: homosexuality began to speak on its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or 'naturalness' be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was radically disqualified (1980:101).

The homosexual subculture has many aspects and subsets. The "subculture" may range from very private contacts in friendship cliques, to visible and public settings (Plummer 1975; Hooker 1967; Leznoff and Westley 1956; Gagnon and Simon 1973). In this discussion I am concerned with the public settings of male homosexuality such as bar life, tea rooms (Humphreys 1970), the hustling market, and the

homophile movement (Plummer 1975:155). I focus on these aspects of the subculture because it is in the public territories that male prostitutes participate.

There are very specific factors that determine in which subset of the homosexual subculture adolescent male prostitutes will participate. The adolescents in this study were isolated and did not form private support networks of gay friends. They had to resort to the public territories of homosexuality, the streets in particular, in order to interact with other gay people. They were in fact channeled to public arenas. Their age excluded them from a number of scenes such as bars and baths. They were neither aware, nor sophisticated enough to join the homophile movement if there had been an access point, which there was not. Thus, as we shall see, their introduction to gay life was through the hustling market found on the street and in youth discos that catered to gay adolescents and resembled adult gay bars.

The young men in this study belonged to "overt" homosexual groups similar to those described by Leznoff and Westley:

Overt homosexuals gather in cohesive social groups which become the dominant focus of their lives. These groups are openly homosexual in character. The members make little effort to conceal their 'deviation' (sic) spend almost all their free time with the group, and tend to regard their other activities as peripheral (1956:262).

Knowledge of the street corner scene of youth in downtown Seattle was and is readily available. A number of stories

focusing on these youth have been done by the local media. The primary corner of First and Pike is across the street from a central business area and tourist attraction with facilities that aid "hanging out." Bus transfer connections were located nearby. Historically this area of town has belonged to the dispossessed (see Spradley 1970 and James 1972a, 1972b). Information on the downtown youth was then and remains common knowledge in the adolescent age group. In addition, the young men in this study had been involved in the juvenile justice system or were in state home placements. In these environments the young men were provided both information and the opportunity to meet other adolescents who were involved in living on the streets. It would be difficult for anyone to miss the corner of street youth on First and Pike.

Case Studies

Mark was introduced to gay life at age 13. He was living in a group home in Seattle and had dropped out of school. Mark said:

I had heard all about it. I was doing a little discovery and just came downtown. I saw all those drag clothes there. I didn't understand it then. But I was curious.

One month later Mark prostituted. He said that he had thought about doing it during that time. He said he thought about a prostitution scenario:

About how much they got paid and stuff and me saying something like twenty five or forty bucks cause I didn't know how much to ask before. I was a square.

Another hustler told Mark that \$25 was too cheap. Mark started "getting hep." He first prostituted in a motel with a friend who had "caught a trick." The other prostitute ask Mark if he wanted to come along and he said "sure." After this incident Mark said that he decided to prostitute again because of the money; he was tired of being broke. But there were were other reasons:

It was mostly to be around other gays. I mean that's the way gays did.

Luke reported that he was introduced to the public gay scene "completely by accident." He said:

I was living with my girl friend out in [a rural area] when I caught the wrong bus when it crossed the street.

While on the bus he overheard two young men talking about their corner:

And I had met a prostitute earlier, about a week earlier, so they hustled [prostituted] downtown and I said ah, this is the corner so it means these are gay people, you know alright. And I just started going there a little more. Then I met Z when I was just kinda walking around a bit.

The first time Luke prostituted he had been standing on the corner with his new friends:

Yeah, I was just standing there with my friends and they were hustling because they were talking about pulling tricks. And I wasn't about to admit I had never done it before.

Luke had seen other male prostitutes while living in Texas so he had an understanding of what it was about although he had never done it before:

I was waiting for my bus, I was walking around and I heard talking about the corner, the corner. The guy that I had met [on the bus] was down there. They had a radio that they were going to liven up their corner with. And it just kind of clicked, you know, cause it's gotta be it. After two weeks, I started meeting people down there you know, I'd go down there every once in a while and come in to Seattle more and more often. Which was unusual for me because I usually had to stay in [outside the city] and go to work and go home. I don't know, I just kind of wanted to fit right in. I had never prostituted. I didn't want to seem like a beginner or anything. I always wanted to jump in to whatever is doing. The corner fascinated me. He [a trick] came up to me and asked me 'would you make out' and I said yes.

David is the young man who moved from California to avoid informing his parents of his homosexuality. He was placed in a state juvenile home where he met other gay kids and learned about the gay youth disco. His first sexual experience was at age 12 with a trick whom David estimated to be about 60.

I asked David if he knew any gay people that were not involved in hustling. His response was:

No, well yeah, but I mean yes and no because I think that every gay person that there is is in some kind of prostitution. You know maybe that's not true, but I think, you know, I think everybody experiences it at least once. Maybe not on the street you know, it could be in the richest house in Beverly Hills but I can't get into those fences.

It is from the gay subculture found on the street corner that the young men in this study constructed what it meant to be gay. Sexual exploration that is normal for adolescents took place in this context. A young man who defined himself as bisexual discussed these issues at length:

Because a lot of the kids they feel they aren't really gay and...but still like I said, I feel that it's natural in a way and that the relationship is something they need to experience and whether they want to admit that to themselves or not is just they know inside and so they go out there whether they need the money or not.

Oh, I can see that because it can help you and some kids understand where they are coming from because a lot of them are gay and lot of them don't understand why and they try to figure out why and it creates a lot of problems. And then their family, say, like they turn to their family and they get pressures from them that they shouldn't really get because their families are set in their ways. And it makes life miserable.

Because the kids that aren't gay or who say they aren't gay they still doing it [have sex with men] because they are inside [gay] you know. They have that [being gay] in them. I feel that's part of nature that's in me that is to feel an attraction towards another man. And so inside it's all a need to be loved but they don't show it and it doesn't have to be sexual but that is where a lot of it you know, that's a way of getting it through that [sexual] way.

I wasn't really old enough to get into bars. I'd never been exposed to any gay people really except my Uncle [who molested him] and he was always real secretive. So I didn't really know of any other ways except through prostitution.

Matthew also discovered the corner downtown while on a bus. He saw people on the street and decided that "this is what I am."

Matthew's experience is representative of other young men in the study. The only way they knew how to meet other gay people was through prostitution and contact with tricks, other kids who were hustling, and in the gay youth discos which was a shallow cover for prostitution activity. One young man estimated that 75% of the kids that went to the "Disco" were involved in prostitution: "It was like everybody. All the hookers went there. Whenever they got off work or whatever you want to say. It's the only place to be really."

Another young man first went to the "Disco" at age 16. It was his first introduction to gay life and was the only place he knew that he could be "around gay crowds." It was here that he first prostituted with a 29 year old trick. Soon he was standing on the corner of Second and Union.

Some young men reported not knowing any other gay people except tricks:

HOW DID YOU MEET OTHER GAY PEOPLE?

I don't think that I had ever [known] any.

This next young man was beginning to know the difference between being a hooker and being gay. He described some "types of gays" who went to bars and were not hookers. But,

he was not yet old enough to get into the bars. He stated that when he was, "then I'll be gay instead of a hooker."

When asked how he could meet gay friends another young man answered: "The only way I know is through hustling, because there is plenty of them believe me."

Another young man said that he found homosexual partners, "mainly from the street."

Summary

The subuniverse or partial reality that is the homosexual subculture includes socialization processes and social knowledge that is specific to the group. It is in this subworld that the young men experienced secondary socialization and gained knowledge specific to the role they perceived themselves to fill in society. It is through the subculture that these young men internalized meanings that linked their homosexuality with prostitution.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

In The Queen, a documentary film on transvestites, there is a scene in which a young man describes the results of a recent job interview to a friend (Litvinoff 1968). His friend asks, "Did you tell them you were a homosexual?" The young man answers, "No, they told me." What was reflected back to this young man was not just the fact of his homosexuality, but the social fact: what it means to be homosexual in his society and culture. I have argued that the conduct of male prostitution is an enactment of those meanings: a construction of social life as it is understood by adolescent gay males through accumulated interactions and socio-cultural experience that link homosexual identity with prostitution.

In this final chapter, I summarize the ideas and process that have brought me to the above conclusion. I will first conclude the case studies with reflections of male prostitutes on the unfolding of their identity as prostitutes. Then, I offer some concluding remarks about what I have tried to accomplish with this dissertation.

Secondary Socialization

Male prostitutes were confronted with the hustling quality of male homosexual interaction, as part of the repertoire of behaviors associated with being gay, through contact with

the gay male subculture. Male prostitutes "practiced" being gay. As prostitutes, they enacted the myths and reflected the images of stigma they had learned. Prostitution was a logical construction of reality that consistently reflected the myths and images of the stigmatized and sexually active gay male. In the prostitution environment, the young men acquired role-specific knowledge for prostitutes. In descriptions of the typical daily routines of a homosexual and a heterosexual prostitute (see below) one can see how exposure to the subculture involves new situations and interactions that continue to shape an understanding of their world.

Typical Daily Routines

Homosexual Prostitute

I would sleep until six or seven at night. I would get up, shower, and take the smell of a whore off me. After I would shower, I would blow dry my hair. If I didn't like the way it turned out, I would re-wash my hair and re-blowdry it until I finally got it the way I wanted it. After I got done with my hair I would splash on some cologne until I start smelling like a french whore, like everybody calls me. After I start smelling like a french whore, I would get dressed and start marching all the way down to the strip. I'd get down there and go to the Donut Shop and say hello to everybody. I'd chat for about twenty minutes, then I would go down to the main drag.

I'm down on the main drag, so I'm on my way to work. This is the way I get my business. I have a comb. I accidentally drop it right before a trick comes by. I bend down as far as I can and

my booty is straight up in the air. It gets them all excited. Okay, they come back around and pick me up. We go to a hotel or their house or apartment. Once we get there it depends if I like them or not. If I don't like them, I say, "take a shower." He [the customer] runs into the shower as fast as he can. While he is in the shower, I sit there and sneak his wallet out and take the money. Then I sneak out. He won't report it for a few days because he is scared of being busted.

Now I have his wallet and I go downtown. It is about midnight and then I go to the disco until six or seven in the morning.

Heterosexual Prostitute

I usually sleep under a bridge or in old hotels, sometimes I sleep on a staircase or stay with friends. Sometimes I stay with men that I trick with. Sometimes I steal from those men. It depends on how big they were and how much money they had. In the morning I go around and check all the meter boxes of the parking lots and see if I can open them. I look into cars and see if there is something I can latch my hands onto. Maybe I'll go into the stores and shoplift something to eat or bum money for coffee. Then I bum around and see if I could "mark" [rob] somebody. I check them out and follow them for a few blocks to see if I could rob them.

I find someone who wants to buy dope, and then when they buy it I get them to smoke some of it with me. Then I so space out for awhile. I walk around the waterfront, go up to the Donut Shop to the scene, and hang around and talk with friends.

In the evening I try to get high some how. I try to hustle up enough money for a hotel room for the night. Usually about 8 o'clock I will think about a trick. I do one trick per night. I don't really like doing it. They look at you and you look at them. You can tell if they're faggots, if they've been around the block more than five times looking at all the little boys. I get in the car at the corner and establish the price, twenty-five or thirty dollars. Then we go to their apartment

and it takes about ten minutes. They drive you back. I wait a long time doing other things for money [before I trick]. Some weeks it just seems an easier way to get money.

The process of socialization into the subworld of prostitution parallels Berger and Luckman's process of secondary socialization (1967). In the process of identity formation, secondary socialization is superimposed on primary socialization. For male prostitutes, these processes are problematic. In chapters 7 and 8, I discussed contradictions between the subjective experiences of male prostitutes and the objective models of reality promulgated by cultural tradition. As a result of these contradictions, male prostitutes perceived themselves as severed from full participation in the activities of conventional society. Kenneth Read has made this point more eloquently.

To some extent the normative order is always "unreal" to those whose behaviors fall outside its permitted and expected range of variance; it is "unreal" to them because they cannot be "whole" in their contacts with it (1980:155).

For male prostitutes, their "wholeness" was denied and atonement impossible because of their homosexuality. Socialization as a prostitute resolves dilemmas posed by the contradictory realities experienced by male prostitutes. Prostitution provides an identity and mode of conduct that corresponds with the cultural image of the male homosexual. The image of the homosexual is one of distorted and exaggerated sexuality, of promiscuity and deviance. Within

this image one finds consistency with conventional versions of male sexuality plus a deviant lifestyle to accompany the prescribed status of the vilified homosexual.

The gay males in this study took on the world and identity of prostitution because it provided a coherent context linking objective understanding of homosexuality with subjective experience in the social action of prostitution. Homosexual prostitution provided an identity that could be integrated within a cultural setting. They were no longer outcasts, but stars. Given the constraints of their situation, prostitution makes sense. When male prostitutes described their first exposure to gay hustlers, the elation of self-recognition could be noted in their response: "Yes, this is what I am."

The continuity provided by prostitution bonds male prostitutes to the subculture. It may be equated to Berger and Luckman's (1967) example of revolutionary socialization of an individual to a counter-reality. But as any revolutionary knows, it is an identity that is difficult to maintain. Enthusiasm wanes, intensity falls, and loneliness sets in as opposition by the dominant culture becomes overwhelming. The case studies below suggest that the initial exhilaration of street life and street companions falls short as a permanent solution for the adolescent gay male.

The result of prostitution activity is exposure to situations and interactions that produce yet another perspective of one's self and conduct. An act of prostitution may become another "meaningful event," open to a series of interpretations. The young men in this study found themselves coping with the added stigma of prostitution.

Case Studies

Matthew prostituted several times per week for nearly six months to support himself. His drug use increased because it helped him to take his mind off his problems and to minimize his anxiety about prostitution.

I used to really worry about getting caught [arrested] and getting venereal disease. I used to think about what I could do. What is the future and how could I get off the streets.

Matthew became depressed and suicidal. At one point he slashed his wrists and was hospitalized. He spent some time at a youth shelter, but eventually went back to the streets. His social and sexual contacts were limited to the streets. He kept hoping that he could meet men who were not involved in prostitution and could form a relationship.

I did some "dry hustling" on the street [no sexual contact]. I would just have dinner with them, not take money. It was more like dating, but sometimes they would give me money too. Some were nice young men, 22-30 years old.

One night Matthew was at a gay disco. He met a man in his late twenties. They had a brief sexual affair that turned

into a non-sexual friendship. Matthew's friend let him move into his home and gave him an allowance contingent upon Matthew quitting prostitution. Matthew had been living with his friend for over a month. He had tentative plans to re-enroll in school. His social contacts still consisted mostly of street friends. His drug use was declining and his involvement in prostitution had presently stopped.

I would only do it now if I was really desperate.
It [prostitution] does something to you.

Mark had prostituted almost daily from 8 o'clock at night until six the next morning for a year. Mark hoped for companionship. Like many male prostitutes he thought he could find a relationship through prostitution. He would often fall in love with his tricks only to be disappointed.

In the beginning prostitution was easy. It was sort of romantic, if I was attracted to somebody. [And] prostitution is addicting because you can get the money so fast.

Mark worked in several other cities including San Francisco. As time went by, he started having experiences that were not so pleasant.

At times it does get sort of rough. There were pimps, and I would butch it up [act more masculine] to protect myself. So many things happened. I was beaten by a pimp. This dude started hitting me and snatched my money. And that was all my money. It really hurts me because it makes me want to get revenge.

Mark is trying to get a sugar daddy so he will not have to work so often, and not worry about being hurt. He says the worst thing about prostitution is, "the risk you take

getting into a car." Mark says, "You're taking a chance on your life, especially when you are tired."

Mark no longer enjoys prostitution and only does it for the money. He only works when he feels "inspired," and when he needs money. Like Matthew, Mark is using more drugs to cope with the stress of prostitution: "It helps you feel better. It gives you more will power."

Mark talks of wanting out of prostitution altogether and thinks about getting a job.

I really don't know. I might go back home and work at the cannery. I mean I could work knowing that I have some food, a place to stay, and some hope.

Mark will continue to prostitute if something doesn't change for him: "If I don't get no job or get into some kind of training." He continues to equate prostitution with gay life stating: "Gay life is the pits." Mark says he has felt like killing himself "lots and lots of times." "I think about it a whole bunch and using drugs at the time I would do it." "Being lonely" is the most difficult problem for Mark.

Luke didn't think prostitution would affect his life. At first he prostituted to "be with other gays." Luke said: "I loved the sex," but then his feelings began to change.

I enjoyed sex [with friends he found on the street], but I never really enjoyed sex with the tricks. Sometimes I can get into it, sometimes I can't. It's really not all that attractive. I just lay there, whatever they want they get.

Luke has tried to get jobs, but he keeps going back to the street and is afraid he is trapped.

I've been through a lot of emotional trauma. I feel like I will have a nervous breakdown one of these days. I just put it aside, but it's like everything all at once will just go boom. If things don't change I don't know what will happen. I go home and I think I'm going to fall apart. Like yesterday, I just sat down and thought of prostitution. I thought I am a prostitute. I am doing all those things. I sat there and I just started to shake. I thought I was going to lose it then. Then I got up and started working and I was fine. I am quite capable of turning my feelings off and on, you know.

John says he is "high off prostitution at night and guilty during the day." He first prostituted because he needed the money for food: "There were times we [his family] wouldn't eat all day and for about a month we would only eat once a day."

The first time John prostituted it did not bother him. He took the money and met his brother at a restaurant and ate dinner. His feelings also began to change.

But later on it started to bother me. I talked to about five prostitutes about their first time. A lot of them say it doesn't bother them the first time, but maybe about the third or fourth time they realize what they are doing and they start going on guilt trips. They realize what they are doing. Words come out like whore, slut, and stuff like queer and faggot.

Every now and then you get high on being one [a prostitute]. I think about how free you are and how much fun it, you know, parties every day. But most of the time it bothers you. During the day is when you have time to think about guilt.

John plans on prostituting until he is 22. He does not believe he could support himself on the street if he were older because customers want younger partners. He will try to go back to Montana and enroll in cosmetology school.

In the quotations below, we hear the feelings of another young man who continues to link his homosexuality with prostitution.

When I get really high, I get really depressed about all my family problems. I get flashbacks of my mother cutting her wrists and all the shit that happened all those years. Sometime I just think why do I have to be gay and why do I have to do this [prostitute].

Once I tried to drown myself. I tied myself to a boat in the water and I sank it. But, it took too long to sink. The Coast Guard came and saved me. Once I tried to stab myself, but I just couldn't do it. I got the knife up to my stomach and tried, but I just couldn't do it.

You have a title. They name you a prostitute and you lose your self-respect. People don't respect you. After a while you don't care what you look like or what you're wearing. After a while a lot of these hustlers get all tired and dried up. Your face starts to look all yucky. You just don't care. You pee on them [customers], beat them or fist fuck. I'll never do that again. It feels so strange.

I have left out what happens to male prostitutes as time goes by and they begin to tire and age. Although the present study did not include followup information (see Boyer 1984), this is the topic of my ongoing research. For now, I will use an excerpt from John Rechy's work, The Sexual Outlaw, for an uncomfortably honest description of the future to satisfy the reader's curiosity.

No, you don't get rich on the streets -- though you have good periods and at first it seems you might. True, a few hustlers will find one person who genuinely cares for them, even helps them into another life. But that's rare on the streets. Other hustlers will drop out, when the intervals of waiting stretch into nights -- get jobs, marry, have children, perhaps even be relatively happy, more than likely eke out lives of screaming frustration. Others may move into the vaster gay world of non-commercial encounters, even form relationships. Some are only summer hustlers, returning "home" when the season is over. But the resourceless ones -- yes, most of them -- what happens when they're once-goodlooking, once-youngmen cocky in their desirability, remembering the cars that braked eagerly, the often-beautiful homes their looks opened so easily? They disappear.

And on skid row -- if you care to look -- you may now and then see among the others a singularly doomed old man. Something makes you look again. Lurking in the weather-scorched brown face is the lingering breath of a special magic, the thin, sad ghost of the conquering youngman he was (Rechy 1977:161-162).

Summary

Prostitution is a complex phenomenon with psychological, sociological, cultural, economic, and moral dimensions. I have not been able to discuss all of these; it is difficult to include the multi-dimensions of prostitution in a single analysis. What I have done is to focus on male prostitution as a cultural phenomenon that is produced from cultural constructions of sex and gender. I have attempted to make homosexual prostitution intelligible by analyzing it as a product of culture instead of a product of pathology. In so doing, I have tried to show how involvement in prostitution

makes sense to a young man who is trying to understand what it means to be a homosexual in American culture. This has been a recursive exercise that leads back to questions of what homosexuality and prostitution say about how sex, gender, and deviance are constructed in American society and culture.

This has been a major theme of this dissertation. I have attempted to demonstrate the social and cultural link between homosexual identity and prostitution. My approach is one that views culture as a symbolic system and thus I have focused on interpretive processes. Using an interactionist perspective, I have described the interplay of objective and subjective factors from which social definitions and subjective meanings are constructed by individuals. I have examined objective models in culture such as religion, law, medicine, psychiatry, and normative sexuality to establish the context of stigma from which homosexuality has become an issue of social concern and a distinct social identity. Through intersubjective reality, the experiencing of social and cultural meanings, I have tried to show the manifestation of rejection, hostility, and exploitation in social relations.

My analysis of the social and cultural interactions of male prostitutes has identified their inner feelings of contradiction and their discovery of differentness. This differentness was translated as a sexual difference that led

to this self-understanding: what was being said about homosexuality was being said about them.

The self-recognition as a homosexual was, in some respects, the male prostitutes' own analysis of the cultural system. They tried to make sense of themselves in the world, to answer questions about who they were and what kind of social life was available to them. Their answers were found in one particular sexual subculture -- the public territories of male homosexuality. It was within the subculture that male prostitutes found the potential for "wholeness" Read (1980) has described. It was here that hustling and prostitution were grasped as part of reality. The subculture provided both an identity and social interactions that allowed male prostitutes to organize their lives and to find ways to survive both psychologically and materially.

I believe my data support my claim that deviance, as well as sex and gender, are culturally constituted. They are matters of cultural perception and social construction. At the social level, male prostitution and homosexuality are in a symbiotic relationship. The relationship is predicated upon experiences shared by individuals that are dominated by culturally constructed views of sex and gender. Male prostitution can be understood in the context of the attributes of these sex and gender constructs. These interrelated attributes include: 1) stigmatization of

homosexuality, 2) approval and encouragement of active and open male sexuality, 3) punishing responses to experiences of sexual exploitation, and 4) promulgation of sex as a commodity and object of commerce.

At the cultural level, the relationship between male prostitution and homosexuality is symbolic both in a referential and productive sense. The relationship is maintained in a cultural context of rigid sex role definitions, proscriptions on cross-gender behavior, and approved sexual activity that is limited to marriage and procreation. These principles can be seen in society's response to recent events involving sex-related problems such as teenage pregnancy and AIDS. Naturalistic assumptions about sex and gender are not called into question and their role in generating the perceived problems is not analyzed. Rather, the response has been to cite these problems as proof of the "natural" and to reinforce and perpetuate traditional ideas of sex and gender as a basis of morality -- e.g., viewing AIDS as a punishment for homosexuality.

The theoretical framework I have used raises other issues which deserve comment. Symbolic interactionism holds that social phenomena are objective and subjective, and that meaning is created through interaction and the individual interpretive process. Thus, I have implemented an actor oriented and meaning-centered methodology and analysis. Questions concerning the arbitrary nature of meaning

creation and patterning of social and cultural order are raised by this approach. For example, if meaning is imputed by social actors, how do social order and cultural patterns arise? Can this perspective avoid an overly deterministic or anarchical view of individual identity and behavior as well as a particularistic relativism with regard to social group behavior? I discuss these issues below.

I have tried to demonstrate how a group of adolescent gay males construct the meaning of homosexuality. By analyzing the cultural and social constraints of their situation in society, I have argued that prostitution is a logical and consistent adaptation to the experiences of homosexual stigma, sexual exploitation, and male sexuality. Given the existence of homosexual behavior, I have tried to provide an understanding of how prostitution becomes an attribute of homosexual meaning in socio-cultural context. The creation of meaning is not arbitrary from this perspective. First, the social and cultural constructs available for individual meaning construction have been placed in the context of historical process (Geertz 1973). Second, the social environment provides constraints that influence the creation of meaning and act as behavioral guides. The meanings constructed are ones that make sense in their world. I carefully attended to the "constraints of action" that demonstrated the regularities, conditions, and patterns in the world of male prostitutes that rendered symbolic

systems such as male/female and homosexual/heterosexual meaningful. These situational constraints make certain meaning constructs salient. It is not a random selection on the part of individuals in search of meaning, but derived from experience and specific cultural responses to those meanings. The actor's experience with cultural categories adds to the context in which the self is negotiated.

The actors' experiences with social and cultural categories are reflexive and circular. Social structure and cultural meaning systems are created and recreated through interaction. The social and cultural order becomes cast as historical tradition through a dialectic interchange in which society and culture are both objective and subjective (Geertz 1983). These are patterns that occur together and stabilize over time. The symbolic process does not ignore the individual or make social change impossible. Variation is intrinsic to the communicative and interpretive processes. The tension induced by the self and ideal self in the context of society and culture is the energy of variation and creativity.

The cultural analysis that I have used has allowed me to demonstrate the conditions under which the particular meaning construction occurred. And it has also allowed me to show that the expression of homosexuality in male prostitution is embedded in patterns that are shared and are not just idiosyncratic or pathological. This last point under-

scores my view that deviance is also a part of the symbolic-expressive dimension of social life (Wuthnow et al. 1984: 259). A cultural analysis brings this point into relief -- if one is willing to suspend or abandon the pathological paradigm. Deviance is a useful reflective tool because it makes one aware of the boundaries of social order (Douglas 1966). As deviant or marginal people cross the symbolic boundaries, social order is defined. It is marginal people that transport us from one realm and allow us to view our junctions and disjunctions.

I have used a cultural analysis of male prostitution to demonstrate how culturally constituted concepts of sex and gender are reflected in the "deviant" expression of adolescent male prostitutes. There is an implicit assumption in this approach of a connection between deviant and non-deviant within the cultural system of Western society. I have tried to provide an understanding of male prostitution by heightening self-awareness of Western culture as a whole. In some respects, this research constitutes the sort of critique of our culture called for by Hymes (1972). Through this process, I hope to give value to devalued and objectified groups: in this case, prostitutes and homosexuals.

A common view of male prostitution is that it is little more than a curio of modern society, something that seldom drifts into the mainstream of consciousness. To most, male prostitution is perhaps a perversion with sad consequences,

but without significance in the overall structure of things. Ultimately, my purpose in establishing a cultural basis for male prostitution is to help the reader to recognize (with Sartre 1968) that the questioner, the question, and the questioned are one.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

University of Washington

Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences

1. Card Number
2. Interview number (interviewer number and client number)
3. Date of interview (month first, then year)
4. Interview site. 1=YSC; 2=street; 3=home; 4=institution; 5=school; 6=treatment center; 7=other; 8=agency home placement
5. Subject status. 1=open; 2=probation; 3=detention; 4=pending; 5=awaiting; DI transfer; 6=intensive outcare
6. Date of birth (month first and year)
7. Place of birth. 1=local/Seattle vicinity; 2=in state/not Seattle; 3=out of state, specify
8. Age at time of interview -- age plus months
9. Ethnic identity. 1=white; 2=black; 3=Native American; 4=Chicano; 5=Asian; 6=Filipino; 7=Samoan; 8=other, specify
10. How referred for research. 1=caseworker; court authority; 2=attorney; 3=own initiative; 4=solicited/agency contract; 5=parent/relative; 6=friend; 7=school teacher; 8=advocate/outreach worker
11. Human subjects review completed. 1=yes; 2=no
12. How long have you been in area? 1=one month or less; 2=more than one month/less than six; 3=more than six months/less than a year; 4=more than a year/less than three; 5=more than three years; 6=lived here all my life
13. Last place lived prior to Seattle. 1=live in Seattle; 2=in state/not Seattle; 3=out of state, specify

14. Where do you live in Seattle? 1=live outside Seattle, specify; 2=downtown; 3=Capitol Hill; 4=Central District; 5=Queen Anne/Magnolia; 6=north end; 7=east side/Bellevue; 8=West Seattle; 9=south Seattle/Kent, etc.; 10=no answer/unknown
15. In which environment have you spent the most time? 1=rural/farm; 2=small town/less than 10,000; 3=small city/10,000-100,000; 4=suburbs; 5=large city-urban/more than 100,000
16. How many times did you move while you were growing up? 1=no answer; 2=did not move; 3=once or twice; 4=few times; 5=often; 6=often/within same city; 7=transient; 8=not applicable; 9=institutionalized at early age
17. Who do you live with? 1=no answer; 2=alone; 3=mother; 4=father; 5=step-parents; 6=both natural parents; 7=foster parents; 8=sibling; 9=aunt/uncle; 10=grandparent; 11=other relative/family friend; 12=street friends; 13=non-street friends; 14=lovers; 15=adults/street-related; 16=nowhere/being placed/changing; 17=adult/non-street/older
18. How long have you been in the living situation described previously? 1=no answer; 2=1 week or less; 3=1 month or less; 4=1-3 months; 5=3-6 months; 6=6 months to one year; 7=more than a year
19. Is there someone whom you can always feel free to talk with about your problems? 1=no answer; 2=no one; 3=mother; 4=father; 5=step/foster parent; 6=sibling; 7=other relative/family friend; 8=male peers; 9=female peers; 10=lover; 11=other, specify; 12=male/female/mixed peers
20. Are you enrolled in a school now? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no
21. If yes, what grade are you in? 1=no answer; 2=grade 7; 3=grade 8; 4=grade 9; 5=grade 10; 6=grade 11; 7=grade 12; 8=other; 9=not applicable/not enrolled
22. If not enrolled, what grade were you in when you left school? 1=no answer; 2=grade 7; 3=grade 8; 4=grade 9; 5=grade 10; 6=grade 11; 7=grade 12; 8=other/graduated; 9=enrolled

23. If in school, what kind of school are you currently attending? 1=no answer; 2=regular public; 3=alternative; 4=junior college; 5=vocational; 6=institutional; 7=private school; 8=tutoring; 9=not in school
24. Are you attending school? 1=no answer; 2=no/not enrolled; 3=enrolled/not attending; 4=sporadic attendance; 5=in school, in detention; 6=yes, attending.
Elicit how many different schools client has attended and how many days missed due to illness. Describe public school experience, discipline problems, how handled, teachers and level of interest.
25. Have you ever stopped school prior to graduating? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=was expelled/alternative to getting expelled/suspended; 4=was institutionalized/detained; 5=inability to complete school work/discouraged; 6=family problems/fights; 7=boredom/wasn't interested in school; 8=was too involved in drugs; 9=change in lifestyle; 10=illness; 11=couldn't get along or fit in/no friends/unhappy; 12=work/home duties; 13=parents ill; 14=not relevant to present needs; 15=left because ran away; 16=hassled at school/forced out; 17=graduated
26. Were you ever suspended or expelled from school? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no
27. The usual reason for my being suspended or expelled was: 1=no answer; 2=absenteeism, tardiness; 3=fighting; 4=disrespect for teachers; 5=smoking; 6=inappropriate dress; 7=pranks; 8=drug taking; 9=home duties/work; 10=delinquent behavior/prostitution; 11=not suspended
28. Have you ever repeated a grade in school? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, specify grade(s)
29. How many brothers and sisters were/are there living in your home/where you grew up? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=one; 4=two; 5=three; 6=four; 7=five; 8=six; 9=more than six; 10=more than ten; 11=varied
30. What is your position in the family (ordinal)? 1=no answer; 2=#1 (firstborn); 3=#2; 4=#3; 5=#4; 6=#5; 7=#6+; 8=uncertain/joint families; 9=only child

31. Did you have a religious upbringing as a child?
1=no answer; 2=yes, very strict fundamentalist;
3=no, not at all; 4=moderate/attended church/learned
about religion, specify church
32. How would you describe your family's level of income
while you were growing up? 1=no answer; 2=very poor;
3=public assistance; 4=below average (lower class);
5=average (middle class); 6=above average (upper
class); 7=wealthy; 8=variable
33. What was the approximate income level while you were
living at home? 1=no answer; 2=don't know/varied;
3=under \$4,000; 4=\$4,000-7,000; 5=\$8,000-12,000;
6=\$12,000-20,000; 7=\$20,000-30,000; 8=greater than
\$30,000; 9=no income
34. While you were growing up, who was the person you
respected the most? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=mother;
4=father; 5=stepparent(s); 6=foster parent(s);
7=sister; 8=brother; 9=aunt/uncle; 10=grandparent(s);
11=other relative/family friend; 12=male peer;
13=female peer; 14=authority/caseworker; 15=mother's
boyfriend; 16=father's girlfriend; 17=everyone
(almost); 18=medical person; 19=stranger/idol
Elicit why this person was important, what they did
for person.
35. Who was the head of your household (principal support)
when you were between the ages of 1 and 10?
1=no answer; 2=no one; 3=mother; 4=father; 5=step-
parent(s); 6=foster parent(s); 7=sister/brother;
8=aunt/uncle; 9=grandparent(s); 10=other relatives/
family friend; 11=varied/unstable; 12=shared; 13=male
present at the time; 14=not applicable/not in home/
institutionalized
36. If your father was head of the household, what was his
occupation? 1=no answer; 2=father not head of house-
hold; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/
trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar
(secretary, post office, civil service, sales);
7=upper white collar (administration, executive);
8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer);
9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-
employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public
assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/
bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institution-
alized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker

37. If father was head of household, what did mother do?
 1=no answer; 2=father not head of household; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar (secretary, post office, civil service, sales); 7=upper white collar (administration, executive); 8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institutionalized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker
38. If mother was head of household, what was her occupation?
 1=no answer; 2=mother not head of household; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar (secretary, post office, civil service, sales); 7=upper white collar (administration, executive); 8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institutionalized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker
39. If mother was head of household, what did your father do?
 1=no answer; 2=mother not head of household; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar (secretary, post office, civil service, sales); 7=upper white collar (administration, executive); 8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institutionalized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker
40. Who was the head of your household (principal support) when you were between the ages of 10 and now?
 1=no answer; 2=no one; 3=mother; 4=father; 5=step-parent(s); 6=foster parent(s); 7=sister/brother; 8=aunt/uncle; 9=grandparent(s); 10=other relatives/family friend; 11=varied/unstable; 12=shared; 13=male present at the time; 14=not applicable/not in home/institutionalized

41. If your father was head of the household, what was his occupation? 1=no answer; 2=father not head of household; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar (secretary, post office, civil service, sales); 7=upper white collar (administration, executive); 8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institutionalized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker
42. If father was head of household, what did mother do? 1=no answer; 2=father not head of household; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar (secretary, post office, civil service, sales); 7=upper white collar (administration, executive); 8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institutionalized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker
43. If mother was head of household, what was her occupation? 1=no answer; 2=mother not head of household; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar (secretary, post office, civil service, sales); 7=upper white collar (administration, executive); 8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institutionalized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker
44. If mother was head of household, what did your father do? 1=no answer; 2=mother not head of household; 3=no information/not applicable; 4=blue collar/trade, factory; 5=military; 6=lower white collar (secretary, post office, civil service, sales); 7=upper white collar (administration, executive); 8=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 9=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 10=self-employed; 11=child care; 12=unemployed/public assistance; 13=disabled; 14=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 15=illegal support system; 16=institutionalized; 17=varied; 18=farm labor/migrant worker

- 44a. What was the highest level of education attained by your father? 1=some grade school; 2=completed grade school; 3=some high school; 4=completed high school; 5=high school and other training/not college; 6=some college; 7=completed college; 8=some graduate work; 9=graduate degree; 10=no answer; 11=not applicable
- 44b. What was the highest level of education attained by your mother? 1=some grade school; 2=completed grade school; 3=some high school; 4=completed high school; 5=high school and other training/not college; 6=some college; 7=completed college; 8=some graduate work; 9=graduate degree; 10=no answer; 11=not applicable
45. Was this a problem for you?:
Family split up? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
46. Parents fought? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
47. Parents drank? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
48. Too many economic problems? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
49. Physical abuse? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
50. Sexual abuse? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
51. Psychological abuse/called names? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
52. Parents disapprove of my job? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
53. Parents disapprove of my friends? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
54. Parents disapprove of my sexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
55. Harassed over school performance? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
56. Neglected/rejected/misfit? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
57. Parents too strict/overprotective? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
58. Unrealistic expectations? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
59. Family too large? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes

60. Wanted different lifestyle/gay? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
61. Indulged, spoiled, want my own way? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
62. No/not enough spending money or allowance? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
63. Have you ever been placed in a living situation outside your home? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no
64. If you have been placed, how many times? 1=no answer; 2=have not been placed; 3=once; 4=5 or less; 5=10 or less; 6=more than ten times
65. Have you ever run away from home? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
66. If yes, how many times? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=once; 4=twice; 5=three or more times
67. Are you "on the run" now? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
68. When was your last contact (phone, mail, in-person) with your parent(s)/guardian(s)? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=currently living with them; 4=within past 24 hours; 5=within past week; 6=within last month; 7=past 1-3 months; 8=no contact in over three months
69. What was your relationship with your father/or father figure before you were 10? 1=no answer; 2=no father/or father figure; 3=positive/communication, warmth; 4=somewhat positive; 5=ambivalent, varied, changed; 6=somewhat negative, no communication, conflict, little closeness; 7=negative abuse; 8=no relationship
70. What was your relationship with your mother/or mother figure before you were 10? 1=no answer; 2=no mother/or mother figure; 3=positive/communication, warmth; 4=somewhat positive; 5=ambivalent, varied, changed; 6=somewhat negative, no communication, conflict, little closeness; 7=negative abuse; 8=no relationship
71. What was your relationship with your mother/figure after you were ten? 1=no answer; 2=no mother/or mother figure; 3=positive/communication, warmth; 4=somewhat positive; 5=ambivalent, varied, changed; 6=somewhat negative, no communication, conflict, little closeness; 7=negative abuse; 8=no relationship

72. What was your relationship with your father/figure after you were ten? 1=no answer; 2=no father/or father figure; 3=positive/communication, warmth; 4=somewhat positive; 5=ambivalent, varied, changed; 6=somewhat negative, no communication, conflict, little closeness; 7=negative abuse; 8=no relationship
73. Did you feel very close to your mother? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
74. Did you feel respect towards your mother? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
75. Did you feel rejected by your mother? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
76. Did you hate your mother? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
77. Did you fear your mother? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
78. Did you feel very close to your father? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
79. Did you feel respect towards your father? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
80. Did you feel rejected by your father? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
81. Did you hate your father? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
82. Did you fear your father? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
83. Was affection shown freely to you? 1=no answer; 2=yes, by mother figure; 3=yes, by father figure; 4=yes, by both; 5=sometimes by mother; 6=sometimes by father; 7=sometimes by both; 8=no
84. Does your mother insist on being the center of your attention? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
85. Was your mother seductive towards you as a child? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no

86. Does your mother discourage masculine attitudes in you? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
87. Does your mother encourage feminine attitudes in you? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
88. Does your mother attempt to interfere with your heterosexual activities? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
89. Does your mother prefer you to your father? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
90. Does your father insist on being the center of attention? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
91. Was your father seductive towards you as a child? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
92. Does your father discourage masculine attitudes in you? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
93. Does your father encourage masculine attitudes in you? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
94. Does your father attempt to interfere with your heterosexual activities? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
95. Does your father prefer you to your mother? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=no
96. Are your parents currently together? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=they never lived together; 5=father died; 6=mother died; 7=father hospitalized/institutionalized; 8=mother hospitalized/institutionalized; 9=no parents/not applicable
97. If your parents are not together, who is absent? 1=no answer; 2=parents together; 3=father absent; 4=mother absent; 5=both absent; 6=no contact/not living with parents

98. How many close friends do you have? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=one; 4=two; 5=three; 6=four; 7=five; 8=six or more
99. What proportion of your friends are male/female? 1=no answer; 2=no friends; 3=all friends female; 4=more female than male friends; 5=as many female as male friends; 6=more male than female friends; 7=all friends male
100. What proportion of your friends are heterosexual/homosexual? 1=no answer; 2=no friends; 3=all friends are homosexual; 4=more homosexual than heterosexual; 5=as many homosexual as heterosexual; 6=more heterosexual than homosexual; 7=all friends are heterosexual
101. Question 101 is now 357.
102. Question 102 is now 358.
103. Muscular development (observation). 1=no answer; 2=underdevelopment; 3=smaller than average; 4=average; 5=well-developed musculature
104. What was your physical makeup as a child? 1=no answer; 2=frail/smaller than other kids; 3=clumsy; 4=average/well coordinated; 5=very athletic; 6=larger than other kids
105. Did you avoid fights when you were growing up? 1=no answer; 2=never; 3=sometimes; 4=often; 5=always
106. When you were growing up, who did you prefer to play with? 1=no answer; 2=boys; 3=girls; 4=mixed peers; 5=preferred to play alone
107. Of the following, which do you most like to read? 1=no answer; 2=do not like to read; 3=comic books; 4=books on war; 5=books on sports; 6=books on sex/Playboy/dirty comics; 7=novels; 8=science; 9=other, specify
108. Did you participate in plays/school theatre? 1=no answer; 2=yes, enjoyed, pursued, was main interest; 3=plays and skits at home part of play; 4=yes, only because it was required; 5=no
109. Did you work while in school? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=occasionally; 4=no

- Did you work during the summer? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=occasionally; 4=no
110. What kind of jobs have you had? 1=no answer; 2=have never worked; 3=restaurant (waiter, busboy, cook); 4=cashier, retail; 5=labor (yard work, warehouse, painting, repairs); 6=boxboy, stockroom; 7=independent (mowing lawns, paper route); 8=babysitting; 9=instruction (lifeguarding); 10=youth employment program; 11=other; 12=varied
111. Were you a good student? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=average; 4=no
112. Were you ever called names or given a nickname while you were growing up? 1=no answer; 2=yes, positive; 3=yes, neutral/short-term; 4=yes, negative; 5=no. Specify name.
113. Have you ever been called a "sissy" or a similar name? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, specify name, age. If answer is yes, put down age, not #3.
114. Did you ever worry about getting beaten up? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes* (elicit information)
115. At what age did you start to date? (grade in school) 1=no answer; 2=did not date; 3=6th grade or earlier; 4=7th grade; 5=8th grade; 6=9th grade; 7=10th grade; 8=11th grade; 9=12th grade
116. When you were growing up, did you fist-fight with another person? 1=no answer; 2=never; 3=once or twice; 4=frequently; 5=regularly
117. Did you carry any kind of a weapon (gun, knife, razor, etc.) in case you had to use it against another person? 1=no answer; 2=never; 3=once or twice; 4=frequently; 5=regularly
118. Did you take part in a gang fight? 1=no answer; 2=never; 3=once or twice; 4=frequently; 5=regularly
119. Did you participate in contact sports while you were in school? 1=no answer; 2=did not participate; 3=tried out/did not make team; 4=played short time/quit; 5=played occasionally; 6=played frequently; 7=regular involvement/enjoyed; 8=involved/felt pressured to be involved

120. Which sports did you participate in? 1=no answer; 2=did not play sports; 3=football/rugby; 4=basketball; 5=soccer; 6=baseball; 7=wrestling; 8=other, specify; 9=combination of the above
121. How would you rate your interest in cars compared to other guys your age? 1=no answer; 2=not interested at all; 3=somewhat interested; 4=very interested
122. Did you hunt when you were growing up? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=occasionally; 5=once/did not like it
123. Did you use/learn to use a gun? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=opportunity/did not do
124. On a scale of 1-5, where do you see yourself in terms of masculinity? 1=not masculine at all; 2=not very masculine/some; 3=moderate/average masculinity; 4=very masculine; 5=extremely masculine/macho; 6=no answer
125. How would you have rated yourself while you were growing up? 1=not masculine at all; 2=not very masculine/some; 3=moderate/average masculinity; 4=very masculine; 5=extremely masculine/macho; 6=no answer
126. How would your parents have rated you? 1=not masculine at all; 2=not very masculine/some; 3=moderate/average masculinity; 4=very masculine; 5=extremely masculine/macho; 6=no answer
127. Where would you place your mother on the same scale? 1=exclusively masculine; 2=mainly masculine; 3=mainly masculine with a substantial degree of femininity; 4=as much masculine as feminine; 5=mainly feminine with a substantial degree of masculinity; 6=mainly feminine; 7=exclusively feminine; 8=not applicable; 9=no answer
128. Where would you place your father on the same scale? 1=exclusively masculine; 2=mainly masculine; 3=mainly masculine with a substantial degree of femininity; 4=as much masculine as feminine; 5=mainly feminine with a substantial degree of masculinity; 6=mainly feminine; 7=exclusively feminine; 8=not applicable; 9=no answer

129. While you were growing up, what were the sources of most of your information about sex? 1=no answer; 2=parents (step, foster); 3=siblings; 4=school/teacher/classes; 5=female friends; 6=male friends; 7=books/magazines/films/T.V.; 8=church/minister/counselor; 9=medical personnel; 10=other relative, specify; 11=from personal experience/intimate relationships; 12=always knew about it; 13=no source, no one ever told them
130. Did you and your family members ever discuss sex? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no
131. How would you describe your father's values on sexuality? 1=no answer; 2=don't know/not applicable; 3=puritanical; 4=reserved; 5=affection shown freely; 6=open/nudity
132. How would you describe your mother's values on sexuality? 1=no answer; 2=don't know/no mother/not applicable; 3=puritanical; 4=reserved; 5=affection shown freely; 6=open/nudity
133. From whom did you learn about prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=mother/step; 3=father/step; 4=peers/friends; 5=a prostitute; 6=media; 7=school; 8=relatives; 9=other, specify
134. From whom did you learn about pregnancy? 1=no answer; 2=mother/step; 3=father/step; 4=peers/friends; 5=a prostitute; 6=media; 7=school; 8=relatives; 9=always knew
135. From whom did you learn about intercourse? 1=no answer; 2=mother/step; 3=father/step; 4=peers/friends; 5=a prostitute; 6=media; 7=school; 8=relatives; 9=always knew
136. From whom did you learn about menstruation? 1=no answer; 2=mother/step; 3=father/step; 4=peers/friends; 5=a prostitute; 6=media; 7=school; 8=relatives; 9=always knew
137. How do your parents feel about your sexual activity? (except prostitution) 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=angry/punishing; 4=ignore it/don't talk about it; 5=disapprove/disappointed/ashamed; 6=don't know; 7=accepting; 8=disinterested/unconcerned; 9=resigned; 10=open conflict/disrupts relationships; 11=not applicable

138. What do you feel is the general attitude towards sex in your home? 1=no answer; 2=don't know; 3=never talk about it; 4=conflict between parents on opinions; 5=open sexual action; 6=double standard; 7=accepting attitude; 8=of private concern/personal matter
139. Do you feel that your sexual activity is a factor in your not getting along with your parents? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=yes; 4=no; 5=part of the problem; 6=yes, because of homosexual activity
140. What role does sex play in your life? 1=no answer; 2=I enjoy it; 3=I don't like it; 4=it's a way to earn money; 5=makes me feel wanted & needed; 6=makes me feel powerful/strong; 7=depends on who I am with; 8=it's unsatisfactory/confused; 9=ambivalent/can take it or leave it; 10=it's a necessary & important part of my life
141. Are you currently in a relationship with someone? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=married; 5=relationship recently ended; 6=with several people
142. If yes, who are you in a relationship with? 1=no answer; 2=not in a relationship; 3=female, younger/5 years; 4=female, peer; 5=female, older/5 years; 6=male, younger/5 years; 7=male, peer; 8=male, older/5 years; 9=with men and women
143. What is the longest amount of time that you've spent in a relationship with one person? 1=no answer; 2=has not had a relationship; 3=up to one week; 4=up to one month; 5=1-3 months; 6=up to 6 months; 7=up to one year; 8=more than one year
144. Where would you place yourself on this scale? 1=exclusively heterosexual; 2=mainly heterosexual; 3=mainly heterosexual with a substantial degree of homosexuality; 4=as much heterosexual as homosexual; 5=mainly homosexual with a substantial degree of heterosexuality; 6=mainly homosexual; 7=exclusively homosexual; 8=no answer
145. What would you consider to be your primary sexual orientation? 1=no answer; 2=heterosexual; 3=homosexual; 4=bisexual; 5=asexual; 6=uncertain

146. If orientation is homosexual or bisexual, who have you told? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=mother figure; 4=father figure; 5=sisters(s); 6=brother(s); 7=cousins; 8=other adult relatives; 9=employer; 10=fellow workers; 11=heterosexual friends (school friends/peers); 12=neighbors; 13=teacher/school figure; 14=religious figure/minister; 15=counselor; 16=street friends; 17=sexual partners only; 18=no one; 19=homosexual friends; 20=combination
147. What has been your family's response to telling them about your being gay/bisexual? 1=no answer; 2=not gay/bisexual; 3=punished/rejected; 4=negative/support change; 5=ambivalent/mixed; 6=positive/supportive; 7=have not told them; 8=denial that I am
148. What has been the response from peers? 1=no answer; 2=not gay/bisexual; 3=punished/rejected; 4=negative/support change; 5=ambivalent/mixed; 6=positive/supportive; 7=have not told them; 8=denial that I am
149. What has been the response from public figures (teachers, ministers, etc.)? 1=no answer; 2=not gay/bisexual; 3=punished/rejected; 4=negative/support change; 5=ambivalent/mixed; 6=positive/supportive; 7=have not told them; 8=denial that I am
150. What has been the response from people you've met on the streets? 1=no answer; 2=not gay/bisexual; 3=punished/rejected; 4=negative/support change; 5=ambivalent/mixed; 6=positive/supportive; 7=have not told them; 8=denial that I am; 9=not involved on the streets
151. Are there other people in your family who are homosexual? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, specify relation
152. Regarding those who you have not told or who do not know, what kind of a response would you expect to get from them? - expected response from family:
1=no answer; 2=not gay/bisexual; 3=punished/rejected; 4=negative/support change; 5=ambivalent/mixed; 6=positive/supportive; 7=have not told them; 8=denial that I am
153. Where do you find your homosexual partners?
1=no answer; 2=not involved with men; 3=from school; 4=from neighborhood; 5=on the street; 6=in bars/discos; 7=prostitution/customers; 8=introduced/private parties/peers; 9=private parties/adults

154. At what age were you first sexually involved with another person? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=age _____
155. With whom did you have your first sexual experience? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual experience/not applicable; 3=father/step; 4=foster father/court placement; 5=mother/step; 6=foster mother/court placement; 7=brother; 8=sister; 9=other male relative; 10=other female relative; 11=acquaintance/male; 12=acquaintance/female; 13=stranger/male; 14=stranger/female; 15=parent's lover/male friend; 16=parent's lover/female friend; 17=male authority figure; 18=female authority figure; 19=customer
156. How old was partner? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=age _____
157. Were you physically forced into this first sexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=yes; 4=no; 5=not sure; 6=emotionally coerced/felt I had to/ no physical coercion
158. What did the person who forced you into this sexual activity tell you afterwards? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=nothing/not discussed; 4=told me not to tell anyone; 5=was not forced into sexual activity; 6=threatened me; 7=rewarded me
159. What did you do about the incident? Who did you tell? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=was not forced into sexual activity; 4=told no one; 5=responsible parent; 6=other relative, specify; 7=family friend; 8=stranger; 9=caseworker/counselor/minister/teacher; 10=police; 11=medical; 12=Rape Relief/similar crisis agency; 13=friends
160. How was the situation resolved? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=was not forced into sexual activity; 4=I was not believed/it was ignored; 5=I was blamed; 6=I was punished; 7=family broke up; 8=the other person was punished; 9=counselor/medical personnel were contacted; 10=sought revenge; 11=no action was taken; 12=rewarded
161. Have you ever had a sexual experience with a male? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no

162. To what extent have you had/or think about having sex with a male? 1=no answer; 2=exclusively gay; 3=frequently/regularly; 4=several times; 5=once or twice, but didn't enjoy it; 6=never, but have thought about it; 7=never, and would not; 8=as part of customer's request/prostitution only; 9=only when institutionalized; 10=as a child only; 11=no experience with a male; 12=mostly in prostitution/occasionally other
163. Who was your first male partner? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=no experience with a male; 4=steady lover; 5=father; 6=stepfather; 7=foster father; 8=brother; 9=other relative, specify; 10=adult/other, specify; 11=someone knew well/peer; 12=casual acquaintance; 13=stranger; 14=parent's lover; 15=authority figure, specify; 16=prostitute; 17=customer
164. How old were you at the time of your first sexual experience with a male? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=no experience with a male; 4=age _____
165. How old was your first male partner? 1=no answer; 2=no experience with a male; 3=no sexual involvement; 4=age _____
166. Were you physically forced into this first sexual activity with a male? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=yes; 4=no; 5=not sure; 6=emotionally coerced; 7=not applicable
167. What did you do about the incident? Who did you tell? 1=no answer; 2=was not forced into sexual activity; 3=told no one; 4=responsible parent; 5=other relative, specify; 6=family friend; 7=stranger; 8=caseworker/counselor/minister/teacher; 9=police; 10=medical; 11=Rape Relief/similar crisis agency; 12=friends
168. How was the situation resolved? 1=no answer; 2=was not forced into sexual activity; 3=I was not believed/it was ignored; 4=I was blamed; 5=no action was taken; 6=I was punished; 7=family broke up; 8=the other person was punished; 9=counselor/medical personnel were contacted; 10=sought revenge; 11=rewarded
169. Have you ever been sexually assaulted or raped? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, once; 4=yes, more than once; 5=gang raped; 6=unsure; 7=attempted rape/sexual assault

170. If you were raped or sexually assaulted, how old were you the first time? 1=no answer; 2=was not raped; 3=age when raped/attempt at rape/sexual assault _____
171. Who were you raped (or attempted) by? 1=no answer; 2=was not raped; 3=steady lover; 4=father; 5=step-father; 6=foster father; 7=brother; 8=other relative, specify; 9=adult/other, specify; 10=someone knew well/peer; 11=casual acquaintance; 12=stranger; 13=parent's lover; 14=authority figure, specify; 15=prostitute; 16=customer; 17=pimp/pimp figure
172. How old was the person? 1=no answer; 2=was not raped; 3=age _____
173. What did the person who raped you tell you afterwards? 1=no answer; 2=was not raped; 3=nothing/not discussed; 4=told me not to tell anyone; 5=threatened me; 6=rewarded me; 7=attempted rape or sexual assault/avoided/escaped
174. What did you do about the incident? Who did you tell? 1=no answer; 2=was not raped/no attempt; 3=told no one; 4=responsible parent; 5=other relative, specify; 6=family friend; 7=stranger; 8=caseworker/counselor/minister/teacher; 9=police; 10=medical; 11=Rape Relief/similar crisis agency; 12=friends
175. How was the situation resolved? 1=no answer; 2=was not raped/no attempt; 3=I was not believed/it was ignored; 4=I was blamed; 5=no action was taken; 6=I was punished; 7=family broke up; 8=the other person was punished; 9=counselor/medical personnel were contacted; 10=sought revenge; 11=rewarded
176. Prior to your first sexual activity, did any older person(s) more than 10 years older attempt sexual play/activity (molestation)? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual experience/not applicable; 3=father/step; 4=foster father/court placement; 5=mother/step; 6=foster mother/court placement; 7=brother; 8=sister; 9=other male relative; 10=other female relative; 11=acquaintance/male; 12=acquaintance/female; 13=stranger/male; 14=stranger/female; 15=parent's lover/male friend; 16=parent's lover/female friend; 17=male authority figure; 18=female authority figure; 19=customer
- Note: elicit information on child abuse, physical and/or sexual, especially anything having to do with sexual assault.

177. What did the person who attempted sexual play tell you after the attempt? 1=no answer; 2=no attempt at sexual play; 3=nothing/not discussed; 4=told me not to tell anyone; 5=threatened me; 6=rewarded me; 7=dismissed it as unimportant
178. What did you do about the incident? Who did you tell? 1=no answer; 2=no attempt at sexual play; 3=told no one; 4=responsible parent; 5=other relative, specify; 6=family friend; 7=stranger; 8=caseworker/counselor/minister/teacher; 9=police; 10=medical; 11=Rape Relief/similar crisis agency; 12=friends
179. How was the situation resolved? 1=no answer; 2=no attempt at sexual play; 3=I was not believed/it was ignored; 4=I was blamed; 5=no action was taken; 6=I was punished; 7=family broke up; 8=the other person was punished; 9=counselor/medical personnel were contacted; 10=sought revenge; 11=rewarded
180. At what age did you begin to have regular sexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=age _____
181. Why did you decide to become sexually involved? 1=no answer; 2=my friends were; 3=I like sex; 4=no reason not to/why not?; 5=I had a female friend I went with a lot/followed; 6=I had a male friend I went with a lot/followed; 7=it was something I wasn't supposed to do; 8=emotionally/psychologically coerced; 9=reward; 10=curiosity; 11=makes me feel wanted/needed/important; 12=I was ready to try it
182. Do you feel informed and prepared in sexual matters? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=not sure; 5=need to know more
Elicit: what areas do you need more information on?
183. Has your sexual activity ever been a problem for you? 1=no answer; 2=not sexually involved; 3=no; 4=yes
184. Have your parents given you difficulty regarding your sexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
185. Have you been reported to juvenile authorities because of sexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
186. Have you been a victim of incest? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes

187. Have you been raped? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=yes, attempted
188. Have you had a venereal disease? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, specify
189. Have you had a venereal disease because of homosexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, specify
190. Has your sexual activity with men ever been a problem for you? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual activity with men; 3=no; 4=yes
191. Have you been labelled a prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
192. If yes, who has labelled you? 1=no answer; 2=not labelled a prostitute; 3=family; 4=peers; 5=school personnel; 6=because of arrest/police/court; 7=self-described
193. Have you felt personally emotionally uncomfortable about your sexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
194. What health problems have you had as a result of your sexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=no sexual involvement; 3=venereal disease, specify; 4=psychological; 5=illness; 6=operations; 7=physical trauma from sexual activity; 8=no health problems as a result of sexual activity
195. Do you have any children? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, how many _____
196. Have you impregnated a woman? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, how many times _____; 4=unsure
197. What was the outcome? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=unsure; 4=abortion/pregnancy terminated; 5=had child/kept it/involved with child; 6=had child/relinquished; 7=spontaneous abortion; 8=no involvement with child or mother
198. What method of contraception do you use during heterosexual activity? 1=no answer; 2=not involved in heterosexual sex; 3=none; 4=condom; 5=withdrawal; 6=it varies; 7=expect woman to contracept
199. Have you ever initiated sexual play with a person 3 or more years younger than yourself? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=once; 4=occasionally; 5=several times

200. If yes, how old were you at the time? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=age _____
201. If yes, how old was the person who you initiated sexual play with? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=age _____
202. Have you ever physically coerced another person into sexual activity with you? 1=no answer; 2=no/never; 3=once; 4=more than once; 5=with others/gang rape
203. Who was this person? 1=no answer; 2=did not coerce anyone; 3=female/peer; 4=female relative; 5=male/peer; 6=male relative; 7=female/child; 8=male/child
204. Have you ever paid another person money in order to have sex with them? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes
205. If yes, how old were you at the time? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=age _____
206. If yes, how old was the partner who you paid? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=age _____
207. Was your father ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
208. Was your stepfather ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
209. Was your mother ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
210. Was your stepmother ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
211. Was your sister ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
212. Was your brother ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable

213. Was your aunt/uncle ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
214. Was your grandparent(s) ever involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
215. Has a close male friend been involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
216. Has a male lover been involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
217. Has a close female friend been involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
218. Has a female lover been involved in criminal activity? 1=no answer; 2=yes, specify; 3=yes and served time; 4=no; 5=don't know/not sure; 6=not applicable
219. How many of the following activities have you been involved in (prior to your first arrest)? Responses: 1=no answer; 2=no/never; 3=once or twice; 4=more than twice.
1. smoking; 2. curfew violation; 3. cheating in school; 4. trespassing; 5. running away; 6. truancy/skipping school; 7. verbal fights; 8. destroying personal property; 9. hitting younger children; 10. initiating sexual play with a child three years younger; 11. using false I.D.; 12. minor in bar; 13. drinking liquor; 14. non-narcotic drug use; 15. narcotic drug use; 16. overdose on drugs; 17. prowling; 18. fighting; 19. violence towards others; 20. incorrigible; 21. bizarre behavior/self-mutilation; 22. dealing drugs; 23. joy riding; 24. drag racing; 25. reckless driving; 26. drunk driving; 27. hit-and-run driving; 28. CCW; 29. prostitution/O&A; 30. FTA; 31. resisting/obstructing; 32. escape from institution; 33. indecent exposure/lewd behavior; 34. forgery; 35. bad checks; 36. vandalism; 37. shoplifting; 38. larceny; 39. burglary; 40. robbery; 41. grand theft; 42. auto

- theft; 43. accomplice to crime; 44. assault;
45. assault with deadly weapon; 46. assault with
intent to murder; 47. rape; 48. arson;
49. manslaughter
220. What was your first arrest? 1=no answer; 2=prostitu-
tion; 3=shoplifting; 4=larceny; 5=vandalism; 6=liquor
violation; 7=truancy/skipping school; 8=narcotic
violation; 9=non-narcotic violation; 10=dealing drugs;
11=running away; 12=curfew violation; 13=fighting/
disturbing peace; 14=joy riding; 15=auto theft;
16=assault; 17=burglary; 18=forgery; 19=arson;
20=robbery; 21=resisting/obstructing; 22=weapon
violation/CCW; 23=not arrested; 24=other crime
221. Age at first arrest? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable;
3=under 10; 4=age _____
222. Disposition? 1=no answer; 2=detained in youth center;
3=foster care; 4=institution; 5=probation;
6=dismissed; 7=group home; 8=made ward of the court;
9=released to parents; 10=still pending; 11=went to
stay with friends/relatives; 12=temporary shelter
(YMCA, YA, etc.) receiving home; 13=declined/tried in
adult court; 14=drug program/other community program;
15=community counseling; 16=can't remember;
17=diversion program; 18=not arrested
223. Second arrest? [same responses as #220]
224. Age at second? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=under
10; 4=age _____
225. Disposition? [same responses as to #222]
226. Third arrest? [same responses as #220]
227. Age at third? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=under
10; 4=age _____
228. Disposition? [same responses as to #222]
229. How old were you when you first had an experience with
each of these activities? [same activities as #219]
230. To what extent have you been involved in the following
activities?
Responses: 1=never; 2=once or twice; 3=occasionally/
less than ten times; 4=frequently/regularly;
5=no answer.
[same activities as #219]

231. Were you arrested for any of these activities?
Responses: 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes.
[same activities as #219]
232. Were you ever convicted for any of these activities?
Responses: 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes.
[same activities as #219]
233. What was the first non-prescription (not prescribed for you) drug that you used? Check only one.
1=no answer; 2=not applicable/don't use drugs;
3=alcohol; 4=cocaine; 5=hallucinogens/LSD; 6=heroin;
7=inhalants/glue; 8=marijuana/hashish; 9=methadone;
10=opiates/codeine/morphine (other than heroin);
11=over-the-counter analgesics; 12=sedatives/
barbiturates/downers; 13=stimulants/amphetamines/
uppers; 14=tranquilizers/hypnotics; 15=PCP-angel dust
234. Which of these drugs have you used without medical supervision?
Responses: 1=no answer; 2=would not use/have not used;
3=would use/have used.
Elicit under each drug category the name of the drug used and street names used for each particular drug.
1. alcohol; 2. cocaine; 3. hallucinogens/LSD;
4. heroin; 5. inhalants/glue; 6. marijuana/hashish;
7. methadone; 8. opiates/codeine/morphine (other than heroin); 9. over-the-counter analgesics;
10. sedatives/barbiturates/downers; 11. stimulants/amphetamines/uppers; 12. tranquilizers/hypnotics;
13. PCP-angel dust
235. How old were you when you first tried (took) these drugs?
Responses: 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=age _____
1. alcohol; 2. cocaine; 3. hallucinogens/LSD/PCP;
4. heroin; 5. inhalants/glue; 6. marijuana/hashish;
7. methadone; 8. opiates/codeine/morphine (other than heroin); 9. over-the-counter analgesics;
10. sedatives/barbiturates/downers; 11. stimulants/amphetamines/uppers; 12. tranquilizers/hypnotics;
13. PCP-angel dust

236. Which drug have you taken that has caused you the most concern? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable/don't use drugs; 3=alcohol; 4=cocaine; 5=hallucinogens/LSD; 6=heroin; 7=inhalants/glue; 8=marijuana/hashish; 9=methadone; 10=opiates/codeine/morphine (other than heroin); 11=over-the-counter analgesics; 12=sedatives/barbiturates/downers; 13=stimulants/amphetamines/uppers; 14=tranquilizers/hypnotics; 15=PCP-angel dust
237. Describe your first involvement with non-prescription drugs. Who were you with? 1=no answer; 2=alone; 3=boyfriend; 4=girlfriend; 5=friends; 6=family members; 7=people I was institutionalized with; 8=older persons; 9=not applicable
238. Where were you at? 1=no answer; 2=home; 3=school; 4=street/disco; 5=friend's home; 6=relative's home; 7=older person's home; 8=institutionalized/detention; 9=not applicable
239. Why did you decide to use the drug? 1=no answer; 2=adventure/excitement; 3=curious; 4=influence of friends; 5=influence of boyfriend; 6=influence of relative; 7=forced; 8=desire for oblivion; 9=not applicable; 10=to lose weight; 11=to relax; 12=to keep awake
240. How did you feel the use of the drug would affect you in the future? 1=no answer; 2=did not consider the future; 3=dismissed any considerations; 4=was fearful; 5=thought it would lead to more drug use; 6=thought it would help me; 7=thought it would get me into trouble; 8=keep me from thinking about my problems; 9=not applicable
241. What was your mood at the time of your first involvement with a non-prescriptive drug? 1=no answer; 2=happy, felt good; 3=depressed/sad; 4=looking for excitement/bored; 5=rebellious; 6=confused; 7=apprehensive/wanting acceptance/fearing rejection; 8=wanting to forget problems; 9=not applicable
242. How many times per week do you use these drugs? Responses: 1=no answer; 2=never; 3=once; 4=twice; 5=three times; 6=more than three times; 7=daily; 8=only occasionally.
Note habitual PCP users in your log for DAP0 information.

1. alcohol; 2. cocaine; 3. hallucinogens/LSD/PCP;
 4. heroin; 5. inhalants/glue; 6. marijuana/hashish;
 7. methadone; 8. opiates/codeine/morphine (other than
 heroin); 9. over-the-counter analgesics;
 10. sedatives/barbiturates/downers; 11. stimulants/
 amphetamines/uppers; 12. tranquilizers/hypnotics;
 13. PCP-angel dust

243. How do you take these drugs?
 Responses: 1=no answer; 2=do not use; 3=IV; 4=MI;
 5=smoke; 6=eat-oral; 7=varies; 8=snort; 9=inject into
 eye, skin, etc.

1. alcohol; 2. cocaine; 3. hallucinogens/LSD/PCP;
 4. heroin; 5. inhalants/glue; 6. marijuana/hashish;
 7. methadone; 8. opiates/codeine/morphine (other than
 heroin); 9. over-the-counter analgesics;
 10. sedatives/barbiturates/downers; 11. stimulants/
 amphetamines/uppers; 12. tranquilizers/hypnotics;
 13. PCP-angel dust

244. Which drugs will you use in combination?
 Responses: 1=no answer; 2=do not combine drugs;
 3=combination by number as listed by drugs, small
 number first.

1. alcohol; 2. cocaine; 3. hallucinogens/LSD/PCP;
 4. heroin; 5. inhalants/glue; 6. marijuana/hashish;
 7. methadone; 8. opiates/codeine/morphine (other than
 heroin); 9. over-the-counter analgesics;
 10. sedatives/barbiturates/downers; 11. stimulants/
 amphetamines/uppers; 12. tranquilizers/hypnotics;
 13. PCP-angel dust

245. Are any members of your family addicted? 1=no answer;
 2=yes, to alcohol; 3=yes, to narcotic drugs; 4=yes,
 combination; 5=no; 6=don't know/unsure/problem with
 drugs or alcohol; 7=no contact with family member/not
 applicable; 8=perceived problem with drugs or alcohol

246. Is your (step)/father addicted? 1=no answer; 2=yes, to
 alcohol; 3=yes, to narcotic drugs; 4=yes, combination;
 5=no; 6=don't know/unsure/problem with drugs or
 alcohol; 7=no contact with family member/not
 applicable; 8=perceived problem with drugs or alcohol

247. Is your (step)/mother addicted? 1=no answer; 2=yes, to
 alcohol; 3=yes, to narcotic drugs; 4=yes, combination;
 5=no; 6=don't know/unsure/problem with drugs or
 alcohol; 7=no contact with family member/not
 applicable; 8=perceived problem with drugs or alcohol

248. Is your brother addicted? 1=no answer; 2=yes, to alcohol; 3=yes, to narcotic drugs; 4=yes, combination; 5=no; 6=don't know/unsure/problem with drugs or alcohol; 7=no contact with family member/not applicable; 8=perceived problem with drugs or alcohol
249. Is your sister addicted? 1=no answer; 2=yes, to alcohol; 3=yes, to narcotic drugs; 4=yes, combination; 5=no; 6=don't know/unsure/problem with drugs or alcohol; 7=no contact with family member/not applicable; 8=perceived problem with drugs or alcohol
250. Is your grandmother addicted? 1=no answer; 2=yes, to alcohol; 3=yes, to narcotic drugs; 4=yes, combination; 5=no; 6=don't know/unsure/problem with drugs or alcohol; 7=no contact with family member/not applicable; 8=perceived problem with drugs or alcohol
251. Is your aunt or uncle addicted? 1=no answer; 2=yes, to alcohol; 3=yes, to narcotic drugs; 4=yes, combination; 5=no; 6=don't know/unsure/problem with drugs or alcohol; 7=no contact with family member/not applicable; 8=perceived problem with drugs or alcohol
252. How do you feel about your close friends and family using drugs? 1=no answer; 2=don't know; 3=it's their choice, not mine; 4=they have a right to use drugs if they want; 5=I'm concerned; 6=I'd be concerned only if they were high a lot; 7=depends on what drugs they are using
253. What is a sign to you that someone is abusing drugs? 1=no answer; 2=use of a drug daily/regularly/habitually; 3=the inability to function without the drug; 4=parenteral/needle use; 5=experimental use/once or twice; 6=when the drug is used to relax; 7=when the drug is used to avoid some unpleasantness in life/escapism; 8=weekend use; 9=to alter reality/hallucinogenic/mind-expanding purposes; 10=ingestion in an oral/rectal manner; 11=inhalation/smoking; 12=to keep from getting sick/avoid withdrawal; 13=when one needs the drug to calm down/cope with nervousness; 14=physical dysfunction
254. How often did you drink any kind of alcoholic beverage during the past year? 1=no answer; 2=never drank over past year; 3=one to five times over the past year; 4=six to eleven times over the past year; 5=about once a month on the average; 6=several times a month on the average; 7=about once a week on the average; 8=more often than once a week on the average

255. How often did you drink any kind of alcoholic beverage over the past month? 1=no answer; 2=never drank over the past month; 3=once during the past month; 4=several times during the past month; 5=several times a week during the past month; 6=daily or almost daily during the past month
256. How many times would you estimate that you have gotten drunk or pretty high on alcohol during the past year? 1=no answer; 2=regularly; 3=over 20 times; 4=10-20 times; 5=5-10 times; 6=3-5 times; 7=once or twice; 8=not at all
257. Over the past year, how many times would you estimate that you experienced at least one of the following effects as a result of drinking any kind of alcohol:
nausea or vomiting, hangover, passing out, not remembering what happened;
notice an extreme increase or decrease in tolerance for alcohol.
1=no answer; 2=regularly; 3=over 20 times; 4=10-20 times; 5=5-10 times; 6=3-5 times; 7=once or twice; 8=not at all
258. Why/in what situations do you use drugs? 1=no answer; 2=do not use drugs; 3=for excitement/adventure; 4=curiosity/self-exploration; 5=desire for oblivion/block out feeling; 6=to relax, calm, to sleep; 7=rebellion; 8=lose weight; 9=stay awake/for energy; 10=because friends/people I'm around use drugs; 11=like to be high/feels good; 12=makes me more sociable/can get along better; 13=can cope/deal with things; 14=feel I need it/addicted; 15=need it to work/trick/to be with customer
259. Who first introduced you to an addictive narcotic? 1=no answer; 2=myself; 3=family member; 4=female peer(s)/non-street; 5=male peer(s)/non-street; 6=lover; 7=mixed peer(s)/non-street; 8=stranger(s), specify drug; 9=pimp; 10=pusher/dealer; 11=customer; 12=doctor/ nurse; 13=don't remember; 14=street friends; 15=no introduction to addictive narcotics; 16=older male friend
260. Where did you first come into contact with heroin users? 1=no answer; 2=at school; 3=in jail; 4=in an institution/placement; 5=friend(s); 6=on the street; 7=around my neighborhood; 8=stranger introduced; 9=in a drug treatment program; 10=family members involved; 11=can't remember; 12=never; 13=older adults; 14=family friends

261. How do you usually get your drugs? 1=no answer; 2=get them from friends; 3=get them from family members; 4=take them out of the medicine cabinet; 5=rip them off from someplace/somebody; 6=write your own prescription; 7=get them from strangers/street; 8=get them from doctors (under false pretenses); 9=commit drug-associated crimes (larceny, burglary, etc.); 10=prostitute; 11=hock possessions; 12=go to work; 13=harm or mutilate self; 14=combination of the above
262. Have you ever gone through Grade II withdrawal?
1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=unsure
263. Have you ever taken a drug overdose? 1=no answer; 2=yes, intentional; 3=yes, unintentional; 4=no; 5=unsure; 6=not applicable
264. Have you ever been treated for alcohol/drug abuse?
1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=recommended but did not go
265. To whom would you turn or go if you had a drug problem? 1=no answer; 2=parent(s); 3=sibling(s); 4=other family member(s), specify; 5=minister; 6=school counselor/teacher/coach; 7=non-user friends (male or female); 8=user friends (male or female); 9=drug treatment program; 10=former drug users; 11=medical personnel; 12=youth center (drop-in/crisis center); 13=no one; 14=don't know; 15=professional counselor
266. Have you received any formal drug information (at school, etc.)? 1=no answer; 2=yes, at school/treatment program; 3=no; 4=don't remember
267. What was your first source of information on drugs? 1=no answer; 2=school; 3=parent(s); 4=youth center/community program; 5=friend(s); 6=publications/books/T.V.; 7=street; 8=brother/sister; 9=other relative
268. Do you have any health or physical problems?
1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=don't know/not sure; 5=they are hidden by drug use
Discuss client's health, ongoing symptoms, past diseases, past accidents, what medications are being used, special diets and operations, etc.
269. Do you feel that drug use has created health problems for you? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=not sure/don't know

270. What do you feel would enable you to stop involvement in drug use? 1=no answer; 2=I have no desire to stop; 3=adequate employment; 4=abstinence from all drugs; 5=more education/training; 6=change in self; 7=change in social environment/lifestyle; 8=decriminalization of drugs; 9=if I were kept busy; 10=having increased alternatives/options; 11=not applicable; 12=being busted for drug use
271. Question 271 has been dropped.
272. Were you on drugs at the time of your first arrest? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=on drugs at the time/violating a drug law; 4=trying to get money for drugs; 5=addicted; 6=not arrested/not applicable
273. Specify drug(s): 1=no answer; 2=none/not applicable; 3=hercin; 4=methadone; 5=other narcotic; 6=cocaine; 7=stimulant/amphetamine; 8=sedative/barbiturate; 9=hallucinogen; 10=marijuana or derivative; 11=alcohol; 12=PCP; 13=unknown; 14=varied
274. How many arrests have you had? 1=no answer; 2=one; 3=two; 4=three; 5=four; 6=five; 7=more than five; 8=more than ten; 9=none
275. Have you ever been institutionalized by juvenile justice system? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=held in detention; 4=Cascadia for evaluation; 5=yes
276. Have you ever been arrested for O&A (prostitution)? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=charges dropped
277. How do you feel about the prostitution laws? 1=no answer; 2=they are wrong; 3=they don't concern me; 4=don't know what they are; 5=unsure; 6=too strict; 7=should change; 8=they keep me down; 9=I think they are right/okay
278. At what age did you first become aware of prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=age _____
279. From whom did you first learn about prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=girlfriends; 3=boyfriends; 4=lover; 5=school peers; 6=through the media; 7=neighborhood; 8=pimp/pimp figure; 9=other prostitutes; 10=in an institution/detention; 11=was propositioned/solicited; 12=older male; 13=older female; 14=family members; 15=other prostitute-family member; 16=sugar daddy

280. What/who has been your primary means of financial support? 1=family plus prostitution; 2=family; 3=public assistance, SSI/DVI, dependent child; 4=employment; 5=prostitution; 6=lover/pimp; 7=other illegal activity/not prostitution or drug-related; 8=drug sales; 9=prostitution and employment/other illegal activity
281. Do you know any prostitutes? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=not sure
282. If so, where did you first meet them? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable/don't know any; 3=friends/prostitutes; 4=family members/prostitutes; 5=school friends/prostitutes; 6=detention; 7=neighborhood; 8=on the street; 9=mediated through pimp/hustler/dealer; 10=family friends; 11=institution; 12=associated with job
283. Have you ever been asked to prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes/agreed; 4=yes/declined; 5=yes/undecided
284. Who was the person who asked you to prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=never been asked/not applicable; 3=pimp/pimp figure; 4=lover/companion; 5=pimp's woman; 6=pimp's male working for him; 7=madam; 8=relative; 9=male peer friend; 10=female peer friend; 11=another prostitute/male; 12=another prostitute/female; 13=older male/sugar daddy; 14=older female/sugar momma; 15=employer; 16=customer
285. Have you ever prostituted? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=am thinking about it
286. How old were you when you first prostituted? 1=no answer; 2=did not prostitute; 3=age _____
287. Were you attending school at the time of your first prostitution involvement? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=not applicable
288. Were you employed at the time? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=not applicable
289. Did you go out alone the first time? 1=no answer; 2=no, one other; 3=no, with a group; 4=yes; 5=not applicable

290. Who were you with at the time of your first act of prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=alone with customer; 3=boyfriend; 4=girlfriend; 5=man/pimp; 6=pimp's woman; 7=madam; 8=another prostitute; 9=family member; 10=employer; 11=not applicable
291. What kind(s) of prostitution were you first involved in? 1=no answer; 2=street; 3=bars; 4=house (brothel); 5=phone (on your own); 6=phone (referral system); 7=parties; 8=studio (body paint, massage); 9=mining, lumber towns, etc.; 10=own automobile/out of car/parking lots; 11=gay bars; 12=restrooms; 13=friend's house; 14=school; 15=my place; 16=hotels; 17=saunas/steam baths; 18=varied; 19=most kinds; 20=not applicable
292. Where were you at the time of your first act of prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=at home; 3=at girl-friend's house; 4=at boyfriend's house; 5=at man's/pimp's/lover's home; 6=street; 7=car; 8=motel/hotel/room; 9=madam's place; 10=another prostitute's place; 11=customer's home; 12=restroom; 13=theatre; 14=restaurant/bar; 15=other, specify; 16=not applicable
293. Was your first homosexual experience at the time of your first act of prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=not applicable
294. What was your mood at the time of your first act of prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=happy/felt good; 3=sad/depressed; 4=high on drugs; 5=high on alcohol; 6=looking for excitement/bored; 7=rebellious; 8=confused; 9=fearful/scared; 10=wanting acceptance/fearing rejection; 11=wanting to forget problems/oblivion; 12=self-abasement; 13=nervous; 14=not applicable
295. Why were you willing to prostitute the first time? 1=no answer; 2=money/material goods; 3=excitement/adventure; 4=influence of friends; 5=curiosity; 6=money for drugs for self; 7=money for drugs for man/lover/partner; 8=influence of man/boyfriend/lover; 9=independence; 10=thought I would enjoy it; 11=self-abasement; 12=hostility towards men; 13=economic necessity; 14=satisfy homosexual needs/desires; 15=under influence of drugs; 16=other, specify; 17=not applicable

296. Did you begin to get further involved in other prostitution experiences? How? 1=no answer; 2=own initiative; 3=pimp/adult; 4=prostitute working for someone else; 5=relative recruited, specify; 6=man/boyfriend suggested it; 7=girlfriend suggested it; 8=in the neighborhood; 9=couldn't find other work and wanted money; 10=curiosity; 11=through the media/read about it; 12=school peers; 13=after a rape; 14=other prostitutes; 15=no; 16=not applicable
297. What advantages do you see in getting started in prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=money/material goods/party; 3=excitement/adventure; 4=influence of friends; 5=curiosity; 6=money for drugs for self; 7=money for drugs for lover/partner; 8=attracted to the lifestyle; 9=economic necessity for myself/my family; 10=no reason not to; 11=a way to avoid school; 12=needed money because I had left home; 13=I had dropped out of school so it gave me something to do; 14=way to satisfy homosexual desires/find homosexual partners; 15=not applicable
298. How did you feel prostitution would affect your life? 1=no answer; 2=did not consider the future; 3=dismissed any considerations; 4=was fearful of psychological/emotional problems; 5=thought it would lead to more prostitution; 6=thought this would be the only time; 7=thought it would help me; 8=thought it would get me into trouble; 9=keep me from thinking about my problems; 10=was a dead end; 11=afraid that I would not be able to get out; 12=thought it would satisfy my homosexual needs; 13=afraid it would turn me homosexual; 14=feared it would ruin me; 15=combination; 16=not applicable
299. Why did you continue to prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=money/material goods/party; 3=excitement/adventure; 4=money for drugs for self; 5=money for drugs for lover/partner; 6=independence; 7=enjoy lifestyle; 8=no reason not to; 9=nothing else to do; 10=remain with my friends; 11=remain with my lover/man; 12=support/take out girlfriends; 13=enjoy sexual activity; 14=economic survival; 15=not applicable; 16=to meet people

300. What type of prostitution do you prefer? 1=no answer; 2=street; 3=bars; 4=house (brothel); 5=phone (on your own); 6=phone (referral system); 7=parties; 8=studio (body paint, massage); 9=mine, lumber towns, etc.; 10=own automobile/out of cars/parking lots; 11=gay bars; 12=restrooms; 13=friend's house; 14=school; 15=my place; 16=hotels; 17=saunas/steam baths; 18=varied; 19=most kinds; 20=not applicable
Elicit types of prostitution. Elicit types of prostitution that interviewee has been involved in.
301. Do/or did you have a pimp/lover/adult who you support with prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=not applicable
302. Do/or did you have a sugar daddy? 1=no answer; 3=no; 3=yes; 4=sometimes; 5=not applicable; 6=sugar momma; 7=both
303. What are some advantages of having a pimp/man? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=someone I love; 4=someone who cares about me; 5=takes care of business; 6=provides protection and respect; 7=he makes an economic contribution; 8=gives drugs; 9=fast life symbol/flashy; 10=companionship/a friend/attention; 11=don't know; 12=for education; 13=for security; 14=for a family feeling/roots; 15=not applicable
304. What are some disadvantages of having a pimp/man? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=he takes the money; 4=he abuses me/threatens me; 5=lose independence; 6=gets me strung out; 7=he makes you work too hard; 8=no family life; 9=not applicable
Elicit discussion about pimps, especially those connected with gangster images, rules of pimps, values, priorities, etc.
305. Were you the only person working with your pimp/lover/adult? 1=no answer; 2=yes, always; 3=sometimes; 4=no; 5=not applicable
306. If no, who else worked with the pimp figure? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=other males; 4=other females; 5=combination
307. Were drugs connected with, or a motivation for, your entrance into prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=somewhat; 5=not applicable

308. Did your drug use increase after you began to prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=don't know; 5=my drug use increased, but not due to prostitution; 6=not applicable
309. If yes, what do you feel was the reason? 1=no answer; 2=physical stress of working situation; 3=emotional stress of being a prostitute; 4=social environment encouraged use; 5=drugs helped me to relax; 6=drugs filled up the empty spaces/hours; 7=I became addicted/tolerant; 8=I had more money to spend on drugs; 9=access/availability of drugs was greater; 10=anxiety regarding running away; 11=anxiety regarding homosexuality; 12=not applicable
310. Did drug use increase after you were on the street before you became involved in prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=don't know; 5=my drug use increased, but not due to being on the street; 6=not applicable/not on the street
311. If yes, what do you feel was the reason? 1=no answer; 2=physical stress of working situation; 3=emotional stress of being a prostitute; 4=social environment encouraged use; 5=drugs helped me to relax; 6=drugs filled up the empty spaces/hours; 7=I became addicted/tolerant; 8=I had more money to spend on drugs; 9=access/availability of drugs was greater; 10=anxiety regarding running away; 11=anxiety regarding homosexuality; 12=not applicable
312. What is the best thing about being a prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=money/material goods; 3=independence; 4=excitement/adventure; 5=working conditions; 6=social life/people you meet; 7=being desired by men; 8=sexual gratification; 9=enhances self-worth; 10=maintain relationship with pimp/male lover; 11=gaining sexual knowledge; 12=outlet for hostility toward men; 13=to gain power/make contact for other things; 14=no taxes; 15=broaden life experience; 16=travel; 17=money for drugs; 18=keeps me away from my family; 19=other; 20=not applicable

313. What is the worst thing about being a prostitute?
 1=no answer; 2=police harassment/arrest; 3=danger from customers/abuse; 4=family reaction/friends' or lover's reaction; 5=society's reaction; 6=emotional stress; 7=control by pimp/lack of independence; 8=effect on own children; 9=long hours, hard work/work conditions; 10=lowered self-esteem; 11=no future; 12=become negative towards sex, men become "hard"; 13=undesirable customers -- creeps; 14=V.D./medical problems; 15=exposure to drug use; 16=exposure to other crime; 17=boring; 18=no disadvantages; 19=no friends/activities outside the life; 20=other; 21=not applicable
314. How do you spend your money from prostitution?
 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=give it to my pimp/lover; 4=keep it myself; 5=share it; 6=on drugs; 7=regular living expenses; 8=clothes/trappings; 9=save it; 10=varies; 11=on dates, friends; 12=cars, luxuries
315. How often did/do you work? 1=no answer; 2=did not prostitute/not applicable; 3=1-3 days per week; 4=4-7 days per week; 5=only a few days per month; 6=only occasionally; 7=daily
316. How much money do/did you make? 1=no answer; 2=under \$20 per night; 3=under \$50 per night; 4=under \$100 per night; 5=between \$100 and \$200 per night; 6=between \$200 and \$500 per night; 7=over \$500 per night; 8=not applicable; 9=other
- 317a. What are some advantages of having a sugar daddy or sugar momma? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=someone I love; 4=someone who cares about me; 5=takes care of business; 6=provides protection and respect; 7=he makes an economic contribution; 8=money/material goods; 9=gives drugs; 10=fast life symbol/flashy; 11=companionship/a friend/attention; 12=education; 13=security; 14=for a family feeling/roots; 15=don't know; 16=not applicable
- 317b. What are some disadvantages of having a sugar daddy or sugar momma? 1=no answer; 2=none; 3=he abuses me/threatens me; 4=lose independence; 6=gets me strung out; 6=demands too much sexually; 7=affects relationships (other friends & family); 8=demands too much time; 9=not physically attractive; 10=lies to me/doesn't live up to agreement; 11=other; 12=not applicable

- 318a. Is prostitution the only available source of money to you? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, usually or sometimes; 4=yes; 5=not applicable
- 318b. How else do you get money? specify.
319. If you could find (additional) conventional employment, would you accept it? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes/with restrictions, specify; 5=yes
320. Do you think that you would continue to prostitute if you were able to earn enough money to survive on without prostituting? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
321. If yes, why? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=money/material goods; 4=excitement/adventure; 5=money for drugs for self; 6=money for drugs for lover/partner; 7=independence; 8=enjoy lifestyle; 9=no reason not to; 10=nothing else to do; 11=remain with my friends; 12=remain with my lover/man; 13=support/take out girlfriends; 14=enjoy sexual activity
322. What else do you think you could be doing if you weren't prostituting? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=nothing/there is nothing else for me to do; 4=going to school; 5=working; 6=work and school; 7=living at home; 8=other illegal means of support
323. What do you see as helping you to make a decision to continue working as a prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=my desire to work/I like my job; 3=my pimp's/lover's desire to have me work; 4=money/material goods; 5=lack of alternatives/no other means of support; 6=my dependency on drugs; 7=society's values; 8=male sex role; 9=friends; 10=attitudes toward homosexuals; 11=keeps me away from family/not visible; 12=not applicable
324. List the various types of hustlers on the street in order of status.
325. What is the age of your average customer? 1=no answer; 2=under 30; 3=30-40; 4=40-50; 5=over 50; 6=not applicable
326. What is the race of your average customer? 1=no answer; 2=white; 3=black; 4=Asian; 5=Native American; 6=not applicable

327. What is the occupation of your average customer? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=blue collar/trade, factory; 4=military; 5=lower white collar (post office, civil service, sales); 6=upper white collar (administration, executive); 7=professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer); 8=service occupation (janitor, cook, waiter); 9=self-employed; 10=child care; 11=unemployed/public assistance; 12=disabled; 13=marginal deviant (gambler/bookie); 14=illegal support system; 15=institutionalized; 16=varied; 17=no information/don't know
328. Do you always get money from a trick? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes, always; 4=occasionally I do not take money; 5=frequently I do not take money; 6=never take money
329. Do you enjoy sex in prostitution activity? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=yes, always; 4=occasionally; 5=with some specific customers; 6=never/just business
330. Have you ever prostituted in any other city? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=no; 4=yes
331. If yes, which other cities? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=specify cities
Elicit differences in prostitution among the various cities.
332. Are you planning to leave this area in the near future? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes; 4=not applicable
333. If yes, why? 1=no answer; 2=runaway, afraid of being found; 3=prostitution, O&A charges, fear of arrest; 4=drug-related; 5=police after them for other offenses; 6=escaping organized crime elements; 7=fear of threat/physical abuse from street people; 8=start a new life; 9=don't like the area; 10=exhausted prostitution market here/to prostitute; 11=family is moving, going with them; 12=lover is moving, going with him/her; 13=like to travel/move around; 14=seek employment; 15=attend school; 16=other; 17=not applicable

334. What criminal activity have you been involved in that is part of your prostitution activity? 1=no answer; 2=no criminal involvement; 3=not applicable; 4=larceny; 5=robbery; 6=assault; 7=drug violation (non-narcotic); 8=drug violation (narcotic); 9=drug sales (non-narcotic); 10=drug sales (narcotic); 11=combination; 12=other, specify
335. Were you involved in any of these activities prior to entering prostitution? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=sometimes; 5=not applicable
336. Do you feel that additional offenses and prostitution usually go together? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no; 4=don't know/not sure; 5=it depends on the circumstances/ varies; 6=not applicable
337. How long do you think you will continue to prostitute? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=have currently stopped; 4=one week; 5=one week-one month; 6=1-3 months; 7=3-6 months; 8=6 months to one year; 9=for at least one more year; 10=indefinitely
338. Have you ever participated in the making of pornography? 1=no answer; 2=no; 3=yes, once; 4=yes, more than once; 5=yes, several times; 6=asked but refused
339. Were you paid for your participation in pornography? 1=no answer; 2=no involvement in pornography; 3=yes; 4=no
340. Where did you participate in the making of pornography? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=in Seattle; 4=within the state; 5=out of state
341. Do you know anyone else who has participated in the making of pornography? 1=no answer; 2=no involvement in pornography; 3=yes, fewer than five people; 4=yes, more than five people; 5=no
342. Have you ever been physically abused by another person? 1=no answer; 2=yes, once; 3=a few times; 4=regularly; 5=no
343. If answer is yes, by whom? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=boyfriend; 4=customer; 5=police; 6=mother; 7=father; 8=stranger(s); 9=girlfriend(s); 10=pimp; 11=several of the above; 12=institution staff; 13=sibling

344. Have you ever abused another person? 1=no answer; 2=yes, once; 3=a few times; 4=regularly; 5=no
If answer is yes, whom have you abused?
345. How often to you feel lonely? 1=no answer; 2=rarely;
3=sometimes; 4=often
346. Have you received counseling from a professional?
1=no answer; 2=not involved in counseling; 3=yes
347. Why did you go to counselor? 1=no answer; 2=not
involved in counseling; 3=because of homosexuality/
own initiative; 4=because of prostitution/own
initiative; 5=because of drugs/own initiative;
6=parents went/family counseling; 7=parents sent me;
8=court ordered; 9=other, specify
348. Did counseling help you? 1=no answer; 2=did not go to
counseling; 3=yes, it helped; 4=helped for a short
time; 5=did not help
349. What factors have caused you to consider suicide?
1=no answer; 2=do not consider suicide/have not;
3=depression; 4=loneliness; 5=prostitution; 6=drug
use; 7=relationship with family; 8=homosexuality;
9=failures in life/school; 10=health problems; 11=loss
of love relationship; 12=money problems/no means of
support; 13=other, specify; 14=combination of the
above
350. Have you ever attempted suicide? 1=no answer; 2=yes,
specify number of times; 3=no; 4=I have thought about
it seriously
351. What do you usually do for relaxation? 1=no answer;
2=use drugs; 3=socialize; 4=read; 5=cook/domestic
things; 6=creative endeavors/painting/writing; 7=watch
T.V.; 8=listen to music; 9=attend movies; 10=involved
in sports/outdoor activity; 11=play games; 12=be by
myself/meditate; 13=hang around the streets; 14=don't
relax/nothing
352. Do you ever have any trouble sleeping? 1=no answer;
2=no; 3=yes, specify trouble
353. If yes, how often do you have trouble sleeping?
1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=less than once a
month; 4=once a month; 5=once a week; 6=more than once
a week

354. Identify any of the following which significantly influenced your childhood/adolescence: 1=no answer; 2=religious upbringing; 3=ethnic background; 4=national origin; 5=community morals/values; 6=quality of parent's personal values; 7=other
Do you have any long-term goals in life? specify.
355. What is the worst thing that ever happened to you? 1=no answer; 2=nothing bad; 3=prostitution; 4=being arrested; 5=sexual abuse; 6=physical abuse; 7=rejection by family; 8=running away; 9=exploitation by adult; 10=other traumatic experience
If you could change one thing in your life, what would it be?
356. Subject Code. P=1; GP=2; C=3; GC=4
357. How tall are you? 1=no answer; 2=___feet, ___inches
358. How much do you weigh? 1=no answer; 2=___pounds
359. How long have you prostituted? 1=no answer; 2=not applicable; 3=only once or twice/not currently; 4=a few times/not currently; 5=one week; 6=one week-one month; 7=1-3 months; 8=3-6 months; 9=6 months-one year; 10=more than one year; 11=two or more years
360. Were you adopted? 1=no answer; 2=yes; 3=no

APPENDIX B
DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

Introduction

The description of the discriminant analysis that follows was prepared with the assistance of Donald A. Johnson, Ph.D. Dr. Johnson is a graduate of the Department of Psychology, University of Washington. He participated in this research project as a statistical consultant. The analysis described here appears in the Final Report on Entrance into Juvenile Male Prostitution for the National Institutes of Mental Health Grant No. R01-29968, Jennifer James, Ph.D., principal investigator.

The sample size of 96 was used for this analysis. One homosexual prostitute case was dropped because of concerns about the responses. The first stage of the analysis was to construct scales hypothesized as representing variables important to entrance into juvenile male prostitution. These scales allow us to reduce the overall variable space because our sample size ($n=96$) was not large enough to make a meaningful multivariate interpretation of such a large number of variables ($k=654$).

Table B.1 contains the items that were chosen in construction of each scale. These items were selected by our staff based on suggestions generated by the literature

and the results of a previous study on juvenile female prostitution. It has been our intent therefore to build content validity into these scales.

With the exception of the Masculinity and Sexual Orientation scales, which are Likert type rating scales, each item on the remaining scales has been reduced to a zero (0) or one (1) value. For example, in the case of those scales measuring deviant behavior, the deviant response to each item was coded as one (1) and the non-deviant response was coded as zero (0). Hence the higher the scale score, the more deviant the experience as measured by the scale.

The left-hand column of table B.1 contains the variable number and the code number of the various response values that were considered associated with a "trait" response. The right-hand column provides the definitive of these response values.

The items presented are only those that were retained after extensive item analyses. The criterion used for an item's retention required that the item's exclusion significantly reduce the Kuder-Richardson internal consistency coefficient.

Table B.1: Items Contained in the Ten Scales

Scale 1: Violation of Physical Boundaries

Variable #49 Trait Response 3	Physical abuse a problem? yes
Variable #50 Trait Response 3	Sexual abuse a problem? yes
Variable #51 Trait Response 3	Psychological abuse a problem? yes
Variable #157 Trait Response 3,5,6	Physically forced into first sexual activity? yes, not sure, emotionally coerced
Variable #166 Trait Response 3,5,6	Physically forced into first sexual activity with a male? yes, not sure, emotionally coerced
Variable #169 Trait Response 3,4,5,6,7	Ever sexually assaulted or raped? yes; yes, more than once; gang raped; unsure; attempted rape
Variable #176 Trait Response 3-19	Prior 1st sex, any older person attempt sexual molestation? yes (all categories)
Variable #186 Trait Response 3	Victim of incest? yes
Variable #187 Trait Response 3	Raped? yes
Variable #342 Trait Response 2,3,4	Ever been physically abused? yes, once; a few times; regularly

 Table B.1 (continued)

Scale 2: Attitude Toward Mother

Variable #73	Feel close to your mother?
Trait Response	no
3	
Variable #74	Feel respect towards your
Trait Response	mother?
3	no
Variable #75	Feel rejected by your mother?
Trait Response	yes
4	
Variable #76	Hate your mother?
Trait Response	yes
4	
Variable #77	Fear your mother?
Trait Response	yes
4	

Scale 3: Attitude Toward Father

Variable #78	Feel close to your father?
Trait Response	no
3	
Variable #79	Feel respect towards your
Trait Response	father?
3	no
Variable #80	Feel rejected by your father?
Trait Response	yes
4	
Variable #81	Hate your father?
Trait Response	yes
4	
Variable #82	Fear your father?
Trait Response	yes
4	

Table B.1 (continued)

Scale 4: Masculinity (3 item Likert scale, 5 pts per item)

Variable #124	On a scale of 1-5 where do you see yourself in terms of masculinity?
Scaled Responses	
1	not masculine at all
2	not very masculine/some
3	moderate/average masculinity
4	very masculine
5	extremely masculine/macho

Variable #125	How would you have rated yourself while you were growing up?
Scaled Responses	
1	not masculine at all
2	not very masculine/some
3	moderate/average masculinity
4	very masculine
5	extremely masculine/macho

Variable #126	How would your parents have rated you?
Scaled Responses	
1	not masculine at all
2	not very masculine/some
3	moderate/average masculinity
4	very masculine
5	extremely masculine/macho

Scale 5: Physical Development

Variable #103	Muscular development (observation)
Trait Response	
2,3	underdevelopment, smaller than average

Variable #104	Physical makeup as a child
Trait Response	
2,3	frail/smaller; clumsy

Variable #357	Height
Trait Response	
	<= 5 foot 7 inches tall

Variable #358	Weight
Trait Response	
	<= 130 lbs. in weight

 Table B.1 (continued)

Scale 6: Sexual Orientation (2 item Likert scale,
7 pts each)

Variable #144	Where would you place your- self on this scale?
Scaled Responses	exclusively heterosexual
1	mainly heterosexual
2	mainly heterosexual/degree of homosexuality
3	as much heterosexual as homosexual
4	mainly homosexual/degree of heterosexuality
5	mainly homosexual
6	exclusively homosexual
7	

Variable #145	What would you consider to be your primary sexual orientation?
Scaled Responses	heterosexual
1	bisexual, asexual, uncertain
4	homosexual
7	

Scale 7: Negative Sexual Labelling

Variable #112	Were you ever called names?
Trait Response	yes, neutral; yes, negative
3,4	
Variable #113	Have you ever been called a "sissy" or a similar name?
Trait Response	yes (all categories)
3-18	
Variable #160	How situation resolved;
Trait Response	physically forced 1st sexual activity?
4-7,11,12	not believed, ignored; blamed; punished; family broke up; no action taken; rewarded
Variable #175	How situation resolved;
Trait Response	sexually assaulted or raped?
3-7,11	not believed, ignored; blamed; no action taken; punished; family broke up; rewarded

Table B.1 (continued)

Variable #179 Trait Response 3-7,11	How situation resolved; sexual play or molestation? not believed, ignored; blamed; no action taken; punished; family broke up; rewarded
Variable #185 Trait Response 3	Have you been reported to juvenile authorities because of sexual activity? yes
Variable #191 Trait Response 3	Have you been labelled a prostitute? yes
Variable #192 Trait Response 3-6	Who has labelled you? family, peers, school personnel, police or court
<u>Scale 8: Delinquency</u> (Prior to 1st arrest, how many of the following were you involved in?)	
Variable #219A2 Trait Response 3,4	Curfew violation Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A5 Trait Response 3,4	Running away Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A6 Trait Response 3,4	Truancy/skipping school Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A13 Trait Response 3,4	Drinking liquor Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A14 Trait Response 3,4	Non-narcotics drug use Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A18 Trait Response 3,4	Fighting Involved once or twice; >twice

Table B.1 (continued)

Variable #219A23 Trait Response 3,4	Joy riding Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A36 Trait Response 3,4	Vandalism Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A37 Trait Response 3,4	Shoplifting Involved once or twice; >twice
Variable #219A38 Trait Response 3,4	Larceny Involved once or twice; >twice

Scale 9: Criminality (Were you arrested for any of these activities?)

Variable #231A4 Trait Response 3	Trespassing Yes
Variable #231A17 Trait Response 3	Prowling Yes
Variable #231A18 Trait Response 3	Fighting Yes
Variable #231A22 Trait Response 3	Dealing Drugs Yes
Variable #231A28 Trait Response 3	CCW Yes
Variable #231A30 Trait Response 3	FTA Yes

Table B.1 (continued)

Variable #231A31 Trait Response 3	Resisting/obstructing Yes
Variable #231A39 Trait Response 3	Burglary Yes
Variable #231A40 Trait Response 3	Robbery Yes
Variable #231A42 Trait Response 3	Auto theft Yes
Variable #231A43 Trait Response 3	Accomplice to crime Yes
Variable #231A44 Trait Response 3	Assault Yes
 <u>Scale 10: Drugs</u> (How many times/week do you use these drugs?)	
Variable #242A1 Trait Response 3-8	Alcohol once, twice, 3 times, >3 times, daily, only occasionally (as opposed to never)
Variable #242A2 Trait Response 3-8	Cocaine same info. as above
Variable #242A3 Trait Response 3-8	Hallucinogens/LSD same info. as above
Variable #242A6 Trait Response 3-8	Marijuana/hashish same info. as above

Table B.1 (continued)

Variable #242A8 Trait Response 3-8	Opiates/codeine/morphine same info. as above
Variable #242A9 Trait Response 3-8	Over-the-counter analgesics same info. as above
Variable #242A10 Trait Response 3-8	Sedatives/barbiturates/downers same info. as above
Variable #242A11 Trait Response 3-8	Stimulants/amphetamines/uppers same info. as above
Variable #242A12 Trait Response 3-8	Tranquilizers same info. as above
Variable #242A13 Trait Response 3-8	PCP - Angel dust same info. as above

Table B.2 contains summary data for the scales that were constructed. The scale names, the total number of items on the scale (and the maximum possible score on the scale, when different), and the reliability coefficient (KR-20) are presented, as well as the scale means for each of the three groups and significant test results.

A one-way analysis of variance was performed on the three groups of male teenagers, categorized according to whether they were self described (1) heterosexual prostitutes, (2) homosexual prostitutes, or (3) heterosexual non-prostitute controls. Because there were only two homo-

sexual non-prostitute controls in the study, the small sample size prevented us from including this fourth group in the univariate analysis. Once a significant overall difference was found through the analysis of variance, three procedures, Duncan's Multiple Range test, the Newman-Keuls procedure, and Scheffe's test, were employed for multiple comparisons. In most cases they returned identical results. Where it was inappropriate to perform the one-way analysis of variance due to heterogeneity of variance or non-normality, the Kuskal-Wallis test for independent groups was used.

Results

One can see that these scales have very respectable consistency coefficients, especially when one considers the number of items on each scale and the fact that they are derived from social self-report data.

In general, the prostitutes, both homosexual and heterosexual, differ significantly from the non-prostitute controls on the violations of physical boundaries scale ($p < .01$, Scheffe test), but do not differ significantly from each other. This result supports evidence reported elsewhere that early negative sexual experiences often lead to eventual involvement in prostitution for both young men and young women.

The heterosexual prostitutes differ significantly from the non-prostitute controls on their negative attitudes toward their mothers ($p < .01$, Scheffe test). Very little hostility was shown on the part of the controls towards their mothers, some hostility was shown on the part of the homosexual prostitutes, and the heterosexual prostitutes on the average showed the greatest amount of hostility. In contrast, no significant differences were found to exist between the three groups on their attitudes towards their fathers. All three groups showed the same relatively high level of negative attitude towards their fathers.

Prostitutes also differ from the controls on how they rate their masculinity ($p < .05$, Duncan and Newman-Keuls procedures), with the homosexual prostitutes rating themselves the lowest in masculinity (significantly different from the controls at $p < .01$, Scheffe test).

Heterosexual prostitutes differ significantly from the heterosexual controls on their level of physical development ($p < .01$, Scheffe test). The heterosexual prostitutes are significantly shorter, smaller, and less developed muscularly than the controls. The homosexual prostitutes fall in between and do not differ significantly from either group.

All three groups significantly differ from one another on the sexual orientation scale ($p < .01$, Scheffe test). Not surprisingly, the group identifying themselves as homosexual

prostitutes scored the highest on homosexuality. However, the prostitutes defining themselves as heterosexual were still rating themselves as less heterosexual on the average than the controls.

All three groups also differed significantly from each other on the negative sexual labelling scale ($p < .05$, Duncan and Newman-Keuls procedures), although the controls were notably much lower on this scale than either of the two prostitute groups ($p < .01$, Scheffe test). The homosexual prostitutes report the highest amount of sexual labelling, followed by the heterosexual prostitutes, but both groups report considerably more than the controls, who admit to very little. Apparently negative sexual labelling has an important, significant relationship with prostitution.

The Duncan multiple range test reveals that the homosexual prostitutes are significantly lower than the other two groups on drug use ($p < .05$). This confirms other evidence that the homosexual prostitutes engage in less deviant behavior than the other two groups; for example, the homosexual prostitutes are also significantly lower on the criminality scale ($p < .01$, Scheffe test).

No significant differences were found between the groups on delinquency using the parametric procedures, but the extreme variance of the homosexual scores on this measure suggest that such procedures are inappropriate. Applying the nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis test, it was found

that the low mean rank of the homosexual prostitutes (38.86 as opposed to 48.25 for the heterosexual prostitutes and 53.04 for the controls) is marginally lower than the others ($\chi^2=5.30$, $p<.07$), suggesting that a trend toward lower deviance scores among the homosexuals still holds.

Table B.3 contains the intercorrelations of the ten scales. One should note that of the 45 correlations, 22 are significant at $p<.05$, and that this number far exceeds the 2 or 3 expected by chance alone. It would be spurious to use $p=.05$ significance level to judge these intercorrelations, but one should note that 15 are significant at $p<.01$ and this far exceeds the one expected by chance alone. Furthermore, the size of the association is quite respectable in some notable cases. For example, the relationship between a homosexual sexual orientation and negative sexual labelling shows an observed correlation of $\leq .66$; the variance accounted for being nearly half ($\chi^2=.44$).

Discriminant Power of the Ten Male Prostitution Scales

Having developed and tested the above ten scales for internal consistency and validity in the unidimensional sense, the next step was to demonstrate how these scales predicted in a combined, multivariate model. The aim of this analysis was

Table B.2: Items Contained in the Ten Scales						
Scale Name	No. of items (Maximum possible points)	(N=14)		(N=32)		Significance ANOVA (K-W)
		Heterosexual Prostitutes X	Reli- ability s	Heterosexual Prostitutes X	Heterosexual Controls X	
Violation of Physical Boundaries	10	3.79	.81	4.66	1.15	.0001 (.0001)
Attitude toward Mother	5	1.71	.74	1.00	.46	.003 (.015)
Attitude toward Father	5	1.86	.79	1.94	1.73	NS (NS)
Masculinity	3 (15)	8.50	.71	8.13	9.69	.001 (.006)
Lack of Physical Development	4	2.14	.72	1.44	1.02	.015 (.011)
Sexual Orientation	2 (14)	3.93	.84	8.97	3.10	.0001 (.0001)
Negative Sexual Labelling	8	2.93	.78	4.03	.77	.0001 (.0001)
Delinquency	10	6.57	.97	7.81	6.88	NS (.07)
Criminality	12	2.93	.70	1.06	2.31	.002 (.0001)
Drugs	10	6.21	.84	4.31	5.93	.02 (.016)

Table B.3: Intercorrelations of the Ten Scales									
Scale:	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Scale 1	.373 p=.001	.245 p=.008	-.390 p=.001	.130 p=.103	.582 p=.001	.658 p=.001	.152 p=.070	-.171 p=.048	-.181 p=.039
Scale 2		.193 p=.030	-.112 p=.138	.243 p=.008	.176 p=.143	.277 p=.003	-.108 p=.147	.031 p=.380	.054 p=.300
Scale 3			-.057 p=.291	.008 p=.468	.037 p=.361	.189 p=.033	.074 p=.237	-.112 p=.138	-.089 p=.195
Scale 4				-.245 p=.008	-.389 p=.001	-.394 p=.001	.103 p=.160	.197 p=.027	.286 p=.002
Scale 5					.078 p=.226	.164 p=.055	-.091 p=.190	.020 p=.424	-.079 p=.222
Scale 6						.661 p=.001	-.004 p=.484	-.372 p=.001	-.324 p=.001
Scale 7							.118 p=.127	-.242 p=.009	-.272 p=.004
Scale 8								-.028 p=.392	.088 p=.197
Scale 9									.354 p=.001

twofold: to understand in what manner developmental experiences (as measured through the scales) related to the process of entrance into prostitution, and to determine which of these scales or combination of scales were the most potent in their ability to discriminate those who choose to become prostitutes from those who do not.

Because sexual orientation appears to be intricately linked to the decision process involved in choosing whether or not to become a prostitute, it was necessary to try to explain the relationships involved from a framework having four groups, in which boys and young men become either homosexual prostitutes or heterosexual prostitutes or nonprostituting homosexuals or nonprostituting heterosexuals; and not just from one in which they become either prostitutes or nonprostitutes. Therefore, in addition to looking at the two-group model, a four-group discriminant analysis was completed.

Once the discriminant functions were established, the accuracy of these functions was assessed in order to provide a rough measure of the extent to which the predictive ability of our scales (and possibly the scope of our theoretical model) was lacking.

We first produced a two group discriminant analysis for prostitution. The discriminant function included six of the ten scales; the criterion for inclusion being the stepwise reduction in Wilk's lambda, with a minimum F to enter of

greater than 1.0. The scales for delinquency, masculinity, attitude toward mother and attitude toward father were not significant in the overall multivariate sense. In order of importance the scales to predict prostitution were: sexual orientation, labelling, physical development, violation of physical boundaries, involvement with crime, and drug use. All scales had factor loadings in the same direction: higher scores on the scales correlated with membership in the prostitution group. The multivariate F (Wilk's lambda) for this discriminant function was $F=27.79$ with 6 and 90 degrees of freedom. The corresponding Chi square approximation for Wilk's lambda was $X^2=95.40$ with 6 degrees of freedom. Both were significant at p less than .0001. Descriptively, this function accurately classified 84.8% (39/46) of the prostitutes and 94.0% (47/50) of the teenage offenders. Inferentially, this function would have to be cross-validated on independent samples in order to assess its generalizability, since the function is optimal for this particular set of data and is likely to underestimate the misclassification rate in the larger population.

When considered as one group, prostitutes are characterized by the two-group discriminant function as being higher on criminal involvement and drug use, less physically developed, less heterosexually oriented, and higher on reports of sexually negative experiences and negative sexual labelling.

To attempt to understand the relationship between developmental experiences and sexual orientation, and to seek assurance for the validity of our group classifications, a two-group discriminant function analysis was produced for sexual orientation. We performed this analysis two ways. The first analysis was done including the sexual orientation scale. Three scales were found to be significant under this approach: the sexual orientation scale, labelling, and delinquency. Homosexuals were found, not surprisingly, to be much higher on self-described homosexual tendencies, slightly lower on sexual labelling and slightly higher on delinquency. The canonical correlation was .97, and the discriminant function correctly classified 100% of both the homosexuals and the heterosexuals.

Perhaps a more meaningful interpretation of the developmental experiences would be the analysis performed without the sexual orientation scale, since the sexual orientation scale appears to be just a tautological restatement of our classification system. Without the sexual orientation scale, the discriminant function included five of the nine remaining scales. In order of importance, they were: attitude toward father, violation of physical boundaries, sexual labelling, drugs, and criminality. The multivariate F for this discriminant function was 15.77 with 5 and 91 degrees of freedom ($p < .0001$). The corresponding Chi-square approximation (Wilk's lambda) was $X^2 = 57.12$ with 5

degrees of freedom ($p < .0001$). Descriptively, this function accurately classified 85.5% of the heterosexuals (53/62) and 85.3% of the homosexuals (29/34).

In this overall two-group discriminant function, the homosexuals were characterized as having a less negative attitude toward their fathers, as reporting more violations of physical boundaries, reporting more sexual labelling, and being lower on drug use and criminal activity. These characteristics fit with the conclusions reached by the univariate analysis of the scales.

In order to examine the ability of the ten scales to jointly discriminate type of crime (prostitution or other) and sexual orientation (homosexual or heterosexual), we performed a four-group discriminant analysis. The analysis was performed both with the stepwise inclusion method (Wilk's lambda criterion) and the direct method with all ten scales included. In both cases, the analysis produced three discriminant functions or canonical variates and both methods produced exactly the same classification results. The accuracy of these functions, reported in table B.4, is above chance in all cases: heterosexual prostitutes (11/14=78.6%), homosexual prostitutes (31/32=96.9%), heterosexual controls (44/48=78.6%), and homosexual controls (2/2=100%).

Table B.4: Accuracy of Four-Group Discriminant Analysis Classification

Actual Group Membership	Predicted Group Membership			
	Hetero. Prostitute	Homo. Prostitute	Hetero. Control	Homo. Control
Heterosexual Prostitutes	78.6% (11)	0 (0)	21.4% (3)	0 (0)
Homosexual Prostitutes	0 (0)	96.9% (31)	0 (0)	3.1% (1)
Heterosexual Controls	8.3% (4)	0 (0)	91.7% (44)	0 (0)
Homosexual Controls	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	100.0% (2)

Percent of Cases Correctly Classified -- 91.7%

Two points should be considered in inferentially interpreting this analysis: first, the unequal n's across the four groups has the effect of reducing the power and sensitivity of the analysis; second, the small sample size (n=2) for the heterosexual control group puts constraints on the validity of the four-group analysis. With this in mind, we should mention that the three canonical variates all achieved significance. Function 1 had a Chi-square of $X^2=300.94$ with 21 degrees of freedom ($p<.0001$), function 2 had a Chi-square of $X^2=42.74$ with 12 degrees of freedom ($p<.0001$), and function 3 had a had a Chi-square of $X^2=13.44$ with 5 degrees of freedom ($p=.0196$). Three of the ten scales were not significant in the multivariate sense; they were: attitude toward father, drugs, and crime. One finds

that in order of importance, the most important variables for discriminating the four groups are: sexual orientation, negative sexual labelling, attitude toward mother, masculinity, lack of physical development, violation of physical boundaries, and delinquency.

Descriptively, one can gain insight from this analysis. Figure B.1A contains a plot of the standardized variables for the first two canonical variate dimensions (which could be labelled prostitution and sexual orientation because of their scale loadings). By observing this plot, one finds that negative sexual labelling, violation of physical boundaries, and physical development are scales that discriminate prostitution -- they are characteristic of both heterosexual and homosexual male prostitutes. The sexual orientation scale, on the other hand, is a characteristic that describes homosexual prostitutes and homosexual controls. It is a scale that primarily discriminates sexual orientation (canonical variate #2) rather than prostitution.

Looking at figures B.1B and B.1C, we find that attitude toward mother and masculinity primarily describe the third dimension, with a negative attitude toward one's mother inversely correlated with self-described masculinity. Figure B.1B shows that sexual orientation is almost completely uncorrelated with this third dimension.

Figure B.1C also helps to further refine our understanding of the variables that characterize prostitution.

One notes that labelling, violation of physical boundaries, and physical development load on both function 2 and function 3 -- they are characteristic of homosexual prostitutes -- while a negative attitude toward one's mother is most characteristic of heterosexual prostitutes. Delinquency and a negative attitude toward one's father characterizes the heterosexual controls.

Figure B.1A: Four-Way Discriminant Analysis
for Male Prostitution Scales:
Function 1 versus Function 2, 10 Values

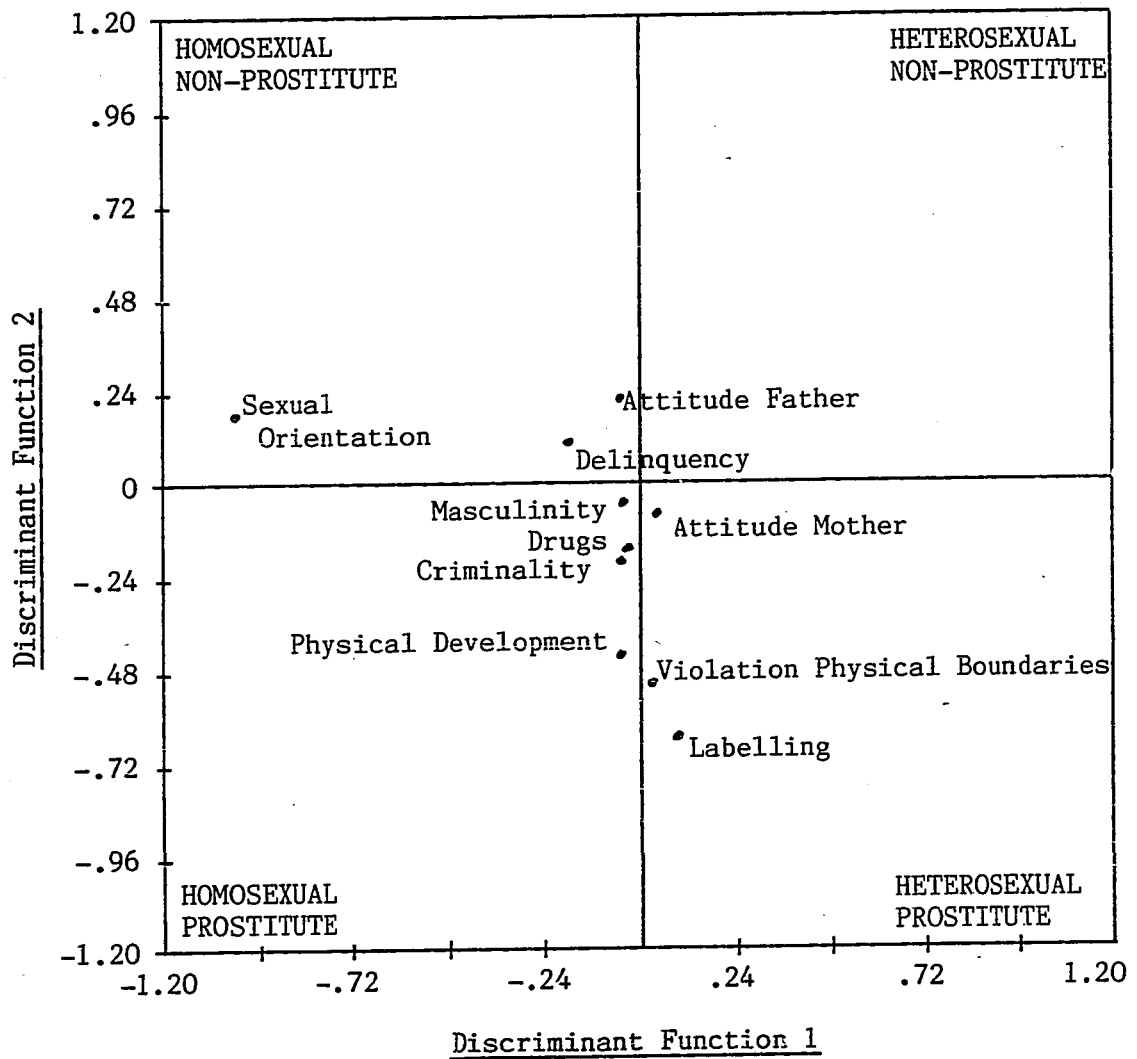


Figure B.1B: Four-Way Discriminant Analysis
for Male Prostitution Scales:
Function 1 versus Function 3, 10 Values

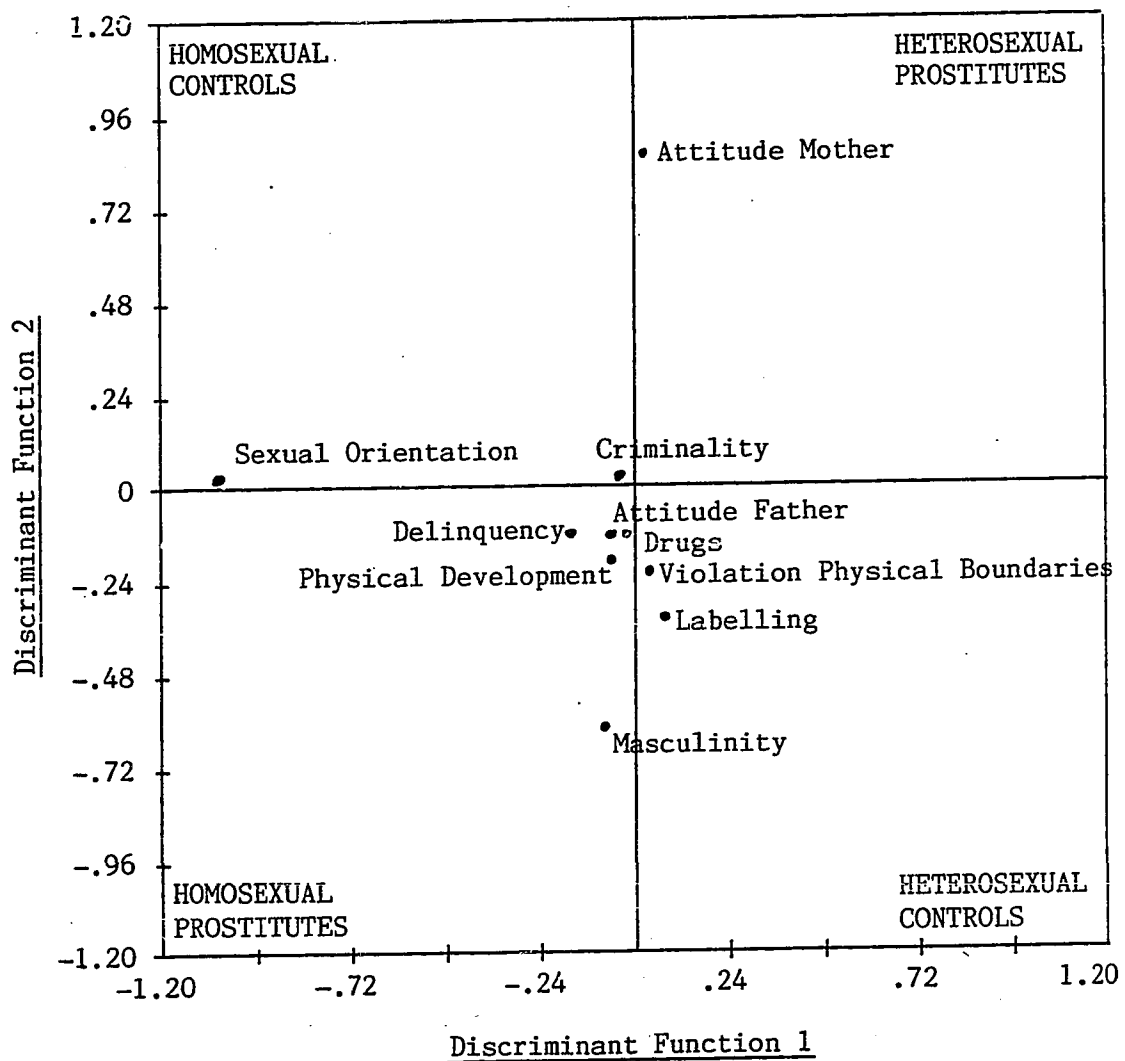
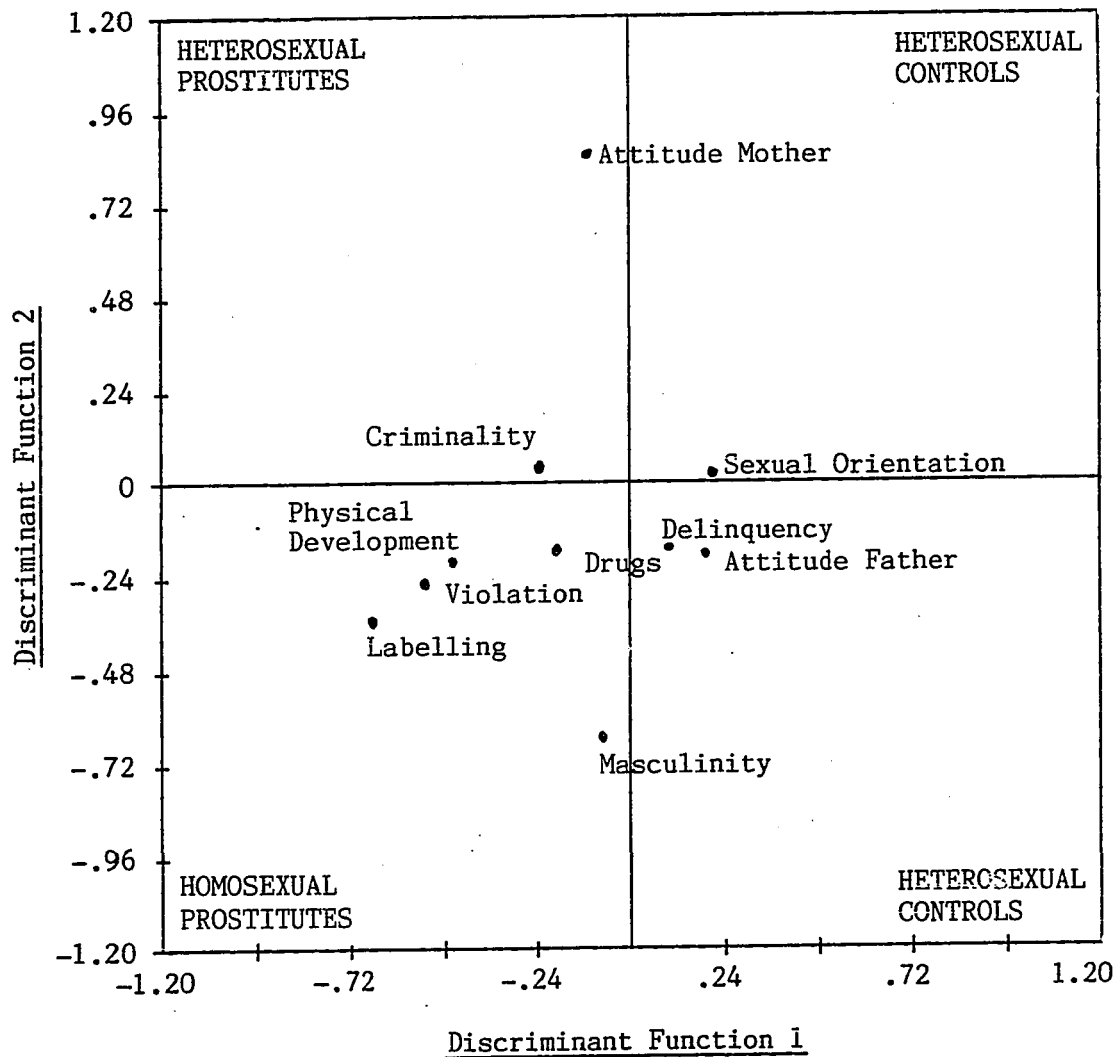


Figure B.1C: Four-Way Discriminant Analysis
for Male Prostitution Scales:
Function 2 versus Function 3, 10 Values



APPENDIX C
CONSISTENCY OF RESPONSES

The following indicates the consistency of responses among the sample:

a. After comparing responses to the question of "age at first intercourse" versus "age at regular intercourse," not one reported an "age at regular intercourse" that was less than his age of first intercourse.

b. The question "have you ever been sexually assaulted or raped" was asked later as "have you ever been raped". While these are two different questions, it is interesting to note that 100% of those that said that they had been raped to the first question said yes to the other. All but one (98.4%) of those that said no to the first said no to the second; the one remaining individual said that rape had been attempted. Twelve out of sixteen of those that said sexual assault or rape had been attempted in answer to the first question said that rape had been attempted in answer to the second question. Two said no rape had been attempted and only two said that they had been raped in answering the second question. This association was significant at $p < .0001$ ($\chi^2 = 146.22$, $df = 4$). Combining the attempted rape responses with the rapes, the phi coefficient was .93 ($p < .001$).

c. The question "have you ever been labelled a prostitute," when cross-tabulated with "who labelled you a prostitute," showed that none of the 64 who responded that they had not been labelled a prostitute gave a name response to the second question. None of the 32 that said they had been labelled later said that they had not, and only one refused to provide a category for the person or persons who labelled them.

This section was prepared with the assistance of Donald Johnson, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Washington.

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