Sex work as work.

Sasha R. Drummond

University of Windsor

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine whether there is acceptance of a recent conceptualization of sex work as work and to establish what influences its acceptance as work. The term sex work refers to any income-generating activity involving the exchange of some form of sexual gratification for monetary reward (e.g., street prostitution, pornographic modeling or acting, etc.). Sociological theories on sex work have incorporated views of sex work as a deviant behavior or social problem while research has primarily examined attitudes toward its regulation. "Sex work as work" is an emerging conceptualization aimed at redefining work in the sex industry and awarding sex workers the same occupational rights as other workers. In view of current discussions on "sex work as work," this perspective was operationalized and examined to determine whether public opinions of sex work are shifting towards viewing it as work. In addition, the effects of social background characteristics (e.g., gender, race, social class, religion & religiosity, ethnicity), knowledge, values (e.g., attitudes toward feminism and conservative/liberal orientation), beliefs about reasons for women's entrance into sex work, experience, and preferred social distance from sex work on the acceptance of "sex work as work" were tested. Three hundred and fifty-eight students enrolled in first year sociology courses at the University of Windsor completed a self-administered survey. Bivariate associations and multivariate analyses revealed that "sex work as work" is not yet accepted and that preferred social distance from sex work and sex workers is the strongest influence on acceptance. Implications for future research are also discussed.
With all the thanks in the world, I would like to acknowledge my biggest supporters: my parents, my brothers, my friends, my love - Cletus Jr., and his family.
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INTRODUCTION

Sex worker advocacy groups define the term “sex work” as: any income-generating activity or form of employment in which an individual exchanges some form of sexual gratification for monetary reward (Bindman and Doezema, 1997). Women in the sex industry coined the terms “sex work” and “sex worker” in an effort to redefine work in the sex industry as they see it. Sex work is presently understood to include, at a minimum, street prostitution, exotic dancing, non-therapeutic massage or body rub, pornographic modeling and acting, telephone-sex, and call girl or escort services (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999:1). In Canada, as in most places in the world, sex work is a stigmatized, low-status occupation in which workers are neither afforded the rights nor responsibilities associated with employment because of the ambiguity of its legal status (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999:5).

Historically, public acceptance of sex work has been erratic and inconsistent, often fluctuating from instances of indifference to opposition, ambivalence, and in some cases tolerance (Huff and Scott, 1975; Lewis, 2000; McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991; Thompson, Chaffee and Oshagan, 1990). Recent public opinion polls and academic research on the acceptability of sex work seem to indicate that public tolerance is increasing (Huff and Scott, 1975; Weitzer, 1999). In studies designed to identify public perceptions of the most serious social issues, sex work is ranked as low in public concern. Research reveals a general ambivalence toward the criminalization or decriminalization of the industry. In addition, public attitudes toward sex work appear to be changing as evidenced by an increase in the perception that sex workers voluntarily participate in the
industry (Chang and Janeksela, 1977; McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991; Lewis, 2000). Public acceptance and attitudes toward the sex industry remains an important area of research for both academics and sex workers. Public opinion plays a crucial role in the formation of policy as evidenced in debates in policy areas such as abortion, divorce, location of facilities such as halfway houses, open custody facilities, garbage dumps and highways. Changes in policy may be linked to changes in public beliefs and attitudes (Bem, 1970: vii). For example, in Windsor the recent licensing of escort services reflects what the municipal government felt the public were prepared to tolerate. This study uses survey research to examine the acceptance of sex work as work and examines factors that have been found to influence acceptance of sex work in order to determine whether they also influence its acceptance as work.

**Sex Work in Canada**

Sex work *per se* is not illegal in Canada, however, several activities associated with sex work are illegal. For example, within the Canadian Criminal Code, keeping or being found in a common bawdy-house (s.210), providing directions to or transporting someone to a bawdy house (s.211), procuring or living off the avails of prostitution (s.212), communication in a public place for the purpose of prostitution (s.213), and purchasing sexual services from someone under 18 years of age (s.212 (4)) are illegal activities (Rodrigues, 1985). According to Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis (1999), these laws make it difficult for particular types of sex workers to practice in their professions. For example, section 213 inhibits a street prostitute's ability to conduct her work in an environment that provides the visibility necessary to attract clientele and prevent assault.
or harm from "johns" (clients). Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis (1999) argue that although sex work is presently not illegal in Canada, the sanctions that are in place contribute to making sex work unsafe.

**The Licensing of Sex Work in Windsor**

In 1996, Windsor City Council granted license status to agencies and workers involved in the provision of personal services, including escort work, dating services, non-therapeutic massage or body rubs, and personal modeling (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 1). These occupations joined the status of exotic dancing which had been licensed in Windsor since 1985. Municipal licensing raises the question of a possible shift in public acceptance of occupations within the sex industry and also of the likelihood of a growing acceptance of several forms of sex work as valid forms of employment.

Licensing both reflects a potential change in public acceptance and can create a change in both attitudes of the public towards both escort work and exotic dancing and of the workers' attitudes toward her own work. Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis (1999) found that licensing resulted in a sense of legitimacy for escort workers, making them feel it was a "business like any other business" (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: ii). Licensing was found to empower workers and agency owners and to facilitate their integration into the community (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: ii). Most importantly, licensing may open the door to providing benefits to sex workers related to application of work place policies such as labour codes, health and safety codes, and pensions. In short, licensing may mark an important step toward the acceptance of exotic dancing and escorting as
valid forms of employment. Such a trend holds the potential for the eventual acceptance of other types of sex work as work.

Sex Work Research

Most research on public acceptance of sex work suffers from two major flaws. It has failed to incorporate a variety of forms of sex work. Instead, this research tends to focus more on street prostitution, the most visible form of sex work. It also asks only vague questions about “legalization” or legal “regulation” rather than asking about specific types of regulation (May, 1999: 338; Weitzer, 1999: 92). In an effort to compensate for these two important shortcomings, this study will include three types of sex work: street prostitution, exotic dancing, and escorting; and it will examine the acceptance of sex work as work rather than acceptance of the legalization of sex work. The acceptance of sex work is an important area of study because it can influence public policy, which can influence benefits available to sex workers (e.g., health and safety codes, etc.) as well as stigmatization of those in the sex industry. More specifically, this research project examines the acceptance of acceptance of sex work as work and factors found to influence its acceptance as work.
THEORIZING SEX WORK

There is currently an issue of establishing the correct terminology to describe those individuals who work in the sex industry. Discussions among sex workers, academics, and community workers on listserves such as the Sex-Work Forum illustrate the debate around terminology. Prior to 1992 the term “commercial sex worker” was used to identify those individuals working in the sex industry. According to Bindman and Doezema (1997) the term “commercial sex worker” was coined by Family Health International to replace the more stigmatized label of “prostitute”. Since its inception, however, the term has been used to distinguish between sex work for money and sex work for other forms of payment or incentive such as rent, food or housing expenses. As recently as 1992 individuals working in the sex industry have been asking that the term “commercial sex worker” be abandoned in exchange for the more generic term “sex worker”. The listserve, Sex-Work Forum, has provided a vehicle for these workers to voice their concerns about the old label and to promote alternatives. According to Shumon Sengupta, the project officer of DFID-West & Bengal Sexual Health Project in Calcutta, there is an agreement among sex workers on the redundant, demeaning character and political incorrectness of the term “commercial sex worker”, which has resulted in a demand by workers to have the constructed division in sex work implied in the term “commercial sex work” replaced with one all-encompassing term -- sex work. Priscilla Alexander, an American professor, is a frequent participant in the listserve discussion and also an advocate for the change in terminology. She argues that the term

1 All listserve entries are catalogued at http://www.hivnet.ch:8000/topics/sex-work.
"sex work" should be used because the workers themselves have requested it. Clearly, participants on the listserve prefer the term sex work over commercial sex work because the former stresses participation in the sex industry while the latter stresses the form of payment.

Listserve discussions of the term "sex work" as the most appropriate terminology for work in the sex industry also include participants who disagree with the development of yet another potentially stigmatizing term to describe work in the sex industry. For example, Laura M. Agustin argues that participants who recommend the use of the term sex work are under the false illusion that endeavors to determine a single and all-encompassing term for all sex workers can be successful. For her, any agreement on a label for sex workers will only lead to categorizing people and opening the possibility of more stigmatization and legal penalties. Tracy Quan, a writer, prostitute, and member of PONY (Prostitutes of New York), suggests that any universal term will only serve to alienate prostitutes from the current "rights" movement. While this discussion has not reached a conclusion, its presence suggests that ideas about sex work itself are still evolving. The result of this discussion holds significant implications for future research on sex work as the self-characterization of workers can influence how the work will be researched.

**Sex Work as a Rhetoric for Resistance**

Sex workers are attempting to challenge not only the past conceptions of their work but also the moral and social stigmatization typically attached to such conceptions. Use of the term sex work helps to remove the act of exchanging sex for money, or any
reward, from the moral arena and aids in the resistance of past moral constructions of sex work. Through the development of a sex work rhetoric and their continued participation in the industry, sex workers are forming an informal base of resistance.

Women working in the sex industry have appropriated the entrenched vocabulary of "prostitution" and "prostitute" for their own purposes and turned it against those who had previously used the terms to exclude and oppress women who dared to deviate from acceptable female sexual behaviour. The term "prostitute" has never been clearly defined in law, policy, or most research, and yet its use has an almost common sense reference to adult female street workers in the sex industry. It carries with it a stigmatization caused by beliefs that such work is immoral and the idea that women and their sexuality are in need of male domination and control (Nussbaum, 1999: 286). In contrast, the term sex work refers to a variety of occupations within the sex industry and encompasses male, female and transgendered workers. Sex work includes both work indoors and outdoors and refers not only to work exchanged for money but also work for alternative forms of remuneration (e.g., school fees, rent, shopping trip). Most importantly, the term sex work removes the act of exchanging sex for money from the arena of morality, thereby making it possible to view it as work.

The development of a sex work rhetoric is necessary in order to move beyond the problems encountered with the rhetoric of prostitution. Similar to Henry and Milovanic (1991), two theorists concerned about the inadvertent reaffirmation of social control by critical criminology, sex workers found that the use of a particular way of talking both reflects and constitutes narratives that reproduce the social structure and its control.
Continued use of the old vocabulary only enhances and perpetuates the very label sex workers want to eliminate. Through the rhetoric of sex work, sex workers are resisting the construction of prostitution as a moral and social problem. Through this vocabulary they are also resisting the role of social agents in constructing the limits of female sexuality.

As the construction of sex work moves from the hands of experts (e.g., police, judges, sociologists, psychologists, social workers, doctors, etc.) to the hands of the workers, so has the power over sex work, because the knowledge is no longer with the experts. Workers are becoming empowered as they are gaining and creating knowledge about their work. As workers gain power they are able to influence social control of sex work, as evidenced by the growing number of sex worker advocacy groups. However, as Althussier (1971), a structural-marxist, points out, as tools of resistance experts help to articulate an issue so that grass roots reclamation can take place. This process is evidenced in the large number of academics currently working with sex worker advocacy groups and the conferences being held that bring together academics, feminists and sex workers. Examples of academics working with sex workers include Pamela Downes, at the University of Saskatchewan, who works with sex workers to try to form a union-like organization. Cecilia Benoit, at the University of Victoria, works with PEERS (Prostitutes Education and Empowerment Resource Services) on research about sex work in Victoria, and Jacqueline Lewis, Eleanor Maticka-Tyndale, and Fran Shaver, at the University of Windsor and Concordia University, work with several sex work organizations in Toronto and Montreal on a three year project “Canadian Public Policy
and the Health and Well-being of Sex Workers." Examples of conferences include the
International Conference of Prostitutes (ICOP), which brings researchers together with
sex workers, and the International Conference on AIDS, which always has representation
from sex workers and sex work advocacy organizations.

In constructing the rhetoric of sex work, sex workers are resisting
categorizations of themselves as helpless victims. The categorization of sex work
as work recognizes that the exchange of sex for money is work and that workers in the
industry are deserving of the same rights and benefits as any other worker. Sex work
advocates sex workers want rights, such as the freedom to work without harassment or
assault, safe working conditions, pensions, unemployment insurance, disability insurance,
health benefits, vacation pay and worker's compensation. In exchange sex workers are
willing to accept the same occupational responsibilities as other independent contract
workers such as annual licensing fees and paying taxes.

**Sex Work vs. Work**

Some research on sex work suggests that the more it is compared to other forms
of work the more unclear the distinction between them becomes. Bindman and Doezema
(1997), in their cross-national research, found that the social discrimination faced by sex
workers and the problems faced in their working lives are not, in general, unique. The
experience of sex workers, with respect to job requirements and conditions, resembles the
experience of other workers. Specifically, Bindman and Doezema found that most men
and women working as street prostitutes are subjected to abuses that are similar in nature
to those experienced by other people in low status jobs in informal (e.g., unregulated)
industries. Female sex workers, in particular, are subjected to abuses that are similar to those working in the cleaning or food-serving industry.

In light of the above-mentioned similarities, some Canadian academics have drawn comparisons between sex work and other types of work. In their study of exotic dancers, Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis found that exotic dancers compared their work to other low paying, low skill jobs (1999: 6). Francis Shaver has also suggested that occupations within the sex industry can be compared to personal service occupations such as hairdressers, nurse's aids and massage therapists (1996: 45). Shrage (1996) in her argument for the decriminalization of prostitution, found that many prostitutes compare themselves to sex therapists, educators, and entertainers. Shrage believes, as do others working in this area, that sex work should be legal, safe, reasonably well paid and moderately respectable: goals obtainable only if sex work is recognized as work. According to Shrage, even Marxists, who are committed to studying social phenomena in terms of systems of production and their related labour forms, rarely treat sex work as a kind of work. She argues that Marxists see it as a “problem” rather than a “job.” She states:

(They) would want to believe that (sex work) would not exist or would be common or tolerated in a world free of economic, gender, and sexual exploitation. The problem of (sex work) would solve itself once other problems are solved (1996: 41).

In a more broad argument of the similarities between sex work and other types of work Nussbaum (1999) demonstrates how all of us take money for the use of our body. Professors, factory workers, lawyers, opera singers, prostitutes,
doctors, and even legislators do things with parts of their bodies for which a wage is received, however not all of these exchanges are stigmatized (Nussbaum, 1999: 276). Interactions involving the exchange or use of one’s sexual and/or reproductive capacities for money are generally considered bad (Nussbaum, 1999: 277). Nussbaum compares the prostitute to six other workers, including the factory worker, domestic servant, nightclub singer, professor of philosophy, masseuse, and the fictitious colonscopy artist to demonstrate how sex work is similar to other types of work and how it provides more flexibility in work conditions and opportunities for agency than many other occupations. For example, in a comparison of the prostitute and factory worker Nussbaum highlights how both are low-paid jobs that carry serious health risks. However, the prostitute performs a service that requires more skill and responsiveness. The prostitute may also have better working hours and conditions, depending on the type of prostitution. In comparison to a professor of philosophy, Nussbaum demonstrates how both workers exchange money for an area of intimate self-expression. For the prostitute this area is located in the body while the professor takes money for thinking and writing what she thinks. Both produce some element of pleasure or satisfaction but the prostitute’s need to please her customer is usually more exigent and therefore permits her less choice (Nussbaum, 1999: 283-284). In comparison with boxing, there is a stronger paternalistic regulation of boxing than of prostitution, though both are activities participated in by working class people and prostitution is far less risky to health. For Nussbaum,
the longer sex work remains stigmatized, the longer women working in this area will lack dignity and self-respect (1999: 288). She argues that sex workers need laws that protect their bodily safety, rights to their incomes against extortion and a guarantee of their full civil and criminal rights as workers and human beings (1999: 295).

Acceptance of sex work as comparable to other low paying and low skilled jobs will make strategies for overcoming problems associated with sex work more successful. Acceptance of sex work as work is thus an important area for study because it may enable social researchers to become better equipped to identify, examine and suggest solutions to problems associated with sex work.

**Sociological Theory and Sex Work**

According to Lowman (1988), one of the leading Canadian researchers on prostitution, little research existed on sex work in Canada prior to 1980. The 1983 Fraser Committee Report represented the first large-scale Canadian study on sex work (Lowman, 1988: 56). The principal objective of the report included describing and recommending solutions to problems associated with pornography and adult prostitution in Canada (Lowman, 1991:114). This federally funded report remained the major source of information on sex work in Canada throughout the 1980s.

Academic research on sex work in Canada did not begin until the 1990s. Since that time, academic research has focused mainly on developing an understanding of sex

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2 The Fraser Committee (Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution) emerged from the 1981 Badgley Committee (Committee on Sexual Offences against Children and Youth), which was appointed to inquire into the prevalence of sexual offences against children and youth in Canada.
work through the development of theoretical explanations. Within the discipline of
sociology, for instance, sex work is most often placed within the framework of theories of
deviant behaviour or social problems (Lowman, 1988). More recently, however, it has
been conceptualized as a form of employment. “Sex work as work” represents this
emerging view and some sociological theorizing now attempts to incorporate this
perspective (e.g., Bindman and Doezema, 1997; Shaver, 1996).

**Sex Work as a Deviant Behavior**

Early sociological theories on sex work focused on developing explanations of
women's entrance into prostitution. Lowman devised six categorizations for theories that
explain why some women deviate from normative gender roles and enter into prostitution
(1988: 65). Biological positivist theories explain women's entrance into prostitution and
continued deviation from normal female roles within society as a result of biological
inferiority (Lowman, 1988: 65-66). The female prostitute is considered an evolutionary
psychological degeneracy and regressive sexuality as explanations for why women in
particular enter into prostitution and why they do not perform normal female roles within
society (1988: 66). Undersocialization theories, also known as social disorganization
theories, attribute entry into prostitution to inadequate or insufficient socialization to
prescribed roles and norms and the maladaptation of the deviant individual (1988: 67).
Sociobiological perspectives suggest that biological predisposition and inherent
behavioral traits account for entrance into prostitution (1988: 68). Functionalist
perspectives describe women’s entrance into prostitution as necessary and functional to
strengthening the family unit and other social structures within the greater society (Lowman, 1991: 70-72). According to functionalist theories, prostitutes can be credited for maintaining social stability. Feminist approaches put forth explanations for the entrance and prevalence of women in the sex industry. As Musheno and Seeley (1986) note, feminist writings on prostitution focus on how greater equality between men and women will lead to the erosion of prostitution and its attendant social problems. But each feminist camp has a unique perspective on the meaning of inequality and what strategy will lead to the erosion of sex work (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 243). Clearly, both sociological and feminist perspectives incorporate the theme of deviance within theoretical explanations of sex work.

**Sex Work as a Social Problem**

In addition to being viewed as a deviant behaviour sex work is also seen as a social problem. According to Brock, sex work has consistently been constructed as a social problem (1998: 3). Once identified as such, solutions are required to deal with it (Gusfield, 1989: 432). Most commonly, legal responses are proposed. Four legal approaches are common: suppression, legalization, toleration, and decriminalization (McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991: 111; Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 20).

Suppression is the uncompromising use of legal sanctions to eliminate sex work (McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991: 111). Legalization includes state control of the individuals participating in sex work (McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991: 111). Toleration involves the selective enforcement of laws by police, such as when sex work is considered a nuisance (1991, 111). Decriminalization is the removal of laws or any form
of government control (1991, 111). Feminists have been the leading advocates of
decriminalization. Lowman (1991) and Fraser (1989), divide feminists into three types,
each having their own motivations for supporting the decriminalization of prostitution\(^3\).

One of the consequences of identifying sex work as deviance or a social problem
is that it becomes depoliticized. It reduces sex work to a problem of deviant women who
are immoral and sexually out of control rather than acknowledging the institutional and
structural aspects that reinforce sex work. Low wages, low skill levels and lack of
adequate jobs characterize the employment opportunities of lower-class women. Issues
such as these can be remedied through institutional changes. Rather than concentrating
on opening up opportunities for these women, the focus is placed on stigmatizing and
targeting them and their behavior through means of social control and regulation.

**Sex Work as Work**

Within academic communities, the understanding of sex work as work developed
out of both the radical feminist view of sex workers as exploited workers and the liberal
feminist perspective that women should be treated equally. The notion of sex work as
work implies that sex work should be viewed as an occupation and should receive the
same considerations and benefits as other types of work (e.g., health and safety
regulations). Viewing sex work as work acknowledges the rights of sex workers to the
minimum basic standards that other workers have acquired, such as rights pertaining to
work conditions, personal safety, pension, unemployment insurance, disability, health
insurance and worker's compensation (Bindman and Doezema, 1997). Exotic dancer

\(^3\) The types of feminism will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.
Peggy Morgan suggested that if prostitution is recognized as legitimate work prostitutes who are victimized would have the same rights as any other worker and would be able to sue for missing income (as cited in Delacoste and Alexander, 1987: 16). In a report for the International Labour Organization, Bindman and Doezema (1997), former prostitutes and now activists for sex worker rights, stress that sex workers are asking for rights associated not only with work but also with being a human being. The notion of sex work as work makes it clear that the sex workers' rights movement is about equality before the law - both as a human being and a worker. Some contemporary sociological theories have already adopted this perspective in efforts to include workers and incorporate their views and definitions of what sex work is and how it should be viewed. Conceptualizing sex work as work may afford workers the rights and responsibilities associated with employment in Canada (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 6). Despite the growing number of sex workers and academics advocating for the recognition of sex work as work it must be recognized that not all sex workers share the view that occupations within the sex industry should be viewed as work (Shrage, 1996). Objections to the notion of sex work as work stem from the belief that a new conceptualization of sex work may inadvertently lead the way to more legal control of the sex industry and may legitimate inherently exploitative relationships.

Based on a review of academic theorizing of sex work, no single theoretical framework that is consistently applied to explaining public attitudes toward sex work has been found. Within sociological theorizing on sex work there are several understandings of sex work, the most recent of which examines sex work as work. Very little research,
However, has been conducted from this perspective, as it is a very recent approach.

**Feminism and Sex Work**

Generally, feminists oppose sex work as it is currently practiced in most societies, arguing that it involves the sexual and economic subordination, degradation, and exploitation of women and that sex work is a visible symbol of women's inequality and victimization (Shrage, 1996: 41). However, at the same time feminists are not necessarily in favour of the criminalization of sex work because the stigma that sex workers bear makes them more vulnerable to violations of their basic rights (Shrage, 1996: 42). Feminists struggle to balance efforts to eliminate the exploitation of women and provide support for them to express personal and bodily freedoms. The main concern of contemporary feminists is to decriminalize sex work. This section will briefly introduce the three strands of contemporary feminism and discuss how each addresses the decriminalization of sex work. Although there is an extensive literature describing differences among feminists, this section serves to specifically outline only how the different types of feminism address sex work.

The three strands comprising contemporary feminism include liberal, socialist, and radical feminism. According to Musheno and Seeley (1986), each has its own agenda and its own motivations for supporting the decriminalization of sex work. Liberal feminists fight to eliminate sex-based discrimination within society and to guarantee women equal opportunities with men to define and pursue their own interests (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 241). Sex work is viewed as a symbol of unequal opportunity and the denial of equal rights for women (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 243). Decriminalization is
therefore an essential step in expanding political equality for women and restoring civil rights to the sex worker as a citizen (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 246). According to Fraser (1989: 167), decriminalization would give sex workers the right to choose whether to sell sexual services.

Socialist feminists view gender as a fundamentally oppressive force (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 242). Taking their lead from a Marxian/socialist perspective of capitalism as the structural barrier to women's liberation, socialist feminists recognize sex-based oppression as only a secondary structural barrier. Consequently, they believe that once capitalism is overthrown sexism will also be eliminated (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 242). Socialist feminists share with liberal feminists the belief that sex work symbolizes inequality for all women. However, they differ in regard to their view of sex work as exploitative of women both as part of a wage labor class and as a gender (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 245). They believe that the victimization inherent in sex work is a visible sign of how the economic order and patriarchy require the victimization and exploitation of women as a sex. They see the state as using selective enforcement practices that concentrate on the female sex worker and therefore discriminate against women as wage earners (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 246-247). Socialist feminists support decriminalization because it would allow prostitutes to control their own earnings free from the control of pimps, while reducing the patriarchal power that oppresses women through exploitation (Lowman, 1992: 73; Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 1; Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 247).

Radical feminists focus primarily on gender and sexual politics (Musheno and
Seeley, 1986: 242). They view social institutions (e.g., the family) as patriarchal manifestations of women’s oppression. They share with socialist feminists a vision of social change characterized by the complete restructuring of social institutions. The main social structure for radical feminists to overthrow is patriarchy (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 242-243). They discuss the inequality of women in terms of the sexual double standard that sex work serves to legitimate. According to radical feminists, sex work exposes the victimization of women as sexual slaves (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 246). Radical feminists support decriminalization as a short-term solution for reducing the exploitation prostitutes experience at the hands of pimps and police (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 247). As Wendy Chapkis (1997) notes, radical feminists can be further divided based on different conceptualizations of sex workers. She sees radical feminists as divided into those who view sex workers as victims and those who view them as exploited workers.

Feminists have been the leading advocates for the decriminalization of sex work despite the fact that they are opposed to its existence. By supporting the decriminalization of sex work the triad of feminist camps lend support to the notion that sex workers are oppressed women. Liberal feminists advocate decriminalization to give sex workers equal rights as citizens; socialist feminists advocate decriminalization as a step to overthrow capitalism and sexism; and radical feminists advocate decriminalization as a solution to reducing patriarchal control and gender oppression. At present many feminist groups have formed alliances with organized sex workers and advocacy groups. According to Musheno and Seeley, a number of these alliances have resulted in reduced
sanctions for prostitution and/or shifts in the street practices of law enforcement agencies that mitigate the impact of criminal repression for prostitutes (1986: 249). Feminists presently support prostitute campaigns for decriminalization as a pragmatic strategy, they maintain their normative opposition to the institution of prostitution while extending support to female prostitutes who are victimized by criminal sanctions and enforcement practices (Musheno and Seeley, 1986: 248).
RESEARCH ON ACCEPTANCE AND SEX WORK

Acceptance of Sex Work

A review of the sociological literature on public attitudes toward sex work reveals that the focus has primarily been on prostitution, with two methods dominating: rank ordering and surveys of attitudes toward regulation. Two studies in which participants were asked to rank order prostitution relative to other "problems" or forms of "deviance" were found (Chang and Janeksela, 1977; French and Wailes, 1982). Chang and Janeksela (1977) surveyed 985 respondents from Wisconsin and Illinois and asked them to rank 10 types of social problems (one of which was prostitution) from most to least important. In all four of the groups studied (college students, police officers, inmates and security guards) prostitution was ranked among the least important social problem, while crime and delinquency, poverty and racism were ranked as the most important (Chang and Janeksela, 1977: 75). French and Wailes (1982) sampled black students from the southern US (Jackson State University) and white students from the northern US (University of Nebraska at Lincoln) to examine attitudes toward prostitution as a "sexual deviance." Black and white males consistently ranked prostitution as the least serious of 13 forms of sexual deviance while child molestation was ranked as the most serious form of sexual deviance by all the sample groups (French and Wailes, 1982: 247; 248).

Females ranked prostitution and lesbianism as more serious forms of sexual deviance and ranked male homosexuality and adultery respectively as the least serious forms

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4 This use of the term deviance refers to behavior that deviates from the norm. There is no moral judgment associated with the term in sociology, though it is recognized that public use of the term does convey such judgment.
of “sexual deviance” (French and Wailes, 1982: 247; 249).

Four studies in which attitudes toward the regulation of prostitution were used to determine the acceptability of prostitution were found (Cosby, May, Frese and Dunway, 1996; Huff and Scott, 1975; May, 1999; McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991). Cosby et al. (1996) sampled 1,514 American adults to measure support for the legalization of what were referred to as moral offences including: gentlemen’s clubs, prostitution, alcohol use, gambling and smoking. Little support was found for the legalization of either gentlemen’s clubs or prostitution (Cosby et al., 1996: 369). In a study of influences on support for the decriminalization of prostitution, McCaghy and Cernkovich sampled 413 Toledo adults and found that the respondents were indifferent to the decriminalization of prostitution and were uninformed about alternative official responses to it (1991: 107). In a telephone survey, May found that only a minority (18%) of Americans favored the legalization of prostitution (1999: 335). Huff and Scott surveyed 1,093 individuals from Columbus, Ohio to examine the patterning of attitudes towards prostitution, topless bars and other forms of “sexually deviant” activities such as homosexuality, abortion, etc. and public policy (1975: 330). Fifty-two percent (52%) of respondents favored the legalization of prostitution and 61% of respondents felt that topless bars should not be closed down (Huff and Scott, 1975: 337; 338). The results of the study indicated that public attitudes towards these forms of deviance were consistent and “surprisingly” tolerant (Huff and Scott, 1975: 330; 340). Based on these results it appears that

5 Gentlemen’s clubs refers to exotic dancing facilities also known as “strip clubs”.

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Americans are "tolerant" of prostitution and do not consider it a major social problem. There are mixed results, however, on whether Americans favour its legalization.

Determinants of Acceptance of Sex Work

In addition to studies on the acceptability of sex work, there is an extensive literature on factors that influence such acceptance. Among the sociological studies investigating influences on acceptance, demographic characteristics and master statuses are the most commonly examined determinants. Abrams and Della Fave note that past studies of public attitudes toward the legalization of victimless crimes (including prostitution) have focused primarily on demographic characteristics such as age, sex, occupation, education, income, and religious affiliation (1976: 69). Cosby et al. (1996), for example, established that race, gender, religion, age, and region of residence all seemed to be associated either directly or indirectly with variations in values and beliefs about legalization of moral offences such as prostitution. Abrams and Della Fave themselves surveyed 161 Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University students enrolled in introductory level sociology courses and determined that two demographic factors were moderately strong predictors of level of support for the legalization of prostitution: authoritarianism⁶ and religiosity⁷ (1976: 71; 77). McCaghy and Cernkovich (1991) concluded that demographic characteristics influenced support for the decriminalization of prostitution. Other studies similarly found that alone or in

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⁶ Authoritarianism, which may also be referred to as conventionality, was defined as a strong attachment to socially accepted modes of behaviour coupled with adherence to an aversion to anything that appeared odd or different.

⁷ Religiosity was defined as the degree of affiliation to orthodox Christian beliefs.
combination, age, education, occupation, income, gender, religiosity, ethnicity, region of
residence and social class all influenced acceptance of prostitution (Chang and Janeksela,
1977; French and Wailes, 1982; Herrman and Bordner, 1983; McCaghy and Cernovich,
1991; Thompson et al. 1990; Wallace and Wehmer, 1972). The abundance of research
supporting the influence of master statuses and demographic characteristics suggests that
acceptance is shaped, in part, through the process of socialization. Social psychological
research has focused on socialization and how socialization to the roles and normative
expectations inherent in different master statuses (e.g., gender, race, social class, religion)
and associated with different demographic characteristics (e.g., region of residence) result
in attitudes that cluster along the lines of these statuses and characteristics8 (Borgatta &

Research has also demonstrated the association between a variety of beliefs,
attitudes, community norms and the acceptance of prostitution. Beliefs about women’s
entrance into prostitution influences acceptance of the decriminalization of prostitution.
McCaghy and Cernkovich found that the belief that women voluntarily enter into
prostitution was positively related to approving decriminalization of prostitution while
the belief that prostitutes have personality problems is positively related to approving
attitudes using two different scales, Attitudes toward Feminism and Attitudes toward
Prostitution. These scales were distributed to 89 undergraduate American students (42

8 In addition to how we are socialized, structural differences (such as discrimination and differential access
to resources) related to our social position also influence us and contribute to the attitudes we hold.
male and 47 female) to test attitudes toward the decriminalization of prostitution. They found that pro-feminist attitudes and attitudes supportive of prostitution influenced attitudes toward decriminalization and legalization (Basow and Campanile, 1990: 137). The strength of the influence of community norms is particularly evident in some cultures. A study on Thai sex work (Peracca, Knodel, and Saengtienchai, 1998) found that individual attitudes toward Thai female sex workers were influenced by cultural perceptions of a woman's obligations to her family and community and were reflected in the absence of discrimination against prostitutes as potential wives.

**Research on Acceptance of Other Forms of Sexual Expression**

In addition to examining demographic characteristics and master statuses, other types of influences on attitudes have been researched in sociological literature, albeit in areas other than prostitution. In particular, connections between different kinds of attitudes, beliefs and knowledge and their influence on acceptance of various forms of sexual expression have been examined (Abrams and Della Fave, 1976; Cottle, Searles, Berger and Pierce, 1989; Cowan, Chase, and Stahly, 1989; Fisher, Byrne, White and Kelley, 1998; Herrman and Bordner, 1983; Wallace and Wehmer, 1972). With respect to attitudes toward sex and sexuality, Wallace and Wehmer (1972) evaluated the responses of 1,083 self-selected respondents from the Detroit Metropolitan Area. They examined sexually permissive attitudes toward visual erotica in efforts to classify respondents as either sexual liberals or conservatives. The researchers concluded that respondents with more sexually permissive attitudes were more likely to be liberal than conservative (Wallace and Wehmer, 1972). Sexually permissive attitudes have also been found to be
related to comfort with erotica. Fisher, Byrne, White and Kelley (1998) developed a scale to measuring comfort with erotica. They found that level of comfort with erotica influences attitudes toward sexual permissiveness. With respect to political affiliation and attitudes towards political parties, Abrams and Della Fave (1976) found that past studies identified a relationship between political party preference and support for legalization.

Within the literature on attitudes, religion and degree of religiosity have also been found to be strong influences on acceptance of erotica and pornography. Herrman and Bordner (1983) sampled 750 adults from the Northern Federal District of Georgia and found that degree of moral rigidity emerged as the major correlate of accepting attitudes toward erotica. Adherence to a strict moral code correlated with attitudes about male and female sexual roles and was also found to affect attitudes toward the regulation of pornography (Thompson et al., 1990). Religious, liberal and feminist attitudes emerged in a study by Cottle, Searles, Berger and Pierce. Within their study 85 American respondents were categorized as religiously conservative, sexually liberal, or anti-pornography feminists based on their ideological stands towards pornographic material, which was determined from their answers to 86 opinion statements (1989: 303).

The influence of feminist attitudes has consistently been examined within the literature on pornography. Cowan, Chase, and Stahly (1989) studied feminist attitudes and fundamentalist orientations as possible influences on attitudes toward pornography. They found that despite formal membership in a political group all 44 female
respondents. 29 of whom were self-designated feminists and 15 self-designated religious fundamentalists, felt extremely negative toward pornography (Cowan et al., 1989: 97).

Beliefs about sex roles and sexual orientation have also been found to influence acceptance of pornography. For example, Thompson et al. examined whether or not a likely influence on opinions and attitudes toward the regulation of pornography might be a person's beliefs about relationships between men and women (1990: 75). According to Thompson et al. (1990), beliefs about the perceived effects of pornography influence attitudes toward regulation of pornography. The researchers concluded that attitudes toward sex and beliefs about the "proper" roles for men and women were strong influences on attitudes. For instance, the perception that pornography has negative effects results in a pro-regulation attitude.

Dominant community norms influence individual acceptance of pornography as well. For example, Herrman and Bordner (1983) interviewed 750 respondents and found that southern U.S. community norms and standards toward pornography influence individual norms and attitudes toward pornography.

Direct experience or contact has been found to shape acceptance of pornographic depictions. Wallace and Wehmer examined differences in acceptance of graphic depictions of sexual behavior, which they referred to as "obscenity" and "pornography" between sexual liberals and conservatives (1972: 147). They found that the liberals obtained and/or viewed erotic materials more frequently than did the conservatives, and that they reacted with accompanying states of sexual arousal, whereas the conservatives reacted with mixed arousal and disgust (Wallace and Wehmer, 1972: 149). According to
Thompson et al., the work of Byrne and Lambeth suggests that people who react more negatively to pornographic depictions (e.g., disgust, absence of arousal, etc.) tend to favor greater restrictions on such material (1990: 74). Thompson et al. also note that there is ample evidence to indicate that consumers of pornography tend to oppose its censorship and that those who have greater experience with pornography tend to have more tolerant and liberal sexual attitudes, more so for men than for women (1990: 74).

This review of the literature reveals that the primary factors associated with the acceptability of sex work include: gender, age, race, occupation, education, income, and region of residence (Abrams and Della Fave, 1976; Chang and Janeksela, 1977; Cosby et al, 1989; French and Wailes, 1982; Herman and Bordner, 1983; McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991; Thompson et al., 1990; Wallace and Wehmer, 1972); beliefs about why women enter prostitution (McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991); authorititarianism, religion and religiosity (Abrams and Della Fave, 1976); a profeminist attitude (Basow and Camponile, 1990); and supportive community norms (Perracca et al, 1998). In addition, sexually permissive attitudes or sexually liberal political alignment (Cottle et al, 1989; Wallace and Wehmer, 1972); and direct experience (Thompson et al., 1990) have been found to be associated with acceptance of other "deviant" or "minority" forms of sexual expression such as pornography.

Gaps and Limitations Within the Literature

It is important to recognize that the literature presented above contains limitations. First, the majority of the research focused on American populations. There are important cultural differences between Canada and the United States with respect to attitudes
toward issues in the area of sexuality. The most common example can be seen in the
differences in laws (e.g., concerning sex work, sexual activity). It is therefore important
to consider potential differences in generalizing findings about acceptance of sex work
between American and Canadian samples. Second, the majority of research focuses on
one specific type of sex work - prostitution. The variety of types of sex work (e.g.,
telephone-sex, dominatrix, etc.) remain unexplored by academics concerned with public
responses to sex work, which may lead to limitations in generalizing findings from only a
few types to an inclusive category of sex work. Third, the terms “prostitution” and
“prostitute” are generally undefined within the research. Researchers assume that
respondents share a common understanding of the terms. Fourth, the majority of
literature has focused on women involved in the sex industry and has neglected to include
research on men, transgendered people and youth. The fifth and most important
limitation of this literature, is that none of the studies examined sex work as work; rather
they studied sex work as a deviant behaviour, social problem, victimless crime and/or
criminal activity.
RESEARCH GOAL

Sex work as work has received increased attention from researchers and sex worker advocates. As a concept it has the potential of focusing attention on the inequities and consequent vulnerabilities of those working in the sex industry. However, there is an absence of research on whether this conceptualization of sex work has infiltrated public consciousness and what factors influence its public acceptance. The goals of this study are 1) to examine acceptance of sex work as work among a sample of university undergraduates and 2) to examine factors that have been found to influence the acceptance of sex work and other forms of “deviant” sexual expression, such as pornography, in order to determine whether these factors also influence the acceptance of sex work as work. The willingness of people to accept sex work as work has never been examined in research and thus this study is exploratory. No attempts will be made to generalize results to the larger population.

The literature review highlights the variables commonly identified as associated with attitudes toward sex work. This study will therefore examine whether these variables also influence attitudes toward sex work as work. It is apparent within the literature that master statuses, demographic characteristics and a variety of values, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, norms and experiences have a strong influence on attitudes toward sex work. Efforts to study acceptance of sex work will therefore take these variables into account. Some master status characteristics (e.g., gender, age, race, social class, and religiosity) clearly dominated the literature. Their association with attitudes in a variety of areas was also consistently assessed. They will be included in this study and
referred to as social background characteristics because they will be used to specifically describe respondents.

The influences of knowledge, a wide variety of values and attitudes on acceptance of sex work have been examined within the literature. Based on the literature review, the following variables will be used in this study: attitudes toward liberalism, attitudes toward feminism, knowledge about sex work, beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, experience with sex work, and social distance from sex work. The influence of political party preference and political affiliation on variations in attitudes toward sex work was documented within the literature. Research, however, has shown that student populations tend to display little variation or preference with respect to political affiliations (Chang and Janeksela, 1977). The strength of conservative and liberal affiliation amongst the respective student sample will thus be assessed through a conservative/liberal scale rather than political party preference. Comfort with erotic material and ideas, although consistent within the literature and appropriate for this study, will be excluded because an appropriate scale that does not confound comfort with the erotic with attitudes toward sex work remains unidentified. Dominant community norms and standards were also identified as influences on attitudes, but will be excluded in this study because of the infeasibility of determining such standards within such a small and limited study. Sex role orientation and sexual orientation were considered for inclusion within this study but were not included due to constraints on the length of the survey instrument.
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To summarize, based on the review of the literature on acceptance of sex work and determinants of acceptance, this study will examine the relationship between social background characteristics (e.g., gender, age, race, ethnicity, religiosity, and social class), values (e.g., liberal orientation and feminist attitudes), preferred social distance from sex work, general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, beliefs about reasons for women's entrance into sex work, experience with sex work and acceptance of sex work as work. Figure 1 diagrams the hypothesized relationships.
Figure 1: Hypothesized Model Explaining Acceptance of Sex Work as Work
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

A cross-sectional survey research design was used in this study. Survey research provides efficiency in time and cost and is considered an appropriate method for researching self-reported beliefs, behaviours, or attitudes toward social phenomena (Neuman, 1999: 247). Data were collected using a questionnaire that was distributed to students enrolled in first year sociology classes at the University of Windsor (U of W). The questionnaire was self-administered and took approximately 20 minutes for respondents to complete. This study was approved by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee at the University of Windsor.

Study Sample

The sample for this study was drawn from undergraduate students attending the U of W. The target sample size for the final study was 300. This sample size was deduced using the rule of thumb for determining a sample size (number of independent variables multiplied by 30) and then multiplying by two to permit separate analyses for men and women. The survey was distributed at the beginning of introductory sociology classes and a sample of 365 undergraduate students completed it.

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* Social background characteristics were entered as a block, using the R and R-Square as an indicator of their collective importance.
Variables Measured in the Questionnaire

Dependent Variable

As suggested earlier, sex work encompasses many types of work, however, for the purposes of this study only three forms of sex work were included: street prostitution, exotic dancing and escorting. The consistent use of street prostitution within past research necessitated its inclusion as a point of reference. Due to its inherent outdoor nature, street prostitution is the most visible and often erroneously assumed to be the most common form of sex work. Within the hierarchy of sex work street prostitution carries the lowest social status. Exotic dancing and escorting were included because they represent the opposite end of the spectrum. Both are performed indoors; are considered to be safer; and are licensed in some municipalities. Escorts have the highest status within the sex work hierarchy, while exotic dancers lie somewhere near the midpoint and in some instances, are grouped with “entertainers” rather than “sex workers.” Street prostitution, exotic dancing and escorting were thus selected in an effort to include various types of sex work in this study.

Acceptance of Sex Work as Work

Acceptance of sex work as work is the dependent variable (see Figure 1). It was measured using three separate sets of questions. The first set included six statements about each of the three types of sex work (street prostitution, exotic dancing and escorting) and entitlement to occupational benefits and responsibilities similar to those of other workers. Respondents indicated on a five-point scale their degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement (see questions 62 to 70 in Appendix B). In the second
set of questions, respondents were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed, on a five-point scale, with statements that street prostitution, exotic dancing and escorting were "jobs like any other job" (adopted from Senn, 1993) (see questions 95 to 97 in Appendix B). The third set of questions asked respondents to indicate on a ten-point scale the degree to which they believed twelve different occupations, including the three types of sex work, were desirable (see questions 50 to 61 in Appendix B). The pattern of responses to the first two sets of questions produced two separate measures indicative of degree of acceptance of sex work as work, and thus only they were used to measure sex work as work for use in multivariate analysis. Due to the complexity of the ranking of the occupations variable, it was used to provide a description of the three sex work occupations relative to other occupations and an indication of respondent placement of these occupations relative to others.

Independent Variables

Social Background Characteristics

Five indicators -- gender, age, race, ethnicity, and religiosity -- were used to measure social background characteristics.

Gender: Respondents were asked to specify their gender as male or female (see question 1 in Appendix B).

Age: Respondents were asked to indicate their age by choosing an appropriate age group (see question 2 in Appendix B).

Race: Respondents were asked to select a category describing their race (see question 10 in Appendix B).
Ethnicity: Respondents were asked to identify their country of birth as well as that of their mother and father (see questions 7 to 9 in Appendix B).

Religion & Religiosity: Religion was measured with a question asking respondents to specify their religion (see question 11 in Appendix B). Religiosity was measured with a question asking respondents how frequently they attended religious gatherings within the last month (see question 12 in Appendix B).

Social Class: Family social class was measured with two questions asking respondents to indicate the highest level of education their mother and father completed (see questions 14 and 15 in Appendix B). Parents' education was combined into a scalar measure that was used as an indicator of class ranking. Education was used rather than income and occupation of parents because prior research demonstrated that students are unlikely to have valid information about parent's income and because the coding of occupations is extremely complex and beyond the scope of this study. Education has been used in the sociological research as a valid indicator of class (Shrivasta, 1978; Osborn, 1987).

Values

Values were measured with questions on liberal and feminist orientation.

Liberal Orientation: A single question asked respondents to place themselves on a five-point scale (adopted from Mantler, 2000) ranging from very conservative to very liberal (see question 13 in Appendix B).

Feminist Orientation: A ten-item scale (adopted from Fassinger, 1994) measuring
attitudes toward feminism and the women's movement was used to determine respondent's feminist orientation (see questions 17 to 22 and 24 to 27 in Appendix B).

**General Knowledge & Beliefs About Sex Work**

A series of questions were asked to determine the various sources from which respondents gained information or knowledge about sex work (see questions 28 to 37 in Appendix B). Knowledge about sex work was measured with a series of “true or false” questions testing respondent's knowledge related to laws about sex work and information that is often misrepresented in the media, such as the relationship between sex work and sexually transmitted diseases, coercion, drugs etc. (see questions 38 to 44 in Appendix B and the answers in Appendix C).

**Beliefs About Reasons Why Women’s Entry into Sex Work**

Three statements were asked to specify respondents’ beliefs about women’s entrance into sex work. Respondents were asked to indicate how important financial necessity, coercion/force/an abusive background, sexual promiscuity, or love of sex were in influencing women's entrance into the sex industry (see questions 45 to 49 in Appendix B).

**Experience With Sex Work**

Respondents were asked twelve questions about whether they, or anyone they knew, had ever worked, considered working or used the services of street prostitutes, exotic dancers or escort workers (see questions 65 to 76 in Appendix B).
Preferred Social Distance From Sex Work

Preferred social and personal distance from sex work and sex workers was measured with six questions asking respondents to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with statements (on a five-point scale) about the desirability of or their willingness to have sex workers (street prostitutes, exotic dancers and escorts) live in their neighborhood and live next door to them (see questions 79, 80, 82, 85, 87 and 91 in Appendix B). Respondents were also asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed that they rarely thought or saw themselves as different from the women/men in street prostitution, exotic dancing, escorting (adopted from Senn, 1993) (see questions 78, 81, 83, 84, 88 and 89 in Appendix B).

Development and Pilot Testing of Survey

The researcher developed the questionnaire based on a review of the literature and in collaboration with her supervisory committee. It was pilot-tested at the U of W during February 2001 to refine wording and definitions, test the measures for reliability and internal consistency, and to establish face and construct validity (Creswell, 1994: 121). Pilot-testing was necessary because the term “sex work” has never been used in survey research nor has it been operationalized. The sample for the pilot-test was 94 upper level students in 3rd year sociology classes at the U of W. The majority of the pilot sample were white (76.6%), females (74.5%), aged 20 to 22 (75.5%), Roman Catholic (41.9%), had not attended any religious gathering within the last month (50%), were social science majors (87.2%), born in Canada (84%), with both parents born in Canada (mother 62.8%, father 56.4%) and obtaining high school education (mothers 26.6%, fathers
Following completion of the pilot-testing, a small group of graduate students, two men and eight women, were asked to critically assess the questionnaire and provide feedback or commentary about the survey. This process helped to further refine wording of questions on the survey and improve the reliability of questions. Questions that did not elicit the same interpretation from all respondents were identified and then modified or eliminated (Creswell, 1994: 121).

Data Analysis

Analysis of Pilot-Test

Frequencies of all variables and correlations between all variables were examined using pilot test results. Questions measuring the dependent variable were examined using factor analysis and Cronbach’s alpha analysis to determine whether there were clusters of responses and possibilities for creating one or more composite measures of the dependent variable. As a result, two scalar measures were created to measure sex work as work: sex work is a job like any other job (comprising a summation of responses to questions 95 to 97) and sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers (comprising a summation of responses to questions 62 to 70). Factor analysis and Cronbach’s alpha revealed very strong associations among questions used to create measures of each independent variables, with the exception of two scalar measures: beliefs about women’s entrance into sex work and desirable occupations. Factor analysis suggested three separate clusters of responses for beliefs about women’s entrance into sex work: entrance into sex work because of financial necessity; entrance into sex work because of coercion/force/abusive background; and entrance into sex work because of
sexual promiscuity or love of sex. Three clusters of responses were also identified in factor analysis for desirable occupations. Fashion models and jazz dancers loaded on the first factor and achieving the highest mean scores, indicating these were the most desirable occupations. Store clerks, hairdressers, cleaning personnel, secretaries, flight attendants, nurses' aids/nursing assistants and bartenders loaded on the second factor and achieved moderate scores, indicating these were moderately desirable occupations. Exotic dancers, escorts and street prostitutes loaded on the third factor, achieving the lowest scores, indicating that these were the least desirable occupations. As a result of this pilot test all items used to measure dependent and independent variables were retained for the final survey.

**Analysis of Survey Results**

Descriptive statistics of all independent and dependent variables were examined. Several variables comprising the independent variable social background characteristics required collapsing and dummy coding because of a small number of respondents in certain categories. Country of birth, mother’s country of birth and father’s country of birth were collapsed and recoded into two categories “Canada” and “other.” Race was collapsed and recoded into “white” and “other.” Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering in the last month was collapsed into “not at all” and “at least once in the last month.” Religion was dummy coded into three variables “Catholic,” “Protestant” and “Other” (“no religion” was the ‘dummy’ or baseline category).

The ten scalar measures created based on pilot results were retested, using the full study sample, for internal consistency using Cronbach's alpha: attitude towards feminism,
three scales measuring desirable occupations, social distance from sex work, three scales measuring beliefs about women's entrance into sex work and both variables representing the dependent variable - sex work is a job like any other job and sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers. All scalar measures were strong with alphas ranging from .72 to .88. Attempts were again made (based on the larger sample) to establish a scalar measure for: beliefs about women's entrance into sex work and desirable occupations. Factor analysis on the larger sample again revealed that the beliefs about women's entrance into sex work did not form a single measure; belief that women enter into sex work because of financial necessity, coercion/force/abusive background, and sexually promiscuous or love sex, were separate and distinct from each other. As a result three separate measures were created for use in later analyses. The factor analysis conducted using pilot results for occupations ranked based on relative desirability was replicated with the full sample. Pilot results, producing three occupational clusters and three clusters of responses for beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, were replicated and will be reported with the results of the final survey.

Bivariate correlations were used to assess the relationship among all variables with particular attention paid to the potential for multicollinearity among the independent variables. Three sets of ordinary least squares regression analysis were used to test the hypothesized model. The first set of regression analyses examined the influence of social background characteristics on each of the two dependent variable indicators: sex work is a job like any other job and sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers. Results were used to select social background
characteristics for inclusion in later analyses. Only characteristics that had a statistically significant influence were retained. The second set of regression analyses examined the influence of social background characteristics on the intervening knowledge, belief, and attitude variables: values, general knowledge and beliefs, beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, experience and social distance from sex work. The final set of regression analyses examined the influence of the selected social background characteristics, values, general knowledge and beliefs, beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, experience and social distance on each dependent variable. Results of the three sets of regressions were combined to calculate indirect and total effects in a path analysis. Both simultaneous forced entry of all independent variables and stepwise regression were used in each set of regressions to maximize exploration and understanding of relationships among variables.
RESULTS

Sample Profile

A sample of 365 undergraduate students enrolled in introductory sociology courses at the University of Windsor completed the study questionnaire. The final sample used in the analysis was 358 once cases that were missing information related to the dependent variables were eliminated. As seen in Table 1 the majority of the sample consisted of females (77.5%). Most of the respondents (79.9%) were between the ages of 19 and 22. Slightly more than half of the sample were social science majors (51.8%) followed by science (13.7%), arts (12.3%), business (9.5%), undecided (7.3%), other (3.4%), human kinetics (1.7%), and engineering (0.3%). Over half the respondents were first year students and started at the U of W in the year 2000 (63.5%). Thirty-three percent of the sample started earlier than 2000 while 3.1% started in 2001. The largest proportion of respondents expected to graduate in 2004 (47%). Thirty percent (30.2%) of respondents expected to graduate before 2004 and 21.7% after 2004. Most of the respondents in this sample were enrolled as full-time students (83%). These characteristics are what would be expected of a sample drawn from 1st year sociology courses (e.g., typically 19 to 22 years old, primarily social science majors, and primarily female, since sociology typically attracts more women than men).

Social Background Profile

As seen in Table 2, over eighty percent of the sample described their race as "white" (82.4%) and as a result other race categories were collapsed into one category.
Table 1: Academic Profile of Undergraduate Students Enrolled in Introductory Sociology Courses at the University of Windsor (N=358)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 years old</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 - 22</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 years old</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Currently Enrolled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Kinetics</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Started at University Of Windsor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998 or earlier</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected Year of Graduation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 - 2002</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006 - 2009</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Variables were created after categories were collapsed to reflect categories currently listed.
called "other" for further analysis (17.6%). Similarly, the majority of the sample (87.1%) and their parents (fathers 64.5%, mothers 67.6%) were born in Canada, consequently all three variables were collapsed into two categories ("Canada" and "other"). The single largest religious group was Catholic (46.6%) followed by Protestant (22.9%) with 14% identifying another religion. Over sixteen percent (16.5%) did not practice any religion.

Over half the respondents reported that they had not attended any form of religious gathering within the last month (63%). As a result, all other categories indicating various amounts of religious attendance within the last month were collapsed and called "At least once" (37%). A high school diploma was the most common level of education of both mothers and fathers (33.8% and 30.7% respectively). College diplomas were the second most common level of education for both mothers (22.6%) and fathers (18.4%) of respondents. To summarize, the sample was comprised of students who were: predominantly white; Christian (especially Catholic); had not attended a religious gathering in the past month; Canadian born; with parents who are Canadian and had at least a high school education.

Profile of Scalar Measures

Thirteen scalar measures were used in this analysis:

- two measures of values: identification as conservative/liberal and attitude toward feminism
- measures of social distance from sex work, experience with sex work, and general knowledge and beliefs about sex work

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Table 2: Social Background Characteristics of Undergraduate Students Enrolled in Introductory Sociology Courses at the University of Windsor (N=358)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country of Birth*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Country of Birth*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Country of Birth*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>82.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>46.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Attendance at a Religious Gathering Within the Last Month*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not At All</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Least Once</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than High School</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Certificate or College Diploma</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Degree or University Certificate</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate or Professional Degree</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than High School</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Certificate or College Diploma</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Degree or University Certificate</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate or Professional Degree</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Variables were created after categories were collapsed or dummy coded to reflect categories currently listed.
three scales measuring beliefs about women’s entrance into sex work: belief that women enter into sex work because of financial necessity, belief that women enter into sex work because of coercion/force/sexually abusive background, and belief that women enter into sex work because they are sexually promiscuous or love of sex

three scales measuring occupational ranking: highly desirable occupations, mildly desirable occupations, and undesirable occupations

and two indicators of sex work as work: acceptance of sex work as a job like any other job and acceptance of sex workers obtaining the same occupational rights and responsibilities as other workers

The mean response for the variable identification as conservative/liberal was slightly above the midpoint of the scale (2.44) indicating that responses tended toward liberalism (see Table 3). The mean response for the variable attitude toward feminism (27.24) was also above the midpoint of the scale indicating a more pro-feminist attitude among participants. Turning to the scalar measures of social distance from sex work, experience with sex work, and general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, the scale for social distance from sex work had a mean of 15.77, which was below the midpoint, indicating that respondents were not willing to accept close proximity to sex work and sex workers. The scalar measures for experience with sex work and general knowledge and beliefs about sex work had means well below the midpoint (1.47 and 2.18 respectively). This finding makes it evident that respondents had little or no experience
with sex work and little knowledge or beliefs that coincided with common
misperceptions of sex work.

With respect to the three scales measuring beliefs about women's entrance into
sex work (belief that women enter into sex work because of financial necessity, belief that
women enter into sex work because of coercion/force/sexually abusive background, and
belief that women enter into sex work because they are sexually promiscuous or love of
sex), the belief that sex workers enter into sex work because of financial necessity had a
higher mean (3.41) than the belief that sex workers enter because of coercion/force/
abusive background (1.62) or the belief that they are sexually promiscuous and love sex
(1.53). From this finding it is apparent that financial necessity is the most common belief
for why women enter into sex work.

The mean for each of the three scales measuring occupational ranking were below
the midpoint (3.76. 2.94. and 1.15). indicating that all the occupations were viewed as
undesirable. This finding is not surprising considering that the occupations chosen were
selected because of the qualities they share with occupations in the sex industry (e.g., low
status. stigmatised. etc.). For example. the three sex work occupations were clustered
together and ranked the lowest, indicating that despite the differences among the three
types of sex work listed (e.g.. income. hierarchy). escort work. exotic dancing. and street
prostitution were viewed the same and perceived to be the least desirable of all
occupations listed. From the ranking of these three occupational scales. it can be
discerned that respondents do not view sex work as work. Had respondents viewed sex
work as work it would be unlikely that the three occupations would be clustered together
at the bottom. They would more likely be clustered with other occupations of similar income or status.

The mean for the first dependent variable indicator: sex work is a job like any other job, was below the midpoint (2.82), which indicates that, on average, participants, did not hold this view. The mean for the second dependent variable indicator: sex workers are deserving of the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers, was above the midpoint (19.89) which indicates that, on average, participants are accepting of sex workers attaining the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers. Most of these scalar measures approximate a normal distribution. The only exceptions were social distance from sex work, experience with sex work, general knowledge and beliefs about sex work and acceptance of sex work as a job like any other job, which were all leptokurtic (e.g., larger proportions of responses clustered around the means than would be expected in a normal distribution). This may attenuate the strength of correlations and regression coefficients for these variables. Histograms of these scales indicated that despite this clustering the distributions were symmetrical. All scales met requirements for use in regression analysis without modification. Based on these measures respondents tended toward liberal and profeminist attitudes; had limited knowledge and experience with sex work; were less willing to accept closer proximity to sex work and sex workers; believed that financial necessity was the most common reason for women to enter into sex work; viewed sex work as undesirable; disagreed with the statement that sex work is a job like any other job; and agreed that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Median</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identification as Conservative/Liberal</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Toward Feminism</td>
<td>0-48</td>
<td>27.24</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>27.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Distance from Sex Work</td>
<td>0-48</td>
<td>15.77</td>
<td>9.97</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience With Sex Work</td>
<td>0-12</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Knowledge &amp; Beliefs About Sex Work</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter Into SW b/c Financial Necessity</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter Into SW b/c Coercion/Force/Abuse</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter into SW b/c Sexual Promiscuity or Love of Sex</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job</td>
<td>0-12</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits and Responsibilities as Other Workers</td>
<td>0-36</td>
<td>19.89</td>
<td>8.92</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly Desirable Occupations</td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildly Desirable Occupations</td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undesirable Occupations (including sex work)</td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Scores are from very conservative (0) to very liberal (4).
Low scores represent an antifeminist and high scores represent a pro-feminist attitude.
Low scores indicate preference for greater distance from sex work and sex workers (i.e., not in your neighborhood or next to you) and high scores indicate a willingness to have sex work or sex workers in close proximity.
Low scores indicate no experience with the sex work and high scores indicate a lot of experience with the sex work.
Low scores demonstrate little or no knowledge about sex work and high scores demonstrate a lot of accurate knowledge about sex work.
Low scores indicate a belief that financial necessity is not a very important influence on women's entrance into the sex trade industry and high scores indicate a belief that financial necessity is a very important influence on women's entrance.
Low scores indicate a belief that coercion, force and abusive backgrounds are not very important reasons for women's entrance into the sex trade industry and high scores indicate a belief that coercion, force and abusive backgrounds are important reasons for women's entrance.
Low scores indicate a belief that sexual promiscuity and love of sex are not very important influences on women's entrance into sex work and high scores indicate a belief that sexual promiscuity and love of sex are very important influences on women's entrance.
Low scores indicate strong disagreement that sex work is a job and high scores indicate acceptance of sex work as a job.
Low scores demonstrate strong disagreement with sex workers obtaining the same benefits and responsibilities as other workers and high scores indicate acceptance of sex workers with similar benefits and responsibilities as other workers.
Low scores indicate disagreement that these occupations are desirable jobs and high scores indicate agreement that these occupations are desirable jobs.
Low scores indicate disagreement that these occupations are desirable jobs and high scores indicate agreement that these occupations are desirable jobs.
Low scores indicate disagreement that these occupations are desirable jobs and high scores indicate agreement that these occupations are desirable jobs. Low scores indicate disagreement that these occupations are desirable jobs and high scores indicate agreement that these occupations are desirable jobs.
Gender Differences in Acceptance of Sex Work as Work

Within the literature, men and women consistently differ in their attitudes toward sex work (Abrams and Della Fave, 1976; Caron and Cater, 1997; Cosby et al., 1996; Herrman and Bordner, 1983; Thompson et al., 1990; Wallace and Wehmer, 1972). Consequently, it is important to examine gender differences on the construct of interest before proceeding with further analyses. The construct of interest, acceptance of sex work as work, was measured using five indicators (see Table 4). These were examined for gender differences with independent samples t-tests. As seen in Table 4, there are statistically significant gender differences for only two of the measures: sex work is a job like any other job and mildly desirable occupations. For the dependent variable indicator sex work is a job like any other job, men had a higher mean (4.17) than women (2.48). This finding suggests that women disagree more strongly with the statement that sex work is a job like any other job than men. Within the three indicators of occupational ranking there was a gender difference in only the mid-level or mildly desirable occupations. Men and women did not differ in their ranking of sex work occupations, or in their view that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers.

Analysis of Models

Bivariate Associations

Dependent and Independent Variables

Correlations were used to assess bivariate relationships between social background characteristics, values, knowledge, beliefs, experience, social distance and
Table 4: t-tests of Gender Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sew Workers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits and Responsibilities</td>
<td>1.802</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as Other Workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job</td>
<td>3.807</td>
<td>108.12*</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Ranking:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly Desirable Occupations</td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>.714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildly Desirable Occupations</td>
<td>3.867</td>
<td>102.96*</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undesirable Occupations (including sex work)</td>
<td>-.519</td>
<td>106.51*</td>
<td>.605</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In these cases Levene’s Test for Equality of Variances indicated equal variance could not be assumed. SPSS made appropriate modifications.
acceptance of sex work as work, as measured by two indicators: sex work is a job like any other job and sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers. Few of the correlations of social background variables with either dependent variable indicator were significant: only gender and frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month were significant. These findings suggest that women were less likely to agree with the statement that sex work is a job like any other job. (consistent with t-test results reported above) and those who attended a religious gathering within the last month were less likely to agree with the statement that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities (see Table 5).

Turning to the knowledge, beliefs, values, experience, and social distance from sex work variables, we find a number of significant correlations with each dependent variable indicator. Sex work is a job like any other job was significantly correlated with six variables but only one, social distance, was strong⁹. The variable preferred social distance had a strong positive correlation (.532) with agreeing with the statement that sex work is a job like any other job. This findings implies that those who are willing to be in close proximity to sex work and sex workers are more likely to accept sex work as a job like any other job. All other variables were positively correlated, ranging from .253 to .107. These significant correlations indicate that respondents who had a liberal orientation, a pro-feminist attitude, greater general knowledge or beliefs that were contrary to common misperceptions about sex work, believed that sex workers enter sex

---

⁹ The sociological convention of referring to correlations below .2 as very weak, between .2 and .3 as weak, between .3 and .4 as moderate, between .4 and .6 as strong, and above .6 as indicative of multicollinearity is used here (de Vaus, 1996).
work because of financial necessity, were willing to be in close proximity to sex work or sex workers and had greater experience with sex work, were more likely to agree with the statement that sex work is a job like any other job.

The second dependent variable indicator, sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers, was significantly correlated with four variables. In most cases, however, correlations were weaker than those for the first dependent variable indicator, ranging from .219 to -.133 (see Table 5). This finding demonstrates that respondents who had not attended a religious gathering within the last month, had a more liberal attitude, were pro-feminist and were more willing to accept sex work or sex workers in close proximity, tended to be more accepting of the statement that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers. Correlation of the dependent variables with each other reveal a strong positive relationship (.405). This finding suggests that accepting sex work as a job like any other job is strongly related to accepting that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities. In summary, the findings of this correlation analysis indicate that the eight variables: gender, frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month, identification as conservative/liberal, attitude towards feminism, general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, belief that sex workers enter into sex work because of financial necessity, preferred social distance from sex work, and experience with sex work, are significantly correlated with either or both dependent variables. This coincides with earlier findings for these variables in the research literature.
Table 5: Correlations of Dependent Variables, Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job and Sex Workers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits & Responsibilities as Other Workers, With All Determinants (N = 358)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job</th>
<th>SWers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits &amp; Responsibilities as Other Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.225*</td>
<td>-.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>-.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of Birth</td>
<td>.074</td>
<td>-.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Education</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Education</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>-.069</td>
<td>-.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>-.071</td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>-.053</td>
<td>-.076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Religion</td>
<td>.015</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Attendance At a Religious Gathering Within the Last Month</td>
<td>-.089</td>
<td>-.133*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative/Liberal</td>
<td>.253*</td>
<td>.218*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Toward Feminism About Sex Work</td>
<td>.222*</td>
<td>.219*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Knowledge &amp; Beliefs About Sex Work</td>
<td>.172*</td>
<td>.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter Into SW b/c of Financial Necessity</td>
<td>.107*</td>
<td>.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter Into SW b/c of Coercion/Force/Abusive Background</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter Into SW b/c of Sexual Promiscuity or Love of Sex</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Distance from SW</td>
<td>.532*</td>
<td>.276*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience with Sex Work</td>
<td>.289*</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.405*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits and Responsibilities as Other Workers</td>
<td>.405*</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at p<.05

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Gender is scored 0 = male, 1 = female.

Age is scored 0 = 18, 1 = 19, 2 = 20, 3 = 21, 4 = 22, 5 = 23, 6 = 24, 7 = 25, 8 = 26, 9 = 27 years old.

Country of birth is dummy coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada.

Mother’s education is scored 0 = less than high school, 1 = high school, 2 = technical certificate, 3 = college diploma, 4 = university degree, 5 = university certificate, 6 = graduate or professional degree beyond bachelor’s, 7 = don’t know, 8 = not applicable.

Father’s education is scored 0 = less than high school, 1 = high school, 2 = technical certificate, 3 = college diploma, 4 = university degree, 5 = university certificate, 6 = graduate or professional degree beyond bachelor’s, 7 = don’t know, 8 = not applicable.

Race is dummy coded 0 = white, 1 = other.

Each religion is dummy coded and in each case, all other religions = 0. For this case Catholic = 1.

0 = Other Religion, 1 = Protestant.

0 = No Religion, 1 = Other Religion.

Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month is dummy coded 0 = not at all, 1 = at least once.

Identification as conservative/liberal is scored from 0 to 4 with 0 indicating very conservative and 4 indicating very liberal.

Attitude toward feminism is scored from 0 to 48 with 0 indicating anti-feminism and 48 indicating pro-feminism.

Knowledge about sex work is scored from 0 to 7 with 0 indicating no knowledge about sex work and 7 indicating a lot of knowledge about sex work.

In each case, beliefs are scored from 0 to 4 with 0 indicating strongly disagree with each reason for women’s entrance into sex work and 4 indicating strongly agree with each reason for women’s entrance into sex work.

Social distance from sex work is scored from 0 to 48 with 0 preference for greater distance from sex work and sex workers and 48 indicating acceptance of sex work and sex workers in close proximity.

Experience with sex work is scored from 0 to 12 with 0 indicating no experience with sex work and 12 indicating a lot of experience with sex work.

Sex work is a job like any other job is scored from 0 to 12 with 0 indicating strong disagreement that sex work is a job and 12 indicating acceptance of sex work as a job.

Sex workers deserve the same benefits and responsibilities as other workers is scored from 0 to 36 with 0 indicating strong disagreement with sex workers obtaining the same benefits and responsibilities as other workers and 36 indicating acceptance of sex workers obtaining the same benefits and responsibilities as other workers.
Among Independent Variables

Three sets of correlations were used to assess bivariate relationships among the independent variables:

- correlations among social background characteristics (see Table 6)
- correlations between social background characteristics, values (identification as conservative/liberal and attitude toward feminism), general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, three beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, social distance from sex work, and experience with sex work (see Table 7) and
- correlations among values (identification as conservative/liberal and attitude toward feminism), general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, three beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, preferred social distance from sex work, and experience with sex work (see Table 8).

The first set of correlations assessed the relationship among social background characteristics. With the exception of gender, which was not correlated with any of the other social background characteristics, several of the social background characteristic variables were significantly correlated with each other (see Table 6). The strongest significant correlations were between mother, father and respondent's country of birth. Mother and father's country of birth were significantly correlated (.713). This finding reveals that mothers and fathers were likely both Canadian or foreign born. Mother's and father's country of birth were also strongly correlated with respondent's country of birth (.508 and .471 respectively), which means that respondents and their parents were likely
to be Canadian born or foreign born. As a result of the strong correlations between mother, father, and respondent's country of birth, only respondent's country of birth (coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada) was used during multivariate analyses to avoid both multicollinearity (between mother and father's country of birth) and partialling of the variance (respondent's country of birth and either parent's country of birth). Mother's and father's highest completed level of education was also strongly correlated (.419) indicating that respondents' parents were likely to have similar levels of education, which is not surprising given endogamous marriage patterns. With respect to variable race (coded 0 = white, 1 = other), respondent's race was significantly correlated with mother, father and their country of birth (-.605, -.547, and -.537). These findings suggest that Canadian born respondents and their parents tend to be white, while most non-whites were likely to be born outside of Canada. With respect to the variable religion, dummy coding produced strong negative correlations between religions. It should be noted, however, that the variable frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month was only significantly related to being Catholic and this was weak (.173) (see Table 6). Other correlations among the remaining social background characteristics were weak (e.g., <.2).

A second set of correlations was used to assess the influence of social background characteristics on values (identification as conservative/liberal and attitude towards feminism), general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, three beliefs about reasons for women's entrance into sex work, social distance from sex work and experience with sex
Table 6: Correlations Among Social Background Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Gender 41</th>
<th>B. Age 42</th>
<th>C. Country of Birth 43</th>
<th>D. Mother's Birth Country 44</th>
<th>E. Father's Birth Country 45</th>
<th>F. Mother's Education</th>
<th>G. Father's Education</th>
<th>H. Race 46</th>
<th>I. Catholic 47</th>
<th>J. Protestant 48</th>
<th>K. Other Religion 49</th>
<th>L. Frequency of Attendance at a Religious Gathering 50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.082</td>
<td>-0.019</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-0.050</td>
<td>-0.057</td>
<td>-0.050</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
<td>-0.049</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
<td>-0.058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>.508**</td>
<td>.471**</td>
<td>.419**</td>
<td>.419**</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.471**</td>
<td>0.419**</td>
<td>0.419**</td>
<td>-0.086</td>
<td>-0.022</td>
<td>-0.163**</td>
<td>-0.209**</td>
<td>-0.142**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.471**</td>
<td>0.419**</td>
<td>-0.080</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.163**</td>
<td>-0.209**</td>
<td>-0.142**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>0.471**</td>
<td>-0.080</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.163**</td>
<td>-0.209**</td>
<td>-0.142**</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.080</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.163**</td>
<td>-0.209**</td>
<td>-0.142**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.163**</td>
<td>-0.209**</td>
<td>-0.142**</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.163**</td>
<td>-0.209**</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>-0.163**</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 Gender is scored 0 = male, 1 = female.
42 Age is scored 0 = 18, 1 = 19, 2 = 20, 3 = 21, 4 = 22, 5 = 23, 6 = 24, 7 = 25, 8 = 26, 9 = 27 years old.
43 Country of birth is dummy coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada.
44 Mother's country of birth is dummy coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada.
45 Father's country of birth is dummy coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada.
46 Race is dummy coded 0 = white, 1 = other.
47 0 = Other religion, 1 = Catholic.
48 0 = Other religion, 1 = Protestant.
49 0 = No Religion, 1 = Other Religion.
50 Knowledge is scored from 0 to 7, with 0 indicating no knowledge about sex work and 7 indicating a lot of knowledge about sex work.
work. Only three correlations between these variables were significant and large enough to suggest a meaningful relationship (see Table 7). The variable frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month was significantly correlated with identification as conservative/liberal (-.256), with those who had not attended a religious gathering within the last month more likely to be liberal. Preferred social distance from sex work was significantly correlated with one’s sex (-.259). This finding makes it clear that men were more willing to be in close proximity to sex work than women. The variable experience with sex work was significantly correlated with age (.204), signifying that older respondents were likely to have more experience with sex work. The remainder of the correlations were either not statistically significant or they were very weak (e.g., <.2).

A third set of correlations was used to assess relationships among values (identification as conservative/liberal), general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, three beliefs about women’s entrance into sex work, social distance from sex work and experience with sex work variables (see Table 8). With respect to values, identification as conservative/liberal was significantly correlated with attitude towards feminism (.344) and social distance (.233), indicating that respondents with a pro-feminist attitude and those that are willing to accept closer proximity to sex work and sex workers are more likely to classify themselves as liberal. Attitude toward feminism was also significantly correlated with social distance (.297), demonstrating that those with a pro-feminist attitude were more willing to accept close proximity to sex work and sex workers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification as Conservative/Liberal</th>
<th>Attitude Towards Feminism</th>
<th>General Knowledge &amp; Beliefs</th>
<th>Belief that Women Enter SW b/c of Financial Necessity</th>
<th>Belief that Women Enter SW b/c of Coercion/Force/Abusive Background</th>
<th>Belief that Women Enter SW b/c They are Sexually Promiscuous or Love Sex</th>
<th>Social Distance From Sex Work</th>
<th>Experience With Sex Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>1.43**</td>
<td>-1.15**</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>-0.085</td>
<td>-0.259**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>1.48**</td>
<td>-0.056</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td>0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of Birth</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>0.020</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Birth</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Birth</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>-0.028</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>0.018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Education</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>-0.035</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>-0.069</td>
<td>-0.048</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Education</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>-0.023</td>
<td>-0.121**</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>-0.124*</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>-0.109**</td>
<td>-0.094</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>-0.102</td>
<td>-0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic**</td>
<td>-0.055</td>
<td>-0.083</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>-0.069</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant*</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td>-0.033</td>
<td>-0.112**</td>
<td>-0.035</td>
<td>-0.034</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>-0.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.030</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>-0.095</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion*</td>
<td>-0.256**</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>-0.084</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Attendance at a Religious Gathering</td>
<td>-0.256**</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.030</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>-0.084</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51 Gender is scored 0 = male, 1 = female.
52 Age is scored 0 = 18, 1 = 19, 2 = 20, 3 = 21, 4 = 22, 5 = 23, 6 = 24, 7 = 25, 8 = 26, 9 = 27 years old.
53 Country of birth is dummy coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada.
54 Mother's education is scored 0 = less than high school, 1 = high school, 2 = technical certificate, 3 = college diploma, 4 = university degree, 5 = university certificate, 6 = graduate or professional degree beyond bachelor's, 7 = don't know, 8 = not applicable.
55 Father's education is scored 0 = less than high school, 1 = high school, 2 = technical certificate, 3 = college diploma, 4 = university degree, 5 = university certificate, 6 = graduate or professional degree beyond bachelor's, 7 = don't know, 8 = not applicable.
56 Race is dummy coded 0 = white, 1 = other.
57 Each religion is dummy coded and in each case, all other religions = 0. For this case Catholic = 1.
58 0 = Other Religion, 1 = Protestant.
59 0 = No Religion, 1 = Other Religion.
60 Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month is dummy coded 0 = not at all, 1 = at least once.
Although few of these correlations were strong, the evidence of clustering among identification as conservative/liberal, attitude toward feminism, and preferred social distance from sex work is clear and is portrayed in Figure 2.

The variable general knowledge and beliefs about sex work was significantly correlated with the belief that sex workers enter into sex work because of coercion/force/abusive background (-.261) and experience with sex work (.209). This finding indicates that respondents with more knowledge about sex work are more likely to have some experience with sex work and are less likely to believe that women enter into sex work because of external coercion. Within the three reasons explaining women's entrance into sex work, the belief that women enter into sex work because of coercion/force/abusive backgrounds was significantly correlated with the belief that women enter into sex work because of financial necessity (.264). This finding suggests that believing in the strength of external coercion to persuade women to enter into sex work may also include the belief that women are coerced by financial necessity. However, as previously noted, more knowledge about sex work makes respondents less likely to endorse statements that external coercion influences women's entrance into sex work.

The variable social distance was significantly correlated with experience with sex work (.314), with respondents who are willing to accept closer proximity to sex work more likely to have some experience with sex work. As experience with sex work was also significantly correlated with knowledge, a second cluster portrayed in Figure 2 can be seen between general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, experience and beliefs.
Figure 2: Clusters of Variables

CLUSTER 1

Identification as Conservative/Liberal

Attitude toward Feminism ↔ Social Distance from Sex Work

CLUSTER 2

General Knowledge and Beliefs About Sex Work

Experience with Sex Work ↔ Reasons Why Women Enter into Sex Work
about reasons women enter into sex work. Within both clusters, causal direction and time ordering could not be determined making it unclear whether some variables influence others and/or whether all variables in a cluster represent another, higher order, characteristic or dimension.

In summary, correlations between dependent and independent variables revealed that with the exception of gender and frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month, none of the social background characteristics were significantly correlated with either dependent variable indicators. However, several of the correlations between the dependent variable indicators and knowledge, beliefs, experience and social distance were significant. Among the independent variables, several significant correlations were found within relationships among social background characteristics and among knowledge, beliefs, experience and social distance, of which some clustering was found in the last. However, correlations between social background characteristics and knowledge, beliefs, experience and social distance revealed only a few significant correlations. The two dependent variable indicators were strongly correlated with each other (.405), which indicates that the measures are similar but different enough to justify using both indicators in analyses. Multivariate analyses will extract the most important of these relationships.

**Multivariate Analyses**

A series of regression analyses were used to test the hypothesized model. The first set of two regression analyses was used to test which social background characteristics influenced acceptance of sex work as work, as measured by the two
Table 8: Correlations Among Values (Identification as Conservative/Liberal and Attitude Towards Feminism), General Knowledge and Beliefs About Sex Work, Three Beliefs About Women’s Entrance into Sex Work, Social Distance from Sex Work and Experience with Sex Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>E.</th>
<th>F.</th>
<th>G.</th>
<th>H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Conservative/Liberal</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Attitude toward Feminism</td>
<td>.344**</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. General Knowledge &amp; Beliefs About Sex Work</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Belief that Women Enter SW b/c of Financial Necessity</td>
<td>.171**</td>
<td>.123*</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Belief that Women Enter SW b/c of Coercion/Force/Abusive Background</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.146**</td>
<td>-.261**</td>
<td>.264**</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Belief that Women Enter SW b/c They are Sexually Promiscuous or Love Sex</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>-.082</td>
<td>-.088</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Social Distance From Sex Work</td>
<td>.233**</td>
<td>.297**</td>
<td>.167**</td>
<td>.118*</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.105*</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Experience With Sex Work</td>
<td>.120*</td>
<td>.108*</td>
<td>.209**</td>
<td>.115*</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.314**</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

61 Scores are from very conservative (0) to very liberal (4).
62 Low scores represent an antifeminist and high scores represent a pro-feminist attitude.
63 Low scores demonstrate little or no knowledge about sex work and high scores demonstrate a lot of accurate knowledge about sex work.
64 Low scores indicate a belief that financial necessity is not a very important influence on women’s entrance into the sex trade industry and high scores indicate a belief that financial necessity is a very important influence on women’s entrance.
65 Low scores indicate a belief that coercion, force and abusive backgrounds are not very important reasons for women’s entrance into the sex trade industry and high scores indicate a belief that coercion, force and abusive backgrounds are important reasons for women’s entrance.
66 Low scores indicate a belief that sexual promiscuity and love of sex are not very important influences on women’s entrance into sex work and high scores indicate a belief that sexual promiscuity and love of sex are very important influences on women’s entrance.
67 Low scores indicate a preference for greater distance from sex work and sex workers (i.e., not in your neighborhood or next to you) and high scores indicate a willingness to have sex work or sex workers in close proximity.
68 Low scores indicate no experience with the sex work and high scores indicate a lot of experience with the sex work.
dependent variables indicators (see Table 9). In forced entry regression, nearly 9% of the variation in acceptance of sex work as a job like any other job was explained by social background characteristics (R-Square = .087; F = 3.075, df = 10, 321, p = .001) (see Table 9). Gender and age were the only indicators with a significant influence, with gender (Beta = -.209) having a stronger influence than age (Beta = .108). This finding shows that younger people and women are less likely to accept that sex work is a job like any other job. A stepwise regression was run to see if the same independent variables remained significant when statistical criteria were used to select and retain variables. In the stepwise regression, only sex was retained in the model, explaining 5% of the variation in sex work is a job like any other job (R-Square = .050; F = 17.546, df = 1, 330, p = .000). The retention of gender is not surprising given that only gender is significantly correlated with sex work is a job like any other job.

Forced entry regression of sex workers deserving the same occupational benefits and responsibilities on the social background characteristics was not significant (F = 1.479, df = 10, 336, p = .146). A stepwise regression was run to see if any of the independent variables were significant. In the stepwise regression model 1.9% of the variation in sex workers deserving the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers was explained by frequency of attendance at religious gatherings within the last month with people who attended a religious gathering within the past month less likely to accept that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers (R-Square = .019; F = 6.695, df = 1, 345, p = .01). Based on the results of these first regressions it was decided that gender and frequency of...
Table 9: Regression of Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job on Social Background Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sex Work Is A Job Like Any Other Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of Birth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother's Education</td>
<td>-.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Education</td>
<td>.154</td>
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<tr>
<td>Race</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>-.969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Religion</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Attendance at a Religious Gathering Within the Last Month</td>
<td>-.329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Square</td>
<td>.087*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at p<.05

69 Gender is scored 0 = male, 1 = female.
70 Age is scored 0 = 18, 1 = 19, 2 = 20, 3 = 21, 4 = 22, 5 = 23, 6 = 24, 7 = 25, 8 = 26, 9 = 27 years old.
71 Country of birth is dummy coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada.
72 Race is dummy coded 0 = white, 1 = other.
73 Each religion is dummy coded and in each case, all other religions = 0. For this case Catholic = 1.
74 0 = Other Religion, 1 = Protestant.
75 0 = No Religion, 1 = Other Religion.
76 Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month is dummy coded 0 = not at all, 1 = at least once.
attendance at a religious gathering within the last month would be retained in the final regressions of measures of sex work as work on all variables.

A set of five regression analyses were used to determine whether social background characteristics influenced values, knowledge, beliefs, experience and social distance to sex work (see Table 10). Social background characteristics had the strongest influence on experience with sex work (R-Square = .114) followed by identification as conservative/liberal (R-Square = .096), social distance from sex work (R-Square = .089), and attitudes toward feminism (R-Square = .075). Gender significantly influenced all but identification as conservative/liberal, with the strongest influence on social distance (b = -6.187) followed by attitude towards feminism (b = 2.508) and experience with sex work (b = -.498). This finding makes it evident that women are more likely than men to have a pro-feminist attitude, less experience with sex work, and are less willing to accept social closeness to sex work. Age significantly influenced attitude towards feminism (b = .417) and experience with sex work (b = .113), which demonstrates that older participants have a more pro-feminist attitude and more experience with sex work. A Protestant background significantly influenced all the variables except experience with sex work with the strongest influence on social distance from sex work (b = -3.526) followed by attitude towards feminism (b = -2.372) and identification as conservative/liberal (b = -.396). Protestants were therefore more likely to be conservative, anti-feminist and have a preference for greater distance from sex work and sex workers than those with no religion. A Catholic background significantly influenced attitude towards feminism (b = -2.539). Catholics were thus more likely to be anti-feminist than those with no religion.
Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month significantly influenced identification as conservative/liberal ($b = -.453$), indicating that those who attended a religious gathering within the last month were more likely to be conservative than those who did not. Father's education significantly influenced social distance from sex work ($b = .612$), which suggests that the higher the education completed by your father the more likely you are to accept sex work and sex workers in close proximity to you. None of the social background characteristics significantly influenced knowledge about sex work or any of the beliefs about reasons for women's entrance into sex work.

A final set of regression analyses were used to test the influence of social background characteristics (using only those that were significant in the first regression: gender and frequency of attendance at a religious gathering), values, general knowledge and beliefs, beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, experience and social distance on acceptance of sex work as work, as measured by the two dependent variable indicators (see Table 11). Both models were statistically significant. Nearly 34% of the variation in sex work as a job like any other job is explained by all variables entered into the analysis ($R$-Square $= .336$; $F = 14.345$, $df = 10, 284$, $p = .000$). Gender and social distance from sex work were the indicators with a significant influence with social distance (Beta $= .435$) stronger than gender (Beta $= -.117$). This finding indicates that men and those who are more accepting of sex work or sex workers in close proximity are more likely to accept sex work as a job like any other job.

A stepwise regression was used to determine whether the variables gender and social distance were retained when statistical selection was used. In the stepwise
Table 10: Regression of Identification as Conservative/Liberal, Attitude Towards Feminism, Experience with Sex Work and Social Distance from Sex Work on Social Background Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification as Conservative/Liberal</th>
<th>Attitude toward Feminism</th>
<th>Experience With Sex Work</th>
<th>Social Distance From Sex Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
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<td>.044</td>
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<td>-.011</td>
<td>.417*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of Birth79</td>
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<td>-.011</td>
<td>-.093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s Education</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s Education</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic80</td>
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<td>-.146</td>
<td>-.254*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant81</td>
<td>-.396*</td>
<td>-.168*</td>
<td>-.237*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Religion82</td>
<td>-.271</td>
<td>-.094</td>
<td>-.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Attendance at a Religious Gathering Within the Last Month83</td>
<td>-.453*</td>
<td>-.220*</td>
<td>-.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Square</td>
<td>.096*</td>
<td>.075*</td>
<td>.114*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at p<.05

77 Gender is scored 0 = male, 1 = female.
78 Age is scored 0 = 18, 1 = 19, 2 = 20, 3 = 21, 4 = 22, 5 = 23, 6 = 24, 7 = 25, 8 = 26, 9 = 27 years old.
79 Country of birth is dummy coded 0 = other, 1 = Canada.
80 Each religion is dummy coded and in each case, all other religions = 0. For this case Catholic = 1.
81 0 = Other Religion, 1 = Protestant.
82 0 = No Religion, 1 = Other Religion.
83 Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month is dummy coded 0 = not at all, 1 = at least once.
regression 31% of the variance in sex work is a job like any other job is explained by experience and social distance from sex work (R-Square = .310, F = 65.521, df = 2, 292, p = .000). Social distance from sex work was retained as a significant influence (Beta = .506) on acceptance of sex work as a job like any other job. Gender was no longer significant and was replaced by experience with sex work (Beta = .115). This finding indicates that those accepting closer proximity of sex work or sex workers and those with more experience with sex work are more likely to accept that sex work is a job like any other job. The stepwise results support the conclusion that it is experience, rather than gender, that has the greater influence once social distance is controlled. Once experience is controlled, gender is no longer an influence. The latter result is consistent with the significant correlation between gender and social distance and suggests that in the forced entry model those two variables split the variance, attenuating the effects of each.

Over fourteen percent of the variation in sex workers deserving the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers is explained by social background characteristics, values, general knowledge and beliefs, beliefs about women's entrance into sex work, experience and social distance from sex work (R-Square = .142; F = 4.800. df = 10. 291. p = .000). The model for sex workers deserving the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers was significant but weaker than the previous model. Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month and social distance from sex work were the only significant influences (see Table 11). Social distance from sex work was a stronger influence (Beta = .234) than frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month (Beta = -.118). A lack of
attendance at a religious gathering and greater acceptance of sex work or sex workers in close proximity increased the likelihood of accepting that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers. A stepwise regression produced an R-Square of 10.1% and retained social distance from sex work while frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month was replaced by identification as conservative/liberal (R-Square = .101; F = 16.711, df = 2, 299, p = .000). Social distance from sex work had a stronger influence (Beta = .251) than identification as conservative/liberal (Beta = .143). This finding indicates that those who are more accepting of closer proximity to sex work or sex workers and those who are more liberal are more likely to accept that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers.

**Path Coefficients**

Since regression analysis only provides information on direct effects, path coefficients were used to calculate the total effects (direct plus indirect) of gender and frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month on sex work as work. As shown in Table 12, the variable social distance from sex work (.435) had the strongest direct effect on agreement with the statement that sex work is a job like any other job followed by gender (-.117). With regards to total effects, the effect of gender increased (-.223) because of its effect on the intervening variables but it remained less influential than social distance. The effect of the variable frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the month also increased when the total effect was considered.
Table 11: Regression of Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job and Sex Workers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits and Responsibilities on Social Background Characteristics (Using Only Those That Were Significant in First Regression: Gender and Frequency of Attendance at a Religious Gathering), Values, General Knowledge and Beliefs, Three Beliefs About Women's Entrance into Sex Work, Experience and Social Distance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job</th>
<th>SWers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits &amp; Responsibilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender*4</td>
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<td>-.117*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Attendance At a Religious Gathering Within the Last Month*5</td>
<td>-.327</td>
<td>-.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification as Conservative/Liberal*6</td>
<td>.190</td>
<td>.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward Feminism*7</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Distance from Sex Work*8</td>
<td>.137*</td>
<td>.435*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience with Sex Work*9</td>
<td>.214</td>
<td>.088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge about Sex Work*10</td>
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<td>.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter into SW b/c of Financial Necessity*11</td>
<td>.136</td>
<td>.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter into SW b/c of Coercion/Force/Abusive Background*12</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>-.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter into SW b/c They are Sexually Promiscuous or Love Sex*13</td>
<td>-.077</td>
<td>-.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-Square</td>
<td>.336*</td>
<td>.142*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at p<.05

*4 Gender is scored 0 = male, 1 = female.
*5 Frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month is dummy coded 0 = not at all, 1 = at least once.
*6 Scores are from very conservative (0) to very liberal (4).
*7 Low scores represent an antifeminist and high scores represent a pro-feminist attitude.
*8 Low scores indicate preference for greater distance from sex work and sex workers (i.e., not in your neighborhood or next to you) and high scores indicate a willingness to have sex work or sex workers in close proximity.
*9 Low scores indicate no experience with the sex work and high scores indicate a lot of experience with the sex work.
*10 Low scores demonstrate little or no knowledge about sex work and high scores demonstrate a lot of accurate knowledge about sex work.
*11 Low scores indicate a belief that financial necessity is not a very important influence on women's entrance into the sex trade industry and high scores indicate a belief that financial necessity is a very important influence on women's entrance.
*12 Low scores indicate a belief that coercion, force and abusive backgrounds are not very important reasons for women's entrance into the sex trade industry and high scores indicate a belief that coercion, force and abusive backgrounds are important reasons for women's entrance.
*13 Low scores indicate a belief that sexual promiscuity and love of sex are not very important influences on women's entrance into sex work and high scores indicate a belief that sexual promiscuity and love of sex are very important influences on women's entrance.
This increase, however, was not enough to change its rank order except with respect to identification as conservative/liberal. Using total effects, the rank order from strongest to weakest influence on agreement with the statement that sex work is a job like any other job is: social distance, gender, experience with sex work, attitude toward feminism, frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month, identification as conservative/liberal, belief that women enter into sex work because of financial necessity, belief that women enter into sex work because they are sexually promiscuous or love sex, general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, and belief that women enter into sex work because of coercion/force/abusive background.

As Table 13 illustrates social distance had the strongest direct effect (.234) on acceptance of sex workers obtaining the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers followed by frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month (-.118). With regards to total effects, social distance continued to have the strongest total effect on acceptance of sex workers obtaining the same occupational benefits and responsibilities followed this time by attitude towards feminism (.116). The total effect of frequency of attendance within the last month decreased as a result of the mixed positive and negative effects of intervening variables. The total effect of gender increased. This increase, however, was not great. Using total effects, the rank order from strongest to weakest influence on agreement that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers is: social distance from sex work, attitude toward feminism, gender, experience with sex work, identification as conservative/liberal, belief that women enter into sex work because of financial necessity,
Table 12: Direct, Indirect and Total Effects on Sex Work is a Job Like Any Other Job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct Effects</th>
<th>Indirect Effects</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<td>-.106</td>
<td>-.223</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Conservative/Liberal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward Feminism</td>
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<td>.014</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience with Sex Work</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Distance from Sex Work</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter into SW b/c of Coercion/Force/Abusive Background</td>
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<td>.001</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter into SW b/c they are Sexually Promiscuous or Love Sex</td>
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<td>.003</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Attitude toward Feminism</td>
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</table>
### Table 13: Direct, Indirect and Total Effects on Sex Workers Deserve the Same Occupational Benefits and Responsibilities as Other Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct Effects</th>
<th>Indirect Effects</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>-.000</td>
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<td>.097</td>
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<td>.116</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief that Women Enter into SW b/c They are Sexually Promiscuous or Love Sex</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month, belief that women enter into sex work because they are sexually promiscuous or love sex, general knowledge and beliefs about sex work and belief that women enter into sex work because they are sexually promiscuous or love sex.

Summary

The purpose of this study was twofold: to determine whether there is acceptance of sex work as work and to determine what factors influence this acceptance. With respect to the first goal, respondents in this study were mixed in their acceptance of sex work as work, according to results of the two independent variable indicators. The majority of the sample did not endorse the statement sex work is a job like any other job. Respondents, however, did agree with the statement that sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers (e.g., paying taxes, receiving unemployment insurance, etc.). In addition, respondents were also asked to rank three forms of sex work (escort work, exotic dancing, and street prostitution) relative to other occupations. Though the three sex work occupations produce different levels of income and have different status levels within sex work, respondents consistently ranked them as the least desirable in a list of twelve occupations. Collectively these results suggest that respondents were not accepting of these three occupations as desirable; that respondents did not differentiate between escort work, exotic dancing, and street prostitution; and that acceptance is related most to social distance. Thus, the ranking of sex work in comparison to other occupations together with the regression analyses also revealed low acceptance of sex work within the third dependent variable, occupational ranking. The
findings with regards to the three variables representing acceptance of sex work as work, seem to suggest that, on a whole, respondents generally are not ready to accept sex work as work. What must be noted, however, is that women are more unaccepting of sex work as work than men.

With respect to the second goal, social distance was the only variable with a consistently strong effect throughout the analysis, indicating that willingness to be in contact or close proximity to sex work or sex workers is one of the strongest facilitators to acceptance of sex work as work. Although acceptance of sex work as work was modeled as determined by social distance, the causal order of the relationship between social distance and acceptance of sex work as work could not be determined in this cross-sectional analysis (e.g., it is not clearly established whether respondents who believe that sex work is work are more willing to be in close proximity to sex workers or vice versa). Further research, such as experimental studies, is needed to determine the causal order in this relationship.

Other variables such as social background characteristics were expected to have a strong influence on acceptance. In particular, gender was expected to influence acceptance of sex work as work. The influence of gender however was neither consistent nor strong, as it only influenced the endorsement of sex work is a job like any other job. The only other social background characteristic that also influenced acceptance of sex work as work was frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month. This variable, however, only had a direct influence on acceptance of sex workers as deserving of the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers.
Despite suggestions from the literature, knowledge about sex work and beliefs about reasons why women enter into sex work did not have a statistically significant presence in the analysis. Even in path analysis, where indirect as well as direct influences were considered, the variables gender and frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month were not strong influences. This finding suggests that social background characteristics does not have as strong an effect on acceptance as willingness to accept others, with respect to accepting sex work as work.
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Sex work as work is a phrase developed by sex workers in attempt to challenge past conceptions of their work as immoral and deviant. Sex workers have been able to influence current research on sex work and the sex industry through joint efforts with feminists, academics, and sex worker advocacy groups. As a result, some sociological researchers now accept the view of sex work as work. Despite the acceptance of sex work as work in areas such as sociological theorizing, public acceptance of this conceptualization of sex work has not been tested. This study used survey research to examine the acceptance of "sex work as work" and examined factors that have been found to influence its acceptance as work.

Theory and literature on sex work suggested that similar to previous research on public attitudes toward sex work, acceptance of the conceptualization of sex work as work would range from ambivalence to rejection (Huff and Scott, 1975; Lewis, 2000; McCaghy and Cernkovich, 1991; Thompson et al. 1990; Weitzer, 1999). It was therefore not surprising to find that acceptance of sex work as work was mixed: respondents were accepting of sex workers obtaining similar benefits and responsibilities as other workers. They, however, were not receptive to viewing sex work as a job like any other job nor did they view sex work as desirable occupations. Clearly, there is a discrepancy between the dependent variable indicators. The fact that respondents agreed that sex workers should obtain the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers may actually be indicative of respondents' acceptance of or beliefs in universal human rights. It also suggests that this scalar measure may not be a measure of acceptance of sex work, but
rather is a scalar measure of acceptance of human rights. The fact that respondents disagreed with the two variables directly measuring sex work as work demonstrates low acceptance of sex work and suggests that these are more accurate scalar measures of acceptance of sex work as work.

Consistent findings across the literature also led to the expectation that the variables social background characteristics, values, knowledge about sex work, experience with sex work, beliefs about reasons for women's entrance into sex work and preferred social distance from sex work would influence the acceptance of sex work as work. In this study, however, only one particular attitude, preferred social distance from sex work and sex workers, influenced acceptance of sex work as work. The finding that preferred social distance influenced acceptance of sex work as work was not surprising given the literature on social distance and other issues such as racism (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach and Reitz, 1990; Homans, 1961).

Research in areas such as racism has indicated that closer proximity to those perceived as "different" decreases, and even eliminates, feelings of intolerance. Desegregation laws in the United States during the 1960s worked, in part, on the same principle. These laws aimed to close the gap between blacks and whites partially through increased social contact. Desegregation laws were based, in part, on George C. Homans' (1961) research on the relationship between social distance and approval. Homans established a relationship between social proximity approval through studies on college students living in campus residences. His work was used in studies of the relationship between social distance and race. Later research also expanded upon Homans' work. For
example. Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach and Reitz (1990) explored attitudes toward racial and ethnic groups within a Canadian context. Research on the relationship between social distance and racism demonstrates the importance of social proximity in influencing acceptance of others. These findings about social distance are important not only for research on the acceptance of sex workers and sex work as work, but also for any research on marginalized groups (e.g., young offenders, people living with AIDS). With respect to sex work, research findings demonstrating the influence of social distance on tolerance or acceptance of marginalized groups or individuals, may contribute to the formation of policies similar to desegregation laws. Public policy can be used to close gaps and promote acceptance of what sex workers do as work.

Despite findings of low acceptance of sex work as work within this study, the question arises of whether the acceptance of the vocabulary of sex work (e.g., within the laws) could possibly change public views. A change in public views as a result of a change in vocabulary was successful in areas such as race and the physically disabled. However, it has not been successful in the area of mentally disabled, where a constant change in the correct terminology was used to move away from the constant stigmatization of past terminology. Listserv discussions have already addressed this question. Sex workers such as Laura M. Agustin argue that the adoption of the term “sex work” will likely result in another term used to stigmatize those working in the sex industry. In addition, Agustin raises the possibility of increased legal sanctions resulting from the acceptance of sex work as work. For example, the introduction of licensing for occupations in the sex industry as a result of the acceptance of the vocabulary of sex work.
may further marginalize sex workers who do not qualify for licensing or it may lead to increased state control as police are able to maintain databases on sex workers. The advantages and disadvantages of the rhetoric of sex work are still currently being discussed among sex workers, feminists, and academics. These discussions have not, however, influenced public perceptions of the industry or current vocabulary for work in the sex industry.

**Limitations of Study**

There are two limitations specific to this study. Firstly, the sample within this study consisted mainly of full-time university students enrolled in introductory sociology courses. University students are arguably unrepresentative of the general population. They tend to represent those who are destined for and often come from the upper spectrum of social classes. A student-based sample was useful, nonetheless, because of the exploratory nature of this study and the existing time and financial impediments. The sampling of introductory sociology courses was used to negate some of the influence of university culture and knowledge gained from upper-level coursework in sociology, which might further segregate the views of respondents from those of the population at large.

Secondly, this study was unable to determine a causal direction between preferred social distance and the acceptance of sex work as work. Results of the final set of regressions determined that the acceptance of closer proximity to sex work and sex workers, also measured as social distance, was the only consistent influence on respondents' acceptance of sex work as a job like any other job and agreeing that sex
workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers. The analyses could not, however, determine causal order. The analyses, in effect, did establish the existence of these relationships but not the order of influence. For example, it may be the case that respondents' acceptance of sex work as a job like any other job influences whether respondents accept closer proximity to sex workers as opposed to the reverse. Causality, however, was not the goal of this study. In order to determine causality an experimental study of preferred social distance and acceptance of sex work as work is needed.

Despite these limitations this study did have a number of strengths. In particular, this study had strong measures for the dependent variable. In the absence of established and tested measures for the dependent variable, acceptance of sex work as work, measures were created. These scales had strong alphas (.72 to .88) and factor analysis revealed that the two indicators used during analyses did not need to be modified. These measures should be validated in future research.

**Recommendations**

There are five recommendations for future research on sex work as work that are from this study. Firstly, there is a notable difference between the two dependent variable indicators during multivariate analysis. Stepwise regressions of the influence of all the independent variables (gender, frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month, values, general knowledge and beliefs about sex work, beliefs about reasons for women's entrance into sex work, experience and preferred social distance from sex work) on acceptance of sex work as work revealed that 31% of the variation in the
variable sex work is a job like any other job is explained by the variables experience and preferred social distance. Contrarily, only 10% of the variation in the variable sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers was explained by the variables preferred social distance from sex work and frequency of attendance at a religious gathering within the last month. The variation explained in the latter independent variable indicator is substantially smaller than that of the former. As almost 90% of the variation in the variable sex workers deserve the same occupational benefits and responsibilities as other workers is unexplained further research is needed to find out what other factors are influencing its acceptance. Qualitative analysis, such as interviews, would likely enable the uncovering of factors not included in this study.

Secondly, a survey of the general population is necessary for future research on sex work as work. Student-based samples are limited for reasons previously mentioned. A random sampling of the general public would give a more accurate account of what public sentiments are with respect to sex work as work and whether social distance is the primary influence on acceptance of this conceptualization.

Thirdly, the conceptualization of “sex work as work” was developed and advocated by sex workers and more sociological research needs to incorporate this perspective. Sex workers have an inside perspective of sex work and have a better understanding not only of the work itself but also of the needs and experiences of the workers. In this respect, it seems very likely that inclusion of sex workers of varying genders and the perspectives they promote would be beneficial for research in the area of sex work.
Fourthly, this study combined three forms of sex work — escorting, exotic dancing and street prostitution — into the single concept “sex work” but did not test whether one was more accepted as work than the others. Repeated measures ANOVA would help identify whether some forms of sex work are more likely to be seen “as work” than others. Findings of the repeated measures ANOVA would confirm or dispel the finding of the occupational ranking, which suggests that the sex work occupations are not treated differently by respondents.

Lastly, a more in-depth examination of the conceptualization of sex work as a “job like any other job” and what is required for sex workers to have “the same benefits and responsibilities as other workers.” would also be useful. Questions to be addressed in such work might include:

• What is it about sex work that makes it different from other work?
• What is it about sex work that makes it similar to other work?
• What benefits and responsibilities could be applied to which types of sex work?

Nussbaum (1999) began to address the first two questions in her comparisons of sex work to other forms of work and Bindman and Doezema (1997) began to address all three in their report to the International Labour Organization. Further work could build on these preliminary foundations.

This study represents an attempt to examine whether acceptance of sex work as work is accepted among a sample of university students. Public acceptance is an important area of study because of the contribution public attitudes make to policy on sex work.
work. Changes, adaptations and revisions within the laws, such as the recent granting of license status to escorts and exotic dancers in Windsor, exemplify how at times pressure from groups of stakeholders can influence policy even though the public may agree. Sociologists in particular should be aware of the current views of the public toward sex work and also the perspective of the workers to fully understand this social phenomenon. The results of this study are significant not only to sociologists but to all academics studying sex work and its related policies.
APPENDIX A: Letter to Participants

Dear Participant:

My name is Sasha R. Drummond and I am a graduate student in the Sociology Department. I am doing a study exploring student attitudes toward occupations in the sex trade industry, for example, street prostitution, exotic dancing/stripping and escorts/call girls. This survey is being done under the supervision of Dr. Maticka-Tyndale and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Windsor, and is part of the requirements for a Masters of Arts Degree.

I ask that you take approximately fifteen to twenty minutes of your time to fill out the following questionnaire. Your participation is voluntary and you have the right to refuse to answer any or all of the questions. If you participate in this survey, your identity and answers will be kept confidential.

The study has been approved by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee. Any questions or comments regarding how this study is being done should be reported to the Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Dr. Lynne Phillips (ext. 2190), for referral to the Ethics Committee. Filling out this questionnaire will be taken as your agreement to participate in the survey. If you do not wish to participate, it is not necessary to fill out the following questionnaire. If you have already completed this questionnaire in another class, please return it blank.

Results of this study will be available online at:

http://www.geocities.com/srsdrum/sexworkstudy.html

Thank you for your time, participation, and cooperation.
APPENDIX B: Survey on Knowledge, Attitudes and Beliefs about the Sex Trade Industry

Please answer the following questions by filling in the appropriate number on the scantron provided.

1. Are you: (0) male or (1) female

2. How old are you?
   (0) 18 or younger
   (1) 19
   (2) 20
   (3) 21
   (4) 22
   (5) 23
   (6) 24
   (7) 25
   (8) 26
   (9) 27 +

3. What faculty are you currently enrolled in?
   (0) Arts
   (1) Social Science
   (2) Science
   (3) Business
   (4) Engineering
   (5) Human Kinetics
   (6) Undecided
   (7) Other _________________________

4. What year did you start at the University of Windsor?
   (0) 1995 or earlier
   (1) 1996
   (2) 1997
   (3) 1998
   (4) 1999
   (5) 2000
   (6) 2001
5. What year do you expect to graduate?
   (0) 2001
   (1) 2002
   (2) 2003
   (3) 2004
   (4) 2005
   (5) 2006
   (6) 2007
   (7) 2008
   (8) 2009
   (9) Other ______________________

6. Are you a full-time student?
   (0) no
   (1) yes

7. Where were you born?
   (0) Canada
   (1) United States
   (2) Australia, New Zealand
   (3) Europe (including the United Kingdom)
   (4) Caribbean
   (5) Central or South America
   (6) Asia
   (7) Middle East
   (8) Africa
   (9) Other ______________________

8. Thinking of the woman that you identified as your mother during most or all of your childhood, where was she born?
   (0) Canada
   (1) United States, Australia, New Zealand
   (2) Europe (including the United Kingdom)
   (3) Caribbean, Central or South America
   (4) Asia
   (5) Middle East
   (6) Africa
   (7) Other ______________________
   (8) Don't know
   (9) Not applicable
9. Thinking of the man that you identified as your father during most or all of your childhood, where was he born?
   (0) Canada
   (1) United States, Australia, New Zealand
   (2) Europe (including the United Kingdom)
   (3) Caribbean, Central or South America
   (4) Asia
   (5) Middle East
   (6) Africa
   (7) Other ____________________________
   (8) Don't know
   (9) Not applicable

10. How do you describe your race?
    (0) White
    (1) Hispanic
    (2) Asian
    (3) Black or Afro-American/Canadian
    (4) Native/Aboriginal
    (5) Other ____________________________

11. What do you identify or consider as your religion?
    (0) Jewish
    (1) Catholic
    (2) Pentecostal
    (3) Baptist
    (4) United Church or Presbyterian
    (5) Anglican or Episcopal
    (6) Methodist
    (7) Muslim
    (8) Other ____________________________
    (9) No Religion

12. How many times within the last month did you attend a religious gathering?
    (0) Not at all
    (1) Once
    (2) Twice
    (3) Once a week
    (4) More than once a week

13. Thinking of the stand you take on most social issues, how would you place yourself on a scale of 0 to 4, with 0 being very conservative and 4 being very liberal?

   Very Conservative               Very Liberal
   (0)                               (1)    (2)    (3)    (4)

   94
14. Thinking of the woman that you identified as your mother, what is the highest level of education she completed?
   (0) Less than high school
   (1) High School
   (2) Technical Certificate
   (3) College Diploma
   (4) University Degree (General or Honours)
   (5) University Certificate
   (6) Graduate or Professional Degree beyond the Bachelor’s
   (7) Don’t know
   (8) Not applicable

15. Thinking of the man that you identified as your father, what is the highest level of education he completed?
   (0) Less than high school
   (1) High School
   (2) Technical Certificate
   (3) College Diploma
   (4) University Degree (General or Honours)
   (5) University Certificate
   (6) Graduate or Professional Degree beyond the Bachelor’s
   (7) Don’t know
   (8) Not applicable

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

16. It is acceptable for men to pay for sex.  
   Strongly Disagree  (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  Strongly Agree  (4)

17. The women’s movement has made important gains in equal rights and political power for women.  
   (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)

18. Feminists are a menace to this nation and the world.  
   (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)

19. There are better ways for women to fight for equality than through the women’s movement.  
   (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)

20. More people would favour the women’s movement if they knew more about it.  
   (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)

21. The women’s movement has positively influenced the relationship between men and women.  
   (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)

22. The women’s movement is too radical and extreme in its views.  
   (0)  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)
23. A woman who accepts money for sex should be penalized. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

24. Feminists are too visionary for a practical world. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

25. Feminist principles should be adopted everywhere. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

26. I am overjoyed that women’s liberation is finally happening in this country. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

27. The leaders of the women’s movement may be extreme, but they have the right idea. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

Now I have some questions about occupations in the sex trade industry. By sex trade industry I mean occupations like escorts (or call girls), street prostitutes, and exotic dancers (or strippers).

28. Have you ever received any information about the sex trade industry?
   (0) no (If answer is NO – skip to question 38)
   (1) yes

Have any of the following provided you with information about the various types of occupations within the sex trade industry?

29. University Course(s) (0) no (1) yes

30. Friend (0) no (1) yes

31. Family Member (0) no (1) yes

32. Previous schooling (0) no (1) yes

33. Television (0) no (1) yes

34. Newspapers (0) no (1) yes

35. Internet (0) no (1) yes

36. Personal experience(s) (0) no (1) yes

37. Other sources of information (0) no (1) yes
Of the following, which do you think are true and which are false.

38. There is a law prohibiting the exchange of sex for money, or material reward, in Canada.
   (0) true  (1) false  (2) don't know

39. The City of Windsor licenses escorts.
   (0) true  (1) false  (2) don't know

40. The sex trade industry is most responsible for the spread of HIV in the heterosexual population in Canada.
   (0) true  (1) false  (2) don't know

41. Research shows that most women involved in the sex trade industry are forced into the industry by someone else.
   (0) true  (1) false  (2) don't know

42. Most of the women in the sex trade industry are drug addicts.
   (0) true  (1) false  (2) don't know

43. Street prostitution is the most common occupation in the sex trade industry.
   (0) true  (1) false  (2) don’t know

44. The City of Windsor licenses exotic dancers.
   (0) true  (1) false  (2) don’t know

For the following statements please indicate the degree to which you believe the following statements are important in influencing women’s entrance into the sex trade industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Not Very Important</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45. Financial necessity</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Coercion or force</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Abusive background</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Sexual Promiscuity</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Love of Sex</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate the degree to which you believe the following are desirable occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Very Undesirable</th>
<th>Very Desirable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50. Fashion Model</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Jazz Dancer</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Secretary</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Bartender</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Hairdresser</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Exotic Dancer/Stripper</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Flight Attendant</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Cleaning Person</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Store Clerk</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Escort</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Nurse’s Aid/</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3)</td>
<td>(4) (5) (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
61. Street Prostitute

For the following statements please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62. Prostitutes should be entitled to the same workplace benefits as other workers (e.g. maternity leave, pension, and employment insurance).</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Prostitutes should pay taxes just like other workers.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. Prostitutes should be protected by occupational health and safety regulations (e.g. safe and clean work environment).</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Escorts should be entitled to the same workplace benefits as other workers (e.g. maternity leave, pension, and employment insurance).</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Escorts should be protected by occupational health and safety regulations (e.g. safe and clean work environment).</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Escorts should pay taxes just like other workers.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Exotic dancers ( strippers) should be entitled to the same workplace benefits as other workers (e.g. maternity leave, pension, and employment insurance).</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. Exotic dancers ( strippers) should pay taxes just like other workers.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. Exotic dancers should be protected by occupational health and safety regulations (e.g. safe and clean work environment).</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have you ever considered being any of the following?

71. an escort (0) no (1) yes
72. an exotic dancer or stripper (0) no (1) yes
73. a prostitute (0) no (1) yes
Do you know anyone who has ever been any of the following?

74. an escort (0) no (1) yes
75. an exotic dancer/stripper (0) no (1) yes
76. a prostitute (0) no (1) yes

Have you ever been any of the following?

77. an escort (0) no (1) yes
78. an exotic dancer/stripper (0) no (1) yes
79. a prostitute (0) no (1) yes

Have you ever:

80. used the services of an escort? (0) no (1) yes
81. visited a strip club? (0) no (1) yes
82. used the services of a prostitute? (0) no (1) yes

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83. I wouldn't have a problem with escorts working in my neighbourhood.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. When I think about the women/men in escorting, I think they are really just like me.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. I wouldn't want someone who is an escort living next to me.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. I see myself as different from the women/men in escorting.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. When I think about the women/men in prostitution, I think they are really just like me.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. I wouldn't have a problem with street prostitutes working in my neighbourhood.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. I see myself as different from the women/men in street prostitution.</td>
<td>(0) (1) (2) (3) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
90. I wouldn’t want someone who is a street prostitute living next to me. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

91. I wouldn’t want someone who is an exotic dancer (stripper) living next to me. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

92. I see myself as different from the women/men in exotic dancing. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

93. When I think about the women/men in exotic dancing, I think they are really just like me. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

94. I wouldn’t have a problem with exotic dancers (strippers) working in my neighbourhood. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

95. Street prostitution is a job like any other job. Strongly Disagree (0) (1) (2) Strongly Agree (3) (4)

96. Escorting is a job like any other job. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)

97. Exotic dancing (stripping) is a job like any other job. (0) (1) (2) (3) (4)
APPENDIX C: Debriefing and Information Sheet Placed on Website

The purpose of this study is to examine how you feel about occupations in the sex trade industry being treated as legitimate types of work, an idea commonly referred to as "sex work as work". For those relatively new to the notion of sex work, this is a term specifically referring to all income generating activities or forms of employment in which an individual exchanges some form of sexual gratification for monetary reward. Sex work is presently understood to include, at a minimum, street prostitution, exotic dancing, escorting, pornographic modeling and acting, and telephone sex. The term sex work was actually introduced by those working in the sex trade industry in efforts to develop an encompassing term for any work involving the exchange of sex for money. The notion of sex work as work demonstrates the view that sex work should be seen as occupations rather than deviant behaviors or social problems.

For further information on these and any other issues concerning sex work please refer to the Sex Trade Advocacy & Research website at www.walnet.org/star/ and other websites linked to it. Thank you for your participation in this study.

Listed below are the correct answers to some statements presented on the questionnaire:

1. There is no law prohibiting the exchange of sex for money, or material reward, in Canada.
   (TRUE)
   The exchange of sex for money, otherwise known as prostitution, is not illegal in Canada. The activities associated with this exchange, however, are illegal. Within the Canadian Criminal Code (sections 210-213), actions such as keeping or being found in a bawdy house (s.210), providing directions to or transporting someone to a bawdy house (s.211), procuring or living off the avails of prostitution (s.212), communication in a public place for the purpose of prostitution (s.213), and purchasing sexual services from someone under 18 years of age (s.212 (4)) are subject to criminal sanction in Canada. The term prostitution is not defined within the Canadian Criminal Code. Sex work, per se, is not illegal in Canada but the legal sanctions in place make acts associated with sex work illegal and unsafe.

2. The sex trade industry is most responsible for the spread of HIV in the heterosexual population in Canada.
   (FALSE)
   Despite common belief, research indicates that in Canada, Europe, Australia and the United States, the rate of HIV within the sex trade industry is lower than the heterosexual population (deZalduondo, 1991: 224). The risks of infection vary depending on the type of prostitution (Jackson, Highcrest and Coates, 1992: 281). For example, rates of infection are lower among sex workers who do not inject drugs (deZalduondo, 1991:224). At risk for HIV infection are sex workers involved in drug use and sex workers who have unprotected sexual relations with lovers/ spouses who may be at risk of infection (Jackson, Highcrest and Coates, 1992: 281; Network of Sex Work Projects, 1997: 72). Sex workers are in fact more likely to protect themselves against the spread of Sexually Transmitted...
Infections than those engaging in non-commercial genital sex with multiple partners (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 2). However, some sex workers lack accurate information and require services that provide information about alternative preventative practices, STIs (sexually transmitted infections) and HIV (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999:ii)

3  

3 Research shows that most women involved in the sex trade industry are forced into the industry by someone else.

(FALSE)

It is a common misconception that all women involved in the sex industry were forced into the industry. Many sex workers in fact choose to be involved in this industry. The choices they make are sometimes a “rational choice” made because of many factors including the social and political constraints often placed on women, such as low status and low pay jobs (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 2). There are a number of women who are forced or coerced into sex work but their presence should not characterize the entire female sex worker population.

4  

4 Most of the women in the sex trade industry are drug addicts.

(FALSE)

There is presently no conclusive research demonstrating that most of the women in the sex trade industry are drug addicts. Some female sex workers do participate in drug activity, but often in two particular ways: some use drugs to support (sex) work, while some work to afford drugs (Network of Sex Work Projects, 1997: 72-73). All sex workers, however, are not drug addicts. Like workers in any other type of employment some are nonusers, some are occasional users and some are addicts.

5  

5 Street prostitution is the most common occupation in the sex trade industry.

(FALSE)

The Bureau of Municipal Research (1983) estimates that 80-90% of sex work in Canada occurs indoors rather than on the streets. Therefore, only a minority of sex workers engage in street prostitution (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 1). Forms of sex work such as escorting (call girls), exotic dancing (stripping), pornographic models and actresses, telephone-sex operators, erotic masseuse, etc. tend to make-up the majority of sex work. Street prostitution is often incorrectly assumed to be the most common type of sex work only because it is the most visible form.

6  

6 Escorts and exotic dancers are both licensed to work in Windsor.

(TRUE)

Exotic dancing has been licensed in Windsor since 1985. In 1996, Windsor city council granted license status to all agencies and workers involved in the provision of personal services, including escort work (Maticka-Tyndale and Lewis, 1999: 1). The licensing of both escorting and exotic dancing is important because it signals the potential for the eventual acceptance of other types of sex work as work.
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