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LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS' ATTITUDES AND INTERACTIONS

TOWARD FEMALE PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION

A Thesis in

Criminal Justice

by

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Abstract

Prostitution has been around for centuries. Attitudes toward prostitution have evolved during this time, reflecting beliefs regarding morality as well as legalization. Attitudes of police officers toward prostitutes and prostitution have changed as well. At times interactions between the police officer and the prostitute are positive while others are more negative. The purpose of this study is to examine the attitudes of officers toward prostitution, what is associated with these attitudes, and the relationship between these attitudes and the interactions police officers have with prostitutes. A purposive and convenient sample design was utilized to collect survey data from a sample of 158 officers from ten different agencies in Pennsylvania. The survey yielded responses in regards to officer characteristics, department characteristics, attitudes toward women, attitudes toward prostitutes, and interactions of police and prostitutes. Bivariate analyses were used to test relationships between key variables. Findings indicate that attitudes toward women are associated with attitudes toward prostitution to some extent and these attitudes are subsequently associated with interactions officers have when coming in contact with prostitutes. Finally, study limitations, suggestions for future research, and policy implications are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1: Statement of the Problem

Prostitution is often referred to as the oldest profession in the world and has existed for a long time in the United States and around the world with attitudes continuously changing over time. For example, in the 1930s the largest group of working women in China were prostitutes at an estimated 100,000 (Hershatter, 1989). Bringing in large amounts of money, prostitutes have been viewed as a major part of the economy in China (Hershatter, 1989). In early 19th Century America, prostitution was regarded as acceptable in some circles (Riegel, 1968). Citizens viewed prostitution as a part of human nature and accepted that it would occur no matter what anyone did to try to stop it. At that time, people viewed “prostitution, sexual abnormalities, cures for venereal disease... and cases of deserted children” as normal with little protest (Riegel, 1968, p.437). In the late 19th Century during the expansion of the United States west, prostitutes were seen as being important for the groups of men mining there (Rosen, 1986). Women joined the large groups of men who were lonely and missing the intimacy of a female companion. This was the beginning of prostitution on the American frontier (Symanski, 1974). Many early cities allowed prostitutes to congregate in certain areas; the only requirement was that they stay in those areas (Symanski, 1974).

Since then, however, there has been opposition to the visibility of prostitution in local communities. In the early 20th Century in the United States attitudes began to shift and the blame and focus were placed on the men who were seeking prostitutes (Riegel, 1968). According to Riegel (1968), after the Civil War prostitution was confined to a particular location within city limits and most people just accepted it. Also during this time period, religion governed states and the firm hold it had in many states caused prostitution to be criminalized with rare exceptions (e.g., the state of Nevada) (Symanski, 1974). Prostitution, therefore, has

gone from being tolerated by society to being criminalized in most parts of the United States. People believed it was a “breaking of God’s law” (Riegel, 1968, p.438). The general public began to worry about its own children and did not want to see them engage in prostitution, which, in turn, created a shift to criminalize prostitution throughout the country (Riegel, 1968).

Today, the only state that has legalized prostitution is Nevada; numerous restrictions are in place to establish safe and clean environments (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005; Symanski, 1974). Nevada has legalized prostitution because it is seen as a valid form of economic stability within the state (Symanski, 1974). Legalization has continued to occur due to Nevada establishing numerous checks and balances to ensure that all brothels are engaging in the rules and regulations to have a legal running brothel (Symanski, 1974).

Prostitution Today

Prostitution consists of “sexual relations that include some form of monetary payment or barter and are characterized by promiscuity and/or emotional apathy” (Flowers, 2005, p.6). There are many different forms of prostitution including temporary, occasional, and continual (Flowers, 2005). There are seven different categories of specific types of prostitution that have been identified: call girl, massage parlor prostitute, house prostitute, madam, mistress, barterer and streetwalker (Flowers, 2005).¹ Each category is relevant for this current study due to the possibility of officers having different opinions about each different type and the impact it has on society.

It is difficult to estimate the actual number of women engaging in prostitution in the United States due to the secretive nature of the culture (Flowers, 2005). Flowers (2005) suggests that it is difficult to get actual numbers because of how often prostitutes move around and because it is unknown what establishments they are in. In addition, the information available

¹ See Appendix A for complete definitions.

usually comes from police officers who have come into contact with them. Estimates reach the millions. Thio (2006) suggests that, in any given year, there are about 4.2 million women involved in the industry.² According to the F.B.I Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), there was a total of 53,570 females arrested for prostitution in the U.S. in 1995: 47,297 in cities, 4,079 in suburban areas, 2,098 in suburban counties, and 96 in rural counties. In 2008, according to the F.B.I's UCR, there were 40,772 females arrested in the United States for prostitution and commercialized vice,³ indicating a significant decline over time. Pennsylvania UCR data (the research site for this work) indicate that in 2009 there were 1,451 women arrested for prostitution across the Commonwealth. Flowers (2005) suggests that these numbers are low in part because women engaged in prostitution are often arrested for offenses other than prostitution such as for being a runaway or for drug use.

Lydersen (2006) found that in 2000, there were 91,000 women in state and federal prisons, and many of them were there for nonviolent offenses such as prostitution and drugs (Lydersen, 2006). The median incarceration sentence in the United States for a woman convicted of prostitution is six months and the maximum fine for prostitution is \$1,000 (Clement & Barbrey, 2008). The first offense for prostitution in Pennsylvania is considered a misdemeanor. A female arrested for prostitution is likely to be given a small fine and released for the first offense which may not be an effective response. For example, a study of prostitution in the Harrisburg area indicates that prostitutes who are arrested simply pay their fine of approximately \$400 and then return to engaging in prostitution almost immediately (Erb & de Boer, 2006).

² It should be noted that there is also male prostitution in the United States. However, males are far less in numbers and there are far less data on this group.

³ Commercialized vice is, according to FBI UCR definitions "Sex offenses of a commercialized nature, such as prostitution, keeping a bawdy house, procuring, or transporting women for immoral purposes. Attempts are included."

Prostitution and the Police

Police often are the first responders to incidents of prostitution. Thus, their interactions are significant for generating both a larger understanding of the experience of prostitutes in the criminal justice system and for criminal justice policy related to the management of this group and/or similarly-situated offenders. The research that examines these interactions is sparse; however, what is shown in the research suggests a pattern that varies and is, perhaps more often than not, negative (at best) and violent (at worst). For example, Williamson, Baker, Jenkins, and Cluse-Tolar (2007) found that officers use their power to influence prostitutes into doing favors for them and do inappropriate things with the women that they arrest. The authors also indicate that there are times when officers become violent with prostitutes and force them into having either paid or unpaid sex with them. Many studies have found that prostitutes experience violence such as being hit, kicked, slapped, or sexually assaulted by an officer (Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Thukral, 2005; Williamson et al., 2007). Prostitutes have also identified officers as being non-responsive and not believing them when they report victimization (Williamson & Folaron, 2003).

On the other side, at times police officers engage in positive interactions with prostitutes such as offering condoms to them, providing protection when needed, and buying prostitutes things they need at that moment (e.g. coffee, food, etc.) (Williamson et al., 2003). Another form of interaction is when female vice officers deal with the prostitutes in reverse stings. Reverse sting operations are when female officers take on the role as a decoy prostitute and immerse themselves in the world of prostitution. During these operations officers engage in conversations with prostitutes and learn things about them. Some female officers feel bad for the prostitutes and what they endure on a daily basis (Baker, 2005). This, in turn, may result in officers treating

prostitutes in a more positive manner and result in more positive interactions. This may be geographically specific. For instance, different findings are reported in Nevada where prostitution is decriminalized. For example, many of the business owners trust officers and officers feel as though they are there to protect the business (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005).

Many factors could affect how officers will react when faced with prostitution including their attitudes toward women in general and prostitution in particular. In addition, organizational-level factors may be influential. Departments that have an issue with violence towards offenders usually function according to a paramilitary structure (Hodgson, 2001). Therefore, those officers who are more likely to engage in violence towards prostitutes may also likely come from a paramilitary structure department. Also, the amount of information an officer has pertaining to prostitution (for example, even in the form of formal policy) stems from training and, if outdated, officers may respond in ways no longer consistent with agency (and societal) practices (Hodgson, 2001). Likewise, individual level characteristics may be associated with police officer interaction with prostitutes. For example, officers who are considered to have authoritarian characteristics, such as being formal, inflexible, and traditionalist, are more likely to resort to violence when interacting with offenders. This idea parallels the theoretical understanding that indicates a relationship between attitudes and behaviors in which people engage (Eiser, 1994). Yet the research on the attitudes of officers in general and the relationship between those attitudes and their interactions with offenders is sparse.

The purpose of this study is to fill the gap in the literature regarding attitudes of officers towards prostitutes and the interactions that occur due to those attitudes through an examination of police officer attitudes toward prostitution, what is associated with those attitudes, and how they affect police interactions with this group. What follows in Chapter 2 is a review of the

literature on these issues, followed by a description of the study questions and research methods used to respond to them in Chapter 3. This is followed by Chapter 4, an analysis of the data collected from the survey responses. This work then concludes with Chapter 5, which provides a discussion of the findings, the limitations of the research, future research to be conducted on this matter, and policy implications.

CHAPTER TWO: Review of the Literature

The Relationship Between Attitudes and Behaviors

Eiser (1994) argues that “Our attitudes make, or at least predispose, us to act the way we do” (p.19). For example, someone who engages in a particular behavior, such as attending a religious ceremony, will also have stronger religious attitudes (Eiser, 1994). Therefore, a person may have strong attitudes and beliefs towards something and this will begin to surface by way of actual behaviors. According to research conducted by Ajzen & Fishbein (1980), there are three different pathways that can explain how attitudes impact actual behaviors. Those three categories that determine types of attitudes are “cognitive (perceptual responses and verbal statements of belief), affective (sympathetic nervous responses and verbal statements of affect), and behavioral or conative (overt actions and verbal statements concerning behavior)” (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980, p.20). One’s own ideas and beliefs, therefore, can lead directly to how that person will generally behave in a situation.

An example of how beliefs affect behaviors is demonstrated in Sawyer and Metz’s (2009) research that focuses on how attitudes about sexual interactions influence the sexual behaviors in which people engage. Sawyer and Metz (2009) argue, as do Butler, Chapman, Forman and Beck (2006), that if the attitudes and beliefs about sexual interactions can be changed utilizing cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT), then the behaviors will be changed as well. Butler et al. (2006) found that by utilizing CBT, there was a lower recidivism rate for those who engaged in sexual offenses. Changing the way people think about things also changes behavior. Therefore, studying the attitudes of police officers could similarly explain (and change, if necessary) their behavior. Understanding this relationship could potentially inform officer training protocols.

Police Interactions With Prostitutes

According to Adler (1992), law enforcement in the mid-19th Century attempted to regulate prostitution and, as a result, an officer would arrest some prostitutes but protect others. There have been sting operations going on for years in the United States, the purpose of which have been to capture those who are engaging in prostitution (Robertson, 2009). Robertson (2009), for example, examined Harlem vice units in the early 1900s. He found that there were officers who would go into places and draw out women to proposition them. The idea of having reverse sting operations is newer. Reverse sting operations involve having female officers undercover as decoys to lure men to proposition them (Dodge et al., 2004). Police officers who engage in reverse sting operations come into contact with the prostitutes on a regular basis.

Baker (2004) also examined vice officers more closely and found that there were two different operations utilized. One operation focused on the male buyer. This operation consisted of female officers going undercover. The other operation involved a known prostitute who was placed under surveillance and, when she was propositioned, both she and the male buyer were arrested (Baker, 2004). Many of the female officers who engaged in vice work would tell prostitutes to go home so they were not involved in the actions taking place and would not get in the way of the operations. Prior to beginning a sting operation, the officers who are there to arrest the men soliciting prostitutes will often go clear the area of prostitutes (Baker, 2004). However, other officers would not disclose their role as an officer to the prostitutes because they did not know if they would go tell an owner of a drug house and have someone target them for violence (Baker, 2004). In other words, some officers trust the prostitutes while other officers do not. Female officers, therefore, at times do not trust or want the prostitutes around because they

will get in the way of their operations. This can only be generalized to female officers, due to the lack of research on male officers' interactions with and attitudes toward prostitutes.

Two studies were conducted that dealt with this issue (Baker, 2005; Dodge, Starr-Gimeno, & Williams, 2004). Both studies included interviews with female vice officers who were decoys. The authors examined how the officers view prostitutes, what they experience during undercover sting operations as prostitutes, and what their male counterparts said about their experiences. Many female officers felt that being a decoy allowed them to be someone else (Baker, 2005; Dodge et al., 2004). Some of the officers expressed concerns about experiences they had while undercover that were forms of violence, such as name-calling, guns, needles, and even diseases. Female officers expressed a sense of camaraderie with their male officers, indicating that their safety is in the hands of the male officers. There is also a sense of trust and teamwork between all the officers, male or female, working within the vice units. Both studies found that these officers did not think that they were making a difference because the police cannot catch every man who solicits a prostitute (Baker, 2005; Dodge et al., 2004).

When the protection of prostitutes by police was examined, Williamson and Folaron (2003) discovered that prostitutes feel as though protection from police, when faced with a violent situation, is purely the luck of the draw. It is not known if there will be officers around when a customer becomes unruly and, therefore, these women do not depend on the officers to help them in any way (Williamson & Folaron, 2003). Williamson et al. (2007) discovered that 29.6% of women interviewed admitted to being hit, kicked, or slapped by an officer. Some women reported being abused or having violence committed against them to the police. In most cases, however, the officers did not believe them or feel as though they should be protecting

them. Many prostitutes reported experiencing verbal abuse from officers and 18% of the women stated that they had sex with officers for free (Williamson et al., 2007).

Similarly, Giacomassi and Sparger (1991) also conducted a study that examined vice enforcement officers. Male officers were placed in situations where they were required to get a prostitute to proposition them. This requires great amounts of acting skills to be able to convince a prostitute that the man is not a police officer (Giacomassi & Sparger, 1991). Usually the prostitute makes the male do an indecent act in the hopes that it will prove he is not an officer (Giacomassi & Sparger, 1991). A similar study by Marx (1992) found that at times officers did not know when to stop the situation and actually engaged in sexual acts with the prostitutes after the prostitute has propositioned them (Marx, 1992). The thought is that it is a higher level of proof and will lead to a more harsh punishment; however, this does not usually happen and is seen as inappropriate and should not occur according to standards of the department (Marx, 1992). Thukral (2005) also found in his study that 16% of the female prostitutes he surveyed had a sexual experience with police officers.

Research on the treatment of prostitutes by police officers reveals that violence and abuse are common. An examination of how officers treat prostitutes when they come in contact with them found that women were forced into having sex with men who identified themselves as police officers (Williamson et al., 2007). Raphael and Shapiro (2004) examined violence against prostitutes and found:

Police were named as the perpetrators of a great deal of sexual abuse against women on the streets: 24% of women on the streets who said they were raped stated a police officer was the perpetrator, whereas about one fifth of other acts of sexual violence against women on the streets were attributed to the police... Yet women in indoor prostitution were also victimized by police officers: 30% of exotic dancers who had been raped said it was by a police officers... 25 % of women in escort services who had been robbed stated that it was by the police, whereas 18% of women

in escort services who were forced to masturbate someone said it was a police officer (p. 136).

Thukral (2005) also examined violence towards prostitutes in New York City and similarly found that 14% of the prostitutes who responded had experienced violence by police. Prostitutes who were victims of police violence felt as though they could not do anything about the violence that was committed against them (Thukral, 2005). Thukral (2005) also found that 16% of the prostitutes had been involved in a sexual situation with an officer. These women stated they could not report any of these things because no one would believe them. Many prostitutes in Thukral's (2005) study experienced misconduct in some way by police officers who should hold them as innocent until proven guilty (Williamson et al., 2007).

Prostitutes have reported some positive interactions with police from which they have described some benefits. Some women, for example, admitted that officers told them when they would be in the area, thus keeping them from getting arrested (Williamson et al., 2007). Still another woman admitted that an officer gave her money to buy drugs because she was going through withdrawal (Williamson et al., 2007). Thukral (2005) conducted a study in New York that included 52 respondents that were involved with the indoor sex trade. In the study, Thukral (2005) found that some prostitutes had positive interactions with police. He found that when officers "view sex workers as legitimate members of society, they are more likely to offer the same level of assistance that they would offer to another complainant, and follow through on appropriate procedures" (Thukral, 2005, p. 7). Therefore, officers may not be appropriate or respect prostitutes and/or view them as a victim unless they view them as valid members of society. Bellis et al. (2007) found that in areas where prostitution has become legal and managed by policies, prostitutes and police have developed a better relationship with one another. This is due to the idea that many of the police are seen as security wardens and are there to enforce the

safety of the prostitutes against their customers (Bellis et al., 2007). Thus, officers are involved in keeping the prostitutes safe and enforcing the policies in place, they are more likely to have a better working relationship than those officers arresting prostitutes for illegally selling sex.

Police Attitudes Toward Prostitutes and Prostitution

Attitudes of police officers toward prostitution vary greatly and prior research suggests that several factors may be influential. Some female officers report that prostitutes contribute to social problems at the local level (Baker, 2005). According to Baker (2005), many officers working in a large metropolitan police department feel that prostitutes cause a risk to the communities in which they are operating because at times there are needles and condoms left behind in areas where children play. Some local citizens express concerns about prostitutes wearing provocative clothing in view of the public (Baker, 2005). Female officers also reported some concern about the idea of health risks such as sexually transmitted diseases. These officers do not want their children to be out riding bikes and ride past prostitutes standing on the corner (Baker, 2005).

According to Dodge et al. (2004), some female officers who engaged in reverse sting operations view prostitutes as victims of other horrific crimes, which leads to sympathetic feelings toward prostitutes (Dodge et al., 2004). This was similar to the finding of Baker (2005) who concluded that the majority of officers felt “sadness, empathy and sympathy” for the prostitutes (p. 35). One of the officers interviewed developed relationships with the prostitutes and would offer them advice, guide them in a direction to get help, and give them food (Baker, 2005). These officers, while undercover, came into contact with the harsh situations that the prostitutes face. These situations ranged from having guns pulled on them by customers, to having things thrown at them, to people flashing them from cars, attempts at kidnapping them by

male customers, being hit with things, and even getting scabies from the prostitutes (Baker, 2005). Some officers saw these women as making money to be able to survive (Baker, 2005). All of these issues may have allowed the attitudes of some female officers to be more sympathetic towards prostitutes than their male counterparts.

Individual Characteristics

Individual characteristics may also be associated with one's attitudes toward prostitution. Research conducted by Sawyer and Metz (2009) uses an "Attitudes Toward Prostitution Scale" to understand the attitudes of males that have been arrested for soliciting a prostitute and includes examination of individual characteristics. The scale covers a wide range of questions that examine the ideas that males have towards prostitutes and prostitution in general (Sawyer & Metz, 2009). The research shows that "men who buy sex are a heterogeneous group with an asymmetrical range of cognitive patterns about sex workers" (Sawyer, & Metz, 2009, p. 344). In a recent study conducted by Sawyer, Metz, Hinds, & Brucker (2001/2002), there was a focus on general attitudes male consumers toward prostitution that can also provide guidance for this work. In particular, the study reveals which individual level characteristics of males could be associated with the attitudes towards prostitutes and prostitution such as age, marital status, and education levels. The researchers examined 145 men that were arrested for alleged solicitation of prostitutes (Sawyer et al., 2001/2002). They were given the Attitudes Towards Prostitution Scale (ATPS) to examine their general attitudes towards prostitution. The researchers then examined the relationship between the ATPS and the previously stated demographic variables. Sawyer et al. (2001/2002) stated:

...older men appeared more likely to be married, have a regular sexual partner, be employed, report that they enjoyed sex with prostitutes, and were more supportive of legalizing prostitution and more endorsing of personal support for the prostitute. Younger men, on the other hand, were

less supportive of decriminalizing prostitution and more likely to affirm unwarranted or erroneous beliefs about prostitution (p. 373).

Men with more education may provide more support for prostitution than those with less education (Swayer et al., 2001/2002). Also, Sawyer et al. (2001/2002) found that those men who had never been married, are divorced, or a widow/widower are more likely to engage in casual sex and, therefore, are more likely to see prostitution as less of a moral issue. Sawyer and Metz (2009) conducted a related study utilizing the “Attitudes Toward Prostitution Scale” and found similar findings. However, the men that took part in both studies had been arrested for prostitution therefore, the potential to generalize to other populations, such as police, is limited. Although, the extent to which this sample aligns with individual characteristics of officers is unknown, it is possible that officers with these characteristics could also be more likely to support prostitutes and have more favorable attitudes towards them. At minimum, it provides a starting point for this work.

Explanations for Involvement in Prostitution

As previously stated, police officers who have worked with prostitutes, such as female undercover vice officers, may have a more sympathetic view of prostitutes and prostitution due to knowing why these women are engaging in prostitution. The explanations of prostitution, therefore, may be directly linked to the attitudes of police officers. Officers may have different opinions of prostitutes depending on what they believe their reasons for becoming involved in prostitution are. There are many reasons why women become involved in prostitution. Those explanations include poverty, substance abuse problems, supporting a significant other’s substance abuse problem, being a victim of abuse, having been exposed to prostitution at a young age, and by choice (Flowers, 2005; Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, & Yuille, 2007; Lydersen, 2006; Monroe, 2005).

In particular, some argue that poverty is a driving factor for women to become involved in prostitution (Monroe, 2005). According to the United States Census there were 39.8 million people living in poverty in 2008 (U.S. Census Data, 2008). Women, on an average, are more likely to be in poverty (U.S. Census Data, 2008). According to Monroe (2005), “poverty is a breeding ground for many negative and highly stigmatized behaviors, including street level prostitution” (p. 70). Some women in poverty, for example, become involved in prostitution because they are the sole providers for their children and see prostitution as a way to generate income (Monroe, 2005). According to Flowers (2005), there are very few jobs available to unskilled or low skilled women that will provide the amount of money that prostitution provides. Monroe (2005) stated that street-level prostitutes are disproportionately minorities with children and some are immigrants. Many of these women are unable to receive financial help from government agencies and are forced to work in low-paying jobs (Monroe, 2005). These jobs, in turn, still do not offer enough financial support and the women turn to prostitution to get the money they need (Monroe, 2005). Many runaway teens are prostitutes and become involved in prostitution when they think they have no other way to generate income to get themselves out of poverty (Kennedy et al., 2007). According to estimates, it is believed that there are about 400,000 cases of youths engaged in prostitution each year (Brawn & Roe-Sepowitz, 2008). Many of these young girls receive money as payment as well as food, shelter, clothes, and drugs (Flowers, 2005).

Another entry to prostitution is through substance use where women who have substance abuse problems enter into prostitution because they have no other way to support their habits (Kennedy et al., 2007). Indeed, the majority of women who engage in prostitution are drug users (Flowers, 2005). Others, not already involved in drugs and alcohol abuse, are also likely to

engage in these behaviors upon entering the profession (Flowers, 2005). Research confirms this relationship: between 30% and 70% of prostitutes are drug users (Flowers, 2005). Related, in their work on youth prostitutes (between 14 and 25 years old) Weber, Boivin, Blais, Haley, & Roy (2004) found that over half had engaged in binge drinking and about 61% had engaged in drug use. Many youth are not addicted to drugs until they enter into the trade; however, many report they have abused drugs (Brawn & Roe-Sepowitz, 2008). This is evident in the Flowers (2005) study, where eight in ten girls reported using drugs prior to becoming a prostitute. “At least 70% of girl prostitutes consume some form of alcohol” (Flowers, 2005, p. 84). According to estimates, the most commonly used drugs among youth prostitutes are marijuana and alcohol (Flowers, 2005). Similarly, Weber et al. (2004) found that “compared to heterosexual women, female injection drug users who engaged in sex with women were significantly more likely to have been involved in sex work” (p. 590).

Related, some women have turned to prostitution to support the substance abusing habit of a partner (Kennedy et al., 2007). At times, women are involved in a relationship with a partner and they both became addicted to drugs. The women then engage in prostitution to support the habit of both themselves and their partners (Kennedy et al., 2007). According to Kennedy et al. (2007), usually the partner is also engaging in criminal activity to support his/her own drug habit.

Another risk factor increasing a woman’s likelihood to engage in prostitution is exposure to abuse at a young age. According to Lydersen (2006), women who were abused as children are likely to engage in prostitution as a way to regain the power and control they lost at a young age. Lydersen (2006) reviewed a study conducted by the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless and found that “41% of women arrested for prostitution-related offenses in Cook County jail were

sexually abused as children” (p.115). In another study reviewed by Lydersen (2006) that was conducted by The Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault, it was found that 57% of women who worked as prostitutes had reported being sexually abused as children, while 90% had lost their virginity due to being sexually assaulted. Similarly, Weber et al. (2004) conducted a study that involved teenage prostitutes. Teenage prostitutes are often the victims of sexual abuse both within and outside their families, and this, in turn, is what drives them to run away from home or to engage in prostitution. Likewise, according to the Huckleberry House study (Harlan, Rodgers, and Slattery, 1981), 90% of teenage prostitutes had been molested.

Another possible route to prostitution is simply being placed at an early age in the culture. The more women are around prostitution and the culture that supports it, the more likely they are to engage in prostitution and immerse themselves into the culture (Kennedy et al., 2007). Similarly, Lydersen (2006) stated that if children are brought up in an environment where they are exposed to the lifestyle of a prostitute, and see that it is accepted by that culture, they themselves are more likely to engage in these actions later in their lives. It appears that the more prostitutes enjoy the companionship of the women around them, the more likely they are to remain in the profession.

In addition to the explanations for engaging in prostitution discussed above, a final mechanism that plays a major role in the initial entry into the world of prostitution is recruitment by another person. Women often enter into prostitution because they are coerced by a pimp (“someone who obtains customers for a prostitute”) (Kennedy et al., 2007, p.5). Many pimps will help young women by paying for things or feeding their drug addictions and then force them into engaging in prostitution. At times, even a family member may “turn out” these young

women as prostitutes (Flowers, 2005).⁴ This can be a close or distant relative that could encourage or sell these women into a life of prostitution, to pay a debt or to get money for the family (Flowers, 2005). According to Flowers (2005), four out of every 100 youth who are prostitutes were “turned out” by a family member (p.80).

In a study by Kennedy et al. (2007), women said that they had an emotional attachment to pimps and had been seduced by them. A woman may fall in love with the pimp, who spends a lot of money on her, and he will then tell her that he ran out of money, making her feel responsible and enter into prostitution. Or, pimps may give women gifts, money, drugs, etc. and then make the women pay them back by going into prostitution (Kennedy et al., 2007). Another form of recruitment is the “gorilla” technique - when a pimp uses force and threats to get the woman on the streets (Kennedy et al., 2007). A pimp may also utilize his position as an authority figure to entice a woman into prostitution (Kennedy et al., 2007). All of these techniques may be utilized by pimps when recruiting women into prostitution.

The last form of recruitment is human trafficking. Some prostitutes are victims of human trafficking and are forced into the act of being sex workers. Human trafficking is a complex issue and one that has become more prominent in recent years. According to Goodson (2006), “trafficking in persons is primarily understood as the movement of persons across international boundaries for a variety of forms of exploitation...Trafficking is the denial of freedom” (p.24-25). There are many forms of trafficking and, therefore, numerous methods are needed to combat it. The United States has a problem with human trafficking, which consists of victims being placed into both residential and commercial sex industries (Goodson, 2006). According to Goodson, “more than 170 cases have been prosecuted since 2000... and 131 of those involved

⁴ “Turning out” is another term used for the process of selling the girls into prostitution or putting them under the guidance of a pimp (Flowers, 2003, p. 80).

sex trafficking” (2006, p.25). The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) helped to protect victims who are put into the sex trade. According to Wilson & Dalton (2008), in Toledo, OH those who were arrested for prostitution and found to be trafficking victims were treated as victims. They also found, however, that victims in Columbus, OH were treated as offenders. Thus, not all agencies know there is a prevalence of human trafficking and assume that all prostitutes are offenders rather than victims.

An alternative perspective reveals prostitution as a choice. The terms “sex work” and “sex worker” highlight a degree of perceived legitimacy of the profession and agency by those involved (Weitzer, 2005). Some argue that those women who choose to engage in prostitution do so to demonstrate the power and control that they have over men (Weitzer, 2005). Prostitution can be seen as any other type of work that involves consenting parties who are mutually satisfied with the job being done (Weitzer, 2005). For example, some women working in Nevada brothels have stated that they do so because they truly like the work (Symanski, 1974). Some women, therefore, engage in prostitution so that they can possess the power and control they desire and get from doing the work.

All of this research provides input into why women become involved in prostitution. There are many different factors that can contribute to one’s likelihood of involvement in prostitution. These root causes may influence the attitudes officers have towards prostitutes and prostitution and, therefore, affect how they interact with the prostitutes. If officers believe that women become involved in prostitution because they are forced to do so, they may be more likely to be sympathetic towards the prostitutes and have more positive attitudes towards them, as evident in Baker (2005) and Dodge et al. (2004). If officers see prostitutes and prostitution as a legitimate form of work, they may be more likely to look the other way or give a warning to

the prostitute. If they see their job as protecting the prostitutes from their customers, they may also be more likely to look the other way or give a warning. However, if they do not have more favorable attitudes toward prostitution, officers may be more likely to arrest.

Agency and Regional (Formal and Informal) Policies

There are many agency-level factors that may not only influence officers' attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution but, given the proposed relationship, could also dictate how an officer is going to respond in any situation. Hodgson (2001) examined violence among officers in both Canada and the United States. In this study, he focused on paramilitary structure, problems with training, and learned behaviors (Hodgson, 2001). He found that many agencies that have problems with violence are ones that stem from a paramilitary type of structure. In this structure, the rules and regulations are rigid, communication is downward, and it is very difficult to change policing to meet the needs of the community (Hodgson, 2001). This, according to Hodgson (2001), causes officers to act in a violent manner towards those with whom they come in contact.

Another problem Hodgson (2001) identified was that of outdated training. It was found that many officers received training in law enforcement areas, but not in community or psychosocial aspects of the job (Hodgson, 2001). Many officers, therefore, enter the force, come into contact with those in the community, and are unsure how to handle some situations because it is not an investigative or law enforcement role per se (Hodgson, 2001). Finally, Hodgson (2001) focused on the idea that the violence in which officers participate is learned from other veteran officers. Officers who join the paramilitary style must be willing to accept the commands from their commanding officers, and, therefore, must do what they are told (Hodgson, 2001). Many of these forces that utilize paramilitary style are able to "legitimize the

use of violence in socializing police officers which generates an occupational subculture that rewards and encourages the use of violence” (Hodgson, 2001, p. 539). Pertaining to this study, officers may have less favorable attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution depending on what older officers think. They may engage in more violent interactions than other agencies if that is how their agency is structured. Also, if the agency does not offer updated training on topics such as human trafficking, officers may not know reasons prostitutes engage in prostitution, which could also affect their attitudes toward prostitution.

More specifically related to this work, Weidner (2001) conducted a study in New York City about prostitution and a way to control it. The main focus was on the Midtown Court which served to handle misdemeanor cases, including prostitution, and allowed the prostitutes to have a more positive working relationship with officers. There were sanctions placed on women who were arrested for prostitution such as HIV education classes (Weidner, 2001). According to some of the prostitutes who came into contact with police, the police were very helpful (Weidner, 2001). One prostitute stated that the officers told them about the help they could get from the Midtown Court and that they would be willing to take them to the social services department to get help (Weidner, 2001). Another prostitute said that the officers tell them everything from when there are undercover officers out to when someone gets hurt (Weidner, 2001). The prostitutes feel as though the officers are just doing their jobs and that they are not doing anything wrong (Weidner, 2001). Overall, prostitutes and police in this particular geographical area have a good working relationship (Weidner, 2001). Officers enforce the laws; however, their attitudes influence the type of interaction they have with the prostitutes, which in this case could be a general result of the policy of the department.

In England and Wales, approaches toward prostitution have changed as well. Matthews (2005) conducted a study that examined the changing activities, attitudes, and experiences of police officers. Arrest rates of prostitutes decreased between 1994 and 2004 from “250 to 90 in Bradford, 270 to 40 in Norwich, 150 to 30 in Cardiff, and 310 to 50 in Stoke-on Trent” (Matthews, 2005, p.882). The approach changed from one of treating prostitution as a crime to a problem of disorder. According to Matthews (2005), officers will only arrest if there is a major problem and they look at prostitution simply as managing the issue and not enforcing the law. Officers have started to see prostitutes as the victims and not the offenders as well in England (Matthews, 2005). There has been a significant increase in arresting the men that solicit these women versus arresting the women themselves (Matthews, 2005).

Research indicates that attitudes toward prostitution have also changed recently in Scotland. McKeganey (2006) conducted a study based in Scotland and interviewed 33 women involved in selling sex across four major cities in Scotland: Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen. In Edinburgh, the interviews were conducted in a facility and in the other three cities the women were contacted while engaging in their work (McKeganey, 2006). The women were offered money as an incentive to participate in the study. McKeganey (2006) found that women who engaged in prostitution reported that officers’ attitudes had changed toward them recently (McKeganey, 2006). In Scotland, there were zones where prostitution was tolerated traditionally, however, residents in those areas began to push the prostitutes out of the communities and, therefore, officers have begun to arrest prostitutes in these areas (McKeganey, 2006). One woman stated that the “attitude of coppers has changed now... I got attacked about three months ago and I reported it and the coppers made out it was my fault” (McKeganey, 2006,

p.161). Many of these women face officers at one point during their careers and are very unsure of what type of officer they will come into contact with.

There is also evidence of some change in the U.K. in the way law enforcement handles prostitution, as noted above, and this is by arresting those who solicit the prostitutes. In other words, there is a focus on the male buying the sex as well as the female (Matthews, 2005). An example of a focus on arresting males is the ever-increasing reverse sting operations. These operations involve a female police officer going undercover as a prostitute and engaging in the actions to receive a solicitation from a male customer (Baker, 2005). This, in turn, shows that officers are beginning to focus on the demand aspect of prostitution, not just the supply.⁵ By directing the focus towards the males soliciting prostitution, officers may have a more positive attitude towards prostitutes and, therefore, they may be more likely to give warnings or look the other way when they come in contact with them.

Legalization and Decriminalization

In the United States there is much debate on the topic of legalization, decriminalization, and keeping prostitution illegal. There is a difference between legalization and decriminalization of prostitution (Flowers, 2005). Legalization of prostitution would make it regulated by the government (Flowers, 2005). Decriminalization, on the other hand, is removing the criminal status of the action (Flowers, 2005). Some sources argue for the decriminalization of prostitution but not for pimps, buyers or brothels (e.g., Raymond, 2003). It is thought that women should not be punished legally for their own exploitation. According to Liberator (2006), legalizing prostitution would make the environments for prostitutes safe and would help to promote the

⁵ John Schools have been developed to educate those who have been convicted of soliciting a prostitute (Mueller, 2006). In these schools, johns learn about prostitution laws, risks towards their health, and usually what it can do to their own families (Mueller, 2006). Many johns who are arrested are given a fine and sent on their way.

health of the prostitute. The industry would be regulated and prostitutes would have to have health checks to ensure they are able to work. In Nevada, for example, where prostitution is legal, there is a much lower rate of outbreaks of HIV due to the amount of health regulations imposed on prostitutes (Flowers, 2005). Flowers (2005) offers many arguments as to why prostitution should be decriminalized/legalized and argues that doing so:

would reduce violent crimes against women and children; would lower the rate of street crimes, including drug abuse and drug dealing; would result in a lower incidence of sexually transmitted diseases; would lower the rate of abortion and illegitimate children; would lead to a decline in pornography; would confine prostitution to brothels or particular areas; would lower the incidence of divorce and extramarital affairs (p. 158).

Citizens of Nevada are in favor of prostitution; even those who live in areas where prostitution is illegal have voted to have it legalized (Symanski, 1974). There are many counties and cities in Nevada that tolerate prostitution and have made it legal. According to Symanski (1974), there were 33 brothels in 1973 in operation in Nevada. Brents and Hausbeck (2005) examined brothels in Nevada and found that there were 26 operating brothels. According to a Nevada website accessed in 2010 there are currently 31 legal brothels operating within the state of Nevada (<http://thenevadabrothels.com/nevada-brothels.htm>). There are eleven counties with brothels located in them.⁶ In these areas, there is a different approach towards prostitution and prostitutes. There is an understanding that if the brothels maintain their standards and meet the requirements set forth by the laws that law enforcement will take action to protect the prostitutes (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). These policies include time restrictions as to when the prostitutes can leave their houses and venture into town. Prostitutes are not allowed to solicit men outside

⁶ The Reno, Sparks, and Carson City area has seven, the Winnemucca area has five, the Battle Mountain area has one, the Elko/Carlin area has six, Wells area has two, Ely area has one, the Las Vegas area has three, the Fallon area has one, the Hawthorne area has one, and the Beatty/Tonopah area has four (<http://thenevadabrothels.com/nevada-brothels.htm>).

of the houses (Symanski, 1974). However, brothels in some counties are allowed to send prostitutes off site to deliver services (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005).

Many of the cities in Nevada with legal prostitution have numerous restrictions in place indicating where prostitutes can go within city limits and what times, what policies and procedures need to occur for the brothels to remain open, and what they need to do medically (e.g. regular medical exams, etc.) (Symanski, 1974). Prostitutes are required to have medical examinations to ensure that they are not carrying any diseases that they could pass along to their customers (Symanski, 1974). Women are required to be tested weekly for gonorrhea and chlamydia as well as have a blood test monthly by a local physician to test for syphilis and HIV (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). If prostitutes test positive for anything other than HIV, they are unable to work until it is treated and cleared; however, with HIV they are no longer allowed to be legal prostitutes (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). This is to ensure the safety of both prostitutes and their customers.

Local brothels have developed several ways to keep prostitutes safe. Most rooms have an intercom system so that when the negotiation process is occurring managers are able to listen in so they know what services are being delivered and can hear if a customer is unruly (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). The prostitute then leaves the room, takes the money to the manager, and there is no money in the room should a customer try to get his/her money back (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). Most brothels also have panic buttons installed in the rooms that can be pushed if there is a problem and anyone in the house is able to hear it or it can be linked to the office (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005).

Nevada has also developed policies to ensure the safety of the community. Policies prohibit counties from applying for a license to have legal prostitution, for example, counties

with populations of over 400,000 cannot have an establishment within their county as a brothel (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). This is because prostitution has a stigma of being dangerous (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). Another policy in place to protect the community is that establishments cannot be set up “within 400 feet of a school or building erected for religious services, or on a principal business street” (Symanski, 1974, p. 362).

With these policies being followed, research suggests officers would be more likely to engage in positive interactions with the brothels and their workers (e.g., Brents & Hausbeck, 2005; Symanski, 1974). For example, if the owners have unruly customers they will call 911 if they are unable to handle the situation and the police respond quickly. Owners make it a point to call the police at the first sign of trouble to ensure their legitimacy as a business and to send a message that they will not put up with people exhibiting bad or inappropriate behaviors (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). In their study, one officer who did not agree with prostitution stated that, as an officer, laws have to be enforced and that if someone is unruly then officers will take the measure necessary to stop it from occurring (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). This same officer also stated that these women are working jobs just like everyone else and they have a right to be safe. Therefore, the beliefs of officers in Nevada seem to stem around the idea that these women work in a legitimate job and, therefore, deserve to be treated that way due to the law stating so. Officers in Nevada may be trained in a different way and, therefore, are able to see these women in a way that makes what they do a legitimate form of earning money. This could then affect the attitudes towards prostitution in so much that officers will have a more positive view of the prostitutes that engage in what is considered to be a legitimate job (Symanski, 1974). This, in turn, affects the officers’ perceptions of prostitutes allowing them to have more positive attitudes and, perhaps also affects the interactions with prostitutes.

This is also evident in the Netherlands. Daalder (2007) conducted a study that examined the changing laws towards prostitution and brothels. The Netherlands lifted the ban on brothels and the police began to take on a new role. Prostitution became legal and, therefore, the police began a role of maintaining the legality of those brothels (Daalder, 2007). Numerous sub-studies were conducted to be combined into one large study which allowed for responses from numerous departments. These studies included several hundred prostitutes, members of police forces, key informants, business owners, and the Dutch population (Daalder, 2007). The sub-studies were combined to ensure they covered a wide variety of information from all areas that could be affected by the change of laws. The research shows that officers inspected the brothels to ensure that there were legal prostitutes and that they were maintaining the standards necessary to remain in operation (Daalder, 2007). Officers' roles were shifted to ensure that the brothels are engaging in legal forms of prostitution and no longer focused on illegal forms of prostitution (Daalder, 2007). This means that the officers ensure there are no underage prostitutes, human trafficking victims, or anyone being forced into the role of a prostitute (Daalder, 2007). Police in the Netherlands still enforce the laws against street prostitution, unofficial prostitution areas, escorts, and internet prostitution (Daalder, 2007). The Netherlands changed their ideas on prostitution and have begun to regulate it instead of banning it.

Officer attitudes toward and interactions with prostitution may be more positive in regions where it is decriminalized. Therefore, it is important to examine the possibility that policies focused on keeping prostitutes safe could encourage officers to have more positive attitudes towards those involved and the issue in general. These policies may also then influence interactions with prostitutes, thereby reducing violence and abuse.

Attitudes Towards Women

Attitudes toward women in general may be associated with both the attitudes of officers and interactions they have with prostitutes and prostitution. In this work sexist beliefs are examined to determine if these affect the attitudes of police officers towards female prostitutes and prostitution. According to Glick and Fiske (1996), sexism is not always in an extreme negative form, but is still the stereotyping of women and is often viewed as harassment. A positive comment may be made about a woman, but it is in terms that put them into traditional roles and with less status than male roles (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Sims et al. (2003) identify three different types of sexism (i.e., hostile, overt, and modern) in a previously used scale. Hostile sexism is when someone holds on to beliefs that women have a certain role and are not supposed to step out of the role (e.g. to cook and clean), as well as use their gender to get special assignments (Sims et al., 2003). Overt sexism is the belief that there is “differential treatment” of women and women should remain in traditional gender roles (Sims et al., 2003, p. 288). In other words, those who engage in overt sexism believe that women should remain in jobs that are classified as feminine and that they should be treated differently. Finally, modern sexism is not as obvious as the previously mentioned forms but it still shows that sexism occurs (Sims et al., 2003). Sexism towards women by police officers could play a large part in their interactions with prostitutes. If an officer has a negative view towards women in general, he/she may also have negative attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution and then also treat the prostitutes in an inappropriate manner.

Sims et al. (2003) examined the previously mentioned sexism scales using a sample of police officers. They looked at individual characteristics such as gender, marital status, race, and time spent in contact with females. They analyzed these with the sexism variables to determine

the relationship between officers' attitudes toward women in general and traditional policing. Based on the analysis, they found that male officers hold less favorable opinions of women than females officers do (Sims et al., 2003). Minority officers believe that there is still discrimination against women, in part because they feel as though there is still discrimination against minorities in general and view women as part of this (Sims et al., 2003). Thus, it may also be that minority officers have more sympathetic views towards prostitutes. Also, officers who are married or living with a partner scored higher on the overt sexism factor (Sims et al., 2003). They were more likely to "believe that women are generally as smart as men or that women should assume their rightful place in the business along with men" (Sims et al., 2003, p. 290). Therefore, officers that are married are more likely to think of women as being equal and have positive attitudes towards women. Finally, it was found that the more time a male officer spends in contact with female officers, the more likely he is to have positive attitudes towards women (Sims et al., 2003). Thus, it may be possible that the more officers come into contact with a prostitute, the more positive their attitudes will be towards them. As previously stated, attitudes will affect behaviors, and therefore, if an officer has a negative attitude towards women in general, there is a likelihood they will have more negative attitudes towards prostitutes, and engage in interactions that reflect these attitudes.

Purpose of the Study

There are many factors that could be associated with individual attitudes toward prostitution, which in turn, may affect the interactions officers have with prostitutes. These factors include: individual characteristics, agency and state policies, and attitudes toward women. These factors can affect the officers' behaviors and interactions when they come in contact with female prostitutes. Given this review, the overarching research questions for this study are as

follows. First, what are the perceptions of or attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes held by police officers? Second, what factors are associated with these attitudes? Third, are these attitudes related to the interactions of police officers with prostitutes? Several hypotheses are tested in this work in order to answer these questions. The specific hypotheses tested and project methodology are detailed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

Sampling

A purposive and convenient sampling design was utilized in this study. Sixteen police agencies throughout the state of Pennsylvania were contacted about participating in this study. Ten police agencies agreed to do so. This resulted in a target population of 515 officers. One agency declined to participate due to the lack of contact the department had with prostitutes. Another agency declined, indicating it was against their policies to participate in a research study. The remaining four agencies did not return the messages that had been left for them. Agencies were identified through preexisting contacts of the researcher via phone and email. The researcher communicated with the Chiefs and Captains of the agencies and asked if they would allow their agencies to be associated with the study. Verbal agreement was obtained, as well as a written letter of agency authorization. The entire population of each agency that agreed to participate was surveyed as opposed to randomly selecting a sample within the selected agencies or departments. This was done because the probability that a given sample element will be selected is not known and therefore, one cannot utilize a random probability sample (Maxfield & Babbie, 2006). This was also done because of the expectation of a low response rate given the nature of the work and population of study. Validity is also a weakness of survey research (Maxfield & Babbie, 2006). For instance, a threat to internal validity includes selection biases, meaning that having a non-random sample may cause a threat to validity (Maxfield & Babbie, 2006). Maxfield & Babbie (2006) stated that having randomization within a study will decrease the likelihood of a threat to validity.

The study, however, used a convenience sample that is purposive in nature because of the somewhat limited time frame associated with the study, as well as the inability to gain access to a

larger number of police officers. An example used in the literature of a convenient purposive sampling is the study conducted by Dodge et al. (2004). They studied a group of undercover female police officers posing as prostitutes and examined their attitudes towards the undercover operations. A sample of female officers engaging in undercover sting operations was needed as their study was specifically examining this source. Dodge et al. (2004) selected their sample using a convenience sample (obtained through snow-ball sampling) that was referred to the researchers by coworkers. Their study produced rich data on female police officers' attitudes about being undercover as well as their experiences while doing so (Dodge et al., 2004). In this case, because both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data were conducted it was most important to obtain as large a sample as possible. This sampling method within the scope conditions of the work was ideal. This shows that, even with a sampling method of this type, one can still receive rich data, which was sought in this study as well.

Sample Characteristics

For this study, as previously stated, 515 study packets were sent out. Of those, 158 were returned yielding a response rate of 31%. Although this is a low response rate for survey research, it is not surprising given the population and topic of study. There are many reasons why this may have occurred. To begin with, officers are a population that is known for not letting outsiders in (Jacobs, 1992). They are a very guarded group. Also, the topic being examined is very sensitive in nature. Perhaps officers did not want to respond to the survey based on the sensitive material, or they did not want to admit to how they felt about prostitution. Other studies have encountered this problem but have still found information useful to apply to policies. One study examined officers' response to sexual assault and had a response rate of less than 50%, however, their results were informative on gender differences between officers'

perceptions (Schuller & Stewart, 2000). Finally, no additional attempts were made to obtain responses from officers due to time constraints.

Respondent Characteristics

As shown in Table 1, the mean age for the sample is 41. The majority of respondents are male (93.7%), white (93.0%), and married (83.5%). The majority of respondents had at least some college with 47.5% graduating from college, 30.4% having some college, and 9.5% responded having some post graduate work. Most respondents are patrol officers (36.1%) and 19% are sergeants, 16.5% are detectives, 1.9 % are Chiefs and 2.5% are captains, and 11.4% identified as “other” positions. The mean number of years as an officer 16.5. Finally, the majority of the respondents identified their department as having over 40 officers (70.3%).

TABLE 1. Respondent Characteristics (N=158)

Category	Frequency	Valid Percentage/ \bar{x}
Personal		
Age		41.4
Gender		
Male	148	93.7
Female	9	5.7
No Response	1	.6
Race/Ethnicity		
White	147	93.0
Black/African American	3	1.9
Other	5	3.2
Hispanic or Latino		
Hispanic or Latino	4	2.5
Not Hispanic or Latino	151	95.6
No Response	3	1.9
Education Level		
High School Diploma or GED	19	12.0
Some College	48	30.4
College Graduate	75	47.5
Post Graduate Work	15	9.5
No Response	1	.6
Marital Status		
Single/Never married	9	5.7
Separated/Divorced	13	8.2
Married/living with a partner	132	83.5
Widow/Widower	1	.6
No Response	3	1.9

TABLE 1. Respondent Characteristics Continued (N=158)

Category	Frequency	Valid Percentage/ \bar{x}
Personal		
Current Rank		
Patrol Officer	57	36.1
Sergeant	30	19.0
Lieutenant	15	9.5
Captain	4	2.5
Detective	26	16.5
Chief	3	1.9
Other	18	11.4
No response	5	3.2
Years as an officer		16.5
Size of Department		
Less than 10 Officers	4	2.5
10-20 Officers	27	17.1
21-40 Officers	11	7.0
Over 40 Officers	111	70.3
No Response	5	3.2

Data Collection and the Study Questionnaire

This study employed a survey design for two key reasons – one substantive and one practical.⁷ First, a survey design was chosen because the focus of the work is on officer perceptions and interactions regarding a fairly sensitive topic. Prostitution is a sensitive topic to study. When engaging in research on sensitive topics it has been stated that participants in a study will be more likely to disclose information on such topics if they do not have any witnesses to what they are saying (Kaplowitz, 2000). As it pertains to this study, officers were expected to be more likely to answer questions on the sensitive topic of prostitution if their anonymity remained intact. Therefore, the utilization of survey design allowed officers complete anonymity throughout the study and allowed officers to feel more comfortable addressing such topics thereby increasing the validity of the data. Beyond the issue of sensitivity, prior research indicates that police officers are a group that is difficult to study. As mentioned earlier, they are

⁷ Please see Appendix C for a copy of the study questionnaire.

difficult to study due to their “vaunted closure to outsiders” (Jacobs, 1992, p. 1295) part of a cultural code emphasizing secrecy that is instilled in them as soon as they enter into a police force (Lefkowitz, 1975). Also, many officers feel as though their communities do not understand what they go through in their daily work lives, and feel secluded (Lefkowitz, 1975). Second, a survey design was also employed for practical purposes. Specifically, time and resource constraints did not allow for a study design that incorporated in-depth interviews or an ethnographic approach more generally.

Of course, as with any approach, there are limitations of survey research. For example, standardization of questions may limit the responses that are possible from the participants (Maxfield & Babbie, 2006). To minimize this, several open-ended questions were included. The closed-ended questions are exhaustive and mutually exclusive, response categories constitute Likert scales ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Questions were examined to ensure that double-barreled questions were not included and that they could be easily understood and accessible to the study population.

The study protocol calls for a self-administered survey. Study packets were given to the captain or chief to be handed out during roll call. This process was utilized to ensure that all officers were able to receive a copy of the study materials and respond if willing to do so. In the study packet, a recruitment letter was included that explained the overall purpose of the study, that the study is affiliated with Penn State, and with instructions for how to participate in the study (See Appendix B). Also included in the study’s packet were the implied consent form (See Appendix C),⁸ a copy of the study questionnaire (See Appendix D), and a self-addressed pre-paid postage envelope. The instructions indicated to the officers that they should, if they chose to,

⁸ The study was approved by Penn State’s Office of Research Protections (ORP). The approved protocol number for the proposed study is 33165. See Appendix E for a copy of the human subjects review application as well as the approval email that was generated by the ORP staff.

keep the copy of the implied consent for their records, complete the study's questionnaire, and return it to the study researcher in the envelope provided.

Study Measures

The study attempts to measure police officers' attitudes towards prostitutes and prostitution as well as their correlates and association with police interactions. The review of the literature indicates that various factors may be associated with those beliefs and attitudes. Further, there is ample evidence to suggest that an individual's attitudes and beliefs do influence actual behaviors. Thus, questions were included that target these three areas of inquiry.

Independent Variables.

Some survey questions were obtained from the study conducted by Sims, Scarborough, and Ahmad, (2009) discussed in Chapter 2.⁹ These questions examine attitudes towards women, as well as distinguish between hostile, overt, and modern sexism. Hostile sexism was measured using questions such as "Women exaggerate problems they have at work," "Women often interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist," and "Many women are actually seeking special favors such as hiring policies that favor them over men under the guise of asking for equality." In reference to Sims et al. (2009), these measure what is called "old fashioned" (287) or hostile sexism. Overt sexism is measured using questions such as "Women are just as capable as thinking logically as men," "Women are generally not as smart as men," and "A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man." Overt sexism reveals a belief in traditional gender roles (Sims et al., 2009). Finally, modern sexism is measured by questions such as "Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States," and "Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual

⁹ Sims et al. (2009) obtained questions for their survey from Glick & Fiske (1996); Spence, Helmreich & Stapp (1973), Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter (1995); & Haarr (1997).

discrimination.” Modern sexism is a discrimination against women, but it is more covert (Sims et al., 2009). These questions are measured using a Likert scale with 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Agree; and 4 = Strongly agree (refer to Q1 through Q14 on the study’s questionnaire, included here as Appendix C).

Individual characteristics questions were included at the end of the questionnaire and consist of numerous questions. Gender is a nominal variable measured as 0 = Male and 1 = Female. Race is a nominal variable coded as 0 = White; 1 = Black/African-American; 2 = Asian; 3 = Other. Age is a continuous level variable and education is measured as ordinal in nature (but treated as interval) with 1 = Less than high school; 2 = High school diploma/GED; 3 = Some college; 4 = College graduate; 5 = Post graduate work. Marital status is a nominal variable measured as 1 = Single/never married; 2 = Separated/divorced; 3 = Married or living with a partner; 4 = Widow or widower; 5 = Other. The current rank of the officer is a ordinal variable measured as 1 = Patrol officer; 2 = Sergeant; 3 = Lieutenant; 4 = Captain; 5 = Assistant Chief; 6 = Detective; 7 = Chief; 8 = Other. Years of experience working as an officer is continuous variable. Finally the size of the department is an ordinal variable and measured as 1 = Less than 10 officers; 2 = 10 to 20 officers; 3 = 21 to 40 officers; 4 = Over 40 officers.¹⁰

Two questions were included that ask officers about their contact with prostitutes (i.e., experience working with a vice squad and frequency of contact with someone engaging in prostitution (Q25 and 26)). This allowed for analyses of the relationship between contact with prostitutes and the attitudes officers have towards them. These two questions are treated as independent variables.

¹⁰ The type of department the officer works in was removed from analysis due to the lack of responses on the survey and to protect anonymity of officers.

Dependent Variables.

Another area of examination is the general attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes. Although other similar studies have been conducted (Baker, 2005; Williamson et al., 2007), as noted previously, the literature is sparse in this regard. These questions, therefore, were developed using the major themes that were identified throughout the literature. Some questions were also drawn from the Attitudes Toward Prostitution Scale and were adapted to suit this population. Three questions were adapted and utilized in this current study: “prostitution should be legalized,” “prostitution should be decriminalized,” and “women are prostitutes because they want to be. It is their choice.”

These questions (Q15 through Q24) address the overall attitude towards prostitutes and prostitution that officers hold. They are also asked using the same Likert scale as reported on above. Sample questions are, “Prostitutes should be able to work in areas established for that purpose,” “The best way to deal with problems associated with prostitution is for the police to practice selective toleration while mediating between prostitutes and community members,” and, “Prostitution should be decriminalized and regulated in the same manner as those locations where prostitution is legal.” More favorable attitudes mean that officers accept and tolerate prostitutes and prostitution; however, less favorable attitudes means they are less tolerant and acceptant of prostitutes and prostitution.

Police officers’ interactions with prostitutes were measured asking two questions that examine how officers interact with prostitutes when they come into contact with them. One question asks officers to choose from a list of possible actions they take when they DO become aware of prostitution occurring during their shift (Q27) and is treated as a dependent variable. Those responses include: “I always enforce the law and local ordinances that deal with this type

of behavior,” “I look the other way as long as the incident is taking place in a private place and not causing any problems for local citizens,” “I give the parties a warning and send them on their way,” and “Other.” An open-ended question preceded this that asks officers to describe a typical interaction with prostitutes. This question was used to provide a more in depth understanding of these interactions and was analyzed for qualitative themes.

Finally, the questionnaire also asks officers about whether their departments have either a written or informal policy about the handling of prostitution within local communities. An attempt was made to collect any written policies however no policies were sent by any participants. Officers were asked, however, to briefly describe either the written or the informal policy as part of the survey process (Q28 through Q28f). In regards to written policy, the majority of officers stated “enforce all laws” and “zero tolerance.” However, when informal policies were examined officers stated, “enforcement level governed by community complaints,” “first offense is a warning, second offense is arrest,” and “Rarely does the officers catch them in the act so they are advised to move along, checked for warrants etc. Specialized details target prostitutes.” Policy may be associated with an officer’s attitudes and interactions with prostitutes in many ways. If there is a formal policy in place that officers must adhere to, they may interact with a prostitute differently, such as always arresting and not warning them.

Study Hypotheses

Subsumed under the three broad research questions the following hypotheses were tested using the survey data obtained.

Attitudes

- H1: Male officers will hold less favorable attitudes about prostitution and prostitutes than female officers.

- H2: White officers will hold less favorable attitudes about prostitution and prostitutes than minority officers.
- H3: Younger officers will hold less favorable attitudes about prostitution and prostitutes than will older officers.
- H4: Higher levels of education will be positively correlated with more favorable attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes.
- H5: Married officers will be less favorable toward prostitution than will officers who are single, never married, divorced, or are a widow/widower.
- H6: Police officers among the lower ranks will hold less favorable attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution than will those among the higher ranks.
- H7: Officers whom have been in law enforcement longer will have more favorable attitudes towards prostitutes than will those newer to the force.
- H8: Officers associated with a larger police department will hold more favorable attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution than will officers from smaller departments.
- H9: Those officers who report more contact with prostitutes will hold more favorable attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution.
- H10: Officers who hold more negative attitudes toward women will also hold more negative attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes.
- H11: Officers who believe women were forced into prostitution will hold more favorable attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes.

- H12: Controlling for other variables, officers who have negative attitudes towards women in general will be more likely to have less favorable attitudes towards prostitutes and prostitution.
- H13: Departments with formal policy on prostitution will be associated with officers' attitudes toward prostitution.

Interactions

- H14: Departments with a formal policy on prostitution will be associated with officers' interactions with prostitutes.
- H15: Officers' attitudes towards women will be associated with their interactions with prostitutes
- H16: Officers' attitudes towards prostitution will be associated with their interactions with prostitutes

A brief review of the literature that guides these hypotheses provides support for these hypotheses. For example, Dodge et al. (2004) and Baker (2005) support H1 by stating that female officers have a positive opinion of female prostitutes and feel bad for them and the hardships they have endured; therefore, male officers will have a more negative attitude towards them. Minority officers may disproportionately come from high crime communities; therefore, they will have a more positive attitude towards prostitution supporting H2. Older men will be more likely to support the decriminalization and legalization of prostitution, according to Sawyer et al. (2001/2002), which supports H3, H6, and H7 in that those officers who are older are more likely to have a positive attitude towards prostitutes and prostitution, hold higher ranks, and have been working in law enforcement longer.

Sawyer et al. (2001/2002) found that men with more education will give both legal and social support for prostitution, supporting H4. Those officers that have never been married, are divorced, or a widow/widower are more likely to engage in casual sex and, therefore, may also be more likely to see prostitution as less of a moral issue than those that are married. Officers who are married are more likely to engage in only one sexual relation at a time than those that are not in committed relationships. This supports H5 - that those officers that are married will have a less understanding and accepting attitude of prostitution.

Officers working in an urban police department come in contact with prostitution more often than those in rural areas, therefore, this allows the officers to get to know them and in some cases become known as protectors for the prostitutes (Williamson et al., 2007). This supports H8 and H9 in that officers in a larger department are expected to be more likely to come in contact with prostitutes, engage in conversations with them, and feel the need to protect and help them.

Officers that have a negative attitude toward women in general are expected to be more likely to have negative attitudes towards prostitutes due to women representing the majority of the population of prostitutes. This shows the research context of H10, H11, and H12.

Finally, as previously stated, agency policy may directly influence how officers behave given that it may reveal how their superiors and comrades also manage prostitution (Hodgson, 2001), which supports H13. Finally, Eiser (1994) argues that attitudes will influence our behaviors, supporting H14, H15, and H16.

CHAPTER 4: Data Analysis

All of the responses were entered into SPSS to analyze the data. First, frequency distributions were examined in order to determine where recoding of key variables was necessary in order to generate meaningful descriptive and bivariate analyses. Then, scale reliability tests and factor analyses were conducted to ensure the attitudes scales measure what they were intended to measure. Next, bivariate analyses were conducted. Specifically, t-tests and ANOVAs were used to determine if mean scores differ across categorical independent variables on a statistically significant level and correlations were used to test associations between continuous variables.

Descriptive Statistics

Officers' Attitudes Toward Women

Officers' attitudes toward women were measured using numerous questions included to measure the level of different kinds of sexism. Because the nature of agreement indicated a different "kind" of attitude to women on various questions (i.e., a strongly agree on one question may mean a less "sexist" attitude and the reverse on another question), all questions were recoded such that the higher value always indicated more positive (i.e., less "sexist") attitudes towards women.¹¹ To reflect this, findings are likewise presented to indicate positive (less "sexist") or negative (more "sexist") attitudes towards women rather than agree/strongly agree and disagree/strongly disagree to allow for meaningful comparisons across sexism scales. Next, to test the strength of each subscale, the 14 questions related to sexism were collapsed into their three measures (see Table 2). Scale reliability analyses revealed medium to high internal

¹¹ Specifically, survey questions 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, and 14 were reverse coded to ensure that the higher number indicated more positive attitudes towards women.

consistency¹² of these measures as is indicated by the cronbach's alpha for each scale: modern sexism ($\alpha = .516$), overt sexism ($\alpha=.682$), and hostile sexism ($\alpha=.723$).

The following five questions were used to create a composite measure of hostile sexism with a mean score of 4.1948, standard deviation of 1.57213, and a range of 1.00 to 5.00:

Q1. When women lose to men in fair competition they sometimes complain about being discriminated against

Q4. Women sometimes exaggerate problems they have at work

Q5. Women often interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexual

Q6. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of seeking equality

Q7. Women are too easily offended

The following four questions were used to create a composite measure of modern sexism with a mean of 2.5962, standard deviation of 1.31384, and a range of 1.00 to 4.00:

Q2. Society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement

Q8. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sex discrimination

Q9. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities

Q14. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States

Finally, the overt sexism scale was created using the following five questions with a mean of 5.6242, a standard deviation of .75459, and a range of 1.00 to 5.00:

¹² "Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient normally ranges between 0 and 1...The closer Cronbach's alpha coefficient is to 1.0 the greater the internal consistency of the items in the scale" (Gliem & Gliem, 2003, p. 87). Gliem and Gliem (2003) indicate that an alpha of greater than .70 is acceptable and alpha of less than .60 may be considered questionable.

Q3. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men

Q10. Women are generally not as smart as men

Q11. Women rightfully deserve to be in the workplace in equal partnerships with men

Q12. A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as men

Q13. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted

As Table 2 reveals, on the hostile sexism measure, officers hold predominately more positive attitudes toward women due to having more positive attitudes on three out of the five questions on this scale. This suggests that officers more often think that women do not unnecessarily respond to discrimination, women will only fight for equality when it is necessary. The modern sexism measure shows that officers have predominately more negative attitudes towards women on this measure. Therefore, officers could be considered to engage in more sexist attitudes under modern sexism. This suggests that officers perceive less inequality overall for women. Finally, officers hold predominately more positive attitudes toward women on the overt sexism measure. On all questions under this measure over 80% of officers indicated more positive attitudes category on each of the questions that constitute the overt sexism scale. Therefore, officers generally believe that women ought to have equal opportunities and do not perceive women to be “less than” men in their efforts to do so. Therefore, one can conclude that officers have predominately more positive attitudes toward women in regards to overt and hostile sexism. That is, they are generally not particularly sexist in these ways.

Table 2. Officers' Attitudes Towards Women (n=158)

Question	Negative Attitudes Towards Women		Positive Attitudes Towards Women	
	n	%	n	%
Hostile Sexism				
Q1. When women lose to men in fair competition they sometimes complain about being discriminated against	79	50.6	77	49.4
Q4. Women sometimes exaggerate problems they have at work	86	55.8	68	44.2
Q5. Women often interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexual	56	35.7	101	64.3
Q6. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of seeking equality.	26	16.6	131	83.4
Q7. Women are too easily offended	37	23.7	119	76.3
Modern Sexism				
Q2. Society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement	107	68.2	50	31.8
Q8. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sex discrimination	125	80.1	31	19.9
Q9. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities	93	59.2	64	40.8
Q14. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States	51	32.5	106	67.5
Overt Sexism				
Q3. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men	7	4.5	150	95.5
Q10. Women are generally not as smart as men	5	3.2	152	96.8
Q11. Women rightfully deserve to be in the workplace in equal partnerships with men	8	5.1	149	94.9
Q12. A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places of have quite the same freedom of action as men	10	6.4	147	93.6
Q13. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted	29	18.5	129	81.5

Officers' Attitudes Toward Prostitutes and Prostitution

Officers were also asked a series of questions regarding their attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution. To begin, they were asked which response best describes their thoughts on why women engage in prostitution. Originally, there were only four responses (i.e., they have been forced to by another person or group, because of their social circumstances, out of their own free will to do so, and other). However, after qualitative responses for "other" were examined a fifth theme – drug related – was identified.¹³ The examination of the qualitative data also revealed many responses that were recoded because the responses were consistent with the category "because of their social circumstances." These include responses such as: "Hardship within their

¹³ These data should be interpreted with caution due to all categories being prompted other than the drug category. This means that the data reported under the drug category may be underestimated.

life;” “Economic circumstances;” and “They have made poor life choices which have made them believe this is the way to go.”

As Table 3 reveals, the majority (57.6%) of the officers indicated a belief that women engage in prostitution “because of their social circumstances,” while only 18.4% believe the reason is drug related, 14.6% believe they do it “out of their own free will”, and 2.5% of the officers believe it is because they were forced into it by another person (refer to table 3). The low score on beliefs that women engage in prostitution because they were forced into it is noteworthy given the substantial body of literature that indicates women are forced into prostitution by family members, pimps, or as victims of human trafficking (Flowers, 2003; Goodson, 2006; Kennedy et al., 2007). There are a few possible explanations for this. To begin with departments may not have information on women as trafficking victims or as forced into prostitution. Also, officers may not encounter women who engage in prostitution for this reason given the geographical location of their departments and the related crime problems they manage. That is, perhaps the majority of prostitutes in their area simply do so as a result of social circumstances.

Table 3. Officers Thoughts About Why Women Engage in Prostitution (n=158)

Response	n	%
They have been forced to by another person or group	4	2.5
Because of their social circumstances	91	57.6
Out of their own free will to do so	23	14.6
Drugs	29	18.4
Other	10	6.3

Question 17 also included a follow-up question asking officers to indicate what types of prostitution are more acceptable than others by filling in the blanks to the following question: “For example _____ is more acceptable than _____.” Twenty-one officers responded to this question. These responses were examined for themes and recoded into five different categories: venue (42.9%), legal/illegal (14.3%), age (14.3%), nature of sexual act (9.5%), and

other (19.0%). “Venue” represents distinctions based on the place of work. For example, “working in a massage parlor” is more acceptable than “street walker.” All of these responses regarding venue indicate the same direction: indoor prostitution is more acceptable than street prostitution. Therefore, some officers believe it is more acceptable to engage in prostitution if it is in private or behind the scenes than if it is on the street. This may be because it pertains directly to the officers’ work and if it is behind the scenes they could be less likely to have to manage the issue during their shift. Some officers also maintained distinctions based on legality. For example: “legal [prostitution] is more acceptable than illegal [prostitution]” and “regulated [prostitution] is more acceptable than unregulated [prostitution].” Legal/illegal also relates to how the officers will manage the issue within their own work and may indicate that their perceptions are less about prostitution and more about violations of the current laws. If prostitution is legal, officers will not have to manage it in the same way they currently do. The category of age was determined based on responses such as: “adult prostitution is more acceptable than child prostitution.” This also relates to managing legality, due to having to be a certain age to engage in sexual acts with someone older.

Yet an alternative perspective is revealed in other responses. In regards to the nature of sexual acts, officers responded with comments such as: “exotic dancing is more acceptable than sexual intercourse” and “oral [sex] is more acceptable than anal [sex].” This shows that officers believe that certain sexual acts are more acceptable than others. Finally, “other” responses include: “the Bunny Ranch is more acceptable than a crack whore” and “high class call girl is more acceptable than a crack whore.” One officer said that “heterosexual [prostitution] is more acceptable than homosexual [prostitution].” These responses reflect more personal attitudes

officers have towards prostitution less related to their work than the three of the other categories discussed.

Officers' attitudes towards prostitutes and prostitution more generally were measured utilizing nine questions (see Table 4). A correlation of the nine questions was run to determine the strength of the relationship between factors. This revealed that the questions were statistically significantly and positively correlated with one another. Two questions (Q18 and Q20) were recoded when added to the scale to ensure that the higher number represented more favorable attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution. Scale reliability tests were also used on this new composite measure revealing high internal consistency ($\alpha=.760$). The following nine questions generated a "prostitution scale" with a mean score of 12.1579, standard deviation of 4.19730, and a range of 1.00 to 21.00:

Q16. Prostitution should be decriminalized and regulated in the same manner as those locations where prostitution is legal

Q17. Some kinds of prostitution are more acceptable than others

Q18. Prostitution is immoral and for that reason alone should continue to be illegal

Q19. Prostitutes should be able to work in established zones that are defined for that purpose

Q20. Legalizing prostitution will result in an increase in social problems in those areas where it is occurring

Q21. Government programs such as free condoms and information about HIV and STDs should be made available to protect those working as prostitutes

Q22. Discrimination against women occurs when police focus more on arresting female prostitutes than on arresting males who frequent them

Q23. If prostitutes worked more responsibility in terms of location, privacy, and civility, most police officers would be less likely to interfere with their activities.

Q24. The best way to deal with problems associated with prostitution is for the police to practice “selective toleration” while mediating between prostitutes and community members

As is revealed in Table 4, 62.1% of officers disagree/strongly disagree with the idea of decriminalizing and regulating prostitution. The majority also disagree/strongly disagree with the idea that some forms of prostitution are more acceptable than others (79.5%), and officers disagree/strongly disagree (70.1%) that prostitutes should be able to work in established zones. Less than half of the officers, however, agree/strongly agree (57.3%) with the idea of having government-funded programs. Just over half agree/strongly agree (51.3%) with the idea that if prostitutes worked more responsibly within private places there would be less interference from

Table 4. Officers' Attitudes Towards Prostitutes and Prostitution (n=158)

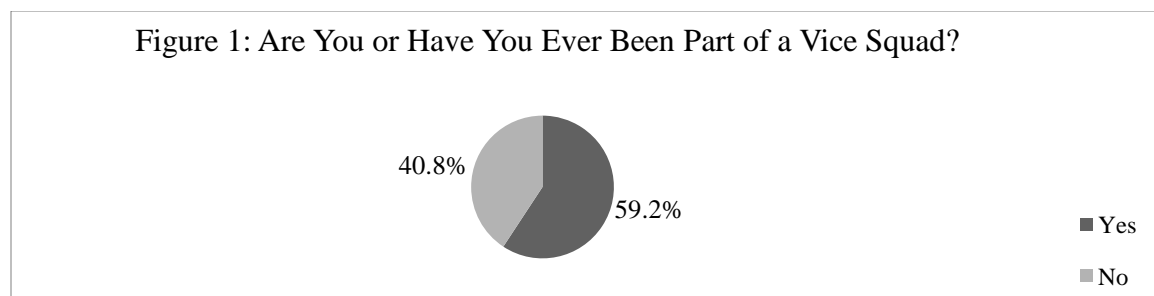
Question	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Q16. Prostitution should be decriminalized and regulated in the same manner as those locations where prostitution is legal	38	24.1	60	38.0	45	28.5	15	9.5
Q17. Some kinds of prostitution are more acceptable than others	37	23.7	87	55.8	29	18.6	3	1.9
Q18. Prostitution is immoral and for that reason alone should continue to be illegal	12	7.7	82	52.9	44	28.4	17	11.0
Q19. Prostitutes should be able to work in established zones that are defined for that purpose	38	24.2	72	45.9	40	25.5	7	4.5
Q20. Legalizing prostitution will result in an increase in social problems in those areas where it is occurring	9	5.7	52	33.1	70	44.6	26	16.6
Q21. Government programs such as free condoms and information about HIV and STDs should be made available to protect those working as prostitutes	28	17.8	39	24.8	67	42.7	23	14.6
Q22. Discrimination against women occurs when police focus more on arresting female prostitutes than on arresting males who frequent them	30	19.1	91	58.0	30	19.1	6	3.8
Q23. If prostitutes worked more responsibly in terms of location, privacy, and civility, most police officers would be less likely to interfere with their activities.	15	9.6	61	39.1	73	46.8	7	4.5
Q24. The best way to deal with problems associated with prostitution is for the police to practice “selective toleration” while mediating between prostitutes and community members	34	21.8	104	66.7	16	10.3	2	1.3

police. Still, over half of the officers disagree/strongly disagree with the idea that prostitution is immoral (60.6%) yet while agree/strongly agree that legalizing prostitution would increase social problems (61.6%). In regards to police interactions, the majority of the officers (77.1%) stated that discrimination occurs against women because there is more of a focus on arresting women and not the men soliciting. Similarly, the majority of the officers (88.5%) agree that engaging in selective toleration when mediating between prostitutes and the community is the best policing strategy.

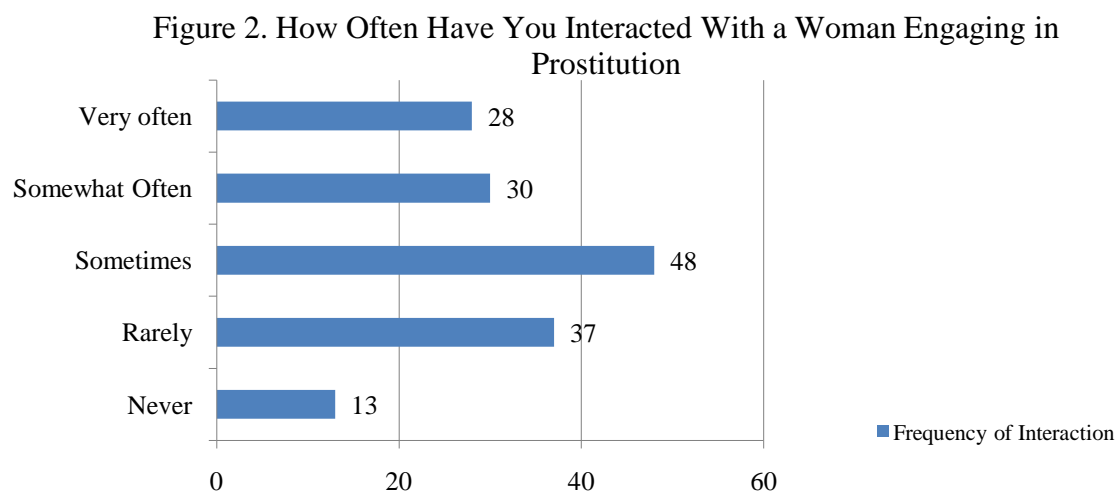
Police Interactions with Prostitutes and Prostitution

Involvement in vice units and frequency of contact with prostitutes, as well as the presence of a policy regarding law enforcement of prostitution within the agency are all relevant to police interaction with prostitutes and prostitution. There are 93 officers (59.2%) who had been involved with a vice unit at some point during their career (see Figure 1). This is important because officers who work in a vice unit are more likely to come into contact with prostitutes throughout their careers, which in turn may be associated with more positive attitudes toward prostitution and relate to the nature of the interaction.¹⁴ As previously stated, in prior research it has been found that officers who come in more contact with prostitutes will have more sympathetic views of the females and, therefore, have more positive attitudes toward prostitutes (Williamson et al., 2007).

¹⁴ A Chi-square test of association confirmed that there is a significant association between being in a vice unit and frequency of contact with prostitution [$X^2(4)=64.823$; $p<.001$]. Therefore, the proceeding analyses simply used frequency of contact.



Officer frequency of contact with prostitution is shown in Figure 2 and is measured by never (8.2%), rarely (23.4%), sometimes (30.4%), somewhat often (19%) and very often (17.7%). This reveals that few officers “never” have contact with prostitutes and the majority “sometimes” do. But this alone does not reveal the nature of the contact.



In order to examine the nature of police interaction with prostitutes, officers were asked what “best describes” how they handle an incident involving prostitution when they are made aware of it during their shift (See Table 5). Again, qualitative data for the “other” category were recorded. Many “other” responses aligned with previously set categories. For example “Arrest the prostitutes, flip them and use them as informants” aligned with “I always enforce the laws” and “I warn her to be careful, then tell her to leave the area, I don't want to see her while I'm working.” aligned with “Give a warning and send them on their way.” The majority of officers

responded that they always enforce the laws when they encounter prostitutes (56.9%). Several officers explained that as long as there was enough evidence they would arrest the prostitutes. This reveals a commitment to enforcing the law that parallels the trend evident in beliefs about which kinds of prostitution are more acceptable than others discussed above. Some officers responded that they would give a warning and send them on their way (21.6%). A small number of officers responded they would look the other way if it was occurring in private (6.5%), indicating that as long as prostitutes were working in a certain venue, the officers would engage in discretion similar to perceptions about certain types of prostitution as more acceptable than others.

Table 5. Officers Relation to Encounters with Prostitutes

Response	n	%
I always enforce the law and local ordinances that deal with this type of behavior	87	56.9
I look the other way as long as the incident is taking place in a private place and not causing any problems for local citizens	10	6.5
I give the parties a warning and send them on their way	33	21.6
Other	23	15.0

Analyses of valuable qualitative data provide further insight into the complicated nature of police interactions with prostitutes and prostitution. Respondents provided open-ended responses on the survey question that asked: “If you have ever interacted with a woman engaging in prostitution describe the “typical” interaction you have had.” An examination of these responses reveals six themes. The first type of interaction is one of using women as informants, which could be interpreted as a fairly positive interaction. Officers provided responses such as: “Working with them as confidential informants”; and “Treat them respectfully because they know who people are and what they do and have done. Can be a great source of information.” Another theme is that officers simply arrest the prostitutes with whom they come in contact. Officers stated, for example, that they: “Posed as potential customer during a sting operation. Which basically established probable cause for arresting individuals,”

and simply “arrest them.” This theme aligns directly with the quantitative data on this issue. Another theme is that of moving prostitutes from their area of work. Some examples include: “Most of my interaction has been proactive in the sense of moving the prostitutes off the corners”; “Their info is taken and they are told to leave and not come back;” and “Making them leave truckstops.” These align with the quantitative responses of giving them a warning and sending them on their way.

Next, many officers used this part of the questionnaire to describe the type of women with whom they come into contact and the places where this occurs. Many responses included descriptions such as: “lower class person,” “crack whore,” and “many women are addicted to drugs.” They also described the places in which they come into contact with them - in “parked cars” and at “truck stops” - but not the actual interaction when they encounter them. Finally, they described setting prices, but not what the actual interaction is when this occurs. For example, responses describe the amount of money they will pay for the sexual acts, but they do not all express if they arrest after this is determined. One officer stated: “giving a ‘freebie’ if she didn’t get arrested or kept out of the matter,” but did not explain what his/her response was to this proposition.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which these interactions are “positive” or “negative” as many of these interactions could have been perceived as either for both the officer and the women engaging in prostitution. Many of these “typical” interactions could have resulted in either type of interaction and the nature of the survey statement did not ask specifically about violence or helping prostitutes as some of the literature suggests may be common. Still, these data reveal that interactions vary in several ways and that they may be conditional. That is, “it depends on the situation” was a common response. Officers stated: “I have never experienced

what could be described as a ‘typical’ interaction with a prostitute. Each individual circumstance is unique, and needs to be treated as such” and “No ‘typical’ interaction.”

Hypothesis Testing

As detailed in Chapter 3, this study sought to test 16 hypotheses. All but one hypothesis was tested using bivariate analyses. Because the attitudes toward prostitution scales are continuous variables, correlations were run when testing the relationship with continuous independent variables and t-tests and ANOVAs were used to compare differences between group means when using nominal variables. Statistical significance is reported at three levels ($p < .05$, $p < .01$, and $p < .001$). Two hypotheses were not tested due to little variation in sample characteristics related to those variables. Specifically, the relationship between attitudes toward prostitution and gender could not be tested because only nine females out of 158 total participants responded to the questionnaire. Thus, H1 could not be examined statistically. It is noteworthy, however, that an examination of the mean scores across gender suggests females may hold more favorable attitudes toward prostitution than males do which is consistent with H1. In addition, the relationship between race/ethnicity and attitudes about prostitution and prostitutes could not be tested due to only having eight respondents reply that they were not white and only four report they were of Hispanic or Latino origin. Again, an examination of the mean scores across racial/ethnic categories suggests that minority officers may have more favorable attitudes toward prostitution than do white officers, which is consistent with H2.

To examine the relationship between age, education, years of experience, department size and the dependent variables that constitute attitudes towards prostitution, bivariate correlations were conducted with age, education, years of experience and department size as the independent variable and attitudes toward prostitution as the dependent variables (see Table 6). There was a

very small association between age and attitudes toward prostitution ($r=.078$; $p=.352$) that was not statistically significant (see Table 6). However, H3 is not supported because it is not statistically significant. Similarly, the correlation between education and attitudes towards prostitution indicates there is a weak, non-significant, relationship between education and less favorable attitudes towards prostitution ($r=-.075$; $p=.356$). This time, however, it is not in the expected direction. This shows that officers with more education have less favorable attitudes towards prostitution than officers with less education (See Table 6). Thus, H4 is also not supported. The relationship between years of experience and the prostitution scale is also weak and not significant ($r=.046$, $p=.584$) so H7 is also not supported (see Table 6).

Table 6. Bivariate Correlations Between Respondents' Attitudes Toward Prostitution and Individual Characteristics

Individual Characteristics	Prostitution Scale
	r
Age	.078
Education	-.075
Years of Experience	.046
Department Size	.065

Finally, the size of the department was collapsed from 4 categories (less than 10 officers, 10-20 officers, 21-40 officers, and over 40 officers) to 20 or less, 21-40 officers, and over 40 officers. The size of the department was not statistically significantly associated with attitudes toward prostitution ($r=.065$; $p=.065$) revealing a weak relationship. Therefore, H8 is also not supported.

It was also expected that officers who hold more negative attitudes towards women will also hold more negative attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes. This hypothesis (H10) was also examined utilizing bivariate correlation (see Table 7). The analyses reveal that for attitudes towards prostitution there is a statistically significant inverse association with the overt sexism

scale ($r=-.192$; $p<.01$), but not a statistically significant association for hostile sexism ($r=-.102$; $p=.216$) or modern sexism ($r=.133$; $p=.103$). Officers who hold more positive attitudes toward women (thus less “overtly sexist” attitudes) have more negative attitudes toward prostitution. Therefore, the H10 is partially supported in that there is a statistically significant association between attitudes toward women and prostitution (in terms of the overt sexism scale) but it is in the reverse direction than expected.

Table 7. Bivariate Correlation Between Attitudes Toward Prostitution and Attitudes Toward Women

Sexism	Prostitution Scale
	r
Hostile Sexism	-.102
Modern Sexism	.133
Overt Sexism	-.192*

* $p<.05$

One officer added a qualitative response related to this scale in the survey indicating that, in regards the “jobs that men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted,” are “specifically in combat or other VERY physically demanding positions.” As previously noted, overt sexism is a belief in traditional gender roles, and, therefore, officers scoring high on this scale have less “overtly sexist” attitudes toward women and therefore, believe that women should not be involved in only traditionally gendered roles. Perhaps, officers perceive prostitution as a “traditionally gendered role” and thus do not view it favorably as something that women are required to fit into traditionally as in a gendered role.

T-tests were conducted to compare the mean scores of attitudes toward prostitution across marital status and across respondents who are in departments with and without a policy with attitudes toward prostitution because they are dichotomous variables. The marital status variable was collapsed from single/never married, separated/divorced, married or living with a partner, widow or widower, and “other” to a dichotomous variable (i.e., married or living with a partner

and single/never been married) due to the limited amount of variability in responses. Officers who are not married had a higher mean than those officers who were [t(148)=.435, p=.664] although it was not statistically significant. This means that officers who are not married are more likely to have more favorable attitudes toward prostitution than officers who are married. Therefore H5 is not supported.

Table 8. T-test Comparison of Means Between Attitudes Toward Prostitution and Marriage/Policy

Characteristics	Prostitution Scale
	Mean (SD)
	12.1579 (4.19730)
Marriage	
Not Married	12.4783 (4.05496)
Married or Living with Partner	12.0630 (4.23468)
	t(148) = .435
Policy	
No	12.3186 (4.38599)
Yes	11.5714 (3.46653)
	t(146) = .922

The relationship between agencies with a formal policy on prostitution and officers' attitudes toward prostitutes was also examined utilizing a t-test (see Table 8). Agencies scoring higher on the prostitution scale were more likely to not have a policy [t(146)=.922, p=.358]. The results are not statistically significant; however, they are in the intended direction. Therefore, officers working for agencies with no policy have more favorable attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes than those with a policy. Still, H13 is also not supported due to a lack in statistical significance.

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were utilized to examine the relationship between the remaining key independent variables (rank of officers, encounters with prostitutes, reasons women become involved in prostitution, and police interaction and a composite index of attitudes toward prostitution as the dependent variable (see Table 9). Upon analysis it was found that the difference in mean scores on the attitudes scales by rank of officers was not significant in regards to the prostitution scale [F(6, 141)=.988, p=.436]. Upon comparing the means, Captains

and Lieutenants held the lowest means, meaning they had less favorable attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution. Therefore, officers in lower ranks may not hold more negative views than higher-ranking officers which is opposite of what was expected. It was expected that officers in lower ranks would hold more negative attitudes toward prostitution. Chiefs had the highest mean of all, meaning they have more favorable attitudes toward prostitutes and prostitution. Therefore, H6 is not supported due to a lack in statistical significance.

Table 9. ANOVA Mean Score Comparisons of Attitudes Toward Prostitution

Characteristics	Prostitution Scale
	Mean (SD)
Rank	12.1579 (4.19730)
Patrol Officer	12.3333 (4.38069)
Sergeant	12.1429 (3.55605)
Lieutenant	11.2667 (4.80278)
Captain	8.5000 (5.56776)
Assistant Chief	---
Detective	12.9600 (4.02575)
Chief	13.6667 (4.61880)
Other	11.2500 (3.49285)
	F (6, 141) = .988
Encounters with Prostitutes	
Never	12.3077 (2.81024)
Rarely	11.0270 (3.98948)
Sometimes	12.8043 (4.57345)
Somewhat often	11.8929 (4.08556)
Very often	12.7037 (4.53300)
	F (4, 146) = 1.088
Reasons Women become involved in prostitution	
They have been forced to by another person or group	10.5000 (5.44671)
Because of their social circumstances	12.2414 (4.11736)
Out of their own free will	12.2083 (4.26287)
Drugs	11.2963 (4.16778)
Other	14.3000 (4.29599)
	F (4, 147) = 1.104

Analyses did not reveal a statistically significant relationship between contact with prostitutes and attitudes of prostitutes [F(4, 146)=1.088; p=.365]. An officer that responded as having contact sometimes (followed by very often and somewhat often), had a higher mean score than any other group. Therefore, officers who come in less contact with prostitutes have a less favorable attitude toward prostitution. Still, this hypothesis (H9) is not supported due to a lack of statistical significance.

Hypothesis 11 was tested to see if officers who believe women were forced into prostitution hold more positive attitudes toward prostitution. There is not a statistically significant relationship when comparing means [$F(4, 147) = 1.104; p=.357$]. Upon comparing means, officers who believe women engage in prostitution due to their social circumstances and out of their own free will to do so, have a higher mean score indicating more favorable attitudes toward prostitution. Still, this was also not statistically significant, and therefore, H11 is not supported.

Finally, H12 required using a multivariate model to determine if, controlling for all other factors, attitudes toward women will be the strongest predictor of attitudes toward prostitution. However, due to the low sample size and the lack of significant findings in the bivariate analyses revealed, it was not expected that the data would fit the OLS regression model to reveal variance explained. Running this model revealed results consistent with the bivariate analyses. Overt sexism still remained statistically significant. Again, individual level factors and department factors were not strong indicators of attitudes toward prostitution.

Interaction Hypothesis Testing

In order to examine the hypotheses related to police interaction with prostitution an ANOVA was utilized to compare the means between officers' attitudes towards prostitution and attitudes toward women across different types of police interaction with prostitutes. In regards to attitudes toward prostitution, upon comparison of means, it was found that there was a significant relationship between interactions with prostitutes and attitudes [$F(93,143)=.6735; p<.001$]. Officers who look the other way scored significantly higher than any other interaction that was taken (see Table 10). Therefore, H16 is fully supported: officers' attitudes towards prostitution

are significantly associated with the interactions they have with prostitutes. In particular, officers who look the other way are more favorable towards prostitution.

Table 10. ANOVA Mean Score Comparisons of Attitudes Toward Prostitution and Interactions

Interactions	Prostitution Scale	
	Mean (SD)	
	12.1579 (4.19730)	
Enforce the law and local ordinances	11.1446 (3.37181)	
Look the other way	16.7778 (2.38630)	
Give them a warning	13.3125 (4.73448)	
Other	12.0435 (5.18282)	
	F (3, 143) = .6735***	

*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001

In regards to attitudes toward women and interaction, a comparison of means indicated there is no statistically significant relationship (see Table 11). For example, officers scoring higher on hostile sexism were not more likely than officers scoring higher on overt or modern sexism to interact with prostitutes in one way over another. Therefore, H15 is not supported.

Table 11. ANOVA Mean Score Comparisons of Attitudes Toward Women and Interactions

Interactions	Hostile Sexism	Modern Sexism	Overt Sexism
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
	9.4286 (2.333713)	5.4551 (1.79009)	8.4459 (2.30494)
Enforce the law and local ordinances	9.5476 (2.56672)	5.4884 (1.81331)	8.5402 (2.34176)
Look the other way	9.6000 (2.41293)	6.0000 (1.94365)	8.0000 (2.10819)
Give them a warning	9.2727 (2.13999)	5.5758 (1.95305)	8.2727 (2.50341)
Other	9.1364 (1.95900)	5.0000 (1.41421)	8.5909 (2.23945)
	F (3, 145) = .244	(3, 147) = .828	(3, 148) = .254

It was also expected that departments with a formal policy on prostitution would be associated with officers' interactions with prostitutes (H14). A chi square test of association was conducted utilizing interactions with prostitutes and the presence of a department formal policy as the independent variable because both are categorical variables. There was no statistically significant relationship between variables. However, further examination of the data indicates the relationship is in the expected direction. Officers that work for a department with a formal

Table 12. Cross Tabulation: Comparison of Policy and Interaction^a

	Does Your Department Have a Formal Policy for Prostitution?			
	No		Yes	
Interaction	n	%	n	%
Enforce the law and local ordinances	62	53.4	23	69.7
Look the other way	9	7.8	0	.0
Give them a warning	25	21.6	8	24.2
Other	20	17.2	2	6.1
$X^2(3)=6.009; p =.111$				
^a 2 Cells had a low expected cell count				

policy are more likely to always enforce the law (69.7%), while 53.4% of officers that work for a department with no formal policy will do the same. Also, not one officer who works in a department with a formal policy responded saying they look the other way, while 7.8% of those without a formal policy said they do (see Table 12). Due to a lack of statistical significance, H14 is not supported.

In sum, data analyses reveal little support for the study hypotheses. There were only three hypotheses that were supported. Officers who hold more positive attitudes (in terms of overt sexism specifically) toward women will also hold more negative attitudes toward prostitution. Officers who come in contact with prostitutes more often are more likely to have more favorable attitudes towards prostitutes. Officers' attitudes towards prostitution are associated with the interaction they have with prostitutes when they come in contact with them. These findings as well as study limitations and suggestions for future research are discussed further in the next section.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusions

Discussion

The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship between individual characteristics, police departmental characteristics, and police officer attitudes and interactions in regards to prostitution. The literature on the topic of officers' attitudes and interactions toward prostitution and prostitutes is scant. Very few studies have been conducted to examine this issue. Therefore, this research was conducted to help close that gap within the literature.

A central finding in this study is that officers who more positive attitudes toward women will hold less favorable attitudes toward prostitution, which was not in the expected direction. This work also reveals that officer attitudes toward prostitution are associated with the interactions officers have with prostitutes. However, individual characteristics of officers (age, education, marital status, rank of officer, years of experience) are not associated with attitudes toward prostitution. Likewise, agency characteristics (i.e., department size and policy) are not associated with attitudes or interactions. Most variables tested were not significantly associated with attitudes toward prostitution. This could be due to the small sample size as well as the lack of variation in responses but also perhaps because key variables were not included.

What is associated with the attitudes of officers toward prostitutes and prostitution? As described in Chapter 2, many characteristics were expected to be indicators of attitudes toward prostitution. Age, rank, education level, marital status, according to Sawyer et al. (2001/2002), should have predicted more favorable attitudes toward prostitution, however this is not the case for the current study. It could be, however, that the current study used a very different population. Sawyer et al. (2001.2002) examined the relationship between the previously mentioned characteristics and men who had been arrested for soliciting prostitution. Officers, however, have not likely been arrested for soliciting prostitutes, and may also differ from that

study population in other ways that may more accurately explain their attitudes related to that issue. Perhaps the characteristics that determine attitudes were not included in this study, and therefore, there could be other characteristics that need to be examined. For example, religion could play a part in the attitudes officers have toward prostitution in regards to legality and morality. Likewise, perhaps an officer's family life beyond marital status may be relevant. Could an officer having daughters or sisters influence the way s/he looks at prostitution? Political affiliation may also be significantly associated with attitudes. Individual characteristics could influence attitudes but they may not have been measured in this study or if there were a larger sample size with more variance significant relationships between attitudes and characteristics may have been revealed.

Departmental characteristics were also not significantly related to police attitudes or interactions. The fact that many respondents reported they did not currently have a policy regarding prostitution within their agency may be attributed to a lack of policy or a lack of officers knowing about the policies. Perhaps some agencies had policies, but the officers were unaware of these policies. It is also possible that officers working within the vice unit handle the issue of prostitution and not other units which may lead to a lack of awareness regarding the policy on the issue. Very few agencies responded that they had informal policies either. Therefore, the question is what are officers expected to do when they come in contact with prostitutes? How are they supposed to interact with prostitutes? If they are unaware of the way in which interactions are supposed to occur, then they may not know how to interact. It is possible that there were more department characteristics that needed to be examined throughout this study.

Perhaps the type of enforcement should have been analyzed more closely. That is, there could have been more analysis between vice units and patrol units, especially given that officers' rank was associated with their attitudes and interactions. Similarly, an examination of urban versus rural departments should be done. This study attempted to examine the differences between urban and rural departments, but it was not possible to attain data on this question due to the high amounts of missing data. This is likely to yield more variation in responses and possibly more significant results than department size.

Examinations of officer attitudes indicate that officers who have less "overtly" sexist attitudes toward women (more positive attitudes toward women) also have less favorable attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes. Overt sexism has a focus on more of a belief in traditional gender roles. Officers may engage in this type of sexism much less than hostile (old fashioned) or modern sexism (not as obvious, more covert). Officers, therefore, may be less likely to see women in a more traditional light, meaning that they believe that women should engage in less traditional roles within their lives. Women engaging in prostitution, therefore, may be more of a traditional role for women; therefore, officers will be less likely to be favorable toward prostitution. Perhaps, they do have negative attitudes that score higher on modern or hostile sexism because officers may see women as being more equal today (modern sexism measure) and that women do not think innocent remarks or acts are sexist (hostile sexism) but still assess women in terms of traditional roles and "values." Therefore, officers are more likely to look at women differently than they look at prostitutes. This may also be attributed to the fact that male officers work closely with female officers, who they increasingly perceive as equal (thus, lower on the modern sexism measure) and who (at least outwardly) appear less "bothered" within a police culture that is traditionally masculine. Therefore, it can be concluded that

officers who have more positive attitudes toward women on the overt sexism scale (meaning less overtly sexist) will have less favorable attitudes toward prostitution.

In regards to interactions, it appears that officers focus on either enforcing the law or warning and releasing the prostitutes. Williamson et al. (2007) suggested that officers engage in violent interactions and at times sexual interactions with prostitutes when they come in contact with them. This research, however did not examine this issue in particular, nor was it revealed in open-ended responses. Instead a central theme is that officers simply “manage” the issue according to the law. Officers who come in contact with prostitutes will enforce the laws, arrest them, or warn them and release them. At times, officers will engage the prostitutes as informants. There was no relationship between officers’ attitudes toward women and how they interact with prostitutes. Perhaps respondents distinguish between “women in general” and women who engage in prostitution such that they are judged differently. In addition, the attitudes toward women and prostitution scales could be lacking in areas. The questions may have been confusing and lacking an explanation of what officers truly felt toward prostitution. For instance, one officer provided unsolicited detailed information for four of the five first questions. The officer agreed with questions, but then provided more of a response explaining that there were some reservations responding that way. Perhaps having more open-ended questions allowing for more of an explanation would have allowed the officer to express more detailed attitudes toward women.

Still, there was a significant finding between attitudes toward prostitution and interactions with prostitutes. This supports the expectation that attitudes influence behaviors. Officers who have more favorable attitudes toward prostitution are more likely to engage in warning them and releasing them, than enforcing the law.

These variables did not adequately explain the difference between interactions and attitudes. This could be attributed to many different reasons. As explained above, in regards to attitudes toward women, the scales may not have focused on questions that would reflect the attitudes of a specific type of woman that engages in prostitution. In other words, perhaps officers have a different viewpoint of different “types” of women. A good example of this would be the questions regarding women in work places, which officers would not see prostitutes as engaging in a type of profession. Therefore, the questions that focused the attitudes toward prostitution scale could have been elaborated and more balanced as well. To begin with, there were very few questions that examined attitudes toward prostitutes and more directed toward prostitution. The questions were geared more toward a legality issue (prostitution should be legalized/decriminalized). Therefore, questions examining a specific attitude, such as that it is immoral or something that should be gotten rid of completely, were less so examined.

Finally, in regards to interactions, many types of interactions were not included. Officer interactions were measured using only two questions on the survey. Response categories could have been elaborated to include a greater variety of responses and open-ended questions could have more specifically examined positive and negative interactions with prostitute. This includes interactions such as violence toward prostitutes, engaging in sexual acts with prostitutes, helping them out (giving them money, food, other resources), and using them as informants as described in the literature. Questions that could have captured these issues as well as a qualitative “positive” or “negative” interaction would have helped to illuminate findings related to interactions.

Future Research

There were several factors that created methodological and analytical challenges to this research. To begin with, as previously mentioned in Chapter 3, survey packets were distributed to 515 officers with only 158 responding (30.7%). According to Maxfield & Babbie (2006) a response rate of 60% is good: This is a low response rate. However, police officers are a sensitive population, and usually provide low response rates (Jacobs, 1992) so this limitation is one that should be examined beyond the current research. Gaining the trust of officers and building a rapport with officers is a good way to increase the response rate. Also, according to Jacobs (1992) having contact with a gate-keeper (someone who is in charge of a department) will encourage officers to respond to surveys. Also, engaging in qualitative research may allow for both of these things to happen. Conducting face-to-face interviews allows for officers to see the person that is interviewing them and build a rapport with him/her. Therefore, perhaps utilizing an interview tactic would allow for more responses and more in-depth responses.

Future research should target a larger population to study. Taking into account that police officers are a sensitive group to study, a larger target population should be contacted. More police agencies should be contacted to participate allowing for more survey packets to reach a larger and more diverse study population. This will allow for the possibility of more officers to respond to the questionnaire and yield a larger sample size. But perhaps more importantly, this will yield a more diverse population with more divergent views. This sample was fairly homogeneous on key factors and perspectives on the issue of prostitution.

Related, regional variation could not be detected given this work was conducted entirely in Central Pennsylvania. Central Pennsylvania is generally a culturally homogenous area. Future research should seek more variation within these categories to ensure a more complete

analysis. A more diverse sample could have been obtained targeting several different geographical areas. Officers may think alike and act alike due to there being a lack in cultural differences within this region of the state. Therefore, the findings in this study may have encompassed the general attitudes of officers in this area. However, if two larger agencies from larger cities within Pennsylvania (or even out of state) would have responded, there may have been much more diversity and variation within the sampling population. If these two agencies were included, then individual characteristics may have been more of a factor in the analysis of interactions, attitudes, and individual characteristics. Finally, if cities in Nevada were included, where prostitution is legal, there could be much different attitudes toward prostitution. As previously stated, officers see regulating prostitution as part of their job. They see themselves and being protectors of these women, and since it is legal they enforce the laws of keeping the prostitutes safe and ensuring they are following through with policies ensuring prostitutes engage in medical checks, for example (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). Therefore, officers in Nevada may have more positive attitudes and interactions.

Thus, future research should focus on a multistate and agency analysis and be able to use type of regional law and departmental policy as variables. Including multistate and different levels of police agencies will allow for more variance between responses and allow for more comparison between agencies. Knowing the policies of the agencies could provide insight into why officers engage in interactions they do. Policies may contribute to how officers treat prostitutes when they come in contact with them. An agency with no formal policy may allow for officers to have more discretion and an agency with a formal policy may more stringently require officers to arrest prostitutes when they encounter them. Finally, having a random sample will ensure that there is a possibility to generalize across a larger group.

Finally, officers responded saying that they would have liked more clarification on questions and more space to elaborate on their responses. One officer stated “what kinds are we talking about” in regards to the question “some forms of prostitution are more acceptable than others.” Another officer stated in a phone call: “Many of these questions required more detailed answers and there was not room for that.” Similarly, another officer provided an unsolicited response that: “Many of the opening questions are in need of the answers being explained, because men do the same. Also, narrative answers, I understand they will limit the number of responses you get, would be better for me to answer.” Finally, another officer wrote: “what is selective toleration?” All of these responses show that perhaps more qualitative questions should be included on future research an approach that would be conducive to interview techniques. Perhaps, it is time to go back several steps, collect exploratory qualitative data to get a sense of how to better construct the survey in the future. The qualitative data that were collected were rich in nature and helped to illuminate the particularities of other responses. Therefore, including more qualitative questions could yield more rich data in this case and inform development of future work.

Policy Implications

Despite these limitations, some policy implications are suggested in this research. To begin, a policy should be examined to decriminalize or legalize prostitution. If prostitution were regulated, officers would be able to focus on more pressing matters in the community. Officers expressed this concern throughout this study. Some stated that they do not arrest prostitutes if they have other matters to take care of within the community. Some stated that unless there was a direct complaint from a citizen or if the prostitutes were doing it right in front of the officer, they would not arrest them. This indicates that officers see prostitution as less of a pressing

matter than other issues in the community. Many officers expressed the idea that prostitution should be legalized. One officer wrote:

Prostitutes should be required to have a physical once a month and given a health card to show they are disease free. It should be controlled and taxed by the government and made legal. They will not be allowed to work without a card and they can only work in the areas zoned for it by the municipality. Hope this helps. Germany does this, date rapes are almost unheard of.

This officer expressed the idea that Pennsylvania should make prostitution legal and allow for the same regulations as Nevada. Similarly, another officer wrote: "If prostitution were legalized and regulated, police could deal with more important problems and courts would be less crowded." Finally another officer stated, "Most police tolerate prostitution to some degree. Most of the time citizen complaints determine police response to the issue." These responses, many unsolicited and written in beyond the constraints of the survey, show that many officers are willing to tolerate the act of prostitution, but when the community complains and it is a violation of the laws, officers then have a problem with it.

Another policy possibility is one that includes having officers undergo training related to sex-work in general. Based on the information gathered in this study, it appears as though officers believe women become involved in prostitution mostly because of drug or social problems. This is important but it does not account for the numerous amounts of women that engage in prostitution out of their own free will to do so or because they were forced into it by another person. However, there are copious amounts of information pointing toward human trafficking as a reason women are involved in prostitution. One officer also wrote that: "Prostitution is an incubator for disease." However, throughout the literature on areas where prostitution is legal, many regulations are set in place to ensure that prostitutes get medical exams reducing the spread of disease. This shows that some officers may have a limited

perception of prostitution, causing a less favorable attitude toward prostitution, therefore resulting in more negative interactions. A more thorough understanding of prostitution could be generated through training on sex work and could cause officers to have more favorable attitudes toward prostitution. Perhaps by doing so, this could affect officer interaction and even lead to more positive manner when encountering prostitution.

Finally, this work reveals that officers maintain “hostile and modern sexist” beliefs about women. Even though this is not directly associated to attitudes toward prostitution or interactions with them, it is still important to examine due to officers sexist attitudes being related to the attitudes of prostitution. If officers are made aware of what sexism is, they may be more likely to change their attitudes and engage in more positive thinking towards both women in general which could change their perceptions of and interactions with prostitution. Officers should be given information about equality of women and how to ensure that they are thinking of women in a more positive manner not only in the work place but also in general.

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Appendix A
Glossary of Terms

Barterer: “A woman who exchanges sexual relations for professional or other services or for material goods (Such as drugs or clothing)” (Flowers, 2005, p.17)

Call Girl: “A woman who works in a residence or hotel soliciting clients or who solicits by phone” (Flowers, 2005, p.17)

Continual Prostitution: “Prostitution lasting more than six months in a particular occupational milieu on a regular basis” (Flowers, 2005, p. 17)

House Prostitute: “A woman who works in an establishment that is created specifically for prostitutes and where male clients are provided sexual favors for payment” (Flowers, 2005, p.17)

Madam: “A woman who supplies other prostitutes with male customers for a percentage of the fee” (Flowers, 2005, p.17)

Massage Parlor Prostitute: “A woman who offers sexual services in a massage parlor, not always limited to massages or fondling” (Flowers, 2005, p.17)

Mistress: “A woman who is mainly supported by one man at a time or who sees only one man at a time for paid sexual favors” (Flowers, 2005, p.17)

Occasional Prostitution: “two or more discrete acts of prostitution in a specific occupational milieu, each instance lasting no longer than six months in duration” (Flowers, 2005, p. 16-17).

Streetwalker: “A woman who overtly solicits men on the street and offers sexual favors for pay” (Flowers, 2005, p.17)

Temporary Prostitute: “A discrete act of prostitution, lasting not more than six months in a specific occupational milieu” (Flowers, 2005, p. 16)

Appendix B
Recruitment Letter

POLICE OFFICERS' ATTITUDES ABOUT PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION

DATE

Dear Police Officer:

You are being asked to participate in a study that is being conducted by me, Heather Mentzer, a master's student at Penn State Harrisburg (PSH). Thus, this study is affiliated with The Pennsylvania State University and is solely for research purposes. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Jennifer Sumner, Professor of Criminal Justice at PSH.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the attitudes of police officers toward prostitution and prostitutes. As you may know, there is sometimes a debate among various groups as to whether prostitution should be decriminalized or kept completely illegal. Police officers are the ones charged with the responsibility of managing this social issue. It is important, therefore, and from a policy perspective, to better understand their opinions on the matter.

If you do decide to participate in this important study, please know that you will be including your information along with about 200 other police officers in various agencies. No personally identifying information is being asked of you, as you will see on the enclosed questionnaire. Other than myself, not even other researchers on this project (e.g. the three faculty members of my thesis committee) will be able to be able to trace a single questionnaire back to any particular officer. I can, therefore, guarantee you limited anonymity.

This packet contains an implied consent form, the questionnaire, and a self-addressed, stamp envelope for your use in mailing the completed questionnaire back to me. You should keep the implied consent form for your records.

Thank you in advance for your decision to participate in this study. By doing so, you will help me ensure a quality thesis that makes use of reliable data. If you have any questions, you can reach me at either hnm115@psu.edu or by phone at 717.503.0531. Or, you are free to contact my advisor, Dr. Jennifer Sumner, at jms1138@psu.edu or by phone at 717.948.6778.

Sincerely,

Heather Mentzer
MACJ Student

Appendix C

Implied Informed Consent Form



Implied Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research
The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: Police Officers' Attitudes Toward Prostitutes and Prostitution

Principal Investigator: Heather Mentzer
c/o Penn State Harrisburg, W160 Olmsted
hnm115@psu.edu; 717.503.0531

Advisor: Dr. Barbara Sims, W160 Olmsted, Penn State Harrisburg
Bas4@psu.edu; 717.948.6044

Other Investigator(s): Dr. James Ruiz, Penn State Harrisburg, jmr33@psu.edu
Dr. Jenn Sumner, Penn State Harrisburg, jms1138@psu.edu

1. **Purpose of the Study:** The purpose of this research is to study police officers attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes.
2. **Procedures to be followed:** You will be asked to complete a questionnaire consisting of about 36 questions.
3. **Duration/Time:** It should take you about 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire.
4. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. The survey does not ask for any information that would identify who the responses belong to. In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared because your name is in no way linked to your responses.
5. **Right to Ask Questions:** Please contact Heather Mentzer at 717.503.0531 or Dr. Barbara Sims at 717.948.6044 with questions or concerns about this study.
6. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study.

Completion and return of the survey implies that you have read the information in this form and consent to take part in the research. Please keep this form for your records or future reference.

Appendix D
Study Questionnaire

Police Officers' Perceptions of Female Prostitutes and Prostitution

The first set of questions asks you about your general perceptions about issues often associated with women in the work place.

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Circle one choice.

Q1. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they sometimes complain about being discriminated against.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q2. Society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q3. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q4. Women sometimes exaggerate problems they have at work.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q5. Women often interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q6. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of seeking equality.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q7. Women are too easily offended.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q8. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sex discrimination.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q9. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q10. Women are generally not as smart as men.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q11. Women rightfully deserve to be in the workplace in equal partnerships with men.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q12. A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q13. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired and promoted.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q14. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

The next set of questions asks you specifically about your attitudes toward or perceptions of prostitution or prostitutes. If not otherwise stated, these questions refer specifically to female prostitutes.

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Circle one choice.

Q15. Which of the following statements most closely mirrors your own thoughts about why women engage in prostitution?

- 1 = They have been forced to by another person or group
- 2 = Because of their social circumstances
- 3 = Out of their own free will to do so
- 4 = Other: _____

(If other, please fill in)

Q16. Prostitution should be decriminalized and regulated in the same manner as those locations where prostitution is legal.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree

4 = Strongly agree

Q17. Some kinds of prostitution are more acceptable than others.

1. Strongly disagree (Skip to Q18)
2. Disagree (Skip to Q18)
3. Agree
4. Strongly agree

Q17a. If you agreed or strongly agreed with Q17 above, complete the following statement.

For example, _____ is more acceptable than _____.

Q18. Prostitution is immoral and for that reason alone should continue to be illegal.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q19. Prostitutes should be able to work in established zones that are defined for that purpose.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q20. Legalizing prostitution will result in an increase in social problems in those areas where it is occurring.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q21. Government programs such as free condoms and information about HIV and STDs should be made available to protect those working as prostitutes.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q22. Discrimination against women occurs when police focus more on arresting female prostitutes than on arresting males who frequent them.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q23. If prostitutes worked more responsibly in terms of location, privacy, and civility, most police officers would be less likely to interfere with their activities.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q24. The best way to deal with problems associated with prostitution is for the police to practice “selective toleration” while mediating between prostitutes and community members.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Q25. Are you currently or have you ever worked as part of a vice squad or unit with responsibilities for policing prostitution?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

Q26. In your years as a police officer, how often would you say you have interacted with a woman engaging in prostitution?

- 1 = Never (Skip to Q27)
- 2 = Rarely
- 3 = Sometimes
- 4 = Somewhat often
- 5 = Very often

Q26a. If you have ever interacted with a woman engaging in prostitution describe the “typical” interaction you have had.

The next set of questions asks you about some of your own reactions and/or behaviors when it comes to dealing with prostitutes or about the nature of prostitution within your jurisdiction. Circle one choice.

Q27. When you become aware of prostitution occurring during your shift, which of the following statements BEST describes how you handle the situation?

- 1 = I always enforce the law and local ordinances that deal with this type of behavior.
 - 2 = I look the other way as long as the incident is taking place in a private place and not causing any problems for local citizens.
 - 3 = I give the parties a warning and send them on their way.
 - 4 = Other: Please describe: _____
-
-

Q28. Does your department have any (written or informal) policy about dealing with prostitution and prostitutes?

- 0 = No (Skip to Q29)
- 1 = Yes

Q28a. If yes, would you say that it could be considered a “zero tolerance” policy?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes

Q28b. Is it a written policy?

- 0 = No (Skip to Q28e)
- 1 = Yes

Q28c. If your department DOES have a written policy, would you be willing to share that with us?

- 0 = No
- 1 = Yes (please send electronically to jms1138@psu.edu or via snail mail to Dr. Jennifer Sumner, Criminal Justice Program, 160W Olmsted, Penn State Harrisburg,

777 West Harrisburg Pike, Middletown, PA 17057).

Q28d. Would you briefly describe here what that written policy says?

Q28e. If your department does NOT have a written policy, is an informal policy or practice generally practiced by all the officers in your agency?

0 = No (Skip to Q29)

1 = Yes

Q28f. If yes, can you briefly describe here what that informal policy is?

This last set of questions is for background purposes only. Please note that we are not asking you to report any personally identifying information. These questions will allow us to understand whether there are differences between how different people think about these issues. Circle one choice.

Q29. What is your gender?

0 = Male

1 = Female

Q30. Which of the following categories BEST describes your racial/ethnic background?

0 = White

1 = Black/African-American

2 = Asian

3 = Other: Please specify _____

Q31. Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic or Latino origin?

0 = No

1 = Yes

Q32. What is your age? _____

Q33. Which of the following categories represents your highest level of education?

- 1 = Less than high school
- 2 = High school diploma or GED
- 3 = Some college
- 4 = College graduate
- 5 = Post graduate work

Q34. What is your current marital status?

- 1 = Single/never married
- 2 = Separated/divorced
- 3 = Married or living with a partner
- 4 = Widow or widower
- 5 = Other: Please specify _____

Q35. What is your current rank?

- 1 = Patrol officer
- 2 = Sergeant
- 3 = Lieutenant
- 4 = Captain
- 5 = Assistant Chief
- 6 = Detective
- 7 = Chief
- 8 = Other

Q36. How many years have you worked as a police officer? _____

Q37. Which of the following BEST describes your department?

- 1 = State police
- 2 = Local/municipal police agency in a primarily rural area
- 3 = Local/municipal police agency in a small town
- 4 = Local/municipal police agency in a city
- 5 = Local/municipal police agency in a suburban area

Q38. Which of the following BEST describes the size of your department when it comes to sworn personnel?

- 1 = Less than 10 officers
- 2 = 10 to 20 officers

3 = 21 to 40 officers

4 = Over 40 officers

Please provide any additional comments about any of the issues addressed in this survey here:

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study. Your willingness to do so is greatly appreciated.

Appendix E
Institutional Review Board Approval Form



Institutional Review Board (IRB)
 The Office for Research Protections
 205 The 330 Building

University Park, PA 16802 | 814-865-1775 | ORProtections@psu.edu

Submitted by: Jennifer Sumner
Date Submitted: August 08, 2010 11:42:56 AM
IRB#: 33165
PI: Heather Mentzer

Study Title

1>Study Title

Attitudes of Police Officers Toward Prostitutes and Prostitution

2>Type of eSubmission

Modification

Home Department for Study

3>Department where research is being conducted or if a student study, the department overseeing this research study.

Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)

Modification Questions

4>Is the study permanently closed to enrollment?

No

Provide the following information:

5>Total number of participants/samples currently approved by the IRB

300

6>Number of participants/samples entered/consented

0

7>IRB-approved age range of the participants

18+

8>Choose all of the changes that are being made in this modification request.

Personnel Changes [Adding/Removing/Changing PI]

Participant numbers [Adding]

- Informed consent procedures and/or forms
 Data collection methods/Instruments [questionnaires, surveys, interviews, etc.]

9>Does this modification affect the risks to participants?

No

10>Does this modification affect the benefits to participants?

No

11>Describe the reason(s) for the anticipated modifications.

- 1) There has been a change to the thesis chair. Jennifer Sumner will now serve as thesis chair/advisor and Dr. Sims will remain a co-Investigator/Committee member.
- 2) The student will enter/code data on her personal computer using a password protected computer and data file containing no personally identifying information.
- 3) The study team has made contact with more research sites and anticipates a larger sample size - thus, the possible sample size has been increased.
- 4) Revised consent, recruitment, and questionnaire forms are being submitted to reflect the change in chair/advisor, modifications on the questionnaire after consultation with the full committee during the thesis defense, and the new number of possible participants.

12>Will this modification affect currently enrolled participants' willingness to continue in the study (i.e., revised study procedures, changes in compensation, etc.)?

No

13>Indicate the number of participants to be added to the study.

500

Review Level

14>What level of review do you expect this research to need? NOTE: The final determination of the review level will be determined by the IRB Administrative Office.

Choose from one of the following:

Exemption

15>Exempt Review Categories:

Choose one or more of the following categories that apply to your research. You may choose more than one category but your research must meet one of the following categories to be considered for expedited review.

Category 2: Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observations of public behavior

unless:

Basic Information: Association with Other Studies

16>Is this research study associated with other IRB-approved studies, e.g., this study is an extension study of an ongoing study or this study will use data or tissue from another ongoing study?

No

17>Where will this research study take place? Choose all that apply.

Other PSU Campus Locations

18>Specify campus, building, and room for the non-University Park PSU campus where this research study will take place. If not yet known, indicate as such.

This study calls for implementing a self-administered survey to police officers. However, the Principal Investigator and the faculty adviser are located at W160 Olmsted, Penn State Harrisburg.

19>Does this research study involve any of the following centers?

None of these centers are involved in this study

20>Describe the facilities available to conduct the research for the duration of the study.

The PI for the study will be working on this project in the field as she works to make contact with possible participants, distribute the survey packets, etc. Although she will not be collecting any personally-identifying information, she will safeguard the hard copy completed surveys and will create a password protected data file in SPSS. Data entry will take place on campus at PSH and either in a computer lab or the library, using a PSU computer.

21>Is this study being conducted as part of a class requirement? For additional information regarding the difference between a research study and a class requirement, see IRB Guideline IV, "Distinguishing Class-Related Pedagogical (Instructional) Assignments/Projects and Research Projects" located at <http://www.research.psu.edu/orp/areas/humans/policies/guide4.asp>.

No

Personnel

22>Personnel List

PSU User ID	Name	Department Affiliation	Role in this study
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PSU User ID	Name	Department Affiliation	Role in this study
hnm115	Mentzer, Heather	Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)	Principal Investigator
bas4	Sims, Barbara	Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)	Co-Investigator
jms1138	Sumner, Jennifer	Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)	Advisor
jmr33	Ruiz, James	Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)	Co-Investigator

- Role in this study** Principal Investigator
First Name Heather **Middle Name** **Last Name** Mentzer **Credentials**
PSU User ID hnm115 **Email Address** hnm115@psu.edu **PSU Employment Status** Not
Employed or Student
 Person should receive emails about this application
Mailing Address Penn State Harrisburg
Address (Line 2) 777 West Harrisburg Pike W160 Olmsted Building
Mail Code **City** Middletown **State** Pennsylvania **ZIP Code** 17057
Phone Number 7175030531 **Fax number** 7179486320 **Pager Number** **Alternate**
Telephone
Department Affiliation Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)
Identify the procedures/techniques this person will perform (i.e. recruit participants, consent participants, administer the study): Serves as the Principal Investigator for this project. She will take part in recruiting participants, administering the survey packets, collecting the returned/completed questionnaires, data coding, data entry, data analysis, and final report writing.
Describe the person's level of experience in performing the procedures/techniques described above: She has taken the research methods courses in the MACJ Program at PSH and completed SARI training as part of that course.
- Role in this study** Co-Investigator
First Name Barbara **Middle Name** **Last Name** Sims **Credentials**
PSU User ID bas4 **Email Address** bas4@psu.edu **PSU Employment Status** Employed
 Person should receive emails about this application
Mailing Address Penn State Harrisburg
Address (Line 2) W160 Olmsted Building
Mail Code **City** Middletown **State** Pennsylvania **ZIP Code** 17057
Phone Number 717 948 6044 **Fax number** 7179486320 **Pager Number** **Alternate**
Telephone
Department Affiliation Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)
Identify the procedures/techniques this person will perform (i.e. recruit participants, consent participants, administer the study): Supervise the PI on the project; review and approve all study protocols (recruitment letter, implied informed consent form questionnaire); ensure that PSU policies regarding the use of humans in research are carried out; monitor progress made toward data collection; supervise the handling of the data once they are in, etc.
Describe the person's level of experience in performing the procedures/techniques described above: Ph.D. in Criminal Justice; extensive experience in survey research and with working with the ORP; serves as the prisoner expert on the College of Medicine's IRB.
- Role in this study** Advisor
First Name Jennifer **Middle Name** **Last Name** Sumner **Credentials** Ph.D.
PSU User ID jms1138 **Email Address** jms1138@psu.edu **PSU Employment Status**
Employed
 Person should receive emails about this application
Mailing Address Penn State Harrisburg

Address (Line 2) 777 West Harrisburg Pike, W160 Olmsted Building
 Mail Code City Middletown State Pennsylvania ZIP Code 17057
 Phone Number 717 948 6050 Fax number Pager Number Alternate Telephone
 Department Affiliation Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)

Identify the procedures/techniques this person will perform (i.e. recruit participants, consent participants, administer the study): Assist with fine tuning the study's questionnaire; assist with data analysis and review drafts of the thesis.

Describe the person's level of experience in performing the procedures/techniques described above: Taken and past the IRB quiz; teaches methods in the MACJ program at Penn State Harrisburg; extensive experience with human subjects review issues associated with own research; knowledgeable about survey research

- **Role in this study** Co-Investigator

First Name James Middle Name Last Name Ruiz Credentials
 PSU User ID jmr33 Email Address jmr33@psu.edu PSU Employment Status Employed
 Person should receive emails about this application

Mailing Address Penn State Harrisburg
 Address (Line 2) W160 Olmsted Building
 Mail Code City Middletown State Pennsylvania ZIP Code 17057
 Phone Number 717 948 6292 Fax number Pager Number Alternate Telephone
 Department Affiliation Public Affairs (HARRISBURG)

Identify the procedures/techniques this person will perform (i.e. recruit participants, consent participants, administer the study): Read and comment on drafts of the thesis.

Describe the person's level of experience in performing the procedures/techniques described above: Passed the IRB quiz; extensive experience with human subjects research and survey research.

Funding Source

23>Is this research study funded? Funding could include the sponsor providing drugs or devices for the study.
 No

NOTE: If the study is funded or funding is pending, submit a copy of the grant proposal or statement of work for review.

24>Does this research study involve prospectively providing treatment or therapy to participants?
 No

Conflict of Interest

25>Do any of the investigator(s), key personnel, and/or their spouses or dependent children have a financial or business interest(s) as defined by PSU Policy RA20, "Individual Conflict of Interest," associated with this research? NOTE: There is no de minimus in human participant research studies (i.e., all amount must be reported).
 No

Exemption Questions (Prescreening)

26>Does this research study involve prisoners?

No

27>Does this research study involve the use of deception?

No

28>Does this research study involve any FDA regulated drug, biologic or medical device?

No

29>Does this research study involve the use of protected health information covered under the Health Insurance Portability & Accountability Act (HIPAA)?

No

Exemption Questions

30>Maximum number of participants/samples/records to be enrolled.

800

31>Age range – Check all that apply:

18 – 25 years

26 – 40 years

41 – 65 years

65 + years

32>Describe the steps that will be used to identify and/or contact prospective participants. If applicable, explain how you have access to lists or records of potential participants.

Using a snowballing sampling technique, the PI has identified police departments (not potential respondents) who would be willing to allow her to survey their officers. The PI has developed a recruitment letter (included here in supporting documents) for the purpose of recruiting actual participants into the study. The supervisor will, at "roll call", announce the study and pass out the questionnaire packets to the possible participants. A stamped, self-addressed envelope will be included in the packet and participants can complete the questionnaires at their leisure and secure them in the return envelope.

33>Choose the types of recruitment materials that will be used.

Letter

34>When and where will participants be approached to obtain informed consent/assent? If participants could be non-English speaking, explain how consent/assent will be obtained. If

consent/assent will not be obtained, explain why consent/assent will not be obtained.
Implied informed consent will be used with participants in this study and is uploaded here.

35>Provide the background information and rationale for performing the study.

This data collection effort is associated with a master's thesis at Penn State Harrisburg. The purpose of the research is to better understand the attitudes of police officers toward the social issue of prostitution and toward those who engage in such acts. This is an important issue from a policy perspective because a great deal of police resources is sometimes put into combating this type of crime. There is an ongoing debate, and partly because of the way police view prostitution (when compared with more serious types of crime such as violent crime or burglary, etc.), as to whether prostitution should be decriminalized. To consider that question, it could be useful to begin by seeking to better understand the attitudes of those charged with dealing with it.

36>Summarize the study's key objectives, aims or goals.

To survey a group of police officers about their attitudes toward prostitution and prostitutes themselves. Included in the questionnaire are questions about more general attitudes toward women along with several background characteristic questions. The goal is to test several hypotheses when it comes to the relationship between such variables as age, gender, race/ethnicity, marital status, etc. and police officers' attitudes toward prostitution and when it comes to their actual behaviors when they encounter such an incident on the job.

37>Describe the major inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Being a police officer is the major criterion for inclusion. There are no exclusion criteria other than not being a police officer connected with the departments who have/will agree to participate in this study.

38>Summarize the study's procedures by providing a step-by-step process of what participants will be asked to do.

Several police chiefs or captains have agreed to allow the study packets to be distributed at "roll call" that occurs at the beginning each shift. The packets will be distributed. A recruitment letter will be attached to the front of the envelope that explains the purpose of the study. The packets will be left with the officers to review at their leisure. The packet will contain the implied consent form, the questionnaire, and a self-addressed, stamped envelope. The recruitment letter will explain the instructions to the officers. They are to, if they decide to participate, complete the questionnaire, after opening and reading the implied consent form, place it in the envelope, and drop it in the mail back to the researcher.

39>Indicate the type(s) of compensation that will be offered. Choose all that apply.

Compensation will NOT be offered

40>Will any type of recordings (audio, video or digital) or photographs be made during this study?

No

41>Will any data collection for this study be conducted on the Internet or via email (e.g., on-line surveys, blogs or chat room observations, on-line interviews, email surveys)?

No

42>Does this study involve any foreseeable risks and/or discomforts to participants – physical, psychological, social, legal or other?

No

43>Will data be stored securely and accessible only to the research personnel listed on this application?

Yes

44>Describe how data confidentiality will be maintained.

Only the researchers will have access to the completed questionnaires. The participants will not be returning the completed questionnaires to their supervisors; rather, they will mail them directly to the PI. Further, no personally identifying information is being asked of the participants. The data will be reported only in the aggregate so there is little chance for any participant to be identified. The questionnaires will be stored securely by the PI in her office and the student on her personal computer. The SPSS data file will be password protected.

Document Upload

APPROVAL LETTER

Document 1001 Received 06/16/2010 07:20:28 - -- Exemption Determination Email [06-16-10]

CONSENT FORMS

Document 1001 Received 08/08/2010 11:27:38 - Implied Consent - Revised - 8.7.10

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Document 1001 Received 08/08/2010 11:24:11 - Questionnaire - Revised 8.7.10

RECRUITMENT

Document 1001 Received 08/04/2010 16:33:27 - Recruitment Letter

SUBMISSION FORMS

Document 1001 Received 05/18/2010 05:11:57 PM - Application Auto-generated by eSubmission Approval