

Male Customers of Prostituted Women

*Exploring Perceptions of Entitlement to Power and Control
and Implications for Violent Behavior Toward Women*

NOËL BRIDGET BUSCH

HOLLY BELL

University of Texas at Austin

NORMA HOTALING

SAGE Project

MARTIN A. MONTO

University of Portland

This study explores the underlying structure of the perceptions of 1,342 men arrested for trying to hire a prostituted woman on the street. The analysis identified eight structural dimensions that accounted for 47% of the explained variance. Three factors contained items reflecting patriarchal views of women and perceived entitlement to power and control, which are issues that could lead men to exhibit violence. Findings suggest that lower levels of education, conservative attitudes toward sexuality, more frequent pornography use, and traumatic life experiences may be related to entitlement to power and control factors, which in turn could be used to justify violence against women.

Although there has been considerable debate among scholars, practitioners, and prostituted women about whether prostitution is violence against women or a form of work (Alexander, 1987; Miller & Jayasundara, 2001; Sloan & Wahab, 2000), there is considerable evidence that prostituted women are frequently victims of violent crime, including battering, rape, and murder (Davis, 1993; Horgard & Finstad, 1992; Silbert & Pines, 1982). As the articles in this special issue demonstrate, characteristics of this violence have been explored and documented, but the characteristics of men who use the services of prostituted women, some of whom perpetrate violence against them, have received much less attention. Just as our current understanding of domestic violence would be limited without considering the motives of batterers, so

too must prevention of violence against prostituted women include research on the motives and attitudes of johns, customers of prostituted women. Advocates for prostituted women argue that one of the characteristics of men who perpetrate violence against women is the expectation of service by women and that prostitution is an institutionalized domination of women that may contribute to this violence (Hotelling & Levitas, 2001). This research explores the constellation of attitudes that customers of prostitutes have toward women, prostitutes, and violence, using factor analysis to "untangle interrelationships among data and organize it into patterns" (Cherry, 2000, p. 270). This exploratory study examines johns' attitudes and behaviors specifically related to entitlement to power and control, which are issues previously identified by domestic violence researchers as key contributors to violent behavior toward women.

Three areas of research inform this study: literature on violence against prostituted women, feminist theory regarding violence against women, and research on men who solicit the services of prostituted women.

VIOLENCE AGAINST PROSTITUTED WOMEN

Prostituted women are especially vulnerable to violence because of the secrecy and illegal nature of their work. They are among the few women in society who voluntarily get into cars with unfamiliar men, and as a result, they are prime targets of serial killers (Miller & Jayasundara, 2001). Research consistently documents the high level of violence against prostituted women, including physical and sexual assaults by both pimps (persons, generally men, who benefit from the earnings of prostitutes) and customers (Davis, 1993; Farley & Barkan, 1998; Horgard & Finstad, 1992; Silbert & Pines, 1982). Silbert and Pines found that 70% of the 200 prostituted women that they interviewed had been raped by customers, 65% had been physically assaulted by customers, 66% had been physically assaulted by pimps, and 73% had been raped in situations unrelated to their work as prostituted women. Farley and Barkan (1998) reported that of the 130 working prostituted women they interviewed, 82% reported physical assaults and 68% reported sexual assaults since entering prostitution. Miller (1997), in an in-depth study of the lives of 16

prostitutes, found that 75% were raped by johns, 62% had been raped in other contexts, and 87% had been physically assaulted. Such high levels of violence raise questions about the characteristics of men with whom prostituted women are involved.

FEMINIST THEORY OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOR TOWARD WOMEN

The feminist understanding of intimate partner violence may shed light on the ways that power and control enter into the john-prostituted woman relationship and influence johns' relationships with nonprostituted women. Well-established feminist theory of violence against women rests on three concepts: power, control, and traditional gender roles. Men who abuse women assert their control and maintain their positions of power (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Robinson, 2000; Yllo, 1993). The focus on violence as a tactic of gendered entitlement is a characteristic of a patriarchal structure that gives men more right to power than women (Pence & Paymar, 1993; Robinson, 2000; Yllo, 1993). Studies have shown that batterers also use threats and psychological abuse to maintain control in relationships (Bennett, Goodman, & Dutton, 2000; Felson & Messner, 2000). Consistent with these findings, women in abusive marriages feel more controlled than spouses in distressed, nonabusive marriages and perceive their husband's aggression as motivated by a wish to control them (Ehrensaft, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Heyman, O'Leary, & Lawrence, 1999). Prince and Arias (1994) identified men at high risk of perpetrating domestic violence and found that a common characteristic was self-perceived lack of control that contributed to physical violence. Similarly, Sagrestano, Heavey, and Christensen (1999) found that lower levels of husbands' perceived power were related to violence. Leonard and Senchak (1996) reviewed a number of studies that showed that men with more traditional and patriarchal beliefs about gender roles were more likely to use physical aggression as well as other studies that found that "less masculine" men were more also more likely to use violence, perhaps in an effort to act in a more stereotypically manly way.

Some researchers have concluded that the culture of male dominance is central but insufficient to explain domestic violence (Lenton, 1995; Moore, Greenfield, Wilson, & Kok, 1997) and that

power and control as understood in the traditional feminist model does not explain intimate partner violence in all cases (Coan, Gottman, Babcock, & Jacobson, 1997; Gortner, Gollan, & Jacobson, 1997; Holtzworth-Munroe, 2000; Moore et al., 1997). However, many researchers hypothesize that power, control, and patriarchal attitudes toward women contribute to some men's violence toward women. This body of research will form the backdrop of our exploration as to whether customers of prostituted women have attitudes toward women that may contribute to violence against women.

ATTITUDES OF MALE CUSTOMERS OF PROSTITUTED WOMEN

Early research emphasized the psychopathological qualities of customers of prostituted women (Ellis, 1959; Glover, 1943), whereas more recent sociological theory (Dworkin, 1993; Schrage, 1992) and ethnographic research (Armstrong, 1978; Holzman & Pines, 1982) suggest that johns may differ little from other men. The research of Martin Monto of the University of Portland has begun to describe the experiences, attitudes, and motivations of men arrested for using the services of prostituted women. When arrested clients of prostituted women were compared with men sampled from the nationally representative General Social Survey, large differences were not found. However, Monto (2000) concluded that although not demonstrating extreme differences, customers of prostituted women differed from men in meaningful ways. For example, johns were significantly more likely than the national sample of males to report having attended at least some college, less likely to report being currently married, and more likely to report never having been married. Of the married participants, johns were much more likely to describe their marriages as unhappy (Monto, 2000).

In addition, arrested customers were much less likely to have had one sexual partner over the past year and much more likely to report having multiple partners but somewhat less frequent sexual relations over the past year than the national sample, perhaps because of the lack of a regular sex partner. Johns were likely to be motivated to seek out prostitutes because of the illicit or risky quality of sex with prostituted women; because they subscribed

to a self-focused, consumer-oriented conception of sexuality; or because they wanted a different kind of sex than their regular partners wanted (e.g., fellatio or rough sex) (Monto, 2000, 2001a, 2001b). Some men said they paid for sex because they had difficulty becoming involved in conventional relationships or because they simply did not feel that they had the time, energy, or interest to engage in conventional relationships with women (Monto, 2000). Johns were no more likely than other samples of men to endorse "rape myths" (Burt, 1980), attitudes consistent with sexual violence against women. However, of the small proportion of the men who supported rape myths, many were also judgmental about women's sexuality and were attracted to violent sexuality, suggesting a potential for violence (Monto & Hotaling, 2001).

This previous research adds significantly to our understanding of why johns seek out prostituted women and what effect that participation may have on their attitudes toward and relationships with women in general. This current research seeks to further examine the relationship of perceptions of johns toward women focusing specifically on entitlement to power and control, particularly as it might help to explain violence toward prostituted women.

METHOD

Factor analysis allows researchers to examine the relationships between a large number of items for the presence of a smaller number of constructs or factors with broader theoretical significance (Cherry, 2000; Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998). In this study, an analysis of feminist theory led the researchers to explore whether constructs associated with entitlement to power and control would explain the responses to a questionnaire given to men arrested for attempting to solicit a prostituted woman. A principle components factor analysis was performed to reduce the original number of attitudinal and behavioral items and increase the understanding of the underlying phenomena (Hair et al., 1998). Following the identification of four factors of specific interest, correlations were run to identify predictors of these factors.

RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS AND INFORMED CONSENT PROCEDURES

Data were collected from 1,342 men in First Offender programs in California ($n = 996$), Oregon ($n = 77$), and Nevada ($n = 269$). Men voluntarily participated in these deferred adjudication programs following their arrests for attempting to hire a prostituted woman on the street. Although these deferred adjudication programs vary in specific content, the goals are to educate men about the negative impact of prostitution for women and the harmful and risky consequences for their own lives. Martin Monto originally collected these data, and for the purpose of this current study, additional analyses have been conducted.

Participation in this study was completely voluntary and was not a requirement of deferred adjudication programs. Participants were informed about their right to decline participation both orally and through a letter that was stapled to the front of the questionnaire. To protect anonymity, participants were not required to sign their names to a formal informed consent. The Internal Review Board at the University of Portland approved the original research. The Internal Review Board Committee at the University of Texas at Austin approved this project. Participants were not compensated for their participation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Slightly more than half of the participants were Caucasian men, and approximately one fifth were Latino. African American, Asian, and Native American men were underrepresented in this study. A typical respondent was married and heterosexual. Respondents varied in their level of education. Of those responding, almost 11% had a master's degree or higher, nearly 24% had a bachelor's degree, 35% had some college, 18% earned a high school diploma, and 10% did not graduate from high school.

Most of the participants reported working full-time. However, there was some variability in professional status. Of those responding, approximately 7% were executives and major professionals, 6% were business managers, 18% percent owned small businesses, 9% were in clerical or technical positions, 11% were in skilled manual labors, and 14% were in unskilled positions. Twenty-five percent failed to indicate their jobs.

The average age of the participants was 39 years, with a range of 18 to 84 years. Table 1 provides additional information about the characteristics of the study participants.

DATA COLLECTION AND MEASUREMENT

Immediately prior to participating in the court-adjudicated programs, participants were administered identical self-report questionnaires. The questionnaire was anonymous and consisted of 87 questions. Forty-one items asked for demographic information and the frequency and nature of men's sexual experiences. Forty-six items asked about attitudes or behaviors. The 46 attitudinal and behavioral items were developed to empirically capture the complex nature of perceptions among male customers of prostituted women (Monto, 2000). When possible, specific questions from the General Social Survey and the National Health and Social Life Survey were used. Attitudinal and behavioral questions about rape myths (from Burt, 1980), prior threats, and/or use of physical force during sex (from Koss, 1988), self-perceptions, their perceptions of prostituted women, their preferences for sexual practice, and their attitudes regarding the morality and legalization of prostitution (from Sawyer, Rosser, & Schroeder, 1998) were also included. Although these items were drawn from validated measures (lending credence to their face and construct validity), they were reconceptualized into a new scale for this study, and therefore, a full description will not be provided (see Burt, 1980; Koss, 1988; Sawyer et al., 1998).

The item descriptions are found in Table 3. Because items differed in the number of scaled points, all scores were converted to a common standardized *z* score.

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The analyses for this study occurred in two phases: data reduction procedures (factor analysis) and identification of statistical relationships of factors with other variables (correlations). Prior to using factor analysis procedures, the researchers verified the appropriateness of this process for the data. Analyses to evaluate the adequacy of the sample size, overall significance of the correlation matrix, and stability of the results were performed. The

TABLE 1
Demographic Characteristics of the Sample (N = 1342)

	<i>Relative Percentage</i>	<i>n</i>
Race		
Caucasian	57	757
Hispanic, Chicano, or Latino	20	264
Asian	13	167
Black/African American	5	68
Native American	2	21
Biracial or not indicated	5	65
Marital status		
Married	42	560
Widowed	2	21
Divorced	15	198
Separated	6	85
Never married	35	464
Sexual orientation		
Straight	94	1,211
Straight, but some sexual experience with men	4	55
Bisexual	< 1	7
Gay, but some sexual experience with women	< 1	4
Gay	< 1	6
Educational level		
Did not graduate high school	11	140
Graduated high school	18	244
Some college or training after high school	36	484
Received bachelor's degree	24	321
Received a master's degree or higher	11	142
Employment status		
Working full-time	81	1,057
Working part-time	6	75
Holding a job, but not at work	2	22
Unemployed, laid off	4	56
Retired	2	31
In school	2	28
Keeping house	< 1	6
Other	2	27
Career/job status		
Higher executives, major professional	9	92
Business managers, lesser professional	8	80
Administrative personnel, small business owner	23	237
Clerical/sales, technicians	12	124
Skilled manual labor	15	153
Machine operator/semiskilled	19	193
Unskilled	13	131

NOTE: Mean age = 39 years. Figures were rounded to the nearest whole number.

Kaiser-Meyer Olkin measure of sampling (MSA) indicated an adequate number of participants (MSA = .859), and the Barlett's test of Sphericity indicated overall significance of the correlation matrix ($\chi^2 = 13,253$, $df = 1,035$, $p = .000$). A split-half confirmatory analysis ensured that the results were stable within the sample (Hair et al., 1998). Missing data were replaced with the standard mean score. The researchers used a conservative standard for determining minimum factor loadings (.390) because of the large sample size (Hair et al., 1998). A VARIMAX rotation that attempts solutions for orthogonal rotations (Cherry, 2000; Hair et al., 1998) was used. Descriptive analyses were also performed.

Following the factor analyses, three factors related to issues associated with entitlement to power and control over women (to be described below) were identified. Each factor was converted to a variable by multiplying response scores for each item by the rotated factor loadings for that item. During Phase 2 of the analyses, the variables representing these three factors were then correlated with 20 demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal variables to identify predictors of entitlement to power and control over women, factors that could be used to justify violence against women.

RESULTS

Factor analysis procedures allow researchers to organize and classify a large number of items into discrete but interconnected constructs. Following a VARIMAX rotation, an inspection of a scree plot, and the use of an eigenvalue criterion of 1, eight factors were extracted. A simple structure solution found 40 items loaded primarily on one of eight factors. Six items loaded below .390 and therefore were not interpreted in the analysis (Hair et al., 1998). The analysis indicated that half of the items loaded at .50 and above. Table 2 summarizes the number of items associated with the eight factors and reports the eigenvalues, the range of factor loadings for each item, and the cumulative percentage of explained variance for each of the eight rotated factors. The eight-factor solution accounted for a 47% of the explained variance. Table 3

TABLE 2
Results of Rotated Eight-Factor Solution: Number of Items, Eigenvalues,
Factor Loadings, and Cumulative Percentage of Explained Variance

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Number of Items</i>	<i>Eigenvalue</i>	<i>Range of Factor Loadings</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage of Explained Variance</i>
1	8	6.490	.488-.760	9
2	7	4.795	.455-.740	17
3	7	2.179	.390-.651	23
4	5	1.995	.481-.723	29
5	5	1.788	.510-.620	34
6	3	1.533	.633-.764	39
7	3	1.404	.688-.706	43
8	2	1.364	.889-.890	47
Total	40			

reports the attitudinal and behavioral items and loadings for the eight rotated factors. Factors 1 (Social and Legal Beliefs About Prostitution), 3 (Narcissistic Preference for Sexual Relationships), 4 (Perceptions of Prostituted Women), 6 (Aversion to Traditional Relationships With Women), and 7 (Feelings of Inadequacies With Women), although related to perceptions of customers of prostituted women, have less to do with entitlement to power and control. Therefore, these five factors are not discussed in detail.

THREE FACTORS RELATED TO ENTITLEMENT TO POWER AND CONTROL CONSTRUCT

Factor 2, Violence Against Women, was defined by seven items and accounted for 8% of the variance. The fifth factor, Violent Sexual Practices, also was also defined by five items and accounted for 5% of the variance. Factor 8, Violent Physical Behavior to Gain Sex, accounted for 4% of the explained variance and loaded with two items. These factors accounted for 17% of the explained variance.

PREDICTORS OF ENTITLEMENT TO POWER AND CONTROL FACTORS

Table 4 reports the frequencies, means, and standard deviations of 19 items that loaded on one of the three factors related to an entitlement to power and control construct. The mean trend

TABLE 3
Loadings of 40 Attitude and Behavior Items on Eight Rotated Factors

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Item Description</i>	<i>Loading</i>
1	Social and Legal Beliefs About Prostitution	75	Should legalize prostitution	.760
		73	Prostitution not wrong	.755
		62	Cops should crack down on prostitution	-.692
		84	Okay if son went to prostitute	.664
		78	Should decriminalize prostitution	.650
		61	Prostitution creates problems	-.628
		63	Prostitution doesn't harm anyone	.549
		81	Prostitution doesn't harm marriage	.488
2 ^a	Violence Against Women	67	Forced sex after necking is woman's fault	.740
		65	Provocative dress asks for trouble	.635
		69	Stuck-up women deserve a lesson	.621
		68	Women hitchhiking deserve rape	.614
		66	Rape victims have bad reputation	.588
		64	Going to home implies willingness to have sex	.577
3	Narcissistic Preference of Sexual Relationships	60	Prostitutes like sex rougher	.455
		55	Like women who get nasty	.651
		54	Like woman who really like sex	.603
		56	Need sex immediately when aroused	.537
		52	Like to have a variety of partners	.530
		49	Excited by approaching a prostitute	.515
		46	Want a different kind of sex	.458
4	Beliefs About Prostituted Women	53	Like control during sex	.390
		83	Prostitutes enjoy their work	.723
		86	Prostitutes like men	.672
		80	Women chose prostitution	.607
		77	Prostitutes make lots of money	.539
5 ^a	Violent Sexual Practices	59	Prostitutes enjoy sex more	.481
		70	Sex is fun when women fight	.620
		71	Some women like being smacked	.568
		72	Want sex more when angry	.551
		79	Okay if daughter were prostitute	.532
6	Aversion to Traditional Relationships With Women	57	Like rough sex	.510
		51	Don't want relationship responsibilities	.764
		50	No time for relationship	.763
7	Feelings of Inadequacies With Women	48	Prefer prostitution to relationship	.633
		44	Difficulty meeting women	.706
8 ^a	Violent Physical Behavior to Gain Sex	45	Most women find me unattractive	.688
		47	Shy and awkward with women	.688
		42	Threatened physical force for sex	.890
		43	Used physical force for sex	.889

a. Factors relevant to the expression of entitlement to power and control.

demonstrates that overall, participants were likely to disagree with rape myths and justification of violent behavior toward women, and participants generally did not express a preference for violent sexual practices. It is also important to note that only

TABLE 4
Descriptive Statistics of Three Factors Related to Entitlement to Power and Control

Factor	Item Number	Description	Frequency	Mean	Standard Deviation
2	67	Forced sex after necking is woman's fault	1,197	1.59	.87
	65	Provocative dress asks for trouble	1,223	1.94	.965
	69	Stuck-up women deserve a lesson	1,200	1.26	.672
	68	Women hitchhiking deserve rape	1,203	1.34	.730
	66	Rape victims have bad reputation	1,200	1.65	.875
	64	Going to home implies willingness to have sex	1,218	1.78	.906
5	60	Prostitutes like sex rougher	1,203	1.66	.840
	70	Sex is fun when women fight	1,200	1.30	.673
	71	Some women like being smacked	1,189	1.70	.881
	72	Want sex more when angry	1,201	1.24	.617
	79	Okay if daughter were prostitute	1,143	1.27	.647
8	57	Like rough sex	1,233	1.65	.880
	42	Threatened physical force for sex	1,279	0.01 ^a	.104
	43	Used physical force for sex	1,276	0.01 ^b	.092

NOTE: On items appearing in Factors 2, 4, and 5, participants were asked to respond to a 4-point Likert-type scale in which 4 = *strongly agree*, 3 = *agree somewhat*, 2 = *disagree somewhat*, and 1 = *strongly disagree*. On Items 42 and 43, appearing in Factor 8, participants were given a dichotomous "yes" or "no" option.

a. Fourteen participants reported that they had threatened physical force to get sex.

b. Eleven participants reported that they had used physical force to get sex.

about 1% of the participants indicated that they had threatened physical force for sex ($n = 14$) or used violent physical behavior to gain sex ($n = 11$). However, the confirmatory analysis upheld these items as interconnected to each other and to the overall entitlement to power and control construct.

An effort should be made to identify categories of men who might be more inclined toward violence against prostituted women or other women. To address this issue, the researchers conducted correlations between 20 demographic, behavioral, and attitudinal items and the three entitlement to power and control factors.

Because there were three factors and 20 potential predictor variables, for a total of 60 correlations, we must acknowledge the possibility of Type I error, identifying correlations as statistically significant when they are simply coincidental. We can interpret our results more confidently when a given predictor variable is consistently associated with two or more of the entitlement to power and control factors.

TABLE 5
Relationships^a Between Entitlement to Power
and Control Factors and Other Variables^b

Variable	Entitlement to Power and Control Factors		
	Justification of Violence	Attraction to Violent Sex	Acted Violently to Get Sex
Level of education			
<i>r</i>	-.236***	-.167***	-.007
<i>n</i>	1,135	1,109	1,264
Marital status (dichotomous: married = 1, other = 0)			
<i>r</i>	-.011	-.133***	-.024
<i>n</i>	1,131	1,104	1,263
Sex partners in the past 12 months			
<i>r</i>	-.087**	.056	.150***
<i>n</i>	1,132	1,104	1,258
Times had sex during past 12 months			
<i>r</i>	-.154***	-.033	.056
<i>n</i>	1,087	1,063	1,211
Similarity of sexual interests			
<i>r</i>	.057	.008	-.026
<i>n</i>	767	752	832
Similarity of sexual desire			
<i>r</i>	-.044	-.047	-.105**
<i>n</i>	779	763	842
Think about sex			
<i>r</i>	-.297***	-.049	.018
<i>n</i>	1,099	1,069	1,214
Look at porn magazines			
<i>r</i>	-.067*	.103**	.047
<i>n</i>	1,123	1,096	1,246
Watch videos			
<i>r</i>	.000	.110***	.106***
<i>n</i>	1,123	1,095	1,245
Feel guilty			
<i>r</i>	.077**	.063*	-.001
<i>n</i>	1,134	1,107	1,259
Sexual liberalism			
<i>r</i>	-.156***	-.029	-.075*
<i>n</i>	955	930	1,034
Age when first with prostitute			
<i>r</i>	-.071*	-.099**	.005
<i>n</i>	916	882	998
How often sex with prostitute during past year			
<i>r</i>	.024	.062	.149***
<i>n</i>	943	908	1,029
Frequency of condom use with prostitutes			
<i>r</i>	-.070*	-.059	-.045
<i>n</i>	920	885	1,008

(continued)

TABLE 5 Continued

Variable	Entitlement to Power and Control Factors		
	Justification of Violence	Attraction to Violent Sex	Acted Violently to Get Sex
Sexually touched as child (dichotomous: 1 = touched, 0 = not)			
<i>r</i>	.013	.044	.091**
<i>n</i>	1,116	1,085	1,266
Physically hurt as a child by an adult			
<i>r</i>	.037	.090**	.100***
<i>n</i>	1,117	1,086	1,263
Served in military (yes = 1, no = 0)			
<i>r</i>	.021	-.006	.078**
<i>n</i>	1,118	1,088	1,266
Serious trouble with partner (1 = yes, 2 = no)			
<i>r</i>	-.069*	-.030	.040
<i>n</i>	1,097	1,071	1,246
Separated from partner in past year (1 = yes, 0 = no)			
<i>r</i>	.002	.039	.090**
<i>n</i>	1,099	1,072	1,243
Broke up with partner (1 = yes, 0 = no)			
<i>r</i>	.026	.136***	.078**
<i>n</i>	1,083	1,060	1,228

a For correlations in which one variable was dichotomous, the *r* reported is equivalent to the point biserial *r*.

b. Variables are scored directly, that is, greater years (education and age), greater number of sex partners, more frequent viewing of pornographic videos and sexual thoughts, greater guilt, more liberal thoughts, and more likely to be hurt as a child.

*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed). **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed). ***Correlation is significant at the .001 level (two-tailed).

Findings indicate that men with lower levels of education, who think about sex less often, watch pornographic videos more frequently, feel guilty about sex, are sexually conservative, first started seeing prostitutes at a younger age, broke up with a partner during the previous year, or were physically hurt by an adult for no reason when they were children are more likely to endorse power and control factors.

Although their numbers are small, the minority of men who reported threatening violence or acting violently to get sex deserves special scrutiny. Of the participants answering these items, 14 of 1,279 participants (1.1%) reported threatening force to get sex, and 11 of 1,276 (.9%) reported using force to get sex. Eight

answered "yes" to both items. Variables that predicted the violence factor (containing both items) included having more sexual partners and more prostitution contacts over the past year, greater use of pornographic videos, sexual conservatism, being sexually touched or physically hurt by an adult during childhood, breakup or separation from a partner during the past year, having served in the military, and having different levels of sexual desire from a regular partner (see Table 5).

DISCUSSION

Previous trustworthy research suggests that a high percentage of prostituted women experience physical and sexual violence (Davis, 1993; Farley & Barkan, 1998; Horgard & Finstad, 1992; Silbert & Pines, 1982).

To date, the focus of this research has been the victims; little is known about their male customers, some of who may be perpetrating the violence. This study attempts to make a link between feminist theories about violence against intimate partners and violence against prostituted women. Specifically, we were interested in issues of power and control. Domestic violence research suggests that power and control over another person is typically achieved and maintained through the use of physical or sexual force.

In this study, male customers of prostituted women responded to attitudinal and behavioral questions about prostituted and nonprostituted women. The factor analysis produced a parsimonious structure built on eight broad concepts. A closer examination of this structure suggests that three of these concepts are tightly connected and may be characterized by an overarching power and control construct. Three of the factors dealt with aggression (Violence Against Women, Violent Sexual Practices, and Violent Physical Behavior to Gain Sex). Although most men in the sample did not support violence, find sexual violence attractive, report using violence to gain sex, or believe that prostituted women enjoy being prostituted, the factor analysis supports these as cohesive structures. Although these factors do not, in and of themselves, make a direct connection between these customer's attitudes and violent behavior, these findings suggest structures of beliefs and attitudes that parallel feminist theories of violence

against women. Nevertheless, only a small percentage of men (1%) reported threatening physical violence or behaving violently to gain sex. A portion of this apparent inconsistency may be explained by the inclination of participants to provide socially desirable answers to sensitive questions such as these. Alternatively, violent johns may not identify their violent behavior toward prostituted women as violence or their force as force. If so, these mirror the behaviors of batterers who often minimize their violent behavior toward their intimate partners. At a minimum, it may be that that customers undervalue the impact that their choices have on these women.

If prostitutes are often victims of violence at the hands of customers and if patterns emerge that show constellations of attitudes that would support violence against women, why do so few participants, men who have at the very least sought out prostituted women, endorse these items? Furthermore, why do so few report actual participation in violence? Certainly, the fact that participants may be unwilling to reply in socially undesirable ways may help to explain the low levels of a reported violence and support for items that might serve to justify violence. However, lack of an inclination toward violence among most johns does not need to be seen as inconsistent with the reports of violence by prostituted women. Prostituted women on the street have so many sexual episodes during a given period (Maxwell & Maxwell, 2000, cited an average range of 1 to 600 prostitution encounters per year in their study) that even if only a small proportion of customers were violent, say 2%, a substantial proportion of prostitutes would be victims during that period.

There is thus no indication that more than a small minority of johns is violent. On the other hand, men who were more supportive of one item of the Justification for Violence factor were likely to endorse others items as well. The large number of sexual episodes experienced by prostituted women means that they likely do come across some of these men. The correlations between more conservative attitudes toward sexuality, guilt about sex, and more frequent pornography use suggests a sexual stereotyping of prostituted women that allows some women to be seen as "other"—women whose feelings of pain do not need to be considered. Consequently, violent behavior perpetrated against prostituted women can be justified. It may be that these patriarchal attitudes

toward women contribute to some men's violence toward women. There was also a correlation between a history of being physically hurt by an adult for no reason when they were children and maintenance of aggressive attitudes. Although inconclusive and hotly debated, some research on child abuse has indicated that victimized children are at higher risk for perpetrating violence as adults. The explanations for correlations between lower levels of education, think less about sex, started seeing prostitutes at a younger age, broke up with partner during the past year, and the endorsement for violent behavior toward women are less clear. It may be that there are types of customers, as we are now learning that there are types of batterers (Holtzworth-Munroe, 2000), with different motivations and interactions with women.

These conclusions must be interpreted cautiously, due to the limitations of this study. First, participants were men arrested for soliciting the services of prostituted women and involved in deferred adjudication programs. Their attitudes may not be representative of male customers as a whole. Second, the connection between attitudes and behaviors is not direct.

There are important considerations for future research on male customers of prostituted women. More in-depth information about customers' relationships with both prostituted and non-prostituted women regarding their expectations and use of violence in those relationships is needed. Further research should also focus specifically on documenting antecedents to violent behavior toward prostituted women. In recognition of so much documented violence against prostituted women, we hope this study will be a first step in exploring the causes of this violence.

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Noël Bridget Busch, M.P.A., L.M.S.W., Ph.D., is an assistant professor at the University of Texas at Austin School of Social Work. Her research interests include violence against women and their children, violence issues related to immigrant and refugee populations, and international social work development. She has more than 10 years of direct practice experience working to end domestic and sexual assault.

Holly Bell, M.S.W., Ph.D., is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Social Work Research at the University of Texas at Austin, where she works on *Welfare, Children, and Family: A Three City Study*. She is also involved in research on sexual assault prevalence, male customers of prostituted women, and domestic violence and welfare reform.

Norma Hotaling is the executive director of the SAGE Project of San Francisco, an organization run by survivors of prostitution that provides support, counseling, and training to women seeking to escape prostitution and violence. She was one of the creators of San Francisco's First Offenders Prostitution program, an award-winning intervention program for men arrested for trying to hire a prostituted woman on the street. A survivor of prostitution herself, she consults internationally on issues related to prostitution and violence against women.

Martin A. Monto, Ph.D., is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Portland. He is interested in the intersection between social psychology, gender,

and deviance. He completed a 2-year study on the clients of prostituted women on the streets that was funded by the National Institute of Justice. Other recent projects include studies of adolescent sexual offenders and alternative childbirth methods.