

MOTIVATORS FOR PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

by

SHAWN NICOLE GUY

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Criminology & Criminal Justice at
The University of Texas at Arlington
December, 2018

Arlington, Texas

Supervising Committee:

Jaya B. Davis, Supervising Professor
Sarah El Sayed
Kent Kerley

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Abstract

The intent of this thesis was to determine the factors that lead to desistance from street prostitution in the form of motivators and how to shape recommendations to courts, social services, and policy-makers based off of identified themes. Additionally, various theories are discussed, supporting the presence of identified motivators and themes, that could be used by interventionsists as guiding principles when working on strategies for prostitution desistance modifications. Without isolating and stratifying motivators and themes, prostitutes who desire to desist may not receive appropriate treatments and interventions and may continue to recidivate with prostitution-related criminal charges. Statements obtained through qualitative interviews were given by desisting prostitutes enrolled in court-ordered programming (n=21) and were analyzed using an explanatory, sequential mixed-method approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The transcripts containing these statements were read to identify and code motivators and themes in which five prevailing outcomes were discovered to include age and maturation, new social networks, identity reconstruction, religious/spiritual activity, and long-term programming. It was found that without the acknowledgement and/or implementation of these features, desistance was unlikely to be sustained. In other words, for women in prostitution who are younger, remain in a criminogenic environment, adopt (or neglect to shed) a prostitute persona, who has no informal social controls in place and are not engaged in a formal specific programming, their chances of exiting prostitution would be minimal and their prospects of desistance would be improbable. While accounting for the above-mentioned outcomes, the motivators provided by the interviewed women revealed a combination of internal (intrinsic drive and maturation) and external (programming and faith-based exposure) aspects that existed within the desistance process.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Table of Contents

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Abstract..... | ii |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Literature Review..... | 2 |
| Crime Desistance..... | 2 |
| Prostitution Desistance..... | 6 |
| Data & Methods..... | 18 |
| Findings..... | 21 |
| Motivators of Desistance..... | 23 |
| Themes..... | 37 |
| Theoretical Concepts..... | 53 |
| Age-Graded Theory..... | 53 |
| Social Control Theory..... | 54 |
| Social Learning Theory..... | 55 |
| Differential Association Theory..... | 56 |
| Labeling Theory..... | 58 |
| Discussion..... | 59 |
| Limitations..... | 62 |
| Implications..... | 62 |
| Conclusion..... | 65 |
| References..... | 67 |

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

List of Tables

| | | |
|-----------|--|----|
| Table 1.1 | Sample Demographics..... | 22 |
| Table 2.1 | Motivators of Desistance..... | 24 |
| Table 3.1 | Themes (Entry into Prostitution)..... | 38 |
| Table 4.1 | Themes (Prostitution Characteristics)..... | 42 |
| Table 5.1 | Themes (Impacts on Desistance)..... | 47 |

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Introduction

Resembling most major cities, prostitution, a term used interchangeably with sex work, is widespread in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex. The most fundamental consensus is that the presence of prostitution is more than a legal issue. It produces ramifications on social, cultural, and political fronts as well. Moreover, prostitution affects not just the individuals directly involved but also children, families, communities, and the criminal justice system (Roe-Sepowitz, Hickie, & Cimino, 2012).

Street prostitution in particular has its own set of characteristics, milieu, and challenges. Entry into street prostitution has been thoroughly investigated with common denominators such as childhood sexual victimization, running away from home, subjection to violence, abuse, disenfranchisement, exclusion and chronic trauma (Cimino, 2012; Roe-Sepowitz et al 2012; Baker, Dalla, & Williamson, 2010; Oselin, 2010; Ward & Roe-Sepowitz, 2009; Hedin & Mansson, 2003; Williamson & Folaron, 2003; Dalla, 2002). Williamson and Folaron (2003) view "multiple realities of prostitution as both empowering and dehumanizing" (p. 285-286) which allows for the perpetuation of an existence in a highly conflicting world.

Conversely, desistance, and the array of distinctions associated with it, is less explored. Cimino (2012) stipulates that there is a need for "sensitive, nonexploitative research" (p.1238). Due to the above-mentioned trials, street prostitution, especially, requires careful and specific inspection if prostitution desistance is to prevail (Dalla, 2000; Dalla, 2002). Certain issues that tend to go unaddressed by interventionists when working on desistance is the probability of women's intimacy and sexuality problems with men as well as their disdain for men due to their long-term entanglement in street prostitution and the explicit nuances it entails all of which can impede desistance (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2012; Hedin & Mansson, 2003). These, and other

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

concerns, will be addressed further. The purpose of this study is to contribute to the limited research on desistance from prostitution, to identify and analyze motivators for that desistance, and to provide recommendations for current and future intervention.

Crime Desistance

An abundance of research studies and theories exist to explain the when, why, where, and how crime occurs and how individuals enter into the arena of criminal activity; some of them remaining in the criminogenic sector for a large part of their lives. These explanations are designed to inform the courts, legislature, and the public on the issues of punishment, policy, and safety. However, Giordano, Longmore, Schroeder, and Seffrin (2008) explain that criminal desistance is not only less investigated and discussed than entry into or persistence of criminality but that there is a paucity of desistance studies in general (although studies are increasing). Moreover, researchers discuss how desistance is linked to diminished success and weakened satisfaction with criminality (Shover & Thompson, 1992; Giordano, Johnson, Manning, Longmore, & Minter, 2015).

Age & Age-Related Events

Age has been a long-standing and primary belief as to why criminals desist from crime. Shover and Thompson (1992) and Giordano, Cernkovich, and Holland (2003) argue that age and maturation are key contributors to desistance. Shover and Thompson (1992) deliberate on how many criminals fail at crime or find themselves stuck on a hamster wheel of criminal activity in the midst of very volatile and dangerous situations, with temporal reward, which can lead to bitterness and dissatisfaction. These feelings precipitate desistance considerations. Further, they ascribe age-related elements to desistance manifestation such as reduced emotional convictions

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

about successful crime achievement, serious cognizance about time left before death, ability to "calculate more precisely and carefully", and overall weariness; the inherent exhaustion attributable to criminal involvement.

Giordano et al. (2003) discusses the significance of friendships and peer groups stating that as offenders age and mature, their catalog of experiences increases in frequency and seriousness, prompting minor emotional and cognitive shifts and transformations. Described as secondary changes or processes because primary ones are typically major life events e.g. marriage, Giordano et al. (2003) contend that these shifts cause offenders to become less susceptible to peer pressure and more inclined to surround themselves with "prosocial" friends; binding themselves to more conventional social ties. Coupled with "hooks for change" that many researchers have posited yield abundant success, self-transformations can be enhanced with external stimuli that leads to cognitive conversions and subsequent behavioral change (Giordano et al., 2015; LeBel, Burnett, Maruna, & Bushway, 2008). Cimino (2012) confirm that the principles of unlawful networks highly conflict with desistance and Hedin and Mansson (2003) posit that "social networks either promote or prevent the women's break from prostitution" (p. 225).

Other researchers contend that major life events increase likelihood and time to desistance. As mentioned previously, marriage has been proposed as one such event. However, several researchers introduce and challenge Sampson and Laub's (1993) age-graded theory that marriage and job stability are the two chief elements of desistance in their work. Schroeder, Giordano, and Cernkovich (2010) confront this concept by discussing the magnitudinal role that parents play in the adult lives of criminals. A plethora of research exists to explain how parenting

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

can link to criminality in adolescence, but little research exists to discuss how influential parents can be in the desistance phase of adults.

Schroeder et al. (2010) and Paternoster and Bushway (2009) emphasize that marriage and employment are not strong enough motivators to desist. However, parents/guardians usually maintain communication and relationships with their children into adulthood. As these parents/guardians too have aged and matured, the possibility of improved coping skills, connections to stable and positive social institutions, economic and financial stability, and a desire for continued social bonding may prove to be stabilizing and motivating factors for desistance.

Religion

Much research also exists to demonstrate the connection of religion/spirituality and crime with the premise that the more offenders are connected to a religious/spiritual source, institution, group, or teaching, the more their criminogenic propensities are weakened. Therefore, faith-based alliances with people, entities, and/or belief systems often are motivators for desistance. Giordano et al. (2008) explains that once religion and/or spirituality become important to an offender, they begin to embrace the intrinsic value of initiating and engaging in rewarding behavior and this in turn begins to reshape and remold an offenders' identity. The omnipresence of and accessibility to a higher being also makes religion/spirituality appealing as those with obstacles to desist contemplate how to redirect their lives.

Giordano et al. (2008) provide several advantages of religion/spirituality towards desistance such that religion serves as an instrument for social control and an incentive for social bonding as well as a "catalyst for cognitive changes," assistance in the development of a new

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

identity, and a mechanism for "emotion-coping." Additionally, it has high potential to improve health conditions, be a "pathway out of crime", an impetus for the augmentation of prison programming, and a way of standing in the gap of prosocial ties when other positives like family, employment, substance abuse abstinence, education, freedom, and nurturing environments fail.

Concepts

Maruna (2012) expands upon a concept introduced by Bushway and Apel (2012) called "desistance signaling" which challenges corrections to reach beyond the standard concepts of risk assessments and program evaluations that govern their rehabilitation efforts. Distinctive of desistance signaling is the idea that there is a purposeful intention by the offender (in this case a convicted prostitute) to alter and attempt to change their life trajectory which is recognized, acknowledged, and respected by those in authority. Maruna (2012) argues that focus on 'desistance signaling' versus 'signs of desistance' is important because it adds credence to the offenders' objectives, empowers the offender to participate in their own rehabilitation, encourages offenders to seek redemption on their own terms, and provokes the offender to de-stigmatize themselves and their situations.

Paternoster and Bushway (2009) identified the desistance from crime as an "important and distinct dimension of the criminal career." Building on the growing dissatisfaction angle that Giordano et al. (2015), Giordano et al. (2008), and Shover and Thompson (1992) spoke about, they proposed an "identity theory" where the criminal operates a "working self" and a "possible self". The "working self" dominates as long as there are benefits and rewards attached to its existence-in this case, criminal activity. Eventually though, failures begin to outweigh the benefits, linking failures to the "working self". This revelation stimulates prospects of

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

transforming into a "possible self" that possesses a better outlook of a more positive and valuable future and a changed mentality and identity.

Prostitution Desistance

Deviance and desistance are polarized spectrums, a dichotomy that has sparked ongoing controversial and long-standing debate. Deviance can be illegal or can be immoral and the two are not mutually exclusive. Whichever category is applicable, deviance many times in the dominant culture ostracizes those who deviate from social norms. Conceptually, it is especially stigmatizing when it comes to women. Years before entering prostitution, many girls fall victim to male predation, indirectly "grooming" them for adult sex work. After sexual victimization, girls create a disconnection between their emotions and sex and change their self-concept, whereby, they begin to relate to demeaning behavior or practices and engage in "emotional distancing" (Dalla, 2000). This system of social and personal degradation tirelessly works against desistance tenets thereby characterizing the ceasing of prostitution as a "cycle" versus an "abrupt" exit (Cimino, 2012).

Many variables are introduced along the path of the desistance process which unfortunately makes desistance procedures lengthy. This time-consuming development process, and the many players involved along its path, who may exacerbate or thwart life-changing efforts, could also adversely affect criminal justice entities who may feel impatient, indifferent, and/or skeptical about desistance success.

Exiting Models

Several investigators have developed theories and formed 'models' as informative guiding tools to understand desistance from prostitution. Williamson and Folaron (2003) created a theory

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

from their findings called *Phases of the Lifestyle* which complement the findings of Cimino (2012) and Roe et al., (2012). Williamson and Folaron (2003) isolated five junctures referred to as "phases" dealing with entry and exit for women in prostitution. These women experience "benefits, risks, and losses" exclusively characteristic of street prostitution. Many of the subjects in their study were sexually abused, came from dysfunctional homes to include alcoholism or family history of prostitution, physical abuse, homelessness, and mental illness.

The five phases are: 1. *Enticement into the Lifestyle*. The first phase where the appeal of financial gain and a concentration on survival increases and preoccupation with moral dilemmas decreases. 2. *Learning the Lifestyle*. Forcing an adjustment to a new environment and behavior patterns where the female becomes fascinated by the fast pace of the lifestyle but also becomes more protective and vigilant of police, violence, and humiliation. Williamson and Folaron (2003) attest that "with financial means to support themselves, women believe in their ability to control and influence activities in their lives in a way they previous [sic] had not been able to" (p. 276). 3. *Living the Lifestyle...Trusting the Game*. In this phase, active prostitutes disassociate themselves from traditional institutions such as conventional connections (school, church, political, social places). Williamson and Folaron (2003) also highlight that the distancing from conventional ties is accompanied by an escalation in the involvement of criminal networks that are characteristic of drugs and violence. 4. *Caught Up in the Lifestyle: Accumulating Burdens*. During this phase, drugs begin to overtake the life of the prostitute and they become obsessed with finding drugs and consuming drugs. Once the high comes down, the women are thrust into pits of shame and despair, coping with those feelings by using more drugs. Williamson and Folaron (2003) state,

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

In a culture that values youth over experience, life becomes more difficult for the street women. They can take no solace in personal accomplishments, societal contributions, or in nurturing relationships they failed to build throughout the years. After many years, what is left is a weakened emotional state and deteriorated physical body (p.282).

5. *Leaving the Lifestyle: Taking Stock and Getting Out.* As prostitutes experience a revolving door of incarceration, alienation, isolation, and victimization, they begin to reflect on their lives in a different way. However, these occurrences do not trigger an automatic departure.

Williamson and Folaron (2003) assert that being arrested and interacting with CPS does not impede the woman's progression through the phases but that the "desire to change" must "come from within". Williamson and Folaron (2003) also propose that the "skill and chance conditions" that prostitutes face are where survival and victimization intersect. In these instances, prostitutes have to deal with the vacillation between skill effectiveness and chance encounters. This roller-coaster ride of alertness can lead to emotional, psychological, and physical depletion which is indicative of the desistance phase.

Sanders (2007) developed a *Typology of Transitions* model whereby findings distinguished three elements that are related to exiting. 1. *Significant Life Events* 2. *Formal Support Services* and 3. *Intrinsic Desire for Change*. The *Typology of Transitions* was also supported by the work of Cimino (2012).

Hedin and Mansson generated the *Breakaway Model* which also attributes exiting to turning points in the prostitute's life and an interchange between "structural, relational, and individual factors"(Cimino, 2012). Thoughts about desisting lead to action regarding alternatives

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

to prostitution. Depending on the viability of those alternatives, an actual "breakaway" occurs. During this time, the woman is stranded between two worlds (the old, familiar one and the new, foreign one). It is then that external factors become critical to ensure a definitive breakaway. The woman then begins to operate in a new role and embraces new life challenges (Hedin & Mansson, 2003).

The *Breakaway Model* affirms that new habits and new social networks are required in order to guarantee successful desistance and also details problems regarding mental health in the breakaway phase. Hedin and Mansson (2003) state that the prostitutes they spoke to had...

...trouble clearly expressing their needs, general lack of knowledge in the field of mental health about what prostitution was like, cries for help were not acknowledged, women's anxiety and requests for help were dismissed by staff, "john-like behavior" from male professionals when they sought help (pg. 231).

Cimino (2012) and Mayhew and Mossman (2007) illustrate what is described as "push" and "pull" factors to explain entry and exit into prostitution. Push factors consist of poverty, dysfunctional households, sexual and physical abuse, and drug dependence. Pull factors entail what was characterized by Williamson and Folaron (2003) as "glamorization of the lifestyle", becoming enchanted by the fast pace and inherent feeling of power indicative of danger, the sense of control, the involvement with persuasive social networks, and the economic freedom.

Along with listing reasons for leaving prostitution discovered in the research, Oselin (2010) also discusses "turning points of change" such as incarceration, hospitalization, or pregnancy explaining that turning points were essential to the desistance process because they

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

provoked a transfer of an old self into the prospect of a new self. Once the woman creates a new image of herself and her life, she begins to take steps toward exiting prostitution.

Turning points of change can be considered motivators but they are not synonymous. Turning points typically involve an event. Oselin (2010) describes them as eye-opening, traumatic, or positive life events whereas motivators normally involve feelings or emotions. Turning points are usually driven by external influences while motivators are propelled by internal features. Several researchers to include LeBel et al., (2008) have asserted that it is the interchange of both these internal and external components that stimulate desistance. LeBel et al. (2008) offers that a focus on *sequencing* of internal and external events is less important than the taking into account of the offender's *mindset* before desistance with an analysis of the woman's "redemptive versus condemning cognitive themes".

Oselin (2010) also introduced the concept of "third-party bridges" and avows that these individuals are very instrumental to the desistance process because it is through them that prostitutes can increase their chances of entry into "prostitution-helping organization" (PHO) programming due to the third party's connections, access, and interpersonal capabilities.

As a modern culmination of the previously mentioned models and factors is the *Integrative Model*. The *Integrative Model* is expressed as "comprehensive in scope, yet sensitive to women's individual attempts to exit prostitution" and contains six stages (Baker, Dalla, & Williamson, 2010, p. 590). 1. *Immersion*. The female is committed to the trade. 2. *Awareness*. The allure wears off yet she is unable to contemplate other options at first but eventually begins to verbalize her feelings. 3. *Deliberate Planning*. The female begins to search for resources within and outside of her world. 4. *Initial Exit*. The female takes action and seeks help. 5.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Reentry. The female abandons desistance and returns to prostitution. 6. *Final Exit*. Maintenance of desistance over a designated period of time. (Baker, Dalla, & Williamson, 2010).

Cimino (2012), a proponent of the *Integrative Model*, postulated that a successful exit is possible once the steps of the model are ascribed to behavior and that desistance would be based on an inner desire to change, coupled with the "skills and abilities" to change, and ending with the reduction or elimination of any environmental obstacles that may stand in the way of that change.

These listed studies are provided to show a correlation between established exiting processes and the information derived from the narratives of the former prostitutes. The *Integrative Model* appears to fill in the gaps that exists in the other models and provides an outline of what to look for when a prostitute begins the desistance process. By learning the patterns indicative of prostitution desistance, resources and intervention can be better utilized. What will be found is that behavior modifications such as new social networks and peer groups, reconstruction of a new identity, and the reduction of structural barriers determine the level of successful desistance.

Barriers to Desistance

McCray, Wesely, and Rasche (2011) and Wiechelt and Shdaimab (2011) discuss at length how often drugs are either a "precursor" to prostitution or a coping mechanism to endure prostitution and that the two are brutally intertwined. They also point out that without drugs, many women would not engage in prostitution and are beleaguered by all it entails. In alignment with the identity perspective introduced by Paternoster and Bushway (2009), McCray et al. (2011) also

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

examine transitioning from a "deviant to non-deviant identity" citing drug rehabilitation as a major driving force in the endeavor towards desistance.

Cimino (2012) offers that elements impacting desistance are age of the prostitute, the timeframe of working in prostitution, and the level of her drug addiction. Cimino (2012) continues by stating that even if a prostitute has the intention to leave, she may not have the capacity to leave due to obstacles that consist of a pimp's presence, incarceration, or social hindrances. Stigmatization, evident in many research findings, may also serve as a barrier. Interestingly, in Thailand where prostitution is more "accepted" if the profits are benefitting the family, prostitutes only undergo stigmatization if they have no evidence of financial stability or excess, are promiscuous, or commit adultery (Manopaiboon et al., 2003).

Furthermore, in a study by Hedin and Mansson (2003), they report that problems with parents, the death of the father, or impoverishment were persistent barriers to desistance. Additionally, they posit that prostitutes deal with their own self-doubt and negativity as well as others' attitudes towards them and fight with feelings of intense guilt and shame. Oselin (2010) states that research on exiting prostitution become dilemmas for women due to the criminal background related to drug and prostitution charges, labeling, and the subsequent stigmatization.

Reentry from Desistance

Without proper programming and effective resolution on a structural level, reentry into prostitution is bound to happen. Cimino (2012) included research from five investigators with study results illustrating a significant level of reentry and attested to the fact that reentry is "routine" for women who are in exiting programs. Manopaiboon et al. (2003) discusses how some of the subjects of their study seriously considered returning to prostitution if "life

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

circumstances made it necessary." They also speak to the fact that most women in his study desisted, relapsed back into prostitution, and desisted again. Baker et al. (2010) also discuss reentry stating that the desire may exist but the self-assurance, capabilities, or access to resources may be absent. Because of this, they proclaim that for most desisting prostitutes, several attempts at desistance occur before complete desistance is achieved.

Often there are an abundance of barriers separate from programming that desisting prostitutes encounter. In the Roe et al., (2012) study, their findings revealed that those who struggled with desistance were younger, possessed high levels of trauma, low coping skills, high levels of mental illness, and high levels of sexual concerns. These issues can also lead a female back into the trade. Williamson and Folaron (2003) provide additional reasons such as worrying events or destitution as to why a woman would return to prostitution. These categories must be comprehensively explored in order to minimize reentry risks. Roe et al. (2012) contends that learning the difference between females who exit prostitution and those who fail at exiting would enrich prostitution treatment services.

Motivations to Desistance

Despite the barriers that exist, there are motivations to exiting prostitution as well. Manopaiboon et al. (2003) state that motivators to desistance comprised of financial achievement, new romantic partners, fear of AIDS, contempt for prostitution, "being tired" of prostitution and the degrading feelings it generated, and poor working conditions. Williamson and Folaron (2003) describe the women in their study to be "disillusioned with the lifestyle", discovering other legal ways to make money, and learning about ways to escape as motivators to desist.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Within the sociological ecosystem of street prostitution, Dalla (2002) illustrates how drug addiction, drug dependence while street walking, being tired, fear of victimization, fear of dying, and the pressing need to use protection (for sex and to prevent bodily harm) all were evident in her findings.

Hedin and Mansson (2003) concur with Schroeder et al., (2010) and Paternoster and Bushway (2009) that new relationships were crucial to desistance because the former prostitute and her parents both changed and matured. They go on to say that new relationships are enhanced even further when the maternal grandparents are involved with the grandchildren. Manopaiboon et al. (2003) report that when the former prostitutes' parents displayed understanding and support, it reduced their worry about future emotional and financial parental support which motivated them to consider prostitution desistance. They go on to state that females in Thailand entered into prostitution as a way to take care of their family financially but that once they earned a particular amount of money, they exited from sex work and that the needs of the women's parents were integral in their desistance. Although it is not typical of American families to rely on the female to be the breadwinner for the family, it may be more evident in American families that live in poverty to depend on, not necessarily the female exclusively, but any adult who could bring money into the household to include adult women (by any means necessary which could include prostitution).

Oselin (2010) found in her study that faith and religion were strong motivators that not only helped women survive prostitution but also assisted in their desistance. Baier and Bradley (2001) conducted a meta-analysis study and found strong statistical significance showing that religion is influential in deterrence from crime. Camp, Klein-Saffran, Okyun Kwon, Daggett, and Joseph (2006) report from their investigations that even with the presence of selection bias,

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

religion/spirituality still served as a change agent for individuals accustomed to deviant behavior and that faith-based programs in prisons motivate offenders to seek prosocial behavior. These studies could be applicable to prostitution desistance as well.

Programming for Desistance

Programming has been found to be a vital piece to desistance and without it, many former prostitutes may relapse and reenter prostitution or sex work activity. Cimino (2012) and Roe et al. (2012) report that only a few states (less than 1/3) have prostitution-exiting programs and even those are not stand-alone organizations but are channeled through the criminal justice system. When trying to locate programs in Texas and abroad, one is hard pressed to find any in the public domain. As prostitutes rotate through drug treatment and domestic violence venues due to their high exposure to drugs and violence in the streets, they may try to seek help to desist, however, these resources are most likely not equipped to address prostitution-specific issues adequately (Roe et al., 2012).

As prostitution-exiting programs navigate the plethora of predicaments affixed to prostitution, increased knowledge about social relationships could strengthen their mission. Dalla (2002) suggests that by learning about the social relationships between prostitutes and their environment to include "health-compromising behavior," "coping responses," and the "context of street work," interventions would be stronger and more effective. Oselin (2010), Hedin and Mansson (2003), and Dalla (2002) maintain that there are both *internal* and *external* factors that lead to desistance, often working simultaneously. Oselin (2010) asserts that not only do these factors hasten desistance but prompt enrollment into prostitution-exiting programs.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Dalla (2002) also examines ways in which certain concepts can be identified and measured in order to enhance programmatic strategies. As previously mentioned, desistance signaling is a way to determine the genuineness and seriousness of a woman's desire to desist. The work of LeBel et al., (2008) and Dalla (2002) supports this notion by examining elements such as intention, attitudes, norms, self-efficacy, agency, and societal context. All of these elements are behavioral in nature and can help interventionists classify readiness levels, determine risks and needs, and help to identify any hurdles that may impede her progression.

Moreover, all these factors can be measured through self-reporting, surveys, questionnaires, pre/post tests, and focus groups (Cimino, 2012). With an improved handle on these behavioral aspects by professionals, cognitive transformations essential to successful desistance can better be influenced and constructed.

Identity During Desistance

In concurrence with Paternoster and Bushway (2009), Giordano et al. (2015), Giordano et al. (2008), and Shover and Thompson (1992), McCray et al. (2011) posit that in order for women to exit prostitution successfully, an identity reconstruction is required that could lead to more powerful desistance events as the drug-addicted prostitute creates a polarized self (the 'real woman' versus the 'drug-addict woman'). This polarization allows for the 'drug-addict woman' to become a depository for every sordid memory and recollection of prostitute-related activities, freeing the 'real woman' from the emotional and psychological baggage associated with prostitution and drug use. According to McCray et al., (2011), once the women learned to stop defining themselves by their drug-addled ambitions and actions and began to embrace the notion that the 'real woman' was being held hostage by drugs, the women could better accept and pursue desistance efforts.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Supporting phase 1 of the Williamson and Folaron (2003) *Phases of the Lifestyle* model, Oselin (2010) also asserts that due to "structural economic factors and low-income" women may be enticed to enter into prostitution. Oselin (2010) stresses the significance of learning about roles and how the evolution of these roles contribute to "role exiting."

Oselin (2010) and Baker et al. (2012) refer to the work of researcher Helen Ebaugh by explaining that the process of role exiting starts with "first doubts" to "seeking and weighing of alternatives" to "turning points," and ultimately to "establishing an ex-role identity." This role-exiting process, according to Oselin (2010), facilitates entry into prostitution-helping organizations which has been proven to highly increase the success of prostitution desistance.

Research Related to Desistance

In order to continue to improve on existing prostitution-exiting efforts and create new ones, more research is needed. Oselin (2010) confirms that there is a shortage of research about exiting and all the complicated ecological, cultural, and psychosocial contexts associated with it (Dalla, 2000; Dalla, 2002). Dalla (2002) speaks to the lack of data about the actual lives and environmental climate of the prostitutes that could be beneficial to programming and public policy, pointing out that these elements are just as important as the legal and social blemishes that are often highlighted. Dalla (2002) discusses the *Ecological Systems Theory* (EST) introduced by researcher Dr. Bronfenbrenner to justify her position by stating that:

Present circumstances cannot be fully understood without careful observation of the entire ecological context within which the individual is embedded, including historical events and situations, social relationships, and environmental

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

factors (including one's cultural and subcultural membership)

(pg. 64).

The research of this study adds to the body of literature focused on prostitution desistance. By using qualitative methods, motivators of desistance are identified from the narratives of the interviewed women formerly engaged in prostitution to reinforce the need for appropriate interventions and programming to build on existing desires to exit. It is hoped that the findings will also strengthen the premise that *internal* intrinsic desire and *external* programming, job placement, and housing lead to successful desistance.

Data & Methods

Qualitative interviews can help debunk myths and misconceptions related to street prostitution. Dalla (2002) discusses "erroneous assumptions" which help perpetuate stereotypes or fallacies mainly fueled by the media. The purpose of this qualitative study is to gain a deeper understanding of what motivates street prostitutes to stop engaging in commercial sex as well as what motivates them to refrain from living a lifestyle that facilitates and instigates prostitution involvement. Furthermore, the study is designed to determine motivators for desistance from prostitution in an effort to break intergenerational patterns of prostitution amongst families and to provide desistance recommendations to specialty courts, trauma-informed institutional programming, and viable pre-desistance resources.

This study is part of a larger project that utilized an explanatory, sequential mixed-methods approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The quantitative aim was primary and the qualitative component provided context and aided in interpretation of the quantitative results using participants' voices (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The sequential nature of the design meant that the qualitative component began after the quantitative strand was complete (i.e.,

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

quantitative post data collection and analysis). A mixed-methods approach was necessary to answer the larger project research questions, which addressed the capacity to quantify various aspects of the prostitution exiting process, and to understand prostitution from the lived experiences of the women themselves, including the unique interplay of risk and protective factors over time. The current analysis only uses data from the qualitative portion of the larger project.

Participants were recruited via specialty courts that serve women involved in prostitution. The women involved in the programs have a history of significant trauma that has led to their involvement in the criminal justice system. Briefly, the programs use a drug court model to stabilize and reintegrate women who have prostituted in the community and into prostitution-free living by providing a number of ancillary services including court managed care, supported and supervised housing, counseling, and education and job training. Each participant has an individual treatment program designed to meet her specific needs, which often includes mental health treatment, medical care, mentorship, housing, job training, education, life skills, etc. A court-appointed case manager and probation officer monitor the program, and participants report to court twice a month where they appear before the judge and give an account of their progress. Program length will vary depending on the needs of the individual; a person with multiple prior convictions may be in the program two or more years.

Participants included in this research were recruited from the pool of quantitative participants from the larger project. Approximately 100 participants completed paper or computerized survey questionnaires. Based on high, medium, and low assessment scores from a standardized assessment in the original survey, participants, who had agreed to be contacted,

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

were selected to participate in the interview. Participants were contacted by phone to participate in the interview. Participants received a \$15.00 gift card for participation.

Audio-recorded interviews were conducted regarding participants' life history leading to their involvement in prostitution, and experiences while in prostitution. Interviews were conducted in offices located in the court building where the specialty court was held. Audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and de-identified. Interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour. Participants were allowed to ask or refuse questions or end the interview at their discretion.

Transcripts were read to detect and classify patterns of thought or expression whereby they were coded according to recurring themes. Each transcript was read line by line to identify and track recurring expressions, verbalized thought patterns, verbal responses to direct questions, narrative trends, and descriptions of situations and scenarios for motivators and then re-read line by line to identify themes. Tracking began after a motivator and/or theme was identified at a minimum of three (3) separate transcripts (although most of them appeared in at least four or five transcripts). A spreadsheet was developed to not only record the tracking but also for cross referencing purposes with crime and prostitution desistance literature. Some recurrences characteristic of the prostitution lifestyle were initially established but then eventually dropped off due to either being considered irrelevant to the purpose of the study or determined to be at risk of being taken out of context if isolated.

After review of the transcripts and research in areas of desistance, several motivators for desistance from prostitution were identified and coded. Coding involved designating the number of participants who registered for a particular motivator e.g. seventeen out of twenty-one participants revealed future orientation/intrinsic motivation as a motivator to desist. A total of

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

twelve (12) motivators were found which are: *family, "being tired" for a variety of reasons, desire to be clean from drugs/successful drug rehabilitation, fear of victimization, fear of incarceration, fear of dying, future orientation/self-motivation/intrinsic desire or drive, faith connection, self-pride/self-esteem, programming availability/attributes, diminished desire to depend on men/streets, and positive, socially acceptable environments.* See Table 2 for a full list of coded motivators.

Findings

The premise of the interviews was to identify circumstances that lead the participants into prostitution, their experiences during prostitution, and the guiding forces that allowed them to exit prostitution. In the study, twenty-one (n=21) confirmed former prostitutes from the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex were interviewed. Out of the twenty-one, twelve (12) are African American, three (3) are Caucasian, two (2) are Hispanic, two (2) are of mixed race (Caucasian/Portuguese and African/Mexican), and one (1) is unknown. The youngest age of the interviewee was 22 and the oldest age was 52. One of the ages was not specific and only revealed as "in my 30s" and another age was not captured. Therefore, the average age for n=19 instead of n=21 was 42.2 years old. The highest educational level of the twenty-one (21) women is a range from 7th grade to 12th grade; some of which dropped out of school but later earned their GED. Sixteen (16) of the women birthed multiple children, yet four (4) of them had no children. Regarding their sexual orientation, sixteen (16) of the women self-identify as heterosexual and one (1) as bi-sexual. Of the four (4) remaining women, their sexual orientation was not provided.

All twenty-one (21) women describe traumatic childhoods. Nine (9) of the women stated that they have been diagnosed with mental illness. The mental health status of the remaining

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

twelve (12) women was not revealed in the transcripts. Nineteen (19) out of the twenty-one (21) women assert that entry and/or engagement in prostitution was to support a drug habit. The remaining two (2) expressed other reasons related to entry and engagement but that eventually drug addiction is what kept them in prostitution. All twenty-one (21) women are currently in or recently graduated from a rehabilitative program.

Table 1.1 Sample Demographics

| Demographics of the interviewed women (n=21) | Number of women matched to corresponding demographic |
|---|---|
| RACE | |
| • African American | 12 |
| • Caucasian | 3 |
| • Hispanic | 2 |
| • Mixed Race | 2 |
| • Unknown | 1 |
| AGE | |
| • 19-29 | 2 |
| • 30-39 | 3 |
| • 40-49 | 12 |
| • 50-59 | 3 |
| HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION | |
| • 7th | 2 |
| • 8th | 1 |
| • 9th | 3 |
| • 10th | 5 |
| • 11th | 3 |
| • 12th | 3 |
| • Unknown | 4 |
| BIRTHED CHILDREN | |
| • 0 | 4 |
| • 1-4 | 8 |
| • 5-8 | 8 |
| • >8 | 1 |
| SEXUAL ORIENTATION | |
| • Heterosexual | 16 |
| • Bi-Sexual | 1 |
| • Unknown | 4 |
| CHILDHOOD/ADOLESCENT TRAUMA | |
| • Yes | 21 |
| • No | 0 |
| • Unknown | 0 |

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Table 1.1 Sample Demographics (cont.)

| Demographics of the interviewed women (n=21) | Number of women matched to corresponding demographic |
|---|---|
| DIAGNOSED MENTAL ILLNESS | |
| • Yes | 9 |
| • No | 0 |
| • Unknown | 12 |
| PRIMARY ENTRY INTO PROSTITUTION | |
| • Support Drug Habit | 19 |
| • Money | 2 |
| • Other | 0 |
| PROGRAM PARTICIPANT | |
| • Yes | 21 |
| • No | 0 |
| • Unknown | 0 |

Motivators of Desistance

Motivators of desistance are valuable for researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners because motivators can be isolated and modulated; measured and tailored towards specific intervention such as a family or faith connection. Tracking may prove more challenging for some other motivators that are more abstract and not as easily accessible, like fear or desire. However, knowing what the motivators are and the potential obstacles or victories associated with them is a crucial first step. To the degree that some motivators are favored over others signifies a departure with previous work in this area.

Before discussing the motivators for desistance found in this research, clarification of several motivators is important. Motivator definitions were created out of the context of the narratives and derived from the meanings ascribed by the interviewed women themselves.

Family in these narratives means a desire to be a "good wife" to husband, to no longer want to cause family pain or worry, to no longer want to display a negative self-image amongst family members, a desire to feel "normal" around family (*marriage, home, family gatherings*), a desire

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

to be involved in children/grandchildren's lives, and a desire to make amends with loved ones.

"Being Tired" symbolizes fatigue from victimization (*rape, stabbings, beatings, guns to head, involuntarily incapacitated, car ejections, etc.*), seeing a diminished client base, and

experiencing diminished rewards. Future Orientation/Intrinsic Motivation represents an inner vision and willpower by the interviewed women to overcome their battles and to desist from

prostitution (*usually coupled with desistance from drug abuse*). Self-Pride means the participants wanted to look and feel good about themselves; to remove hunger, sickness, weariness, and desolation from their lives.

Although many of the narratives may qualify for other classifications, the motivators listed in Table 2 were directly stated or implied by the participants. Additionally, several of the motivators overlap, many of which tie into future orientation/intrinsic motivation by way of other desires or fears. For instance, a desire for self-pride typically grew out of “being tired” of the lifestyle and “being tired” was related to a desire to reunite with family. Another example was the desire to be clean seemed to lead to an automatic mental break from prostitution.

Table 2.1 Motivators of Desistance

| Identified motivators w/in narratives | Number of participants who revealed motivators |
|--|---|
| Future Orientation/Intrinsic Motivation | 17 |
| Programming Attributes/Support | 17 |
| Being Tired | 14 |
| Faith Connection | 14 |
| Desire to be Clean | 13 |
| Desire for Self-Pride | 12 |
| Family | 10 |

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Table 2.1 Motivators of Desistance

| Identified motivators w/in narratives | Number of participants who revealed motivators |
|--|---|
| Fear of Incarceration | 7 |
| Fear of Dying | 7 |
| Different Environment/Peer Group | 7 |
| Fear of Victimization | 6 |
| Diminished Dependence on a Man/Streets | 4 |

Future Orientation/Intrinsic Motivation

There came a time in the womens' lives where their desire to get out of the prostitution lifestyle was a choice that was made of their own volition. For some, future orientation was with them as a young girl, yet derailed by their circumstances. For others, future orientation came into fruition when they decided for themselves that the past and present were no longer what they desired.

Sloane, a 43 year old former prostitute whose mother injected her with heroin at age thirteen declares, "Just my determination this is right. Cuz I always tell myself, I ever have to go back out there, I swear to god I'll kill myself. I never want to live like that again."

Nickie, left home and entered prostitution while on drugs at the age of eighteen asserts, "I don't ever want to be high again. I don't ever wanna be homeless again. I don't ever wanna be in that life again."

Monica, a former prostitute whose parents were sent to prison when she was a teenager, dropped out of school, became homeless, and started taking drugs states,

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

I wanna have kids. I wanna get married. I wanna live a normal life.

I don't wanna be in that life where you're always like, 'Oh, this is a prostitute'...I just want something better for myself...looking in the mirror, telling myself I want better...

Serena, who began taking drugs in her 20s after the death of her toddler son and prostituted to pay for the drugs affirms,

You have to want it yourself. Because I've tried to stop [sic] my kids. I've tried to stop [sic] everybody, and then I don't—you can't do it like that. You have to stop for yourself. You got to be sick of it.

Steffi, who ran around with a fast crowd and became hooked on drugs in her late teens, leading to prostitution recalls,

Finally, one day, I was looking at myself and just tired.. I was just, 'Look at this. Nothing changes. Nothing changes...I cannot do it anymore...If I see someone, I tell them, 'You can change. You just gotta want it. You just gotta want it.'

These quotes demonstrate that it is possible for street prostitutes to possess their own motivation to get out of the prostitution lifestyle and that these motivations are self-created, not forced or obligatory. The inner motivation to change increases the chances for successful desistance and aids in the proper utilization of prostitution-exiting resources.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Programming Attributes/Support

As derived from previous literature and from the narratives, programming is the cornerstone of desistance. The more varied, sophisticated, and customized programming is for prostitutes, desistance from prostitution is concluded to be more successful. Additionally, rapport with programming staff within a nurturing atmosphere is vital to desistance sustainability (Roe et al., 2012; Oselin, 2010; Ward & Roe-Sepowitz, 2009; Dalla, 2002).

Chris, a victim of childhood molestation by a family member says, "...It's just to keep me on the right track...Yes. Yes. Even though it's a lotta stuff to do, it keeps you on the straight and narrow." Althea, a 52 year old with a family history of domestic violence, substance abuse, and childhood molestation proclaims, "I'm just having a happy, wonderful life. I'm in recovery. I'm working my steps. I got the best sponsor." Justine who prostituted for 23 years says "...the classes might not make any sense to you or all this other stuff might not make any sense to you, but it's really just putting you in the habit of doing something positive every day." Monica explains,

at the end of the day they're not doing this to beat you down or be hard on you. They're just trying to help you...You have to think about when you were out on the streets. There was no one trying to help you...It's just a way to help you stay away from prostituting.

Maria, a 49 year old, a former drug addict with a family history of mental illness and prostitution who looked for love in the streets because she felt forsaken by her mother expounds,

Yes, it is very comforting to know that they are there for me...It's really good to have them not only for that support and classes and

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

moving your life forward but also for the hard things so you can take time to process all that. ...It's a good thing because the things that I didn't know about myself and the things that I didn't know that I could overcome, I'm learning.

Venus, a former prostitute who grew up in a home with domestic violence and substance abuse says, "He's [counselor] teachin' you [sic] bein' responsible. That's what I wanna do, keep it like that...It is bein' responsible to be on time and stickin' with it."

As the narratives reveal, programming is vital to desistance and can be used as a key advocacy tool when enhancing current programs and establishing new ones. It also shows the courts the benefits of programming and how the removal of those advantages could compromise desistance.

Being Tired

The word 'tired' was used repeatedly to describe the state of mind the former prostitutes were in when they began to take action towards desistance. That one word personified so many feelings, emotions, and psychological waves within their lives. The demeanor of 'being tired' usually ramped up the more the women aged to indicate that the longer the women stayed in the lifestyle, the more ready they appeared to be at the time of desistance. This is most likely due to more exposure to clients, victimization, and longer drug addiction. When asked by the interviewers what prompted their exit, Victoria replied, "Tired...Seven, eight years, I was tired...I was fed up. I just didn't have no way out." Sloane conceded,

I can't keep waking up like this no more. I'm tired. I'm tired of selling my body. I'm tired of these men groping on me. I want a

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

normal life. I want a normal relationship, and I may never be able to ever have a normal relationship because of my lifestyle.

Petra, a 45 year old former prostitute who grew up in a violent home explained,

You're tired [sic] abusing your body. You're tired of mentally, and physically abusing yourself and you're tired of letting the drugs take over that you have to do that, so I made up my mind that you know and asked God to please help me. I'm done.

In regards to the diminished rewards characteristic of 'being tired', Ana said, "Many a times I felt like it was worthless and stuff because some days, I mean you may not even make \$5.00." Venus proclaimed,

This time I just wanna do somethin' different...It's for me this time...I really do mean it....No matter what you do, what's gotta—it'll catch up with you eventually. It got to the point where you gotta get tired. I'm tired. I just wanna continue to do what I do. I appreciate people now more from back then...It's important to me now. It's goin' to my meetings in May, and doin' my appointment, and takin' my medicine on time like it's [sic] supposed to.

Lindsay, a 51 year old whose mother had many children and who was molested as a child said, "I was tired of the street thing...The dope now my eyes are opening, and now I'm ready to get outta this because I'm missing my kids now. You know what I'm saying? I'm tired of running."

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Faith Connection

Previous research and findings revealed in this study illustrate the importance of a faith connection to former prostitutes, not just during survival in the streets, but also as a part of prostitution desistance. Several women expressed that even with the inner turmoil they coped with while in the lifestyle, they still maintained a link to a higher power. Petra stated, "He's always been there. He has never forsake [sic] me. I have probably forsaken him in my addiction and doing all that, but even though when I was in my addiction and things, I've always trust [sic] and believed in him."

Shawna, a 22 year old coerced into prostitution by a pimp replied,

...when I wasn't drinking or smoking, I would always pray to God. That's my higher power, is the Lord...Keep me safe, forgive me for all my sins. I know this isn't right, but I feel like this is the right way. I felt disgusting every time.

Chris said, "You have to pray. You have to pray and talk to God about it and ask him for deliverance wholeheartedly. You can't do nothin' without God." Althea stated, "I pray to take the feeling away and I go to sleep. I thought I couldn't live without the drugs...without the money, but God provides, and God's been great to me." Maria expressed,

I thank God that I got through this and that he was with me...I said after—if I made it this far and I see that God got something for me, God just been working with me...I thank God that he gave me this chance in life, and I'm gonna run with it.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

As with general programming discussed above, finding out that a faith connection is important to the desistance process for former prostitutes helps service providers to customize programming. When determining that the women are more motivated and determined to stop prostituting when linked with a religious or spiritual reinforcement, it better informs entities in a position to provide intervention. As it relates to policy, funding could be awarded to faith-based organizations and who can supply proof of successful desistance and low relapse rates within a designated time period that they are in contact with the desister.

Desire to be Clean

Research by McCray et al., (2011), Oselin (2010), and Schroeder et al. (2007) have affirmed the significant link between drug addiction and prostitution. From the narratives it appeared that these two deeply oppressing activities were conjoined, with drug addiction serving as a major barrier to desistance. However, the desire to be clean emerged as a precursor to prostitution exiting. Althea reported, "I got to do something different. Something different. Got to lay that pipe down...It's a life change. All the doors opened for me. I thought I couldn't live without it. I quit for everybody else and not for myself." Steffi explained, "You [AA] talk about drugs, and that's hard, when you hear—but it doesn't bother me now. I just say I don't care. I don't want it. I'm strong enough in my head that I don't want it." Martina, a 49year old whose father was in and out of prison and whose boyfriend was on drugs replied,

I don't care about nothin' that—there is nothin' that's makin' me stay clean today except me. I'm ready to be clean. I have retired today...I don't wanna die with such an [sic] lifestyle...Now the drugs is not even good no more.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Desire for Self-Pride

Due to the unsavory lifestyle of the street prostitute, one may not assume that the women do not care about themselves, don't care about what they look like, or don't care what they represent as a person; as a woman, but the narratives told a different story. Sloane shared,

I was just tired. Tired of looking bad and crying because nobody wanted to pick you up. Or you get with guys that give you fake money, or they just make you feel cheap...Have people look at you in public and knowing that they know what you do.

Serena said, "I think when I see it, and I see the girls I know still out there and what they look like, it helps me. I mean that's my thing to help me. That's how I stay clean." Victoria, diagnosed with bipolar and prostituted for over 26 years expressed, "It's like a new life. It's like I'm growing up. It's like I got out that box. I'm thinking out the box. I'm moving. I'm succeeding." Martina replied, "I don't ever wanna be like that anymore. I don't ever wanna be disrespected no more. I don't want to feel like trash no more. I do deserve better."

Drug abstinence and positive self-pride both contribute to identity reconstruction essential to prostitution desistance. It also supports future orientation/intrinsic motivation factors demonstrating a willingness on the part of the woman to participate in her own desistance. Being clean from drugs and renewed self-pride also illustrate that the women possess the ability to see themselves in a different light, possibly prompting them to recognize the value of desistance.

Family

Earlier in the text, it was discussed how the role of parenting can play a considerable part in the lives of adult former prostitutes in their stage of desisting. Research and findings of this study revealed that family reconnections were important to the women and that even while in the

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

"game," they felt a need to protect their family by distancing or hiding themselves from them while prostituting. When asked what prompted them to exit prostitution, Shawna asserted,

I don't want to lose my daughter. When I get her back, that's what's gonna keep me really sober and everything 'cause I'm not-I won't let nobody take my daughter away...I'm in a better perspective of my life right now...My parents are more in my life and in my daughter's life.

Chris replied, "Yeah. I got a support group. I got supportive people that I talk to. I got a prayin' mother...Oh, my mother. That's my backbone." Althea expressed, "My grandmother is going to be 87 this month...I told her, I said, 'Besides me wanting to quit smoking, you're my inspiration for staying clean.'" Ana reported, "She [daughter] told me if I ever wanted to be a part of her life I needed to get some help...I wanted to at least be in all my grandkids life when it was possible." Monica explained, "I met my boyfriend and he was not in that lifestyle...I think I cared about him so much that I didn't wanna do it anymore." Serena said, "When I hear my kids, I talk to all my kids now. I talk to them, and it makes me not want to go back to--." Nickie replied, "I just want her [mom] to be proud of me. She has a hard time cuz both of her kids are drug addicts. I just want her to be proud."

Fear of Incarceration

Numerous studies reveal that most, if not all, of street prostitutes are incarcerated repeatedly due to the high visibility of the trade and the drug aspect that is closely tied with it. Many of the interviewed women in the findings despised the idea of going to jail but most of them conveyed a sort of normalcy attitude towards the event--jail being part of the job. However, this sentiment seemed to have stemmed from a source of hopelessness with arrest and subsequent

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

criminal justice sanctions being out of their control. Justine disclosed, "I want a better life. I feel like it's a better life somewhere. Coming to jail, coming to prison, and all that, that is no life.

That is no life." Billie Jean, who was physically and mentally abused by her father as a child and later abandoned by her mother in her teens explained,

I got arrested October 8th, 2014. I'm never gonna do it again for the rest of my life, cuz life is too important to me...You know, I really, really prayed while I was in jail for this [program]. I prayed for God to help me get the help that I really need.

Fear of Dying

The ever-present risk of dying is unfortunately characteristic in the life of a street prostitute. Trying to survive in a lifestyle that is plunged into an abyss of desperation, debauchery, and deviance often times can be a recipe for death as the prostitutes are at the mercy of opportunists and predators. Most of the time these fears are alleviated by drugs, but other times the fears lead to desistance. Sloane recalled, "My mom died, she got murdered by her boyfriend and her addiction...I just don't wanna be like that....There might be a time I jump in a car and nobody ever sees me again. That scares me."

Nickie soberly reported, "When that guy tried to kill me. That was the end of that...Or, at least, seriously considering this is not what I need to do. This is dangerous." Jenny, as a child was sexually abused and whose parents both died of murder, emphatically explained, "...It's not funny. None of that stuff is funny. I don't need that life. It ain't the same out there no more, none of that...I mean people are just dying left and right, dude. People are getting killed people are dying."

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Fear of Victimization

The same as the fear of dying is the fear of victimization that could haunt prostitutes for the rest of their lives and compromise any chances of an improved quality of life. Justine said, "Then God saved my life because I didn't know better, but now I know better. My thing is I don't wanna die of a horrible death, being kidnapped and tortured. I just feel like any of that can happen..."

Maria recalled a bad time,

A lot of stuff went on with her [girlfriend]. Then I started to fear...they date raped her...she didn't come back right, and she ain't been right since. That led me to just be fearful of going to the streets...I felt like I said, I was more worthy than to go to the streets and treat myself like that.

Different Environment/Peer Group

Research from sociological, psychological, and criminological theory constructs have avowed that the composition of an individual's environment and peer groups are essential to either the attainment or the defeat of a persons' aspirations. This sentiment also serves true in the arena of prostitution desistance. As previously explained, because of the intimate destructive social networks that prostitutes coexist in, it is imperative that those negative social networks and environments be replaced with healthy and productive ones in order for desistance to succeed. These truths were also acknowledged within the narratives. Chris said, "I prayed before, but I was just around it. Now that I'm not around it, it's more doable." Althea explains, "I just stay away from the people, places, and things. The place I got busted at, I have not been back. As much as I want to see my homies and whatever else, I know me. I'll get stuck." Ana asserts,

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

...I don't even want to play with it. I don't even want to think that I got it to the point where I step out there and I don't really have it. It's not even isolating. It's just being careful of the surroundings I'm in, and knowing what type of—what goes on out there.

Justine explains,

...you don't have to be around those people, and today you not around those people...You're not around those people, and you making it just fine...It's like then you in the habit of leaving all that old stuff behind.

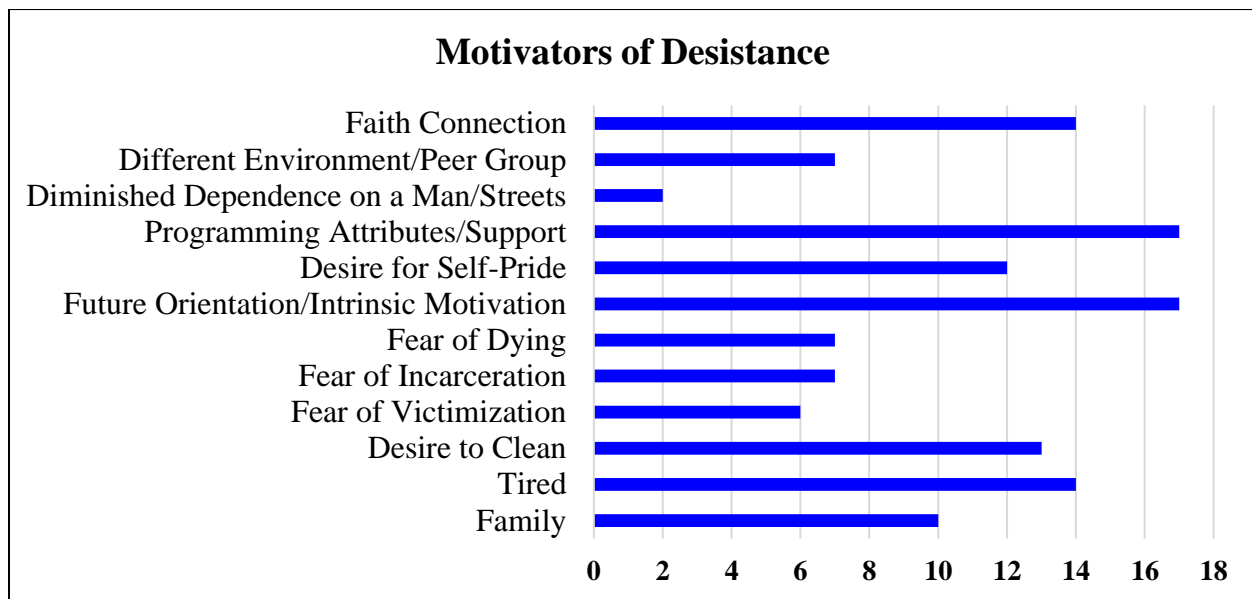
Maria replies, "I need to be positive. I needed to be around positive. You know what I'm saying? I was around negative so long that that's what I was. Negative. Positive is what I need." Steffi clarified that, "I have learned to surround myself with positive people, different people, people who want something in life, who's doing something in life, who's going somewhere. I've learned to be around those type of people."

Most of the women were taught to refrain from visiting any familiar people and places to avoid relapses, but Serena thought differently, "It was tiring, and I go back and I look. Places where I been. I know you're not supposed to, but it helps me because I'm thinking I'm never going to do that again."

Diminished Dependence on a Man

This motivator was not as strong as others and was often subtly implied. However, Victoria was not so subtle when she exclaimed, "No, I better not be forced. F&*&% a man. Men can't tell me s*&%."

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Table 2. Figure 1. Motivators of Desistance

Conceivably, one may surmise that fear of victimization, fear of dying, or fear of incarceration may have ranked significantly higher than other motivators, yet, future orientation/intrinsic motivation, programming attributes, 'being tired,' and a desire to be clean were disclosed the most. This lends credence to desistance efforts. Emotions like fear struggle with consistency or longevity to stay the course and is not always indicative of genuine change. However, ambition and determination are observable and trustworthy qualities. Also, tangibles like programming and abstaining from substances can be used for evidentiary purposes during desistance campaigns.

Themes

Several themes emerged that describe the former prostitutes' experiences that may have contributed to their entry into prostitution, incidents or situations characteristic of a prostitution lifestyle, as well as perceptions that impact desistance. It is through the themes of *Childhood*

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Trauma, Childhood Sexual Abuse, Homelessness, Drug Addiction, Need to Use Drugs in Order to Prostitute, Use of Protection, Family Not Cognizant of Prostitution, Feelings that Jail is Not Rehabilitative, Feelings that God Saved Them for a Greater Purpose, Feelings that Programming Needs to be Longer to be Effective, Mental Illness and Victimization/Violence Exposure that a better understanding of the prostitution life course can be had. The numbers below reflect a direct statement or confirmation by the interviewed women (n=21).

Table 3.1 Entry into Prostitution

| Themes identified within the narratives | Number of participants whose narratives reflected identified themes |
|--|--|
| Childhood Trauma | 21 |
| Drug Addiction | 21 |
| Childhood Sexual Abuse | 15 |
| Homelessness w/ or w/out a Home | 13 |

Childhood Trauma/Sexual Abuse

It is well-documented in sociological and criminological literature as well as highlighted in these particular transcripts that a high number of women who engage in prostitution suffered from childhood trauma with sexual abuse being the dominant traumatic event (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2012; Ward & Roe-Sepowitz, 2009; Dalla, 2003; Hedin & Mansson, 2003; Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff, & Ursel, 2002, Dalla, 2000). Many of the interviewed women lived long-term in environments where alcoholism, domestic violence, drug abuse, parental incarceration, parental mental illness, and child molestation were rampant. According to many of the narratives, these conditions drove the women to turn to unhealthy or dangerous coping

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

mechanisms where boundaries, stability, security, and self-control techniques were breached during a crucial time within their growth and development.

As a result of these violations, many of these women were primed to experience low self-esteem, low self-worth, and degradation symptomatic of prostitution. However, Ward and Sepowitz (2009) declare that childhood sexual abuse is a correlation, not a causation, of prostitution but that it subsequently amplifies the chances of women engaging in prostitution (Ward & Sepowitz, 2009).

Drug Addiction

As mentioned above, because of the debilitating environments that many of the interviewed women had to live in, freedom from what may have felt like suffocating dysfunction as well as restrictive conventional and unconventional social control led to a need to escape by way of drug use (Oselin, 2010; Hedin & Mansson, 2003; Dalla, 2000, Dalla, 2002). Typically, in high supply and demand, hardcore drugs such as heroin, cocaine, crack cocaine, and meth are socially encouraged in neighborhoods where these interviewed women reside in causing addiction to be almost inevitable.

Lindsay started prostituting later in her 30s when her drug addiction became too serious recalls, "It wasn't no reason for me being that low. The drugs saying do it. Go on. You get that little money... That ain't the way God wanted me to get it." Later in the interview she goes on to explain how strong a grip drugs can have on a woman, "Believe it or not, they want them drugs. They going back out there. Gonna put some shades on. They're gonna be sold. They're gonna go try to find their regular tricks instead of trying to jump in a car with them new ones."

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Some of the women account how using drugs was enjoyable until it became compulsory. Jenny initially dabbled with drugs recreationally stating that, "...it was fun at first, I mean everything. It was just socially, and then I {sic} became a problem." Once addicted, what little control the women had over their lives was completely forfeited and prostitution became a means of survival.

Victoria describes her experience as a drug-addicted prostitute,

I was adding more drugs to my addictions. That was feeding more of my addiction. Having to numb myself before I did the things I did because I am a woman, I still have a conscious. Whether it means I was robbing 'em or whether it mean I was really having sex with 'em, it was...yeah, it's a cycle. It's been a cycle for years.

Victoria goes on to explain the stronghold drugs can have that lead her to prostitute in order to fund her habit...

Yeah, I left before, and I always end up going back to my drug addiction. It's not the prostitution that's the addiction, it's the drug that makes me. You don't prostitute because 'Hey, I like making this money'. This is not a lifestyle you choose because, 'Hey, my momma don't want me, so I'm gonna go find me a trick'. No, it's drug abuse.

Serena also talks about how gripping addiction could be...

...right after I got out of the hospital, I was still in staples, I

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

wanted to smoke some more crack. It's bad. With crack, you just want-- I don't know, it makes you just want to keep on, want more and more and more. Before you knew it, I was spending like 800, 900 a day.

Steffi communicates about how drugs can dominate a person's life.

It ain't all peaches and cream. When you're in so deep, you can't stop. Drugs become a way of life. Your body craves it. Your mind thinks you want it and you can't stop. You wanna stop. I have stopped a lot of times and started right back...

Homelessness

For some of the interviewed women, homelessness began when they ran away from their parents' home in a state of rebellion or fear. For others, soon after the addiction of drugs consumed their lives, they either moved out (to keep the drug abuse away from the family) or lost their homes. Shelter being a basic human need coupled with the inability to earn money through legitimate channels, prostitution often served as a way to pay for a hotel room, couch, or bed. This habit of running away from their original home was also found in the study by Dalla (2000).

Nickie had been homeless since a teenager. When asked if was she homeless at the time of prostitution, she replied, "...Yes ma'am. I didn't do it [prostitution] every day. It was just sporadic...It would pay for my room".

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Table 4.1 Prostitution Characteristics

| Themes identified within the narratives | Number of participants whose narratives reflected identified themes |
|--|--|
| Need to Use Drugs in Order to Prostitute | 21 |
| Victimization | 18 |
| Use of Protection (condoms) | 18 |
| Use of Protection (weapons) | 6 |
| Family Not Cognizant of Prostitution | 4 |

Need to Use Drugs in Order to Prostitute

There is a much needed paradigm shift of thought when it comes to the perceptions of prostitution. Although money is a powerful motivating factor, it was repeatedly revealed in the transcripts that it is drugs, not money or pleasure, that motivates women to engage in prostitution...many of which engage as a result of coercion (Cimino, 2012; Roe et al., 2012; Dalla, 2002). It would be beneficial to desistance efforts if policy-makers and criminal justice practitioners fully understood *and* embraced the idea that women do not aspire to become prostitutes nor do they enjoy the act of prostitution.

Drug addiction, empirically and socially proven to be a force beyond addicts' control, keeps prostituting women (exacerbated by traumatizing childhoods) ensnared in the prostitution lifestyle. Sloane states, "Just because I do what I do, it's not by choice. I have an addiction." Monica described the yoke between the two by stating, "Without the meth, there's no prostitution. They're together as a one for me. Without one or the other, it's [sic] can't do it."

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Martina pleaded, "See, if I get off drugs, I can get off prostitution... See, I wouldn't prostitute if I wasn't druggin'... That's [prostitution] not a normal thing to do when you're in your right state of mind."

Chris was introduced to drugs by her boyfriend and explained that drugs led her into prostitution to support her habit. "When you using, you gotta do what you gotta do. Anytime I was clean, it [prostitution] was not an option". Justine states that, "If you prostitute, you do drugs. Because you don't like the fact that you're in your right mind and you're sleeping with all these people." When Martina got mixed in with the wrong crowd, she eventually became addicted to drugs which led to prostitution.

I would get high, hit a little bit, and go and try to make some money before I run out of this. I had to be high to prostitute, or I couldn't perform.

Monica proclaims,

I started using meth to prostitute because I felt like there was no other way I could do it sober minded...it didn't help me but it helped me with the prostitution part. No one can do that sober minded. That's something you have to be under the influence to even achieve.

Violence and Victimization

Victimization and violence is rampant in the lives of street prostitutes and their chances of becoming victimized significantly increases the longer the woman is enmeshed in the prostitution lifestyle (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2012; Ward & Roe-Sepowitz, 2009; Hedin &

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Mansson, 2003; Dalla, 2002). Oselin (2010) refers to street prostitutes as the "most disadvantaged group of sex workers because of their visibility (making arrests more commonplace) and due to working in arenas of heightened violence" (p. 528).

When asked about protection, Billie Jean replied, "there was times when I was raped and I couldn't get away." Serena, recalls, "I think the one where he put the gun and the knife to my throat. That's the one that got to me." Petra reported, "I saw a friend of mine get beat badly. Really and then was left for dead." Sloane recollects, "I had to jump out of a moving car. He hit me so hard I had teeth that he knocked a filling out of my tooth. That's a scary feeling. When you know that you're going to die."

Use of Protection

Many of the interviewed women expressed that they were afraid of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) due to the personal experience of witnessing the ramifications of STDs (*one woman's mother died of AIDS*), witnessing the ravaging effects of STDs on people in the streets, or getting pregnant by "johns" and therefore demanded condom usage from their clients. However, several conceded that condoms were not used in each and every encounter nor were they always reliable. Moreover, seventeen out of the twenty-one interviewed women birthed children mainly by boyfriends or spouses but in some cases, the father of their children were commercial sex customers. Sloane explains,

I've had condoms, but I've also had them break. That being raped, I've had syphilis, I've had every transmitted disease you can think of from being raped and stuff. When you're sick on dope, you don't really think about protection. You just want to get it done

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

and over with so you can go get well. I'm just lucky that I didn't catch anything to kill me.

Due to the high probability of the victimization and violence that prostitutes are exposed to, some of the women carried a weapon; a knife serving as the most popular instrument of defense. Billie Jean explained, "I would usually carry a knife with me. I threatened people to save my life. I never had to use it though. Instead of bein' scared, I made them scared." Other weapons also proved useful. Monica described her protection methods by saying "I had mace and a stun gun. Any time I felt nervous or felt like I was violated or felt like they done something to me that I didn't like, I would pull it out and I would turn it on."

However, it was surprising to learn that not all the women carried weapons. This revelation was buffered by the truth that the act of being high or pursuing drugs to get high superseded their fear factors.

While many prostitutes could rely on a certain degree of protection from pimps, interestingly and contrary to pop culture belief, the study reveals that several of the women claim to not have had a pimp. Nickie, accustomed to family violence declares, "No. I was my own pimp. Nobody can beat you up better than yourself." Martina personifies her drug addiction as the one who controlled her. "My habit was my pimp. It was. It pimped me crazy. It beat me up." Simona, a daddy's girl whose father died when she was seven years old, talks about how vigilant one must be while prostituting in the streets.

...I'm always very an alert person for the simple fact that when you're out there, you have to be. You have to be. I had no pimp.

I was my own pimp. Didn't need nobody to spend the money

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

that I made, regardless of how I made it.

Furthermore, the ones that did have pimps seemed to be simultaneously "protected" *and* victimized during their time of prostitution. Steffi describes how much control the pimp had over her mind and body,

Yes, I had a couple, two or three in my lifetime. Yeah. When I was a young girl. Yeah, I had a pimp. If you didn't have money, if you didn't make the quota, "Go get my money." The beatings, the low self-esteem. The fear. I was scared. Oh, God, I was so scared. I was too scared to leave him, basically.

Family Cognizance

Remarkably, a few of the narratives disclosed that the former prostitutes' families were unaware that they were involved in prostitution. Unlike drugs which was very hard to disguise or hide because of its accompanying physical manifestations (weight loss, tooth decay, clothes/hair in disarray, unusual body movements, etc.), some of the interviewed women were able to successfully conceal their prostitution as a way to shield their family from the stigma that surrounds prostitution or to avoid their family from preventing the prostitution activity from happening. To add this point, Cimino (2012), Mayhew and Mossman (2007), and Hedin and Mansson (2003) also discussed stigma, avoidance from family, and lack of family knowledge about prostitution in their study. "Friends and family members were kept at a distance because they might ask questions or might see behind the mask. The women tried to avoid people from their pasts and were ashamed of the stigma of being a prostitute" (Hedin & Mansson, 2003, p. 233).

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Monica states, "I separated myself from them cuz the drugs made me separate myself from them. The prostitution part is easy to hide, but drugs is not easy to hide." Lindsay also confirms that she was able to hide her prostitution. "...that's when prostitution started, after the drugs got hard to get and stuff. My family didn't know what I was doing, but that's what I was doing."

Maria reminisced said, "If my mom knew about that [prostitution], I think she would have died a long time ago for real. It would have broke her heart".

Table 5.1 Impacts on Desistance

| Themes identified within the narratives | Number of participants whose narratives reflected identified themes |
|--|--|
| Jail Not Rehabilitative | 10 |
| Diagnosed Mental Illness | 9 |
| Survival as a Divine Purpose | 6 |
| Need for Longer Programming | 2 |

Non-Rehabilitative Incarceration

Numerous studies exist that illustrate how the correctional system is primarily designed to be punitive and not rehabilitative although concepts such as procedural justice, restorative justice, and trauma-informed frameworks are influencing rehabilitative initiatives. Police often times arrest female offenders to protect them or give them rest for the night from their relentless victimization (Oselin, 2010). Furthermore, it is in jail that many of the former prostitutes are

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

exposed to or have access to programming that could truncate their sentence and/or help them with their drug addictions and life skills management (Oselin, 2010, Dalla, 2000). However, Williamson and Folaron (2003) state that incarceration does not motivate women to exit prostitution. Several of the interviewed women divulge that when they were charged with prostitution, jail was a punishing cycle where they simply served their time just to be released back into the environment and circumstances that existed prior to their incarceration. Althea laments, ... "they was throwing us in jail, and all we did was go do time, come back out prostituting and smoking crack and drinking..." Lindsay vehemently asserts,

Going to penitentiary....It's no rehabilitation. That's your freedom being took. Get outta there and gonna come right back to the same area and gonna be calling the same stuff all over again. Cuz, it's no rehabilitation. They ain't got to go to no NAs. They don't have to go to no classes. They don't got no support group. If they do nine months, they gonna do nine months, come back and do the same thing.

Maria also discusses how jail becomes a revolving door for many offending women.

Then they don't give you no way out. You don't get no treatment for your disease though. They don't give you a treatment. They send you back out into society with nothing. What do you have to look forward to? Go do the same thing. Go back to jail.

Serena, who felt like she always had the support of her family but could not seem to kick her drug habit, describes her situation.

Yeah, I kept trying to get clean. I kept trying. I wasn't doing it the right way. I didn't know about the sponsor thing and about the meet-

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

ing. I didn't know nothing about that. I just knew I went to jail and got out and there you go. Just let you go. I kept relapsing.

Justine, not wanting to continue to be a burden to her family almost succumbed to confinement instead of rehabilitative help as a way out. "I was thinking, 'just go to prison, get it over with, come back' but it woulda been the same thing, the same thing over and over again." Steffi talks about her desperation of wanting help from her addictions from a police officer. She narrates, 'Please help me. I'm tired'. "I say", 'I know jail is not gonna help me but I need some help.'

According to the narratives, incarceration serves as an inconsistent and weak deterrent to prostitution even though law enforcement and prosecutors are charged with enforcing the law. The narratives support the need for corrective alternatives that will minimize recidivism that many prostitutes face. Even with the benefits of programming while incarcerated, the prison environment seems to exacerbate other complexities that these women experience that could delay or derail desistance.

Mental Illness

Surratt, Kurtz, Weaver, and Inciardi (2005), Hedin and Mansson (2003), and Ross, Farley, and Schwartz (2003) speak extensively on the correlation between trauma and mental illness and emphasizes the need for treatment. Therefore, it is no surprise that for all of the interviewed women who hail from traumatic backgrounds almost half of them reported being diagnosed with a mental disorder or disease.

In reference to the other participants where mental health was not explicitly indicated, it is safe to say, based on sociological and psychological research studies, that prostitution would, at the least, qualify them as suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As mentioned

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

under the programming section of the literature review, Hedin and Mansson (2003) promote the value in psychotherapy as a part of successful desistance. Although nine of out of the twenty-one women reported having a mental illness such as bi-polar disorder, anxiety, schizophrenia, depression, or PTSD, none of them really expounded on the subject but did elude to the fact that help for their mental illness was a critical part of programming.

Divine Purpose

It was interesting to learn of the paradox that many of the interviewed women believed in God and even prayed to God while in the streets, subsequently thanking God for protecting them and keeping them alive during their time in prostitution. Some even felt like they were saved for the sole purpose of saving others. Billie Jean seemed to assume her role as spiritual mentor gladly by saying,

I used to tell people—God used to bring people to me that really, really needs guidance and understanding... Whether it was sad and distraught and not knowin' what to do with their lives. God put the words in my mouth that they needed to hear to help 'em be a better person.

Arguably, it is likely that the gratitude displayed in the interviews originated from the positive results of the women's programming instead of a stimulating divine purpose while out on the streets. Regardless of its source, several of the interviewed women expressed how in return for God saving them that they wanted to help others. Lindsay showed her willingness by stating, "Anything I can do to help somebody else or talk to somebody else about it, I would not mind about sharing my story at all, if it's gonna any kinda way help them."

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Programming Needs

All of the former prostitutes who were interviewed for this study were either actively involved in a program or completed a rehabilitative program. Discovery of problem-specific programs occurred either on the streets or while incarcerated although several of the women expressed that "a way out" was an elusive or impossible possibility. When asked in interviews how they thought they would succeed as a desister of drugs and/or prostitution, most of the women stated that their program sponsor and/or their program classes would be the driving force behind their continued desistance.

However, Roe et al. (2012) mentions length of treatment as a strong correlate to successful desistance indicating that a residential treatment program should be at least 90 days and demonstrating results that those who completed a program in their study succeeded in exiting prostitution when that program was 90 days or longer. To support Roe et al., (2012), there were a few interviewed women who pointed out that one of the barriers to effective desistance is the short duration of some of the programs and emphasized the fact that the longer the program, the more likely the prostitute with a desire to become clean or to change her life will succeed in doing so. In the study, Serena explains as such...

Because if somebody wants to get clean, you can't just offer them six months or nine months. They have to be--nine months ain't nothing. You just barely starting and whatever. You got to have some time...That's why a lot of people go back out there. There's not enough time...That's why a lot of them relapse.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Hedin and Mansson (2003) through their research also affirm that the outreach from relatives, social workers, and programming staff and engagement in psychotherapy sessions profoundly assisted in helping the desisters process their experiences of violence and toxic relationships.

Motivators of Desistance Summary

In reference to the aforementioned identity theories, many of the women expressed the visceral feeling of change after desistance by way of getting clean from drugs and staying in the program. Petra states,

Life is so good. I never knew life was so beautiful on this side...I feel a burden's it's [sic] lifted off me. I feel that I'm worthy of living a successful life, a productive life. I know that I can [sic] back out in society and live that productive life. I feel—I just have a different mentality now.

Chris expresses, "Me. I just like who I am today. I love me, how I am. I can think...I'm more clearheaded, levelheaded. I got balance in my life today." Victoria replied, "Now that I've been introduced to life, I wouldn't choose to go that—I'm living now. Now I'm living. I can feel. I can breathe."

Additionally, the importance of family, faith connection, programming, and a safe and empowering environment with positive social networks is instrumental in desisting. Moreover, the desire to be clean from drug abuse and addiction plays an integral role in the lives of prostitutes, emphasizing the urgent and dire need for drug rehabilitation to act as a necessary component to prostitution desistance.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Theoretical Concepts

Age-Graded Theory has applicability to this study as well as to the results of other researchers regarding the topic of prostitution desistance. One of the major motivators to desist in these findings was the feeling of "being tired". Exhaustion implies that an event, an activity, an emotion, or a perspective has lost energy over time which denotes that it has aged. Street prostitution for 20 year olds yield different outcomes than from street prostitutes in their 40s and 50s. What was alluring and "tolerable" about street prostitution in their younger years converted into malevolent and *intolerable* feelings in their older years as they aged. In these cases, the process of "being tired" started to manifest more acutely and turning points began to have more persuasive meaning at each age-related defining moment in their lives (classifying age-graded theory under the larger life course theoretical construct).

American psychologist, Terrie Moffitt developed the age-graded theory and created what is known as a dual taxonomy to explain antisocial offending amongst children and adolescents (adolescence-limited (AL) offenders and life course persistent (LCP) offenders). Moffitt focuses specifically on offending in childhood then monitors to what degree the delinquency continues throughout adolescence to determine the trajectory into crime as adults. She largely attributes the continuity of crime to neurological defects exacerbated by toxic environments and of adolescents caught in what Moffitt describes as a maturity gap "mimicking" how the LCP offenders perform and acquire material and social capital (Leaw, J., Ang, R.P., Huan, V.S., Chan, W., & Cheong, S., 2015).

From what I have learned on the front end, many of the women in prostitution entered due to tenuous sociological and psychological conditions, not neurological ones and that their set

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

of structural and environmental circumstances, not biology, led them into prostitution. However, one may argue that some of the extreme dysfunctional exposures these women faced as girls may have impacted them neurologically (repeated fight or flight releases in the brain, PTSD, chronic anxiety, etc.) which may categorize them as LCPs and may explain why they were able to persist in the "game" for so long. Moreover, many of the women entered into prostitution (illegal, antisocial behavior) in their teens and remained in prostitution, neglecting to desist from criminality until their 30s, 40s, and 50s. Nevertheless, I am reluctant to say that street prostitutes qualify as LCPs because there is not enough research that exists to conclude that before these women entered into prostitution they displayed antisocial behavior as girls. Additionally, I am hesitant to classify them as true LCPs because their antisocial behavior was the result of an adaptation of their lifestyle as opposed to an inherent antisocial trait.

Social Control Theory applies to my study in several ways. The theory proposes that deviant behavior is allowed to flourish when individuals are not vested in the community in which they live (Williams & McShane, 2014). Research has shown that personal connections with social institutions like school or church that are revered as strong and safe would oblige people to conform and honor the social contract, providing informal social control so that social order and respect for others can be maintained. Conversely, in areas of severe social disorganization and economic insufficiencies, there is no personal stock in the environment or social institutions resulting in no commitment or accountability to each other, leading to the absence of informal social control and the palpable presence of criminogenic activity. The result of this then dominates the socialization process making prostitution an acceptable direction and creates animosity towards formal social control (e.g. law enforcement) (Williams & McShane, 2014).

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Most of the interview narratives are indicative of backgrounds where informal social control was deficient due to instability, abuse, insecurity, lack of supervision, and shortage of healthy stimulation. Others were raised in households where informal social control was exacted through the methods of church attendance, strict curfews/supervision or spankings, however, those controls were easily circumvented once the women became old enough to independently respond to the less controlled and more seductive environment around them.

A prevailing theme in the research was the need for negative social networks (*substance abusers, drug dealers, thieves, predators, etc.*) to be replaced by positive social networks (*salubrious relationships with family, coworkers, church, or program members*) in order for desistance from crime to succeed. This revelation directly correlates with the principles of social control theory. With increased bonding comes decreased antisocial behavior. When bonding declines or evaporates an upsurge in antisocial behavior ensues (Williams & McShane, 2014). For prostitutes who typically enter into the trade as girls, it is imperative at that time of their life course to reconstruct their socialization composition and change their environment, or at least expose them to enough alternative thinking and prospects that will foster a strong bonding to those alternatives. This bonding will in turn reinforce the social contract, breeding informal social control and reducing their inclinations to commit crime, including prostitution.

Social Learning Theory deals with cognitive processes. As the title suggests, people learn through the socialization of others. Although it is difficult to "unlearn" what has been absorbed, what may be better implemented is to learn differently so that the new learning can replace the old learning. In phase 2 of the Williamson and Folaron (2003) *Phases of the Lifestyle* study, learning the lifestyle was paramount to succeeding in the trade, and not just by way of earning money but surviving as well. However, the socialization of this process begins prior to

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

enmeshment. For most of the former prostitutes in my study, sexual abuse, representing wife by proxy to their fathers, sexual coercion by boyfriends, grooming by pimps, and family history or witnessing of prostitution in their communities served as the classroom. These girls were conditioned to be amenable to the prostitution lifestyle. For those who entered into the trade simply for financial gain, the narratives revealed that they grew up in households and neighborhoods where drug dealing, weapons trafficking, burglary and robbery, fraud, and other illegal means of earning money were powerful instructors. Both of these scenarios teach desensitization, an ingredient of antisocial behavior as evident in the former prostitutes' stories.

Social Learning Theory also consists of the concepts of reward, punishment, and reinforcements (Williams & McShane, 2014). The enticement phase of Williamson and Folaron (2003) *Phases of the Lifestyle* places heavy emphasis on real or perceived reward. These incentives and the antisocial behavior required to obtain these rewards are reinforced by fellow prostitutes, pimps, drug dealers, and societal alienation. Nonetheless, as the lifestyle progresses, punishment (i.e., victimization, drug addiction, incarceration) begins to surpass rewards which could then lead to desistance.

Differential Association Theory which originates from a sociological theory embedded into criminology is in partnership with social learning theory in that they both deal with individuals learning within groups. Differential association theory focuses on content versus the process of learning. This content comprises of a "consequence of conflicting values" and that differential association theory is "entirely a product of the social environment surrounding individuals and the values gained from important others in that social environment" (Williams & McShane, 2014, p. 68).

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Several of the participants in my research as well as from abroad possessed varying forms of sex work acceptance in their communities but universally were still stigmatized in the larger context of their respective societies. These peripheral groups create their own set of values, beliefs, and customs antithetical to the dominant groups. According to differential association theory, prostitutes and other purveyors of antisocial behavior are compelled to reconcile between the two cultures wherein the criminogenic environment wins over the conventional one (Williams & McShane, 2014).

Differential Association Theory embodies nine points (1) criminal behavior is learned, (2) is an interaction with others on a process of communication, (3) involves the teaching and learning of criminal behavior in intimate personal groups, (4) consists of techniques and definitions through relationships, (5) reinforces definitions by teaching motives and drives to commit crime, (6) promotes the criminal behavior over non-criminal behavior, (7) relies on frequency, duration, priority, and intensity to deepen the understanding of techniques and definitions, (8) characteristics of criminal behavior are typically due to economic disadvantage and classism, and (9) that all of the processes above can be applied to all other types of learning, not just criminality (Williams & McShane, 2014).

All nine points of differential association theory are applicable to the former prostitutes of the study to explain entry, persistence, and desistance from prostitution. Point nine drives home the argument that prostitutions have the ability to desist. Williams & McShane (2014) contend that "over time, as individuals interact with different groups, their patterns of definitions toward any behavior will change" (pg. 70). Knowledge about differential association theory can be instrumental to desistance efforts because policy-makers and practitioners can strategize on how to "re-teach" this special needs demographic, reform the environments these women are

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

accustomed to dwelling in, infuse them with new and fresh ideas and values, and streamline communication messages that would dismantle conflicting ones and build concurring ones.

Finally, *Labeling Theory* describes how a person's identity is shaped and influenced by the attitudes, beliefs, interactions, and responses of others which in turn prompts the one marked to internalize the label appointed to them. It proposes that labeling aggravates deviance because it provokes those of the dominant group to consistently and disapprovingly "react" to those who have been labeled deviants (even if at the moment of provocation no antisocial behavior is occurring). Through what is defined as "primary deviance", the offender may not have incorporated the label into their self-image yet, but as more negative responses and consequences are heaped upon the labeled individual then they begin to adopt their new deviant image and lash out which is referred to as "secondary deviance" (Williams & McShane, 2014).

Labeling Theory may be considered to be the strongest of the theoretical constructs as it relates to this study. A recurring theme throughout the literature (Oselin, 2010; Dalla, 2003; Williamson & Folaron, 2003; LeBel et al., 2008) which also materialized in the narratives was the matter of stigmatization, alienation, and/or the feeling of being ostracized (self-imposed or otherwise), and not just from society but from their own families.

Labeling theory consolidates the aforementioned theories because it is through persistent offending, based off what was learned and reinforced, through loosely controlled channels that rewarded antisocial behavior and rejected conventional creeds that former prostitutes were able to embody the self-fulfilling prophecy of a deviant, unrepentant, and incurable individual; unable to desist. The negative effects of labeling has played out in the lives of former prostitutes by law enforcement, former clients, incredulous family members, and strangers. This can be especially debilitating for desistance when the criminal justice system makes decisions based on labeling

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

and refuses to seek better alternatives for prostitutes other than incarceration or release back into a criminogenic environment. Even after desistance, literature reveals that some former prostitutes hide their past. This concealment demonstrates the doctrines of labeling theory...that desisting women who seek help are still forced to navigate the fragile frontier of rejection, stigma, and low self-worth. As presented in the text, identity reconstruction and cognitive transformations for desisting prostitutes are key to shedding the stigmatized self as labeling theory explains.

Discussion

Just like with entry and persistence, there are varying reasons and motivators why street prostitutes desist from prostitution. The purpose of this study was to examine the factors that lead up to desistance, identify any trending themes and/or patterns, and determine what those motivators were so that improvements could be made towards intervention.

Several of the prevailing topics broached in the literature review such as age, new social networks, identity reconstruction, religion/spirituality, and programming all were affirmatively confirmed in this study and contributed the most to desistance from street prostitution.

Most of the women who were the most resolute about desistance were in their 40s and 50s. The ones who appeared to be a little more reticent (yet still earnest) were younger in age. The progression in years support themes found in criminal desistance literature about how those who engage in chronic criminal activity typically "age out" of the lifestyle. Additionally, the "being tired" motivation experienced by the interviewed women also correlates with age indicating that the older a prostituted woman becomes, the less dissatisfied she is with crime and the more likely she will begin to actively pursue desistance.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Related back to Cimino (2012), Giordano et al., (2003), Hedin and Mansson (2003), and Schroeder et al., (2007), the significance of revamping social networks was significantly important. From the narratives, several of the participants acknowledged that they had to avoid old neighborhoods and friends in order to stay on the right track, even if they were tempted to initiate well checks or show them their success as a desister. Many of them conceded that negative peer groups and environments put them at risk of a set back and was counterproductive to their desistance goals. Furthermore, most of the women engaged in drug activity while in prostitution. Schroeder et al. (2007) illustrate how the partaking of drugs typically occurs in groups, that drug users are encouraged, persuaded, or seduced to continue to take drugs which keeps them in constant contact with drug connections, isolates them from traditional society, stimulates them to engage in criminal activity and prompts them to become involved in criminal relationships or in relationships with individuals who also are on drugs. Therefore, as the desire to be clean manifests, modifications to the desister's environment and peer groups is necessary.

In reference to identity reconstructing that Paternoster and Bushway (2009), Roe et al., (2012), and other researchers proposed, many of the interviewed women reported the significance of recognizing and avoiding trigger zones and past street relationships while programming. Furthermore, several of the women demonstratively and verbally embraced new feelings of happiness, relief, strength, and hope while in the process of shedding their past of drugs and prostitution. Narratives also revealed that the women recognized that who they were as a prostitute was not who they were as a person. All these renewed perceptions appear to facilitate successful desistance.

As with Oselin (2010), the former prostitutes also professed their faith in God as the way to sustain their new lives. Some of women went beyond reliance on God as an explanation for

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

desistance and defined it as a divine purpose. Religion as a strong motivator to desistance is promising as faith-based programming is firmly embedded in arenas familiar to this demographic and is constantly evolving.

The findings of this study were important because isolating and stratifying specific motivators and themes could strengthen existing programming and widen the scope of recommendations to the courts and service providers, encouraging them to recognize the value of desistance endeavors through factors such as programming, drug rehabilitation, trauma counseling, etc. Also, stressing the importance of specific motivators and themes allows for interventionists to place high concentration on efforts geared towards re-creation of social networks, reconstruction of identity, and faith-based implementation that may otherwise be minimized or entirely overlooked. Moreover, findings in this study prompt further discourse about street prostitution and the viability of desistance by magnifying the interviewed women's thought processes, motivations, obstacles, desires, and perspectives. From these narratives, more customized intervention can be established.

The study highlighted the ways that street prostitution has the potential to exhaust public resources and expand costs due to the repeated victimization, mental illness ramifications, women's health issues, drug proliferation, and habitual incarceration that prostitutes endure. Knowledge about these losses helps to develop new alternative strategies that are more progressive towards desistance rather than continually being punitive which works against desistance. The discovery of these highlighted motivators and themes validates recommendations for prostitution-specific provider training, the importance of programming, and the faith-based presence common in desistance.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Limitations

Several limitations were identified in accordance with this study. First, all the women who were interviewed were participants of court-ordered programming. A diversification of participants to include women who entered non-mandated programming on their own would have provided a larger scope of prostitution desistance. Additionally, the small sample size was beneficial to research about prostitution desistance regarding court-ordered programming but would not be able to be generalized to a wider spectrum of other forms of prostitution. Another limitation is the absence of follow-up interviews as a way to track and distinguish any women who sustained desistance from those who relapsed and reentered into prostitution. An added benefit to the study may have been to include the quantitative survey results that preceded the qualitative interviews to compare and contrast motivators. Conversely, the present study did not have any details about the court-order process or the programs nor any evaluative data about the programs to determine the efficacy of the programming that the court ordered for the interviewed women. One other limitation was the complete focus on street prostitution for primarily heterosexual women not accounting for male, gay, transgender, or other sex differences amongst the street prostitution population for which a different set of challenges and obstacles exist.

Implications

In the study by Dalla (2002), it is recognized that a conglomerate of issues besieges the life of a street prostitute making exiting for even the most ardent of desisters a daunting task. However, successful and sustaining desistance is possible when criminal justice, social service, and community representatives work together to approach intervention, programming, restoration, and recommendations holistically. Dalla states:

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Successful intervention on behalf of women involved in street-level prostitution must address the prevention and treatment of drug addiction, including the social and psychological factors leading to addiction (pg. 71).

As revealed in the narratives through the identification of specific motivators and themes, intervention surrounding trauma, mental illness, and drug addiction, important characteristics of programming, alternatives to incarceration, strong interpersonal relationships with providers, and spiritual resources are the driving forces that foster prostitution desistance.

Ward and Roe-Sepowitz (2009) contends that trauma-informed research for prostitutes is needed for effective intervention and that without psychosocial treatment, desistance becomes essentially *ineffective*. They go on to say that focus only on skills and barriers and not intentions of the desister adversely affects treatment. Their studies consult on the therapeutic advantages of psychoeducational intervention and cite an authentic intervention program called *ESUBA: Women Helping Women Turn Abuse Around* that focuses on psychoeducational group therapy and has proven to be highly beneficial to desistance programming.

Ward and Roe-Sepowitz (2009) also speak on behalf of the staff who work with desisting prostitutes stressing the importance of self-care for both groups. Referred to as the "awfulness of witnessing," Ward and Roe-Sepowitz (2009) point out the danger in suppressing the intricacies of the prostitutes' lives which compromises intervention and desistance efforts. Moreover, they state that mental health workers are deficient in inquiring about the prostitutes' experiences which could lead to an incorrect or insufficient mental illness diagnosis. In support of psychotherapy, Hedin and Mansson (2003) also recommends "body therapy" which helps former prostitutes with trauma and somatic management insinuating that what the mind endures, the

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

body represses, and that body therapy helps with recall so that the participants can heal.

Williamson and Folaron (2003) strongly encourage social workers to focus on "physical complaints" and "emotional traumas" and to direct their focus on the entire course (entry, enmeshment, *and* exit).

Oselin (2010) found that PHOs and third-party bridges help in the tearing down or working through barriers that prostitutes face in desisting while offering tangible and intangible support and that when prostitutes are not just aware of the presence of PHOs, but fully informed about their services and provisions to include relationship-building with PHO staff, that desistance rises sharply with high predictions of success. Therefore, it is imperative that marketing, funding, and campaigning, as well as integrity and transparency be a part of intervention planning for PHOs. It would also be beneficial to desistance efforts if PHOs could collaborate with the criminal justice system so that incarceration does not delay program enrollment (Oselin, 2010). Evaluation, assessment, and outcomes discussion about existing PHOs would be valuable to investigative studies about prostitution desistance. Moreover, programs should specifically be cognizant about the sexual issues that may affect the motivation to desist or long-term desistance because the prostitutes may feel like it's not achievable due to the prevalence of sex while prostituting.

Oselin (2010) points out the difficulties associated with desistance stating that "prostitution and drug use mutually reinforce each another [sic], making this population especially 'vulnerable' and effectively 'trapping' them in the trade unless sobriety is achieved" (pg. 530). This sentiment fortifies objectives geared towards drug abuse rehabilitation as a prerequisite to prostitution desistance success.

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

Dalla (2000) provides an insightful summary as to what is needed to improve desistance endeavors:

Further research and activism is necessary, particularly with regard to developing policy changes in women's employment and the feminization of poverty, continuing and expanding prevention work with youth at risk, analyzing routes to prostitution entry, and importantly, designing and evaluating multi-pronged intervention programs that specialize in helping women leave the streets (i.e. addressing joblessness, homelessness, educational limitations, addiction, and victimization (pg. 352).

With the advent of more specialty courts for drugs and other special needs, hopefully, more public policy forums and prostitution courts can be established that encompasses these issues.

Conclusion

Prostitution is an age-old phenomenon that may have had several facelifts over the years but is still the same at its core...the exploitation of girls and women to satisfy the power and pleasure of men. Paradigm shifts can happen when the criminal justice system begins to decriminalize prostitution, increase the prosecution of johns, and enact stiffer sentencing and financial re-compensation sanctions for pimps.

As these events take shape, it creates breathing room for women to better embrace the concept of desistance. Effective and reliable programming in jails and prisons, drug and trauma rehabilitation, the facilitation of identity reconstruction, cognitive transformations, and

MOTIVATORS OF PROSTITUTION DESISTANCE

reconfigured social networks all are required for successful desistance to occur. Additionally, an infusion of funding, awareness, and community support of PHOs and a sophisticated mentorship program led by former prostitutes would also enhance desistance efforts.

Women in prostitution want to get out. They want to desist. They want to live a "normal" life. However, as discovered in previous research, along with this current study, most of them do not know how to get out. As with domestic violence victims, the common response is to ask... "why don't they just leave?" Departure from extreme situations that are couched in violence, alienation, and despair is not that simple. When left to their own devices to leave, prostitutes' attempts are often met with failure due to social, cultural, environmental, structural, and psychological impediments.

Learning about motivators to desist helps not only to customize intervention initiatives but also to strengthen predictions of desistance completion to a level that minimizes reentry. It is important for those involved in the process of desistance to learn about both the correlations and contexts of prostitution entry points and enmeshment in order to successfully provide a prostitution exit. Moreover, it is equally imperative to be cognizant of the interplay of both motivating internal and external factors that lead to desistance. These missions can be accomplished when armored with a diversified presence of prostitution-specific programming, the specialization of prostitution-specific professionals, and the establishment of prostitution-specific specialty courts whereby desistance can become mainstream. Additionally, as prostitution desistance gains momentum, the goal of breaking intergenerational patterns of prostitution can become a reality.

References

- Baier, C.J., & Wright, B.R.E. (2001). If you love me, keep my commandments: A meta-analysis of the effect of religion on crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38, 3-21.
- Baker, L.M., Dalla, R.L., & Williamson, C. (2010). Exiting prostitution: An integrated model. *Violence Against Women*, 16(5), 579-600.
- Camp, S., Klein-Saffran, J., Okyun Kwon, D., Daggett, M., & Joseph, V. (2006). An exploration into participation in a faith-based prison program. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 5, 529-550.
- Cimino, A.N. (2012). A predictive theory of intentions to exit street-level prostitution. *Violence Against Women*, 18(10), 1235-1252.
- Creswell, J.W., & Plano Clark, V.L. (2011). Designing and conducting mixed methods research. (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, CA. Sage Publications.
- Dalla, R.L. (2000). Exposing the "pretty women" myth: A qualitative examination of the lives of female streetwalking prostitutes. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 37(4), 344-353.
- Dalla, R.L. (2002). Night moves: A qualitative investigation of street-level sex work. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 63-73.
- Giordano, P.C., Cernkovich, S.A., & Holland, D.D. (2003). Changes in friendship relations over the life course: Implications for desistance from crime. *Criminology*, 41 (2), 293-327.
- Giordano, P.C., Longmore, M.A., Schroeder, R.D., & Seffrin, P.M. (2008). A life-course perspective on spirituality and desistance from crime. *Criminology*, 46(1), 99-132.

- Giordano, P.C., Johnson, W.L., Manning, W.D., Longmore, M.A., & Minter, M.D. (2015). Intimate partner violence in young adulthood: Narratives of persistence and desistance. *Criminology*, *53*(3), 330-365.
- Hedin, U., Mansson, S.A. (2003). The importance of supportive relationships among women leaving prostitution. *Journal of Trauma Practice*, *2*(3/4), 223-237.
- Leaw, J.N., Ang, R.P., Huan, V.S., Chan, W.T., & Cheong, S.A. (2015). Re-Examining of Moffitt's theory of delinquency through agent based modeling. PLOS ONE 10(6): e0126752. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0126752>
- LeBel, T.P., Burnett, R., Maruna, S., Bushway, S. (2008). The 'chicken and egg' of subjective and social factors in desistance from crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, *5*(2), 131-159.
- Manopaiboon, C., Bunnell, R.E., Kilmarx, P.H., Chaikummao, S., Limpakarnjanarat, K., Supawitkul, S.,...Mastro, T.D. (2003). Leaving sex work: Barriers, facilitating factors and consequences for female sex workers in northern Thailand. *AIDS Care*, *15*(1), 39-52.
- Maruna, S. (2012). A Signaling Perspective on Employment-Based Reentry: Elements of successful desistance signaling. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *11* (1), 73-86.
- Mayhew, P. & Mossman, D. (2007). *Exiting prostitution: Models of best practice*. Wellington, New Zealand: Crime and Justice Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington.
- McCray, K., Wesely, J.K., & Rasche, C.E. (2011). Rehab retrospect: Former prostitutes and the (re) construction of deviance. *Deviant Behavior*, *32*, 743-768.

- Nixon, K., Tutty, L., Downe, P., Gorkoff, K., & Ursel, J. (2002). The everyday occurrence: Violence in the lives of girls exploited through prostitution. *Violence Against Women, 8*(9), 1016-1043.
- Oselin, S.S. (2010). Weighing the consequences of a deviant career: Factors leading to an exit from prostitution. *Sociological Perspectives, 53*(4), 527-549.
- Paternoster, R. & Bushway, S. (2009). Desistance and the feared self: Toward an identity theory of criminal desistance. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 99*(4), 1103-1156.
- Roe-Sepowitz, D., Hickie, K.E., & Cimino, A. (2012). The impact of abuse history and trauma symptoms on successful completion of a prostitution-exiting program. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 22*, 65-77.
- Ross, C.A., Farley, M., & Schwartz, H. L. (2003). Dissociation among women in prostitution. *Journal of Trauma Practice, 3*(4), 199-212.
- Sampson, R.J., & Laub, J.H. (1993). *Crime in the Making*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sanders, T. (2007). Becoming an ex-sex worker: Making transitions out of a deviant career. *Feminist Criminology, 2*, 74-95.
- Schroeder, R.D., Giordano, P.C., & Cernkovich, S.A. (2007). Drug use and desistance processes. *Criminology, 45*(1), 191-222.
- Schroeder, R.D., Giordano, P.C., & Cernkovich, S.A. (2010). Adult child-parent bonds and life course criminality. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38*, 562-571.
- Shover, N. & Thompson, C.Y. (1992). Age, differential expectations, and crime desistance. *Criminology, 30*(1), 89-104.

- Surratt, H. L., Kurtz, S. P., Weaver, J. C., & Inciardi, J. A. (2005). The connections of mental health problems, violent life experiences, and the social milieu of the “stroll” with the HIV risk behaviors of female street sex workers. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality*, 23-44.
- Ward, A., Roe-Sepowitz, D. (2009). Assessing the effectiveness of a trauma-oriented approach to treating prostituted women in prison and a community exiting program. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 18, 293-312.
- Wiechelt, S.A., & Shdaimah, C.S. (2011). Trauma and substance abuse among women in prostitution: Implications for a specialized diversion program. *Journal of Forensic Social Work*, 1(2), 159-184.
- Williams III, F.P., & McShane, M.D. (2014). *Criminological theory* (6th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education , Inc.
- Williamson, C. & Folaron, G. (2003). Understanding the experiences of street level prostitutes. *Qualitative Social Work*, 2(3), 271-287.