

**PATHWAYS TO UNDERAGE PROSTITUTION
AMONG FEMALE YOUTH IN SOUTH KOREA**

By

Juyoung Song

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ABSTRACT

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The recent rapid social changes in South Korea have created a context that produced large increases in the number of girls involved in prostitution. By using in-depth interviews with 25 girls in South Korea, this study provides a narrative and life history analysis of girls' pathways into underage prostitution. The purpose of this dissertation is twofold: to identify pathways into underage prostitution and to examine girls' decision making process. An integration of life-course theory with feminist pathways explanations which has not previously been used to understand this population provides the theoretical framework for identification of the different pathways girls take into prostitution. Additionally, the study specifically considers girls' decision making process in the context of their family and peer group circumstances. The study highlights the importance of the needs of female youth in influencing their involvement in prostitution, and has direct implication for juvenile justice policies and practices. Drawing from findings, the study concludes by identifying the need for gender-specific programs to focus on girls' trauma to help these girls reintegrate into family and school.

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This dissertation is dedicated to
the brave and beautiful young women who share their stories and their lives with me.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Defining Underage Prostitution

Underage prostitution (also called child prostitution, youth prostitution, and juvenile prostitution) is defined as “the exchange of personal sexual interactions for a form of payment such as money, drugs, shelter, or food performed by a person under the age of 18” (Hwang & Bedford, 2004, p. 137). This definition, however, does not address whether prostitution is voluntarily or involuntarily carried out by underage youths. Some girls involved in prostitution can be viewed primarily as victims controlled by adults who profit commercially and who force them to prostitute themselves (Farley, 2003; Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Sezgin, 1998; Farley & Kelly, 2000; Nixon, Tutty, Downe, Gorkoff, & Ursel, 2002). This form of prostitution constitutes human trafficking according to U.S. law. Other youth freely prostitute for material or monetary gains for themselves (Hwang & Bedford, 2004).

To refer to underage prostitution, Korean research publications commonly use the term “*wonjokyojae*” which means “compensated dating.” Recently, most girls use the term “conditional meeting” to refer to “underage prostitution.” However, after the Korean Act on Protection of Child and Youth from Sexual Exploitation was established in July 2000, the term *wonjokyojae* was no longer used by many academic researchers and women’s right activists. Those rejecting the term, compensated dating, were concerned that that the word *wonjokyojae* would promote justification and/or rationalization of behavior that was essentially prostitution. They preferred the terms “teenage prostitution” or “underage prostitution” for use by themselves, in legal statutes, in the media and by the public.

In Japan, a country with a socio-economic context similar to Korea’s, compensated

dating among high school girls has also been widespread since the 1990s (Cullinane, 2007; Radford & Tsutsumi, 2003; Udagawa, 2007). As in Korea, there is debate about the term, “compensated dating,” as some commentators consider it a form of prostitution while others consider it a form of child abuse (Cullinane, 2007).

Different from both of these views, Udagawa (2007) argues that compensated dating is seen as a part-time job. Udagawa claims that Japanese girls do not equate compensated sex with prostitution. Therefore, compensated dating does not make girls and men feel guilty about exchanging sex for money, and they do not feel the practice is morally wrong. Udagawa (2007) supports his views with multiple sources of data, including a survey of 263 girls, a study of personal Internet websites, and in-depth interviews with 9 girls. Based on these data, he documented the nature of compensated dating and its outcomes. He concluded that in Japanese society, many people were likely to be indifferent to compensated dating. He argued that Japanese society has recently experienced a transition from traditionalism to individualism, and that individualism allowed people to have different moral standards than in the past regarding compensated dating. As Udagawa pointed out himself, his study can be criticized for not having a clear definition of individualism in Japan. Furthermore, his study site is limited to the suburban area of Japan, and therefore cannot be used to identify patterns throughout society.

Despite the limitations of Udagawa’s (2007) study, his thesis highlights the issue of compensated dating in Japanese society and suggests that net-dating websites and individualism contribute to the emergence of compensated dating. Although widespread public and governmental concerns in Japan and South Korea treat compensated dating as a criminal offense by youths (i.e., prostitution as defined by criminal laws) Udagawa’s (2007) view suggests that compensated dating is not strictly viewed as prostitution, but should be understood as a part-time

job, which can be morally acceptable for some groups of people, and which is facilitated not only by individual traits, but also by social and cultural surroundings. Both underage prostitution and compensated dating may be carried out voluntarily, but according to Udagawa, compensated dating seems to be more likely when girls perceive it not as a criminal offense, but as a part-time job.

The current research includes two types of youth involvement in voluntary prostitution, and it does not consider trafficking. Prostitution that is referred to as “compensated dating,” or “conditional meeting,” is of special concern in South Korea. Since the mid 1990s, the term compensated dating has been used in South Korea to refer to teenage girls having sex with middle-aged men in exchange for money or material goods (Kim, 2003; Kong, 2003). The other type of youth voluntary involvement in prostitution is called “peer pimp,” which refers to teenage girls arranging for a peer to have sex with men in exchange of money or material goods. Since the Korean Act on Protection of Child and Youth from Sexual Exploitation treats compensated dating/conditional meeting as prostitution, the current study treats underage prostitution as an umbrella term that refers to behaviors by girls, who voluntarily prostitute or who are pressured by peers. Thus the study investigates compensated dating and peer pimping.

Concerns about Underage Prostitution in South Korea

On Oct 5, 2010, a segment entitled “Runaway youth, abandoned future” was aired in the television program entitled “*Current issues and plans*” on channel 1 of the Korean Broadcasting Service. This segment highlighted the plight of girls who have become involved in underage prostitution. The program reported on a girl who ran away from her abusive parents, and who subsequently had her first experience of compensated dating with a man of her father’s age. She tried to quit prostitution. But despite numerous pregnancies and abortions, she was forced to continue underage prostitution due to having no other sources of income. More seriously, her health deteriorated as she acquired illnesses such as socio-phobia (i.e., anxiety in situations involving interactions with other people), STD (sexually transmitted disease), and PTSD (posttraumatic stress disorder).

Underage prostitution, including compensated dating, among young girls, has come to be seen as a debilitating social problem in South Korea. Statistics on underage prostitution are not available due to the covert nature of activities, so that data on runaway youth are often used to show the magnitude of the number of youth who possibly engage in prostitution. Although not all runaway youths are involved in prostitution, they are 20% more likely to prostitute compared to others (Yoon, Moon, Kim, & Park, 2008). According to the *Analytical Report on Crime of 2010* from the Supreme Prosecutors' Office, 22,118 middle school and high school students were known to the police as runaways from home in South Korea in 2009. Girls comprised 62.2 percent (13,756) of the total. In 2009, of 1,779 girls who were arrested in Seoul, the capital city, 175 were runaway and were arrested for involvement in underage prostitution.

After running away from home, youth engage in such illegal work (i.e., prostitution including compensated dating) by asking customers (usually middle aged men) to join them in

bars, night clubs and karaoke bars. These soliciting (also called touting) activities are often carried out within Internet spaces, such as chat-rooms, and these activities are facilitated by the availability of 24-hour internet cafes. All-night internet cafes are very affordable for youth, generally costing 10 dollar for 10 hours use. Although there have been strict laws enforced by cyber police investigation units in South Korea (Sung, Park, & Park, 2009), compensated dating is facilitated by the very high proportion of adolescents (90%) who take part in online chat-rooms, which provide easy exposure to sexual conversations, pornography, and offers for compensated dating (Lee, Sung, & Cho, 2008; Sung et al., 2009). In many cases, after solicitation on the Internet, girls go to karaoke bars with men, drink alcohol, sing with the men, and dance for them, and then the men ask the girls to have sex with them. Young girls also work as servers at ticket coffee shops, where guests pay for tickets which entitle them to have sex with the server (Yoon et al., 2008).

Studies have shown that underage prostitution brings serious and devastating outcomes. Based on interviews with girls in programs for underage prostitutes, Sung, Park, and Park (2009) showed that the girls had multiple pregnancies, STDs, and abortions once they were involved in underage prostitution. They found that the girls suffered from not only STD infections and abortion but also physical abuse, forced group sex, and acts that they considered to be sexual perversion. Beyond the physical health problems, these experiences have significant negative effects on girls' lives that include depression and anger (Sung et al., 2009). Showing the negative effects of compensated dating, Kong (2003) quoted a girl she had interviewed,

It is true that uncles (adult men or clients) have compensated dates because of nothing to do. So, girls think of what they need in advance and ask uncles to buy something for

them...In fact, uncles want to have sex on the first date. They do abnormal things. I do these also, although I feel dirty.

To better understand and to prevent devastating effects, scholars in South Korea have investigated the nature of the phenomenon and possible reasons for underage prostitution and policy makers have initiated various programs. At least four government reports based on in depth interviews with girls have documented the problem of underage prostitution in South Korea, and addressed implications for policy (Hong & Nam, 2008; Lee & Cho, 2004; Sung et al., 2009).

Lee and Cho (2004) interviewed 9 girls who were involved in underage prostitution and suggested that various possible programs and policies to reduce recidivism and prevention programs be incorporated into sex education curriculum. In addition to interviewing 47 girls, Sung et al. (2009) interviewed professionals from 30 different organizations in order to gather information and ideas on possible policy implementation for preventing underage prostitution.

More specifically, for example, the Commission on Youth Protection introduced a 40 hour nation-wide educational program in June 2006, aiming at girls who were involved in prostitution (Lee, 2008). The program encourages girls to protect themselves from adults attempting to buy sex and provides physical and psychological treatments and opportunities for reintegration into the community. The proposed prevention and protection policies have consistently emphasized cooperation across agencies and institutions, such as family, schools, and government programs providing treatment and rehabilitation. In addition, cooperation with at-risk youth centers, internet service providers, and information investigation teams is advised to create a safe internet culture among youth (Sung et al., 2009).

As programs are developed, more and more governmental and private organizations to help girls involved in prostitution are being created. In 2009, there were 14 organizations dedicated to girls involved in prostitution in South Korea, with 5 in Seoul, 2 in Pusan, 2 in Daegu, 2 in Kyungnam, and one each in Ulsan, Kawngju, and Daejeon. These organizations were set up to help girls by providing various services, such as group homes or alternative schooling centers (Lee, 2008).

Rational Choice, Opportunity, and Demand Explanation

Some explanations of compensated dating have emphasized rational choice of girls and the opportunity structure within consumer culture. In other words, girls' involvement in compensated sex may be understood as a way that social contexts provide them incentive and opportunity for obtaining money or other benefits through prostitution. Udagawa's (2007) publications, which were presented above, reflect this explanation.

In another example, Morrison (1998) explains underage prostitution in Japan as a natural phenomenon because modern consumer culture entices girls to have sex with men for money. The author writes; "For the girls the sole issue is money, if they have it, they can buy whatever they want" (Morrison, 1998, p. 480). Morrison presents several Japanese examples to show how girls get involved in telephone clubs and make money. The study cited one interview with a girl on a TV program who indicated that girls charged 950 dollars for compensated dating with one person. The girl said "I am expensive and I want to buy things. I want everything."

In South Korea, girls need money to maintain their social relationships with friends through consumption of popular goods (Kong, 2003). For instance, Korean adolescents' romantic relationships proceed with great ceremony, including acts such as the exchange of

expensive presents (e.g, rings) 100 days after youths first meet or for their first year anniversary (ChoHan, 1998). Since youth are not permitted to work either full or part time in Korea, they are financially dependent on their parents so that they need to rely on illegal employment, such as prostitution, if their parents do not provide as much money as they want. Kim (2003) argued that the main reason why girls initially and repeatedly prostitute themselves is the lack of work opportunities within the society for them (Kim, 2003).

Consistent with the view that opportunity shapes girls' involvement in compensated dating, some people attribute the phenomenon to a certain demand which exists within Korean society. According to Kong, compensated dates are quite clearly a phenomenon of the male-oriented sexual culture in which teenage girls are treated as goods in the sex industry (Kong, 2003, p. 67). Between October 2001 and June 2002 in Pusan, South Korea, Kong conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 girls, who were involved in compensated dating and were, at the time of the data collection, living in two protective correctional facilities. She used in-depth interviews taking 2-3 hours for each girl. Kong referred to the methodology as interpretive, meaning that the researcher becomes a listener, takes in the voice of respondents, and develops an interpretation of respondents' experiences.

Although Kong did not specify any theoretical framework to explain girls' entrance into prostitution, her study is valuable because she let the girls talk freely, and then analyzed what they said. In the study, one girl said, "My friends know a compensated date is to have sex." She went on to explain that girls engage in compensated dating because the men pay money for it. Kong concluded that girls involved in compensated dating see their bodies as a resource for economic exchange and consider adult men as "money" or "things that they want to own," and that adult men see the girls as "sexual goods" that they can buy for money.

Similar to already noted studies, from July to October in 1999, Kim conducted interviews with 45 teenage girls who were involved in underage prostitution in or near Seoul. She demonstrated that many Korean girls claimed they would engage in prostitution as a part-time job to earn money (Kim, 2003). She argues that when teenage girls need money, they generally do not engage in prostitution as their first choice of employment. However, not only is there severe competition for jobs in legal areas such as restaurants, fast food chains, gas stations, and delivery centers, but these jobs also pay very poorly, and hence the limited choices of other side jobs lead young girls to become involved in underage prostitution (Kim, 2003).

Kim's study reveals the stories of girls who experienced prostitution and the way in which their choices were related to achieving their material desires (Kim, 2003). In Kim's view, adolescent girls in South Korea are highly influenced by consumer culture and industrialized entertainment culture, and these girls need money to satisfy their desires. Kim explains that the general perception of teenage girls on "*ajussie*" (a Korean word for middle aged men who are involved in compensated dating) is that they are viewed as "men who are willing to buy sex" and "a source of money," and that "all they think about is going to a motel and having sex."

The author highlights that compensated dating involves girls using their bodies for economic value and men taking advantage of this value in Korean society. For example, one girl in the study expressed her thought on compensated dating: "*wonjokyojae* (compensated dating) is like a side job, not an emotional relationship where affection is involved. In the exchange of sex for economic means, *ajussies* consider teenage girls as sexual objects or products, and teenage women reify the *ajussie* as "money" or "things that can be rented and borrowed."

Criticism of the Rational Choice, Opportunity, and Demand Explanation

Despite prior efforts to understand and prevent underage prostitution, there seem to be several unresolved limitations in our understanding of the phenomenon. Aforementioned approaches and explanations fail to use theoretical frameworks that simultaneously consider individual, contextual, and structural-level factors. Prior studies focused on either individual or contextual factors affecting girl's prostitution.

The rational choice argument portrays girls as simply weighing costs and benefits and taking advantage of opportunities (Kim, 2003; Kong, 2003; Morrison, 1998). It emphasizes underage prostitution as a form of work through which girls can earn money by using their bodies, and in which adult men spend their money so they can take advantage of girls. This view is based on the notion that girls who are involved in prostitution have freely made their choice to do so. However, the rational choice theoretical approach to explain underage prostitution excludes potential influence from contextual and structural factors. For instance, although Morrison (1998) mentioned possible effects of consumerism on underage prostitution as characterizing the context where there is an emphasis on monetary gains, he failed to explain and empirically support how consumerism influences girls' behaviors.

Opportunity theory and demand explanations fail to explain individual differences that may exist among girls involved in prostitution. Although this approach is useful to explain how societal characteristics, such as lack of legitimate opportunity for gaining money (Kim, 2003), influence girls' behaviors (i.e., prostitution for material and monetary gains), it fails to theoretically incorporate individual-level factors, such as past experiences of abuse, rape, or violence. For instance, Kim (2003) argued that underage prostitution has been regarded as a part time job among youths and that the tendency was influenced by lack of legitimate opportunity to

make money, which is needed to maintain friendships in South Korea. Similarly, Kim (2003) also argued that materialism and consumerism led girls to pursue underage prostitution since it provides easy money and there are high demands for young girl's bodies as a sexual object among men in South Korea.

However, the opportunity and demand explanations completely ignore findings from prior studies showing individual experiences (such as early childhood abuse or neglect) have continuing influences on behavior throughout the life-course (e.g., Silbert & Pines, 1981). Furthermore, none of those approaches identifies a mechanism through which contextual and structural factors, such as consumerism or sexism, influence individual behaviors such as prostitution. It is known that complex influences relating to gender expectations, sexuality, and identity exist and affect girls' delinquency (Belknap, 2006; Morash, 2010). Regarding underage prostitution, these gendered social structure and environment variations may influence girls' behaviors, and thus the behaviors should be studied from a gendered perspective. Such an approach may reveal social forces that entangle or push girls into prostitution.

Alternative Explanations

Offering an alternative to the rational choice, opportunity and demand explanation for girls' prostitution, scholars who have studied Korean runaway girls who resorted to prostitution to survive argue that childhood victimization, witnessing interpersonal violence, and physical and sexual abuse by parents influence girls to run away from home (Hong, 2007; Hu, 2008; Kim, 2002). This view is supported by three separate government reports from the Korean Youth Policy Institute, which typically utilized a pathways approach to understanding underage prostitution (Hong & Nam, 2008; Lee & Cho, 2004; Sung et al., 2009). The pathways

explanation along with compatible versions of Sampson and Laub's criminological general age graded theory of crime, which is presented in more detail in chapter 2, explain how a series of life events lead individuals to begin and continue illegal behaviors. These explanations also recognize that many youth who prostitute are victims, and thus viewing them as offenders who have made a rational choice may be very misleading.

These findings indicate that underage prostitution should be understood not only by examining individual girls' decision making, but also by understanding the sequences of events occurring before involvement in prostitution and the contexts which surround the girls' decisions. The more complex explanations should be investigated to promote a more adequate and complete understanding of the phenomenon.

Adolescence and Delinquency in the Contemporary Korean Context

Since the 1960s, South Korea has been transformed into a fully industrialized, high technology country with one of the highest living standards in the world (Lee, 1992). Although South Korean society has changed significantly, Confucianism is still considered as an important value to Korean people (Kim & Park, 2003). People regard personal relationships and a hierarchical social structure between adults and children as a crucial standard. Furthermore, the homogeneous and communal culture in South Korea still remains strong. In regards to class structure, Korean society is a relatively egalitarian society; thus two-thirds of Korean families viewed themselves as middle class by the mid 1980s (Koo, 2007).

To provide some context for research on Korean girls, next I will give a brief overview of delinquency, specifically girls' arrest data. Then, I will summarize information on three key phenomena that are relevant to understanding adolescence in Korean society. One is referred to

as the “educational struggle: pressure to succeed in school” and the second one is “senior-junior relationships” and the third is “consumerism.”

Delinquency in Korea

In South Korea, some youth who are arrested are then charged with and prosecuted for delinquent acts. Judges, prosecutors, and police, in other cases, divert youth from prosecution, but place them on probation or take no further action. According to *The Analytical Report on Crime of Korea* from The Supreme Prosecutors' Office, in 2009 approximately 86,160 youth were arrested as juvenile offenders in South Korea. For the years between 2007 and 2009, as shown in Table 1, about 17 or 18% of all of the arrests involved girls.

As shown in Table 2, of 86,101 arrests of adolescents in 2009, 15,101 are of girls. Most of the juveniles were charged with property crime or violent crime. The highest portion of arrests of girls is for violent crime (53.4%) and property crimes (38.4%). The highest portion of arrests for boys is for property crime (56.1%). The crime report shows that just 269 arrests of girls were for the serious crimes. Note that in Korea, youth do not use drugs such as cocaine or marijuana, and thus there are no arrest statistics reflecting such behaviors as possession or distribution of drugs. Also, youth are not charged for drinking or possessing alcohol, but rather those who provide youths with the alcohol are charged. Schools and social services are used to respond to running away or truancy, so these are not handled by juvenile courts.

In addition to laws against delinquency, there are laws against specific behaviors that are relevant to this dissertation. In 2009, 524 girls violated the “Korean Act on Protection of Child and Youth from Sexual Exploitation” by engaging in prostitution or being depicted in or

distributing pornography. In 2009, half of them were not prosecuted and half of them who were prosecuted were placed on probation (SPO, 2010). These numbers are not included in the arrest statistics that have been presented.

Table 1 Number of Arrests of Juveniles from 2007 to 2009

	2007	2008	2009
Total number of arrests of juveniles	65,800	85,896	86,160
Number of arrests of boys	54,476	70,894	71,059
Number of arrests of girls	11,324	16,002	15,101
Girls arrests as a percent of total arrests	17.2%	18.6%	17.5%

Table 2 Number of Arrests of Juveniles by Crime Types

	Girls		Boys		Total	
Violent Crime	8,075	53.5%	21,434	30.2%	29,419	34.2%
Property Crime	5,774	38.2%	39,879	56.1%	44,653	51.9%
Fraud	626	4.1%	1,261	1.8%	1,887	2.2%
Serious Crime	269	1.8%	2,899	4.1%	3,168	3.7%
Trafficlaw violation	177	1.2%	4,707	6.6%	4,894	5.7%
Others	180	1.2%	879	1.2%	1,080	1.3%
Total Crime	15,101	17.5%	71,059	82.5%	86,101	100%

Note: Traffic law related crime includes driving without a licenses or driving under the influence of alcohol. Serious crime includes murder, robbery, arson, and rape.

Pressure to Succeed in School

One issue recently brought up in South Korea is extreme pressure on youth to succeed in school, and especially on examinations. Obtaining a good education has become one of the most crucial issues during adolescence. A high level of education is one of the preconditions for success in many aspects of Korean social life such as achieving financial success, obtaining a good job, achieving and maintaining a stable marriage, and maintaining high social status (Jung, 2008; Lee & Larson, 2000; Morash & Moon, 2007). To meet these social and parental expectations and desires, Korean youth are encouraged or expected to take part in not only the public formal curriculum activities at school but also private extra curriculum after class.

As a result, Korean youth spend almost all their time at school or in private educational institutions to acquire higher levels of academic achievement. Education matters for both girls and boys. Byun (2010) in the Korean Women's Development Institute reported gender equality for men and women in health services, education, culture, and economic conditions. Although girls are expected to do well in school and get higher education, they also are expected to emphasize being good wives and mothers (Byun, 2010).

Senior-Junior Relationships

In South Korea, the senior and junior relationship, whether in the same school or in the same neighborhood, is extremely hierarchical. The seniors comprise a group such as a gang, and the seniors make juniors join the group. After running away, youth form a 'family,' and they earn and spend money together. Both girls and boys rent rooms together. Compounding the problem, a new term is emerging in South Korea, *ga-fam*, which is a hyphenated form of

abbreviations of the Korean word *gachul* (runaway) and the English word “family.” (“<http://www.sisafocus.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=49378>,”).

Consumerism

The other well-known phenomenon that may affect adolescence in Korean society is “consumerism.” Consumerism is defined as the consumption of goods beyond basic needs. The emphasis on consumption of brand-name products is widely spread among the middle class, and status differs for the upper middle class which can afford to buy these goods and the rest of the middle class which cannot (Koo, 2007). Consistent with this emphasis, even among adolescent girls, prostitution may be a way of satisfying girls’ material desire to buy these brand-name products (Hu, 2008). Writing about Korean youth, Kong (2003) noted that “ Consumerism is an important factor in the establishment of their own culture by adolescents.” Her research showed that girls express their individuality through their clothes and spend money to buy desired goods (Kong, 2003).

In summary, it is important to understand and examine underage prostitution among female youth in South Korea in its unique cultural context. One can examine this phenomenon as an escape from the unstable house to survive, but others consider this as a phenomenon through which girls become more materialist due to the consumer culture in Korea.

Scope and Contribution of the Current Study

In the United States, a great deal of research has been amassed on explaining many types of delinquency with various types of criminological theories. However, most studies were conducted on boys' delinquency or included only small samples of girls (Belknap, 2006). The most common approach to understanding Korean delinquency has been to apply theories developed and tested primarily through studies of boys in the United States to Korean samples.

A limited number of recent studies of underage prostitution in South Korea attempt to describe and understand the effects of life-events to identify pathways into and out of underage prostitution. Other researchers rely on a rational choice explanation of girls' prostitution. Furthermore, the feminist pathways theory approach has produced some valuable understanding, but the research still has several limitations.

First, previous research fails to consider the full range of aspects of girls' lives and explain how a sequence of major events, such as sexual abuse, psychological abuse, and school experiences may influence the decision to become involved in underage prostitution. Prior research, considered in chapter 2, identifies youths' bonds to family and school as very important influences on their behavior, and these possible influences have been omitted from prior studies of South Korean youth and prostitution. Additionally, life events, such as developing ties to boyfriends and marriage partners and being engaged in school or work, may be important influences on desistance from underage prostitution.

Second, although prior studies based on the feminist perspective identified pathways to underage prostitution for girls, they failed to consider how individual level influences, specifically, gender identity and sexuality, are developed and affect girls' behavior. To understand girls' response to social and cultural contexts, it is important to investigate how they

perceive themselves and respond to patriarchal and gendered structures within their family, schools, and society. However, prior feminist pathways studies of underage prostitution lack explanations of the process of developing and changing identity of girls. For example, one study identifies three steps into and out of prostitution (Sung et al., 2009); however it failed to explore whether changes in the girls' identities were linked to their behavior.

Since girls (who possess agency) and their decisions are influenced by their surroundings, and their surroundings often reflect patriarchal gender arrangements, understanding pathways to underage prostitution can profitably be carried out within a feminist pathways theoretical framework (Belknap, 2006; Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Brown, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Davis, 2007; McClanahan, McClelland, Abram, & Teplin, 1999). The current study utilizes feminist pathways theory as one part of the theoretical framework. In addition, this study integrates the life-course perspective developed by Laub and Sampson (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993) and enhanced by Giordano, Cernkovich and Rudolph (2002) with feminist pathways theory to identify and understand pathways to prostitution within gendered society. Pathways to underage prostitution may vary among girls who have different backgrounds, histories, and experiences throughout their childhood and adolescence stages. Thus, the current research considers whether an integration of the pathways and the life-course perspectives developed in the United States is applicable in studying underage prostitution among female youths in South Korea.

Using an integrative model, the current research is designed to identify different pathways into prostitution and to explore whether girls at the end of adolescence experience identity or other changes that are likely to predispose them to continuing or ending prostitution. It will specifically consider whether there are different pathways into prostitution for girls who

run away from home and for those who continue to attend school and live at home. In documenting the pathways, the study will identify the needs of girls who come to the attention of the justice system due to prostitution. Specifically, this study provides a nuanced analysis of girls' pathways into prostitution during the adolescent stage in a girl's life-course, and of how girls involved in prostitution see their identities and their place in society.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Feminist Pathways Theory

The focus of this study is on the pathways leading up to girls' involvement in prostitution and changes that theory suggests are relevant to continuation or desistance from involvement. Belknap (2006) describes "feminist pathways theory" in her book, *The Invisible Woman*, and suggests that this theory examines how gender-related life course events explain females' crime, delinquency, and involvement in the justice system. Feminist pathways research usually uses data obtained by asking girls and women to retrospectively explain their lives and the sequence of major life events, such as experiences of abuse, delinquent behavior, or crime (Belknap, 2006; Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Brown, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Holsinger, 2000; Holsinger & Holsinger, 2005; Morash, 2010; Simpson, Yahner, & Dugan, 2008).

There are several advantages of using the feminist pathways perspective in studying girls' involved in underage prostitution (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Holsinger, 2000). First, the feminist perspective examines the effects of gender, such as unique features of the socialization of girls and their motivations for delinquency. Second, girls' lives are examined in relation to their experiences with sexism, and then theorized to consider the realities of girls' lives. Third, the feminist perspective examines the intersection between gender, race, and social class. Finally, it includes activism, which informs policy implications that can have positive effects on girls and women's lives.

At the core of the theory, it is argued that patriarchy, referring to a sex/gender system which is dominated by males' exercise of power and in which men control the system in order to oppress women in a society (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994), structures and operates society and

culture in the way that girls and women are differently, in most cases more negatively, influenced by life-events, and this dynamic can only be adequately understood from feminist perspectives (Belknap, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988). Thus, according to feminist pathways theory, girls and women are more negatively influenced by life-events, such as physical and mental abuse and neglect in the family, due to gender-related expectations and experiences within patriarchal surroundings across different developmental stages. For example, research comparing gender groups shows that for girls, childhood victimization is more common, starts earlier, and lasts longer than for boys (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Chesney-Lind & Rodriguez, 1983; Daly, 1992; Gaarder & Belknap, 2002; Gilfus, 1993). As a result, feminist pathways theory focuses on childhood victimization as a significant risk factor for girls' later delinquency (Belknap, 2006; Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Holsinger, 2000; Holsinger & Holsinger, 2005).

Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988) argued that a troubled home in which patriarchal arrangements resulted in sexual abuse played a significant role in producing girls' delinquency (see also, Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1998). They also showed that patriarchal criminal justice systems in the U.S. tended to label girls' reactions to abuse, including running away from an abusive home, as delinquent behavior.

Empirical Research on Feminist Pathways Theory

In an analysis of 444 incarcerated U.S. youths' self-reports, Belknap and Holsinger (2006) examined the gendered nature of risk factors for delinquency. They highlighted that the difference between female and male delinquency might be ascribed to diverse factors, such as socialized gender roles, structural oppression, vulnerability to abuse, and female responses to male domination. The study revealed that abusive events were a delinquency risk factor for both girls and boys, but that childhood sexual abuse was particularly important in the lives of female delinquents. Additionally, compared to delinquent boys, the girls were much more likely to have a history of physically harming themselves and thinking about suicide. Belknap and Holsinger (2006) concluded that feminist pathways theory could be further utilized to explain differences between girls' and boys' delinquency, so that the unique needs of each group could be identified.

In identifying the gender-specific needs of delinquent girls, one study (Holsinger & Holsinger, 2005) did explore racial differences, as recommended by Belknap and Holsinger (2006). The different reactions to abuse for racial groups are clearly shown in a comparison of White and African American girls (Holsinger & Holsinger, 2005). For African American girls, experiencing abuse is more significantly related to understanding their violence; however, for White girls, abuse is a significant explanation of poor mental health (Holsinger & Holsinger, 2005). The experiences of ethnic minorities affect the socialization process as well as self-esteem among girls. These differences, in turn, change the connections of abuse to delinquency and mental health outcomes. The study pointed out that subgroup differences may exist within gender groups.

The prior studies of feminist pathways theory convey several important points to be considered in the current study. First, girls' experiences and needs are unique and different from

those of boys. Second, girls' victimization has different influences on their behaviors compared to boys' victimization. Third, girls' victimization has continuing influence on their behaviors in later life. Fourth, girls' experiences are influenced by social and cultural contexts, so that they can only be adequately understood by knowing about the specific social and cultural context in which girls are situated.

Prostitution Research Using Feminist Pathways Theory

Consistent with prior findings about feminist pathways to delinquency, prostitution studies relevant to feminist pathways theory also found that girls become involved in prostitution due to unique life experiences. For example, research consistent with the pathways perspective suggests that underage prostitution is not a completely voluntary behavior, but that it often results when youths leave home because of abuse or rejection (Farley, Lynne, & Cotton, 2005; Hwang & Bedford, 2004; Lukman, 2009; Nadon, Koverola, & Schludermann, 1998; Silbert & Pines, 1982).

Several motivations lead youth to run away from home and live in the streets. The majority of these young girls run away from dysfunctional homes with a physically, sexually, and emotionally abusive environment, or homes with parental violence, parental drug and alcohol abuse, neglect, harassment, and other problems (Lukman, 2009). A high proportion of girls and women describe sexual abuse during their childhood prior to involvement in prostitution (McClanahan et al., 1999; Nixon et al., 2002; Silbert & Pines, 1981, 1982). The several examples of research that are described next provide empirical support for these conclusions.

Providing support for the feminist pathways perspective, Silbert and Pines (1982)

interviewed 200 former and current females involved in prostitution in San Francisco. The sample included racially diverse girls and women age 10 to 46 years old. The researchers found that 60% of prostitutes reported experiencing sexual abuse before the age of 16. Respondents explained that the only way to escape from the abuse was to run away followed by prostitution to obtain the resources needed to survive on the street. Eighty-nine percent of the sample said that they “needed money and were hungry. They felt they had no other options available to them at the time they started prostitution” (Silbert & Pines, 1982, p. 410).

Nadon and colleagues (1998) conducted in-depth interviews with 45 adolescent prostitutes and 37 adolescents who were not prostitutes in Canada, and identified different types of life experiences leading to prostitution. Those negative life events included a history of childhood sexual abuse, a history of childhood physical abuse, leaving home, running away, family dysfunction, interparental violence, and parental alcohol use.

In Taiwan, Hwang and Bedford (2004) carried out in-depth interviews with 49 juvenile prostitutes to explore their feelings about themselves and their work, the motivations for remaining in prostitution, and the difficulties of leaving it. The study included two categories of prostitution. The first category was *freely prostituting juveniles*, which means they took part in prostitution voluntarily and they had the power to change their status as prostitutes when they wanted to. The freely prostituting juveniles are similar to the group considered in this dissertation. The other group studied by Hwang and Bedford was *confined prostituted juveniles*, which are children imprisoned and forced to work 15–17 hours a day serving 20–30 clients. The study highlighted the difference between the two groups in regard to remaining in prostitution. Seventy-three percent (24 of 33) of freely prostituting juveniles explained that finance and lifestyle related motivations were the reasons that they stayed in prostitution. Girls explained that

when they worked as prostitutes, they could get money easily and have flexible work hours. The confined prostituted juvenile group explained that they have no choice to leave or to change their slave-like working conditions. Both groups experienced a lack of support at home, especially in the form of parental abuse and neglect.

More recently, Farley and colleagues (2005) interviewed 100 prostituting women and girls in Vancouver, Canada. They compared First Nation women with European-Canadian women in an examination of childhood physical and sexual abuse, homelessness, and violence in prostitution. Of the study participants, 52% were First Nation women, though First Nation people make up only 7% of Vancouver's total population. The authors pointed out that the over-representation of this group in prostitution reflects their poverty, marginalization, and devalued status as Canadians. First Nation women reported childhood sexual abuse and physical abuse significantly more often than did European Canadian women. The study highlighted that the vulnerabilities related to class, race, and gender can be considered as multiplicative risk factors for prostitution. The triple force of race, class, and gender discrimination significantly impacts First Nation women in Canada, often leaving them with no options other than prostitution to support themselves (Farley et al., 2005).

Widom and Kuhns (1996) did not work from a feminist theoretical framework. Instead, they identified risk factors that predicted various types of deviance. However, their findings are consistent with the feminist explanations. They conducted research on 1,196 young adults to examine the relationship between childhood victimization and subsequent promiscuity, prostitution and pregnancy. The study found that early childhood victimization is significantly related to increased risk for girls' prostitution.

Turning now to research in Korea that is consistent with the pathways approach, Lee and

Cho's (2004) study used interviews with nine Korean girls to identify pathways to underage prostitution. Of the nine girls, eight were runaways and had negative relationships with their parents. Most of the girls described starting underage prostitution as a way of living and surviving on the street after they had run away. The study indicated that girls who have experienced psychological and physical trauma in their family relationships were more likely to become involved in underage prostitution.

Hong and Nam (2008) interviewed 11 girls involved in prostitution. Among them, 6 girls explained that they had friends who were involved in prostitution and who led them to become involved in prostitution. For their quantitative investigation, they compared psychological and sociological aspects for two groups: 87 girls who had experienced underage prostitution and 80 girls who had not. The quantitative findings showed that girls who participated in underage prostitution had lower levels of self-esteem, less social support, negative views on their futures, and weaker coping strategies than their counterparts. Although their quantitative analyses found several statistically significant individual-level correlates of underage prostitution, their qualitative interviews provided evidence that a high portion of underage prostitution was initiated by peer influence, showing that delinquent peer relationship would be one possible pathway to underage prostitution in South Korea.

Focusing on runaway girls in Korea, Sung and colleagues (2009) conducted preliminary interviews with 5 girls, and then in-depth interviews with 43 girls involved in underage prostitution. Among the 43 girls selected through purposive sampling, 17 had returned home and 26 remained in the rehabilitation centers. Based on their research, Sung et al. (2009) described the pathway into and out of underage prostitution as having three steps: vulnerability, chaos, and stabilization. Girls were more vulnerable to underage prostitution when they had been victims of

or had witnessed domestic abuse, when they were unable to adjust to school, and/or when they were poor. Once they became involved in underage prostitution, they suffered from physically and emotionally chaotic life-events, such as multiple pregnancies and abortions. In the final stability stage, girls spent time in youth facilities and received education, treatment, and counseling to get out of underage prostitution.

The aforementioned studies consistently show that girls' experiences in their earlier life, such as abuse and neglect, rejection from family, or hanging out with delinquent peers, significantly influence running away from home, and girls' living conditions after running away, including lack of job opportunity, push them towards involvement in underage prostitution. Although previous studies in various countries have documented risk factors for underage prostitution, few studies have been carried out to understand girls' pathways to underage prostitution using the feminist pathways perspective. Furthermore, feminist pathways theory is unable to explain how girls desist from underage prostitution. Specifically in South Korea, there are a few studies of events that lead girls into prostitution, but there is no study based on feminist pathways theory, which points to the need to identify the full range and the sequencing of events leading up to prostitution in the context of Korean society. As a result, previous studies have failed to fully identify girls' needs and relevant services that can prevent their involvement in or support their exit from prostitution. These limitations result in inadequate understanding of underage prostitution, particularly in South Korea, and in under-developed policies assessing and targeting needs of girls who get involved in prostitution.

Life-Course Theories

Life-course theories examine different life-stages, and thus they are relevant to a study of adolescence. They focus on events, turning points, and transitions in individuals' lives throughout their life span (Elder, 1985). Relevant to this dissertation, they explain such things as the process leading up to illegal behavior and the decision to desist from it. As one ages, one experiences turning points, which are defined as changes in the life course or as transition from one to another life stage (Elder, 1985). Turning points may start people on a new trajectory, such as repeated illegal behavior such as prostitution or pimping (Elder, 1985, pp. 31-32).

Prior life-course studies found that not only micro-level events but also macro-level contexts significantly influence one's life-course. According to Elder (1994, p. 5), "the life course can be viewed as a multilevel phenomenon, ranging from structured pathways through social institutions...to the social trajectories of individuals and their developmental pathways." Elder (1994) argued that individual's life pathways could be influenced by historical times, the timing of lives, interdependent lives, and human agency in choice making. As Caspi and colleague noted, life-course is defined as culture-bounded age-graded social transitions (Caspi, Elder, & Herbener, 1990). These ideas imply that not only individual's life events within smaller social units, such as family and school, can affect developmental pathways, but also surroundings including opportunities for work and sex roles engraved by culture and norms can alter one's life course. Like the feminist pathways perspective, life-course theory suggests the need to identify particular events during childhood and adolescence that influence girls to engage in prostitution. In addition, it would be useful to understand what leads girls to change in ways that suggest they will not continue prostitution, and to link influences on girls to the larger social and cultural context.

There are a number of different theories that take a life-course approach to understanding onset, continuation, and desistance from offending (Farrington, 2005). The current dissertation utilizes Sampson and Laub's (1993) version of life-course theory, called the *general age-graded theory of informal social control*. In the remainder of this dissertation, the term *life-course theory* refers to the explanation developed by Sampson and Laub unless otherwise noted. As will be explained below, propositions and assumptions in this life-course theory are consistent with feminist pathways research, and thus the two theories can be integrated.

In their book, *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points through Life*, Sampson and Laub (1993) examine the effects of social bonds, such as ties to family and school on human development over the life course. They show how the relationship of the macro-level structural context to delinquency and crime is mediated by informal social control (especially ties to family and school), which in turn explains delinquency during childhood and adolescence. They also show some continuity in antisocial behavior from childhood to adulthood. However, increased informal social control after adolescence allows for the possibility of adult desistance from criminality despite early childhood propensities.

Specifically, the book describes a study of 500 male delinquents and 500 male non-delinquents based on which Sampson and Laub (1993) provide convincing evidence to support their theory. For example, when men lost their jobs, they lost friendships at work and ties to work institutions and they had limited opportunity to earn money. Losing a job was a turning point that contributed to weakened attachments to persons (e.g., family members and friends) and social institutions (e.g., family, school and work). Informal social controls (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) were weakened by this negative life event or turning point. In other empirically supported theories that explain offending, this type of change is referred to as weakened

connectedness (Coleman, 1988), embeddedness (Jessor, 1991; Sampson & Laub, 1993), and interdependency (Braithwaite, 1989).

Regarding discontinuity of criminal behaviors throughout the life course, Sampson and Laub (1993) argued that informal social control is age-graded since it will change depending on what life events an individual experiences at a particular stage in development. For adolescents, lack of bonds to parents and lack of school attachment create vulnerability to delinquency because they weaken informal social controls. Sampson and Laub (1993) concluded that other types of strong social bonds significantly modify children's continuation of delinquent behavior into adulthood. Specifically, they found that in the transition to adulthood, the formation of social bonds resulting from work or marriage increases individuals' social capital and leads adults to desist from most types of deviant behavior.

Addressing the Glueck's conclusion that not all youths who live in poor neighborhood become involved in delinquency, Sampson and Laub (1993) began their search for explanations of how dysfunctional family structure (including low family SES, disruption, high mobility, and abusive parenting) weakens informal social control, which in turn increases delinquency. (The Gluecks (1950) collected the data that Sampson and Laub analyzed.) Due to different levels of informal social control developed within family and schools, some youth respond to negative events with deviance while others follow prosocial trajectories as they age (Elder, 1994; Laub, Sampson, & Sweeten, 2006). In Sampson and Laub's theory, structural and contextual variation influences social control in the family. For instance, an economic crisis at the macro level can weaken the family processes that provide informal social control, thereby increasing delinquency (Rutter & Giller, 1983, p. 185; Sampson & Laub, 1993, p. 19). The contextual influences emphasized for the United States are economic and neighborhood conditions (Elder, 1985; e.g.,

Hagan, MacMillan, & Wheaton, 1996; Hagan & Palloni, 1988; Sampson & Laub, 1990). More relevant to the current study in South Korea, contextual influences that may affect informal controls include patriarchal social norms, values and structures as well as widespread materialism and consumerism, which rapidly and recently emerged in South Korea (e.g., Kim, 2003; Kong, 2003).

Identity Change During the Lifecourse

Giordano, Cernkovich, and Rudolph (2002) further developed Sampson and Laub's research, which was exclusively on white males who were adolescents in the 1950s, with their more contemporary study of 127 highly delinquent girls and the same number of highly delinquent boys whom they interviewed as adolescents and as adults. They agree with life-course theory that informal social controls established through bonds partly accounted for whether the study participants continued to break the law into adulthood.

Different from Sampson and Laub (1993), however, Giordano et al. (2002) explained desistance from crime also as a result of a person's change in identity. According to them, individuals desist from crime and delinquency through four stages of identity transformation. First, there needs to be a shift in the actors' basic openness to change. Second, when there is a "hook" for change, the actor needs to seek it out and respond to it. Third, the person who is changing fashions an appealing and conventional replacement self. Last, the actor changes how she or he views the deviant behavior. They concluded that the desistance process took the aforementioned steps for both gender groups, but religious transformations and concerns about their children (as hooks for change) also make differences in desistance for women. Similarly, using the ethnographic research method, Oselin (2008) conducted detailed observation of

interactions between prostitutes and their clients and semi-structured interviews with prostitutes. Agreeing with the notion that identity change results in desistance, Oselin found that women who successfully exit from prostitution talk and behave as if they have adopted a new role and identity that is divorced from prostitution (Oselin, 2008).

The aforementioned empirical findings suggest that an integration of cognitive transformation theory with life-course theory is viable as suggested by Giordano and her colleagues (2002). Furthermore, integration of the two theories and empirical tests of the integrated model has not been carried out, especially in non-U.S. cultural settings. The current study is guided by the integrated model in that it considers openness to change and identity for young women who were involved in underage prostitution.

As the first step for desistance from underage prostitution, girls need to develop openness for change. The openness for change does not mean accepting socially undesirable events as negative incidents (such as prostitution), but instead girls need to develop attitudes that allow them to accept change and make them ready to accept change (Giordano et al., 2002). In terms of prostitution, if girls define themselves in ways that are consistent with taking part in prostitution, to change they not only need to see prostitution as illegal activity, but further they need to strive to change their self-image.

Second, once they develop the attitudes and achieve readiness for change, girls would need to be exposed to positive life events that may serve as hooks for change. Such events may include placement in protection facilities, and developing positive friendships or relationships with parents, teachers, or program staff members. According to Giordano and her colleagues (2002), perceived meaning, salience and importance of positive events are critical, and the perception will vary across gender groups (see also, MacMillan, 2001). In this sense, from the

feminist perspective, policies developed for enhancing interactions between underage prostitutes and surroundings become important. Thus, more structured routine activities provided by programs for underage prostitutes (Laub et al., 2006), for example, may help them to form relationships that provide positive life events.

Third, once they are exposed to positive life events (hooks), then they should be helped to develop a conventional replacement self (Giordano et al., 2002). An example of such an identity transformation would be that a girl rejects the view of herself as a prostitute or a pimp and takes on a more positive image, such as that of a conventional student. According to Giordano and her colleague (2002), this process will provide a cognitive filter for girls' decision making.

In the previous paragraph, by applying Giordano and her colleagues' (2002) framework, I have elaborated on how girls can desist from underage prostitution based on the integrative model of cognitive transformation within life-course and feminist pathways perspectives. The series of positive events, such as events that lead to the development of attitudes for change, events that lead to exposure to hooks, events that lead to development of replacement self, and events for reinforcing the positive self image are expected to lead to girls' desistance from prostitution. Not moving through this process is expected to support continued involvement and persistence in underage prostitution.

Compatibility of Feminist Pathways and Life-course Theories

Belknap (2006) pointed out that the life-course perspective is pro-feminist in nature in that both life-course theory and feminist pathways theory explain youths' lives and consider a sequence of major life events. Using a life-course framework, MacMillan (2001) empirically demonstrated that violent victimization was most prevalent during the childhood and

adolescence periods in the life-course when many life trajectories were forming (e.g., the trajectory of offending). He presents evidence from studies grounded in developmental psychology as well as criminological research, including Sampson and Laub's (1993) work on the life-course and offending, to show how early victimization leads to different kinds of outcomes. In feminist pathways studies, empirical findings showed that girls were especially likely to be physically and psychologically victimized within and outside of their families (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Chesney-Lind & Rodriguez, 1983; Daly, 1992; Gaarder & Belknap, 2002). The similarity of the theoretical frameworks and related empirical findings clearly suggest that integration of life-course theory with feminist pathways theory is feasible and plausible.

Another reason that feminist pathways and life-course theories can be integrated is that they share similar assumptions about human agency. Feminist theories recognize that all individuals have some capacity to shape their lives and act with agency, even though there are constraints (Lerner, 1986). Similarly, life course theory recognizes that not all individuals will behave like others who go through the same experiences (Elder, 1994). Recent life-course theory studies of people who break the law clearly show that human agency influences behavior, though human agency is bounded within structure (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Laub et al., 2006).

Related to the issue of human agency, one way to deal with the conflict between those that explain girls' participation in underage prostitution as a result of rational choice and those who see abuse and other negative events as the cause (chapter 1) is to find evidence to support rejecting one or the other of these views. Instead, revised rational choice theory that does not contradict the idea that people have agency is used in this study. Given the importance of social context, recent rational choice theory recognizes limitations in human beings' rationality. Unlike classical rational choice theory, revised rational choice theory acknowledges that human decision

making is not completely rational, but it is constrained by individual and contextual factors, such as person's limited knowledge and social relationships (Pescosolido, 1992).

Specifically, in the neo-Marxist political economy approach (i.e., commonly referred to as public choice or political economy), decision making is purported to increase efficiency, but the process (i.e., decision making) is not completely rational because it is affected by variable characteristics of situations within a particular social structure (Mueller, 1976). One of the important features of this bounded rationality approach is that decisions are purposive and they are made under constraints. This dynamic approach to human rationality was developed in neoclassical management theory, suggesting that, unlike classical rational choice theory, the new dynamic approach to human rationality relies on the idea that humans calculate benefits against costs depending on how they perceive the benefits within a situation (Barnard, 1938; Simon, 1946).

Hechter and Kanazawa (1997) similarly argued that what they called 'sociological rational choice theory' "seeks to explain social outcomes on the basis of both social context and individual action. (p.208)" The aforementioned two approaches to dynamic rational choice acknowledge that social factors, such as values and norms, can impact the personal rational decision making process. Marxists' approach to rational choice admits that human rationality is inherently bounded due to limitations in cognitive ability, but also it emphasizes that human rational choice is purposive and the intentional choice is affected by social contexts, such as values. The social rational choice approach emphasizes that what a person chooses to do is affected by anticipated outcomes which most satisfies the person within particular social contexts. The contexts include culture, relationships, values, and norms.

By contrast, human agency, according to Giddens (1986), refers to humans' capability of

doing things based on their intention to do the things. According to Giddens (1986), that is why agency often implies humans' power. In other words, people make plans and they make decisions to follow the plans. Such planful decisions may be repetitive although situations and circumstances change (Giddens, 1986). In this sense, similar to Kiser's (1996) argument, rational choice theory could incorporate the concept of human agency. The assumption of human agency is compatible with revised rational choice theory in that human beings make intentional, purposive decisions for themselves. In applying these theories to underage prostitution, the current study presumes that girls can make intentional and purposive rational choice, but their decision making about underage prostitution is greatly bounded by their situations (e.g., abuse and rejection from the family, and limited work opportunity) and social contexts (e.g., sexual identity and roles imposed by patriarchic Korean society).

Benefits of Integrating Feminist Pathways and Life-course Theories

Both the feminist pathways and the life-course theories seem to hold promise for explaining underage prostitution. However, each alone has its own limitations and each theory can be useful to overcome the limitations of the other theory. First, the age-graded life-course theory has produced valuable understanding of effects of changes in informal social control on crime and delinquency, but it focused primarily on boys' and men's illegal behaviors. As Belknap (2006) pointed out, life-course theorists and researchers have paid very limited attention to females. By contrast, feminist pathways theory heavily focuses on history of victimization as an influence on later delinquency among girls.

However, feminist pathways theory has not really looked at the influence of changing bonds, especially developing new social ties to others (as a life event or a turning point) besides

the family. Thus, by addressing limitations of each theoretical approach, an integrated model of feminist life-course pathways may produce a more complete and adequate understanding of underage prostitution.

Conclusion

In summary, combining feminist pathways theory with life-course theory may improve the explanation of and deepen understanding of underage prostitution. Sampson and Laub (1993) used the life-course approach to show that life events and social controls play a role in boys' delinquency. Filling a gap left by Sampson and Laub's (1993) work, the feminist pathways approach shows that life events and social controls that shape female outcomes are gendered. This means that life events differently influence males and females, and the two gender groups tend to experience different life events. As shown in previous research, dysfunctional family patterns, such as neglect, has a much greater influence on females than on males. Also, girls are more often and repeatedly the victims of childhood sexual abuse.

The pathways perspective pays attention to relations of power, suggesting that females experience multiple forms of marginality related to delinquency and crime (Brown, 2006; Owen, 1998). This suggests that research should examine different groups of girls who go through multiple forms of marginality that may push them into underage prostitution. Studies of female offenders show the pervasive influence of abuse history, chaotic family lives, and running away from home on girls' delinquency (Belknap, 2006; Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1998). Male offenders clearly experience many similar problems, but these factors are less strongly related to criminality among males than females (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Brown, 2006; Holsinger, 2000). In this vein, Owen (1998, p. 3) states that, "Nor are men's life

events marked to the same extent as women's by pervasive sexism and patriarchal oppression" (p. 3). Overall, in the pathways perspective, gendered experiences are considered important in explaining the different patterns of the offending behaviors of female. The life-course perspective argues an andocentric point, and it fails to examine crime and delinquency as gendered social actions.

The current dissertation, therefore, links these two theories to explain underage prostitution in South Korea, and to identify girls' unique life events that affect their pathway to prostitution and the turning points that may lead them to stop prostitution. In addition, based on prior research showing that desistance depends partly on identity transformation (Giordano et al., 2002), the current study includes questions about how girls' change their view of themselves and their prostitution. How do these girls see themselves? Are there different hooks of change (transition) that affect girls' identities in ways that suggest they will discontinue prostitution?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

To study girls' pathways into prostitution and their decision making, in-depth interviews were conducted with 25 girls with a history of involvement in underage prostitution. In addition, in order to capture the complexities of girls' lives, this study used the life event calendar method with the qualitative in-depth interview with girls.

After getting input from the field test interview, the interview items were revised. After the field tests, actual in-depth interviews were carried out with 25 girls in governmental and/or community-based programs. For each girl, the interview took about two to three hours. During the first part of the interview, the researcher tried to build trust with the girls while collecting basic information such as information about age, education completed, and family structure. During the last part of the interview (lasting for 1 to 2 hours), the researcher gathered more information about girl's past experiences, the sequence of events leading up to prostitution, and her decision making process, motives and reasons for involvement in prostitution. Additional questions elicited information about the girls' identities, including changes over time, and about their ties to peers, school, adults, and others that may explain involvement or desistance from prostitution. The interviews also include questions about the social context, particularly perceived attitudes towards young women and their involvement in underage prostitution with middle age or older men and about gender roles in Korean context.

During the in-depth interview, the current study used the life event calendar method and retrospective interviews to understand girls' pathways into prostitution. The life event calendar (also referred to as the "life history calendar," "event history calendar," "life chart interview,"

“calendar method,” or “timeline followback” method (Roberts & Horney, 2010)) can be used to collect retrospective data for times that range from a few days to several years back depending on the study (Sutton, 2010). The in-depth interviews consisted of several open-ended questions. Esterberg (2002) indicates that the in-depth interview enables historically silenced populations to tell their stories.

The strength of using a life history method is its ability to provide rich, detailed, and in-depth insights into the individual’s own experience and the broader scope of social forces that shape them (Hanks & Carr, 2008). Life event calendar methods will facilitate exploration of life stories “at the event level” in the current research, since lifeline studies have been used to investigate the relative salience of life events and to solicit important events across the entire life course (Hanks & Carr, 2008).

The use of the life event calendar method in this study provides girls self-developed visual probes to help them remember and recall events and turning points in their lives. Girls were asked to fill out a calendar with major easily recalled events, such as important birthdays or starting middle or high school or graduations, and then to recall the order of key things within the calendar, like being physically punished, early sexual activity, first learning about compensated dating or other forms of prostitution, and so on. Such information then was added to the calendar to develop a complete picture. The interviews were audio-taped. The interviews were conducted in Korean and then transcribed into Word files, and then interviews were translated into English within the same Word file. The Word document that contains both the Korean information and the English translation were read into NVIVO, a software package for qualitative analysis. This made it possible for the researcher to examine both the Korean and the English versions of text

while coding and analyzing and interpreting the data.

Site and Sample Selection

To access the hard to reach population, I spent May and June in 2010 and January and February in 2011 volunteering in the Seoul Juvenile Probation Office, the Incheon Juvenile Probation Office, and a non-governmental organization in Seoul, Bright Future for Juveniles. The staff members who work in these organizations assisted me in contacting girls who had involvement with underage prostitution.

In the Seoul Probation Office, I spent 9 hours per week (3 three hour periods) during January and February 2011. I learned what kind of programs they have for delinquent girls (including girls who were involved in underage prostitution). In the Incheon Juvenile Probation Office, I participated in different types of focus groups (5 four hour periods in January 2011) and counseling programs (5 four hour periods in February 2011) with probation officers to develop relationships with staff members. In May and June 2010, I worked as a volunteer in Bright Future for Juveniles for 4 hours a day to develop rapport with the juveniles who use the center's services (there are both girls and boys who are there for various types of delinquency, including underage prostitution).

The study was conducted in different governmental based juvenile rehabilitation centers (which have different forms of organizational structures, such as probation offices, juvenile classification center, and juvenile detention center) in South Korea. Juveniles held at these rehabilitation centers are required to go through rehabilitation programs including education programs, vocational programs, and counseling and treatment programs. Length of stay in the institution may vary from 1 month to 2 years depending on the juvenile's family situation and

her situation. Girls who are age 18 or over were interviewed so that their adolescence up to age 18 could be considered.

The current study used purposive sampling to select 25 girls through these centers. I attempted to have a balance between young women who have limited contact with the programs and those that live in the program for a long period, since these two groups are likely to have different backgrounds, and variation in background would be important in my research. It is worth noting that the research participants identified for this study are not representative of all girls who are involved in underage prostitution. Because the sampling method is purposive in nature, the findings cannot be used to make generalization to a larger population.

Data Collection Instruments

The interview items are a modified version of the instruments used in an unpublished study by Morash and research by Oselin (2008) and Cobbina (2009). Specifically, the first part of the interview collected information on demographics as well as family factors, peer relationship, and school. In subsequent parts of the interview, interviewees were asked about involvement in prostitution. Also, data on their recent experience of the justice system and the influence of justice system and treatment center involvement on identity and social bonds were collected. Furthermore, the current study collected data on how girls see themselves and prostitution, and whether they change their view, and if so, why they change their view.

Interview items to be used in South Korea for the current study were prepared in two steps. The interview questions were first written in English. I translated the interview into Korean. Then, two bilingual (English and Korean) graduate students translated the Korean version back into English. One is Sookin Cho, who is second year Ph.D. student at the

department of human development at Michigan State University and the other is Juhyun Song, who is third year Ph.D. student at psychology department at University of Michigan. The graduate students, Morash, and I examined the resulting English translation together, and if it was not consistent with the original English version, the Korean translation was fixed.

Data Gathering Procedure

With IRB approval of the research, data collection began with contacting the probation and treatment centers in South Korea. Before the interview, potential participants were advised and ensured of the voluntary nature and confidentiality of the interview. After an informed consent form was obtained, semi-structured in-depth interviews containing open-ended questions were carried out. The interviews with each participant took about two to three hours in total. The study participants consented to digital voice recording of the interviews. Transcription was typically completed on the same day or the day after the interview was done. Participants were paid \$20 upon completion of the interview.

This study utilizes narratives with open-ended questions. The use of narratives provides a contextual and rich understanding of girls' pathways to prostitution and their predisposition to move out of it. Writing about her own research, Oselin (2008, p. 26) explains that the "semi-structure interview strategy alleviates some of the alienating effects that interviews can produce and, in fact, established trust so that many women talked freely about their experiences in prostitution." Thus, the in-depth interviews in this study are flexible semi-structured interviews that encourage the interview participants to tell their stories.

Furthermore, the second section of the interview contains open-ended questions that allow for considerable probing. Girls were asked to describe their pathway into prostitution,

including their initial and subsequent participation in prostitution.

Data on contextual information for incidents at different points during which the girl was involved were gathered. Furthermore, they were asked to describe how they set up and carried out prostitution and their responses to the prostitution. Then, the interview shifted to ask about the changes in girls' lives after getting into prostitution. Interview questions also ask about change in areas such as family relationships, health, identity, and patterns of consumption. Regarding programs in rehabilitation centers, they were asked to discuss whether they found them helpful, why or why not, and ways to improve the program. The interview also includes questions about attitudes towards sex and virginity, identity, and femininity. Finally, girls' were asked about their needs and were asked to provide their own accounts of what would prevent underage prostitution.

Data Analysis Techniques

Two qualitative techniques of data analysis were employed: reconstruction of life event histories and narrative coding of themes in the interview responses. Each interview was coded into life event histories to examine the nature and timing of events in each girl's interview. Retrospective data were usually used along with the life event history analysis to examine the effects of changes in life (Hagan & Palloni, 1988). Thus, the focus of the analysis has been to look for patterns (i.e., pathways) that emerge from the narratives.

Specifically, the current study follows the procedures for narrative data analysis suggested by Creswell (2006); 1) narratives are read carefully to form initial codes (Reading and memoing phase), 2) girls' stories are described in chronological order to provide further understanding of life processes, i.e., pathways (Describing phase), 3) Stories, epiphanies and

matching materials are identified and located (Classifying phase), 4) true meaning of stories are interpreted (Interpretation phase), and 5) life processes including unique life events are presented in ways to test theories (Representing and visualizing phase).

Coding

Data were read into NVIVO software, which helps to analyze, shape, and manage qualitative data. This software is also helpful for studies in which multiple languages are used, as it is possible to include the responses in the language used by the study participant as well as the translation of the responses. Thus, both the Korean and English versions of responses could be considered in coding and interpreting the data. Furthermore, NVIVO makes it easy to search and manipulate the data, and it can display various codes and categories both graphically and descriptively (Creswell, 2006). The dissertation committee chair examined the initial coding scheme and suggested more detailed subthemes that would capture more specific themes than initially coded. Together, we established the thematic categories by refining the codes under the heading themes, and we developed descriptive labels to represent each category. For example, “Context,” “Decision,” “Experience,” “General information,” and “Terms” were used as heading themes. Then, under each heading theme, the subthemes were categorized. For example, under “Context,” there are five different subthemes: “family,” “school,” “peer,” “boyfriend,” and “Korean society.” Then, under each category, related descriptions are coded into more specific nodes.

Intercoder Reliability

Reliability can be addressed in qualitative data in several ways (Creswell, 2006). The

focus on reliability is on intercoder agreement based on the use of more than two coders to analyze qualitative data. To establish intercoder agreement, I worked with a Ph.D. student who has more than two years of experience with qualitative data coding in NVIVO software and who has previously carried out interviews with delinquent girls. I randomly selected five open-ended questions from five different cases. We coded independently, and then I compared the two codes and found intercoder agreement. Because of the nature of the interviews, it was common to capture peripheral text surrounding a theme (Kurasaki, 2000).

When coding, Miles and Huberman (1994) recommend an 80% rate of agreement. Some methodologists recommend calculating the Cohen's Kappa value to reflect agreement, but others conclude that for the type of narrative data used in this dissertation it is sufficient to calculate the agreement percentage (Creswell, 2006). Following the coding steps described in Creswell's book provided a realistic assessment of agreement, because it allowed for agreement on coding within a passage but not the inclusion of every word. Thus, the selection of more words within a passage by one of the coders than the other was counted as intercoder agreement. After discussion of rules for coding, we obtained an 88% rate of intercoder agreement on the five randomly selected cases (20% of the total case). I then completed the coding for the remainder of the cases.

Analysis

In the first step in the analysis, I identified three groups to describe girls' different types of prostitution activities. Then, I examined each girl's "life history" and made a flowchart of the sequence of events for each girl in each of the three groups. Second, by using this flow chart, I examined each girls' sequential or singular life event(s) which could affect girls' involvement in

prostitution. Third, from the findings about the girls' sequential life events, I identified 2 motivations for becoming involved in prostitution (material and survival needs) and 2 key influences (abusive/dysfunctional family and senior/peer influences).

Finally, I drew 4 different circles, with each circle representing one of the 4 influences, and put each girl in the circle or the overlap of the circles. The diagrams containing the circles visually show the overlapping (or singular) influences on each girl. Separate circle diagrams also were prepared for girls involved only in prostitution, only in pimping, and in both prostitution and pimping.

To understand whether girls differed across the many coded themes, I first examined the entire group. Then I compared girls motivated by material desires with those motivated by survival needs. I also compared girls who prostituted only, pimped only, and did both.

CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE AND INFLUENCES ON GIRLS' INVOLVEMENT IN PROSTITUTION

The main focus of this dissertation is to examine the pathways into underage prostitution among female youth in South Korea. The present chapter includes an explanation of the terms that girls use to describe their involvement in the sex trades and the different types of activities they took part in, a description of the sample, and a discussion of the different pathways into underage prostitution. To understand how girls get involved in prostitution, it is essential to understand girls' past experiences as well as their decision making process. As mentioned previously, empirical research indicates that childhood victimization, economic marginalization, and substance abuse can play a unique role in shaping female criminality (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Cobbina, 2009; Daly, 1992). In this chapter, I turn my attention to the 25 girls' accounts of their own entry into prostitution. In analyzing the data, I explain patterns as they relate to beginning and continuing prostitution.

Description of the Sample

Of the 25 girls, 4 were on probation, 6 were interviewed while they were in the juvenile classification center, and 15 were in the juvenile detention center. Four girls were under disposition No. 6 (Juvenile Act § 4), which indicates a short-term period of probation (6 months to 2 years) along with the combination of a Community Service Order and an Attendance Center Order. The juvenile classification office is where girls wait for a decision about classification and disposition. Six of the girls I interviewed were charged with underage prostitution between September and November, 2011. The remaining 15 girls were charged with either "violation of probation order" or "underage prostitution." These 15 girls were under disposition No. 10

(Juvenile Act § 4), which constitutes detention at the juvenile detention center for more than one year. The sampling of girls from different settings increased the potential for having girls with a variety of backgrounds and different sorts of involvement in prostitution. The girls described different types of prostitution activity: their own prostitution, pimping, and involvement in both prostitution and pimping. The sample includes 10 (or 40 percent) of girls who were involved in prostitution, 7 (28 percent) who were involved in pimping, and 8 (32 percent) who were involved in both prostitution and pimping.

The 25 study participants ranged in age from 18 to 22 years old with a mean age of 18. All of the interviewees had never been married. Six girls had been pregnant, but they had either had an abortion or had put the baby up for adoption. Ten of the 25 girls dropped out of middle school, and 8 of them dropped out of high school. Two of them earned the equivalent of a high school diploma, while 7 girls had less than an 8th grade education. In South Korea, elementary school consists of grades 1 to 6 and middle school consists of grade 1 (7 in the United States) to 3 (9 in the United States). Compulsory education is required for every child from elementary school to graduation from middle school. Seventeen (68 percent) of the girls in the sample did not finish their compulsory education.

Twelve of the 25 girls reported that they had grown up in middle-class families in which one or both of their parents had a middle-class job. However, half (13 of 25) of the interviewees grew up in disadvantaged and economically marginalized conditions with varying degrees of poverty. Nine girls grew up in a poor family in which one of the parents worked for low pay or did not work, and as a result the family periodically received social welfare benefits. Four girls were from families in which both parents were unemployed.

Family Background

Seven of the 25 girls reported growing up in families with both biological parents present. The remaining 18 girls were from families characterized by parental divorce, desertion, or death. Eight girls lived with one parent. Eight other girls lived with one parent and a stepparent. One girl lived with her grandmother after she lost both of her parents to suicide within the same year. The one remaining girl lived by herself.

The girls provided detailed descriptions of their fragmented families. Nari, a 19 year old girl in the juvenile detention center because of her pimping activity, said,

Nari : When I was in B elementary school, I grew up in my grandparents' care. Since the 6th grade (13 years old), I started to hang out with delinquent peers, and for the first time I met my mother who ran away from home before. In the 7th grade (14 years old), I had a tough time because my grandfather passed away. In the 8th grade (15 years old), I ran away from home, didn't go to school like other friends, and started to smoke cigarettes and drink alcohol. At that time... my father committed suicide. In the 9th grade (16 years old), I was so shocked that I sometimes did harmful behaviors against other people and committed bad things. During that time I ran away, I knew that my mother committed suicide. Before I came here [juvenile detention center], I lived with grandmother.

Sori is a 21 year old girl and owns a ticket café with a woman who worked as a pimp for several years. She lived by herself since the age of 16.

Sori : When I was young, my parents were divorced. Because my mother lived with my

stepfather, we didn't meet many times. I dropped out of school in the 8th grade in middle school and I ran away from home. I lived alone since 2007 [at age 16]. When I was at home, I frequently conflicted with father, so I just ran away from home.

Sori's and Nari's accounts show how combinations of disrupted families, running away, and dropping out of school characterized the lives of many girls in the study.

Negative Family Dynamics

The current study includes 20 (or 80 percent) of girls who were physically or emotionally abused by their family members or who came from families with other negative dynamics. Ten (or 40 percent) of girls were physically abused by their fathers or stepfathers. Of the 10 girls, 6 were involved in prostitution, one girl was involved in pimping, and the remaining 3 girls were involved in both activities. Three of the 10 girls were hit, brutally beaten, or attacked by stepfathers. The study found no girls who were sexually abused by their family members. Compared to Western studies, previous research on sexual abuse in Korean family explains that in South Korea, sexual abuse is viewed as a family problem which should be solved in the family and must remain as "secret" (Kim & Kim, 2005). This belief may account for no girls in the present research reporting sexual abuse.

Sori, a 21 year old girl involved in both prostitution and pimping since she was 16 said,
Sori : Since childhood, my father hit me a lot. Once, my father hit me, I was wearing jeans at that moment. The jeans were torn and blood was stuck on my thighs and the jeans. It really hurt. There was no reason [for hitting me].

Sori's statement shows the severity of abuse that many girls experienced.

The other girl, Dahee was 18 years old and was involved in prostitution since she was 15. She was hit by her father and her mother was missing. She filed a 'missing person' report with police for her mother, but she could not find her mother yet due to being in the detention center.

Dahee: I lived with father, mother, and older brother in [a city]. My mother ran away from home, and after her running away, I reported my mother's disappearance. Actually, my mother and I had good relationships. But, when my father got drunk, he hit my mother frequently and sometime hit me as well. I remembered that I talked with mother a lot... but, I didn't with father. After my running away, it was really difficult to find a job, so I started the conditional meeting. I just hated my family and such domestic violence, family disruption, and so on. I think because of those things, my mother ran away. I really miss my mother now. If there is a way to find my mother, I want to meet her. But, now there is no such way because I am here.

Five (or 20 percent) of the girls were physically and verbally abused by their other family members. Three girls were beaten by their mothers or a stepmother and one girl was physically abused by her sibling. The other one girl was physically abused by her uncle and verbally abused by her grandmother.

Hyunju lived with her father, grandmother and uncle after her mother ran away.

Hyunju: My mother cheated on my father several times, and their relationship was bad. My grandmother insulted my mother in front of my sister and me. She said, "Your mother

is a whore. You'll be just like your mother when you grow up." Grandma said a lot of bad things about my mother when we were very young. We lived with our uncle, and he hit us a lot. If he was angry, he just hit us. He kicked and punched our faces. I couldn't last long in a situation like that. I asked him to hit me instead of my sister, but he intentionally hit her. If he got upset about something that happened somewhere else or if we ate out together, he would grab my hair and hit me.

Other Problems in the Family

Eight (or 32 percent) of the girls had seen or heard their mothers being battered by their fathers or stepfathers. Among the 8 girls' mothers, 6 had escaped from their abusive spouses.

Sungji lived with her father and step mother after her mother ran from her abusive spouse.

Sungji: My father beat my mother and me a lot of times when I was young. So, they got divorced and my father met a new woman. I don't have time to talk with my stepmother and my father. Most of time, I have to stay alone. My mother had good expectations of me, but I couldn't meet her often after the divorce.

Another girl, Namin lived with her mother and sister. Her father was imprisoned because of domestic violence.

Namin: When I was in 3rd grade in elementary school, my parents were divorced, and I experienced domestic violence from my father. When my mother was pregnant, my parents lived together, but my father went to jail. My sister reported my mother's domestic violence to the police several time, and, in turn, my sister told me that she saw

her father was in jail.

Dana ran away after witnessing her mother's extreme abuse by a stepfather and after her mother committed suicide.

Dana: My parents frequently fought each other. They were divorced when I was 7. I live with my grandmother and younger brother, who is in the 6th grade. I have a 2-year-old half-sibling. My mother killed herself. My stepfather cheated on my mother. My mother witnessed the scene in which stepfather and another girl, who worked in a bar, went into a motel room. My mother eavesdropped on a telephone conversation. When my mother was pregnant, my stepfather strangled her and kicked her belly. They fought each other every day. My mother was struggling with depression. Then, she committed suicide. My mother and stepfather were both 35 years old. My stepfather hated me. He did physical labor. He battered my mother and me. We didn't talk to each other. I just drank alcohol with my friends at Christmas. During those periods, everything was hard because of my mother and stepfather, so I even considered running away from home. I ran away last Christmas. No one knows that I'm here....

Five of the girls indicated that one or both parents had significant problems with alcohol. Yeonji talked about her father's drinking and his beating her.

Yeonji: To be honest, when he got drunk and angry, he hit me a lot. It was as if he took his anger out on me. Maybe, his violence against me might come from my faults. But, even though he could communicate something through words, he just hit me. He seriously

hit me a lot, so I ran away from home. Honestly, I think his violence affected my behaviors in that I hit my friends.

Because so many of the girls had parents who were separated or divorced, 6 (or 24 percent) of the girls lived with a stepparent. There are also girls whose parents were deceased and who lived with a grandmother. Like the girls who lived with their biological parents, they often experienced abuse from other guardians. For example, Haneul lived with her mother and sister. Previously she had experienced and witnessed family violence perpetrated by her stepmother.

Haneul: I fight with my stepmother. How can I do nothing when I see my stepmother grab my sister's hair and hit her? My mother doesn't have hair because she is a monk. So, my sister and stepmother fight each other. My father hits my sister, too. My father treats his stepdaughters well but hits his daughter. It makes me angry. Once, we all went to the police department together. My sisters and I finally moved away from our stepmother. That was the most serious moment of my life. I really thank my mother. One day, father called me and he cried and said "sorry" to me. He had had a car accident and had lost his one leg. I felt sorry too but I didn't say so to him.

Yumin lived with her stepfather and mother. She has experienced serious abuse not only from her stepfather but also from her mother.

Yumin: My stepfather put a handkerchief into my mouth and wrapped my mouth with tape, then hit me. He hit me a lot because of my running away. Every part of my body was

bruised. Sometimes my mother hit me when she got drunk. At first, I didn't run away, but later I finally ran away because when I skipped classes, my mother drank alcohol and hit me again. My mother drank almost every day, and then...hit me again, so I ran away. She hit me anytime even in the morning or day. Then, she hit me again at night when she drank. My mother is a shaman. So sometimes she got another spirit in her body, so she hit me.

When examining family background, the study found that girls are from families with negative dynamics or other problems. Previous accounts of girls show how combinations of childhood victimizations and disrupted families characterized the lives of many girls in the study. In the next section, I will examine girl's description of their involvement with prostitution, which will then be shown to be connected to the negative family experiences.

Girls' Description of Their Involvement with Prostitution

Early in each interview, I asked each girl, "Would you describe yourself as someone who has done compensated dating or exchanged sex for money, or do you use some other words? If you use some other words, how do you describe this?" Throughout the interview, I then used terminology that each girl used to describe her actions. The interviews revealed that the girls' terminology to describe "underage prostitution" has changed from "compensated dating" to "conditional meeting." For example, Yejin said "We call this 'condition' or 'conditional meeting.' Sometimes I just say, 'I'll make money, with friends.'"

Twenty four (or 96 percent) of the girls used the term "conditional meeting" to refer to "underage prostitution." When using Internet chatting, girls type only "Condition" or "CD" as an abbreviation for this activity. The other terms that girls used were "prostitution," "compensation," "sponsor," and "conditional meeting fraud." The first three terms indicate "having sex with men in exchange for money or material goods." The last term, "conditional meeting fraud," refers to tricking men out of their money. Specifically, the girls ask men to meet at a motel or "love hotel" to have sex. Then they demand payment first before having sex. Next, the girls ask the men to take a shower, and then run away without providing sexual services. The other type of "underage prostitution" is "peer pimp" which means that teenage girls arrange for their peer to have sex with men in exchange for money or material goods. The research includes girls who acted as a "peer pimp."

Ten (or 40 percent) girls were involved in prostitution, 7 (or 28 percent) of the girls were involved in peer pimping, and 8 (or 32 percent) of the girls were involved in both prostitution and peer pimping activity. Some of the girls progressed from fraudulent prostitution to

prostitution to pimping. Later I discuss the age-based hierarchical structure of peers in South Korea – which I noted in the introduction to this dissertation – in more detail. To understand the passages presented next, it is sufficient to know that older peers are referred to as seniors, and younger peers are called juniors.

Namin, a 19 year old girl who had both prostitution and pimping activity said,

Namin: I met a friend living in Seoul, so I could belong to their bike gang. She introduced a boy. I started to do 'conditional fraud' with the boy. Then, I really started prostitution in [a city]. And then I worked in an island near [the city] for one and a half year. I thought that's fine to make money. After that, my boyfriend called me, so I went to meet him again. Then, I started to force juniors to do it, instead of doing it myself in person.

Sungji described her experience.

Sungji: I ran away from home for 2 years. When I was in a relationship with my boyfriend, I stayed at his home and didn't do the conditional meeting. After breaking up with him, I did it [prostitution] myself, and later I pimped some girls for prostitution. Some senior guys and I pimped the girls for prostitution. We rented a studio house to let the girls stay there.

The above passages present the range of activities girls described and show progression from one to the other. As already noted, some girls only participated in one of these different types of prostitution involvement.

Girls' Explanations of How and Why they Became Involved in Prostitution

Previous studies found that girls become involved in prostitution due to unique life experiences. For example, research consistent with the feminist pathways perspective suggests that underage prostitution is not a completely voluntary behavior, but that it often results when youths leave home because of abuse or rejection (Farley et al., 2005; Hwang & Bedford, 2004; Lukman, 2009; Nadon et al., 1998; Silbert & Pines, 1982). Furthermore, the aforementioned studies consistently show that girls' experiences in their earlier life, such as abuse and neglect, rejection from family, or hanging out with delinquent peers, significantly influence running away from home, and girls' living conditions, including lack of job opportunity, push them towards involvement in underage prostitution. These explanations are consistent with the backgrounds of most of the girls who took part in the research. In this section, I present girls' explanations of how and why they became involved in prostitution.

Reasons that Girls' Run Away

Previous research shows that several motivations lead youth to run away from home and live in the streets. As described in the chapter 2, the majority of girls run away from a physically, sexually, and emotionally abusive environment, or homes with parental violence, parental drug and alcohol abuse, neglect, harassment, and other problems (Lukman, 2009). In addition, research shows that a high proportion of females describe sexual abuse during their childhood prior to involvement in prostitution (McClanahan et al., 1999; Nixon et al., 2002; Silbert & Pines, 1981, 1982).

In this section, I examine the life history of girls who experienced childhood

victimization and explain their decision to run away from home as a coping mechanism. Other than childhood victimization, other issues that may lead girls to run away from their families include other negative family dynamics noted above, poverty, and having one or more parents with a drinking problem.

First, one of the most important findings in feminist criminology is the association between victimization experience and offending. Previous research indicates that childhood abuse is related to delinquency and criminal behavior (Daly, 1994; Holsinger & Holsinger, 2005). Running away is a coping mechanism that seven (28 percent) of the girls employed to avoid abuse from their family.

Jinhee: My parents were extremely indifferent to me. I am not satisfied. One little thing I would like to do is eat out with my parents. They always fight each other, and yell at each other while I'm there. My father hits me, too. Once, I saw my mother having sex with a friend of my father. I was so shocked. I have also seen my father force my mother to have sex. My mother said, "Am I a whore? Why are you doing this to me? I don't want to." Then, my father hit her. I was in the living room, and I just ran away. That was the last time I saw my mother.

Previous research indicates that girls like Jinhee who came from an abusive environment, are likely to be involved in prostitution and status offenses such as running away (Widom, 1995; Widom & Kuhns, 1996). Running away represents an opportunity for girls who have an abusive family and have limited options for escape from physical and sexual violence (Gilfus, 1993).

Childhood victimization and witnessing violence between parents are important factors that contribute to girls' involvement in delinquency.

First, consistent with previous studies, the findings of the current study indicate that the majority of girls experienced physical abuse as children. The finding showed that girls experience no sexual abuse in the family. As described above, sexual abuse is viewed as a family problem and should be solved in the family. Thus, my data did not include information about girls' sexual abuse. However, empirical research in the United States shows childhood sexual abuse as a risk factor for early sexual initiation and prostitution (Widom & Kuhns, 1996). Importantly, previous studies also show that not only victims of sexual abuse, but also of nonsexual forms of childhood victimization, tend to be involved in compromising sexual behavior such as prostitution (Maxfield & Widom, 1996; Wilson & Widom, 2010).

Second, neglectful and damaged home environments may lead to a desperate need to escape from home. Research shows that girls stressed by negative family dynamics end up on the street with few resources and with heightened risk of prostitution (Brannigan & Van Brunschot, 1997; Greene, Ennett, & Ringwalt, 1999; McCray, Wesely, & Rasche, 2011; Silbert & Pines, 1981, 1982; Whitebeck, Conger, & Kao, 1993). Childhood victimization is not the only form of familial dysfunction that may lead girls to run away or become involved in prostitution. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's 1996 Report on Child Prostitution as a Form of Forced Labor, "a child whose parents are separated or divorced or a child whose parents are deceased and is living with a relative or friend" or "a child whose parents are drug addicts, alcoholics, or compulsive gamblers" is at an increased risk of turning to prostitution (pp. 66-67).

One girl in the study lost both parents to suicide. Nari, a 19-year-old girl who was serving two years in a juvenile detention center for underage prostitution and pimp activity, described in vivid detail how she became depressed and then turned to underage prostitution. She lost her father when she was 15 years of age and then lost her mother when she was 16 years of age.

Nari: When I was young, my mother drank alcohol a lot and left home many times. Then, when she came back home after drinking, she would hit me. Sometimes, she threatened me with a knife in her hand. Because of my mother, my father committed suicide, and I was traumatized and ran away from home. After running away, I engaged in conditional meeting to survive. During that time, my mother finally committed suicide because she couldn't overcome alcohol and depression. So, I only had my grandmother after that. Because of my parents' suicides, I had tough times. I tried to commit suicide many times. Now, I'm in treatment for depression. I think my mood is much better.

Namin was a witness to domestic violence and was abused by her father. She was also sexually abused by a man when she was 15 years of age. Her father was finally put in jail for domestic violence.

Namin: In the 3rd grade in elementary school, my parents were divorced, and I experienced domestic violence from my father. When my mother was pregnant, my parents lived together, but my father went to jail. My sister reported my mother's domestic violence to the police several time, and, in turn, my sister witnessed my

mother's imprisonment in jail. One day when I was 15 years old, I drank a lot and I was raped by a boy who I met through a friend. I really hate to think of that day. I endured it and cried the whole night. I couldn't sit down because of the pain. I thought that I would do anything because I was ruined anyway.

Namin's statement shows how violence in her family, including violence against herself, made her vulnerable to sexual assault. Her loss of virginity made her feel "ruined," so she saw no reason to avoid prostitution.

Need to Survive after Running Away

“Survival sex” refers to the selling of sex to meet subsistence needs such as the exchange of sex in return for a place to live and for food (Greene et al., 1999). If a young female runaway finds no support system, she may resort to sexual compromise for the purpose of survival. In this way, prostitution and running away are undeniably related, and those elements that induce young women to run away promote their involvement in prostitution. Understanding why girls run away may therefore shed light on the factors that contribute to their involvement in prostitution. Ten of the girls in this study, including some of those cited above, engaged in underage prostitution as a means to survive on the street after running away from home.

Dana, an 18-year-old girl who was in the Juvenile Classification Office, made the following statement about her situation when she first ran away:

Dana: I didn't have anything. I was wearing my school uniform when I ran way, so I needed clothes. Because I had already had sexual experiences, I did it [prostitution] again in [a province]. At first, I moved from one motel room to another every day, so I needed money.

Like Dana, Jiyeon stated, “I needed money for food and living expenses.”

Most of the girls who ran away from home stayed in a motel room or at a 24-hour Internet café. The price of an Internet café is relatively affordable compared to staying in a motel. Girls who stay overnight at an Internet café are more likely to get involved in cyber chatting which often leads to prostitution. Haneul, a 20-year-old girl who is on probation for two years said, “*I went to the Cyber Café to chat on the Internet. I found a man so easily through Internet*

chatting. I was happy that I could make money easily.”

Compounding the problem of survival after running away, there are not enough legal part-time jobs for youth in South Korea. Even if a young person can find a part-time job, the pay is quite low, so girls want to find an easier way to earn money.

Sulim: Teenagers like us need money. But, there’s no parental support on the outside because we’ve run away from home. Of course, we could find a part-time job, but the money from a part-time job isn’t enough to pay for a motel room at all. So we do this work [prostitution]!

Previous research highlights the urgent need to develop intensive and long-term services for runaway youth to provide them with alternatives to prostitution as means of meeting their economic needs (Greene et al., 1999). Consistent with previous research, in all of these accounts girls resorted to prostitution owing to circumstances produced by the need to survive and support themselves financially. These findings, coupled with the fact that some girls run away, suggest that economic survival plays a significant role in Korean girls’ pathways to underage prostitution.

Peer Influences

Previous research shows that there is a strong connection between delinquent activity and peer influence (Akers, 1996; Brezina, Agnew, Cullen, & Wright, 2004). Adolescents who have peers that encourage delinquent activity are more likely to become delinquent (Agnew & Brezina, 1997). A female's first prostitution experience is likely to have been influenced by her interpersonal peer network (Dalla, 2000). Most of the previous research found a high association between peer influence and the decision to participate in delinquency, but only a small number of studies examine the effects of peer influence on adolescents' prostitution.

The interview questions asked the girls to reflect on their time in school and included questions related to what was happening with peers and how they got along with peers. I asked them if there were any positive or negative events with peers and how these influenced their decisions to get involved in prostitution. Twenty (or 80 percent) of the girls in this study stated that their association with peers influenced their involvement in prostitution.

Haneul talked about influence from her peer. Her peer helped her initiate prostitution and suggested this was a way to avoid going back to live with her stepmother.

Haneul: She [my friend] teaches me how to do this. She said, "You do not have money. Do you want to go back home and with your stepmother? I can make money by doing conditional meeting? Do you want to do this? The decision is yours." My friend learned this from another friend.

Sori had already started prostituting, but a senior girl helped her make more money doing

it.

Sori: By meeting the women working with me, I could do more serious work. Before meeting them, I worked alone. Now, with the people who I work with, I could make more money.”

Yuna, who joined a school gang in 7th grade, ran away and started to drink. She started hanging out with delinquent peers and was pressured to start prostitution.

Yuna: I was a normal girl in elementary school and at the beginning of 7th grade in middle school as well. But, in the middle of the 7th grade, I made some friends in school gangs. Some senior students made me join a school gang, so I joined it from then until the 9th grade. I just ran away and hung out with the members. Since the 9th grade, I've hung out with two girls. They were accomplices in the same case and under disposition No. 10. I hung out with those two girls a lot. They didn't make any trouble in the 7th grade except for running away from home. We met at a fight, so the first meeting wasn't good. We swapped cell phone numbers and then became friends and started committing crimes together. I have a lot of friends. We just hang out at a friend's house where the parents came home late. We don't do anything wrong, but we spend a couple of hours at the Internet Café and chat there, or we go to karaoke and sing a song. I didn't drink then, but I've started to drink.....The senior asked me to do this by phone. I hung up the phone at first. But later, she talked about this again and I just started.

Dana started her first experience with her best friend.

Dana: I don't have many friends, but I have one best friend. I spend lots of time with old friends. After school, I spent lots of time with them. When I ran away, I had about 70 dollars in my pocket. At that time, we went to an Internet café together. Someone told us how to make money by tempting men through the "buddy buddy" chat site [a well-known chatting website in South Korea]. At that time, I knew what "Kiss Arbeit" [men's masturbation without intercourse] was.

Peers had an especially strong influence on 4 study participants, who said that they belonged to a ga-fam, and who indicated that peer attachment in the ga-fam provided not only economic but also emotional support.

Yuhee explained,

Yuhee: We lived together every single day like a family since we ran away. We called us 'gachul family.' I lived with seven friends, but now I have contact with four of them. We lived in a motel room together for several months. I keep in touch them.

The other girl, Jinhee, said

Jinhee: I ran away and made a family. We call that 'runaway family'(ga-fam). I live with two seniors. We started to do this [prostitution] together with a man. He got a motel room for a while and we (three girls including me) made money.

Aside from peer support, an important part of how peers influenced girls' entry into prostitution is through the relationship between a senior and junior peer, which is a unique aspect

of South Korean culture. The majority (18 girls or 72 percent) of the girls in this study stated that their association with seniors influenced their involvement in prostitution. In South Korea, the senior and junior relationship, whether in the same school or in the same neighborhood, is extremely hierarchical. The seniors comprise a group such as a gang, and the seniors make juniors join the group.

Gahee referenced the hierarchical relationship between seniors and juniors in Korea.

Gahee: After we graduated from elementary school, my girlfriends and I started the "seven girls group." Then I hung out and roamed the streets with boys. When I was in middle school, I smoked cigarettes and drank alcohol with friends and seniors. I had some juniors do errands, and I learned what the so-called order and the hierarchical relationship between seniors and juniors are.

Yumin explained that she forced other girls into prostitution to earn money when she ran away from home and lived on the streets, saying,

Yumin: One of my friends showed me how to do it [pimp]. At first, I forced other junior girls to do this [underage prostitution]. I asked for help like...please help me just this once. That's how I made my friends and juniors do it. Sometimes, the girls said they didn't want to do it anymore. Then I hit them.

Eighteen girls said seniors influenced them to engage in prostitution or pimping. Among the 10 girls who prostituted but did not pimp other girls, 9 (90 percent) reported that the senior

peers taught peer or junior girls and boys how to get involved in prostitution. Among the 7 girls who only pimped, all of the seven (100 percent) girls made their juniors or peers get involved in prostitution. Of the 8 girls who had engaged in both prostitution and pimping activities, 4 girls (50 percent) said that their seniors or peers influenced their activity.

Minhee, who does not have prostitution experience herself, explained her pimping activity,

Minhee : Since 7th grade in middle school, I've hung out with friends and met friends on the Internet through buddy-buddy. I had my peer do it [prostitution]. I didn't do prostitution myself. Among my friends, some do conditional meeting in person, others force girls to do that [prostitution]. They are always on buddy-buddy.... Sometimes I did it in a motel room because there is a computer in the room.

As Minhee states above, there is a computer in the motel room so that girls can just stay in the room and do not have to move to another place such as an Internet café. In this case, Minhee lives with her friends in the motel room and lets her friends engage in underage prostitution to make money.

Sequential Influences on Prostitution

Many girls (18 girls or 72 percent) not only had peer support and/or pressure to become involved in prostitution or pimping, but they also experienced childhood victimization and family conflict, which often resulted in their running away and needing money to clothe, house and feed themselves. The following flowchart provides a picture of the sequences each girl followed, or the multiple influences affecting each girl.

Table 3 Flowchart of Sequential Influences on Prostitution

Pseudonym	Influences on prostitution or pimping presented in order of occurrence
Prostitution Only	
Haneul	Big fight among family members → Beatings by step mother → Police report → Live alone on the street → Need money → Prostitution → Transfer from East Coast to Seoul and live with mother → Running away and join old friends → Prostitution → Pregnancy → Adoption
Jinhee	Father's beating → Run away and hang out with peer → Need money to pay for survival → Prostitution → Need more money to do plastic surgery → Live with one sponsor → Quit school
Dahee	Father's drinking → Beating by father and father hit mother → Mother's escape from abuse → A report of disappearance of mother → Run Away and hang out with peer → Need money to pay for motel room and food → prostitution and other delinquency
Yejin	Several school transfers → Parents' divorce → Live with aunt and cousins → Live with mother every summer → Sexual assault by grandfather's friend → Bullied by cousins → Running away → Need money to pay for motel and desired tattoo → Prostitution with peer
Dana	Domestic violence → Parents' divorce at age 7 → Beating by step father → Mother pregnant → Mother's serious beating by stepfather → Mother's suicide due to stepfather's cheating → Running away → Kiss arbiet with peer → Sleep over in internet café → Prostitution
Yeonji	Father's drinking → Beatings by father → Mother's escape → Running away and several school transfers → Need money → Taking money from friends → Need more money to survive and celebrate anniversary with boyfriend → Prostitution with peer
Jiyeon	Mother's serious beating by stepfather → Mother's hospitalization → Escape from abuse → Running away → Drinking and smoking with peer → Taking money from friend → Quit school → Prostitution with peer
Sungju	Parents' divorce → Abuse by father → Start smoking at 12 → Quit school at 15 → Start drinking at 15 → Delinquency and running away → Need money to survive → Prostitution with peer
Gahee	Abuse from father → Running away → Transfer to Seoul by herself → Meet old friends → Need money to survive and buy cosmetics and clothes → Prostitution with peer

Table 3 (cont'd)

Pimping Only	
Sumin	Parents' divorce → Beatings by Sister → Several school transfers → Emotional and physical abuse by teacher → Quit school → Need money to enjoy self → Pimping with peer → Probation → Transfer and back to school → Need money for abortion and to survive → Pimping again → Pregnancy and abortion → Immediate arrested at school
Darae	Raped by neighbor at age 9 → Running away → Living on the street with seniors → Raped one girl with seniors → Pimping juniors with seniors
Yumin	Several school transfers → Parents' divorce at age 8 → Living at the foster care from 10 to 13 → Back home and live with mother and step father → Serious physical abuse from step father → Mother's drinking and beating → running away and delinquency → Back home and abuse again → Running away → Need money to buy a motorcycle → pimping juniors with peer
Nari	Live with grandparents → Mother's drinking → Beating and threatening by mother → Mother's running away → Meet with mother at age 13 again → Running away → Smoking and drinking with peer → Father's suicide → Running away → Mother's suicide → Attempted suicide → Treatment → Running away with boyfriend → Need money to survive → Pimping juniors with boyfriend
Yuhee	Father's drinking and domestic violence → Smoking, drinking and violence from age 14 → Run away and live alone → Need money → pimping juniors

Table 3 (cont'd)

Prostitution and Pimping	
Sori	Domestic violence → Parents' divorce → Beating by father → Running away → Prostitution → Work with a woman who worked as a pimp → Pimping and prostitution
Hyunju	Several school transfers → Parents' divorce → Beating by father → Domestic abuse → Mother's escape and cheating → Verbal abuse from grandmother and physical abuse from uncle → Running away → Pimping with peer → Probation → Need money to survive → Prostitution
Hanbit	Several transfer → Smoking, drinking → Kiss Arbiet → Probation → Need money for survive and buy clothes → Pregnancy → Adoption → Pimping juniors with peer
Namin	Father's drinking and domestic violence → Father imprisonment → Runaway → Smoking and drinking at age 13 → Raped by friend → Conditional fraud → Ticket café → Pimping juniors with peer
Sulim	Parents' divorce at age 3 → Harsh parenting from step mother → Back to mother → Live with step father → Running away → Smoking and drinking at age 13 → Pimping, conditional fraud, and prostitution with peer
Hanee	Parents' divorce → Father in hospital → Running away → Smoking and drinking at age 14 → Rape a girl with senior → Imprisonment → Pimping and Prostitution
Sungji	Beating by father → Mother's Escape → Parents' divorce → Live with stepmother → Running away → Smoking and Drinking → Delinquency → Prostitution and pimping with seniors

Next I explain the results of analysis of this chart to explain girls' typical and atypical pathways into prostitution, pimping, or both activities.

Pathways to Prostitution

In a very typical pattern, 8 of 10 (or 80 percent) of the girls who were involved only in prostitution reported their experiences with serious abuse and other family problems, such as parental divorce and alcoholic parents. These experiences served as starting points and continuing support for their involvement in prostitution. Jiyeon a 19-year-old-girl who was involved in prostitution with her peer, explained her life history.

Jiyeon : I lived with stepfather, mother, older sister, and stepbrother when I was in elementary school. At that time, my stepfather hit my mother almost every day. It seemed like I was in hell when I lived with my stepfather. I don't remember well because I was young at that time. But, I could remember that my stepfather hit my mother every single day, so that she was hospitalized. My mother, sister, and I escaped from my stepfather and moved to [a city]. Before entering middle school, I never tried to run away from home and I was naïve. I met YJ and hung out with her. With her, I smoked cigarettes and drank alcohol for the first time. In the 8th grade in middle school, I ran away from home. I hung out with some senior boys and rode a bike with them. But, once I was captured by my cousin, so I was hit by him a lot. In the 8th grade, I frequently skipped classes in school. I got zero points in an exam because I didn't go to school on the exam date. I took friends' money and clothes, and I looked like a bully girl in school. I met some boys with YJ. I dropped out of high school in the 10th grade. Since then, I had stayed outside with friends and ran away from home frequently. Sometimes, I hit other friends as if I am a bully girl. I could start this on the internet chat site in an internet café. At that time, I had

no money because I ran away from home. I had heard that I could make lots of money through conditional meeting. I started to be involved in prostitution with my peer. Finally, now I am in the detention center. I have a boyfriend. While I was in the detention center, he cheated on me with my girl friend.

The typical sequence of events leading into prostitution begins with early negative family relationship, dropping out from school or transferring between schools, and joining with delinquent peers. For most girls, the sequence starts with abuse experience that causes them to run away.

Pathways to Pimping

Very similar to girls who only took part in prostitution, 5 of 7 pimp (or 71 percent) girls reported their experiences with serious abuse and other family problems, such as parental divorce and alcoholic parents. This was the situation for Yumin, an 18-year-old-girl who has been in the detention center for two years for pimping.

Yumin: I transferred schools four times when I was in elementary school. My parents were divorced when I was 8. My family was having financial problems. My mother wasn't at home a lot of the time. I was in a foster care since I was a 4th grader in elementary school because my mother got remarried. I was allowed to live with my family when I turned 13 years old. It was hard to adjust to new environments because I frequently transferred schools and moved in and out.... When I was 14, my younger

siblings were born, so my parents couldn't take care of me. From that time, I roamed the streets with my friends. I was frequently taken to the police station for smoking, drinking, physical violence, and threats, so my parents hit me a lot. After that, I ran away and forced juniors into prostitution. I drove cars without a driver's license.

Another girl Sumin, who is a 19-year-old girl in the juvenile classification center and had experience with pimping, stated

Sumin: Before I was born, my sister got all of my parents' love and care. Once my sister hit me and said to me that she hates me because I took our mother's love from her. One day when I was 4 years old — I was chewing gum at that moment — my sister hit me in front of the shoe shelf, and I was dragged along screaming like a dog. When I fight with my sister, I go to my father's house. Sometimes, I am scared of my sister even if she doesn't hit me because she hit me a lot for no reason when I was young. When I'm on the computer at home, I'm startled when the door opens. It might be bad to wear her dresses without her permission, but I'm not sure that is really bad as much as she hits me.... I got the first probation for 2 years for procuring prostitution in the 7th grade in middle school. And, the second one was for a violation of probation. At first, one of my friends forced a junior girl to prostitute with a man. But later, she found a man on an Internet chatting site and got his cell phone number and did it [prostitution] in person.

The typical pathways into pimping is, similar to prostitution, the combination of negative family relationship, dropping out or transferring from school, and joining with delinquent peers

lead girls to runaway and resort to pimping younger peer.

Pathways to Prostitution and Pimping

Seven of 8 (88 percent) girls who were involved in both prostitution and pimping also reported their experiences with serious abuse and other family problems, such as parental divorce and alcoholic parents. Sungji tells her life history.

“I was born in Daegu, and lived there until graduation from elementary school with my father and mother at a house. I went to S. K. elementary school and got transferred to B. elementary school. After graduation, around that moment, my father came back home very few days. I had lots of time staying alone, so started hanging out with boyfriends living in my neighborhood. I entered into S. middle school, and I got forced by high level administrators to be transferred. After that, I started wandering. I went to A. middle school located in the countryside. Last time I saw my mother is in April when I was in second grade of middle school. At that time, my mother and father got divorced, and my father started living with my stepmother. My father beat my mother and me a lot of times in my youth. So, they got divorced and my father met a new woman... During my middle school days, many times I had to go to the police station because of several delinquencies. I got put into police cells and now I’m in a youth detention center on charge of prostitution and pimping.

As the above quote illustrates, the typical pathways into both prostitution and pimping is,

similar to prior activities, the combinations of negative family relationship, dropping out or transferring from school, and joining with delinquent peers lead girls to runaway and resort to pimp juniors with peer or prostitution.

Life Course Theory Concepts and Trajectories of Prostitution and/or Pimping

As described in the earlier chapter, key concepts in life course theory are trajectories and turning points. The flowchart of the girls' sequential life histories reveals some of the turning points that seem to start girls on a trajectory into prostitution. For example, for several girls, childhood victimization experience acts as a turning point because it leads to running away and then involvement in a prostitution trajectory.

More specifically, childhood victimization experiences influenced girls' to run away from home, and then they needed to survive on the street, so they became involved in prostitution to earn money. Most of the girls explained their childhood victimization experiences as repeated serious physical abuse from their family member. Furthermore, some girls explained that their witness of domestic violence between their parents, and their mothers' escaping by leaving home, were their turning points at which they ran away from home. One girl had several experiences of running away from home. The first episode occurred after serious abuse, and then she ran away again after the loss of her father and her mother. Those two other turning points promoted her running away from home with her boyfriend and involvement in pimp activity to earn money.

The life course theory also explains the importance of understanding informal social control within the larger social and cultural context. For example, family and school circumstances or events weakened informal social controls over girls. Many girls lost their mothers because of divorce or suicide. One of the attitudes in Korea is that stepmothers and fathers tend to reject or abuse girls. In the patriarchal society, it is viewed as the mothers' role is to raise their children. If there is domestic violence, it is considered as a family problem and the

justice system does not want to become involved in the relationship. Therefore, even after a mother escapes from an abusive spouse, girls usually still remain with the abusive father. This is combined with the practice of girls then moving in with a father and also a stepmother. In regard to the cultural attitudes of birth mothers/stepmothers and fathers towards their daughters, in South Korea's traditional patriarchal society, if there is a sexual abuse within the family, it remain as "secret," because it is considered as humiliating for the entire family and the family members need to preserve their dignity and honor. Compared to the Western context, therefore, girls in Korean family may suffer from greater hardship and the other family members may be indifferent to this issue (Kim & Kim, 2005). This macro social context affects social ties within the family and weakens the family's informal social control over girls.

The study found that some girls lived with an abusive father and stepmother after their mothers' escaped from abusive husbands. This is related to the status of women in South Korea. Although there is an active feminist movement that works to help battered women, often they must leave home without their children in order to escape from abuse. As described, the family problem remains as a family problem, not a problem that the criminal justice system or any law would be involved in; therefore, most girls live with their fathers after their mothers leave.

Previous research found that childhood victimization in South Korea is more serious in families with low social economic status and in broken families with stepparents or absent mothers (Kim & Ko, 1990). Furthermore, the research on Korean youth showed that dysfunctional maternal attitudes, lower levels of family stability, and problematic parent-children relationship promote delinquent behavior (Kim & Kim, 2008). Consistent with Sampson and

Laub's (1993) study, structural and contextual variation influences social control in the family.

In South Korea, patriarchal social norms, values, and structures affect informal controls.

Singular Influences on Prostitution Involvement

The girls, Jaehee, Minhee, Soyoon, and Yuna, stood out from the rest because they described positive family experiences and a lack of abuse. They explained that they made their juniors get involved in prostitution while they acted as their pimps. The sequence of events leading to prostitution, pimping, and both prostitution and pimping are presented in the following chart.

Table 4 Flowchart of Singular Influences on Prostitution

Pseudonym	Singular influence on Prostitution involvement
Prostitution Only	
Jaehee	Quit School and want to enjoy self with peers → need money to buy something or plastic surgery → Learning from senior → prostitution once
Pimping Only	
Minhee	Several transfer → Running away and enjoy with peers → need money to karaoke or internet café and to buy cloth → Pimping girls with peer
Soyoan	Enjoy with peers → need money to buy shoes and clothes → pimping juniors with peer
Prostitution and Pimping	
Yuna	Joining Senior/Junior Club → Running away → Pimping → Probation → Prostitution

One girl, Soyoon, who made over three thousand dollars for pimp activity, stated that she

together with her friends began forcing her juniors to engage in prostitution. She lived with her mother and a stepfather who worked for a major auto company. At first, she could not hit the juniors because she felt sorry for them. But later, she said, “I bought goods with the money earned by procuring prostitution.”

Soyoon: I like shoes. I want to buy expensive shoes that cost more than \$200.... [And] on my birthday, I went to Caribbean Bay [a huge water park in South Korea]. At that time, I really needed money a lot. A senior girl told me that I could make lots of money by doing this, so I continually forced juniors to do it [prostitution].

The other girl, Minhee explained that there was no reason to make her juniors prostitute. Her father is a professional soldier and her mother is a psychotherapist. She explained that her relationship with parents is good and she can get pocket money from her parents.

Minhee: I enjoy hanging out and going to karaoke and the Internet café. I met new friends on the “Cyworld [a social network service in Korea]” website, and we started to do this together. I started it with my two friends. There were two more boys working with us. I already knew that it might be hard if I ran away, so I asked my parents to allow me to live in a friend’s home for a week. At that time, the victim said she wanted to come stay with us. Actually, a junior girl and my friend fought before, so we called her to hit her as revenge. She took a cab, but she said she didn’t have money for the fare. So, we forced her to pay us back after doing conditional meeting. At first, she didn’t want to do that, but

after being beaten several times, she agreed. So, we found a man, then let her have sex with him.... The reason we forced that girl to prostitute is just...fucking up? There was no reason.

Jaehee quit school and wanted to enjoy herself with peers. She became involved in prostitution to buy some clothes and shoes. She also wanted to have plastic surgery. Similarly, Yuna became involved in a peer group and prostitution and pimp activity with them after running away. Both girls described their positive family relationship and lack of abuse.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the sample and the influences on girls' involvement in prostitution. Unexpectedly, girls not only earned money as prostitutes, but they also earned money by pimping other girls. First, by examining the description of the sample, I showed how combinations of negative family dynamics and dropping out of school characterized the lives of many girls in the study.

Second, when examining their involvement with prostitution and girls' explanation of how and why they became involved in prostitution, consistent with the literature review, girls were running away as means to cope with childhood victimization and dysfunctional families. Girls' exposure to childhood victimization leads them to run away and resort to prostitution. In addition, the study documented how the unique relationship between junior and senior peers in South Korea facilitated girls pimping each other.

Finally, the chapter presented a flowchart of the sequential influences on prostitution, pimping, and combinations of prostitution and pimping. The typical pathways into each activity

is the combinations of negative family relationship, dropping out or transferring from school, and joining with delinquent peers who influence girls to runaway and resort to prostitution. The singular influences on prostitution involvement, by contrast, shows 4 girls in the sample who described positive family experiences and a lack of abuse. The chapter also applies key concepts from life course theory to show how social structure and context influenced weakening of controls and family dynamics, which then promoted involvement in prostitution.

CHAPTER 5: THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The second goal of this dissertation is to examine the decision-making processes of girls who enter into underage prostitution and their thoughts about involvement over time. To determine how girls got their start in this activity, each girl was asked about her decision to enter into prostitution. I asked about her feelings with respect to engaging in prostitution, for example, if she was excited, happy, worried, afraid, ashamed, anxious, or full of dread. In some cases, girls' feelings as well as their thoughts may have changed during the period when they engaged in prostitution. Therefore, I describe these changes with respect to their feelings and thoughts about themselves. Also, each girl was asked to provide her thoughts about other girls who were involved in prostitution before she became involved in this activity and her thoughts about girls who were involved after she took part.

Aside from a handful of studies on underage female prostitution (Chancer, 1993; Cobbina & Oselin, 2011; Farley et al., 1998; Silbert & Pines, 1982), the existing literature focuses on the decision-making process with respect to male criminal behavior (Calhoun & Weaver, 1996). As an exception, Sommers and Baskin (1993) documented the decision-making processes of 65 female offenders who committed violent crime. The current study, therefore, contributes to the literature by exploring the motivations and decision-making processes of female youth in South Korea who engage in prostitution.

Types of Decision Making

Girls gave two types of reasons for their initial involvement in prostitution. As noted in the prior chapter, some girls took a pathway into underage prostitution for the sole purpose of earning money to survive. Hyunju stated that “I did this because of money to survive on the street. I was 15 and I am not old enough to get a part-time job. I did not think of any other thing to do.” Dahee explained that “I started this to make money to live on the street.”

Not all of the girls engaged in prostitution because they were desperate to find a way to survive on the street. Eight of the 25 girls wanted money only for material and consumer purposes. For instance, some girls wanted money for plastic facial surgery. Jinhee stated “I spend all the money on plastic surgery. I did 5 different plastic surgeries so far. Mostly, I spend money on well-being services, such as skin care, massage, all for my body.” And Jaehee said “I want to have plastic surgery. If I have some money, I’ll have the surgery. It isn’t because I want to show off to others. I want to satisfy myself.” To understand Jinhee and Jaehee’s reasoning, it is necessary to understand that South Korea has the world’s highest rate of cosmetic plastic surgery (http://www.asianplasticsurgeryguide.com/news10-2/081003_south-korea-highest.html). The effects of globalization and the entertainment culture have produced a new standard of physical beauty in South Korea. The definition of pretty, explains a Korean plastic surgeon, is not the standard Asian face but rather is closer in appearance to a Caucasian face.

Materialism and consumerism appeared to act either as the sole influence on girls’ decisions to prostitute or to pimp other girls or in combination with the need to survive. Ten of the 25 girls indicated that they needed money both to live on the streets and because they wanted material goods and/or a chance to participate in activities such as drinking, smoking, and buying

nice clothes to wear when they meet men. The prevalence of desires for material goods and entertainment may occur because materialistic and consumeristic values are important factors in the establishment of youth culture in Korean society (Kong, 2003). The entertainment culture and media encourage girls to do anything to obtain the material goods they want (Kim, 2003; Kong, 2003). The possession of material goods is considered a critical part of the pleasure of daily life. As described in chapter 2, there are girls who want to buy their boyfriends expensive goods to celebrate their relationship. As part of this youth culture, teenage lovers exchange presents such as rings and other luxury goods after 100 days of dating or on their one-year anniversary. Fourteen girls in the current study expressed their desire for material goods. For example, Namin explained, “I like luxury goods. It isn’t about showing off the goods to friends, I just need money to buy luxury goods.”

There are also girls who want money to pay for leisure pursuits including smoking, drinking, and karaoke bars. Minhee said, “I just enjoyed going to karaoke with friends, buying clothes, and things like that.” Hanee gave a similar reason for her desire for money, “I didn’t need money for buying luxury goods or gorgeous dresses. I just needed money for hanging out with friends and buying cigarettes and alcohol. I needed money for those things, but I couldn’t afford to do that with a legal part-time job.”

Namin, a 20-year-old girl who had more than 300 separate experiences with underage prostitution during the previous two years stated that “Prostitution is quick and easy money. I did this [prostitution] for nothing but money. I sometimes regretted it, but it was already too late to regret it. I couldn’t stop doing it.”

Thoughts and Feelings of Each Group

In this section, I compare the girls who got involved in “survival sex,” the girls who became involved in sex for material luxuries or surgery or to pay for entertaining activities, and the girls who appeared to have both motivations. I will call the three groups “survival group,” “materialism group,” and “combination group” hereafter. By examining the feelings and thoughts of these three groups, the study shows that the decision- making process is different for girls escaping from a terrible family situation and for the other girls who are not in this same situation. There are 10 girls in the “survival sex” group and 8 girls in the “materialism group.” The other 7 girls in the study provided answers that suggested they were involved in prostitution or pimping for both survival and materialistic purposes.

Among the 25 total girls, 16 said that they were very worried when they became involved in prostitution for the first time. Seven of the 16 girls stated that they were afraid and worried about being caught by the police. After examining responses for the three groups, I found that 9 (90 percent) girls of the “survival group” mentioned that they were worried about getting caught and regretted engaging in this activity. Three of the girls stated that prostitution made them feel dirty or that having sex with men felt like having sex with an animal.

Hyunju, an 18-year-old girl who engaged in prostitution for the first time at the age of 15 in order to survive, said,

Hyunju: K[a province] was the first place that I started to do this [prostitution], and it is a very small area. I was really worried. What if one of my friends' fathers came to have sex with me, or what if someone saw me? I was worried. It's scary to have sex with someone for the first time. I just imagined all kinds of things. At first, I felt nervous and

scared and a little dirty. It felt like I was going to have sex with an animal.

She also stated,

After all, I do not have money or anywhere to go. I just started again, and I thought that I could do it again without hesitation. I didn't think of any negative effects later on. I thought that I would be doing this until I was old.

18 year old, Hanbit, also in the “combination group,” had both prostitution and pimp experience. She said,

Hanbit: When I started it at first, it looked disgusting because it didn't make sense — what it was and how to do it. I felt like I was dirty. I just thought that way because by doing this, I could make money easily. Even though I worked really hard at other jobs, I could only make \$5 an hour at best. But this way, I could make \$50 in half an hour. I didn't like doing this at first, but I did it because I could make money easily. I regretted it after I got the probation order. So I thought, I have to stop this work and find another job like being a waitress in a restaurant. If I could go back to before, I would've never started doing this, even though I couldn't make money.

In contrast to Hyunju and Hanbit, 5 girls said that they enjoyed prostitution and that it was fun to make money through prostitution. Interestingly, all of these girls are from the “materialism group.” One study of male prostitutes in a mid-sized southern community in the U.S. showed that the second most important factor in terms of their reasons for engaging in prostitution is for sexual pleasure and gratification (Calhoun & Weaver, 1996). Three girls in the

study indicate that they enjoy having sex with various types of men, and they think it's a positive aspect of underage prostitution.

For example, Namin stated, "Maybe other girls think like me. One of my friends enjoys conditional meeting in and of itself. Actually, this is addictive." Yejin similarly said, in fact, I was happy to make money. I felt, like, amazing." Gahee agreed,

Gahee: I was excited. At first, I saw some boys who looked pretty young. Some men gave me extra tips, so I was excited. Also, it might be a good thing to meet and have sex with various kinds of people. I'm just a girl who enjoys having fun. Before doing this, I made money by forcibly taking other young students' money. But, now I can make money myself by working, even though I'm a prostitute. I don't think it's bad.

As described above, girls' feelings and thoughts are different in each group, and the study found that the girls in the "survival group" and "combination group" expressed their worry and regret more than girls from the "materialism group." Even if girls in the "survival group" were worried and had regrets, the only way that they could make money was through prostitution. As Hanbit said, even though it feels disgusting and dirty, they eventually made the decision to become involved in prostitution to get money to pay for a motel room and food to survive. In sharp contrast, some of the girls from the "materialism group" expressed their satisfaction with making money, and they stated that they were addicted to having sex or obtaining money from prostitution. Hanee said, "I was nervous, and I thought, 'What am I doing now?' But, as I engaged in it more and more and seriously, nobody caught me. So, I felt, 'It's not a big deal!'"

Now I will compare the pimp only, prostitute only, and combination pimp/prostitute

groups on thoughts and feelings. Four of the 10 girls who were involved in prostitution expressed that they enjoyed prostitution. Dahee, who had run away from an abusive home after her mother was missing, started prostitution to survive; in the interview, she said “Well, it was fun at that time and easy to make money.” .

All of the 7 girls who were involved in pimping expresses their regret and worried about being arrested by police. Nari, whose parents both committed suicide said that “I regretted it a lot. I wanted to go back to home... but at that time I worried that my parents would hit me again. But now, even if I go back home, there are no father and mother anymore.”

In the combination pimp and prostitute group, 7 of 8 girls explained that they were regretful. Yuna said, “Truly, I grow apart from my friends. I just regret. My parents wanted to move a while ago. I regret that we did not move then.”

Girls’ feelings and thoughts differed across groups. In comparing the groups varying in motivation, the analysis showed that the girls in the “survival group” and “combination group” expressed their worry and regret more than girls from the “materialism group.” In comparing groups differing in how they were involved in prostitution, the “pimp group” and “combination group” expressed their regret and worry more than the “prostitution group.”

Opinions of Other Girls

I asked the girls about their opinions of other girls. I posed the following questions to each girl in the study: “Before you did this for the first time, what did you think of other girls who got involved in it? Have your opinions changed in any way? How? Why?” I found that 11 girls changed their opinions about other girls after they had experienced underage prostitution themselves. In this section, I first compare girls with the three different types of motivations with each other. Then I compare girls involved in prostitution only, pimping only, or a combination.

Among the three motivation groups, prior to their own involvement, 4 (50 percent) girls from the materialism group said that they did not think about these activities or girls who were involved in these activities before they took part. The other 4 (50 percent) girls in the materialism group said that they can understand girls because they can make easy money. Yejin said that “I think conditional meeting girls have reasons to do condition. In fact, after I experienced condition, I realized that there is nothing else they can do.”

All of 8 girls in the survival group tried to understand and explain how girls’ family situation may lead them to be involved in prostitution. For example, Dahee said,

Dahee: Actually, people do this only for the money. Family support is necessary for girls like me who were involved in conditional meeting because the bad family environment is the reason why they decide to run away from their home.

Sungji explained that “I thought poor girls or runaway girls engage in the conditional meeting for making money, but, after I experienced it, I realized those girls also had tough times

like I had.” Both Dahee and Sungji changed from believing that girls prostituted just because they wanted more money to recognizing that they prostituted out of necessity to survive after running from very negative family environments.

Half (4) of the girls who were motivated both by materialistic desires and the need to support themselves changed their opinion after they experienced prostitution. Haneul said that

Haneul: I realize why the other girls do this. Before I have done this, I did not understand why girls sell their body. Now, I really understand them from my experience. I feel pity on them and want to help them but I cannot.”

In the comparison of girls with different prostitution activities, 4 girls had not known that underage prostitution existed. Dana and Nari, respectively, stated, “I’d never heard of it, and I never thought that my friends were doing condition [meeting]. Before that, I didn’t believe that girls did condition [meeting]” and “I never knew that this kind of job existed before my involvement in this. Honestly, now I don’t think it’s good to have sex with a new man.” One girl, Minhee who has only had peer pimping experience and has not engaged in prostitution stated that she still does not understand why girls do this.

Twelve girls who changed their opinions about prostitution said that they did not understand girls’ involvement in underage prostitution before, but now they understood those girls after their own experiences in this activity. Two of these girls, Yeonji and Jiyeon, worked as prostitutes, and another, Sungju, both prostituted and pimped.

Yeonji: I couldn’t understand why girls engaged in conditional meeting before I experienced it. I didn’t understand why they made money with all the risks of selling their

bodies. I thought that it would be better for them to ask for money from their parents or take friends' money than to engage in conditional meeting. I could understand them after I experienced it, because I could make money easily and quickly.

Jiyeon: Before I experienced this, I didn't understand why girls engaged in conditional meeting, why they sell their bodies, and why they are struggling with such a tough way of life. I thought it would be better to take others' money. But now I understand why they are doing this. I think they have individual reasons for doing it.

Two pimp girls thought that girls who prostituted themselves were crazy and dirty, even though they had their friends engage in prostitution, and now they felt sorry for the girls. Soyeon pointed out that it is really hard to make money legally in South Korea or find a part-time job, so girls make their friends get involved in prostitution but do not want to do it themselves.

Soyeon: Before I did it [pimp], I thought that those girls were crazy and dirty. But, now, I know they have reasons for doing this, and I feel really sorry for them. Even if I wanted to get a part-time job, supervisors don't want to hire me.

Sumin: I think it's a shame that girls can make money by using their body. I had my friends do it, but I, personally, didn't want to and can't imagine sexual intercourse with men. I thought that girls who sell their bodies were so dirty before I had them do it [prostitution]. But now, I really feel sorry for them. I can't imagine what it will be like for

them to remember this negative experience throughout their whole lives.

Sungji, who had both prostitution and pimping experience, said that

I didn't understand why girls do the conditional meeting. But, I already experienced it in person and I also pimped other girls, so that in my opinion. Girls just continue to do this because they need money.

By comparing girls differing in motivation, all girls from the survival group explained that negative family experiences may lead the girls to be involved in prostitution. By contrast, 4 girls from the materialistic group explained that the reason that girls are involved in prostitution is to get easy money. Turning now to the ways girls were involved, most of the girls from the prostitution group changed their opinions of other girls after they themselves prostituted. They now saw that girls prostituted after running away from negative family environments. The pimp girls were not as empathetic; even after they make their peers prostitute two of them viewed girls who prostituted as dirty and crazy.

The Decision to Stop

Fifteen girls stated in their interviews that they had made the decision to stop involving themselves in underage prostitution based on a variety of realizations about themselves and their lives. Among them, 13 girls felt that their lives were important, and they did not want to ruin their lives through continued prostitution or pimping. Seven of the 10 (or 70 percent) girls who worked as prostitutes indicated they had decided to stop. One girl decided to stop prostituting

herself because she was worried about marriage. Dana who is a witness to and a victim of domestic violence, as described in the following interview excerpt, said that she feared she would not be able to marry,

I just wanted to have a house to live in. I'm living in a studio now. I don't need any luxury goods. I bought clothes because I had to look good to make more money by attracting men. I made money for a house. I didn't want to go back home. There was no one to take care of me and scold me even if I did go back [home]. I just thought that I should take care of myself. As growing numbers of girls are doing this, I worried, 'What if I can't get married in the future?' So I decided to stop doing this.

Haneul gave birth and put her baby up for adoption. After the adoption, she found a new way of life for herself. She said that she loves to take care of children, and she wants to be a kindergarten teacher in the future. Therefore, she found a part-time job at the Kids Café where mothers drink coffee while their babies play next to them.

After I gave birth, I firmly made up my mind. I do not want to ruin my life anymore. I can't blame my friend anymore. My life is mine.... I realize that I need to do something. Working at the Kids Café has changed me in a positive way. I think I'm a different person now. Before, my thoughts were too immature. I think I grow up a lot after going through lots of things, especially the birth. I know that I won't do this again, even if I can get money.

Three girls with involvement that was limited to pimping said that they decide to stop.

Sungju stated that she feared being arrested by the police.

Sungju: It's true that I could've been forced to stop doing this because of an arrest, but I decided to stop doing this before getting arrested. There is another girl who prostituted with me. I regret that I didn't persuade her to stop the prostitution. I belatedly found out that my life is valuable.... I have so many regrets. If I could go back to the past, I would never start doing this. I don't want to get in that kind of trouble again.... If I could turn back time, I would never do it again. I have confidence! In my life, these experiences make me grow more.

Of girls who both prostituted and pimped, three girls stated they decided to stop. Like Haneul, Hanbit also stated that she had decided to stop prostituting herself after she gave birth to her baby.

Hanbit: I had a baby last year. I gave my baby up for adoption. Someone wanted to adopt my boy. We didn't know each other initially, but later I found her on an Internet website. I told my boyfriend about my pregnancy in December in the 9th grade. I told his parents that I wanted to have the baby. But when I was 6 months pregnant, he stopped contacting me. In the early stage of my pregnancy, I smoked and drank a lot. Everything was so stressful that I visited a single mothers' center. A lady there was supposed to have a baby on almost the same day as me, but she miscarried her baby. And she didn't tell the truth about it to her parents-in-law. She and I went to the hospital together. Then, I gave birth

and didn't go back home again. I thought that if I went back home, I couldn't look my mother in the eye. I couldn't tell the truth. I thought of my baby because I was at home alone, so I ran away again. At that time, I yelled bad things at my mother many times. I said to her, 'How could a mother not know about her daughter's pregnancy, even if her belly wasn't all swollen?' [crying]

The study could not follow the girls who say they will stop to determine whether they actually discontinue involvement in prostitution. Consistent with the life course framework, some of them seem to have “stakes in conformity” that would promote their stopping (Giordano et al., 2002). Also, some of them described their new identity. For example, Haneul described herself, “I think I am a different person now. At that point, my thoughts were too immature. I think I grow up a lot after going through lots of things, especially the birth. I realize that I will do not this again even if I can get money.” Dahee similarly explained, “If I have a chance to go back to the past, I will not engage in this again. I will take a reasonable choice. No, I will never engage in the conditional meeting.” Jiyeon realized that “I might not live like this. If same situations occur, I will take another choice. It's true that making money is important, but now I realize that the most important thing is myself.”

Girls gave similar reasons for stopping prostitution regardless of whether they prostituted, pimped, or did both. In this section, I examine girls' statements about whether they would continue their involvement in prostitution. Most of the girls in the study were in the juvenile justice system, and only four girls on probation lived with their families. It should be pointed out that the initial reason to stop prostitution is often an arrest by the police and detention in the

juvenile justice system. This situation automatically prevents girls from engaging in prostitution.

Decision Making in Context

To examine decision making in the context of girls' lives, I conclude the analysis by examining whether girls' were motivated by survival, materialism/consumerism, or both in relation to two key influences on their prostitution, specifically abuse and other negative family dynamics and the influence of seniors and other peers. I do this for all girls, and then for girls who differed in the type of prostitution they took part in, that is selling their sex, pimping other girls, or both.

When all study participants are considered (Model I), just 6 (24 percent) of 25 girls were influenced by seniors, had material desires, had abusive and dysfunctional families, and were trying to survive. In Model II, however, if I only examine the girls who just engaged in prostitution, I find that 40% of them had all of these issues, suggesting a combination of influences and motivations for girls who engaged only in prostitution. As shown in Model IV, one girl who did both prostitution and pimping cite all the reasons, and in Model III, also one who was a pimp cites all the reasons. Girls who prostitute only, therefore, consistent with the feminist pathway research, were more likely to engage in prostitution as a result of their experiences in abusive and otherwise negative families. In addition, they were involved in prostitution for purposes of both survival and to satisfy their materialistic desires. Also, girls were influenced by their seniors or peers at the beginning of their prostitution activity.

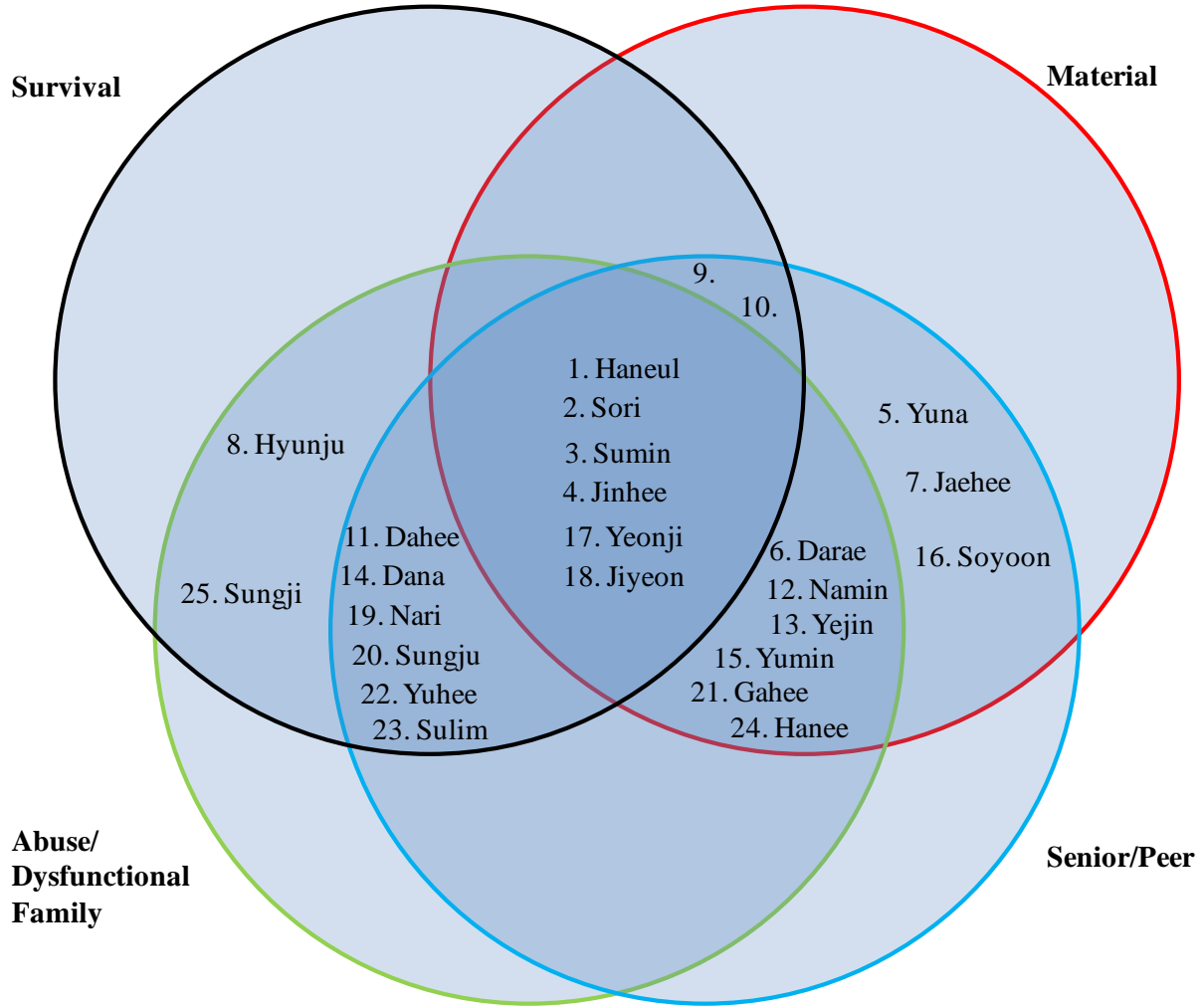
More than one fourth of the girls (7 of 25 girls or 28%) I interviewed had both survival and material reasons for doing these activities. Six of the 7 experienced abuse and other family hardships, and 4 of them had run away because of those pressures. Thus, for these girls focusing

just on the material desires would result in a failure of programming to address all the other issues, especially the need to survive and the influences on the girls' running away due to the negative dynamics in their families.

Finally, as shown in Model III, it is very unique and interesting that all of the girls who engaged in pimping activity were influenced and pressured by their seniors and/or peers. Moreover, 5 of 7 girls (71.4 percents) had serious family problems. For the pimp girls, the combination of peer influence and abusive or dysfunctional backgrounds led these girls into pimping to both satisfy materialistic desires and for survival.

Figure 1 All Girls

"For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation."



(Hidden pseudonym: 9.Hanbit, 10.Minhee)

Figure 2 Prostitution

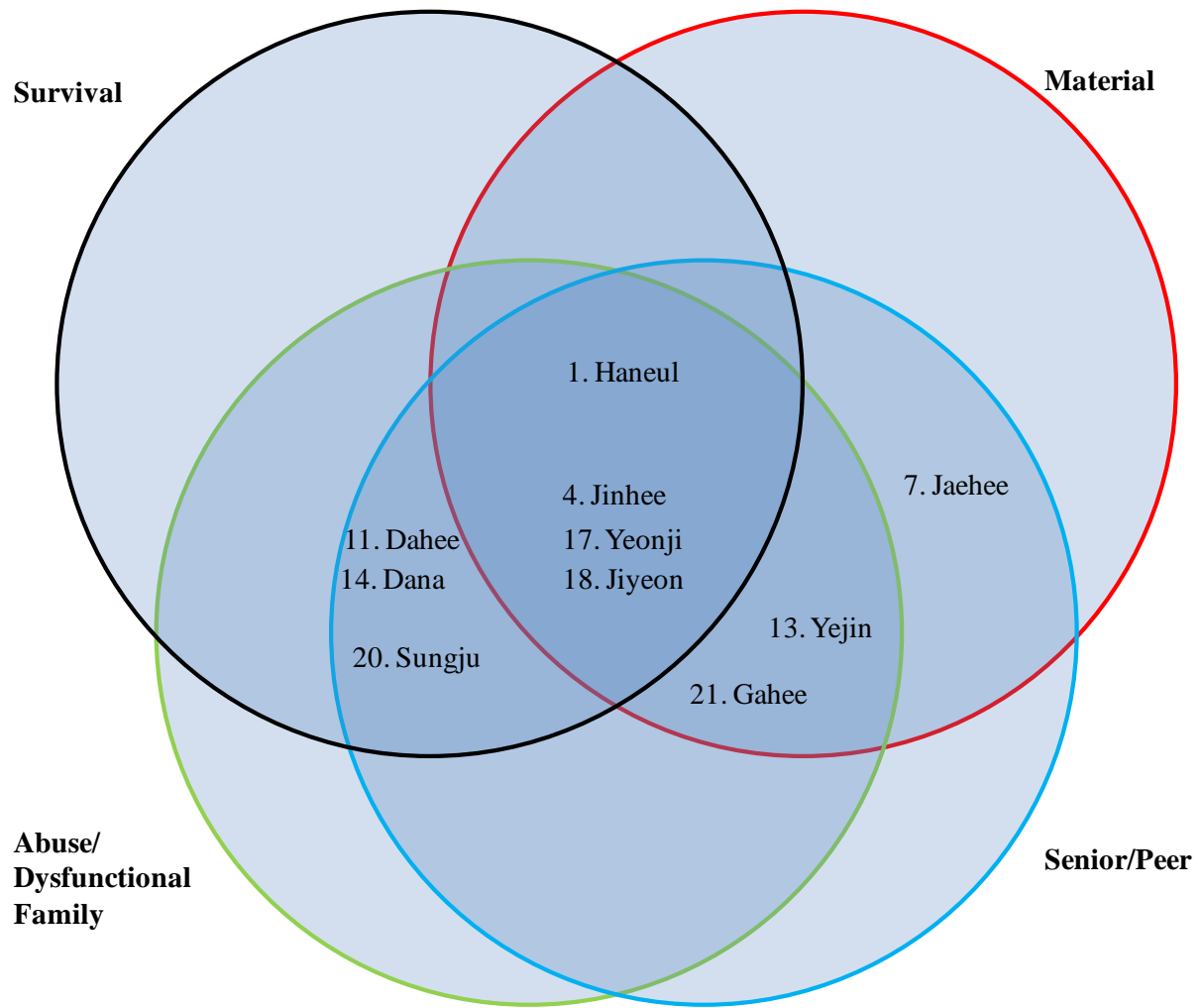
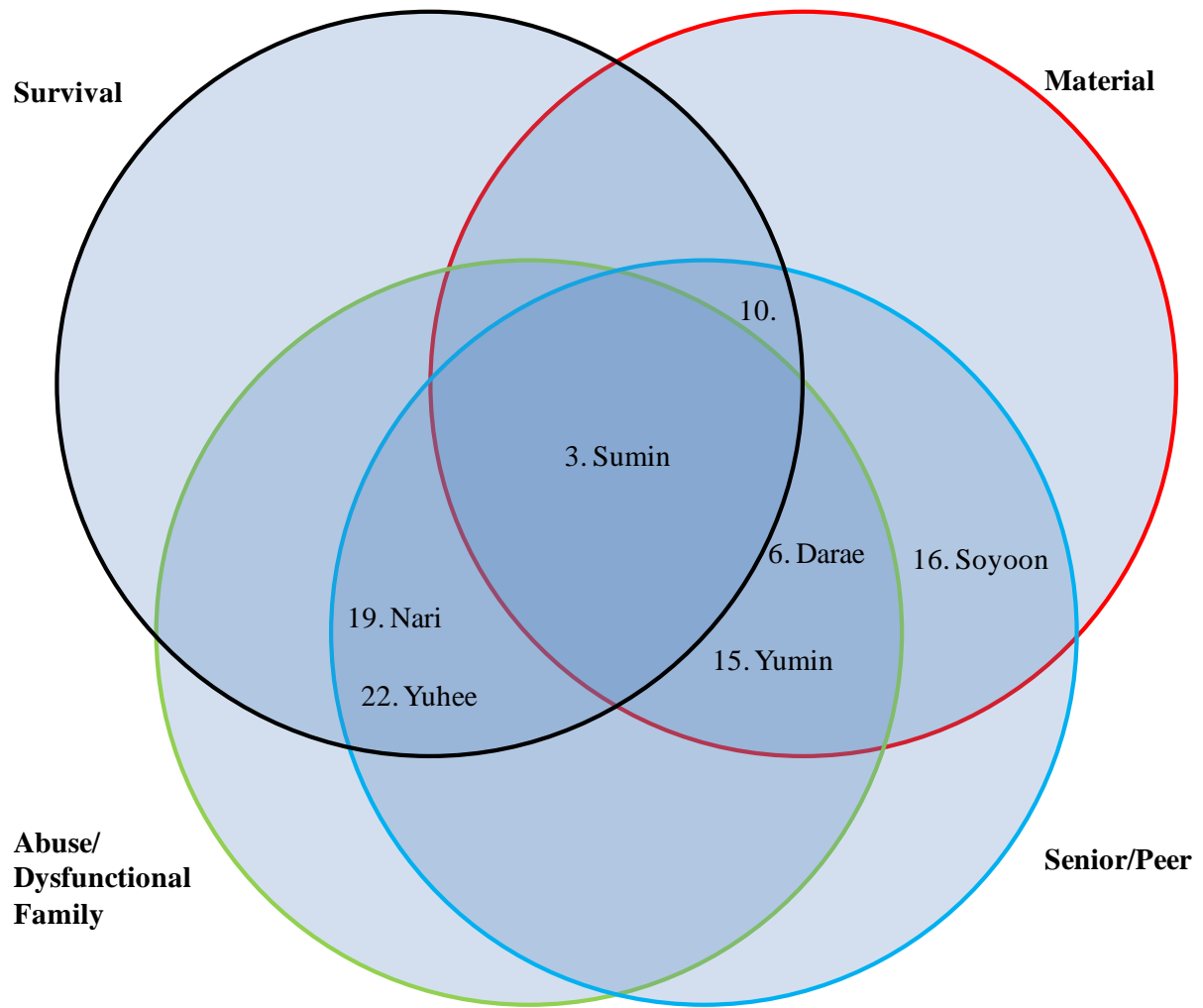
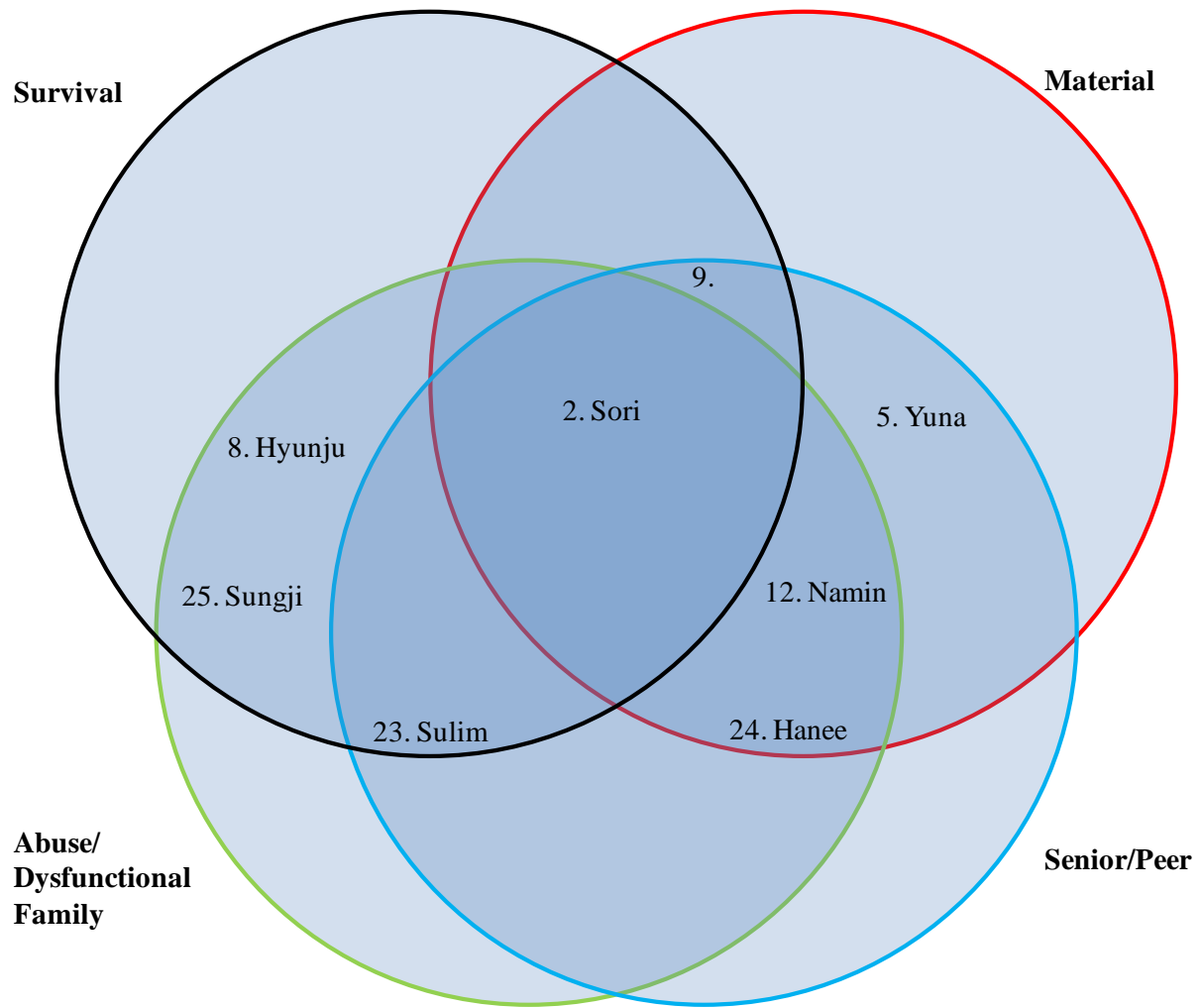


Figure 3 Pimp



(Hidden pseudonym: 10.Minhee)

Figure 4 Both Prostitution and Pimp



(Hidden pseudonym: 9.Hanbit)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the girls' decision making about prostitution. I compared the girls involved in "survival sex," the girls who became involved in sex for material luxuries or surgery or to pay for entertaining activities, and the girls who appeared to have both motivations. The chapter shows the girls' thoughts and feelings with respect to engaging in prostitution by comparing three groups. The decision-making process is different for girls motivated by "survival" or "materialism" or "a combination." Some girls took a pathway into underage prostitution for the sole purpose of earning money to survive but not all of the girls engaged in prostitution because they were desperate to find a way to survive on the street. Materialism and consumerism appeared to act either as sole influence on girls' decisions to prostitute or to pimp other girls or in combination with the need to survive. Most of the girls said that they were very worried when they became involved in prostitution for the first time and some of them stated that prostitution made them feel dirty or that having sex with men felt like having sex with an animal. Some girls from the "materialism group" said that they enjoyed prostitution and that it was fun to make money through prostitution.

Then, this chapter explains the reasons or events that led up to a girl's decision to stop engaging in underage prostitution. Half of the girls stated in their interviews that they had made the decision to stop engaging in underage prostitution based on a variety of realizations about themselves and their lives. Many girls came to realize that their lives were important, and they did not want to ruin their lives any further. Finally, to examine decision making in the context of girls' lives, I developed models for each type of involvement in prostitution (e.g., pimping, prostituting), and looked at the connection between girls' motivations and both peer and family

influences. These models show that the influences on girls involved in prostitution only are consistent feminist pathways theory and research. They usually engaged in prostitution as a result of their experiences in abusive families.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In chapter 1, I argue that there have been concerns about underage prostitution in South Korea but limits on the scholarly attention to the girls' pathways into underage prostitution. The majority of pathways or delinquency studies, however, have focused on males. Moreover, a limited number of studies have considered whether the pathways theories or life-course theory are applicable in the South Korean context. Thus, the purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to the body of literature by providing a narrative analysis of the pathways into underage prostitution among female youth in South Korea.

In addressing this goal, chapter 2 details the literature in the pathways perspective that is considered important in explaining the different patterns of females' offending behaviors and the life-course perspective that considered the context of life events of female youth. The current dissertation, therefore, links these two theories to explain underage prostitution in South Korea and to identify the girls' unique life events that affect their pathway into prostitution and the turning points that may lead them to stop prostitution.

In chapter 3, I explain the methodology used to capture the complexities of these girls' lives. Qualitative in-depth interviews with open-ended questions with 25 girls were used in the current research. During the in-depth interview, the current study applied the life event calendar method and retrospective interviews to understand a person's pathways into illegal activity, specifically girls' pathways into prostitution. This chapter includes the description of the preparatory steps for the interviews and the detailed coding process, establishment of intercoder reliability, and the qualitative analysis. .

Then, chapter 4 and chapter 5 present key findings. The current study found that some girls were involved in prostitution but some girls did not prostitute, but instead they forced other girls to prostitute. The current study revealed the term that girls used to describe those who forced other girls to prostitute, “peer pimp.” No prior research has been conducted to examine the “peer pimp” activity in South Korea. It is an important discovery to see prostitution as a result of the hierarchical relationship among senior and junior girls, which is very unique in the South Korean context.

Previous studies sometimes portray women and girls who sell sex as blameworthy for deciding to be involved in prostitution. Scholars and activists have recognized the problematic nature of labeling people who exchange sex for money as offenders, when often they make this choice because of prior victimization. Thus, the terminology “compensated dating” may sound problematic from the feminist standpoint, because it suggests that girls chose to be involved in prostitution from a position of power. Women activist and scholars, therefore, rejected the term and started to use “underage prostitution.” An alternative is to emphasize the “female victimized offenders” (Cobbina & Oselin, 2011; Morash, 2005). For example, Acoca (1998)’s research found that 92% of the girls labeled as delinquent reported a prior history of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. As the current study pointed out, 80% of the girls are from negative family environments in which they experienced physical abuse and emotional abuse. Some researchers have emphasized the connection of acting as a prostitute to victimization (Morash, 2005), and consistent with this view, the current study also pointed out that many of the girls are victims, though often they are treated as offenders and punished. Also, the current study pointed out that victimization is among the various factors that contribute to the decision to exchange sex

or to peer pimp for money or other goods.

Sociological criminology pointed out that the rational choice approach should develop more detailed explanations of the origins and sources of variations that encourage crime (McCarthy, 2002). By specifying the influences that contribute to a preference for offending and how a particular context encourages people to choose crime, it is possible to examine contextual and structural influences. Background experiences, like abuse in the family, place youth in a position where they need to make difficult decisions, like the decision to run away or to prostitute. The circumstances that put youth in a situation where they need to make such decisions must be studied. It would be misleading just to consider the decision making process apart from the circumstances that led to the youth even considering prostitution or peer pimping as an option.

The study identified some girls who were materialistic and who lacked family problems, and another group with both materialistic motivation and motivations to survive due to terrible family conditions. However, it would be a problem to just determine which girls want material things and conclude that this is all just another job for them that provides an easy way to make money. Very few girls in the current study indicated purely materialistic desires, and even those who did often reported very serious and harmful abuse that led them to run away from home and prostitute so that they could survive. The current study found that many of the pimp girls used violence to force their peers to prostitute. It is important to point out that previous literature Holsinger & Holsinger (2005) found that abuse leads to violence for some girls in the United States, and thus this may explain girls violence when they pimp other girls. . Most of the girls in the pimp group are from abusive family and they showed their violence to their peers in a way

that is consistent with some research conducted in the United States.

The study contributes to theory by showing the connection of social structure and culture to what happens in families and schools that influence girls' involvement in prostitution. Korean culture and social structure influenced the pattern in which the majority of girls were seriously mistreated by their families. . Many of the girls' mothers "ran away" or divorced because of their abusive spouses, resulting in many of the girls being neglected or beaten by stepmothers or stepfathers. If the girls lived with fathers after their parents separated, the father appeared to favor his children with the new wife. Girls in Korean families may suffer from neglect and indifference from their parents because of mothers' need to leave their daughters in the care of abusive fathers and sometimes stepmothers.

The current study makes theoretical contributions in three ways. First, the research examines the pathways/life course theory on underage prostitution in a non-Western country. Second, by looking at the total context and life course, the current research fills the gap left by rational choice theory and opportunity theory in explaining underage prostitution. We can see whether girls are simply making the decision to prostitute just to get money, or whether they are doing it not only to get money, but also because of family problems that led them to run away and the resulting need to survive after running away. Study findings are helpful in contributing to the debate over girls' decisions result just from their making a rational choice, or whether they result from serious school and family problems. Finally, another theoretical contribution is to show how the social contexts, specifically the emphasis on looking a certain way through surgery and on going along with peers, especially those who are older, as well as violence against women and girls, contribute to girls' involvement in prostitution. I will consider these

culturally specific findings in recommendations for interventions.

Study Limitations

As noted at the outset, given the small sample size, the findings may not be generalizable to all underage prostitution in South Korea. Also, because the sample was drawn from populations known to the juvenile justice system, girls who involved in the juvenile justice system but who have prostitution experience were omitted. Yet, the research has shown that some girls have common experiences such as running away from dysfunctional families, physical or sexual abuse, or delinquent peer influence. Thus, the study can provide some level of insights about the pathways that led girls with justice system contact into underage prostitution in South Korea.

A second study limitation is that each participant in the study was interviewed just once, when they were still in juvenile institutions or programs. Thus, it is hard to capture any changes after contact ends, and whether intentions to stop prostitution actually affect behavior in the long run.

Recommendations

Policy Implication

Although the efforts and laws to prevent underage prostitution have been established and practiced, further direct intervention is necessary to help young women like those I interviewed succeed in Korean society. Drawing from the current findings, I conclude by providing two main policy recommendations to help girls involved in underage prostitution. In the previous chapters, I noted that several programs are available in South Korea. However, my findings

suggest that there are some serious limitations in the existing program.

First, gender-specific programs are needed to meet the unique needs of delinquent girls in both the juvenile justice system and in the community (Chesney-Lind & Sheldon, 1998). In South Korea, there are limited programs that consider girls' unique needs. Consistent with previous findings, the current study found that the key factors in females' pathways to delinquent behavior — prostitution in this study — are related to the history of victimization and to a propensity to engage in delinquent activities. I recommend programs that will address past abuse experiences as well as rejecting and abusive families. To provide better programs, an understanding of trauma is essential. Trauma is not limited to suffering direct violent victimization, but includes witnessing family violence as well as trauma of stigmatization. The majority of girls in the study have experienced childhood victimization or a dysfunctional family. Thus, most girls are trauma survivors when they enter the juvenile justice system, and then they are at risk for re-traumatization by the system. Therefore, girls in contact with the system should be carefully assessed for histories of prior trauma. If a girl has a history of sexual or physical abuse, the system should provide any needed physical treatment as well as psychological treatment. Gender-specific programs need to focus on physical and mental health, sexuality, pregnancy and parenting skills, and trauma from physical, emotional, and sexual abuse. Therefore, service for girls also should provide strategies for counteracting the negative effect of prior abuse for girls with a history of victimization. To be effective in addressing trauma, service providers for victims of abuse and neglect must be aware of the potential long-term consequence of victimization experiences. Programs should be designed to help girls develop a positive self image, decision-making skills, and self-esteem.

In the United States, several programs have been shown to be effective in addressing trauma. The federal agency, SAMSHA (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration), works to improve the quality and availability of substance abuse prevention, alcohol and drug addiction treatment, and mental health services. This agency reports evidence of the effectiveness of “Trauma Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT)” and “Trauma Systems Therapy” (<http://www.samhsa.gov>). CBT includes anxiety management components such as coping skills training and joint work with parents. Previous research showed that youth who received CBT had significantly greater improvement in symptoms of PTSD, depression, and anxiety (Smith et al., 2007).

As mentioned, in Korea, there are limited programs focusing on girls who have experienced trauma. To help girls who had series of abuse and victimization experiences, it is necessary to undertake systematic efforts to assess post-traumatic stress and psychological trauma and to implement trauma-focused interventions for youth. Furthermore, service providers need to pay special attention to high-risk populations such as girls in juvenile justice settings.

Second, it is important to develop a comprehensive community support system. In South Korea, there are very few community support systems for delinquent girls or for girls rejected or abused by their families. Based on the findings from the current research, family and peer relationships are significant factors in girls’ involvement in prostitution, and the girls who took part in the research had prematurely ended their education. Culturally appropriate adaptation of program models from the United States might be used in Korea to address the girls’ multiple needs. In the United States, “wraparound services” are typically recommended to prevent fragmentation and gaps in community-based services often experienced by female juvenile

offenders and to provide proactive contact between youth, their families, and school.

Wraparound is a comprehensive community-based process of intensive support for youth with serious behavior problems (Bradshaw, Brown, & Hamilton, 2008; Eber, Sugai, Smith, & Scott, 2002; Quinn & Lee, 2007). Community-based programs often provide intervention to strengthen family functioning, improve academic performance, and improve peer relationships. Based on the youth developmental approach, wraparound services allow youth to stay in their communities and provide services to youth and family. Such services include a “strengths-based” approach that is based on the complex needs of youth and their families (Bradshaw et al., 2008). The program offers a unique continuum of support and services to youth by involving representatives from juvenile justice, school, medical care, and mental health treatment facilities. In addition, the process includes basic supports that range from after school care, housing, and parental-support networking to intervention programs such as counseling, special education, mentoring, and job training (Eber et al., 2002).

Previous U.S. research found support for gendered pathways which emphasized female’s need for wraparound service to target past and current victimization, depression, anxiety, low self-efficacy, unhealthy relationships, educational deficits, and poverty (Salisbury & Van Voorhis, 2009). The girls in the current study experienced previous victimization, unhealthy family relationship, economic difficulty, and lack of opportunity of education. The holistic approach, such as that provided by community wraparound programs based on a court order, would help girls by providing diverse types of support.

The present study found that it is important to promote positive support from peers. To enhance positive peer relationships, proactive involvement from parents and teachers would be

necessary. Providing comprehensive resources in a community-based support system, therefore, would help girls have the opportunity to go back to school and return to their families (Pullmann et al., 2006). Thus, efforts must be made to help family members and school authorities attend to the needs of girls through the help of community programs, as the family and school are important institutions that can assist these girls in having a positive future.

Future Research implication

This dissertation has several important implications for future research on prostitution. First, increasing the sample size of the girls to include different settings in South Korea would make it possible to develop a more comprehensive understanding of pathways into prostitution. The current study found that childhood victimization is one of the key influences on prostitution. In order to adequately assess whether the childhood victimization experience affects involvement in prostitution, it is necessary to find and interview girls who have no history of victimization. Second, feminist pathways and life course research on female delinquency should continue to make use of life-history interviews. The current research is limited to prostitution. Future research can be done on females who committed different types of offenses.

Finally, the dissertation was conducted as retrospective design when subjects were still involved with the justice system. This made it difficult to adequately examine the desistance from prostitution. It would be useful for future retrospective research to also include a prospective longitudinal research component.

Conclusion

Understanding and examining the factors associated with prostitution have been of interest among criminologists for several decades. Previous qualitative research showed inconsistent findings about the degree to which background experiences and desires to meet material needs affected prostitution. By using pathways theories and life-course theory, the purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to the body of literature by providing a narrative analysis of the pathways into underage prostitution among female youth in South Korea through in-depth interviews with 25 girls. The current dissertation, therefore, links these two theories and also considered decision-making in the context of life experiences to explain underage prostitution in South Korea and to identify girls' unique life events that affect their pathway into prostitution and the turning points that may lead them to stop engaging in prostitution.

It is important to do more research on this issue because it will result in a greater understanding of exactly why and how so many girls get involved in prostitution in South Korea. Although prostitution may not be totally eliminated, having more knowledge will help us prevent the numbers of girls entering into prostitution from increasing. Furthermore, it will help us to meet the needs and provide the appropriate support to those girls who are or who once were involved in prostitution.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule for Young Women

Life Calendar

- Most young women can think of some important events in their lives, like moving to a new neighborhood, major school or family problems, good things that happen, bad things that happen, getting in trouble, and so on. I'd like you to help me put those sorts of events on this calendar, which has a time before middle school, and then every age since middle school.
 - For each of these different times, what were the major things in your life?
(Note : Fill out key events on the life calendar)

Terms

- Terminology to use during the interview
 - Would you describe yourself as someone who has done compensated dating or exchanged sex for money, or do you use some other words? If you use some other words, how do you describe this? How does this work? For example, how do you find the men, what usually happens, and so on? How is this different from [fill in the term(s) they do not use]. (Note: Interviewer uses those words that study participant used for the rest of the interview.)

General Information

- Personal information
 - How old are you?
 - Are you going to school now? If no, what is the last grade you finished?
 - Have you ever been married?
 - Do you have any children?
- Parents' information
 - What is your parents' occupation?
 - What is your parents' educational level?
- Material goods
 - Did you ever feel that your parents did not give you money or things that you really needed or wanted? If yes, explain. How did you handle that? [Probe for details on what they needed or wanted.]
- [Life-Calendar] Living situation
 - Where do you live [what section of Seoul or its suburbs]?

- How long did you live there?
- List the other places where you lived and your guess at the ages you lived there. Please help me put the places where you lived since age 12 on this life calendar.
- For each of these places where you lived starting around age 12, who were you living with? That is, were you living with grandparents, parents, stepparents, brothers or sisters? Were you living with a boyfriend or girlfriend, in a program, or with some other people?
- For times you were not living with one or more parents, why was this so?
- What led up to your not living with a parent?

Cultural Expectations Re life course

- Attitudes toward sex, virginity issue, identity and femininity
 - What is expected of girls in terms of what you will be doing and what you will be like in different grades starting around age 12 up to about 25? (Note: You don't need to tell me something at every age, but the age when expectations change). [Probe: expected to be in school? Be working?]
 - How are these expectations different for boys and men?
 - Do you agree with these expectations? If no, why not?
 - During this time, age 12 up through the 20s, when do you think that girls should start having sex? Why?
 - How would it affect their lives to start at different times? How about boys? Would starting at different times be the same?
- Sexism, Patriarchal oppression, socialized gender roles, structural oppression
 - Do you think that girls and women are treated fairly in Korea? In your school or family? By your friends or boyfriend? Can you give me some examples? How do you handle this?

Describe the Context

- Family
 - What was happening in your family at different ages? Did anyone ever hit you or yell at you? What was the most serious incident? Did your parents have problems of their own? What? Did you feel close to your parents? In what ways yes or no? How much time did you spend talking to them in a conversation? What do your parents value in you? Did any adult ever try to get you to do something sexual that you did not want to do, or touch you in a way you did not feel was OK?
- School
 - What was happening in school? How well were you doing? Did you feel good about school and a part of the school? How well did your teachers like you?

Did they humiliate or punish you? How? Were you under a lot of pressure to study? Did that have anything to do with your decision to get involved in exchanging sex or compensated dating?

- Peers
 - What was happening with your peers? How well did you get along with peers? Did you feel good with peer? Did you have any problems with peer? Did you feel close to peer? In what ways yes or no? How much time did you spend with peers after school? Did any of your peers influence on your decision to get involved in exchanging sex/compensated dating?
- Boyfriend
 - Are you in the relationship? What was happening with your boyfriend? How well did you get along with your boyfriend? Did you feel you had a good relationship with your boyfriend? Did you have any problems with him? Did you feel close to him? In what ways yes or no? How much time did you spending with him? Did any of your boyfriends influence your decision to exchange sex/do compensated dating?
- Consumerism/Industrialized entertainment culture
 - Did you feel pressure to get the money or gifts or other benefits? What was it that you wanted? Anything else? Why did you need or want these things? Did you need them be accepted by or look good in the eyes of your friends? Was this other girls or a boyfriend or some other friends? Other people? Did you consider getting these things from your family or another person, or by working at some type of job? Did you also do that? If no, why not?
- Korean social context
 - Do you think that girls and boys, women and men should do the same things as each other in society or should they be different? If different, how should they be different?
 - Some men give girls who are quite a bit younger than they are gifts or money or other things in exchange for sex. How common is this? Do all men do this? Why do they do this? How do they usually treat the girls? What things are good about this arrangement? What things are bad?

Sequence of events /Decisions

- [Life-Calendar] Sequence of events and decision making (For all of these, get the grade or ages the girl was at and put it in the life calendar.)
 - How did you first find out how you could get money or gifts or something else you wanted by having sex? What did you do to set this up the first time? What happened? Is this what you expected? What were the good things that came out

of it? What did you do with the money or gifts? Were there any negative results? What?

- Did anyone get you involved? [Probe to get a detailed description, for example, of peer influences.]
- Did anyone give you suggestions or help prepare you for doing this the first time? What did the person say? How did the person know what you should do? Was it a friend, a boyfriend, or someone else?
- Before you ever did this, what did you think of other girls who got involved? Has this changed in any way? How? Why?
- What was your goal for doing this the first time? Did you consider other ways of meeting this goal? What? What did you do to find out which would be the best way? Why did you go with the exchange of sex? Did your thinking about whether this would help you get your eventual goal change over time? How? Why? Did you ever think back about your first decision to do this? What did you think? Did it affect how you made decisions in the future?
- When girls are about to do this for the first time, how do they usually feel when they are about to go out? [Probe: Often people have mixed feelings. Do they usually feel excited, happy, worried, afraid, ashamed, anxious or full of dread? Something else? How about you -- in what ways were your feelings different from other girls, or the same, when you were first about to go out? How were they the last time you went out?]
- What were the things you thought about when you first decided to do this? What were your thoughts about how you would feel afterwards? [PROBE: Did you think any negative things, either feelings or anything else, could result? Why did you go ahead anyhow? What good things did you think would come about the first time you did this? Did these positive or negative things happen?]
- About how many times did you do this, and starting and ending at what grade? Did your decision to do this change in any way? For example, did some things or people have more or less influence over your decision to do this over time? What? Who?
- Were there things going on in your family, in school, with your friends, or with a boyfriend that affected your decision to do this or your emotions at the time, either the first time or at later times?
- Did you at any point after the first time decide to stop? Why? What reasons or events led up to your decision to stop? Did your emotions – like excitement, fears, shame, or other feelings – change over time?

Identities

- Identity, change, gender identity

- When you first got involved in this kind of sex in exchange for things you wanted, in what ways did it fit with who you were as a person, what you valued and what you wanted to get out of life? Were there any ways it did not fit? What?
- At first, did doing this fit the way that your friends saw you? How or how not? How about your parents? Your teachers?
- Is this the same now? In what ways yes or no? [Probe for each of the groups : Friends/Parents/Teachers]
- If there is some change, describe it and tell me about how it came about? Probes: did you get involved in different things, like with a boyfriend or different ways of spending your time? What? Did some person or program do something? Did you make some decision on your own or change in some way? What? Did your ideas about yourself change? How?
- When you look back at your decisions to either start or stop doing this, or the things that were going on in your life that led to your getting involved, did you see your life and yourself the same way as you do now? If no, what is different? Are the same pros and cons, or the same events still influencing you? Explain.
- If you met a girl who was thinking of doing this for the first time, what advice would you give her?

Experiences in the Justice System and/or Programs and their Effects

- Describe what happened when adults found out you were exchanging sex for things you wanted or needed. What happened first? Then what happened? How did these things affect you in positive ways? In negative ways? [Probe for specifics about parents' responses, arrests, programs, juvenile court.]
- Did your parents' knowing this affect your relationship with them? How? If a change, are you closer or more apart from them? Describe.
- Did being in touch with the courts or the police or a program affect how well you did at school and your feelings about school? If yes, explain.
- Did any of these changes affect the way you see yourself or the kind of person you are? If yes, which ones? How?

Aftermath of prostitution

- Describe the positive and negative things that came about because of exchanging sex for things you wanted or needed.

THE FOLLOWING LIFE CALENDAR WILL BE DEVELOPED IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONS ASKED ABOVE. IT WILL INCLUDE KEY MILESTONES, TURNING POINTS, AND EVENTS.

Age	Circumstance/Situation
Under 13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	

APPENDIX B

Research Participant Information and Consent Form

You are being asked to participate in a research project. Researchers are required to provide a consent form to inform you about the study, to convey that participation is voluntary, to explain risks and benefits of participation, and to empower you to make an informed decision. You should feel free to ask the researchers any questions you may have.

1. PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:

You are being asked to participate in a research study of young women's life events which lead to compensated dating or getting money or gifts for sex in South Korea. You have been selected as a possible participant in this study because you are in a program where participants have been involved in such activity. From this study, the researchers hope to learn what leads up to young women being involved and how getting caught or not getting caught or going to different programs affects them. In the entire study, 30 young women are being asked to participate. Your participation in this study will take up to 3 hours. If you are under 18, you cannot be in this study.

2. WHAT YOU WILL DO:

If you voluntarily agree on participation in this study, and to have the interview tape recorded, you will be interviewed. The questions are not a test, so there is no right or wrong answer. Also, it is not necessary to answer all the questions, and you can stop at any time. If you skip questions or stop the interview, there will be no negative result for you and nobody will be told. If you request, findings from the study will be provided.

3. POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

You will not directly benefit from being in the study. The study results may be helpful in figuring out what kinds of actions taken by the juvenile justice system or rehabilitation programs help young women or do not help them. This may help other young women in the future. Whether you participate in the study or you do not, and anything that you say during the interview, will not in any way benefit you in terms of any program you are in or with any probation officer who you are in touch with.

4. POTENTIAL RISKS:

The potential risk of participating in this study are that in answering the questions, you may recall and think about some upsetting times during your childhood and adolescence, and this can make you feel distress or discomfort. You will be asked about involvement in compensated dating and getting benefits in return for sex, and about your relationship with your family, school, and peers.

5. PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY:

The data for this project will be kept confidential to the maximum extent allowable by law. Your name will not be kept with the data. A separate list of names will be kept in the interviewer's locked file cabinet until all of the interviews are complete, so that no person is contacted or interviewed twice. If you consent to contact in 12 to 24 months from now to be asked to take part in a follow-up interview, your name and contact information will be kept with a number on it that links to your answers until that time in a locked file at Michigan State University and separate from a computer file with your answers in it. If you do not consent to be asked to take part in a follow-up interview, your name will not be kept after the interviews are complete. Interviews will be completed within twelve months or less.

The data for this project will be on password-protected computer in a home office of the Graduate Student or the supervising professor's office at Michigan State University, which is locked when it is not in use. People with access to the data are the person who is heading up the research, the Graduate Student, and members of what is called the Institutional Review Board, which are people responsible for making sure that the rights of human subjects are protected in research projects.

The results of this study will be used in a doctoral study. Then, results may be published or presented at professional meetings, but the identities of all research participants will remain confidential.

After the data are transcribed and entered into a password-protected computer, audio-tapes will be wiped clean.

6. YOUR RIGHTS TO PARTICIPATE, SAY NO, OR WITHDRAW

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You have the right to say no. During the interview, you may change your mind at any time and withdraw. If you decide to withdraw, simply stop the interview, and tell the interviewer about it. Also, you may choose not to answer specific questions. Choosing not to participate or withdrawing from this study will not make any difference in the quality of any services you may receive from social service programs.

7. COSTS AND COMPENSATION FOR BEING IN THE STUDY:

You will receive \$20 for your participation in the study after you have finished the interview. Also, you will be offered up to two flyers that invite other young women to participate. If you choose to give these to young women who have taken part in compensated dating or exchanging sex for gifts or money but who have not been involved with the police or any rehabilitation programs, you will be given \$5 for each one you agree to do this with. If you prefer, you also can just take the flyers to possibly give to young women, but not take the \$5.

8. CONTACT INFORMATION FOR QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, or if you want to receive a summary of study findings, please contact the researcher (Juyoung Song, 560 Baker Hall, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48823, songjuyo@msu.edu, 517-432-3053). Her contact information in Korea is: 31-305 Hyundai APT, Apgujung-dong, Kangnam-gu, Seoul, Korea. The email address is : songjuyo@msu.edu (02-543-0378) You also can contact the professor supervising this research, Merry Morash, at Baker Hall, School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI. 48824. The phone number is 001-517-432-9235. The email address is morashm@msu.edu.

If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 207 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

9. DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT.

Your check mark below means that you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

Yes No

Your check mark means you voluntarily agree to audio-taping of the interview

Yes No

Your check mark means that you voluntarily agree to be recontacted in 12 to 24 months and asked to give consent to a reinterview.

Yes No

You will be given a copy of this form to complete.

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