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Report # 10

A REPORT ON PROSTITUTION IN ONTARIO

by
J. Fleischman

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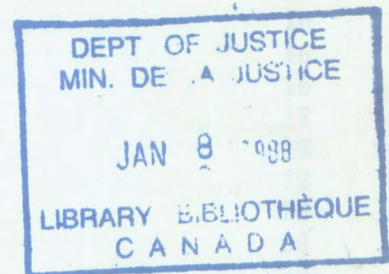
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The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views or policies of the Department of Justice of Canada.	
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presented by

John Fleischman



Toronto, Ontario

30 June 1984

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report describes the findings of a field study on prostitution done during a five month period in ten cities throughout Ontario.

The information was collected by the principal investigator and three associate researchers. I offer my appreciation and say thank you to Marguerite Brenton, Gerry Lisney and Anna Leslie, all Graduate Students in the Social Sciences who worked tirelessly to compile the information and edit the report.

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The study would not have been possible without the prostitutes and their consenting to be interviewed. Our special thanks are offered to all of them, and in particular to Peggy, Bryna, Georgia and Irene.

INTRODUCTION

This report is part of a Canada wide survey on prostitution commissioned by the Federal Department of Justice that began in January and was completed in June of 1984. The survey was to increase our knowledge prostitution as it exists. Current debates on prostitution arose in part out of private citizens concern about the increasing visibility of prostitutes in public places. More recently, the places being encroached upon are private residential areas. As a result many Canadians are concerned about the effects prostitution might have on their communities. Several interest groups are seeking changes in legislation in the hope of curtailing the activities of prostitutes.

The purpose of this study, then, is to become more familiar with the phenomenon of prostitution in Canada. This survey will examine prostitution as it occurs in Ontario, and will include the practice of prostitution as a business and the methods of social control utilized in particular areas in Ontario. Four similar projects have been undertaken concomitantly in Vancouver, the Prairie region, Quebec and the Maritimes.

In reading this report, it is necessary at the outset to comment on its limitations. Singularly, the most important limiting condition in performing the research was the time constraint. From its inception to completion the report was carried out in five months. The second area that proved problematic was one of geography. The cities examined were separated by considerable distances permitting only limited amounts of time in certain locations and greater proportions of time in other areas. The third and final limitation that requires some attention centres on the nature of the people being researched. The paucity of recorded information about prostitutes is likely a product of their marginal status. This situation arises essentially because Canadian laws on prostitution are vague. Being a prostitute is not an offense in Canada but some of the attendant activities make prostitution an illegal method of earning a living. For this reason, prostitutes are reluctant to come forward; hence research into their lifestyle is scarce.

The report is organized into three major sections. In the first, the methodology used to obtain and compile the information is described in detail. The other two sections deal respectively with prostitution as a business and with the social control of prostitution. Whenever appropriate, tables have been inserted within the text. For easier reading however, and because the data should not be looked at primarily from a statistical viewpoint, most tables have been inserted in an appendix.

METHODOLOGY

Format

The initial stage of our research began with an overview of the study to be undertaken. A meeting of the research group was held in Ottawa with representatives from the Department of Justice (and other government departments). Research questions proposed by the Department of Justice were reviewed and certain areas were targeted. These included:

- 1) Types and incidence of prostitution (by region);
- 2) characteristics of prostitute;
- 3) special problems associated with prostitution: e.g., crime, venereal disease and drug use;
- 4) overt dangers encountered by prostitutes in their work, including harassment;
- 5) pimping practices; and
- 6) characteristics of customer.

Since little is known about the economics of prostitution, despite the fact that there is much speculation about it, the following areas were also to be examined:

- 1) wage scales of prostitutes;
- 2) expenses and budgeting practices of prostitutes; and
- 3) wage scales of pimps.

In light of the media attention given to prostitution and the many complaints being voiced by citizens and citizen groups about these individuals, we chose to look at the impact of prostitution on affected neighbourhoods and the impact of prostitution on other businesses.

A further area for investigation was the current social control mechanisms used to restrict prostitution. This included:

- 1) law enforcement practices: formal enforcement of Criminal Code provisions and informal controls;
- 2) enactment and enforcement of municipal by-laws: existent legislation and its impact on prostitution;
- 3) effect of public pressure on police;

- 4) concerns of police: interpretation and limitations of the law; and
- 5) unintended consequences of enforcement and the concerns of social agencies.

Strategies were developed for contacting and interviewing three groups of actors in the prostitution scenario: the prostitutes, pimps and customers. Street prostitutes in cities like Vancouver and Toronto are visible and accessible. Less visible prostitutes, customers and pimps are more difficult to identify, and therefore easier to include in a study of this kind. It was suggested that customers might respond to anonymous questionnaires from newspaper ads, or that prostitutes could request their clients to complete questionnaires. It was thought that pimps, who are notoriously elusive, might be contacted through correctional facilities or street agencies.

Geography

Ontario was divided into four major regions: Northern, Eastern, South Western and South Central Ontario. From these areas eight larger cities, which differ in industry, culture and ethnicity, were selected. Initially, two cities were chosen from each region:

Northern Ontario	Timmins and Sudbury
Eastern Ontario	Ottawa and Cornwall
South Western Ontario	Windsor and London
South Central Ontario	Toronto and Hamilton

In the course of speaking to various participants in the world of prostitution, it became apparent that we had overlooked the city of Niagara Falls, an area with relatively high levels of prostitution activity. This city was added to the South Central Ontario region.

A letter of introduction was written by the Department of Justice and mailed to the Chief of Police in each selected city. The letter outlined the intent of our research project and requested their assistance in providing information about prostitution. A researcher assigned to this area then made a follow-up telephone call to the Police Department. From this point a form of networking developed. The police were often instrumental in supplying names of social service agencies who had contact with prostitutes.

Agencies including the Elizabeth Fry Society, the John Howard Society, Children's Aid, youth hostels and shelters, and hospital clinics were contacted by telephone.

If warranted, interviews were arranged with the workers and where a particular agency could be of no assistance, they often made referrals to agencies who could help. As time permitted interviews were held with other facilitators and concerned citizens including lawyers, members of women's groups, taxi drivers, bar tenders and media people.

Time constraints precluded visiting two cities, Timmins and Cornwall. Instead, we inquired about prostitution through their respective police departments. The discussion on the nature and occurrence of prostitution in these two cities is based only on police information.

From conversations held with police and various prostitutes, it was found that other communities in Northern Ontario such as North Bay, Elliot Lake and Sault Ste. Marie have a sizeable prostitute population who allegedly service transient mine workers. However, rural areas in the four main regions have not been investigated due to time constraints, even though it is thought that some prostitution exists.

Problems

A social study of prostitutes and prostitution also presents methodological problems to the researcher and perhaps to those who may evaluate the study. One of the foremost problem is in selecting a sample. Our sample was not randomly selected. Many prostitutes were referred to us by other contacts or friends of prostitutes. Several names were provided by police departments and social service agencies. A total of fifty-nine interviews of prostitutes were made and of these, forty-three were from Toronto. This can be explained by the fact that Toronto was the research headquarters for the study. As well, it is the city with the largest prostitute population.

Throughout our report we have used a combination of raw figures and percentages to make clear or highlight particular points. However, it is necessary to state that we felt limited in the use of these estimates because our sample was small. As a result it is not possible, based on the sample, to make generalizations about prostitution.

Sample

Prostitute Type	Male	Female	Total	City
Escort Service	1	11 1	13	Toronto Ottawa
Street Prostitutes		20 4 2 1	27	Toronto Ottawa Niagara Falls Hamilton
Male Prostitutes (all over 16)	11	7 2 2	11	Toronto London Ottawa
Others			8	
Massage Parlour Attendants		3		Brampton
Hotel Prostitutes		2 1		Hamilton Ottawa
Stripper		1		
Juvenile Prostitute		1		London
Total			59	

Information about our sample presented in the following tables and some of the data will be referred to the proceeding discussion.

Table 1

Age of Prostitute				
Age	16	16-21	22-30	30
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	6 54.5%	0 0.0%
Escort	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	6 46.2%	7 53.8%
Street	1 3.7%	15 55.6%	10 37.0%	1 3.7%
Other	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%	2 25.0%
Total	2 3.4%	21 35.6%	26 44.1%	10 16.9%

Table 2

Education years of school	8th grade or less	9 or 10	11 or 12	Some post-secondary
Male	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	5 45.5%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.8%	2 15.4%	2 15.4%	8 61.5%
Street	3 11.1%	13 48.1%	8 29.6%	3 11.1%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%	0 0.0%
Total	6 10.2%	21 35.6%	19 32.2%	12 20.3%

Table 3

Other Jobs	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	10 90.9%	1 9.1%
Escort	0 0.0%	13 100%	0 0.0%
Street	0 0.0%	21 77.8%	6 22.2%
Other	0 0.0%	6 75.0%	2 25.0%
Total	0 0.0%	50 84.7%	9 15.3%

n/a= no answer

Table 4

Where do you come from	n/a	Same city as interview	Different city than interview
Male	0 0.0%	3 27.3%	8 72.7%
Escort	1 7.7%	4 30.8%	8 61.5%
Street	0 0.0%	11 40.7%	16 59.3%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	1 1.7%	20 33.9%	38 64.4%

n/a= no answer

Table 5

Where is your family from	n/a	Same city as interview	Different city than interview
Male	0 0.07%	2 18.2%	9 81.8%
Escort	1 7.7%	6 46.2%	6 46.2%
Street	1 3.7%	10 37.0%	16 59.3%
Other	0 0.0%	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
Total	2 3.4%	21 35.6%	36 61.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 6

Family income	Unknown	Blue collar	White collar	Unemployed
Male	2 18.2%	4 36.4%	3 27.3%	2 18.2%
Escort	3 23.1%	4 30.8%	5 38.5%	1 7.7%
Street	7 25.9%	13 48.1%	5 18.5%	2 7.4%
Other	4 50.0%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%
Total	16 27.1%	24 40.7%	14 23.7%	5 8.5%

Table 7

How introduced to prostitution	n/a	Friends	Client Solicitation	Other Means
Male	2 18.2%	7 63.6%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%
Escort	2 15.4%	7 53.8%	2 15.4%	2 15.4%
Street	2 7.4%	18 66.7%	7 25.9%	0 0.0%
Other	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%
Total	7 11.9%	35 59.3%	12 20.3%	5 8.5%

n/a= no answer

Table 8

Why did you become a prostitute	Only source of income	Additional Income	Drugs	Thrill	To be your own boss
Male	8 72.7%	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	1 9.1%	1 9.1%
Escort	2 15.4%	6 46.2%	2 15.4%	3 23.1%	0 0.0%
Street	15 55.6%	5 18.5%	1 3.7%	5 18.5%	1 3.7%
Other	3 37.5%	3 37.5%	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Total	28 47.5%	15 25.4%	8 13.6%	9 15.3%	2 3.4%

Table 9

Do you like your work	Yes	No
Male	7 63.6%	4 36.4%
Escort	10 76.9%	3 23.1%
Street	12 46.2%	14 53.8%
Other	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
Total	32 55.2%	26 44.8%

Table 10

Do you do it by choice	Yes	No
Male	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	13 100%	0 0.0%
Street	22 84.6%	4 15.4%
Other	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	47 81.0%	11 19.0%

Technique Used for Sample Selection

Toronto has three main areas of visible street prostitution. The first is the downtown core of the city, including Yonge Street, and is known as Track I; the second encompasses Queen Street in Parkdale; and the third, frequented by male prostitutes, is known as Track II. Track I has recently received considerable publicity from the media and, on that basis, we decided to focus the majority of our attention on Track II.

At the outset, several evenings were spent drinking coffee in the local donut shops and walking the streets. Business for the street prostitutes was slow, as a considerable portion of this study was carried out on cold nights in January and February. For the most part, the women spent their time indoors, chatting and complaining among themselves. After a while we were able to introduce ourselves to the women and tell them about our proposed research.

Following our initial conversations and interviews with the women, word that we were "O.K." circulated among many of the prostitutes. We were seen as being genuinely interested in their lifestyle and attentive to their opinions. Consequently, our visits to some of the streets were welcomed by the women, making the interviews easier to conduct.

In order to more fully round the sample, we believed that some attempt should be made to contact prostitutes working in Track I. However, Yonge Street proved the most difficult area to get interviews. The preoccupation of the women with their business and the noisy and congested nature of the street prevented any success in this area. As well, pimps were very visible along Yonge Street and proved to be an obstacle in our contact attempts.

The Gerrard and Jarvis Street sections of Track I provided us with a number of prostitutes to interview. This area is located near a major social service

agency, "Under 21," which provides shelter to street people. Essentially, the interviewer introduced himself to the women and carried out discussions on the street. In contrast to those on Yonge Street the women were more comfortable being approached and at ease discussing their lives. This may be due, in part, to the low visibility or absence of pimps along the streets.

Niagara Falls and Ottawa also possess a relatively visible population of street prostitutes. Again, the technique of approaching women in their work environment was used. Unfortunately, time was limited to four or five days in each of these cities and we met with some resistance, if distrust, from the prostitutes.

Social Service agencies proved instrumental in providing us with interview candidates. (A list of all the agencies contacted is appended.) The key factor operating in these referrals appeared to be the relationship that had developed between the agency staff worker and prostitute client. To our knowledge, coercion in any form was not used by the agency to prompt the interview.

Call girls working in the escort service were introduced to us by an ex-prostitute. The call girls we spoke to appeared to form an organized clique who cooperated in running their businesses. Several were helpful in making referrals to other women. However, many were not interested in the study and did not wish to partake in it.

Male prostitutes were interviewed in a variety of ways. The initial contacts were made by referral from a spokesperson for the Toronto Gay Community. In addition, we were able to meet some male prostitutes in their working environment at gay bars. Here, the men appeared comfortable with the researchers and were open in their discussions with them. As with some female street prostitutes, many males working the street were not willing to speak with us. In London and Ottawa we were introduced to male prostitutes by social service agencies.

The fourth group of prostitutes listed as "others", emerged as a composite of strays. Five of this group were recruited by the police, two were referred to us by social service agencies and one was an acquaintance of the researcher. This group reflects our inability to gain access to certain types of prostitutes. It is believed, by police and others, that strippers, frequently turn tricks after their shows. This sentiment could not be confirmed as strippers would not talk to us. The pursuit of hotel prostitutes was equally unsuccessful as was our attempt to pursue masseuses who advertise in newspapers and are often thought to be prostitutes.

Pimps were impossible to unearth. The prostitutes would frequently describe what we believed to be a pimp but they would almost never admit to having one. If they were involved with a pimp they were adamant in refusing to contact them for interviews on our behalf. Social service agencies who had access to pimps clearly indicated that this group would not meet us. Police had limited association with them and could not offer assistance. Unfortunately, time did not permit investigation of correctional institutions that may have been housing pimps. Although pimps are discussed in our report, this is done through the eyes of other participants in the world of prostitution.

Customers proved almost as elusive as pimps. We never did develop an organized strategy to interview them. Endeavors were made to have prostitutes request their regular customers to complete questionnaires anonymously. This appeal was made to fifteen women. Only three clients responded. Efforts to have men, who enter three strip parlors in Toronto, anonymously answer questionnaires and return them in self-addressed stamped envelopes were fruitless. The questionnaires were not returned.

Research Instrument

The research was conducted using interviews and structured questionnaires. The methods of interviewing tended to be informal based on the researcher's knowledge of the "street scene." This knowledge was developed from experience gained as a youth worker and probation officer.

A structured questionnaire was designed for the prostitutes, clients and pimps in an attempt to standardize certain portions of information. These questionnaires are appended and labelled respectively Appendix A, B and C.

The questionnaire designed for the prostitutes was based directly on the target areas identified by the research team. Accordingly, the areas represented personal history, economics of prostitution, prostitution as a business, prostitution and crime, harms to prostitutes and customers of prostitutes.

In some circumstances the questionnaire could not be rigidly adhered to because of the prostitutes' mistrust of authority. Researchers were apprised of this and encouraged to use small notebooks to record their discussions. The questionnaires administered to the prostitutes were completed in all cases, except one, by the researchers. One questionnaire was completed by a prostitute on her own. A sample of the questionnaire developed for prostitutes, i.e. included as Appendix A will be noted in the appendices, referenced Appendix A.

A second structured questionnaire was developed for completion by the staff of Social Service Agencies. This questionnaire was designed to reflect the target areas of the study together with agency perceptions of prostitution. In all cases, the questionnaire was administered by the researchers. This questionnaire is included as Appendix D and the agency list as Appendix E.

A topic sheet, listing eighteen areas of inquiry, was used as a guideline for discussions held with police departments. This supporting document is cited as Appendix F.

Again informal inquiry and discussion was the method selected for gathering information from concerned citizens and other facilitators such as bartenders, taxi-drivers, and from lawyers and media people.

Administration of Research Instrument

A pretest of the prostitute's questionnaire was conducted with six prostitutes from Toronto. Administration of the pre-test questionnaire revealed three major problem areas. The first issue addressed the fact that most women did not keep a financial record and could not answer questions about their weekly or yearly incomes. It was decided then to ask, instead, what the cost of their various services, or hourly rates, were in order to approximate their earnings. These services were not formally categorized by the research team as some prostitutes specialized in areas that others did not. The second issue centered on the prostitutes' use of drugs. The women questioned frequently admitted to alcohol consumption but disclaimed using drugs. Alcohol was then included in drugs to explain use of intoxicants. In the third instance, it was found that the women had difficulties differentiating the concepts of upper, middle and lower class for their clients. For this reason the terms blue-collar and white collar were used. Sometimes inferences had to be made from the descriptive information given by those interviewed.

The questionnaires were administered and completed by the principal investigator and two part-time researchers with graduate degrees in the social sciences. In Ottawa and London, key social service agency personnel close to the prostitute scene offered to do some interviews and complete the questionnaires. In these instances time was spent training the agency personnel in interviewing techniques and providing in-depth guidelines. Emphasis was placed on obtaining information about sensitive areas including family background, pimps and service fees.

The study of prostitutes presented several challenges to the researcher, in relation to the setting in which the investigation was completed. The questionnaires and interviews were conducted in a variety of settings, not all considered ideal. These locations included the researchers' home, prostitutes' homes, police cruisers, donut shops and restaurants, street corners and social agency offices. For the most part, the majority of encounters occurred in settings where little privacy could be secured.

A significant factor to be understood is that the bulk of women involved in escort services (call-girls) were interviewed in their own homes. As such they were alone with the interviewer, in familiar, comfortable surroundings and were able to relax. These women were unhurried and willing to spend several hours talking. In contrast, street prostitutes were frequently interviewed in their working milieu during business periods. In itself this was a distraction. Often the women would only consent to talk with us in groups of two. It was apparent that they felt better protected and perhaps less visible. These interviews were often conducted hurriedly amidst the background of street noise. In our impression female prostitutes were more comfortable with the female researchers.

ETHICS

In any research that involves human subjects it is important to address ethical issues that are applicable. All of the prostitutes were promised anonymity and that has been honored. Pseudonyms are used in all cases. The men and women wanted to know the nature and purpose of the research and all were given detailed explanations. The essence of the explanation was that this study was commissioned by the Federal Department of Justice to obtain information about prostitutes, their lives and difficulties and the social control of prostitution. They were told that this was part of a larger project being carried out across Canada. Most of the street prostitutes, and all the escort-call girls, wanted some medium to express their concerns to legislators and politicians. The women were assured that their responses would be collectively compiled and forwarded to the Department of Justice in Ottawa.

PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS

FEMALE STREET PROSTITUTION

Personal History

A most logical question one can ask a female prostitute is why she chose to work in the street and why particular streets are chosen. To answer these questions we can examine certain factors about street prostitution including its high visibility, the excitement and intrigue found on the street, the expediency of the money earned through services provided, and the opportunity to make friends. For many women the street provides a place to escape.

We met several girls in Toronto who, although not juvenile runaways clearly stated that they had left difficult home situations to which they did not want to return. Agency interviews and our questionnaire results have suggested that 50% of street prostitutes come from areas other than their place of work. Often their families are unaware of their whereabouts or activities.

In examining certain features of the family background of street prostitutes we found that approximately one-third had been kicked out of their homes or had spent time in a series of foster homes.

In our inquiry about prostitutes with social agencies, it was often stated that most of the women have been victims of incest. Although not singled out in our questionnaire this information was specifically asked of each woman. However, many prostitutes would not admit to this (only three of twenty-seven did). Our research indicates that street prostitutes come predominantly from working class or blue collar homes. The largest number of street prostitutes had between grade eight to twelve schooling with grade ten being the highest grade completed by most (one third). Many girls described school as a negative experience although approximately fifty percent had taken some additional training. The majority had worked in unskilled jobs at some point in their lives. In view of their education and previous work experience most girls stated that they could not earn as much money in any other way as they could in prostitution.

Initiation to Prostitution

Our research confirms that two-third of the girls who become street prostitutes were introduced to the business by friends. Many girls had been told of the activity and excitement in downtown Toronto and decided that this was the place to experience. According to several street workers a typical initiation would see the newcomer welcomed by other street members. This welcome would be followed by a two week period of 'partying' in which friendship, lodging, alcohol and drugs were provided. The new girls are usually impressed but are then expected to "pay back" by making the crucial decision to work the street. Several agencies described this as a critical point for many street prostitutes who would soon find themselves cornered "in the life". Agency workers spoke of the street culture as

being an important source of comradeship for the girls. Because of the nature of prostitution and street life there is a natural 'we-they' division - an "in" group and an "out" group phenomenon. "We" usually refers to rounders and "they" to straights. This grouping provides many street prostitutes with a sense of belonging. In our questionnaire (see Table 11) most girls stated that their closest friends were other prostitutes and that despite competition the other girls on the street help them. Prostitutes often work in two's and are aware of one another's whereabouts. They will note the license plates of cars in which their friends leave. Many of the girls in downtown Toronto, we were told, live in a variety of accommodations that include hotels, motels, rooming houses and apartments.

Table 11

Are close friends prostitutes	Most	Mixture	Most are not	None	No Friends
Male	7 63.6%	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%
Escort	4 30.8%	3 23.1%	5 38.5%	0 0.0%	1 7.7%
Street	12 44.4%	4 14.8%	6 22.2%	2 7.4%	3 11.1%
Other	2 25.0%	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%
Total	25 42.4%	13 22.0%	13 22.0%	3 5.1%	5 8.5%

Street Prostitution and Sex

In our discussions, it became apparent that street prostitution is acknowledged as being the bottom rung in a hierarchy of types of prostitution. Street prostitution and street prices for sex are much more geared to the working class person. The nature of the sexual exchange is centered around silence and expediency.

Discussions revealed that approximately three-quarters of the sex trade of street prostitution is oral sex. The women prefer this because of the expediency of the act. Girls complain about customers who want to kiss them, because kissing is considered to be their most intimate sexual expression. Sexual encounters on the street are usually fifteen to thirty minutes in duration and take place in hotels, rooming houses and apartments, and cars.

Many street prostitutes expressed dislike for their "tricks" as well as for the sex acts. It was not uncommon to hear statements like "If they could only see my

face when I am doing this", or "I take a scalding bath when I get home." The girls who have regular customers spoke of them in a more positive light.

Women were candid in suggesting that their private lives provided little pleasure and 'boyfriends' were rare. Many agency workers felt that these women required counselling programs geared to problems centered around sexuality. They felt that the only source of enjoyment for the women came from the attention and flattery inherent in being priced.

Harms to Street Prostitutes

A common belief about street prostitution which was borne out by our research was the occurrence of street violence. This must be understood in light of the large number of girls who told us of the physical abuse they remembered from their families, where fathers were depicted as the most physically abusive. Two-thirds of the girls on the street have been harmed by customers. Being "ripped off" or robbed is the most common experience but many are also physically beaten. Certain ethnic groups are seen as less dangerous and are better appreciated as customers. The girls would not speak of beatings administered by pimps but on several occasions we observed girls being shaken by individuals thought to be pimps. Numerous participants described the beatings street prostitutes received from pimps for not meeting their financial quotas or for intruding on someone else's territory.

Many street prostitutes complained of harassment from the police. Certain of the women saw the police as taking advantage of them by requesting information and sexual favours. Nonetheless, most of the women felt some degree of protection from the police.

Table 12

Have police harmed you	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	7 63.6%	4 36.4%
Escort	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	12 92.3%
Street	0 0.0%	10 37.0%	17 63.0%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	0 0.0%	20 33.9%	39 66.1%

n/a= no answer

Table 13

How	n/a	Physical	Threats	Both
Male	4 36.4%	0 0.0%	4 36.4%	3 27.3%
Escort	13 100%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Street	18 66.7%	0 0.0%	6 22.2%	3 11.1%
Other	6 75.0%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%
Total	41 69.5%	0 0.0%	11 18.6%	7 11.9%

n/a= not applicable (escort)

Table 14

Do you get along with police	n/a	Well	Ok	Badly
Male	0 0.0%	2 18.2%	4 36.4%	5 45.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	6 46.2%	6 46.2%	1 7.7%
Street	1 3.7%	7 25.9%	16 59.3%	3 11.1%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	2 25.0%	4 50.0%
Total	1 1.7%	17 28.8%	28 47.5%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 15

Do you give police information	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	0 0.0%	10 90.9%
Escort	0 0.0%	2 15.4%	11 84.6%
Street	1 3.7%	2 7.4%	24 88.9%
Other	0 0.0%	3 37.5%	5 62.5%
Total	2 3.4%	7 11.9%	50 84.7%

n/a= no answer

Table 16

Do police protect you	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	2 15.4%	11 84.6%
Street	3 11.1%	10 37.0%	14 51.9%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	4 6.8%	19 32.2%	36 61.0%

n/a= no answer

One-half of the women we spoke to had had some form of venereal disease. Some stated that they had contacted VD from friends before becoming prostitutes. Almost all the girls stated that they see doctors and have regular medical check-ups. Many girls reported attending street clinics. Most of the women use condoms with clients. They feel that these provide protection against VD as well as enabling them to avoid a certain intimacy.

Table 17

Have you had VD	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	5 45.5%	5 45.5%
Escort	1 7.7%	7 53.8%	5 38.5%
Street	0 0.0%	13 48.1%	14 51.9%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	2 3.4%	27 45.8%	30 50.8%

n/a= no answer

Table 18

Do you have a Doctor	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	1 7.7%	10 76.9%	2 15.4%
Street	0 0.0%	19 70.4%	8 29.6%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	42 71.2%	16 27.1%

n/a= no answer

Table 19

Do you have regular checkups	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	1 7.7%	8 61.5%	4 30.8%
Street	0 0.0%	18 66.7%	9 33.3%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	39 66.1%	19 32.2%

n/a= no answer

To summarize, our sense about the dangers of the street were mixed. It cannot be denied that violence to prostitutes does occur on the street. Yet, the girls often believe that they are more protected in this environment than they would be if indoors. This perception of safety likely comes from their high visibility.

Economics of Street Prostitution

Little is known about the economics of street prostitution. As outlined in other part of this report most women do not keep records of their weekly and yearly earnings. Rather most will earn enough to meet a particular goal, e.g., a quota, bills, or expenses. In addition many are part timers in prostitution.

Street prices in Ontario vary from fifty to ninety dollars for sexual intercourse, from forty to sixty dollars for oral sex, "Half and Half" or other specialties move the price up. These prices are widely negotiable depending on availability of business. In many parts of Toronto and Windsor, a woman on an average summer day, might earn \$200. As the girls tended to boast about earnings, this is only an estimate.

Most women have a fatalistic attitude about their lives and future hoping to win a lottery or to meet a rich person. Almost none of the girls had any savings and lived on a day-to-day basis, yet fifty percent felt that they had no choice but to be a street prostitute. It is possible that many women are not aware of alternatives or could not imagine earning money. Another explanation was that perhaps the stigma of being a prostitute and living on the street and the consequent difficulties of fitting in to "straight" society had some bearing on this.

Among the various types of prostitutes we met and talked to, the street prostitutes were singularly the group who felt unaccepted by mainstream society. When asked "how do people feel about you", most of our sample felt they were not accepted. This translates into twenty-four of the thirty girls.

Street Prostitution, Drugs and Crime

Almost all the prostitutes to whom we spoke used intoxicants. A surprising number (one-third) preferred alcohol to drugs, fifty percent of the women used drugs every day. Some of the girls preferred to work high.

Table 20

Do you use drugs	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	10 90.9%	1 9.1%
Escort	0 0.0%	8 61.5%	5 38.5%
Street	1 3.7%	22 81.5%	4 14.8%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	45 76.3%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 21

How Often	n/a	Everyday	Occasionally	Never
Male	2 0.0%	7 81.8%	2 9.1%	0 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	7 53.8%	3 23.1%
Street	2 7.4%	13 48.1%	11 40.7%	1 3.7%
Other	2 25.0%	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%
Total	5 8.5%	29 49.2%	19 32.2%	6 10.2%

n/a= not applicable

Table 22

Is it easier to work stoned	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	9 81.8%	1 9.1%
Escort	2 15.4%	4 30.8%	7 53.8%
Street	2 7.4%	6 22.2%	19 70.4%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	5 8.5%	24 40.7%	30 50.8%

n/a= no answer

Table 23

Have you ever sold drugs	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	8 72.7%	2 18.2%
Escort	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	10 76.9%
Street	3 11.1%	4 14.8%	20 74.1%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	5 8.5%	18 30.5%	36 61.0%

n/a= no answer

This was especially true among the younger ones. However, several stated that they became paranoid when using drugs. Much has been said of the relationship of prostitution to drugs -the women are often allegedly recruited and controlled in this way. Our respondents did not verify this.

Seventy-five percent of the street prostitutes we spoke to had been arrested at least once. Many had several arrests; 25% of the arrests were prostitution related. It is difficult to comment on these figures except to state offenses relating to activities apart from prostitution charges were a large factor in the girls' lives.

Table 24

Have you been arrested	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	7 63.6%	3 27.3%
Escort	0 0.0%	7 53.8%	6 46.2%
Street	0 0.0%	19 73.1%	7 26.9%
Other	1 12.5%	7 87.5%	0 0.0%
Total	2 3.4%	40 69%	16 27.6%

n/a= no answer

Table 25

Number of times arrested	n/a	1	2-3	3
Male	4 36.4%	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	3 27.3%
Escort	6 46.2%	2 15.4%	4 30.8%	1 7.7%
Street	7 26.9%	9 34.6%	4 15.4%	6 23.1%
Other	1 12.5%	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	2 25.0%
Total	18 31.0%	12 20.7%	16 27.6%	12 20.7%

n/a= not applicable

Table 26

Reason for arrest	n/a	Related to Prostitution	Unrelated Violent	Unrelated Property	Drug/ Alcohol	Mixture
Male	4 36.4%	1 9.1%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	1 9.1%	4 36.4%
Escort	6 46.2%	5 38.5%	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%
Street	7 26.9%	7 26.9%	5 19.2%	3 11.5%	1 3.8%	3 11.5%
Other	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	2 25.0%	1 12.5%
Total	18 31.0%	16 27.6%	5 8.6%	6 10.3%	5 8.6%	8 13.8%

n/a= not applicable

Table 27

Result of arrest	n/a	Charges Dismissed	Fine	Probation	Jail	Changes Outstanding	Acquitted
Male	4 36.4%	2 18.2%	3 27.3%	3 36.4%	4 0.0%	0 9.1%	1
Escort	6 46.2%	4 30.8%	3 23.1%	2 15.4%	2 15.4%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%
Street	7 26.9%	4 15.4%	4 15.4%	8 30.8%	7 26.9%	3 11.5%	0 0.0%
Other	1 12.5%	2 12.5%	5 62.5%	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%
Total	18 31.0%	11 19.0%	15 25.9%	15 25.9%	13 22.4%	5 8.6%	2 3.4%

n/a= not applicable

Patterns of Street Prostitution in Toronto

Toronto presents some interesting patterns in street prostitution. Different groups of women work different areas. Yonge Street is a busy commercial and entertainment area. It has historically been the centre of much of Toronto's sex trade. The street is dotted with shoppers, street vendors, sight seers and transients. The girls who work in the Yonge-Dundas area appear tough and abrasive with passersby. They are usually lined up against different shops and restaurants and approach the curious with questions like "want a date?" They also spend time clowning and talking with male friends coming in and out of the bars and restaurants. These girls were often quite vocal in sending us off. Social agency personnel in the area explained that Yonge Street is heavily controlled by pimps, and this may account for the women's reluctance to speak with us.

As we moved West from Yonge Street to Jarvis (north of Sherbourne) and north to Gerrard, the area became more relaxed and the women friendlier. In the area of Gerrard and Jarvis there is a major youth hostel, "Under 21." Many of the women work near the residence and use the facility. Staff reported that they would talk to the girls coming in and leaving their stuffs and at times provided coffee in the winter. Our observations were that perhaps inadvertently the agency encouraged the women to work as prostitutes.

The second area of female street prostitution is in Parkdale. The area encompasses Queen Street from Bathurst to Roncesvalles. The relaxed atmosphere in the area allowed us to make many observations about the women. These women were approachable and often explained that they worked here because many found Yonge Street too aggressive as it is regulated by pimps. Others lived in the area. The community is an interesting one in that it represents several income groups. It houses artists and craftsmen, blue collar workers and the unemployed. Italian and Portuguese ethnic groups are the most visible. There are several working class hotels with country bars. The Queen Street Centre stands almost on the middle of the district.

Certain of the girls in Parkdale appeared content relaxed on the street. They would disappear into the bars for a while to meet with friends in cold weather. Most of their time was spent in donut shops and small restaurants which provided a good vantage point to the street. Their conversations (of which we were often a part) centered on complaints about the weather, tricks, or other girls who were charging too little (under cutting). The proprietors of the shops often asked if we were journalists and appeared supportive of the women.

Other girls in Parkdale were serious about their work. They often worked alone and were not willing to talk. They were described to us as having pimps and quotas to meet.

Most street prostitutes in this area reported having tried working indoors in hotels, in escort services or strip clubs. Nonetheless three factors surfaced again and again to account for their preference for work on the street: immediacy of money, the lack of need to socialize with clients, and the available friends.

Street Prostitution in Other Cities

Timmins reported no street prostitution. Apart from occasional hookers working in front of the Coulson Hotel, Sudbury claims to have no street prostitutes. Information received in Hamilton indicates that there are approximately forty street "hookers" who frequent the main streets including Bay, Martin and James. The amount of street prostitution occurring in Windsor also appears minimal. There is no clearly defined area for street soliciting but some does occur on Goyeau and Ouelette and Wynadotte Streets near the City Centre. It was estimated that there were approximately eight girls who work all year, but that no girls work in the winter.

London has minimal street prostitution with a community of five or so including two transexuals and several native women. Prostitution in Niagara Falls takes place in an eight block measurement near the Bridge Street area. The number of girls increases up to one hundred on any given night in the summer with the average being thirty to forty. During winter months it is said that there are twenty girls or less. Ottawa presented as a city with clearly defined streets of prostitution each reserved for various types of prostitutes. Clarence Street contains the older prostitutes from Chez Lucien; Parent Street claims the transvestite population who frequently has regular customers. Young girls in the fifteen to twenty year age category were found along Murray Street and biker's girls were located along Somerset West.

Case Study: Female

At this point, a case study of a female street prostitute might serve to bring into clearer focus the realities of being "in the life".

"Joanne" is a nineteen year old prostitute working the Parkdale area of Toronto. Born in Dartmouth, N.S., she is the youngest of five children, and the self-described "black sheep" of the family. Her father is a sergeant in the armed forces whom she characterizes as a "creep" and an abusive alcoholic who battered her mother constantly; she describes her mother as a "weak" person who sided with the father in order to keep peace. Joanne's oldest sister became pregnant and left home; her two other sisters currently work for the post office. Her brother, whom she describes as "disliking women", is a university student.

In early adolescence Joanne became involved with a peer-group of "difficult" kids involved with alcohol and drugs. At age fifteen her parents removed her from school and she completed grade nine.

At age seventeen, Joanne reports she left home and moved to downtown Halifax with a female friend who had previously worked as a prostitute in Montreal. It was this friend who introduced Joanne to the streets - in Joanne's words, "it was the only solution".

Certain problems soon developed. Her father tried to kidnap her from her apartment in Halifax on several occasions, and she found herself increasingly

surrounded by "friends" who were violent, tough and demanding. Joanne remember feeling trapped. It was this that sparked her to move to Toronto. She continues to work as a prostitute. Apart from babysitting, she has never had another "job".

Joanne presently shares an apartment with a female room-mate who works as a short-order cook in a fast-food restaurant. She describes her room-mate as her closest friend.

Joanne reports never having had a pimp. She has, however, had a number of boyfriends whom she met in various bars. She states they left her when they discovered what she did for a living.

Joanne states she works the streets six days a week, generally from seven until twelve in the evening. She tries to get at least \$50.00 per trick. On a good night she will earn \$200; on a bad night, forty to fifty dollars. She reports having \$600 in the bank. Much of the money Joanne earns is spent on alcohol. She drinks daily, but claims she is not an alcoholic.

Joanne generally takes her customers back to her apartment. She states she is afraid to work in cars. Joanne has been robbed twice by her customers: one who held a knife to her throat. She reports having been beaten by a client who drove her to a remote area near Toronto, battered her unconscious, and then left her.

Although she reports never having been arrested, Joanne describes her relationships with the police as poor. She has often been questioned by them, and further states that occasionally police officers will offer her a choice between arrest or sexual servicing.

Joanne feels society in general regards her as a "low-life", and she reports frequent fights with people on the street who harass her, "straight" women in particular.

As to the future, Joanne states she would like to make enough money to open a clothes-designing business. She has no idea as to where she would like to live.

MALE PROSTITUTION

The world of male prostitution should be understood in the context of male homosexuality. From our inquiries and interviews we found that perceptions of male prostitutes in a community will be coloured by the community's knowledge of, and exposure to, the gay world. In some cities we found that people who were in touch with male prostitutes confused male homosexuality and prostitution, believing that all male prostitutes are homosexuals.

Table 28

Sexual Omentation	n/a	Straight	Gay	Bisexual
Male	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 81.8%	2 18.2%
Escort	0 0.0%	10 76.9%	0 0.0%	3 23.1%
Street	1 3.7%	23 85.2%	2 7.4%	1 3.7%
Other	0 0.0%	8 100%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Total	1 1.7%	41 69.5%	11 18.6%	6 10.2%

n/a= no answer

Feelings about male prostitution among certain groups ranged from outrage to denial depending on the location and community visited.

In contrast to female prostitutes, male prostitutes will be examined as a single entity but stratified in a hierarchy of types. Our research sample consisted of eleven male prostitutes of whom one was a transsexual. These individuals came from Toronto, Ottawa and London. In addition to our formal sample, there were numerous discussions held with individuals and groups on the street to who it was not appropriate to administer a structured questionnaire. Male prostitutes prefer to be called hustlers as the term "prostitute" is considered degrading.

In all the cities we visited, with the exception of Sudbury, police departments and social agencies expressed concern about the increasing numbers of hustlers. In Toronto, the area where male prostitutes cruise is known as Track II, encompassing Broadalbane and Grosvenor Street from Yonge to Bay Street. The two major bars worked by street hustlers are the Parkside and St. Charles Tavern. Hustlers that we spoke to indicated that other meeting places included bath houses, shopping malls, public washrooms and arcades.

Leaders in the gay community to whom we spoke outlined a method of stratification used to identify hustlers. The first group is known as "kept boys". These men develop relationships with more affluent clients frequently living with or being maintained by them in separate residences. Food, clothing and spending money are provisions accorded the "kept boys". Many in this group pursue academic and vocational interests. Like their female counterparts, mistresses, they are emotionally and physically dependent on the men they service.

The second in ranking is known as call boys, most of whom work independently and pursue outside careers. In Toronto some work for escort services, of which only one could be identified. Some call boys advertise as male models in newspapers and others seek clients through companion ads. As the gay community is a rather closed one, word of mouth is another method of obtaining clients.

The next category of male prostitutes are known as bar hustlers. These men meet clients by frequenting gay bars and some of the better known hotels. Bar hustlers require a special skill in approaching prospective clients because these clients are often "closeted" or secretive about their homosexual activity.

Like their female counterparts the street hustlers have the lowest status and comprises the largest group. This is the group that our research focuses on.

Four distinct personality types are said to appear in the hustler group. These types were identified by gay spokespersons. The personality types are:

- 1) The avowedly homosexual hustler - often young, who needs money for survival or recreation. Their hustling is accepted by their peers and is separate from their gay life style.
- 2) Heterosexual hustlers - often very masculine in appearance who engage in homosexual prostitution strictly for money. Their hustling is accepted by street peers as a performance for survival. (This group can become aggressive or even violent with customers to prove that they are not gay).
- 3) Sexually undecided men - this group will often tell friends and the police that they are heterosexual and hustle mainly for money. Often they enjoy the experience and are experimenting with homosexuality. These males can become extremely dangerous if they develop guilt feelings about their behaviour and act out their confusion.
- 4) Transvestites and transexuals - this group is comprised of hustlers who are both homosexual and heterosexual in orientation. They are seen as the lowest in the street pecking-order.

From our discussions and observations it became apparent that prostitution is more acceptable in the gay community than in "straight society". Perhaps this attitude is prevalent in the gay community because of the acceptance and tolerance of freer sexual encounters. In addition, we found that women, who have

contact with male prostitutes (including policewomen and social service agency workers) view them in a more favourable fashion than do heterosexual men.

Several social service agencies in Toronto felt that hustlers were far better off, in many ways, than female street prostitutes. It was suggested that males seldom encounter physical violence from customers unless they provoke it. There does not appear to be the dominance issue characteristic in female prostitution. In this sense, relationships are thought to be more equalitarian. As well, straight society members often suggest that young hustlers are misguided or confused youth. Women engaging in prostitution, however, are often viewed as "whores" or "sluts".

Police tend to be hustler's main antagonists, often physically and verbally abusing them. This fact likely arises from the long standing uneasiness that police are known to have about homosexuals.

Some of the reasons why men work the street are cited in a study on hustling by Peter Maloney.¹ Street work is said to be exciting, providing opportunities for "partying" and entertainment and funds for drugs, and alcohol. The attraction to street life also arises from the freedom and independence it allows. As well street hustling provides positive reinforcement (money, affection and praise from clients) for individuals who would otherwise often see themselves as failures.

One major area where male hustlers differ from their female counterparts, street prostitutes, is in the lower fee for service charged by males. Some services are done for as little as thirty dollars. It is believed that this difference can be accounted for by the other transactions included. Frequently, as part of payment, the client provides a hustler with basic survival needs including food, money, shelter and drugs - all forms of barter in hustling. By contrast, female street prostitutes are responsible for taking care of their own survival needs unless they have a pimp. In addition male prostitution readily lends itself to the development of emotional attachments which can last for periods of time. The minority status of homosexuals suggests that both customer and hustler often have a common bond and are both seeking emotional support.

Eight of the 11 males we interviewed left home between age fifteen and seventeen because of conflicts with parents - especially fathers. This finding would support certain observations in Peter Maloney's study that many males are running from bad family situations and are looking for someone to take care of them (often a father figure).

Hustling also may have a second agenda for the males involved. The men frequently seek entrance to the gay community to participate in both a social and sexual context. Seven of the eleven male hustlers we spoke to left or were kicked out of their homes as a result of exhibiting effeminate or homosexual traits. It can be argued that many other conflicts existed in these families before questions around sexuality arose. Nevertheless these young men perceived their sexuality to be a major source of rejection.

Hustlers can become mobile laterally and vertically in their adopted community. From the hustler's descriptions this community is often accepting, supportive and provides a sense of belonging. A central issue then for a large number of hustlers is resolution of their homosexual orientation.

Further proof of this observation came from social agencies who report that young men arrive in Toronto from areas such as Northern Ontario and the Maritime Provinces where their sexual orientation is unacceptable. In addition, social agencies have reported young men arriving at the bus terminal in Toronto from the suburbs dressed in clothing acceptable to their families and home towns. Once in the downtown core, the young men change from their blue jeans and boots and don open shirts and tight pants -apparel that will be acceptable to a weekend of hustling. Once the weekend concludes the youth return home by bus for a week of straight life. The cycle is repeated the following weekend.

According to gay spokesmen, male hustlers are said to be washed up in their careers at twenty-one years of age. It appears here that the demand is for youth. Twenty one is considered to be the end of the road.

As previously noted, the amount of reported male prostitution in other cities appears to be related to the acceptance of homosexuals in these communities: larger cities who have established and vocal gay communities acknowledge the presence of male prostitutes; other communities deny it.

Timmins reported no awareness of male prostitutes. In Sudbury, the police stated that there were no male prostitutes. However, one social service agency person told us that there was rampant business in male prostitution at the Frontenac Hotel. Windsor has a group of male prostitutes who operate in Dieppe and Jackson Park and, on a busy night, there will be six to eight hustlers working twenty to thirty cars. The steam baths here are also a center for male prostitutes.

London male hustlers operate in Victoria Park, and the Halo Club and Bannisters (two gay bars). According to police, several parking arcades and one bath house are often meeting places as well. Two transsexuals provide service along Dundas and English Street in the north end of the city.

Niagara Falls police are unaware of male hustlers, although prostitutes frequenting the area near the Whirlpool Bridge have been found to include male prostitutes.

St. Catharines is reputed to be the hustling centre in the Niagara Region. Yates, Fairview Street and the vicinity around City Hall are known hustling grounds. Shopping mall washrooms in this area are other meeting places.

According to police in Hamilton, experienced an influx of hustlers after the bath raids in Toronto. Hustling occurs along Jackson Street (Jackson Square) and behind the YMCA. Transvestites work on King and Main Streets.

Ottawa has several bars, including the Elgin Hotel that are known as hustling centres. Major Hill Park, behind the Chateau Laurier Hotel, and Mackenzie Street, are areas known to those who require the services of hustlers.

Discussion

The majority of men in our sample were between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. This contradicts what has been said by others about male hustlers and their career span. Our finding likely reflects the apprehension and anxiety that many younger males had about speaking to us.

The majority of men in our sample indicated that they liked their work (seven) and did it by choice. The sexual orientation of nine men was gay. Two were bisexual. Our evidence suggests that there is more pleasure derived from the sex act for hustlers than for female prostitutes.

Ten men in our sample indicated using drugs, all on a daily bases. All of the men claimed it was easier to work "stoned". Eight had been involved in selling drugs. This figure is high relative to the rest of our sample.

We chose to relate drug use, for the purpose of this discussion, to an issue one can call dependence-independence. Heavy drug use is often felt to be the result of unmet dependency needs in young people. Most of the males we spoke to wanted to be in control of their lives, and of their sexual encounters. They all tried to present as independent. This issue of dependence-independence is one of much struggle for most young men - for hustlers who are disenfranchised from their families it no doubt presents considerable concern.

We noted that police are said to be the major antagonists of hustlers but our results are not clear about this. Seven respondents stated that they got along well with the police, yet certain of these men also reported that they had been harmed physically or verbally by police. The hustlers from London and Ottawa did not report being hassled by the police and were among the group who reported getting along better with police. Police in these cities appeared inclined to ignore the smaller number of males. The seven respondents from Toronto all reported being harassed or beaten by police. This may reflect Toronto's larger, more visible, and more militant gay community which the police feel more need to control. This attitude was not verified in our interviews with police officers. An explanation for certain male hustlers ambivalence about police was suggested by certain street agencies in Toronto. Often police are seen by young men as symbols of masculinity - forceful, tough and independent. And as such they represent a desirable group to be close to.

Case Study: Male

A case study is presented of a male hustler encountered by the researchers in Toronto. This young man was particularly articulate and opinionated, offering us numerous insights into the world of male hustling. Although one cannot generalize from a single description, his story is not unusual.

John is a twenty-three year old male hustler working the Track II area of downtown Toronto. He was born in Halifax in an upper-middle class family. He has one sister and two brothers. His mother, to whom he states he was very close, died when he was nine. He remembers her affectionately and believes things would be easier for him if she were still alive. His father subsequently remarried, and John reports that he never fit into the new family. He states that he was very effeminate when younger, and derided about this by his family. John has only a grade six education - he states he experienced great difficulty in school. He finally left home at age sixteen because of domestic problems and reports no feelings of attachment towards the others in his family stating that they in turn offer no encouragement for him to return home.

John has had a variety of jobs, all of them unskilled, and low-paying. He was introduced to hustling through a female prostitute, and states that he was immediately attracted to the life by the "easy" money, and the fact that he was in control and independent. In John's words, "I am a self-employed individual."

John has worked seven years in Toronto. He reports he is generally on the streets four nights a week, and that he turns two to three tricks per night. Hustling is more lucrative in the winter as there is less competition. John charges forty to fifty dollars per trick, and earns approximately \$500 per week. He has \$150 saved. In his words, "money slips thru' my fingers. I spend a lot on looking after myself."

John describes his clients as primarily white (through choice), middle to upper class, and of thirty to forty years of age. The majority are married. He states that sex is the primary reason for contact. The encounter are broken up thus: forty percent of the time at the client's homes, thirty percent of the time at John's apartment, twenty percent of the time at the baths, and ten percent of the time in a car/parking lot.

John states that many of his clients are his closest friends in that he trusts them and learns from them. He has one client who he has seen every weekend for a six year period. He has never had a boyfriend or lover in that "my serious emotional attachment is to myself".

John states that he uses drugs daily, and, like many hustlers, he will also occasionally sell them. He describes drugs as a "social hello". They are also a bargaining tool in that he will charge a customer less if drugs are offered.

John reports spending much of his time socializing with other male hustlers. This activity generally takes place in one or two "gay" bars which have become a second home to him.

John has been arrested three times: for use of stolen credit cards, breach of probation, and drinking underage. As a hustler, he describes his relations with the police as poor, claiming both physical and verbal abuse by them. In his words, "they beat the hell out of me . . . they violated all my rights."

Both John's doctor and his lawyer are gay.

Although he says he likes his work, John reports that he does not enjoy hustling as much now as he did in the past. He states that the physical act itself has become routine - "sometimes I get off, sometimes I don't. It depends on the situation."

With regard to the future, John states he would like a secure position as his "own boss." He further states that although he is "homosexual", and does not understand women, he would like to eventually marry and have children.

According to John the "washroom trade" is the lowest form of hustling activity. It is also dangerous because the police may be observing the encounter via a stake-out. Street-hustling was described by John as the "easiest" way to solicit business. The hustler simply stands on the street and tries to attract the attention of potential clients who may be cruising the track area. A conversation is then initiated. Money exchanges hands once the hustler has removed his clothes. The baths are described as more "difficult" than the street in that they are often resorted to for "free" sex. Therefore there are only certain times of the day in which one can hustle, primarily the afternoon. The hustler simply sits dressed in a towel in a cubicle and watches for any day-time clients who may be circulating. Discretion is necessary, however, in that the trade is sometimes discouraged in the baths. Hotels were described by John as the most difficult "arenas" for male hustlers. They must look approachable to potential clients, and must be able to justify their presence to hotel security guards.

ESCORT SERVICE

The escort service provided us with our second largest group of prostitutes. We interviewed twelve women and one man in Toronto as well as one female from Ottawa. The discussion in this report comes from our Toronto group.

The escort trade, in the past operated as a legitimate source of partners for people requiring such a service. Today it is mainly a front for prostitution with only a small proportion of callers requesting legitimate escorts. The 1984 Toronto Yellow Pages contain 121 ads listed under this service - making it a visible entity. The cost of these ads varies from \$20-\$160 per month making Bell Canada a large benefactor. Many of the escort services place three or four ads using different names in order to remain competitive. Estimates from phone calls we made and from proprietors of the businesses we contacted are that fifty percent of the agencies are out of business at any given time.

Some escort services are a one-woman operation while others have several women working for one manager(ess). We spoke with four women who operate their own businesses. These women clearly differentiated between male and female run businesses claiming that the majority of other services are operated by women as a front for men. The women felt strongly that men who run this type of practice were more harsh and exploitative of their employees than were their female counterparts. An example cited of male run services were those operated by motor-cycle gangs.

The women in the escort service we spoke to had all been call-girls previously and continued to work some calls, especially with regular customers. The proprietors of services using several women tended to coordinate the movements of the girls by pager systems. The girls would return calls to the service and have clients assigned them. The female proprietors cooperate considerably among themselves, borrowing one another's women when business is hectic and informing each other of "bad tricks".

The business telephones are usually operated for about fifteen hours a day from twelve noon until three or four in the morning. When proprietors receive calls from prospective clients they frequently "interest" the men by answering questions about price, location, types of services offered and physical characteristics of the "escorts". When clients telephone and leave their numbers, the calls are returned by the service owners who make arrangements for meetings to take place in the hotel, or advise clients to check into a hotel. Sometimes a private home will be visited but not before certain checks are made. Manning the telephones is considered a real talent, according to the women, as one must be patient, seductive and accepting of crank calls. When the managers wish to have time off they usually transfer their line to one of the females in their employ. Most of the call girls use pseudonyms with their clients.

The charge quoted to customers in the female run services is between \$150 and \$250/hr. depending on the service provided. Sometimes the customer is asked to pay for transportation. The proprietors usually receive a fifty dollars fee or thirty percent of the call depending on the agency. Male run services we learned

from our own phone inquiries charge twenty dollars an hour or a sixty dollars flat rate as well as a transportation fee. Tips considered the girls earnings are to be worked out with her. A full fee quote is thought to avoid the woman a "dead run" - a client who finds prices too steep.

Payment can be made in cash, although cheques are accepted from some regular customers. Credit cards are a common form of payment. The proprietors we spoke to all have other businesses such as interior design companies or management consultant firms. Others operate through stores or restaurants. Restaurants or stores provide a cover for the service and take a percentage of the fee. This practice also allows clients the opportunity to conceal their visits.

Some of the women in our sample have male friends who accompany them on their calls and drive them home. This practice was adopted by those women who had had bad experiences with customers. According to the women, in situations where clients were aware of the driver they appeared not to mind his presence.

Female proprietors of services that we spoke to are quite protective of their employees. The women are usually contacted in the hotel room by the proprietor after arrival and the clients "OK'd". The escort women have an established series of explanations and phone calls to make if they sense trouble. Hotel security can be notified instantly if any difficulties are encountered.

The sexual exchange between customer and call-girl lasts approximately thirty to sixty minutes. The price commanded dictates that certain exotic forms of sex be available, for example, threesomes, or S & M. Certain of the girls specialize in a particular area. Many are asked to entertain at stags and parties. The women referred to the sexual part of their act as "dead sex" explaining that they had learned to become actresses.

Despite the fact that efficiency is a credo of this business, escort women we talked to saw clients in a more positive light than did street prostitutes. They were prepared to spend time talking to, and listening to clients' problems about work or family and clearly saw this as part of their job. Their aim was generally described as developing contented customers who would become regulars.

The business has fluctuations which according to the female owners, varies with the state of the economy and business community. Financial concerns, amongst the call-girls revolved around increasing competition. Proprietors worried that their own girls might give out private telephone numbers, thus avoiding the necessity of going through the agency.

We met many types of women employed in the escort service including secretaries, university students, flight attendants, art gallery operators and housewives. As a group these women were articulate and able to examine many of the issues outlined in our research. Some worked full time while others went out on two or three calls a week. Women in this group were older than our sample of street prostitutes, with seven being older than thirty. These women often contacted us on their own and presented as an organized and business oriented group, who focused on profit.

We will note two particularly interesting characters found in our sample. One forty year old housewife operated a service specializing in older female "escorts". The service is reputedly very successful. She explained that she started in the business following a divorce at the age of forty-three. She got involved in the business while living in Calgary and needing additional money. She is presently married to a fifty-four year old professional man who states that he enjoys the additional income and feels that she should have her own independent life. According to her, and substantiated by comments from other participants, there is a large demand among older people having difficulty meeting mates.

We spoke to a male gigolo who worked for one of the female escort services. He is from another country which he would not name. This young man explained that he had worked as a prostitute since the age of fifteen. At that time he left home due to parental conflicts and was taken in by a couple who had a brothel and taught him the business. He has been in Canada for thirteen years. His clientele is fifty percent homosexual men and fifty percent female. He stated that he was often employed by "lonely" females to provide lengthy afternoon liaisons.

According to this gentleman, there are approximately fifteen gigolos who work off and on in Toronto. Most are in the twenty-five to forty year age group and are considered to be "arty" types - musicians, painters and sculptors. For the most part, this career lasts until thirty, when physically, gigolos become less desirable.

Discussion

It is difficult to make inferences from a sample of thirteen people. Nonetheless we also had many informal discussions with women who chose not to be interviewed. We will attempt some analysis of certain of our results.

Almost all female prostitutes we spoke to saw the escort service or call girls as the top rung in a hierarchy which included hotel and bar girls, and street prostitutes. The escort service can be seen as a series of choices which move a woman from the street or from bar work into this service. The age of our respondents was considerably older (six were between twenty-two and thirty and seven were over thirty) than other types of prostitutes. Over one-half of the respondents had worked in bars and hotels. Many of the women suggested that fifty percent of women in the escort service started to work on the street.

In our sample the planning component in their lives appeared clearest and many had considerable savings and investments. Over two-thirds of the sample declared income tax.

Table 29

Do you put money away	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	6 54.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	10 76.9%	3 23.1%
Street	0 0.0%	11 42.3%	15 57.7%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	6 75.0%
Total	0 0.0%	28 48.3%	30 51.7%

n/a= no answer

Table 30

Do you file income tax	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	3 27.3%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	9 69.2%	4 30.8%
Street	0 0.0%	8 30.8%	18 69.2%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	0 0.0%	24 41.4%	34 58.6%

n/a= no answer

Reliance of this group on intoxicants was less than in other forms of prostitution. While more enjoyed their work than any other group of women.

Women in the escort service have been harmed by customers - almost to the extent that street prostitutes have. We did discover that many of the harms had been perpetrated on them while they worked in other forms of prostitution. (Unfortunately the distinction of harm while working in a particular type of service is not properly made in our questionnaire.)

Table 31

Have you been harmed by customers	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	5 45.5%	3 45.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	8 61.5%	5 38.5%
Street	0 0.0%	18 66.7%	9 33.3%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	1 1.7%	35 59.3%	23 39.0%

n/a= no answer

Table 32

How	Beaten up	Robbed	Raped	Mixture	Harassed	n/a
Male	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	3 27.3%	0 0.0%	8 72.7%
Escort	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	4 30.8%	1 7.7%	5 38.5%
Street	1 3.7%	3 11.1%	1 3.7%	12 44.4%	1 3.7%	9 33.3%
Other	1 12.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%
Total	3 5.1%	4 6.8%	3 5.1%	20 33.9%	3 5.1%	26 44.1%

n/a= no answer

An interesting digression here was the opportunity to view escort women with their children. Three had younger (seven to ten years) school age children who were not aware of their mother's work. The women worried about how they would explain their business to the youngster when they became more aware of the nature of their employment. We encountered one fifteen year old boy - the son of one of the escort women, and according to his mother he was not upset by her work.

Escort Services in Other Parts of Ontario

According to police forces, the escort service business often reflects the affluence and available income in a city. Sudbury is without an escort service. Police reported charging nine individuals who attempted to organize the business. An undercover policewoman was used as a prospective prostitute. Windsor does not have its own escort service. At present, because of police interference and economic adversity in the city, services operate out of Detroit with women coming over the border as needed. Hamilton has had several escort services from other cities. Ottawa attempted to set up an operation, but these individuals were arrested. However, two or three advertisements continue to appear in legal newspapers. The Niagara Region apparently has an escort service which advertises through the newspaper and is currently under investigation. London has had as many as ten escort services operating in the last two years. Police reports that the community has a certain tolerance of them. In Ottawa we were told that 10-20 escort services operate at any given time. Police state that visitors and government officials are the primary patrons.

In cities with smaller populations, police indicated that extortion is often an issue that they worry about. The intimacy of a smaller city, the higher prices commanded by prostitutes and the profile and visibility of certain clients predisposes them to blackmail.

Most of the police forces we spoke to in the various Ontario cities where escort services existed did not have major concerns about this form of prostitution. To date there has been little public pressure to close escort services. A likely reason centres around the fact that this form of prostitution takes place out of the public's view. According to several police forces, investigations and prosecutions are costly. This type of operation often requires many extra man-hours and the additional use of wire taps and other forms of electronic surveillance. It is not uncommon for a \$250,000 operation to warrant ten thousand dollars in fines.

A clearer understanding of this form of prostitution might place the escort services in Ontario along a continuum which includes or has included massage parlours, escort services, companion ads, club ads, dating ads, and introduction services. The methods and practice in law enforcement have often caused the same participants to move from one area to another as each developed visibility and notoriety.

From talking to street prostitutes we discovered that often sixteen to eighteen year old prostitutes had attempted to work in this territory. Many spoke of wanting to form their own services with friends. As well we found social

agencies where workers, sensing danger on the streets, were advising girls to enter such a service. Agency workers felt that the escort service offers a place for street prostitutes to re-locate if they are pushed off the street.

OTHERS

Our study includes a final grouping of prostitutes called "others". As noted this group was drawn primarily from sources of prostitution which did not provide easy access to the women.

Strippers

The strip business in Ontario is alive and well. All of the cities we visited had at least three strip clubs - some as many as ten. Police inevitably told us that they believed ninety percent of the women in these clubs resorted to prostitution as an additional source of income.

In the cities where street prostitution is minimal or does not exist - as in Windsor, London, Sudbury and Hamilton - much of the sex industry centres around the strip clubs. Certain of the clubs clearly cater to a working class group of men who have a lunch time and early evening business. Others appear as more oriented to white collar workers, often discouraging blue jeans.

In cities other than Toronto, strippers are permitted to dance nude, i.e., without "G" strings. Table dancing where strippers dance on a patron's table for a \$5 fee is encouraged throughout Ontario. In many cities this is a lucrative business where certain girls will be asked to table dance anywhere between three to forty times/night - thus earning an additional \$150-\$200/night. Certain cities have licensing requirements for the girls as well as for the club owners. Therefore, women with criminal records can be sifted out in this way. Police feel they have some control through licensing.

Strippers as a group would not talk to us. Where we attempted to speak to them directly or through intermediaries (bartenders) it was clear that they were not interested. We suspected that the alleged strong male control of the business accounted for their silence. Motorcycle groups were in evidence around most of the clubs outside Toronto. According to police, social agencies, and newspaper reports, these groups control the movements of large a number of strippers. The same sources told us that certain strippers from Quebec were booked through different parts of Ontario by the 'Montreal Mafia'.

We were able to speak to two bartenders who worked in these clubs. From them we learned that it is difficult to generalize information about strippers. Certain women work alone or through booking agents. Many belong to different groups of men (as described). In certain clubs the girls work for free and keep their tips from table dancing, others are paid set fees depending on the club or area. Often the women have a group of regulars who pay them for services after their performances. Women involved with bikers keep the money they earn from prostitution as spending money, as opposed to their earnings from dancing which they turn over to the bikers. Often, the business is lucrative enough so that the women do not need to turn tricks.

We interviewed one stripper formally and spoke to several informally. The use of drugs - particularly cocaine and speed - is well known on the Ontario strip circuit. The women we spoke to explained that it was hard to perform 'straight'. Table dancing means that younger women with 'less aged' bodies are constantly in demand. Many of the older strippers who perceived themselves as "burlesque artists" have left the business since table dancing has come into vogue. They perceive stripping as distinctly on a higher rung than street prostitution, and with the advent of table-dancing, they claim the two "roles" have become blurred.

Of interest in our total sample of prostitutes is that approximately twenty-five percent of all other women had been strippers at some time. Several social agencies speculated that if younger street prostitutes were pushed off the streets this would likely be one area of work they would gravitate to.

Hotel Prostitutes

Hotels with their bars and lounges have usually been a major source of activity in prostitution. Customers who are transient can often meet women and men in the course of their travels. We were told that the hotel scene is a minor source of prostitution in Toronto given the popularity of escort services and street prostitution. The Airport strip does still have a number of bar girls who work the different hotels. Many of these girls have worked in the escort service and report that hotels are becoming more and more restrictive. They contend that this is because of a system of 'graft' in the hotels.

Hotels continue to be a major source of prostitution in other Ontario cities. There appear to be two types of women. In those cities which have larger tourist trade like Ottawa, Niagara Falls and London there is an active group who work in the large and more expensive hotels. In Ottawa, convention periods attract large numbers of prostitutes who then according to the police, gravitate to other cities once the convention is over. This group of women are not a source of concern to police. They usually work independently and are, to most of the population, not visible. Police rarely receive complaints about them.

According to police, industrial cities with smaller populations like Timmins, Sudbury, Hamilton and Windsor, usually have a different type of hotel prostitute. These women are often married or single mothers who work while their children are in school. Often as in Hamilton, Sudbury and Timmins they are the 'old steady girls' who are in good standing in the area. They often are well known to the police, provide considerable information to them, and operate without problems. Their customers are local hotel patrons.

Massage Parlours

A last category we will examine are massage patrons. In the 1970's they proliferated as sources of prostitution in many cities in Ontario. Police and prostitutes told us that because of arrests most are now defunct. Still rumours

persist in several cities of different establishments which offer extras. These are routinely monitored by police.

Also, masseuses do advertise through different newspapers - especially in Toronto. Some offer to come to customer's home. It is believed by police that most of these women are prostitutes.

The Peel area - Brampton and Oakville - appears to be the last vestige of the body rub business. We interviewed three women who work in these salons. Police report that last year ten were operating in the area. They believed eight of these to be controlled by the underworld - two by independent operation. Conflicts arising between these two groups, as well as complaints from local politicians about the nuisance in residential areas, eventually led to a police crackdown on their operations. The body-rub parlours still in existence are worked by women who are ex-strippers, or call-girls.

CUSTOMERS OF PROSTITUTES

The law as it relates to customers of prostitutes has been applied sporadically in Ontario. At various times persons concerned about prostitution have complained that one party in this transaction - prostitutes - bear the wrath of the law. The City of Toronto has at different times tried a variety of strategies to discourage customers, such as increasing police foot patrols on certain streets, carrying out spot checks of cars and redirecting traffic.

In Ontario, customers can and have been charged with soliciting. The criminal law is interpreted differently by provinces. Criminal Code charges used against customers have been sections 193(2)(A) being an inmate of a common bawdy house and 169, committing an indecent act in a public place - often used to deal with prostitution which takes place in an automobile.

Only four customers answered our questionnaires. All were regulars of women in the escort service. All four were professionals earning over \$30,000. One individual who insisted on meeting us felt strongly about this issue. He stated that:

Prostitution should be legalized or decriminalized because human beings have always had natural and very normal and healthy needs. There should be, in our society (which is considered progressive) allowance for those who wish to avail themselves of the senses of professional ladies who are performing a normal function as is any other professional person i.e. lawyer, doctor, hair dresser, broker, housewife, etc. etc!

Our discussion of customers will mostly be based on the observations made by prostitutes. Discussions with prostitutes suggest that an overwhelming number of the clients of prostitutes are married. Street prostitutes and women in the escort service report that over seventy percent are married. As all groups of prostitutes reported that they believed their clients to be predominantly in the thirty to fifty year old age range.

Table 33

Customers Marital Status	n/a	Married	Single	Mix	Don't Know
Male	0 0.0%	7 63.6%	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	0 0.0%
Escort	0 0.0%	10 76.9%	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	0 0.0%
Street	4 14.8%	19 70.4%	0 0.0%	3 11.1%	1 3.7%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	1 12.5%
Total	4 6.8%	41 69.5%	2 3.4%	10 16.9%	2 3.4%

n/a= no answer

Table 34

Age	n/a	30	30-50	50	mix
Male	1 9.1%	1 9.1%	7 63.6%	0 0.0%	2 18.2%
Escort	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 69.2%	2 15.4%	2 15.4%
Street	3 11.1%	1 3.7%	16 59.3%	2 7.4%	5 18.5%
Other	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%
Total	4 6.8%	2 3.4%	36 61.0%	4 6.8%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

If one were to ask about the motives of customers some interesting speculations emerge. From our discussion with prostitutes, it appears that 3/4 of all sexual transactions between prostitutes and clients revolve around oral sex. Most women, especially those in the street, told us that this is what their customers want. Males and call girls reported the same experience. Some speculation as to why this might be so addresses the fact that this form of sex is

impersonal, easy, suitable to automobiles and requires little involvement from the man. Many prostitutes believe that this form of sex is taboo to wives.

Table 35

Customers Reason for seeing you	Primarily Sex	Primarily Other	Mixture
Male	7 63.6%	0 0.0%	4 36.4%
Escort	5 38.5%	1 7.7%	7 53.8%
Street	20 74.1%	0 0.0%	7 25.9%
Other	4 50.0%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%
Total	36 61.0%	1 1.7%	22 37.3%

A second reason for visiting prostitutes which surfaced in numerous discussions was the issue of loneliness. Female street prostitutes often reported that their clients wanted to talk about themselves and their lives. This group tended to talk with regulars but preferred to do as little talking as possible with most other clients. Call girls spoke of men who simply wanted to be held or hugged. They described certain customers as virgins, impotent or disabled individuals who, in their eyes, had no other sexual outlets. Male prostitutes often reported developing close relationships with their clients. Certain man wanted to spend the night with them or to socialize on subsequent occasions. Male prostitutes as we have discussed expressed similar needs.

From our discussion with prostitutes it appears that a certain group of men were curious about sex. These men wanted to ask the women questions about themselves, their lives and their experiences. Another group wanted some exotic or kinkier experiences. Those often included sado-masochism, group sex, sex involving urination, defecation etc.

A last group, perhaps evident among many types of customers, are those who choose to degrade women and clearly express their hostile feelings toward them. To the prostitutes these men are rough with them, and verbally abusive. The large number of assaults and robberies perpetrated on prostitutes by customers attest to this group.

It was very difficult to ascertain the social elan or socio-economic level of customers amongst street prostitutes. Many initially saw their clients as "rich and

important people". Later in the discussion they would describe their clients as 'dirty' or 'scruffy'. Many simply saw thier clients as being "all types". What we did observe is that prostitution on the street is available from ten dollars or twenty dollars and up if one wants to shop. As in other forms of commerce bargaining is common feature of the prostitute-client transaction and it is affordable to most socio-economic groups.

Table 36

Customers Ethnic Background	n/a	Conce- ssion	Oriental	Colored	European	Mixture
Male	1 9.1%	4 36.4%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	5 45.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	12 92.3%
Street Other						

Table 37

Social Class	n/a	White Collar	Lower Middle	Blue Collar Lower mixture
Male	0 0.0%	8 45.5%	1 27.3%	2 9.1%
Escort	0 0.0%	13 100%		0 0.0%
Street	5 18.5%	10 3.7%	33.3%	6 22.2%
Other	0 0.0%	5 25.0%	1 12.5%	3 0.02
Total	5 8.5%	36 61%	8 13.6	10 16.9%

n/a= no answer

Table 38

Where do they come	Car	Hotel	Home	Other
Male	5 45.5%	6 54.5%	10 90.9%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	12 92.3%	10 76.9%	3 23.1%
Street	18 66.7%	20 74.1%	9 33.3%	2 7.4%
Other	2 25.0%	4 50.0%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%
Total	25 42.4%	42 71.2%	30 50.8%	16 27.1%

of the escorts - 69% list a hotel-home combination
- 9 women

of the street girls 77% list the car-hotel combination
- 12 women

Call girls in the escort service reported that all their clients were white collar or middle class individuals. They did state that periodically poorer persons would save money for monthly visits.

It was difficult to obtain accurate information about the ethnic background of customers. The groups most frequently mentioned as consumers by female street prostitutes were Italian, Portuguese and Chinese males. Many of the prostitutes, particularly those in the street, were prejudiced against certain ethnic groups.

PIMPS

Prostitution as a business often involves individuals who organize, structure and establish performance demands for prostitutes. These "managers" extract, or receive for their services, considerable monies. This individual is the pimp. The pimp is frequently stereotyped as one with flashy cars, flashy clothes, flashing jewels and a stable of "ladies".

Legally defined, "a pimp is any individual who lives either wholly or in part on the earnings of a prostitute." In addition, "evidence establishing that a person cohabits with, or habitually frequents the company of prostitutes, is, in the absence of contra-indications, considered sufficient proof of living off the avails of prostitution." Thus, by definition, any male or female involved in a relationship with a prostitute (whether as a boyfriend, husband etc.), if he is supported by her, may be judged by the law to be a pimp.

Although society does not differentiate between the pimp as lover and the pimp as manager or contractor it became clear to us that prostitutes do. Police, prostitutes and social agencies were equally perplexed by this definition.

Some of the central questions we heard discussed regarding the definition of a pimp were: Does the 'pimp' have a job? Does he or she have more than one person working for him? Would he/she be in the relationship if this person were not a prostitute? Do the two persons live together?

Our study wanted to speak to pimps and we did develop a structured questionnaire for this group. As noted in a previous section of this report, we were not able to contact any. Our report on pimps will therefore be based on the perceptions, observations and experiences of prostitutes, police and social agencies.

On numerous occasions we heard from informed sources close to prostitutes that every female prostitute has a man she works for. We were warned that the girls would not talk about their pimps. A police spokesperson in Toronto stated that "pimps are a secret the prostitutes will take to their grave".

Only two of fifty-nine prostitutes admitted to having pimps. Many spoke of pimps they had had in the past. For this reason we decided to omit the section on pimps from the results in our tables. Rather we felt it would be valuable and interesting for the reader to expand this area to include statements about husbands, boyfriends and lovers as talked about by the women.

It must be understood that many statements in this section will be based on interpretation and as such, subjective in nature.

Pimps in Toronto

In the summer of 1983, the "Neighbourhoods Committee" of the City of Toronto submitted to the Board of Commissioners of Police a recommendation that

police policy about prostitutes be altered so that "energies are directed toward procuring, living off the avails of prostitution, and the activities of pimps." The police response to the Committee's proposal centred on three main issues:

- 1) an estimated fifty percent of the prostitutes working the downtown area of Toronto work without pimps,
- 2) for the estimated twenty percent of prostitutes involved in a stereotypical pimp-prostitute relationship it is difficult to obtain sufficient evidence to support relevant charges (i.e. unreliable witnesses, the need for electronic and visual surveillance, etc.),
- 3) the remaining thirty percent of prostitutes involved in a relationship with a male, do not regard the man as a pimp. Rather, he is perceived as a boyfriend. And although the prostitute may share her earnings with him, she sees her contribution as being expenses rather than a form of extortion. As stated by the police, "there is no fear, no threat, no enforced prostitution . . . when apprehended, the prostitute will not give evidence or will give false evidence to protect, not her pimp, but her man."

It is generally conceded that Yonge St, the most widely-recognized area for street prostitution in Toronto, is wholly controlled by so-called "professional" pimps with established territories. Although a neophyte to the street may work several days to several weeks independently, it is inevitable that she will be eventually "hit upon" by a pimp who will attempt to recruit her. The second group are known as "entrepreneurs" who live with their prostitute girl friends and encourage them to work the streets. The Parkdale area in Toronto operates within the so-called "entrepreneurial" framework.

According to police and prostitutes, pimps in Toronto - at least those who are traditional, are black. Most come from the West Indies via the Maritimes. There are a few who are American. According to police the majority are not well off. They are young men (eighteen to twenty-six) who have had little success in school. Their daily life revolves around gambling and drugs and they survive on a day to day basis. These men learn to manipulate and control the girls initially through flattery, romantic illusions and promises. Many of the girls feel cared for with the pimp promising to look after bail, children and tricks.

For many girls, lost in the downtown core of a city like Toronto, pimps provide a source of reference. The girls are, for the most part undisciplined and without daily routine. Pimps set expectations and standards about hours of work, number of tricks, drug use, etc. This provides a framework for the girls to operate in. It is not surprising then that so many of the women not only love their pimp but also believe they are loved.

Social agencies in Toronto report being extremely wary of pimps. They are afraid of this group and have reported violence administered by pimps against the girls in their residence. Two agencies reported that being a pimp was one of the reasons that barred an individual from their service. Yet they were clear that the

pimp-prostitute relationship is a symbolic one and that often pimps were recruited by the women.

Romantic Relationships and the Prostitute's Perceptions of Pimps

Among street prostitutes two out of twenty-seven women admitted to having a pimp. A twenty-year old prostitute in Ottawa reports having a pimp for two years. She gives him fifty percent of her money. He is a member of a motorcycle group and provides her with shelter, drugs and money. He has beaten her in several occasions for holding back money. She has been hospitalized on one occasion. Despite being known to police as a 'pimps' girl, she still reports caring for this man. An eighteen year old woman from Toronto gives her pimp all of her money. She reports that he provides her with spending money and advises her about clients. Despite being beaten by him twice she states that 'we have a future'.

Three respondents denied having pimps but to us were clearly involved in a form of 'pimp-prostitute' relationship. Our eighteen year old lady from Ottawa reports living with two male friends who are members of a local motorcycle group. She is paid a weekly allowance by her roommates in return for giving them her money. She feels protected and has a sexual relationship with both.

A twenty-three year old young lady in Ottawa reports being involved in a lesbian relationship with a lover. She has a five year old son from a previous relationship with a man she describes as a pimp. Her lover manages their finances and provides her with spending money; she also provides tricks. She has been beaten by her when she refused working.

A seventeen year old young lady from Toronto lives in a rooming house situation with a male stripper. She turns her money over to him to pay for their expenses. His earnings are saved to allow them to move to Egypt in the near future. She stated that he insisted she work and would become aggressive if her production was low.

Four women (eighteen to twenty-six) in our sample of street prostitutes report being married. All describe themselves as the main breadwinners in their families. Their husbands were described as working sporadically or being unemployed. Two of these women have children. All four women described financial concerns: worried, warned about their husbands' commitment to the relationship and described chronic fighting.

Three street prostitutes (sixteen to nineteen) reported having boyfriends who had their own sources of income. The relationships were described as casual - often revolving around 'partying' and drinking. Two of the women explained that being a prostitute was a source of considerable friction in the relationships as their boyfriends were often jealous and unaccepting.

Seven respondents (twenty to thirty-two) stated they they were not involved in 'romantic' relationships. They do not have pimps now but described having had pimps in the past. Three reported having pimps in other cities (two in Calgary and

one in Ottawa). We were told that unlike Toronto you could not work the streets without a pimp in Calgary. In Calgary these men would charge a 'splitting fee' for women who wanted to get away from them. Four of these women had pimps when they first got into the business. They described being less familiar with the street, apprehensive of clients and generally needing reassurance.

Six prostitutes denied now or ever having a pimp. They had all been accosted and threatened by pimps. When they refused they often were subjected to verbal threats and abuse.

It was clear from our discussions with street hookers that heterosexual relationships were a problem for them. Many stated that they had consciously given up male relationships in their private lives since becoming prostitutes. Two street prostitutes stated that they were gay. One was bi-sexual. Among the most graphic explanations from two street hookers we heard were:

"I have had boyfriends in the past who did not accept what I do and tried to talk me out of the business. I want my independence."

"I am shy in personal relationships with men. I am afraid to care for someone who might leave me or try to become my pimp."

"Prostitution has ruined my chances for a normal sex life. I resent having to give it away for free."

We discussed pimps with women in the escort service. None of the women admitted to having pimps at present. Four women (twenty-six to thirty-eight) though, described their relationships as having pimp-prostitute overtones - especially in that they all gave a certain portion of their earnings to the men. All four women did not like pimps - seeing them as an evil. One of the women described her thirteen years long relationship to her 'man' as sado-masochistic. She explained that "we are all little girls who get involved in parent-child relationships where we feel we are no good and deserve to be hurt."

Similar themes were very much in evidence in the relationships of the other three women to whom we spoke. All lived with or were involved with men they supported. They acknowledged liking the support or companionship of these men yet they claimed that they did not enjoy physical contact with them. Often they felt the men to be parasitic and reported feeling "like the man" in the relationship. The three women did not see their relationships as permanent although they had all lasted between one and three years.

Two of the women simply stated that they did not believe straight men could accept what they did. Two other women in our sample described themselves as asexual. Both had started their careers with traditional pimps. Both stated that they had 'tricked' for the love of their man. Both described themselves as disillusioned with men and happy to be alone. One woman in talking about pimps stated "Selling yourself can shatter your ego and destroy your self-confidence. You have little left and think little of yourself. Your pimp is the only one who wants you. He compliments you, keeps you high and makes you believe in a dream."

Two women in the escort service we talked to spoke in a positive way about their marriages. One was a common law relationship. Certain factors distinguished them from the other women. The women were thirty-eight and forty-nine years of age and had started their careers as call girls in their mid thirties. Both were previously married.

Their partners were professional men who were quite comfortable financially. Both men were involved in a second marriage. Neither family had children living with them. The children were with previous spouses or in boarding schools. We also met the men who reported some discomfort about their partners' work, stating that at times they felt jealous as well as having their lives disrupted by calls.

We can address ourselves briefly at this point to a group of people one could call facilitators of prostitution. These are people who directly profit from the business by directing customers to prostitutes and receiving compensation from either of the two parties.

This group includes bartenders in hotels or drinking establishments, hotel doormen, taxi drivers etc.

In Toronto we were told that in many hotels - especially on the airport strip - doormen and bartenders work hand in hand with many of the girls. Toronto's taxi drivers would usually take us to main areas of street prostitution. In Niagara Falls, Ottawa and Windsor we spoke to taxi drivers who each had a 'black book' and who were prepared to provide us with prostitutes. In the other centers cab drivers told us to go to the strip clubs.

Pimps in Other Cities

In London, agencies told us that a motorcycle group acts as pimps for strippers. They would control this industry and would "rent-out" their girls often on an individual lease. The London Free Press in writing about street prostitutes stated that the girls did not need pimps as they formed a small community of their own. Police corroborated this information, but cited several ethnic coffee houses which notoriously housed juvenile runaways.

Ottawa has had few problems with pimps. There has only been one founded procuring complaint since 1983. Police informed us that established prostitutes did not have pimps. Street prostitutes and escort service prostitutes were usually controlled by motorcycle groups. These men were described as small time hoodlums. Particular interest was an elderly madam who walks the market area looking for customers for specific girls.

Pimps are a large concern in Niagara Falls. There are two forms. Eighty percent of the women on the street come from the U.S. (Buffalo). At the end of the evening they return to their pimps who await them. Police estimate that sixty percent of the girls use heroin supplied by their pimps. The girls are controlled and must pay quotas to the pimps. Police reports indicate that women have come to them seeking help because they did not meet their quotas. A second source of

pimping for the girls revolves around the control of traffic in the street. Local motorcycle groups charge prostitutes fifty to seventy dollars a night to stand on a street corner, and increase the price after five tricks. If girls refuse to pay they are beaten. Pimps and bikers appear to cooperate here.

The single escort service in Niagara Falls is under investigation and is allegedly run by motorcycle club.

Police in Sudbury report that strippers whom they believe to be prostitutes are controlled by motorcycle groups.

Windsor police report that in five years, three pimps have been charged and convicted. Much of pimperiness exists at the level of 'boyfriend'. Males who want to feel important by impressing their friends. The few street prostitutes work independently. Again motorcycle groups appear in control of strippers.

Prostitutes in Timmins work on their own according to Police.

Hamilton police state that there are very few pimps. Motorcycle groups again appear to handle the strippers.

JUVENILE PROSTITUTION

It was not the mandate of this study to specifically examine the issue of juvenile prostitution. This is being done by a special Committee on Sexual Offences against Children and Youth which will shortly be presenting its findings. However in the light of numerous concerns about the subject expressed to us, in conducting our research, some comments are warranted.

We spoke to two juvenile prostitutes in our survey. One was a fifteen year old runaway girl we met in Toronto. She had left a C.A.S. home in Ottawa. Another was a fourteen year old girl from London presently under police investigation. We spoke to numerous girls who appeared young but gave their ages as over 16. According to police and social agencies in Ontario many youngsters quickly find false identification and lie about their age.

The foremost thing that emerged from our discussions is that juvenile prostitution is primarily a street problem whose central issue is homelessness. Numerous social agencies in Toronto, London and Ottawa suggested that juvenile prostitution was the run in an economic context. With the downward trend on the economy many children are being forced into prostitution to survive.

Studies by the Bureau of Municipal Research and by Andree Ruffo⁴ in Montreal suggest that a large number of juveniles who turn to the streets are runaways from broken homes or home situations which are viewed to be intolerable. Many are C.A.S. truants. Often they have been victims of incest and sexual abuse. Lacking money, shelter and family support, they gravitate around prostitution and pimps for money, security and attention. As stated by a Toronto agency "for fifteen minutes work they make forty dollars. If they steal they're likely to get caught and penalized. But a blow-job isn't going to get them into trouble."

Juvenile prostitution emerged as an issue in four of the cities we visited: Niagara Falls, Ottawa, London, and Toronto.

In Niagara Falls police report that among the street prostitutes in the Lower Bridge Street area, there are high school students from Buffalo. Police in Ottawa report picking up one or two C.A.S. runaways per week in the market area of the city. Several social service agencies and hostels in Ottawa reported that there appears to be an increase in juvenile male prostitutes - boys between twelve and fifteen.

In London female juvenile prostitution appears to centre around an ethnic restaurant patronized by runaway street kids according to the police. A reporter from a London Newspaper informed us that "young girls are hooking for five dollars and hotel room. A street worker from a London social service agency further informed us that juvenile males are involved in hustling activity in several parks. The link between juvenile prostitution and pornography was made by several social agencies in London. Many fourteen to sixteen year olds involved in prostitution also have pictures taken of them for private use.

A number of agencies we spoke to in different cities reported that juveniles from their areas "ran" to Toronto where it is assumed they become involved in prostitution-related activities.

It was universally felt by persons contacted that stricter legal penalties for the clients of juvenile prostitutes should be adopted, or that existing legal penalties for the clients be more strictly enforced. Ignorance of age should not be considered. Police report that difficulties arise, in that while the law addresses the issue of sexual intercourse with a minor, it does not cover other forms of sexual contact. Sections 146(1)a and (2) of the Criminal Code make it an indictable offense for a man to engage in sexual intercourse with a female under fourteen years of age or with a female between fourteen and sixteen years of age. However juvenile prostitution usually takes the form of oral sex, not intercourse rendering the law inadequate.

PROSTITUTION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Through the course of our study, we spoke to various agents of social control including the police, social agencies, lawyers, and hotel security.

Opinions of social agencies were sometimes markedly different. Police departments unanimously wanted present legislation changed. We did speak to the Chief of Police in one area who strongly felt, from his experiences, that police were often harsh with female prostitutes. The perceptions of these groups will be outlined in the following chapter according to the cities we visited.

Toronto

Toronto is the largest city in Ontario with a population of approximately two and one half million residents, and is the financial capital of eastern Canada.

The police representatives we spoke to in Toronto all suggested that there has been an increase in the number of girls working the streets since the Hutt decision in 1978. Prior to 1978, the Criminal Code contained a section that made soliciting in a public place for the purpose of prostitution a crime. In the precedent-setting ruling which is known as the Hutt decision, it was determined that individuals must be "pressing and persistent" in their approach to be found guilty of soliciting. The police stated that this judgement has made it extremely difficult to obtain soliciting charges, thus allowing prostitutes greater freedom on the streets.

The increase in the number of street prostitutes can also be explained by certain policing policies. In the early 1970's, Toronto closed the body-rub parlours on Yonge Street. The "clean-up" was an effective measure in deterring the public nuisance aspects of prostitution, but it also forced prostitutes back on the streets, and increasingly into residential areas.

According to police fifty percent of the street prostitutes range in age from sixteen to nineteen years. Although their exact numbers are difficult to determine, several police and social services agencies estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 street prostitutes work in Toronto over the summer months.

The Morality Bureau in Toronto is comprised of sixty-two officers headed by a Staff Sergeant. Of these, fourteen officers are responsible for investigating prostitution related activities. If the activity is a major one, Morality will investigate themselves. If, on the other hand, the complaint is considered to be minor, the Morality Bureau will advise the division involved and request that they conduct the inquiry.

In Toronto, policing street prostitution combines formal and informal methods of control, and reactive and proactive policing. On a formal level, enforcing sections of the Criminal Code will depend on the circumstances of the infraction as well as on recent court rulings or interpretations of the law. The

police report that it is still possible to "get" a soliciting conviction if the judiciary is pro-police.

Sections of the Criminal Code such as "causing a disturbance, by impeding or molesting" and "loitering in a public place" were used, but have recently been overruled in court decisions. A Criminal Code section now often used is "counselling to commit an indecent act in a public place". One of the problems surrounding its enforcement, however, is that the act must be performed in the presence of one or more persons and the police do not count as a witness.

This section of the Code is often restricted to "newcomers" to the street because the girls are not yet aware who the undercover officers are. Police report that the girls are often unaware that their activity constitutes an offence and are surprised when arrested. One officer suggested that new girls believe that their activities are legal and some, after their initial arrest, will leave the street.

On occasion, female undercover officers have been placed on the street in an effort to crack down on the customers. This method strongly depends on the availability of appropriate personnel and resources. Operations of this nature are expensive because of the time required to complete the investigation and the manpower needed. When this course was taken, clients were arrested and their names were published in the local newspapers. This reduced the problem for a short time, but its effectiveness fell short of the desired result. Among the reasons offered by police to account for this, is the fact that sixty-five percent of the customers of street prostitutes, are of ethnic origin. Language barriers may have hindered their understanding what was written in the newspaper and prevented wives from knowing what had happened.

On occasion, police will elect to use less formal methods of control. We were told by one officer that uniformed police have been used to surround a group of street prostitutes. The purpose was not to make arrests, but to deter customers from approaching the girls.

According to police, policing attention to male prostitutes and street hustling has waned in the past several years. For the most part this is because hustling occurs in non-residential areas and does not engender the kind of neighbourhood upset that female street prostitution does.

Charges used against male prostitutes, according to police and spokespeople for the gay community have included impeding pedestrians and combined charges from Sections 422(b) and Section 169(a) of the Criminal Code: counselling to commit, and committing an indecent act in a public place. Some male prostitutes are arrested on drug-related charges and others have been ticketed using municipal by-laws for parking offenses.

Citizen concerns about street prostitution focus primarily on female street prostitutes. From the citizens we spoke to and from documented submissions made to Toronto City Council it became apparent that the complaints were wide ranging. These issues were summarized in a report by the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research and were said to centre around the concentration of prostitutes, criminal

related activities and nuisance problems. Citizen concerns included: traffic problems, with congestion and honking horns; noise throughout the night in previously quiet areas; trespassing on private property; residents being pestered and treated abusively by prostitutes and their customers; the negative impact on youth activities and neighbourhood businesses in the area, and increased crime and violence.

Prostitutes involved in escort services are not heavily policed and according to one officer the escort service exists through the good will of the police. Presently they are left alone because of the attention being given to street prostitutes. When investigations of escort services did occur, police sought the principals involved, (the girls are not committing a crime) and charged them with procuring and living off the avails of prostitution. During the course of our interviews police representatives indicated that escort services are investigated strictly by complaint. Additional inquiries vary according to time and manpower available.

The police officers we spoke to all expressed concern about the limitations of the existing law and recommended changes. Decriminalization was opposed "because street prostitution is a nuisance" and decriminalization would mean "mayhem on the streets". Other police would be happy to simply have the law reinstated as it existed prior to the 1972 Criminal Code amendments and to include vagrancy, and loitering. One police officer would like to see laws changed so that police would have more leeway in dealing with pimps. Concern was also expressed by police for the need of some law to protect females in the fourteen to sixteen year category. As it is now, children accidentally fall into laws that exist for adults.

Toronto police do not favour the enactment of municipal by-laws to control street prostitution because this type of legislation does not empower to make arrests. The offending individual is simply summoned to appear in court and fined. If a court appearance is side-stepped, only then can power of arrest be invoked. Fining an offender without a court appearance does not provide for recommendations in probation. However, police have, in some situations, resorted to handing out traffic violations in the form of parking tickets in an attempt to curb the problem, but have found this method to be ineffective as well.

In Toronto, eleven social service agencies were contacted in order to learn what their perception of street soliciting was and to determine what assistance they provided to prostitutes.

The agency personnel we interviewed, except those involved in the Salvation Army Outreach Program, indicated that their programmes were not aimed specifically at prostitutes or prostitution related activities. Essentially, most agency programmes are eclectic in approach.

Seven agencies reported that the number of their clients involved in prostitution related activity to be over two hundred. The remaining four agencies estimated their client involvement in prostitution activities from ten to one hundred.

The consensus of all agencies was that the primary needs of clients involved in prostitution centered around two areas: placement/housing, and protection and counselling, including psychological, medical and legal advice. The stress for girls involved in street prostitution was the "rock bottom" basic need for shelter.

Certain agencies saw the existing law as ineffective to control street prostitution and recommended "stiffening" the Criminal Code to include clients. Five agencies favoured decriminalization and saw this as a means of providing designated, safe areas for prostitutes to work.

The agencies spoke as one voice in their urging for increased social services including housing, employment and shelters. They suggested, as well, combining agencies to effect a multi-service approach. There was universal concern expressed about juvenile prostitutes and the need for a highly specialized visible service directed at their needs.

Interviews held with hotel managers revealed that they had no problems with call girls or with guests requesting the names of girls. They said that their relationship with the Morality Squad was excellent and if a situation appeared problematic they would ask the police to make their presence known. Hotel management reported that they had no difficulty with male hustlers and believe them to be intimidated by the environment.

Brampton and Mississauga

The Airport area of Toronto is reported to be a center for prostitution because of its numerous hotels and a large transient population. Peel police are responsible for this area which includes two major urban centres: Mississauga (population approximately 320,000) and Brampton (population approximately 150,000).

Peel Regional police have a morality division comprised of eleven persons. One officer is mainly responsible for prostitution.

Police in the Peel region report minimal existence of male or female street prostitution. On the other hand, they do report a major problem with body rub parlours. In addition to providing in-house service, body rub parlours supply call girls who will go to private homes. The women who work in these 'parlours' are frequently older street prostitutes and strippers who have moved from Toronto into Peel region because of various problems. Police estimate that there are one hundred women working in this service. In addition, they estimate that another one hundred women work the restaurants and taverns in the 'Airport Strip'.

Body rub parlours present major problems in that of the ten which existed one year ago, eight were presumably controlled by the mafia. Two independent operations attempted to open clubs but were threatened, creating some concern to the police. Police have received complaints from local politicians about problems in the residential area of Peel where one prostitute was stabbed. In addition, complaints have been voiced about undesirables congregating in these areas.

Police also have received complaints from Malton City Council that body rub parlour attendants were going to stores dressed only in their lingerie. Customers have been irritated about being overcharged, improperly serviced, or discriminated against.

Police did crackdown on the parlours using, in part, the bawdy house section of the Criminal Code as well as charges of income tax evasion. They estimate that the difficulties in policing are due to underworld involvement in the business causing the girls to be moved from place to place before undercover police can locate them.

Police in Peel have not received complaints about the female prostitutes working in restaurants, taverns and hotels. These women are not perceived as a problem and are left alone.

Peel police felt strongly that prostitution related offenses should carry minimum sentences. This would encourage police to enter more expensive investigations with a feeling that their effort would not be 'wasted'.

Hamilton-Wentworth

Hamilton-Wentworth is an area with slightly over 400,000 people. Hamilton has a population of approximately 320,000. It is an industrial city close to Toronto and is dominated by the steel industry. The Regional Police force has a Special Services Branch which is further divided into a vice squad. The squad has ten men and is responsible for prostitution.

Hamilton police report that prostitution is not a problem in the city. In the summer fourty female prostitutes work in the uptown core of the city. The streets include James St, Martin St. N. and Bay St. N and have several working class hotels. Among these women, there are between six and ten regular prostitutes well known to the police who operate "in good standing".

Police report an increasing number of male prostitutes. Approximately ten to fifteen males cruise Jackson St. in good weather, while King and Main streets have approximately ten transvestites and transsexuals working the streets. Some hustlers are known to work in Hamilton's gay bar as well as in certain public washrooms.* Police report that no escort services are now operating. However, several introduction services are operating in Hamilton which may be fronts for prostitution.

Juvenile prostitution as well as traditional pimping appear to be non-existent. Perhaps because of Hamilton's proximity to Toronto these groups would have moved to a larger more anonymous city.

* Police say that there was an influx of hustlers to Hamilton after the Toronto Bath House Raids.

Police report that certain prostitutes are tolerated and are of help to them. They will give information about persons involved with guns, drugs and minors. There appears to be limited complaints from the public about street prostitution in Hamilton. Some concerns have come from businessmen in the north end of the city.

But the Hamilton police also wants the Hutt decision to be repealed. In the past two years, they have used the criminal code section involving indecent acts and gross indecency with some effect. Soliciting charges have disappeared. Police also want automobiles to be designated as a public place.

We interviewed two Hamilton lawyers who have experience in defending prostitutes. Both stated that the phenomenon is relegated to Hamilton's north end, a poor commercial area. Both felt that prostitution in the large hotels is carried out discretely. More organized forms of prostitution, including body rub and escort services, were either well controlled by licensing by-laws and fees or the offending individuals were quickly arrested and left the business.

We formally interviewed three social service agencies in Hamilton. Of the three agencies, only the Elizabeth Fry Society had more than fifty prostitute clients per year. The Elizabeth Fry Society perceived drug addiction, unemployment and poverty to be the central issues in male and female prostitution. This agency felt decriminalization was in order and indicated that the issue of prostitution could be adequately dealt with through municipal by-laws which would legitimize and open up existing support services for prostitution.

London

London is situated in southwestern Ontario and has a population of 255,000. Education is the main industry with the majority of the population employed at the University.

London police report that between 150-250 prostitutes operate in the area. This figure does not include female strippers who are also believed to be prostitutes. A major concern of the London Police centres on male prostitutes. They estimate that twenty to thirty young males hustle in Victoria Park, often using the washrooms for meeting places. Several major department stores have alleged that hustlers operate in their washrooms.

In the east end of London, ten to fifteen street prostitutes including transvestites, transsexuals and native girls have been known to work in the summer months. Police indicated that approximately one hundred females operate from the different classes of hotels. Most of these women are not bothered unless complaints are lodged against them. Ten active escort services have been counted at different times in London. Police report that this form of organized prostitution concerns them much more than "one on one prostitution" because extortion may often be involved. Several incidents have occurred and were cited, where women have taken pictures of their customers and then demanded money. In addition,

police stated that several dating services have sprung-up in London where they suspect prostitutes to be working.

Citizen complaints about street prostitutes in London have mainly come from merchants in the east end of the city. As well, citizens have voiced concerns about the alleged hustling they encounter in the public washrooms of department stores.

Recently a court case in London revolved around an ethnic restaurant and coffee house where runaway juveniles were involved in prostitution. Police convicted several men for procuring but generally found the sentences to be lenient. The London community was upset by reports of this incident and asked for further investigation into this issue.

Police in London complained bitterly that they were understaffed. Major investigations of organized prostitution such as escort services consume a large number of man hours, leaving little man power for other concerns. As a result, they have relied on informal methods of policing often involving harassment of customers. Sections of the Criminal Code which have been used effectively include the bawdy house section as well as the section dealing with procuring and living off the avails of prostitution.

The London Police recommended that the Hutt decision be reversed and that minimum fines be implemented for certain acts of prostitution.

The Social Service Agencies we interviewed in London had limited contact with adult prostitutes and did not believe that aspect of prostitution to be a problem in the area. However, they were worried about an apparent increase in the number of adolescent prostitutes.

Many workers felt that one problem in London surrounding juvenile prostitution was that it appeared to be underground and therefore difficult to identify. A second problem in handling prostitution in London relates to the attitudes of the population. According to the agencies we spoke to, London is a conservative and comfortable town with traditional values. In this sense prostitution is often publically denied or minimized. There appears to be a concerted effort on the part of social control agents to keep it invisible. The agencies believe their underfunding reflects the desire of the city to keep this issue under wraps. All agencies spoke of the immediate need for adequate budgets to provide sufficient services to their clients.

Windsor

Windsor was the most Western city we visited in Ontario. It has a population of 192,000 and faces the city of Detroit. Windsor is heavily industrialized and closely linked to Detroit and the automobile industry.

Windsor Police have a Special Investigation Division of their force which is responsible for prostitution. The division is composed of one staff sergeant, three sergeants and seventeen constables. Windsor has a heavy influx of Americans from

Detroit coming over in the evenings and on weekends. The drinking age in Detroit is twenty-one while in Windsor it is nineteen. Windsor's large number of bingo parlours are attractive to a growing number of Americans who are prepared to spend money in the city.

Police and social agencies reported that Windsor was a centre for prostitution in the 1960's. Street prostitutes from Detroit were reported to arrive in Windsor in carloads. As a result of public complaints police put additional pressure on the girls using the loitering and soliciting (pre-Hutt) provisions of the laws.

The general consensus among people we spoke to in Windsor, including traditional facilitators like taxi drivers, was that if we wanted to find a working girl, we should cross the river to Detroit. The pressures of informal policing methods are said to have been responsible for eliminating much of the prostitution business. Between six and eight street prostitutes have been counted on the main streets of Windsor in the past year. When restaurant owners complained that business was being disrupted the police would send patrol cars to the area and threaten customers or advise the girls to work in bars.

They reported that approximately ten women work in one of Windsor's downtown hotels. The hotel is well known for prostitution. If there are no complaints the women are left alone.

Between ten and twenty male prostitutes work mainly in the area of Dieppe Park. Men, often from Detroit, wait in cars to pick up the male hustlers. Police will note the license plate numbers of the vehicles and advise Detroit police who may contact the person in question. Police report that they have used bawdy house laws to handle male prostitution in a local steam bath. The bath was patronized by many Americans who want their homosexual identity to remain unknown.

Police indicated that when escort or call girl services have attempted to establish operations in the city, they have obtained procuring and bawdy house convictions using electronic equipment. However, the procedure is costly, lengthy and difficult to use.

Police estimate that twenty girls from Windsor go to Detroit daily to work as prostitutes. They state that red light areas in Detroit are well known and well defined. Conversely, when American girls are arrested in Windsor they usually are persuaded to plead guilty and are deported upon conviction.

Because of the economic hardships currently felt in Windsor and the need to welcome American tourists, police feel strongly that the laws surrounding prostitution are not strong enough. They complain that as a result of the Hutt decision, they no longer have control of the streets, and have resorted to harrassing clients and prostitutes. They requested that the old soliciting law be restored, that a car be designated a public place and that the word "frequenting" in the bawdy house section of the criminal code be changed.

We spoke to a well known Madam who works in Windsor. She states that prostitution is minimal in that most hotels do not allow working girls on the

premises. She also stated that during the summer, 'part time hookers' appear in many of these hotels.

Social agencies dealing with females reported having almost no clients who were prostitutes. Two agencies in Windsor reported having twenty-five to fifty male hustlers who work sporadically. Both agencies saw male prostitution as a problem which should be dealt with by establishing better facilities for young males in the area. Appropriate housing was a paramount issue.

Ottawa

Ottawa has a population of approximately 400,000. The federal government is the main employer.

Police in Ottawa report that prostitution in the city is well contained and controlled. However, Hull, Quebec, is considered to be one source of Ottawa's nightlife. Police reported that some Ottawa prostitutes do ply their trade in Hull.

There are thirty-five police officers in the morality bureau in Ottawa. They are headed by five staff sergeants.* During good weather police report that there are fifty to seventy-five female street prostitutes working in well defined Ottawa areas. Approximately twenty to twenty-five male prostitutes work regularly in the summer. They estimate that twenty-five women work through want ads and there have been as many as ten escort services advertising in Ottawa's newspapers and telephone book.** The number of women who work in high class hotels fluctuates greatly according to police.

Police report that they attempt to control prostitution in a reactive rather than proactive fashion. They receive approximately fifty complaints per year, especially from merchants in the Market area about the noise and traffic problems. Local residents in the Market have also complained about noise. We spoke to two businessmen who explained that they felt their patrons were turning away because of loud and foul language used by prostitutes. Customers have periodically complained about being robbed by street prostitutes. Certain hotels where male prostitutes reputedly work have protested about them loitering in lobbies. Hustlers have reportedly been robbed by young boys in certain parks.

Ottawa police perceive policing as having a band-aide effect. They state, categorically, the existent law is inadequate and that the old vagrancy law should be restored.

* 1 staff sergeant will work with four or six men as investigation requires.

** Police believe several private masseuse's operate with a steady clientele.

To control the escort services, police have mainly relied on the procuring section of the Criminal Code. Customers have been charged using the bawdy house section. Police investigations of such services are lengthy, time consuming and extremely expensive. As a result of their efforts, a major (\$500,000) investigation would often yield small fines.

Police experience difficulty in controlling street prostitution. They often rely on surveillance of hotels and motels, and stop prospective customers informally as a deterrent. They also arrest people in parking lots under the gross indecency section of the Code. At times, plainclothes police officers are used to enforce the bawdy-house section of the Code. Police explained that they often requested the customers of prostitutes to cooperate in return for a certain anonymity.

Many of the ethnic communities in Ottawa have their own pimps and sources of prostitutes causing police worry about extortion. Pimps are protected by these ethnic communities who have their own codes of silence. Motorcycle gangs operating escort services have threatened clients with extortion by demanding money in return for anonymity.

We interviewed three of the major social agencies in Ottawa who reported having prostitutes as clients. In addition we spoke to several agency persons informally. All three agencies reported that less than ten percent of their client population were involved in prostitution. Street prostitutes constituted most of this clientele. Two of the 'street agencies' we interviewed documented a growing number of juvenile prostitutes - especially young boys.

The agencies do not perceive prostitution to be a problem in Ottawa. They do not provide specific programs apart from counselling, advocacy and placement/housing which are available to all clients. All three agencies believed that minimally intrusive measures should be made into the lives of prostitutes and felt that increased and more cohesive services should be made available.

The agencies felt that societal attitudes and the available law were the main impediments to better control prostitutes. Societies' mixed feelings about prostitutes as well as the judiciary treating prostitution in a flippant and sexist fashion were faulted. One agency felt that decriminalization would help remove some of the marginal status of prostitutes; a second believed that if there was a real demand from customers legalization should take place. A third agency thought that prosecuting customers as well as prostitutes would improve the situation.

Niagara Falls

Niagara Falls is located in south central Ontario and has a population of 71,000. With the tourist industry mushrooming in the summer, it is estimated that the population triples.

As with some other cities in Ontario, the prostitute population that presents problems, to the police and public, are the street prostitutes.* Police estimate that there are up to one hundred girls working the streets on any one night in the summer. In the winter this number drops to twenty or less. The women range in age from nineteen to twenty-six, the oldest known is thirty-five. Approximately eighty percent of the girls working the street are Americans coming across the border from Buffalo and the majority are said to be black.

The police suggest that most of the girls are organized and controlled by pimps and bikers.** There are a few known local pimps but the majority are black and come from Buffalo or Niagara Falls, N.Y. The girls are controlled by the pimps through quotas set for them. Those organized by bikers are charged fifty to seventy five dollars a night to stand on the street corners under the threat of having their legs broken if they do not comply.

Police estimate that at least sixty percent of street prostitutes are involved with drugs; mostly hard drugs like heroin. Violence occurs in the form of territorial fighting with the local girls pitted against those from Buffalo. Weapons are used and stabbings have occurred.

Niagara Falls police have reciprocity with those in Niagara Falls, N.Y. providing each other with information. Since New York State laws about prostitution have been tightened up, New York police report fewer prostitutes in Niagara Falls, N.Y. or Buffalo. This has resulted in a large number of clients as well as prostitutes emigrating nightly from the U.S. side.

Policing policy and practices reflect the philosophy of "charge as many people as possible with as many things as possible". This is felt necessary to ensure control. Enforcement of applicable sections of the Criminal Code most used include acts of gross indecency and interfering with the lawful enjoyment and use of property. In addition, the Highway Traffic Act is enforced as it pertains to the use of seat belts. Trespassing laws are enforced including those outlined in the Railway Act. These enforcement techniques are aimed at both the customer and prostitute.

Citizens' complaints in Niagara Falls focus on the harrassment aspect of street prostitution. Women who are not prostitutes are being harassed in the street and men are being solicited. Business people have also presented complaints to the police about the prostitutes including being confronted with acts of gross indecency, with filth from litter and having their employees subjected to obscene language. There have been few complaints from customers unless they have been robbed or assaulted.

* This group operates primarily in a four block area of the city near the Whirlpool International Bridge.

** Control occurs because of fear of physical violence, for monetary reasons and/or addiction to drugs.

According to police there are no problems with male or child prostitutes. There are, however, an estimated twenty to twenty five strip clubs but police state that they know of no link between prostitution and stripping in Niagara Falls.

Police say the prostitutes are very seldom of help to them and will only tell as much as needed for their own benefit.

Police we spoke to stated that the prostitution laws as they exist are ineffective and need to be changed. They would like to see a criminal code law similar to the one prior to the "Hutt" decision, as well as have authority to charge for vagrancy and loitering again. There is at present an attempt to formulate a by-law with sufficient provincial backing to allow the policeman to arrest.

Only one social service agency was contacted in Niagara Falls and the staff claimed to have clients who were involved in prostitution related activity. It can be suggested that since at least eighty percent of the street prostitutes are Americans and controlled by pimps this likely precludes their use of social service agencies.

The Mayor of Niagara Falls expressed concern to us about the image of the city being currently projected. He hopes that the problem will not spread to the tourist area of Niagara Falls. As such, he thinks that the police must have appropriate tools to curb "obvious" solicitation and develop long range control practices for the city.

St. Catharines

St Catharines has a population of approximately 125,000 people. It is in the heart of the Niagara fruit belt.

The local police and the John Howard Society reported that St. Catharine's is known in the Niagara Region as a centre for male prostitution. The city of Welland would have a similar problem.

It is estimated that fifteen to twenty hustlers work on two residential streets and in the washrooms of two known shopping malls. The problem likely exists because of the long standing existence of a gay bar in the area. Police report monitoring the area, and in the past using the bawdy house section of the Criminal Code successfully to obtain convictions.

Some of the male prostitutes are reported to be young natives who have difficulty finding employment or who work seasonally. These men often prostitute themselves in both the U.S. and Canada as they have dual citizenship.

Cornwall

Cornwall is Ontario's most easterly city, and headquarters for the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority with a population 46,144. Police report minimal prostitution activity in Cornwall and have not charged a prostitute in eight years.

Sudbury

Sudbury, the only city visited in Northern Ontario, has a population of approximately 90,000. It is an industrial city where nickel mining is the main industry.

The Sudbury police reports that there is no street prostitution. They know of no juvenile or male prostitution. Approximately ten to fifteen prostitutes, all local women, work in a central strip of the city characterized by hotels and taverns. These hotels usually feature strippers and have an afternoon crowd usually comprised of unemployed people.

The strippers are frequently married women and have regulars they see in the hotels. Some are well known to the police. Outsiders are not easily accepted in these hotels. The operation is low key and customers usually approach the women. Often husbands of the women are alcoholics who do not know what their wives do; some of the women are native Indian.

Periodically, prostitutes have complained of outsiders coming to their hotel to work or of being asked by hotel managers for "favours". Such a charge resulted in one of the hotels being prosecuted in July 1983 under the bawdy house section of the Criminal Code. Police report that when the women were moved out of hotels they did go to the street. Sudbury police report that there has been only one prostitution related charge in the past two years.

Nonetheless, they want the Hutt decision reversed, feeling they would have greater control in their operations.

Police indicated that they assumed a proactive role in eliminating a massage parlour and escort service that attempted to set up business. They stated the city was too small for such an operation to remain anonymous. Undercover police women were used to bring about procuring convictions in this investigation.

Of four social agencies contacted in Sudbury, three reported no prostitution related activity among their clients. The remaining agency, the Elizabeth Fry Society reports that the primary needs of their clients would be best met through a women's counselling center and halfway house for street women.

Timmins

Timmins has a population of 46,000 and is a silver and zinc mine centre. Police in Timmins estimated that there were twelve active prostitutes whom they do not regard as a problem. "In the past four or five years, we have not laid a charge against a prostitute in our area nor have we seen any need to do so. The girls do not loiter or solicit on the streets and they have no complaints from the public. The women work on their own with no pimps."

CONCLUSION

Rather than attempt to prove or disprove any thesis about prostitution, this study has attempted to give the reader an aerial view of the phenomenon as it exists in certain parts of Ontario. Toronto has been the city most focussed upon.

At times it was difficult to define prostitution and decide what parameters to include in it. As an example, the writer recalls being propositioned by two native women in Sudbury who wanted someone to buy them drinks. The question arose whether or not to conclude they were prostitutes and attempt to interview them. In this sense, it became apparent that few could isolate prostitutes from others involved in the sex industry such as strippers, nude models, and newspaper companions.

Some subjective impressions remained with us and may reflect our own experiences and biases. Street prostitution appeared to us, for the most part, to be a "reactive" form of behaviour. We met young women and men whose backgrounds were characterized by poverty, family conflict and often physical or sexual abuse. They appeared to give little thought to their needs, beyond those required for day to day survival. One could argue that this characteristic is common to an entire segment of society, or that it is a function of a particular age group. Nonetheless, it was difficult for us to conceive street prostitution as anything but a transitional period for many young people. In light of this, prostitution does not appear to be the central issue in the lives of these people, and further criminalization of this activity would be of little benefit to them.

Other forms of prostitution that we studied, notably the escort services and hotel prostitutes are much more proactive in their behaviour. They appear better organized and are oriented to issues like service delivery and profit. The participants are older and expressed having more choices at their disposal.

The central issue for society in dealing with this form of prostitution, is to decide whether or not it is prepared to acknowledge it, and allow this behaviour some permanent form of expression.

Several areas left us uneasy at the termination of the study. The biased and small sample of prostitutes we spoke to made it very difficult to address the harms inherent in this behaviour. Additional studies, as well as a longitudinal study of prostitutes might provide further insights.

It was interesting to observe the intense debate among different pressure groups and citizens during our inquiry. One came away with the feeling that prostitution, in many way, is a barometer indicating the numerous changes that are taking place in certain traditional social institutions.

All of the police departments we spoke to wanted revisions in the Criminal Code to include stronger provisions for the arrest and prosecution of prostitutes. Yet, from discussions with them and other concerned parties prostitution was perceived as being a problem in only two cities - Toronto and Niagara Falls.

Our explanation for this is that despite the fact that police in many of the cities in Ontario do feel public pressure, from time to time, regarding prostitution, where they perceive the harm to the weak they are able to rely on informal methods of control. These methods have included harassment, intimidation of prostitutes and clients as well as peripheral forms of arrest involving alcohol, drug and traffic offenses.

These forms of control have not worked in Toronto likely because of its size, anonymity and tradition of civil liberties. Niagara Falls because of the influx of American women unable to work under more repressive state laws have not been deterred by informal policing. These two cities need additional strategies to control street prostitution.

From the prostitutes' perspective, especially those committed to this form of activity, increased social control has often meant, regrouping and devising new forms of expression. This was apparent from the plethora of available avenues for work described to us.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Peter Maloney, "Street Hustling: Growing Up Gay?" Thesis prepared for Directed Research in Juvenile Justice for the Faculty of Law and Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto, 1979, Unpublished.

² Bureau of Municipal Research, Civic Affairs, "Street Prostitution in Our Cities," February 1983, p. 2.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Andreee Ruffo, "La prostitution des mineurs: l'enfant depossede de son enfance," document de base prepare pour le Conseil Consultatif Canadien de la situation de la femme (C.C.C.S.F.), Ottawa: C.C.C.S.F., 1983.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PROSTITUTES

PERSONAL HISTORY

1. How old are you?

- 1) under 16
- 2) 16-21
- 3) 21-30
- 4) 21-30
- 5) over 30
- 6) no answer

2. Where do you come from originally?

- 1) same place you are "working"
- 2) different place than where you are working"
- 3) no answer

3. a) Where is your family?

- 1) same place you are working
- 2) different place than where you are working
- 3) no answer

3. b) Tell me about your family?

- 1) difficult family situation but stayed at home
- 2) difficult family situation and left home before 16 years
- 3) relatively stable safe environment
- 4) lost contact with family due to parental death
- 5) lived in a series of foster homes
- 6) kicked out of home due to "problems"
- 7) no answer

3. c) What is the economic class of your family?

- 1) do not know
- 2) blue collar
- 3) white collar
- 4) unemployed

4. How far did you go in school?

- 1) less than grade 9
- 2) grade 9 or 10
- 3) grade 11 or 12
- 4) grade 13
- 5) post secondary training
- 6) university
- 7) No answer

5. Have you taken any other courses besides those completed in school?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) if yes, which ones?
6. Have you had other jobs besides being a prostitute?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer
7. a) How did you become a prostitute?
 - 1) through friends
 - 2) client solicitation
 - 3) other way
 - 4) no answer
7. b) Why did you become a prostitute?
 - 1) no other source of income
 - 2) wanted additional income
 - 3) drugs
 - 4) thrill
 - 5) to be own boss
8. How long have you been a prostitute?
 - 1) less than 1 year
 - 2) 1 to 2 years
 - 3) 2 to 3 years
 - 4) 3 to 4 years
 - 5) more than 4 years
9. What is your sexual orientation?
 - 1) straight
 - 2) gay
 - 3) bisexual
 - 4) no answer
10. Are you or have you been married?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer
11. Do you have children?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) not applicable

If yes, who looks after them?

- 1) self
- 2) daycare
- 3) not with me
- 4) husband
- 5) boyfriend
- 6) not applicable

12. a) Are your closest friends prostitutes?

- 1) most are
- 2) most are not
- 3) none
- 4) no friends

12. b) Do you live with someone?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

13. How do you see yourself in 10 years?

- 1) no idea
- 2) uncertain
- 3) general plans
- 4) definite plans

14. a) Do you like your work?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

14. b) Do you do it by choice?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

15. What would you change?

- 1) nothing
- 2) another job
- 3) safety
- 4) police harassment
- 5) legalize
- 6) decriminalize
- 7) no answer

MOVEMENTS OF PROSTITUTES

1. Have you been involved in more than one kind of prostitution?
Yes ___ No ___. If yes, which one(s):
 - 1) stripper
 - 2) escort service
 - 3) body rub
 - 4) street prostitution
 - 5) bawdy house
 - 6) hotel
2. What is the longest you have resided in one place?
 - 1) _____ months
 - 2) _____ years
3. How long have you worked in this city?
 - 1) _____ months
 - 2) _____ years
4. How much do you work in one day? In one week? Seasonal?
 - 1) no answer
 - 2) not applicable

PROSTITUTION AS A BUSINESS

1. How much do you earn? Weekly? Yearly? Seasonal?
 - 1) hourly service fee _____
 - 2) fee charge for specific service _____
2. How do you spend your money?
3. Do you pay rent?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer
4. Do you have any money put away? In the Bank?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) no answer

5. Do you file income tax?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

PROSTITUTION AND CRIME

1. Have you ever been arrested?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

2. For what reasons?

- 1) related to prostitution
- 2) unrelated (violent)
- 3) unrelated (property)
- 4) drug/alcohol
- 5) mixture
- 6) not applicable

3. What was the result of the arrest?

- 1) charges dismissed
- 2) fine
- 3) probation
- 4) jail
- 5) charges outstanding
- 6) acquitted
- 7) not applicable

4. a) Do you have a pimp?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) not applicable
- 4) no answer

4. b) How much do you pay him? _____

4. c) How does he help you?

4. d) Has he ever harmed you?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) not applicable
- 4) no answer

5. a) Do you use drugs?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

5. b) How often?

- 1) every day
- 2) occasionally
- 3) never
- 4) not applicable

6. Is it easier to work stoned?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

7. Have you ever sold drugs?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

HARM TO PROSTITUTES

1. Have you ever had a venereal disease?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

2. a) Do you have a doctor?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

2. b) Do you have regular medical checkups?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

3. Do you get along with the police?

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) no answer

4. a) Have they ever harmed you?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

4. b) How?

- 1) physical assaults
- 2) threats
- 3) both
- 4) no answer

5. Do you give them information?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

6. Do they protect you?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

7. Have you ever been beaten up, robbed or raped by customer?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer
- 4) harassed
- 5) mixture
- 6) beaten
- 7) robbed
- 8) raped

8. Do you use social agencies?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) no answer

9. How do they treat you?

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

10. How are you treated by

Lawyers

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

Doctors

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

Others

- 1) well
- 2) O.K.
- 3) badly
- 4) not applicable
- 5) no answer

11. Do the girls on the street help each other?

- 1) yes
- 2) no
- 3) not applicable
- 4) no answer

12. How do people feel about you in general?

- 1) no answer
- 2) accept
- 3) don't accept
- 4) don't know

CUSTOMERS

1. Who are your customers?

Ethnic Background

- 1) WASP
- 2) oriental
- 3) colored
- 4) european
- 5) mixture

Social Class

- 1) blue collar
- 2) white collar
- 3) mixture

Married vs. Single

- 1) married
- 2) single
- 3) mixture
- 4) don't know
- 5) no answer

Age

- 1) under 30
- 2) 30-50
- 3) over 50
- 4) mixture

2. Who do they come and see you?

- 1) primarily sex
- 2) primarily for reasons other than sex
- 3) a mixture of both

3) Where do you go with them?

- 1) car
- 2) hotel
- 3) home
- 4) other

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CLIENTS

1. Sex
 - 1) female
 - 2) male

2. Age
 - 1) under 21 years of age
 - 2) 21-30 years of age
 - 3) 31-40 years of age
 - 4) 41-50 years of age
 - 5) 51-60 years of age
 - 6) over 60 years of age

3. Marital Status
 - 1) single
 - 2) married
 - 3) separated
 - 4) divorced
 - 5) common-law

4. Racial Origin
 - 1) Caucasian
 - 2) Negroid
 - 3) Canadian Indian
 - 4) Oriental
 - 5) other - could you specify _____

5. Average Annual Income
 - 1) under \$10,000
 - 2) \$10,000-30,000
 - 3) \$31,000-50,000
 - 4) \$51,000-70,000
 - 5) \$71,000-90,000
 - 6) over \$91,000

6. Type of Employment
 - 1) factory "blue collar" worker
 - 2) skilled and/or technical worker
 - 3) white collar worker
 - 4) professional
 - 5) unemployed

7. Education - What is the last level of education that you attended?
 - 1) grade 0-8
 - 2) grade 9-11
 - 3) grade 12-13
 - 4) college diploma
 - 5) university degree
 - 6) graduate studies
8. How often do you require the services of a prostitute?
 - 1) once a year or less
 - 2) every few months
 - 3) once a month
 - 4) every few weeks
 - 5) once a week
 - 6) several times a week
9. What is your sexual preference?
 - 1) heterosexual
 - 2) homosexual
 - 3) bisexual
10. What would you say is your primary reason for obtaining the services of a prostitute?
 - 1) entertainment
 - 2) sexual gratification
 - 3) companionship
 - 4) other - could you specify _____
11. What would you like to see happen with criminal legislation regarding prostitution?
 - 1) criminalization
 - 2) decriminalization
 - 3) legalization

Why?

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PIMPS

1. Sex
 - 1) female
 - 2) male
2. Age
 - 1) under 21 years of age
 - 2) 21-30 years of age
 - 3) 31-40 years of age
 - 4) 41-50 years of age
 - 5) 51-60 years of age
 - 6) over 60 years of age
3. Marital Status
 - 1) single
 - 2) married
 - 3) separated
 - 4) divorced
 - 5) common-law
4. Racial Origin
 - 1) Caucasian
 - 2) Negroid
 - 3) Canadian Indian
 - 4) Oriental
 - 5) other - could you specify _____
5. Education - What is the last level of education that you attended?
 - 1) grade 0-8
 - 2) grade 9-11
 - 3) grade 12-13
 - 4) college diploma
 - 5) university degree
 - 6) graduate studies
6. Average Annual Income
 - 1) under \$10,000
 - 2) \$11,000-20,000
 - 3) \$21,000-40,000
 - 4) \$41,000-60,000
 - 5) \$61,000-80,000
 - 6) \$81,000-100,000
 - 7) over \$100,000

7. a) Do you have other sources of income?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

7. b) If so, could you tell us what they are?

- 1) employment
- 2) government assistance
- 3) the sale of illegal drugs
- 4) other - could you specify _____

8. How long have you been pimping?

- 1) less than 1 year
- 2) 1-5 years
- 3) 5-10 years
- 4) 10-15 years
- 5) 15-20 years
- 6) over 20 years

9. a) Have you ever been charged with an adult criminal offense?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

9. b) As a juvenile (under the age of 16) were you ever charged with a delinquent offense?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

10. How many prostitutes do you pimp for?

- 1) less than 3 prostitutes
- 2) 3-6 prostitutes
- 3) 6-9 prostitutes
- 4) 9-12 prostitutes
- 5) 12-15 prostitutes
- 6) over 15 prostitutes

11. What is the average cost of the service provided by your prostitutes?

- 1) less than \$25
- 2) \$25-100
- 3) \$100-200
- 4) \$200-300
- 5) \$300-400
- 6) over \$400

12. What percentage of the above cost do you require that your prostitutes turn over to you?

- 1) 100%
- 2) 70-80%
- 3) 50-60%
- 4) 30-40%
- 5) less than 20%

APPENDIX D
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

1. Name of Agency _____
2. Position of Interviewees _____
3. Would you state the mandate of your agency as briefly as possible

4. Type of Agency
 - 1) Children's Aid
 - 2) Youth Services
 - 3) Probation
 - 4) Welfare
 - 5) Health
 - 6) Government (political)
 - 7) Citizen's Group
 - 8) Other
 - 9) Federal
 - 10) Provincial
 - 11) Municipal
 - 12) Volunteer
 - 13) Private
 - 14) Other
5. What is the age range of your client population?
 - 1) under 18
 - 2) 18-25
 - 3) 25-40
 - 4) 40-60
 - 5) over 60
 - 6) other
6. What is the distance from your agency to the nearest known area of street prostitution?
 - 1) less than one mile
 - 2) 1-2 miles
 - 3) 2-5 miles
 - 4) more than 5 miles

7. To the best of your knowledge, have any of your clients engaged in activities related to prostitution?

- 1) yes
- 2) no

If no, end questionnaire.

If yes, continue

8. How many clients make use of your service annually?

- 1) less than 100
- 2) 100-300
- 3) 300-500
- 4) 500-700
- 5) 700-1,000
- 6) over 1,000

9. Of these clients how many are involved in activities related to prostitution?

- 1) less than 10
- 2) 10-25
- 3) 25-50
- 4) 50-100
- 5) 100-200
- 6) over 200

10. What percentage of these clients are involved in:

- 1) prostitution-street
- 2) pimping
- 3) customers
- 4) prostitution - escort service and massage parlours

11. Of this client population what percentage is: a) male or b) female?

- 1) 100% female - 0% male
- 2) 75% female - 25% male
- 3) 50% female - 50% male
- 4) 25% female - 75% male
- 5) 0% female - 100% male

12. Which services do these clients require?

- 1) counselling/emotional, psychological
- 2) counselling/health, medical
- 3) counselling/legal
- 4) placement/housing
- 5) protection/shelter
- 6) daycare
- 7) financial
- 8) other

13. Would you name the specific programs in your agency used by these clients:

14. How do clients come in contact with your agency?

- 1) walk in/phone in
- 2) advertising (flyers, newspapers)
- 3) agency referrals
- 4) word of mouth
- 5) social work intervention
- 6) police
- 7) other

If 7, then ask: What are the other methods?

15. What is required for a client to obtain your services?

- 1) needs test
- 2) referral
- 3) funding source
- 4) individual fee
- 5) service free of charge
- 6) other

If 6, then ask: What other requirements are necessary?

16. What problems do you perceive are associated with prostitution in your city?

17. Estimate the number of prostitutes working visibly in your city:

- 1) male
- 2) female
- 3) juvenile

18. Do you feel these problems are being adequately dealt with under present legislation?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
19. Do you feel this client group is being serviced properly? Explain.
 - 1) increased social services
 - 2) what kind
20. Any additional remarks? (i.e., would you like to see law changed? - if at all?)

APPENDIX E
AGENCIES - STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

1. **Toronto** - 11 interviews
 - i) Under 21 - Covenant House
 - ii) Inner City Youth Program
 - iii) John Howard Society (Metro Toronto)
 - iv) Central Toronto Youth Services
 - v) Catholic Children's Aid
 - vi) John Howard Society (Peel)
 - vii) YMCA - Stopover Youth Hostel
 - viii) Huntley Youth Services - Big Sisters Association
 - ix) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - x) Salvation Army
 - xi) Hassle Free Clinic
2. **Timmins** - none
3. **Sudbury** - 3 interviews
 - i) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - ii) Northern Regional Recovery Home
 - iii) YWCA - Geneva House
4. **Hamilton** - 3 interviews
 - i) Alternatives for Youth
 - ii) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - iii) Wesley Centre - Drop-In
5. **Niagara Falls - St. Catharines** - 1 interview
 - i) John Howard Society (Niagara Region)
6. **London** - 4 interviews
 - i) London Family Court Clinic
 - ii) Western Ontario Therapeutic Community Hostel (Watch)
 - iii) London Family & Children's Services - street worker
 - iv) Children's Aid (see above)
7. **Windsor** - 4 interviews
 - i) New Beginnings (Essex County)
 - ii) Salvation Army
 - iii) The Inn of Windsor
 - iv) John Howard Society
8. **Ottawa** - 3 interviews
 - i) Elizabeth Fry Society
 - ii) Anglican Social Services - Centre 454
 - iii) Youth Services Bureau - Post 15 Program

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE TO LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL

1. Types of prostitution - male, female, child
2. Location of prostitutes
3. Estimated numbers - increase
4. Link to crime
5. Link to drugs
6. Link to organized crime
7. Movements of prostitutes
8. Pimping practices
9. Economic effects
10. Relationship to economic conditions
11. Responses from public
12. Complaints from public
13. Bawdy houses - records
14. Enforcement procedures
15. Effectiveness of the law
16. Use of changes in the law
17. How they would like to see it changed
18. Are prostitutes help to police? How?
19. Available statistics

APPENDIX G
ADDITIONAL TABLES

Do you pay rent	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	8 72.7%	3 27.3%
Escort	0 0.0%	13 100%	0 0.0%
Street	0 0.0%	22 84.6%	4 15.4%
Other	0 0.0%	6 75.0%	2 25.0%
Total	0 0.0%	49 84.5%	9 15.5%

n/a= no answer

Do you live with someone	n/a	Yes	No
Male	2 18.2%	6 54.5%	3 27.3%
Escort	4 30.8%	6 46.2%	3 23.1%
Street	1 3.7%	22 81.5%	4 14.8%
Other	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	3 37.5%
Total	7 11.9%	39 65.1%	13 22.0%

n/a= no answer

Are you or Have you been married	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	0 90.9%
Escort	0 0.0%	6 46.2%	7 53.8%
Street	0 0.0%	4 14.8%	23 85.2%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	0 0.0%	15 25.4%	44 74.6%

n/a= no answer

Seasonal	n/a	More in Summer	More in Winter	No Difference
Mate	1 9.1%	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	5 45.5%
Escort	1 7.7%	0 0.0%	1 7.7%	11 84.6%
Street	9 34.6%	4 15.4%	3 11.5%	10 38.5%
Other	5 62.5%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	2 25.0%
Total	16 27.6%	7 12.1%	7 12.1%	28 48.3%

n/a= no answer

Do you have children	n/a	Yes	No
Male	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	8 72.7%
Escort	0 0.0%	5 38.5%	8 61.5%
Street	1 3.7%	9 33.3%	17 63.0%
Other	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	4 50.0%
Total	2 3.4%	20 33.9%	37 62.7%

n/a= not applicable

Who looks after children	n/a	Self	Daycare	Not with me	Husband, Boyfriend
Male	9 81.8%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	1 9.1%
Escort	8 61.5%	2 15.4%	2 7.7%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%
Street	18 66.7%	1 3.7%	2 7.4%	4 14.8%	2 7.4%
Other	4 50.0%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Total	39 66.1%	4 6.8%	7 11.9%	6 10.2%	3 5.1%

n/a= not applicable

Types of Prostitution	Stripper	Escort	Body Rub	Street	Bawdy House	Hotel
Male	1 9.1%	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	10 90.9%	7 63.6%	6 54.5%
Escort	3 23.1%	13 100%	1 7.7%	2 15.4%	4 30.8%	7 53.8%
Street	7 26.9%	5 19.2%	3 11.5%	26 100%	4 15.4%	9 34.6%
Other	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	5 62.5%	2 25.0%	4 50.0%	3 37.5%
Total	13 22.4%	19 32.8%	11 19.0%	40 69.0%	19 32.8%	25 43.1%

Days worked/week	n/a	1-3	3-5	Everyday
Male	0 0.0%	2 18.2%	3 27.3%	6 54.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	4 30.8%	5 38.5%	4 30.8%
Other	3 37.5%	0 0.0%	4 50.0%	1 12.5%
Total	3 5.2%	11 19.0%	23 39.7%	21 36.2%

n/a= no answer

Do you use Social Agencies	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	6 54.5%
Escort	0 0.0%	2 15.4%	11 84.6%
Street	1 3.7%	18 66.7%	8 29.6%
Other	0 0.0%	6 75.0%	2 25.0%
Total	1 1.7%	31 52.5%	27 45.8%

n/a= no answer

HOW ARE YOU TREATED BY	n/a	Well	Ok	Badly
SOCIAL AGENCIES				
Male	4 36.4%	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	2 18.2%
Escort	11 84.6%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%
Street	11 40.7%	6 22.2%	1 3.7%	9 33.3%
Other	2 25.0%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%	1 12.5%
Total	26 44.1%	11 18.6%	8 13.6%	12 20.3%

n/a= no answer

(cont'd)

LAWYERS

Male	4	5	2	0
	36.4%	45.5%	18.2%	0.0%
Escort	3	5	3	2
	23.1%	38.5%	23.1%	15.4%
Street	15	5	6	1
	55.6%	18.5%	22.2%	3.7%
Other	1	4	2	1
	12.5%	50.0%	25.0%	12.5%
Total	23	19	13	4
	39.0%	32.2%	22.0%	6.8%

n/a= no answer

DOCTORS

Male	4	6	1	0
	36.4%	54.5%	9.1%	0.0%
Escort	4	5	3	1
	30.8%	38.5%	23.1%	7.7%
Street	11	7	6	3
	40.7%	25.9%	22.2%	11.1%
Other	3	3	2	0
	37.5%	37.5%	25.0%	0.0%
Total	23	21	12	4
	39.0%	35.6%	20.3%	6.8%

n/a= no answer

OTHERS

Male	8	0	3	0
	72.7%	0.0%	27.3%	0.0%
Escort	7	4	2	0
	53.8%	30.8%	15.4%	0.0%
Street	20	1	4	2
	74.1%	3.7%	14.8%	7.4%
Other	6	1	0	1
	75.0%	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%
Total	41	6	9	3
	69.5%	10.2%	15.3%	5.1%

n/a= no answer

Do girls on the Street help each other	n/a	Yes	No
Male	0 0.0%	10 90.9%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	4 30.8%	8 61.5%
Street	1 3.7%	16 59.3%	10 37.0%
Other	2 25.0%	5 62.5%	1 12.5%
Total	4 6.8%	35 59.3%	20 33.9%

n/a= no answer

How do people feel about you	n/a	accept	Don't Accept	Don't Know
Male	0 0.0%	5 45.5%	5 45.5%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	3 23.1%	3 23.1%	6 46.2%
Street	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	21 77.8%	6 22.2%
Other	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	4 50.0%	3 37.5%
Total	1 1.7%	9 15.3%	33 55.9%	16 27.1%

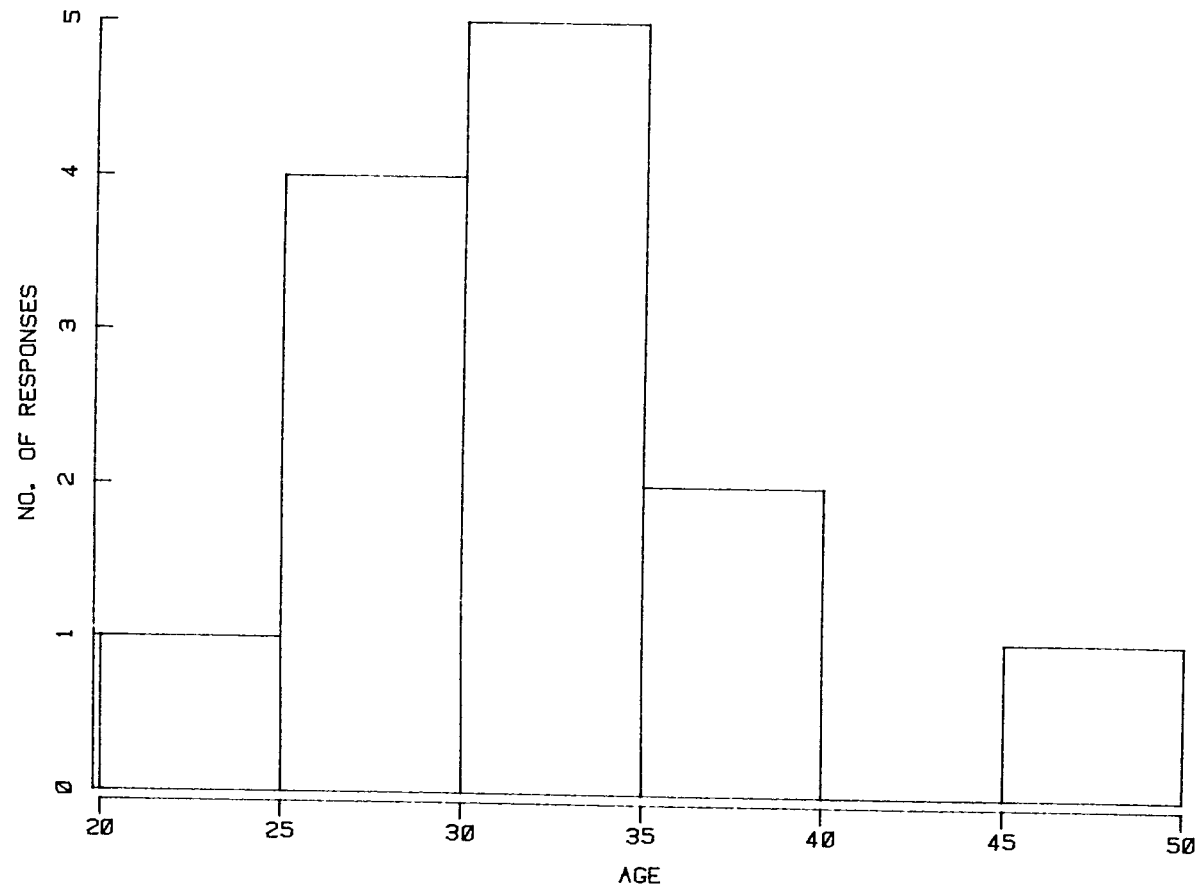
n/a= no answer

What would you change	Less police harassment	Legalize	Decriminalize	Less public hassle	Safety	Another job	Nothing	n/a
Male	3 27.3%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%	2 18.2%	0 0.0%	1 9.1%	2 18.2%	1 9.1%
Escort	1 7.7%	3 23.1%	5 38.5%	1 7.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	3 23.1%	0 0.0%
Street	6 23.1%	3 11.5%	2 7.7%	1 3.8%	10 38.5%	4 15.4%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Other	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	3 37.5%	1 12.5%	1 12.5%
Total	10 17.2%	10 17.2%	7 12.1%	4 6.9%	11 19.0%	8 13.8%	6 10.3%	2 3.4%

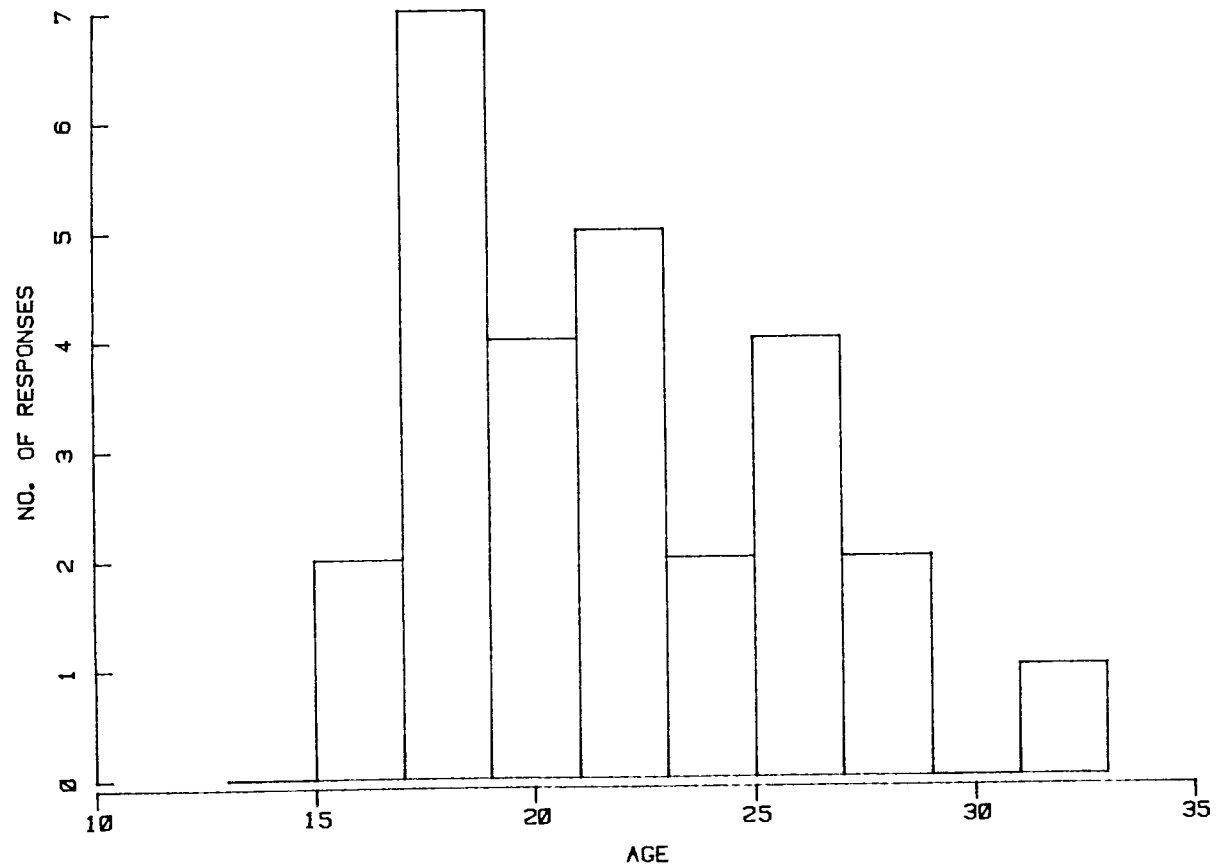
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APPENDIX H

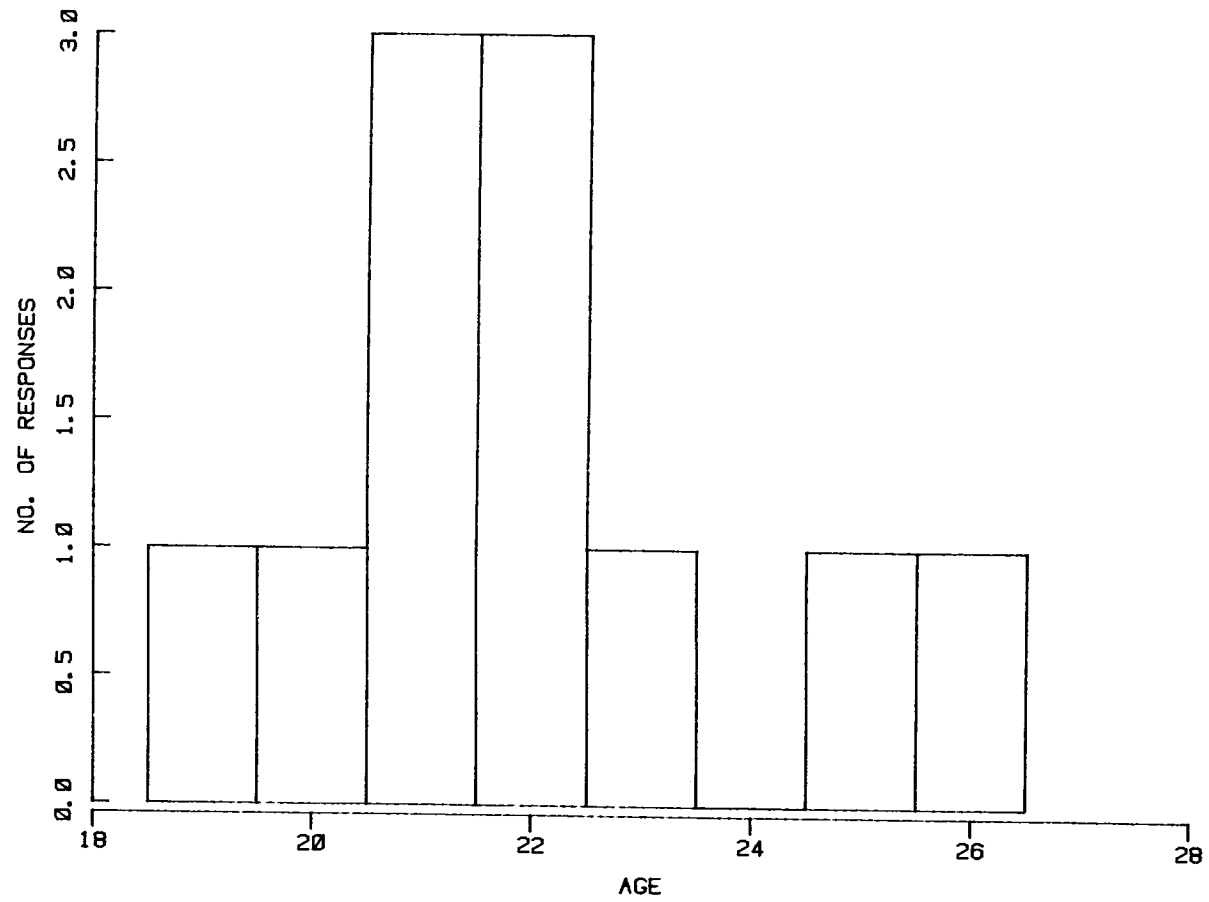
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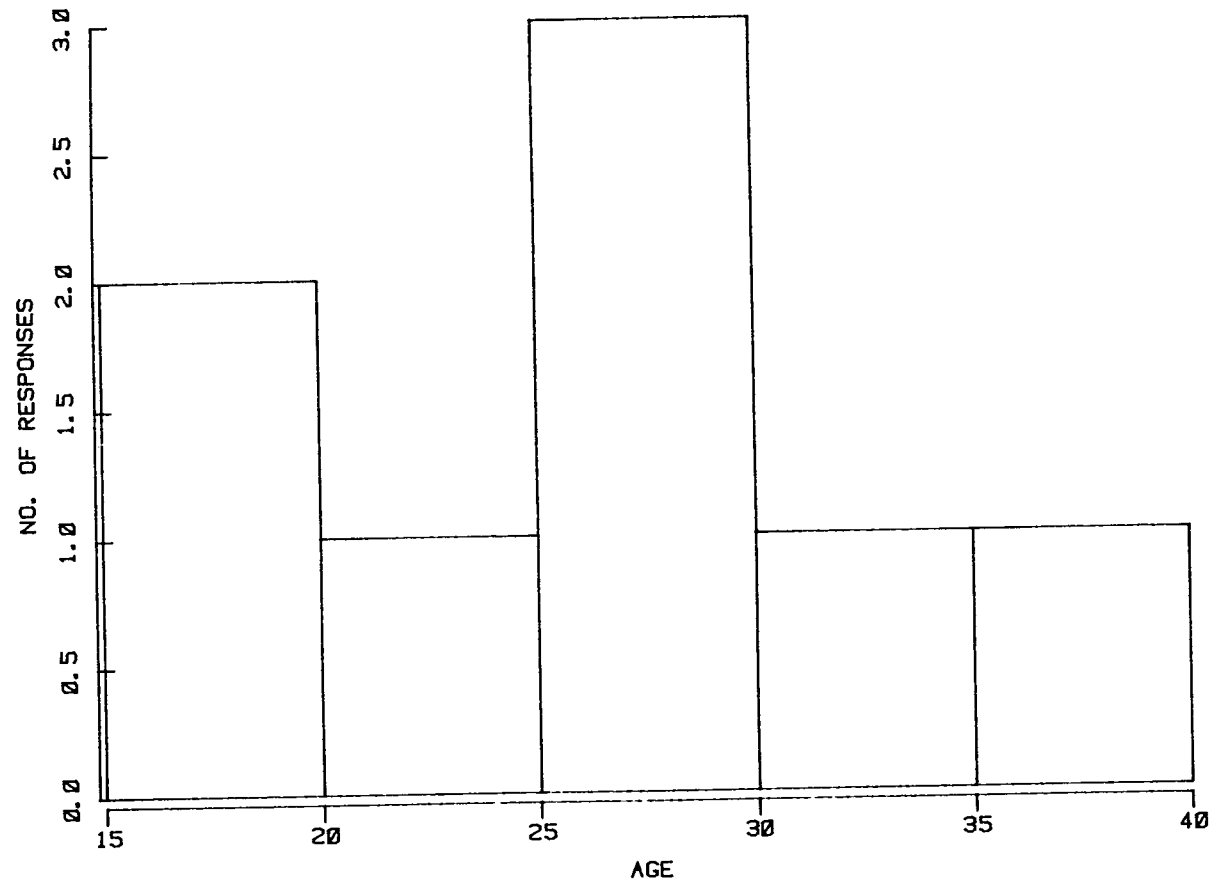
AGE DISTRIBUTION-STREET PROSTITUTES



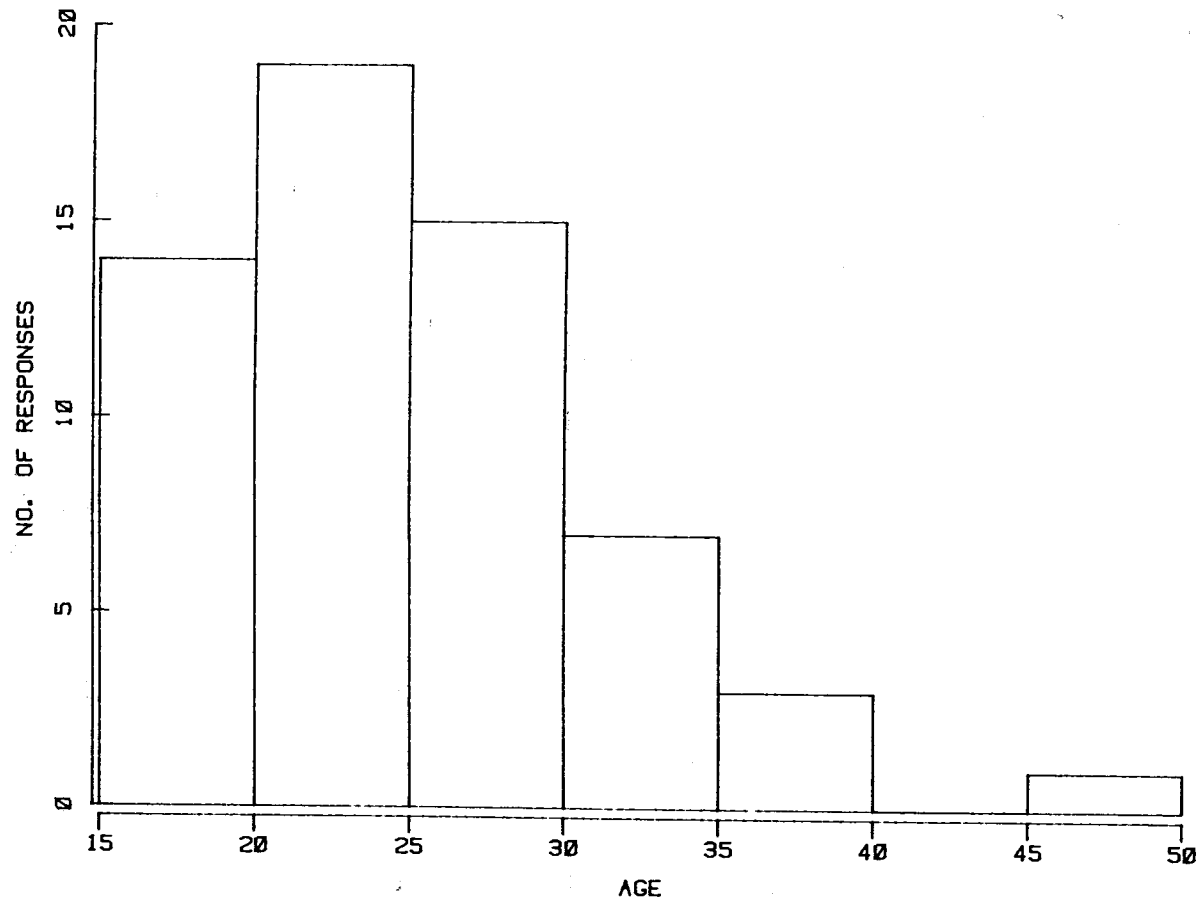
AGE DISTRIBUTION-MALE PROSTITUTES



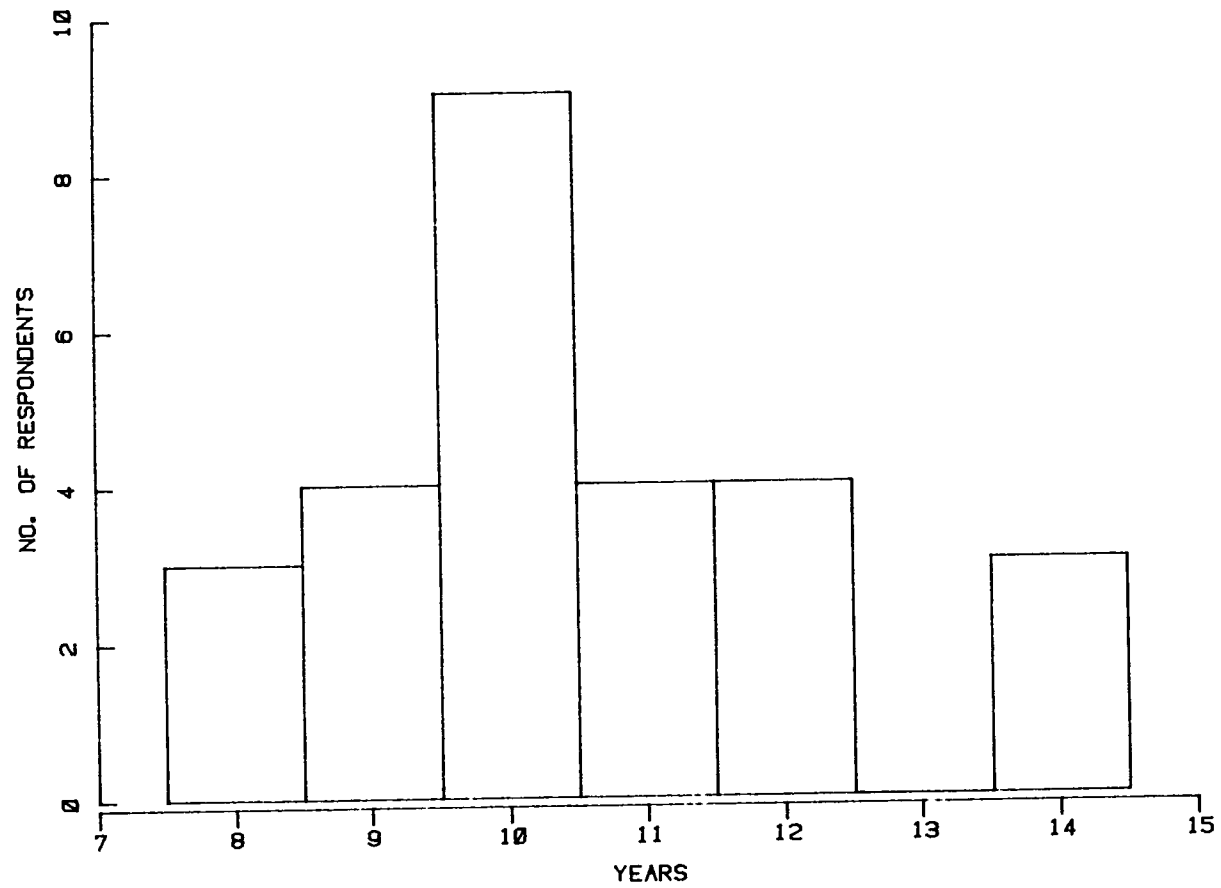
AGE DISTRIBUTION-OTHERS



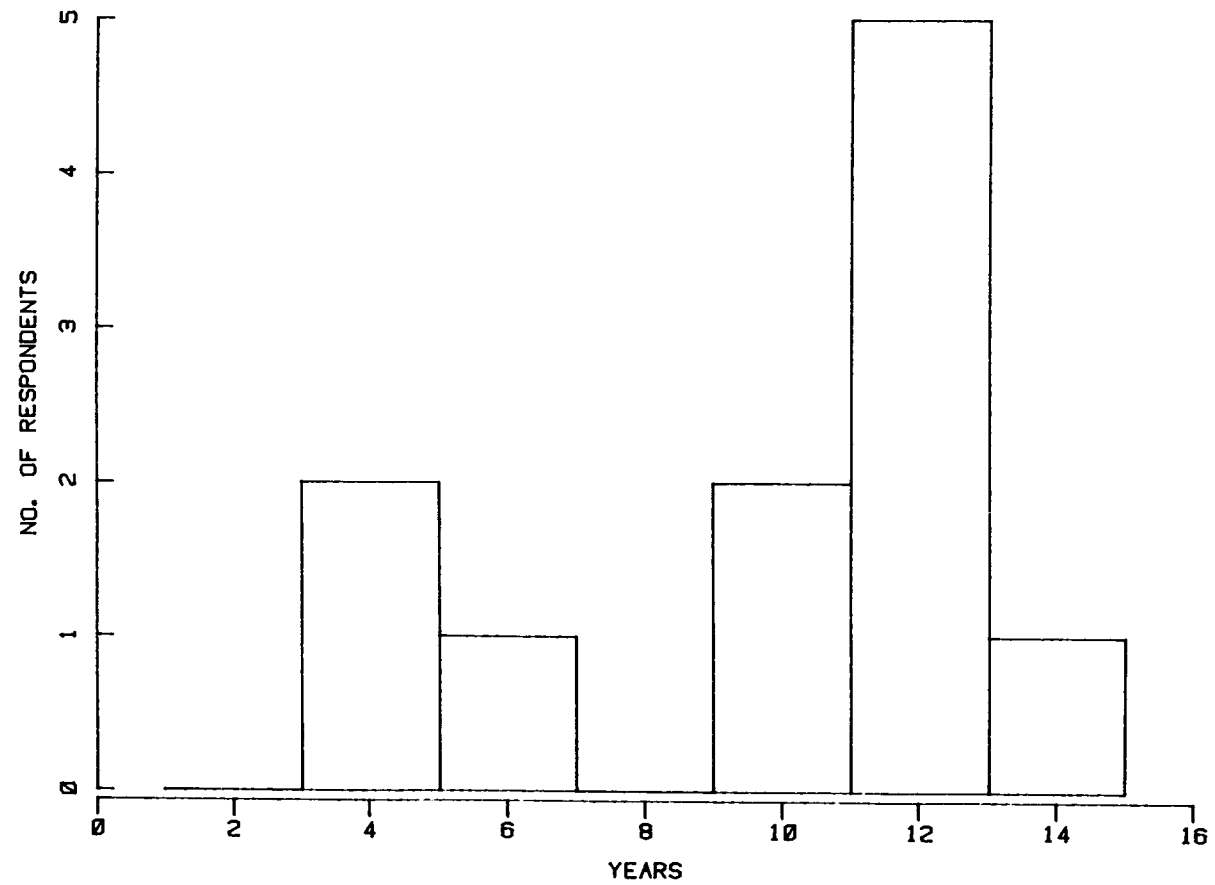
AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR THE WHOLE SAMPLE



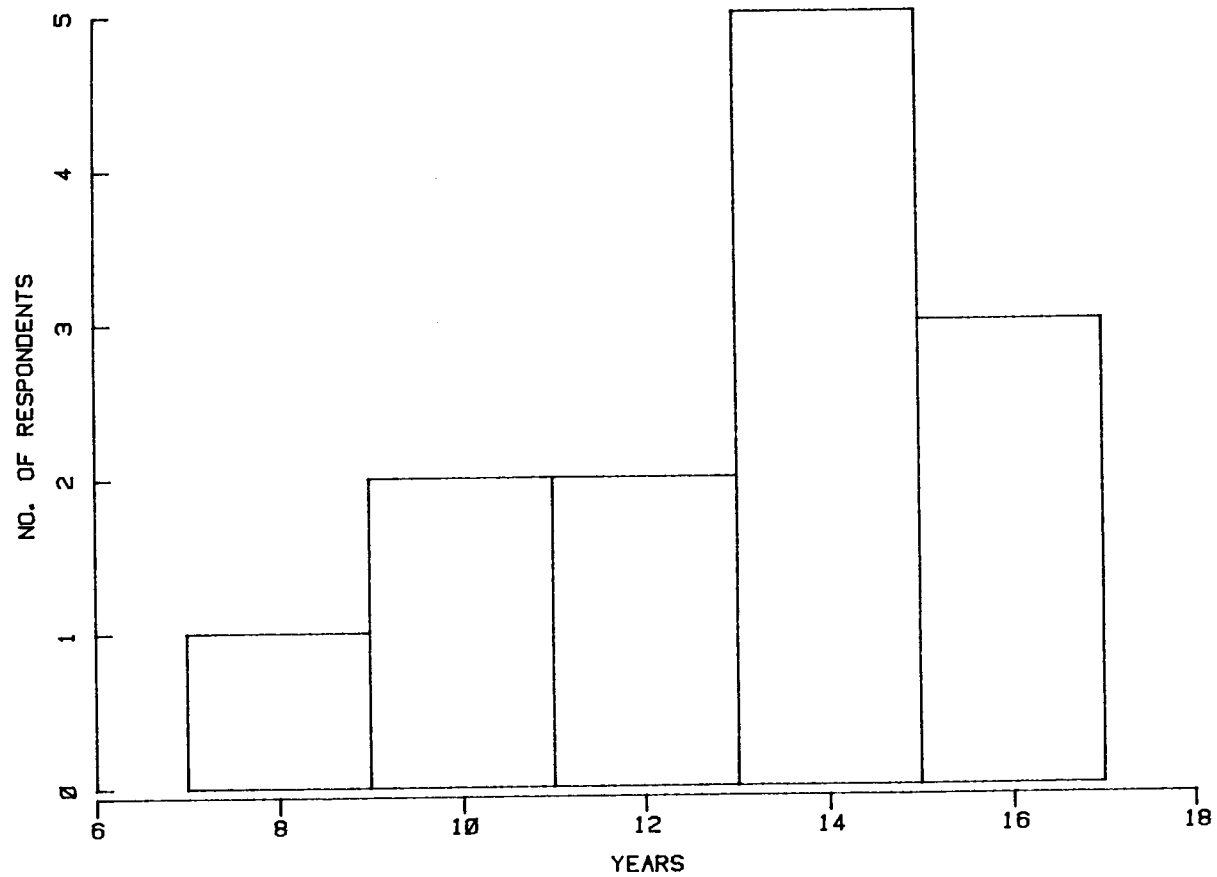
YEARS IN SCHOOL-STREET PROSTITUTES



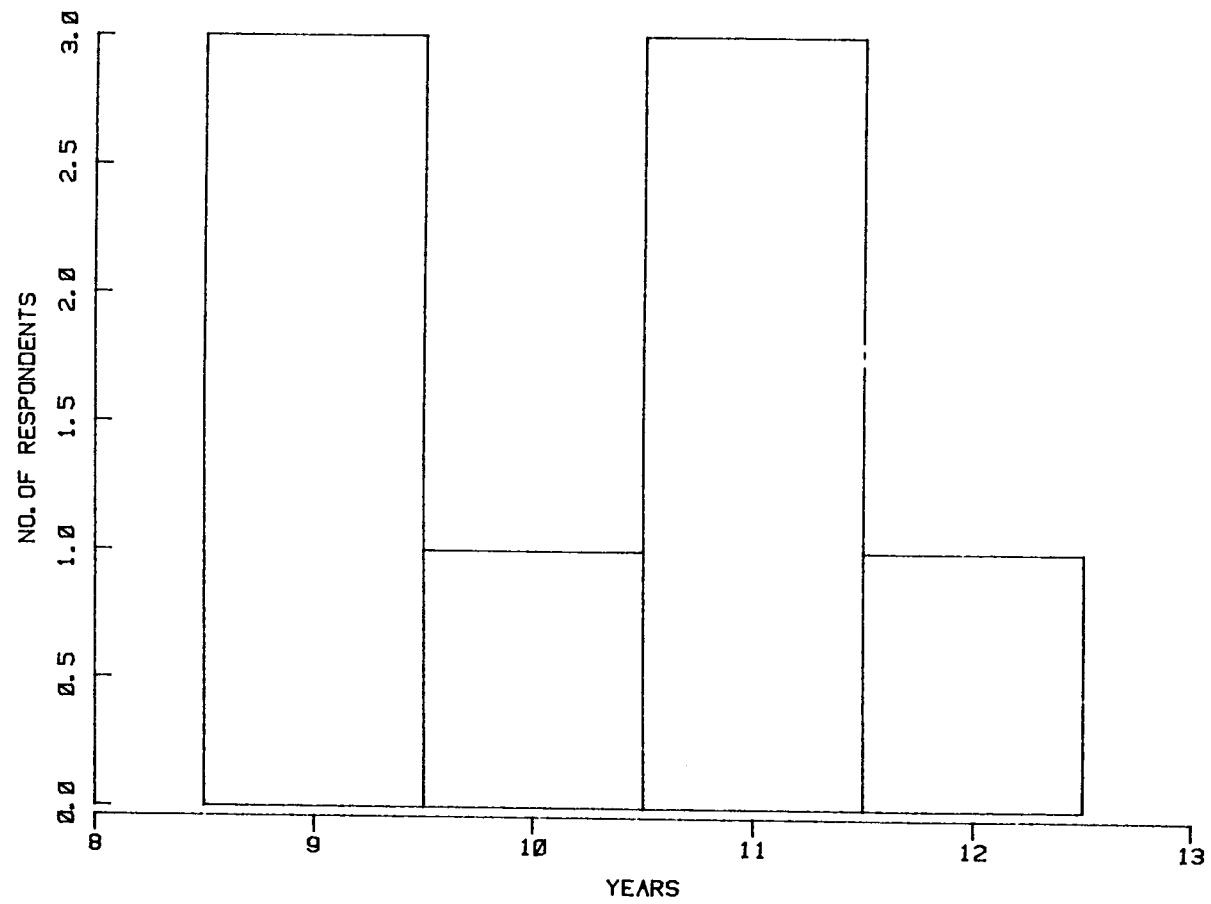
YEARS IN SCHOOL-MALE PROSTITUTES



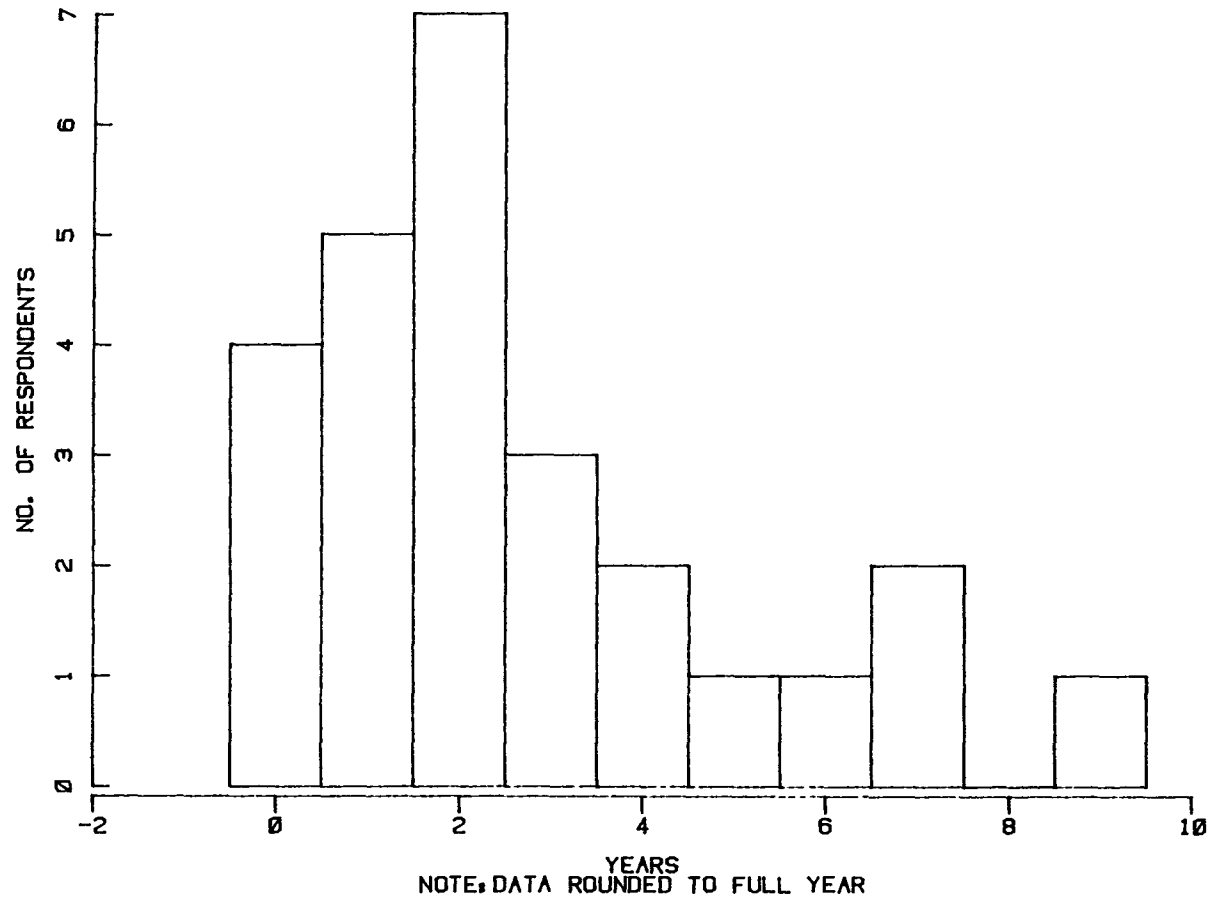
YEARS IN SCHOOL-CALL GIRLS



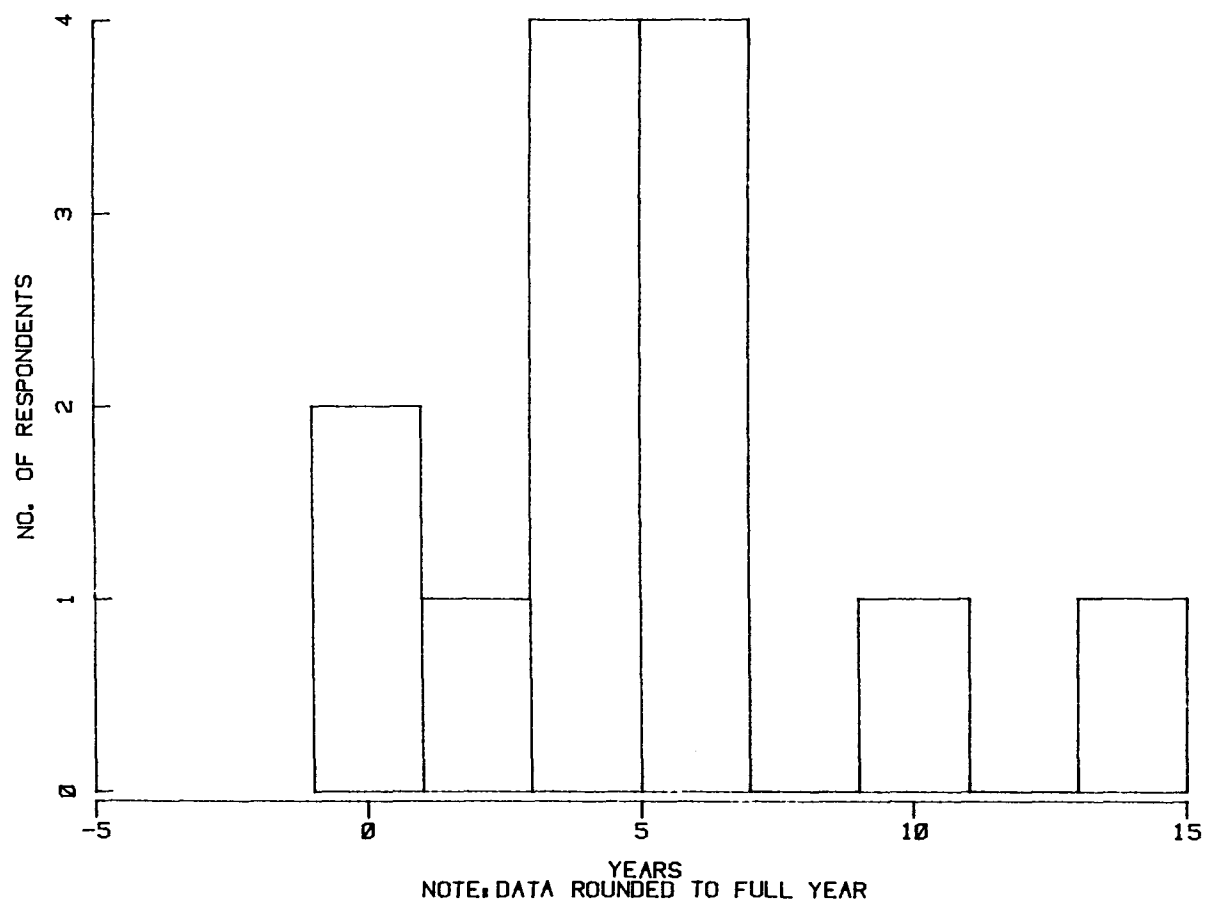
YEARS IN SCHOOL-OTHERS



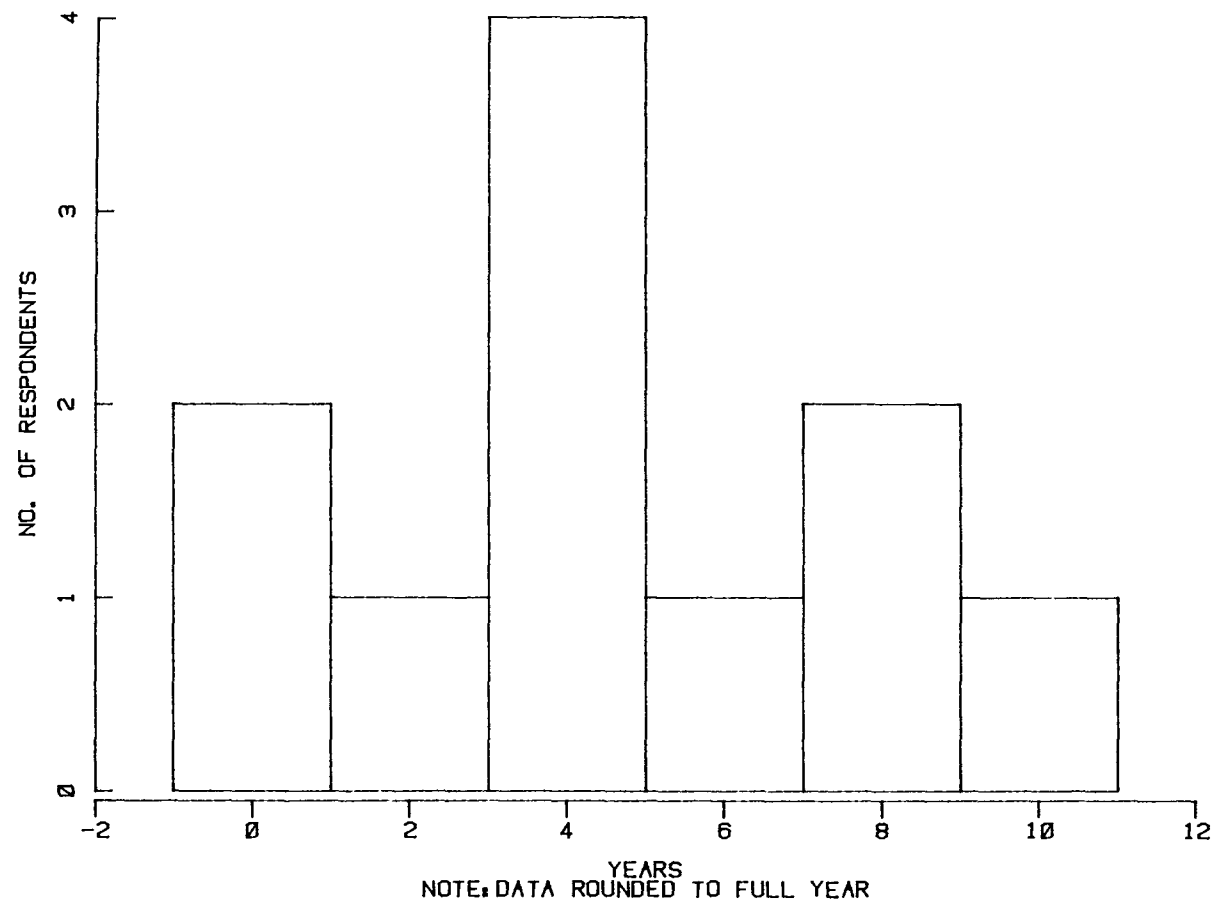
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY-STREET PROSTITUTES



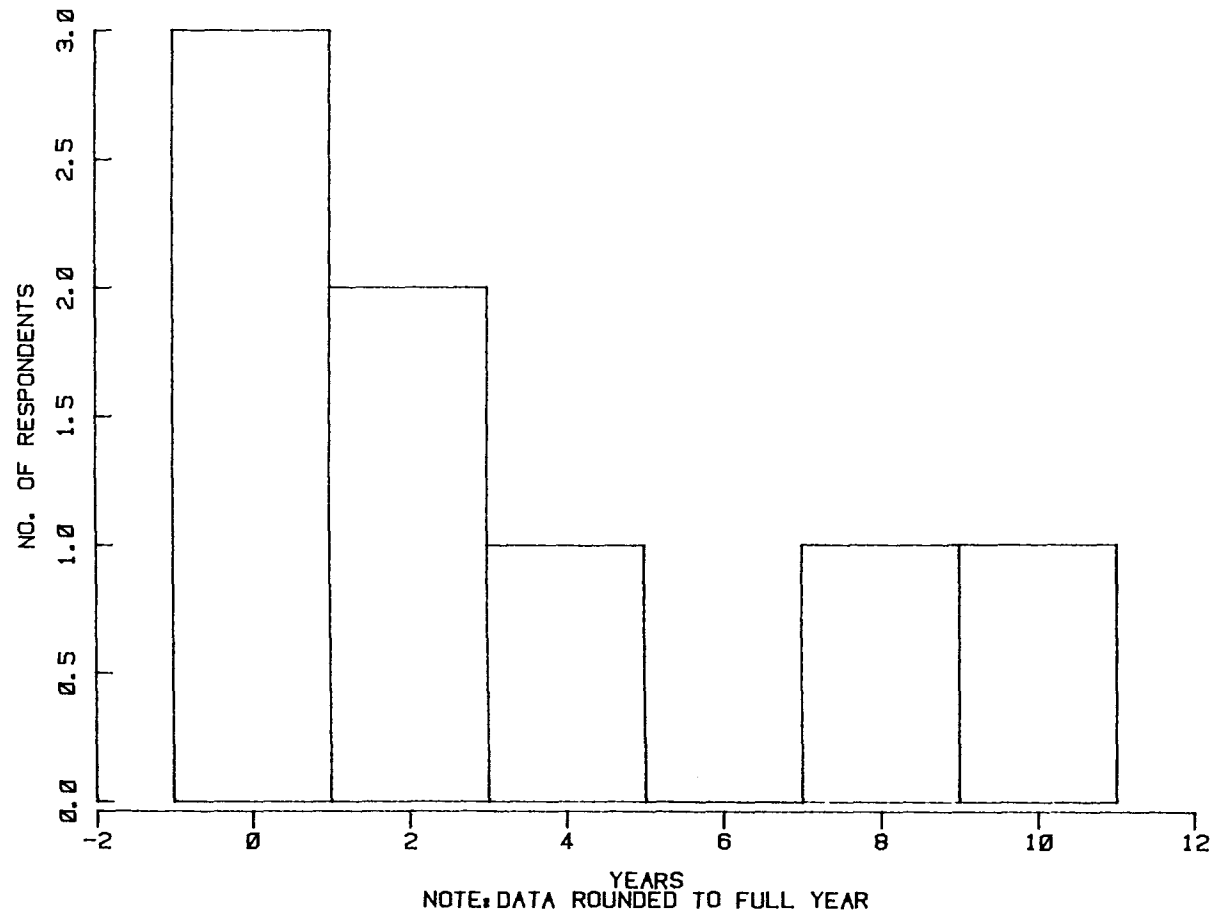
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY-CALL GIRLS



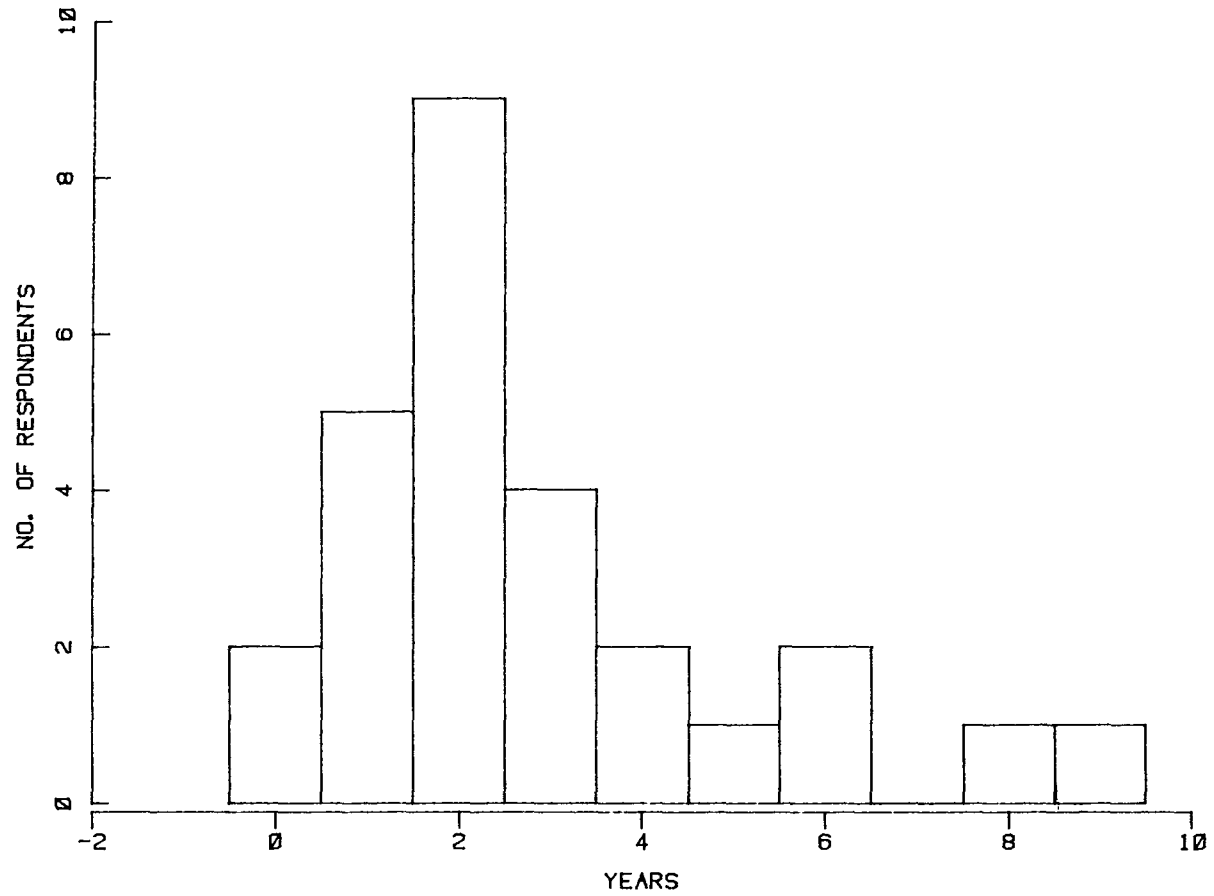
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY—MALE PROSTITUTES



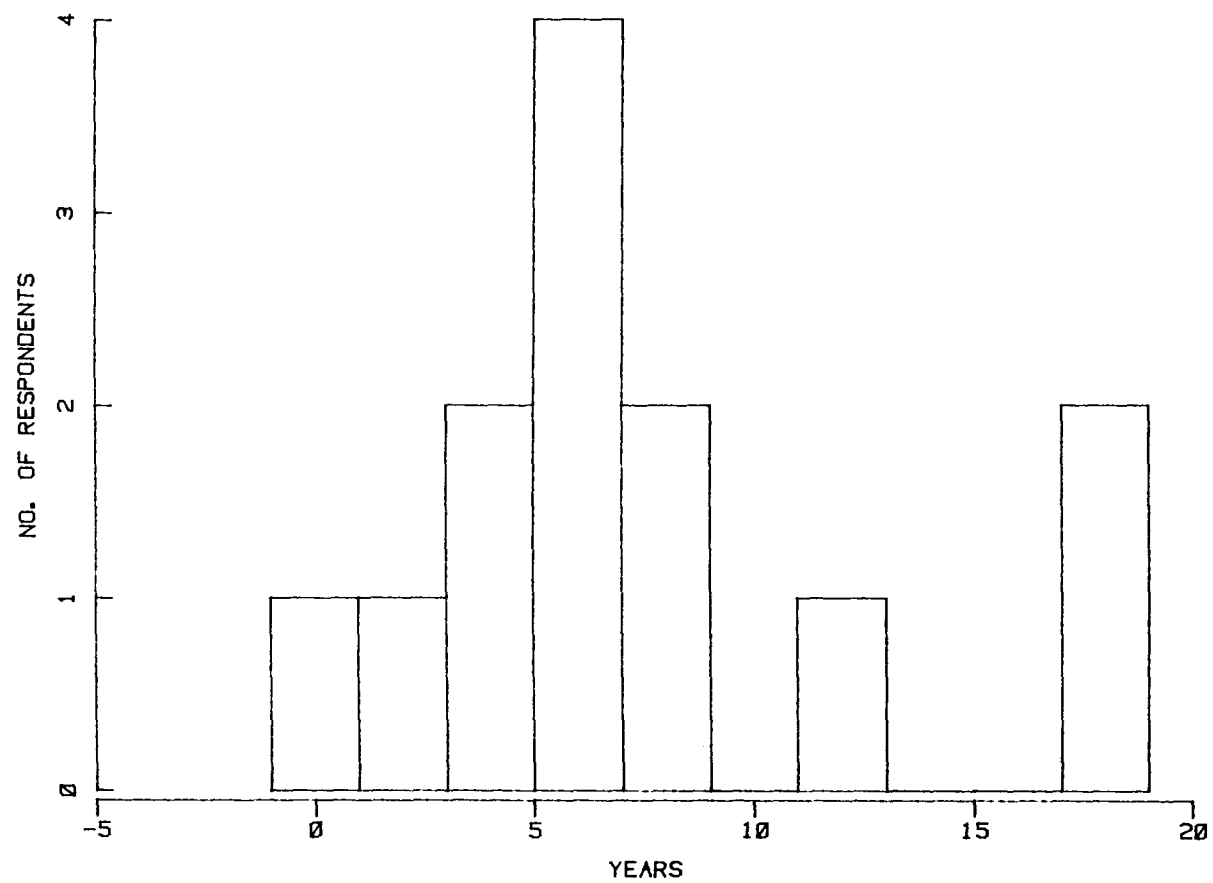
LENGTH OF TIME IN THIS CITY-OTHERS



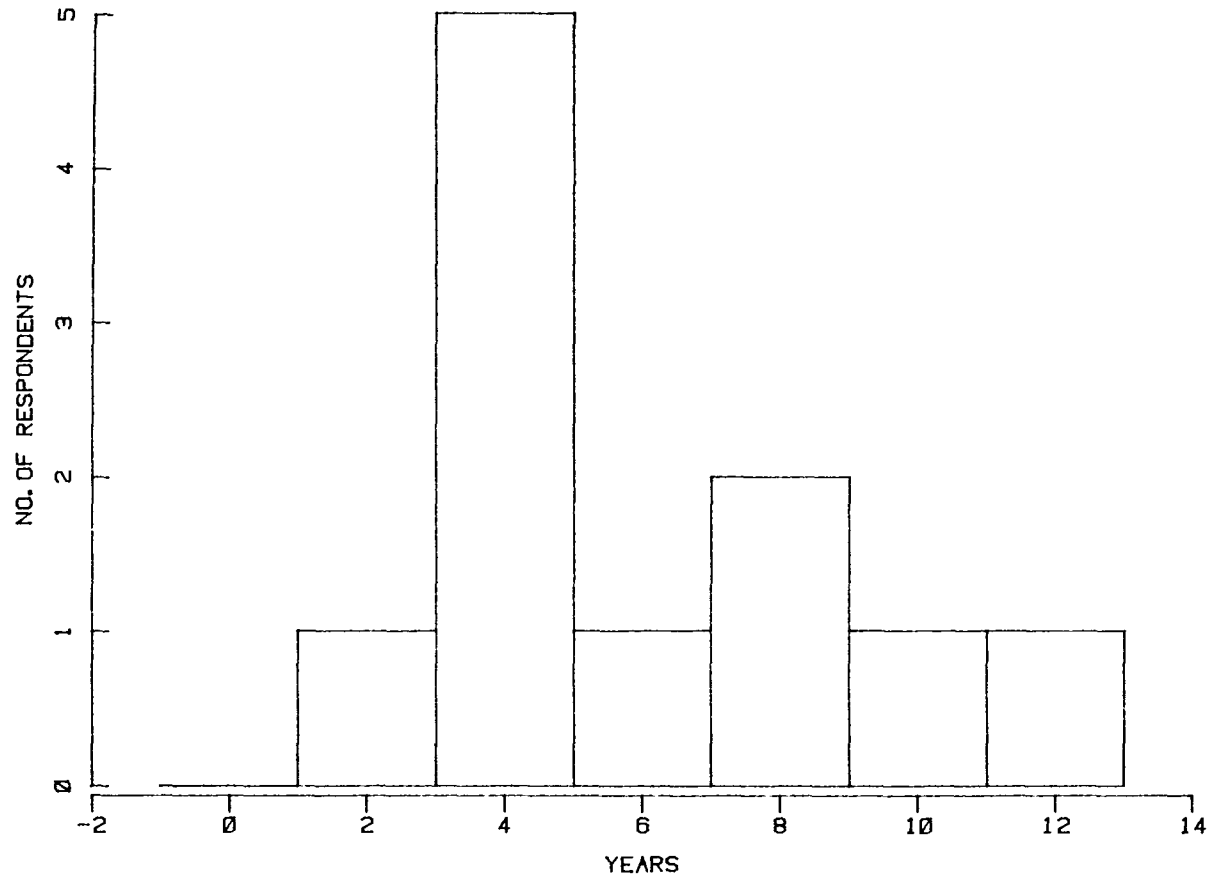
YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-STREET PROSTITUTES



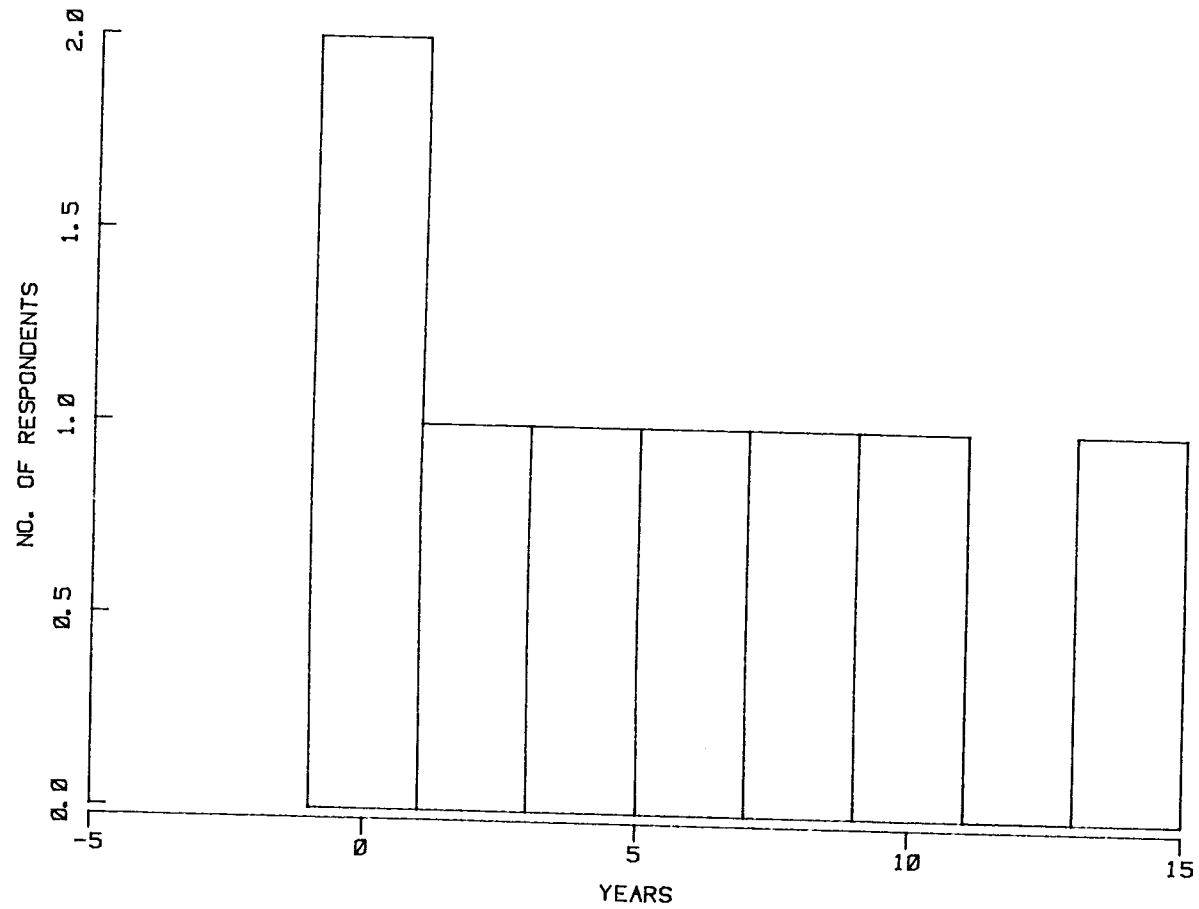
YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-CALL GIRLS



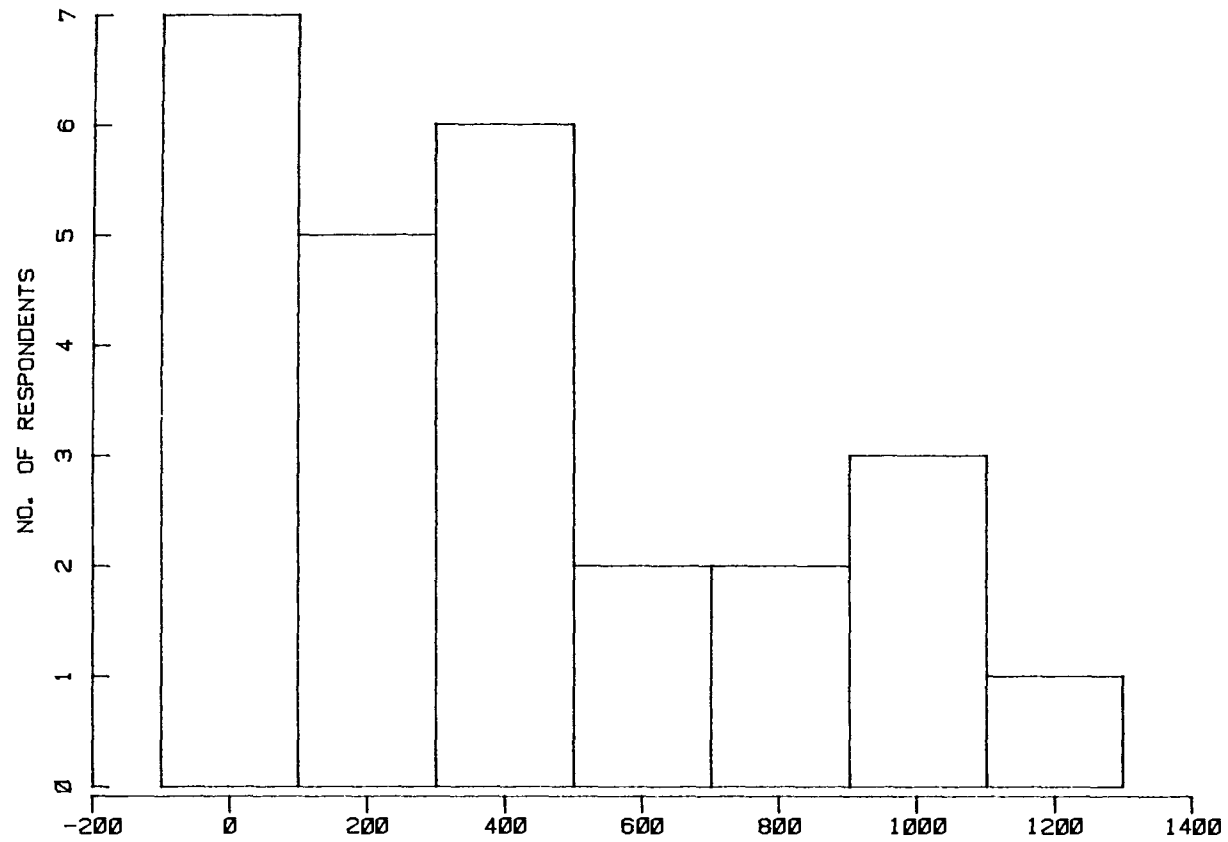
YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-MALE PROSTITUTES



YEARS IN PROSTITUTION-OTHERS

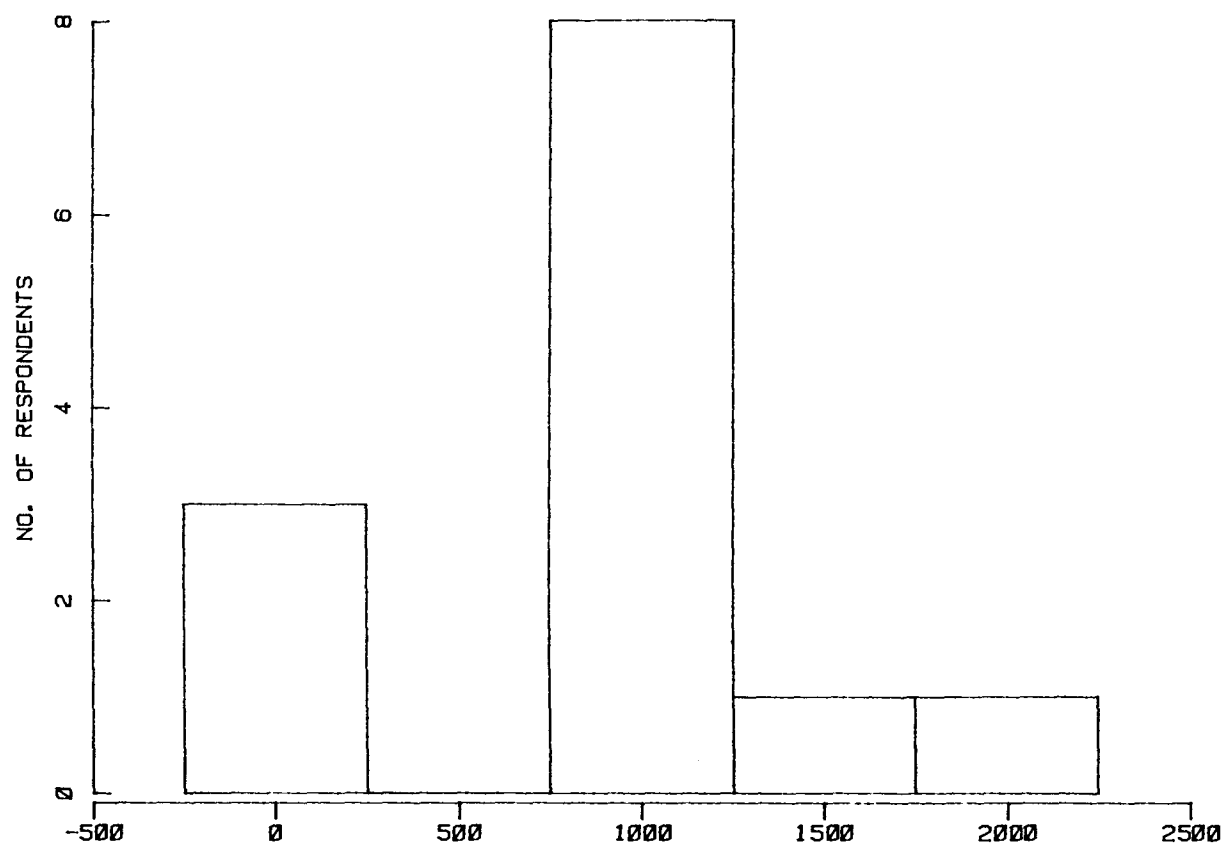


WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION-STREET PROSTITUTES



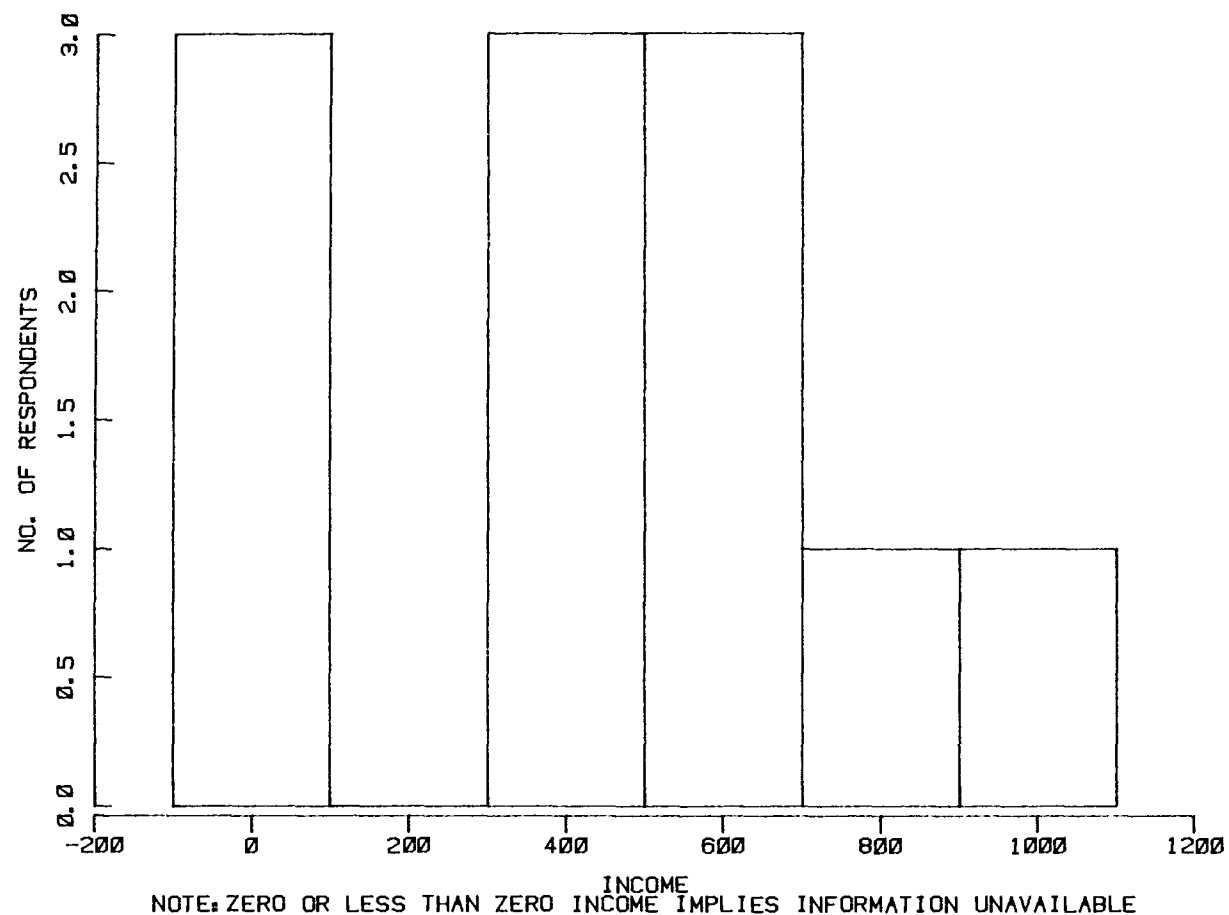
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WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION-CALL GIRLS

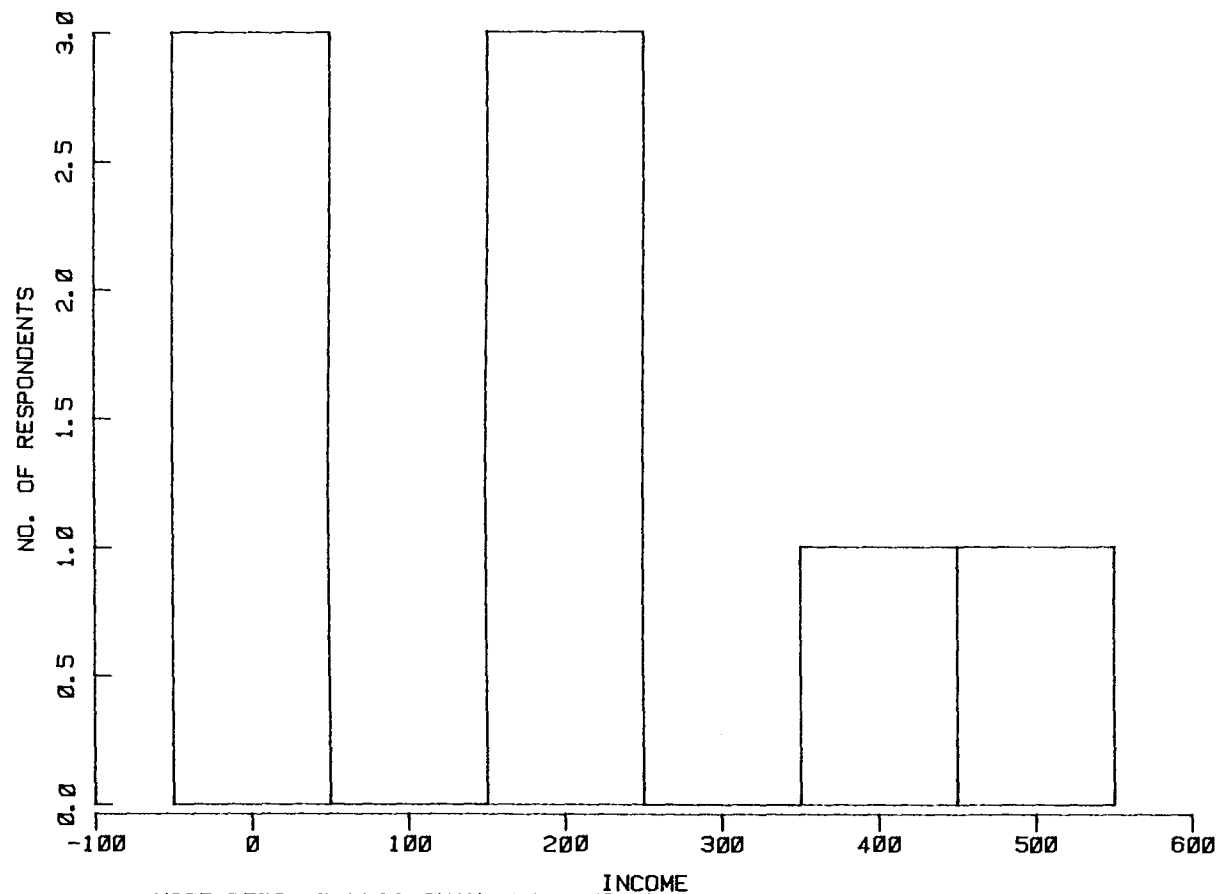


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WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION-MALE PROSTITUTES

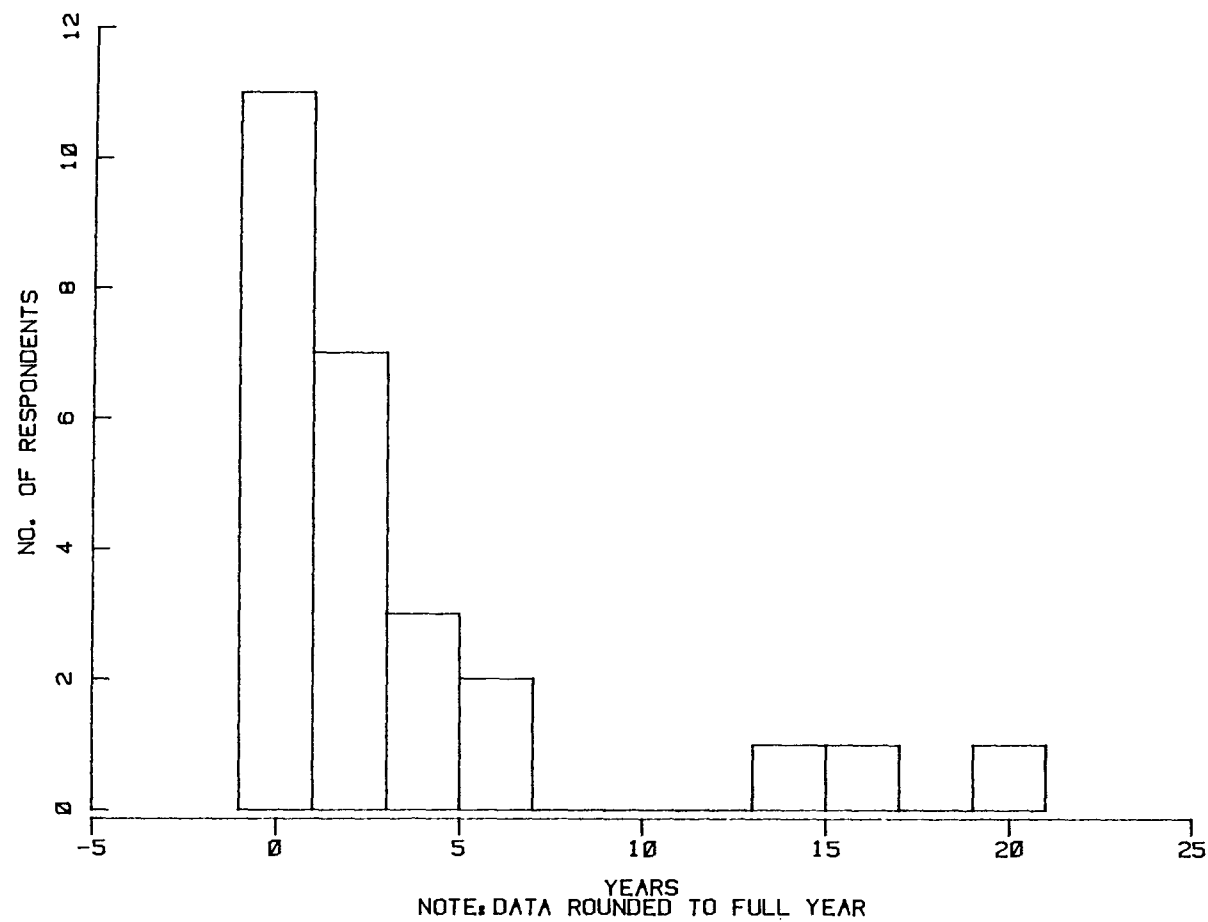


WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION-OTHERS

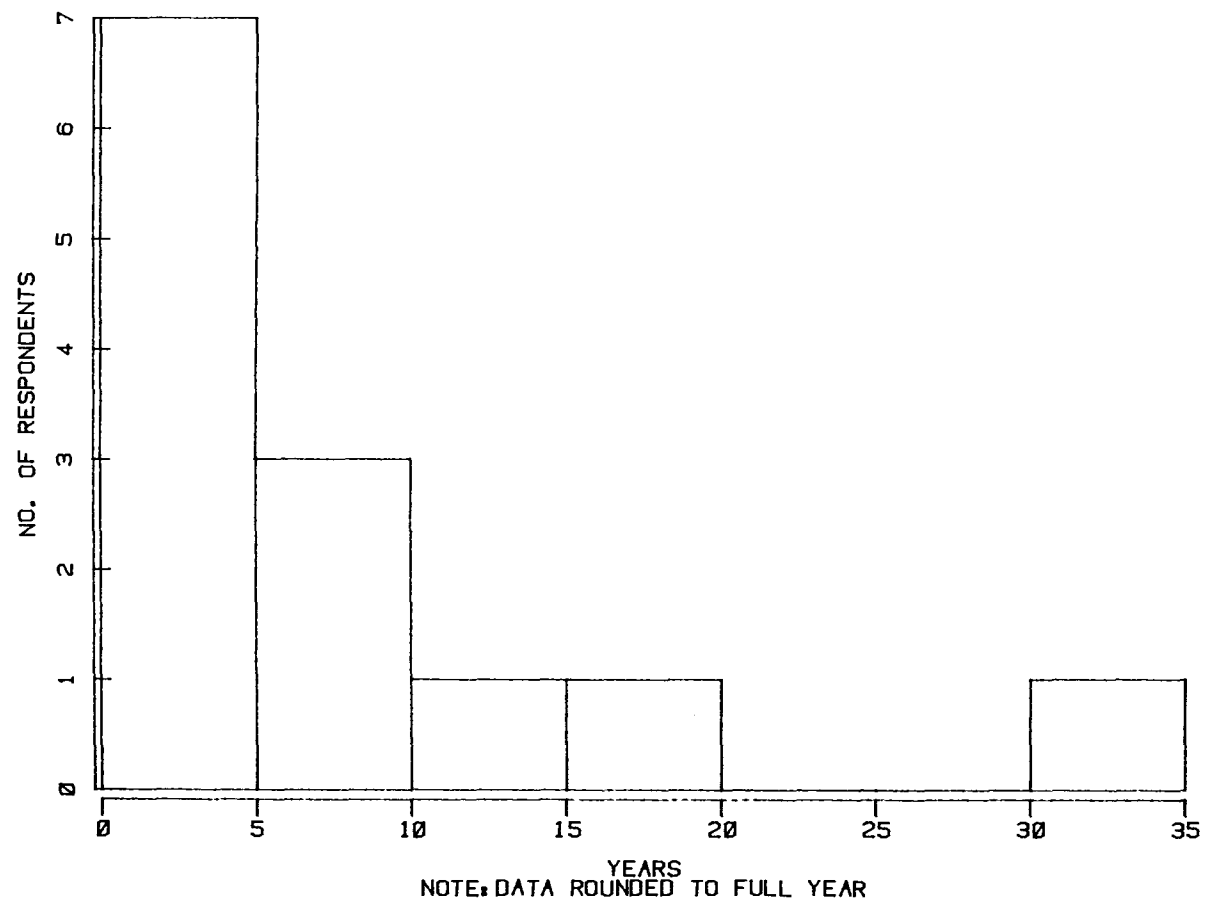


NOTE: ZERO OR LESS THAN ZERO INCOME IMPLIES INFORMATION UNAVAILABLE

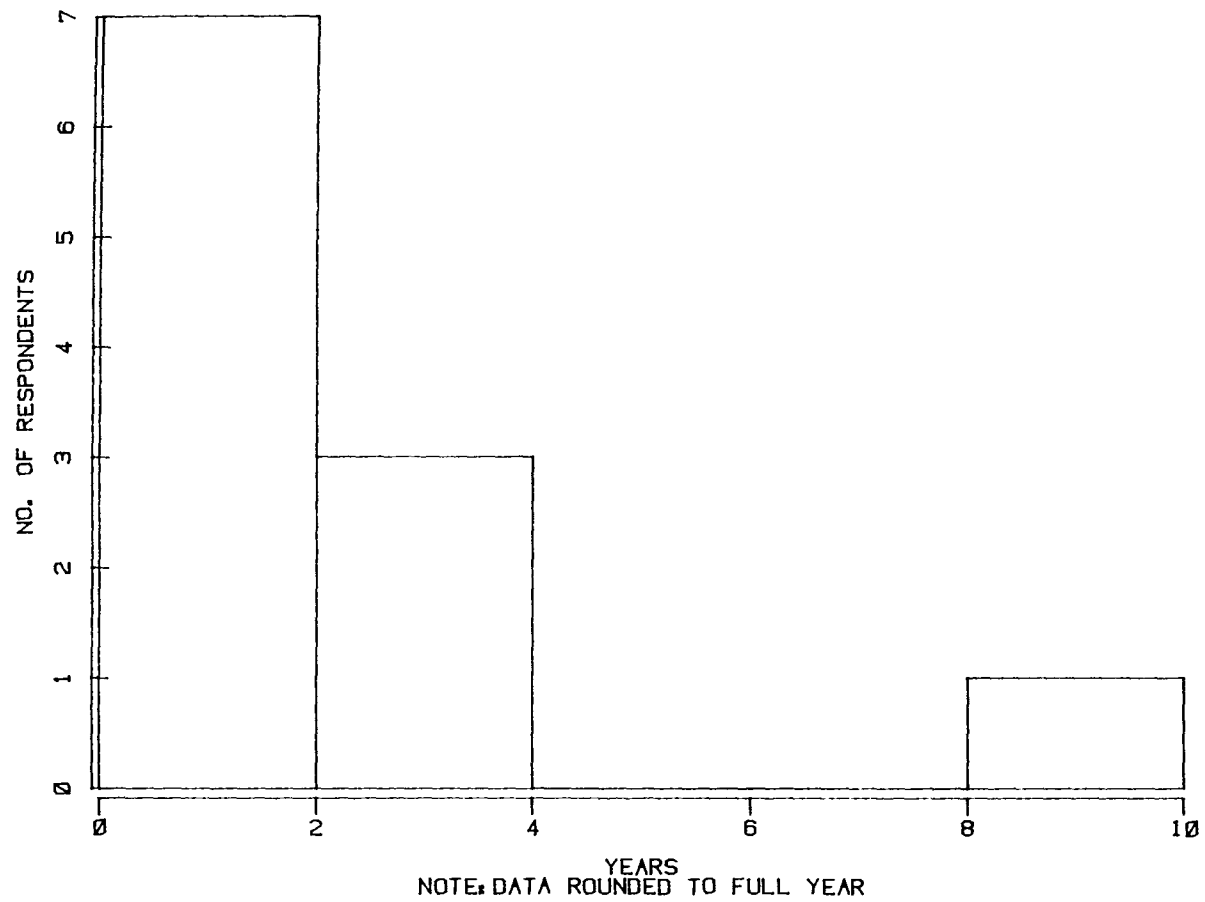
LONGEST TIME IN ONE PLACE-STREET PROSTITUTES



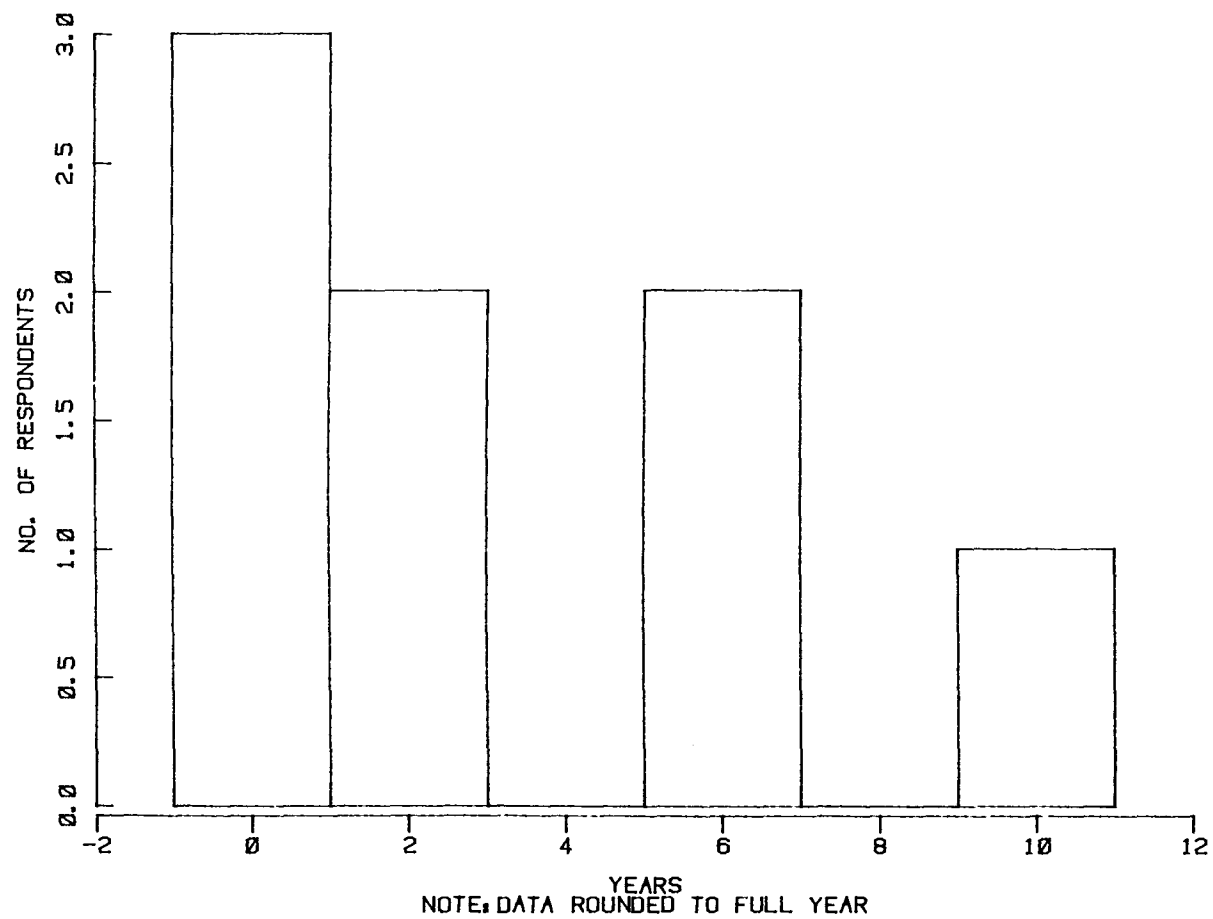
LONGEST TIME IN ONE PLACE-CALL GIRLS



LONGEST TIME IN ONE PLACE-MALE PROSTITUTES



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