

Family-centered Prevention of Adolescent Girls' and Boys' Prostitution  
Final Report

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By

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# Executive Summary

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This is a report of findings and recommendations concerning government policies and practices related to family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution. The findings evolve from quantitative analysis of survey data obtained from 387 youths and qualitative analysis of data obtained from 30 youths, 30 parents, and 58 professionals provided in personal interviews or focus groups. Specifically, the 387 surveyed youths (including 259 girls and 128 boys), as referred by some social service units, included 30 youths selected for qualitative interviews due to their experience in compensated dating and/or prostitution. The survey and interviews with the youths and parents occurred between May and October 2010.

## Background

Prostitution is a social problem involving young people, beginning in adolescence, and made worse by the development of an unscrupulous form of compensated dating which refers to a girl's or a boy's dating for the purpose of receiving compensation. This typically occurs among adolescents and is facilitated by individualized contact using modern information and communication technology. Prostitution is harmful to the adolescent physically, mentally, and spiritually. The problems afflict girls and boys as well. Because of this, adolescent prostitution engenders problems in health, labor, education, law and order, social ethos, and other areas in society. A promising way to prevent the problem is a family-centered approach, in view of the potential impacts of the family on adolescent development, harmonious family relationships, and related issues. However, knowledge about family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution is lacking.

In his address at the Legislative Council meeting on October 14, 2009, the Chief Executive, The Honourable Donald Tsang said, "Many social problems, including juvenile drug abuse, prostitution ..., can be traced back to the family. Better family relationships mean fewer social problems. I will ask the Family Council to focus on these problems and find new policy options to alleviate them at the family level."

With this background, the Family Council, in association with the Central Policy Unit, commissioned this research team to conduct this study. Upon completion of this study, it is expected that the findings should include information and analyses on the following four themes:

1. family antecedents of the problem;

2. experiences of families in the process;
3. how families can play a role to solve the problem; and
4. recommendations for family related policy.

## **Objectives**

The overall aim of the study is to explicate family factors related to adolescent prostitution in order to inform policies and practices for family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution. Specifically, the study intends to fulfill the following objectives:

1. Clarifying family-centered factors that are useful for practice and policy to tackle adolescent prostitution and its risks;
2. Verifying the influences of family or parental factors on adolescent prostitution and its risks;
3. Exploring relationships among the family and parental factors and suggestions from social work and other professionals which are relevant for practice and policy; and
4. Developing practical knowledge to inform the prevention of adolescent prostitution and mitigate its risks.

## **Data Collection**

Research about adolescent prostitution is remarkably sensitive and difficult to conduct. A pragmatic approach is necessary to collect data, typically through social service units. As a result, the sample for this study was not a representative sample. Therefore, the results of this study can only be used and interpreted with great caution. By the end of October 2010, the study surveyed 387 youths mostly about their experiences before age 18. They included 289 youths not involved in prostitution or compensated dating and 98 involved in prostitution or compensated dating before the age of 18.

## **Results**

387 youths who responded to the survey had the following characteristics:

- 81.6% of those experienced in compensated dating and/or prostitution were girls, whereas 61.9% of those having no such experience were girls.
- Among the youths, an average age of 16.6 years was found in those experienced in compensated dating and/or prostitution, whereas an average age of 16.3 years was found in those not having the experience.



- An average formal schooling of 8.3 years (since primary school) was found in both groups (those experienced in compensated dating and/or prostitution and those not having had this type of experience).
- 71.1% of those experienced in compensated dating and/or prostitution lived with mothers. For those not having the experience, the percentage was 84.8%.
- 66.0% of those experienced in compensated dating and/or prostitution lived with fathers. For those not having the experience, the percentage was 65.4%.

The survey found the following among adolescents interviewed in the sample:

- 25.3% (98) of the adolescents had compensated dating with or without sexual relationships under the age of 18. The percentage for the girls was 30.9% (80) and the percentage for the boys was 14.1% (18).
- 16.8% (65) of the adolescents had prostitution or compensated dating with sexual relationships under the age of 18. The percentage for the girls was 19.7% (51) and the percentage for the boys was 10.9% (14).
- During the most recent 2 months or the last two months before the age of 18, the adolescents with compensated dating experience without sexual relationships had an average of 3.7 dates (4.1 dates for girls and 2.3 dates for boys).
- During the most recent 2 months or the last two months before the age of 18, the adolescents with prostitution or compensated dating with sexual relationships had an average of 1.1 experience (1.1 times for girls and 1.3 times for boys).

Analyses of the quantitative and qualitative data identified some common factors in prostitution, including risk or signaling factors and protective or impedance factors (respectively found related to prostitution positively and negatively).

Important risk or signaling factors (positively related to prostitution) were:

- Parental abuse (which might create strain and inducement to handle the strain by such a delinquent means, including prostitution)
- Parental crime (which might show approval and even tutelage, cajolement, instigation, or aid to delinquency, including prostitution)
- Talking about sex (notably parents' promiscuous affairs) with parents (which might reduce scruples about prostitution)
- Working in indecent clubs (which might provide opportunities for prostitution)

Important protective or impedance factors (negatively related to prostitution) were:

- Paternal and maternal parenting competence (which might curb prostitution)
- Parent-child recreation (which might facilitate parent-child bonding and thus protection against prostitution)
- Parental moral guidance (which might discourage prostitution)
- Mother-child secure and not anxious, ambivalent interaction during arrest (which might prevent or facilitate desistance from prostitution)
- Parent-child joint counseling (which might prevent prostitution)

Moreover, findings also identify a service gap in specialized services committed to preventing adolescent prostitution, in view of the following limitations in existing services:

- Integrated family services: having little room for strengthening families that are not imminently risky, because of the heavy workload for tackling crisis cases.
- Youth outreaching social work service: difficulty in involving families.
- School social work service: difficulty in following up or referring adolescents who leave or drop out from school too quickly.
- Services related to Care and Protection Order: difficulty in sustaining services because the Order is too short.
- Various services: difficulty in identifying adolescent prostitution and coordinating efforts for preventing adolescent prostitution.

## **Policy Recommendations**

Ten policy recommendations emerge, based on evidence culled from the data analyses and professional views. The first two recommendations are about the mission of the policy for preventing adolescent prostitution in general. Recommendation Numbers 3, 4, 5 specify the target of the policy, related to the risk of adolescent prostitution. The next two recommendations then identify the mission of the policy for the prevention of prostitution among at-risk adolescents. Lastly, Recommendation Numbers 8, 9, 10 indicate general policy strategies for preventing adolescent prostitution.

1. **Strengthening efficient parenting.** Efficient parenting means effective parenting under constraints of limited time or opportunity. Effective parenting needs to strike a balance between being too strict and too lenient. Caring, love, affection, reasoning, and explanation are all essential to effective parenting. Importantly, parenting needs to be conducive to communication with adolescents. Parents need to be competent in parenting

and achieve a consensus within the family concerning parenting and rules in the family. Moreover, competent fathering is especially important.

- 1.1. **Raising moral character, values, and reasoning.** Prostitution is a moral problem, and its solution requires parental contributions as well as moral education in the school. Parental moral guidance, in line with moral education in the school, is effective in preventing adolescent prostitution. Parental moral guidance is crucial in parents' inculcation of moral values to their children.
- 1.2. **Raising competence.** Internet contact is usually a sufficient condition for engaging in compensated dating or prostitution eventually. An initial checkpoint would be the monitoring of Internet activity and discouraging the adolescent having face-to-face contact with someone acquainted only through the Internet and other information technologies. The raising of parental competence needs to take account of the rapid change of information communication technologies.
- 1.3. **Preventing early sex.** Early prevention or discouragement of sex is important for preventing further involvement. It is because once the adolescent experiences a sexual debut, he or she will be less cautious about sexual involvement or protection of chastity. Particularly, early marriage or cohabitation, and therefore even romantic love and dating, deserve attention.
2. **Strengthening parent-child bonding.** Attachment to the parent requires the child's interaction with the parent and the parent's concern for the child. Particularly, attachment to the father is important for fostering moral development.
3. **Targeting broken families.** Adolescents who are not living with both parents are at risk of prostitution. The family with an absent parent suffers from the adequate creation of the parent-child bond and provision of effective parenting and control. Conversely, advice for reunion or remarriage is a way to assuage problems of the broken family, who requires the strengthening of parenting.
4. **Targeting problematic families.** Problems in families that predict adolescent prostitution include parental abuse of the child, committing crimes, and as such drawing the attention of the police. Such problems would harm effective parenting. Tackling these family problems, such as through counseling, is a necessary step toward prevention of adolescent prostitution.
5. **Targeting adolescent problems.** Adolescent problems predictive of adolescent prostitution include cohabitation, marriage, working in indecent clubs, and earlier compensated dating. Such problems can be gateways to prostitution. Mobilizing family

coping with adolescent problems is essential. Notably, strengthening parents' communication and conflict management skills are essential.

6. **Crisis intervention.** A crisis is an opportunity for families to help and divert their adolescent children from prostitution, importantly in partnership with professionals such as police and social workers. The goal is to erect parental understanding of the crisis, support for the adolescent, and collaboration with professional services to make the crisis a turning point for the adolescent's rehabilitation. Crises include:

- 6.1. **During police arrest.** Police sanctions create a crisis for the adolescent, which requires the family and other professionals to collaborate in crisis intervention. Both punishment and caring are necessary for prevention of at-risk adolescents' prostitution. Families and various professionals can provide complementary inputs to enhance the effectiveness of each input.

- 6.2. **During pregnancy.** The adolescent girl's pregnancy is distressing condition for families and other professionals to intervene. In this connection, the girl's physical and emotional needs for care provide the opportunity for intervention to demonstrate its effectiveness.

- 6.3. **During injury or infection.** Physical suffering in the adolescent, especially due to prostitution, is a crisis in need of intervention. Treatment of the physical suffering is an entry point for diverting adolescents from prostitution.

7. **Parent-child joint counseling or service involvement.** Family-wide intervention involving parents and adolescent children is most effective. For one, collaboration between the family and professionals is a key to successful prevention. Counseling and other services are required to resolve the family problem. Professionals trained in family counseling would be most appropriate to provide counseling services.

8. **Supporting specialized services for wraparound prevention of adolescent prostitution.** Such services can be extensions of existing specialized services for preventing adolescent prostitution. Their merits consist in providing direct services and coordinating efforts of families and various professionals to generate synergistic effects, based on the expertise of the services.

- 8.1. **Proactive approaches to service delivery.** The proposed specialized service unit needs to mobilize and engage families identified in Recommendation Numbers 3 and 4 for preventive work in order to help needy families. It can include reaching out work to engage hard-to-reach families.

- 8.2. **Assessing needs and risks and allotting services.** Early detection of needs and risks of families and their children concerning adolescent prostitution is the first step to render preventive services. For this purpose, schools, youth and family services are helpful. With the detection and assessment, services are useful when they match the needs and risks.
- 8.3. **Delivering parent education for needy parents and families with at-risk children.** The proposed specialized service unit needs to provide educational services to the target parents about their duties and skills of moral guidance, crisis intervention, Internet monitoring, and other appropriate parenting performances, and most fundamentally about the values of family and parenting. Subsidized parenting education, as modeled after retraining in the Employee Retraining Board, can provide incentives for parents and would-be parents admitted by the education services.
- 8.4. **Minimizing any labeling effect on participants.** Ways to minimize any labeling effect on participants include situating specific services within general-purpose premises and packaging the services in an appealing and non-sensitive manner.
9. **Facilitating the partnerships of professionals or units with families.** Instituting laws or regulations is a requisite to facilitate professionals and their partnerships in preventing adolescent prostitution. It needs to formalizing protocols for partnership in crisis intervention during such crises as police arrest and hospitalization. An important condition for partnership is the sharing of information. Particularly, adolescents aged 16 and 17 are of concern, because their prostitution is within a grey area between prostitution and sexual abuse.
10. **Mobilizing community support for the prevention.** The target of mobilization includes employers, managers, and professionals, as well as residents. Sustaining family and moral values for parenting and adolescent development in society is essential to champion efforts to prevent adolescent prostitution and other problems. School has a role to strengthen moral education for cultivating family and other moral values, and eradicating immoral values like selling virginity for money, in order to prevent adolescent prostitution.

# 行政撮要

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就有關以家庭為本的角度預防青少年賣淫的課題，本報告闡述研究結果及對政府政策和實務的建議。研究結果基於 387 位青少年（包括 259 少女和 128 位少男）的調查數據的量化分析，以及 30 位青少年、30 位家長及 58 位專業人員的訪問數據的質性分析。由社會服務單位介紹的 387 位參與調查青少年，當中包括因為具有援交及/或賣淫經驗並同意接受深入訪談的 30 位青少年。所有調查及訪問，於 2010 年五月到十月的期間進行。

## 背景

賣淫以往較少涉及少年人，近年從日本蔓延過來的少年以「援交」換取金錢或物質報酬的觀念和行為，加上資訊科技的個人化、便於隱藏和廣泛接觸，以致肆無忌憚的演化為賣淫，令問題日益嚴重。賣淫令青少年身心靈受損，不論男女均蒙受傷害。青少年賣淫對衛生、勞工、教育、治安、社會風氣和其他社會範疇均釀成問題。基於家庭對兒童及青少年的成長和發展，以及建立健康、和諧及快樂的家庭的重要性，必須以家庭為本的手法預防青少年賣淫問題，方為合適。然而，本港缺乏有關以家庭為本預防青少年賣淫的知識，因此有需要做研究。

行政長官曾蔭權發表的二零零九至一零年施政報告中指出：「不少社會問題，包括青少年吸毒、賣淫 ...等現象，都與家庭有關。家庭關係良好，各種社會問題也會相應減少。我會要求家庭議會就以上的社會問題作重點討論研究，從家庭層面着眼，建議緩解問題的新政策方案。」

基於這個背景，家庭議會協同中央政策組，委託本研究組進行研究，期望藉研究及分析資料就以下四方面取得成果：

1. 導致青少年賣淫的家庭因素；
2. 有青少年賣淫的家庭的經驗；
3. 家庭如何在解決青少年賣淫問題上發揮作用；
4. 就家庭相關政策提出建議。

## 目的

本研究的整體目標是闡釋有關青少年賣淫的家庭因素，從而有助建立以家庭為本預防青少年賣淫的政策和實務。本研究的目的如下：

1. 澄清各項家庭為本因素，以助建立以家庭為本預防青少年賣淫及減輕其禍害的政策和實務；
2. 驗證家庭或父母因素對青少年賣淫及其風險的影響；
3. 探索與實務和政策有關的家庭與父母因素的關係，以及社會工作以及其他專業人員的建議；
4. 發展有助預防青少年賣淫及減輕其禍害的實務知識。

## 資料收集

研究青少年賣淫這個敏感問題特別困難，實在有必要採取實際上可行的方法，一般都是通過與這些人有接觸的社會服務機構。本研究不是嚴格按隨機抽樣原則來抽取樣本，代表性局限於有類似背景的群體，因此在引用及解釋研究資料及數據時必須謹慎。

直至 2010 年十月底，研究人員訪問了 387 位青少年有關他們在 18 歲以前的經驗。當中包括 289 位沒有賣淫或援交經驗，以及 98 位在 18 歲以前有賣淫或援交經驗。

## 結果

387 位接受訪問的青少年有以下特徵：

- 有援交或賣淫經驗的受訪者中，81.6%是少女；而沒有這經驗的受訪者中，61.9%是少女。
- 有援交或賣淫經驗的受訪者平均年齡為 16.6 歲，而沒有這經驗的受訪者平均 16.3 歲。
- 有援交或賣淫經驗和沒有這經驗的青少年，平均都接受了 8.3 年正規學校教育（由小學開始計）。

- 有援交或賣淫經驗的受訪者中，有 71.1%與母親同住，而在沒有這經驗的受訪者中則為 84.8%。
- 有援交或賣淫經驗的受訪者中，有 66.0%與父親同住，而在沒有這經驗的受訪者中則為 65.4%。

該調查在受訪青少年樣本中有以下發現：

- 25.3% (98 位) 青少年在 18 歲以前涉及有或沒有無性關係的援交；佔女受訪者的 30.9% (80 位)及男受訪者的 14.1% (18 位)。
- 16.8% (65 位) 青少年在少於 18 歲時涉及有性關係的援交；佔女受訪者的 19.7% (51) 及 男受訪者的 10.9% (14 位)。
- 涉及援交的青少年中，在最近兩個月或 17 歲的最後兩個月，平均有 3.7 次參與有或沒有性關係的援交；其中少女平均有 4.1 次；少男平均有 2.3 次。
- 涉及援交的青少年中，在最近兩個月或 17 歲的最後兩個月，平均有 1.1 次參與有性關係的援交；其中少女平均有 1.1 次；少男平均有 1.3 次。

從量化和質性數據的分析中，識別出以下與青少年賣淫有密切關係的共通因素，包括風險或預警因素，以及保護或阻遏因素兩大類（分別與賣淫有正面和反面關係）。

重要（與賣淫有正面關係）的風險或預警因素是：

- 父母的虐待（會造成緊張，並誘發採用包括賣淫在內的越軌方式處理）
- 父母的罪行（會對包括賣淫在內的越軌行為縱容，甚至教唆、慫恿、煽動或協助）
- 與父母談及（尤其是父母的性濫交）性事（會減低對賣淫的顧忌）
- 在風月場所工作（會為賣淫提供機會）

重要（與賣淫有反面關係）的保護或阻遏因素是：

- 父親和母親的親職才幹（會遏止賣淫）
- 親子康樂活動（會促進親子聯繫，維持親子適當相依，並從而防範賣淫）
- 父母的道德指引（會勸止賣淫）
- 當子女被捕，母親與子女的安全穩靠而非矛盾糾纏的交流（會防止或有助戒除賣淫）
- 親子共同參與輔導（會防止賣淫）



再者，資料分析結果識別出一個明顯的服務空隙，就是處理青少年賣淫問題的專責服務，這是由於下述的現存服務的不足而產生：

- 綜合家庭服務：由於處理危機個案的工作量極其沉重，以致在強化未有緊急危機的家庭方面的服務相對稀少
- 青少年外展社會工作服務：難以取得家庭的參與
- 學校社會工作服務：難以跟進或轉介服務予過早離校或輟學的青少年
- 照顧保護令有關服務：一般照顧保護令為期太過短促，難以進行持久服務
- 各項服務：難於識別青少年賣淫及協調預防青少年賣淫的工作

## 政策建議

基於數據分析所得的證據和專業人員的見解，十項建議由之而產生。首兩項建議是預防青少年賣淫的政策使命。第三、四及五項建議，指出涉及青少年賣淫風險的政策對象。之後兩項建議，界定政策使命以預防具風險青少年的賣淫。最後，第八、九及十項建議指出預防青少年賣淫政策的策略。

1. 強化有效率的親職。有效率的親職意指在有限時間和機會下的有效親職。有效親職需要在過緊與過寬之間取得平衡。關心、親愛、通情、達理和耐心解釋全都是有效親職的必備元素。重要的是有助與青少年的溝通。父母需要在親職上幹練及在家庭中對親職和家規的建立和有效執行達成共識。再者，幹練的父職尤其重要。
  - 1.1. 提升道德稟性、道德價值觀及道德推理。賣淫是道德問題，其預防方法必定需要父母的付出及學校的道德教育。家庭道德教育與學校道德教育一致，才可以有效預防青少年賣淫。道德價值觀的灌輸與確立，必須靠父母親身指導。
  - 1.2. 提升才幹。互聯網接觸通常是援交和賣淫的踏腳石。初期的檢測點，是監察或勸止青少年與通過互聯網或其他資訊科技剛接觸或認識不深的人會面。
  - 1.3. 預防過早出現性行為。及早預防或勸止過早出現性行為，是預防賣淫問題重要的一步。因為青少年一經性方面的嘗試，就會減低在性方面保護自己的警覺性和削弱保持貞潔的觀念和行為。因此青少年早婚和同居特別值得關注，同時也應關注青少年戀愛與約會。
2. 強化親子聯繫。父母與孩子相依的建立必須靠孩子與父母的互動及父母對孩子的關愛。特別的是，與父親的適當相依，對培育孩子的道德發展非常重要。

3. 針對破碎家庭。不與雙親同住的青少年有賣淫的風險。失去父親或母親的家庭在親子聯繫、提供有效親職及管教方面體驗到痛苦和困難。反之，為家庭團聚或再婚提供輔導，是減輕破碎家庭面對眾多問題和強化其親職的方法。
4. 針對問題家庭。家庭導致青少年賣淫的問題包括父母虐兒、犯罪及因此而引起警方介入。這些問題會損害有效親職。解決這些家庭問題，如透過輔導，是預防青少年賣淫必須的步驟。
5. 針對青少年問題。導致青少年賣淫的問題包括同居、早婚、在風月場所工作及早期的援交。這些問題可以迫使青少年走向賣淫。動員家庭應付青少年問題是重要的。尤其值得注意的是，有必要強化父母的溝通技巧和管理衝突的技巧。
6. 危機介入。當家庭面臨危機，同時也是讓家庭伙同警察和社工等專業人員，幫助和疏導他們的青少年子女遠離賣淫的重要機會。其目的是協助父母對危機的了解，支持青少年，以及與專業服務人員充份合作，使危機成為青少年復康的轉捩點。危機包括：
  - 6.1. 於被捕時。警方拘捕對青少年、家庭構成危機，亦應讓家庭和其他專業人員合作介入危機。處罰和關懷兩者，對預防有風險青少年的賣淫是必要的。家庭和專業人員必須互相合作互為補足，以發揮最大的成效。
  - 6.2. 於懷孕時。少女懷孕面對困難處境，必須讓家庭和其他專業人員充份合作介入危機。這時需要有效的介入，以照顧少女的身體和情緒的需要，並可以預防賣淫問題。
  - 6.3. 於受傷或受感染時。青少年身體受到傷害，尤其是因為賣淫引起的傷害，亦需要家庭和其他專業人員充分合作介入危機。治療傷害是疏導青少年遠離賣淫的重要介入點。
7. 親子共同接受輔導或參與服務。父母和青少年子女共同接受介入，較為有效。在當中，家庭與專業人員的衷誠合作是成功預防賣淫的關鍵。有必要為有需要解決問題的家庭提供全家的輔導和其他配合服務。受過家庭輔導訓練的專業人員最合適提供服務。
8. 支持全面覆蓋地預防青少年賣淫的專責服務。這種服務可以是現存的、特別預防青少年賣淫服務的延伸。其優點在於提供直接服務，協調家庭和專業人員的工作，以及基於各種服務的專長從而產生協同效應。

- 8.1. 爭取主動的提供服務手法。專責服務單位需要動員和爭取家庭參與預防工作，以幫助弱勢家庭。它應包括展外工作，以便主動與難於接觸的家庭建立工作關係。
- 8.2. 評估需要及風險以分配服務。早期鑑定家庭及其子女的需要和青少年賣淫的風險，是專責服務單位提供預防服務的第一步。為做好及早鑑定的工作，學校、青少年服務及家庭服務是有幫助的。有了偵測和鑑定，得以切合需要和風險，專責服務單位所提供的服務，才可以針對實際需要和有效減低青少年賣淫的風險。
- 8.3. 為有需要的家長和有賣淫風險子女的家庭，提供家長教育。專責服務單位需要針對有需要的父母提供教育服務，教導他們在家中進行道德教育、危機介入、互聯網監察及其他親職行為的責任和技巧，以及最為重要和基本的家庭和親職價值觀。套用僱員再培訓局的模式，津貼有需要的父母接受親職教育，向父母和準父母提供現金津貼，以增加誘因，向他們提供教育服務。
- 8.4. 盡可能減少對參加者的標籤效應。縮小任何對參加者的標籤效應的方法，包括在綜合服務的場所提供專責服務，以及採用具吸引和非敏感的手法包裝服務。
9. 促進專業人員、服務單位與家庭的伙伴關係。訂立法律和規則，是促進專業人員及他們的伙伴共同合作預防青少年賣淫所必需的。有需要在拘捕和留醫等危機關鍵時刻，將專業伙伴合作的危機介入程序正規化。伙伴合作的重要條件是資料的共用。尤其應關注的是 16 和 17 歲的青年人，如果涉及賣淫，他們將處於被控告和遭受性虐待之間的灰色地帶。
10. 動員社區對預防工作的支援。動員的對象包括僱主、經理和專業人士，以及香港市民。維持促進親職和青少年發展的家庭和道德價值觀，對預防青少年賣淫和其他問題都是必要的。學校在預防青少年賣淫的職責，是強化道德教育，以培育家庭和其他道德價值觀，並根除諸如售賣貞操等不道德的價值觀。

# Introduction

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This is a final report describing work completed for the study focused on family-center prevention of adolescent prostitution. Such work include a review of overseas experience, survey of 387 youths at risk of prostitution, in-depth interviews with 30 youths engaged in prostitution, interviews with parents of adolescents at risk of prostitution, and interviews with 58 professionals concerned with adolescent prostitution. Important findings thereby evolve from the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data collected to inform policy and practice for the family-center prevention of adolescent prostitution.

## Objectives

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The aim of the study is to clarify family-centered factors that are useful for practice and policy to tackle the adolescent's compensated dating and its risk of physical and psychological harm. Holding the family at the center, the study is to verify the influences of family and parental factors on the adolescent's compensated dating and its risk. Meanwhile, the study strives to explore relationships among the family and parental factors and social work and other professional inputs, which are of concern for practice and policy. Such exploration is going to illuminate four major nexuses about compensated dating, pertaining to (1) family causation, (2) family interplay (e.g., family members' responses), (3) family solutions, and (4) policy about the family. The study thereby develops practical knowledge to inform the primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention of compensated dating and its risk by short-term as well as long-term measures. This development will rest on primary data collected locally through surveys and in-depth interviews and a literature review of overseas experience.

Specifically, the study is to fulfill the following objectives:

1. Clarifying family-centered factors that are useful for practice and policy to tackle adolescent prostitution and its risk;
2. Verifying the influences of family and parental factors on adolescent prostitution and its risk;
3. Exploring relationships among the family and parental factors and social work and suggestions from social work and other professional which are relevant to practice and policy; and

4. Developing practical knowledge to inform the prevention of adolescent prostitution and mitigate its risks.

## Background

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This study addresses issues of the participation of adolescent girls and boys when they are aged between 12 and 18 in compensated dating or prostitution. The girls are particularly of concern because their exposure to harm due to compensated dating or prostitution, in view of local evidence (Tse 2009). The harm is also similar or even more serious than that attributed to violence in dating and child abuse noted for girl victims (Dwivedi 1993; Howard and Wang 2003). Such harm is also likely simply because girls are more involved than dating than are boys of the same age (Cavanagh 2007; Feiring 1995). This incidence echoes the higher preference of the girl than of the boy to date with an opposite-sex partner who is not a classmate (Cavanagh 2007). Nevertheless, adolescent boys are also possible to engage in compensated dating or prostitution, in view of some local research (Chu et al. 2009; Yau et al. 2009). A promising way to tackle the adolescent's prostitution is a family-centered approach, in view of the potential impacts of the family on dating, risk taking, and related issues (Cavanagh 2007; Michael and Bickert 2001). Elaborating empirical and practical details of the family-centered approach is concern for the proposed study.

## Terms of Reference

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In studying adolescent prostitution for policy implications, defining prostitution as covering a spectrum of commercial activities is vital. Accordingly, prostitution is an interpersonal sexual activity performed by an actor for money, material gain, or a commercial purpose (Wilson and Widom 2010). Interpersonal sexual activity refers to that involving personal contact for sexual or erotic purposes. It can range from flirting or erotic touching to coitus (Jonason and Marks 2009). To count as prostitution, an actor gains financially or materially by gratifying another person sexually in an interpersonal encounter (Kontula 2008). Prostitution can exist in many forms and in many places. Some common roles of prostitution are those of the call girl, escorts, brothel worker, massage/parlor worker, bar/casino worker, and street worker (Weitzer 2009). To young people, compensating dating is a euphemism of prostitution (Ueno 2003). It is close to the prostitution role of the escort in nature. Even though compensating dating may not involve coitus, penetrative sex, or serious forms of

sexual activity, it often takes mild forms of sexual activity, such as flirting and touching for erotic gratification. Hence, compensating dating is also a form of commercial activity covered in the study of adolescent prostitution. Essentially, compensated dating has the following defining characteristics:

1. Exchanging for money, financial, or materials, including a service that is costly
2. Interpersonal contact which is close in
  - 2.1. Physical distance, within one foot
  - 2.2. Emotional or intimate sense
  - 2.3. Sexual sense or with sexual desire
3. Partner other than a family member

Prostitution is a form of compensated dating that involves sexual activities, which are not necessarily intercourse. Hence, compensated dating can cover prostitution. As the term compensated dating is a euphemism for prostitution, notably popular among youth, it would already imply prostitution just like the term “tat” to represent shoplifting or stealing. Besides, compensated dating without sexual intercourse would be a crucial gateway to prostitution.

Compensated dating, albeit not necessarily involving the exchange for sex, is of concern because it is a precursor to prostitution (Ho 2003; Lam 2003; Ueno 2003). For the prevention of prostitution, preventing or tackling compensating dating is necessary. Besides, compensating dating is the emerging problem augmenting the risk of prostitution. Such dating becomes rampant because of the popularity of Internet and other electronic technologies. The revolution in information technology enables the younger generation to maintain ulterior linkages that facilitate dating with strangers or punters. This revolution and facilitation of compensated dating appear to originate in Japan and spread to neighboring regions, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and others (Lam 2003; Ueno 2003). The emergence and popularization of compensated dating also stem from the popular culture, including drama, television series, pornography, and lifestyles. Adolescents, including those attending schools, fall prey into the unscrupulous influence and entrapment enabled by information technology and popular culture. Schoolgirls, in particular, seem to partake in compensated dating easily, as a gainful way to earn quick cash. Research in Japan has found that many adolescent compensated dates come from well-off or middle-class families (Ueno 2003). They find compensating dating attractive because they believe that they have a free choice of punters. Paradoxically, they are susceptible to conformist pressure created by the popular or youth culture. Meanwhile, some take compensated dating as revenge against their parents or patriarchal values. In a broader sense, they are susceptible to materialistic consumerism,

which is a dominant ethos in Japan. Following the trend of Japan as early as the late 1990s, compensated dating has become a problem in Taiwan (Lam 2003). Television and other popular cultures, notably those imported from Japan, are influential on compensating dating in Taiwan. Apart from risk factors identified similarly in Japan, neglect of the problem by the police may be a risk factor notable in Taiwan (Lam 2003). Rather than the police, certain concern groups emerge in Taiwan to tackle the problem of compensated dating. Compensated dating in Hong Kong, emerges to be a problem only recently, that is, later than Japan and Taiwan. It did not seem to be a problem before, probably because it was not salient in the popular culture and professionalized sex work in Hong Kong (Lam 2003). Professionalized groups or associations supportive of sex work in Hong Kong tend to deny that prostitution and compensated dating constitute a social problem. Despite that, compensated dating or adolescent prostitution quickly becomes a serious concern in Hong Kong, in view of some recent survey findings about adolescents' willingness to partake in compensating dating.

To tackle adolescent prostitution, formulating a pertinent policy is necessary. A policy is an overarching directive for pervasive and universally applied action. Family-centered policy is a series of principles for determining actions by the government for the actualization of goals that are applicable to families publicly, typically universally. In a generic way, family policy comprises specific policies, such as parenting support policy and private-public partnership policy. Regardless of its specificity, policy is an integration of three components, pertaining to its mission, target, and strategy.

Family-centered policy for preventing adolescent prostitution particularly sets the mission, targets, and strategies of the prevention. Notably, it needs to a strong mission of zero tolerance for adolescent prostitution in order to steer its strategies and implementation.

## Methods

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The study combines quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze data collected from multiple sources, including youth at risk of or having experience in compensating dating or prostitution, parents of at risk youth, and professionals concerned with adolescent prostitution. These methods represent efforts to understand adolescent prostitution and derive family-centered policies and practices for preventing the prostitution based on real-life data. The quantitative methods rely on statistical analyses to identify risk or signaling factors that precede prostitution and related problems, and protective or impeding factors that predict lower prostitution and related problems. Meanwhile, the qualitative methods elaborate these

factors from the viewpoints of youth, parents, and professionals. These methods thereby complement and triangulate findings from the quantitative methods.

## Limitations

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The study relies on the reports of youth, parents, and professionals through the survey and interviews. There are no on-site observation and certified documentation to provide data. It is also a one-time study, relying on retrospective report. In all, the veracity of data is subject to the constraint of subjectivity, memory, and one-off data collection. At any rate, findings drawn from the research are not forensic evidence.

## Existing Experience

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Experience is available from the literature about adolescent prostitution and its risk and protective factors, based on empirical research and mostly in places in the West (see Appendix 1). In addition, description and critique of policy in overseas countries are available in the literature. They, nevertheless, mostly do not evolve from empirical research, and therefore have not mustered evidence for their effectiveness and feasibility.

## Overseas Public Policy

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Legal measures are the most typical policy instrument used to tackle adolescent prostitution. The measures common consist of the enactment and enforcement of law against adolescent prostitution and the enforcement. With little exception, the law in Japan, Korea, and various other places prohibits prostitution involving adolescents below 16 years of age (McCoy, 2004; Radford and Tsutsumi 2004; Shim, 2002; Udagawa 2007; Wakabayashi 2003). Laws in different places may be different in the target and severity of the penalty. Notably in Japan, Tokyo Law allowed the police to interrogate in the street adolescents suspected for compensated dating. In Korea, the strategy is protectionism, which treats adolescent prostitutes as minor, sexless, sexually innocent, and subordinate to adult punters (Kim 2003). Obviously, they vary in imposing the penalty on the adolescent prostitute. Besides, legal measures also target pornography, advertisement, and other factors assumed to



lead to adolescent prostitution. Such other factors can include child abuse, neglectful or inadequate parenting, and grooming for prostitution. Parents can also be the target of punishment when they impede the adolescent's development, such as schooling. Apart from the legal or punitive instrument, strengthening or facilitation of family functioning or parenting is another means.

In the United Kingdom and United States, the child protection strategy to preventing juvenile prostitution prevails in public policy (Halter 2010; Hutton et al. 2000; Mitchell et al. 2010; Phoenix 2002, 2004). Firstly, the strategy regards juvenile prostitutes as victims, rather than offenders, and as such subsumes prostitution under child abuse. Its premise is that the juvenile prostitute is innocent and involved against her or his will. That is, juvenile prostitution is involuntary, but is under coercion and enticing and as a form of desperation. The philosophy is to salvage the innocent child. Hence, the penalty is against adult pimps and punters, who are abusers and coercers, and it does not apply to juvenile prostitutes. In principle, victims of prostitution can have access to accommodation, therapy, leisure, education, and training, following victimization (Cusick 2002).

The child protection strategy is subject to criticism (Phoenix 2002, 2004; Mitchell et al. 2010). The most obvious argument is that prostitution is categorically different from child abuse and thereby requires separate and devoted treatment. It identifies earning money as a main cause of prostitution, rather than under coercion within a family. Hence, it maintains that prostitution is out of voluntary, agentic, and probably rational motives for pursuing material rewards. It can be a means of survival and negotiation to deal with poverty, privation, homelessness, addiction, and social isolation. Furthermore, it contends that punishing adult abusers and coercers does not save the child from engagement in prostitution voluntarily or at least desperately. Treating the child as innocent and thereby requiring no intervention would be problematic. Criticism also faults the strategy for failing to take care of the child's welfare and needs. In all, the criticism holds that the juvenile prostitute should be the target of intervention, involving support, distraction, resettlement, and punishment. Hence, the criticism suggests that the child protection strategy is just permissive of the juvenile's own choice to engage in prostitution, as it protects the juvenile from others' influence but not one's own misdeed.

The parenting support strategy is a family policy implemented in the United Kingdom to be relevant to tackling juvenile prostitution as well as other problems. This strategy takes the image of ethicopolitics to be highly interventionist in shaping the parental role (Gillies 2005; Shulruf et al. 2009). The aim and task of the strategy is to strengthen or restore mainstream,

middle-class, moral values for cultivating children from the top or government, to the family, and eventually to children. Conformity, traditionalism, and being good parents are essential values preached by the strategy. The strategy thereby defines good parents as those transmitting moral values, agentic, obliged in parenting, and self-sufficient in running the family. Financial, material, or welfare dependence would not make a good parent, according to the strategy. Of concern is the parent's contribution to shaping and modifying the child's lifestyle and conduct. As such, the strategy regards parenting as an occupation, requiring training and commitment. Its primary instrument is to support parenting through advice rather than material or welfare. Moreover, the strategy defines the family as a public space, in the sense that the public can intervene to support and facilitate parenting. Such support can arise from government agencies and the community, under the policy of the Third Way. The latter in turn entails the strengthening of the community, social cohesion, and social responsibility or obligation, particularly in the moral direction. As such, parenting is not an individual parent's matter, but is a public or, community concern. This reflects another core premise, pertaining to the child-centered as opposed to parent-centered orientation (Luckock 2008). Accordingly, the goal is to facilitate child development toward independence, productivity, and favorable life chances. For this goal, parents and parenting need to be competent, accountable, and effective. The policy therefore is to intrude into the family to reduce parental autonomy. This strategy also echoes the strategy of public-private collaboration in the United States, involving the family and other parties to tackle teenage pregnancy (Farber 2003). The premise of the strategy is that financial resources are not the major factor of parenting and adolescent development, when the parent and adolescent have many unmet needs in other aspects, notably advice from the public or community and social cohesion.

Similarly, the strategy in Canada is to provide secure care or protection to adolescent prostitutes rather than punishment (Bittle 2002). Notably, responsabilization is a component of the secure care strategy, which emphasizes personal and parental responsibilities for the prevention of adolescent prostitution. It is to strengthen family control, community participation, and self-help in adolescents and their families, and essentially for the establishment of a moral community.

The strength-building strategy prevails in the family policy of Australia (Geggie et al. 2007). Its central premise is about the inherent strength in the family and community, which sustains the resilience of the family. Characteristic of the resilient family are open, positive, honest communication, togetherness, sharing activities, affection, support, acceptance, and commitment. The strategy is to facilitate the identification of strengths in the family as well

as the community and regard the family as the expert in solving family problems. Facilitating families to rekindle and realize their strengths are the ropes of the strategy.

Table 1: Adolescent prostitution in various places based on existing studies

Place	Incidence	Family factor	Policy
Japan	3.9% of high school girls in compensating dating	Family dysfunction, lack of communication	Law
Korea	222 arrests	Lack of support Parental violence Familial dissolution Parent neglect Family stress	Law
Taiwan	5.5% of high school students considering	Sexual abuse	Association, concern group
Hong Kong	21% of students / 34% of youth considering		

#### Data Collected

Research about adolescent prostitution is remarkably sensitive and difficult and thus a pragmatic approach is necessary to collect data, typically through social service units (Melrose 2002). By the end of October 2010, the study surveyed 387 youths mostly about their experiences before age 18. For tapping experiences before age 18, the respondents could have an age up to 23. Among the respondents, those aged 18 or above recalled their experiences happening before the age of 18. They included 289 youths not identified to be involved in prostitution or compensated dating and 98 identified to be involved in prostitution or compensated dating before the interview. In addition, the study interviewed 30 adolescents having experience in prostitution or compensated dating, 2 parents whose children had that kind of experience, 28 other parents, and 58 professionals, including social workers and police officers. The professionals particularly represented a purposive sample selected according to their expertise on, or direct experience with adolescent prostitution or compensated dating. Such selection also benefited from referrals from the professionals.

	Informants as planned	Informants interviewed
1.	30 youths identified to be involved in prostitution or compensated dating	30
2.	300 at-risk youths not yet identified to be involved in prostitution or compensated dating	387
3.	30 parents of adolescents involved in or at-risk for prostitution or compensated dating	30
4.	40 social workers, educators, police, legal, and other professionals	58

Note. Updated figures by the end of September

The sampling sources of at-risk youth and their parents included 14 of the 16 outreaching social work teams in Hong Kong, 4 integrated youth centers, which included night drifting services and community support services as well, a special school, 2 service units for sex workers, and a parenting education center. These sources cover at-risk youth and their parents of various levels of kinds of risk and various areas in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, at-risk youth and their parents are hard-to-reach people. There was not a full list of them for sampling, other than the lists held by each service unit. The sampling approach based on available lists or sources is appropriate for the study of hard-to-reach people (Davis et al. 2004; Silenzio et al. 2009). Besides, as the focus of data collection from all sampling sources, including youth, parents, and professionals, was on adolescent prostitution or compensated dating, triangulation or verification of data was applicable. This would enhance the validity of the data. At any rate, this was a rule of research to use the best analytic techniques and statistical inference, regardless of the sampling method (Reichardt and Gollob 1999; Thatcher and Drane 2003). Specifically, the research rule, at least in academic research, is to treat data based on a nonprobability sample as those based on a probability sample. Statistical analysis and inference are useful to ascertain the validity of findings for the population underlying or similar to the sample, notably those at-risk youth accessible from social work services, instead of all youth in Hong Kong. Such validity would approve findings from a study, under the condition of infinite repetition of the study. The appropriateness of statistical inference based on a nonprobability sample is a matter of limitation rather than proscription.

# Results

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Results primarily deal with protection and risk factors or correlates of adolescent prostitution, in order to identify causes and solutions to inform practice and policy to tackle adolescent prostitution.

## Survey

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The study surveyed 387 at-risk youths by October 2010. Notably, at-risk youths are those not participating in conventional social or youth activities, associated with gangs, vulnerable to undesirable influences, and in need of counseling and guidance. They are at risk of various problems, including prostitution, and are the target for problem prevention. Such at-risk respondents to the survey partook in survey interviews administered by social workers or researchers.

### Compensated Dating

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Among the 387 youths responding to the survey, 98 (25.3%) were involved in compensating dating before 18. The girl was more likely than was the boy to have compensating dating (30.9% vs. 14.1%). Thus, the girl's compensated dating was two times as likely as the boy's compensated dating. Besides, 54 (14.0%) had compensating dating in the recent two months or in the last two months before age 18. The girl was also more likely than was the boy to have compensating dating during that time (15.8% vs. 10.2%). Most (62, 20.1%) had compensated dating when they were 15 years old.

Table 2: Numbers and percentages about compensated dating ( $N = 387$ , 259 girls, 128 boys)

		Ever	Before 18	< 12	12-14	15	16	17	Recent 2 months
N	All	101	98	17	50	62	46	32	54
%	All	26.1	25.3	4.4	12.9	20.1	19.5	19.4	14.0

		Ever	Before 18	< 12	12-14	15	16	17	Recent 2 months
N	Girl	81	80	15	39	53	35	25	41
%	Girl	31.3	30.9	5.8	15.1	27.0	24.8	25.8	15.8
N	Boy	20	18	2	11	9	11	7	13
%	Boy	15.6	14.1	1.6	8.6	8.0	11.6	10.3	10.2

Note: If 18 years of age or older, the recent 2 months were the 2 months before age 18.

Among the survey respondents, 65 (16.8%) had sexual relationships in compensating dating before age 18. The proportion was higher in the girls than in the boys (19.7% vs. 10.9%). In the recent two months or the last two months before age 18, 25 (6.5%) had sexual relationships in compensated dating. Besides, most (35, 11.3%) adolescents had sexual relationships in compensated dating when they were 15 years old.

Table 3: Numbers and percentages about having sex in compensated dating

		< 18	< 12	12-14	15	16	17	Recent 2 months
N	All	65	5	23	35	29	15	25
%	All	16.8	1.3	5.9	11.3	12.3	9.1	6.5
N	Girl	51	5	17	27	20	11	17
%	Girl	19.7	1.9	6.6	13.8	14.2	11.3	6.6
N	Boy	14	-	6	8	9	4	8
%	Boy	10.9	-	4.7	7.1	9.5	5.9	6.3

Note: If 18 years of age or older, the recent 2 months were the 2 months before age 18.

Among the survey respondents, 45 (11.6%) had a halt in compensated dating before age 18. The proportion was higher in the girls than in the boys (15.1% vs. 4.7%). The halt was most likely to happen at age 17 (15, 9.1%). A reason might be that the involvement of alternative forms of dating, love affairs, and earning money at the time of late adolescence displaced compensated dating. In all, a considerable proportion of adolescents who had compensated dating had a halt in compensated dating.

Table 4: Numbers and percentages about a halt in compensated dating

		< 18	< 12	12-14	15	16	17
N	All	45	5	17	17	14	15
%	All	11.6	1.3	4.4	5.5	5.9	9.1
N	Girl	39	4	13	15	12	15
%	Girl	15.1	1.5	5.0	7.7	8.5	15.5
N	Boy	6	1	4	2	2	-
%	Boy	4.7	.8	3.1	1.8	2.1	-

Relapse into compensating dating was having compensating dating in a year after a halt in compensated dating. In the years from 12 to 17, 22 (5.7%) had relapses. Relapse was more likely in the girl than in the boy (7.3% vs. 2.3%). Probably, the girl found the relapse less stigmatized and more beneficial than did the boy. More practice and policy attention would be required to prevent the girl's relapse. Hence, 45 adolescents who had a halt in compensated dating, 22 or 48.9% had relapses.

Table 5: Numbers and percentages about relapse into compensated dating

		< 18	12-14	15	16	17
N	All	22	4	9	11	11
%	All	5.7	1.0	2.4	3.0	3.0
N	Girl	19	3	7	9	9
%	Girl	7.3	1.2	2.8	3.7	3.8
N	Boy	3	1	2	2	2
%	Boy	2.3	.8	1.6	1.6	1.6

Among the 98 adolescents involved in compensated dating, the average compensated dating in the recent two months or the last two months before age 18 was 3.7 times. In that period, an average of 1.1 times had sexual relationships in the compensating dating. During the compensated dating episodes, the average compensation was \$366.5. The likelihood of contracting venereal disease through compensated dating was an average of 5.3%. This likelihood per episode of compensated dating was 1.1% on average. The boy was higher in this per episode likelihood than was the girl ( $M = 3.5\%$  vs.  $0.6\%$ ). Among these recent episodes of compensated dating, 22.2% had Internet contact beforehand, 17.3% had same-sex

partners, 15.1% had sexual relationships, 5.2% had injuries, 7.3% had harm to the mind, and the total number of partners was 2.7, on average. The boy was significantly more likely to have same-sex partners in the compensated dating than was the girl ( $M = 48.0\%$  vs.  $10.3\%$ ).

Table 6: Means of adolescent compensated dating by gender

Variable	Scoring	Boy (n=18)	Girl (n=80)	All (n=98)
Compensated dating, recent 2 months	times	2.3	4.1	3.7
Internet contact beforehand	times	1.0	1.5	1.4
Same-sex partner	times	1.7	0.9	1.1
Sexual relationship	times	1.3	1.1	1.1
Injury to the body	times	0.4	0.2	0.3
Harm to the mind	times	0.1	0.7	0.6
Average compensation value	HK\$	248.6	393.7	366.5
Partners in total	partners	1.7	3.0	2.7
Infection	times	0.0	0.0	0.0
Venereal disease	0-100	12.8*	3.6	5.3
Internet contact beforehand	%	32.1	20.0	22.2
Same-sex partner	%	48.0***	10.3	17.3
Sexual relationship	%	25.2	12.8	15.1
Injury to the body	%	12.0	3.6	5.2
Harm to the mind	%	2.8	8.3	7.3
Partners in total	partners/times	0.4	0.5	0.5
Infection	%	0.0	0.0	0.0
Venereal disease	0-100/times	3.5**	0.6	1.1
Compensated dating: recent 2 months	0-100	66.7	50.0	53.1
Having sex in compensated dating: recent 2 months	0, 100	44.4*	21.3	25.5

Note: The “0, 100” scoring meant assigning a score of 100 to “yes” and a score of 0 to “no.”

Whenever possible, the scoring of any variable was from 0 to 100, as way to normalize the range of scoring.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .



Among the adolescents involved in compensated dating, 23.5% had sexual relationships in compensated dating during age 12 to 14, 42.2% at age 15, 45.3% at age 16, and 35.7% at age 17. In each period, on average, 26.7% had sexual relationships in compensated dating. During age 12 to 14, 9.2% had injury in compensated dating; at age 15, 15.7%; at age 16, 12.5%; at age 17, 14.3%. In each period, the average was 9.3%, who had injury in compensated dating. Under 12, 4.1% contracted disease in compensated dating; during age 12 to 14, 5.1%; at age 15, 6.0%; at age 16, 4.7%; at age 17, 2.4%. The average in each period was 5.8%, for contracting disease in compensated dating. Halting compensating dating was 5.1% under age 12, 17.4% during age 12 to 14, 20.5% at age 15, 21.9% at age 16, and 18.5% at age 17. For each period, 18.5% halted compensated dating. From age 12 to 17, 45.9% halted compensated dating. However, 22.4% of those having compensating dating relapsed. Relapse was most likely at age 17 (14.9%).

Table 7: Means of adolescent compensated dating by gender

Variable	Scoring	Boy (n=18)	Girl (n=80)	All (n=98)
Compensated dating under 12	0, 100	11.1	18.8	17.4
Having sex in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	6.3	5.1
Having injury in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	2.5	2.0
Contracting disease in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	5.0	4.1
Halting compensated dating	0, 100	5.6	5.0	5.1
Compensated dating at 12-14	0, 100	61.1	48.8	51.0
Having sex in compensated dating	0, 100	33.3	21.3	23.5
Having injury in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	11.3	9.2
Contracting disease in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	6.3	5.1
Halting compensated dating	0, 100	22.2	16.3	17.4
Compensated dating at 15	0, 100	60.0	77.9	74.7
Having sex in compensated dating	0, 100	53.3	39.7	42.2
Having injury in compensated dating	0, 100	13.3	16.2	15.7
Contracting disease in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	7.4	6.0

Variable	Scoring	Boy (n=18)	Girl (n=80)	All (n=98)
Halting compensated dating	0, 100	13.3	22.1	20.5
Compensated dating under 16	0, 100	78.6	70.0	71.9
Having sex in compensated dating	0, 100	64.3	40.0	45.3
Having injury in compensated dating	0, 100	21.4	10.0	12.5
Contracting disease in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	6.0	4.7
Halting compensated dating	0, 100	14.3	24.0	21.9
Compensated dating under 17	0, 100	70.0	78.1	76.2
Having sex in compensated dating	0, 100	40.0	34.4	35.7
Having injury in compensated dating	0, 100	30.0	9.4	14.3
Contracting disease in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	3.1	2.4
Halting compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	46.9**	35.7
Compensated dating till 17	0, 100	54.8	55.4	55.3
Having sex in compensated dating	0, 100	34.5	24.9	26.7
Having injury in compensated dating	0, 100	9.2	9.3	9.3
Contracting disease in compensated dating	0, 100	0.0	7.1	5.8
Halting compensated dating	0, 100	14.2	19.5	18.5
Halting compensated dating, till 17	0-100	33.3	48.8	45.9
Relapse into compensated dating, till 17	0-100	16.7	23.8	22.4
At 12-14	0, 100	5.6	3.8	4.1
At 15	0, 100	12.5	9.3	9.9
At 16	0, 100	12.5	13.4	13.3
At 17	0, 100	13.3	15.3	14.9

Note: The “0, 100” scoring meant assigning a score of 100 to “yes” and a score of 0 to “no.”

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## Correlates of Compensated Dating

Correlates of compensated dating were those showing bivariate associations with compensated dating, thus showing the apparent characteristics of the adolescent involved in compensated dating. The associations were apparent or crude in that they were not subject to statistical control that removed the influence of common, underlying factors.

The participant in compensated dating was significantly more likely to be female (81.6% vs. 61.9%) and higher in sexy grooming ( $M = 64.7$  vs. 49.7). There was no significant difference in other biographic characteristics.

Table 8: Means of biographic characteristics by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Female	0, 100	61.9	81.6***	66.9
Age	years	16.3	16.6	16.4
Residency	years	14.7	14.4	14.6
Education before 18	years	8.4	8.6	8.5
Education	years	8.3	8.3	8.3
Facial attractiveness	0-100	67.5	68.7	67.8
Body attractiveness	0-100	65.8	66.9	66.0
Being sexy in grooming	0-100	49.7	64.7***	53.6
Credibility	0-100	85.1	84.1	84.9
Body mass	0-100	19.4	19.3	19.4
Weight	0-100	51.9	50.5	51.5
Height	0-100	163.1	161.4	162.7

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The female participant in compensated dating was significantly more sexy in grooming ( $M = 68.4$  vs. 61.2) than was the female nonparticipant. Moreover, the female participant was significantly older than was the female nonparticipant ( $M = 16.7$  vs. 15.9). However, differences between the participant and nonparticipant in weight and height were not significant.

Table 9: Means of biographic characteristics by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Age	years	15.9	16.7*	16.1
Residency	years	14.1	14.9	14.3
Education before 18	years	8.6	8.6	8.6
Education	years	8.5	8.2	8.4
Facial attractiveness	0-100	69.7	69.7	69.7
Body attractiveness	0-100	68.5	68.5	68.5
Being sexy in grooming	0-100	61.2	68.4*	63.4
Credibility	0-100	83.3	85.1	83.9
Body mass	0-100	19.0	19.1	19.0
Weight	0-100	47.7	48.2	47.8
Height	0-100	158.5	159.0	158.7

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Among the boys, the participant in compensated dating had lived in Hong Kong for a shorter time ( $M = 12.4$  years vs. 15.8 years), was more sexy in grooming ( $M = 49.4$  vs. 30.5), and less credible ( $M = 79.7$  vs. 88.2) than was the nonparticipant.

Table 10: Means of biographic characteristics by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Age	years	17.0	16.5	16.9
Residency	years	15.8***	12.4	15.3
Education before 18	years	8.2	8.9	8.3
Education	years	8.2	8.8	8.3
Facial attractiveness	0-100	64.0	64.4	64.0
Body attractiveness	0-100	61.2	60.0	61.0
Being sexy in grooming	0-100	30.5	49.4**	33.3

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Credibility	0-100	88.2	79.7**	86.9
Body mass	0-100	20.2	20.4	20.2
Weight	0-100	58.8	60.3	59.1
Height	0-100	170.8	171.6	170.9

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The participant in compensated dating was significantly less likely to live with a mother (71.1% vs. 84.8%) and siblings (61.9% vs. 76.5%). Conversely, the participant was more likely to live with a partner (12.4% vs. 5.9%), friends (5.2% vs. 1.0%), and a domestic helper (4.1% vs. 1.0), and had a father who was the mother's partner (6.2% vs. 1.0%) than was the nonparticipant.

Table 11: Means of family characteristics by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Living alone	0, 100	1.4	3.1	1.8
Living with the father	0, 100	65.4	66.0	65.5
Living with the mother	0, 100	84.8**	71.1	81.3
Living with siblings	0, 100	76.5**	61.9	72.8
Living with a partner	0, 100	5.9	12.4**	7.5
Living with other relatives	0, 100	11.4	14.4	12.2
Living with friends	0, 100	1.0	5.2*	2.1
Living with a domestic helper	0, 100	1.0	4.1*	1.8
Father as the biological father	0, 100	84.1	80.4	83.2
Father as the stepfather	0, 100	4.8	10.3	6.2
Father as the mother's partner	0, 100	1.0	6.2**	2.3
Father as another person	0, 100	0.7	2.1	1.0
No father	0, 100	9.3	7.2	8.8
Mother as the biological father	0, 100	95.1	94.8	95.1
Mother as the stepfather	0, 100	4.2	6.2	4.7

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Mother as the mother's partner	0, 100	0.0	1.0	0.3
Mother as another person	0, 100	1.0	1.0	1.0
No mother	0, 100	1.0	2.1	1.3

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The female participant in compensated dating was significantly less likely to live with a mother (68.8% vs. 84.4%). Conversely, the female participant was significantly more likely to live with friends (6.3% vs. 1.1%) and a domestic helper (5.0% vs. 0.6%), and had a father who was her stepfather (11.4% vs. 4.5%) or her mother's partner (6.3% vs. 1.1%) than was the female nonparticipant.

Table 12: Means of family characteristics by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Living alone	0, 100	1.1	2.5	1.5
Living with the father	0, 100	62.6	63.8	62.9
Living with the mother	0, 100	84.4**	68.8	79.5
Living with siblings	0, 100	76.5	61.3	71.8
Living with a partner	0, 100	6.7	13.8	8.9
Living with other relatives	0, 100	11.7	15.0	12.7
Living with friends	0, 100	1.1	6.3*	2.7
Living with a domestic helper	0, 100	0.6	5.0*	1.9
Father as the biological father	0, 100	81.0	79.7	80.6
Father as the stepfather	0, 100	4.5	11.4*	6.6
Father as the mother's partner	0, 100	1.1	6.3*	2.7
Father as another person	0, 100	1.1	2.5	1.6
No father	0, 100	12.3	7.6	10.9
Mother as the biological father	0, 100	96.1	94.9	95.7
Mother as the stepfather	0, 100	3.4	6.3	4.3
Mother as the mother's partner	0, 100	0.0	1.3	0.4

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Mother as another person	0, 100	1.1	1.3	1.2
No mother	0, 100	1.1	2.5	1.6

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The male participant in compensated dating and nonparticipant had no significant differences in parental characteristics.

Table 13: Means of family characteristics by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Living alone	0, 100	1.8	5.9	2.4
Living with the father	0, 100	70.0	76.5	70.9
Living with the mother	0, 100	85.5	82.4	85.0
Living with siblings	0, 100	76.4	64.7	74.8
Living with a partner	0, 100	4.5	5.9	4.7
Living with other relatives	0, 100	10.9	11.8	11.0
Living with friends	0, 100	0.9	0.0	0.8
Living with a domestic helper	0, 100	1.8	0.0	1.6
Father as the biological father	0, 100	89.1	83.3	88.3
Father as the stepfather	0, 100	5.5	5.6	5.5
Father as the mother's partner	0, 100	0.9	5.6	1.6
Father as another person	0, 100	0.0	0.0	0.0
No father	0, 100	4.5	5.6	4.7
Mother as the biological father	0, 100	93.6	94.4	93.7
Mother as the stepfather	0, 100	5.5	5.6	5.5
Mother as the mother's partner	0, 100	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mother as another person	0, 100	0.9	0.0	0.8
No mother	0, 100	0.9	0.0	0.8

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The participant in compensated dating was not significantly different from the nonparticipant in parental socioeconomic status.

Table 14: Means of parental socioeconomic status by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Paternal education	years	5.9	6.0	5.9
Maternal education	years	5.5	6.4	5.7
Father as an employee	0, 100	53.0	58.8	54.5
Father as an employer	0, 100	8.5	5.2	7.6
Father as self-employed	0, 100	12.0	13.4	12.4
Father as non-employed	0, 100	15.9	13.4	15.3
Mother as an employee	0, 100	52.3	57.3	53.5
Mother as an employer	0, 100	4.9	5.2	5.0
Mother as self-employed	0, 100	4.9	4.2	4.7
Mother as non-employed	0, 100	36.6	32.3	35.5

The female participant in compensated dating was not significantly different from the female nonparticipant in parental socioeconomic status.

Table 15: Means of parental socioeconomic status by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Paternal education	years	6.3	6.0	6.2
Maternal education	years	5.8	6.4	6.0
Father as an employee	0, 100	50.0	60.0	53.1
Father as an employer	0, 100	6.3	4.0	5.6
Father as self-employed	0, 100	12.5	16.0	13.6
Father as non-employed	0, 100	18.8	14.0	17.3
Mother as an employee	0, 100	50.0	57.1	52.2
Mother as an employer	0, 100	3.6	2.0	3.1



Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Mother as self-employed	0, 100	5.4	6.1	5.6
Mother as non-employed	0, 100	39.3	34.7	37.9

The boy did not show any difference in parental education and occupation due to his participation in compensated dating.

Table 16: Means of parental socioeconomic status by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Paternal education	years	5.2	5.7	5.3
Maternal education	years	4.9	6.3	5.1
Father as an employee	0, 100	59.4	61.1	59.7
Father as an employer	0, 100	11.3	11.1	11.3
Father as self-employed	0, 100	13.2	11.1	12.9
Father as non-employed	0, 100	9.4	5.6	8.9
Mother as an employee	0, 100	54.1	50.0	53.5
Mother as an employer	0, 100	6.4	11.1	7.1
Mother as self-employed	0, 100	5.5	0.0	4.7
Mother as non-employed	0, 100	33.0	38.9	33.9

The participant in compensated dating was significantly higher in monthly income ( $M = 4133.8$  vs.  $2818.8$ ) and wage ( $M = 2410.7$  vs.  $1510.0$ ), and the allowance from the partner ( $M = 740.9$  vs.  $149.9$ ) than was the nonparticipant. It seemed that the adolescent participated in compensated dating just \$900 higher in monthly wage, if the participation was the adolescent's choice.

Table 17: Means of income by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Wage	HK\$	1510.0	2410.7*	1739.3

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Allowance from parents	HK\$	1062.2	946.5	1032.8
Allowance from the father, under 18	HK\$	408.4	364.6	397.1
Allowance from the mother, under 18	HK\$	600.5	437.6	559.1
Allowance from the partner	HK\$	149.0	740.9***	299.6
Allowance from government	HK\$	97.6	36.1	82.0
Income	HK\$	2818.8	4133.8**	3153.5

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The female participant in compensated dating was significantly higher in income ( $M = 3884.9$  vs.  $2449.3$ ) and wage ( $M = 1963.1$  vs.  $1170.4$ ), and the allowance from the partner ( $M = 886.4$  vs.  $231.2$ ) than was the female nonparticipant.

Table 18: Means of income by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Wage	HK\$	1170.4	1963.1*	1416.2
Allowance from parents	HK\$	918.5	991.6	941.2
Allowance from the father, under 18	HK\$	361.8	339.1	354.6
Allowance from the mother, under 18	HK\$	518.2	451.3	497.4
Allowance from the partner	HK\$	231.2	886.4**	434.3
Allowance from government	HK\$	129.2	44.3	103.1
Income	HK\$	2449.3	3884.9**	2894.4

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The male participant in compensated dating was significantly higher in monthly wage ( $M = 4400.0$  vs.  $2064.7$ ).

Table 19: Means of income by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Wage	HK\$	2064.7	4400.0*	2395.7

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Allowance from parents	HK\$	1297.0	745.8	1218.9
Allowance from the father, under 18	HK\$	484.3	477.8	483.4
Allowance from the mother, under 18	HK\$	735.0	377.1	684.3
Allowance from the partner	HK\$	14.7	94.4*	26.0
Allowance from government	HK\$	45.9	0.0	39.4
Income	HK\$	3422.2	5240.3	3679.9

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The participant in compensated dating had significantly more experience in working in indecent clubs ( $M = 14.7$  vs. 5.5), meeting persons acquainted via the Web ( $M = 31.4$  vs. 17.6), running away from home ( $M = 24.6$  vs. 17.9), abusing drugs ( $M = 37.9$  vs. 26.5), receiving counseling ( $M = 53.9$  vs. 45.1), living in a place arranged by social services ( $M = 11.5$  vs. 4.9), marrying or cohabiting ( $M = 11.6$  vs. 4.1), being pregnant ( $M = 5.1$  vs. 2.2), associating with criminals ( $M = 44.1$  vs. 35.9), parental child abuse ( $M = 14.9$  vs. 9.5), and talking about sex with parents ( $M = 29.0$  vs. 15.4) than did the nonparticipant. Moreover, the participant's parents had significantly more experience in contact with police ( $M = 29.6$  vs. 18.5) and committing crime ( $M = 8.5$  vs. 3.7) than did the parents of the nonparticipant. In addition, the participant, compared with the nonparticipant, had significantly fewer recreational activities with siblings ( $M = 21.5$  vs. 30.6) and the siblings had significantly more criminal activities ( $M = 11.1$  vs. 6.0).

Table 20: Means of experiences by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Incident till 17: Attending school	0-100	71.1	70.6	71.0
Attending moral education	0-100	56.0	54.6	55.7
Attending sex education	0-100	50.3	49.7	50.1
Working to earn money	0-100	27.7	33.7*	29.3
Working in indecent clubs	0-100	5.5	14.7***	7.9
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	0-100	17.6	31.4***	21.1
Running away from home	0-100	17.9	24.6*	19.6

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Abusing drugs	0-100	26.5	37.9**	29.4
Receiving counseling	0-100	45.1	53.9*	47.3
Being arrested	0-100	16.1	19.5	16.9
Living in a place arranged by social services	0-100	4.9	11.5**	6.6
Receiving neighbor support	0-100	10.0	9.3	9.8
Marrying or cohabiting	0-100	4.1	11.6***	6.0
Being pregnant	0-100	2.2	5.1*	3.0
Rearing children	0-100	1.0	1.6	1.2
Associating with criminals	0-100	35.9	44.1*	38.0
Being abused by parents	0-100	9.5	14.9*	10.9
Living with parents	0-100	69.1	69.2	69.2
Being regulated by parents	0-100	57.4	60.5	58.2
Receiving moral guidance from parents	0-100	52.1	59.3	53.9
Talking about sex with parents	0-100	15.4	29.0***	18.9
Attending recreational activities with parents	0-100	29.1	28.6	29.0
Attending counseling with parents	0-100	14.9	20.2	16.2
Having fun with parents	0-100	46.7	47.5	46.9
Parents' attending school activities	0-100	23.3	25.1	23.8
Parents' working too long	0-100	32.3	37.4	33.6
Parents' contact with police	0-100	18.5	29.6***	21.3
Parents' attending counseling	0-100	7.2	15.5	9.3
Parents' living in an owned house	0-100	17.1	25.1	19.1
Parents' being single	0-100	15.4	12.1	14.5
Parents' committing crime	0-100	3.7	8.5**	4.9
Attending recreational activities with siblings	0-100	30.6*	21.5	28.3
Attending counseling with siblings	0-100	7.5	8.5	7.8
Having fun with siblings	0-100	45.3	39.0	43.7
Siblings' attending counseling	0-100	10.3	9.3	10.1

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Siblings' committing crime	0-100	6.0	11.1*	7.3

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The female participant in compensated dating had significantly more experience in working in indecent clubs ( $M = 17.2$  vs.  $7.2$ ), meeting persons acquainted via the Web ( $M = 29.5$  vs.  $17.1$ ), abusing drugs ( $M = 38.7$  vs.  $25.6$ ), and receiving counseling ( $M = 55.7$  vs.  $46.5$ ), marrying or cohabiting ( $M = 13.2$  vs.  $4.8$ ), talking about sex with parents ( $M = 26.0$  vs.  $17.7$ ) than did the female participant. The female participant had less experience in attending sex education than did the nonparticipant ( $M = 47.5$  vs.  $57.2$ ). Moreover, the female participant's parents had significantly more experience in contact with police ( $M = 28.9$  vs.  $19.0$ ), and living in an owned house ( $M = 24.5$  vs.  $14.0$ ).

Table 21: Means of experiences by the girl's experiences of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Incident till 17: Attending school	0-100	75.5	70.5	74.0
Attending moral education	0-100	60.8	52.3	58.1
Attending sex education	0-100	57.2*	47.5	54.2
Working to earn money	0-100	27.1	33.1	29.0
Working in indecent clubs	0-100	7.2	17.2***	10.3
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	0-100	17.1	29.5**	20.9
Running away from home	0-100	21.1	25.6	22.5
Abusing drugs	0-100	25.6	38.7**	29.7
Receiving counseling	0-100	46.5	55.7*	49.3
Being arrested	0-100	15.4	17.4	16.0
Living in a place arranged by social services	0-100	5.9	10.8	7.4
Receiving neighbor support	0-100	9.4	9.1	9.3
Marrying or cohabiting	0-100	4.8	13.2***	7.4
Being pregnant	0-100	3.6	6.2	4.4
Rearing children	0-100	1.3	1.7	1.5

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Associating with criminals	0-100	34.4	42.8	37.0
Being abused by parents	0-100	12.0	14.6	12.8
Living with parents	0-100	71.4	68.6	70.5
Being regulated by parents	0-100	59.9	61.5	60.4
Receiving moral guidance from parents	0-100	54.4	59.9	56.1
Talking about sex with parents	0-100	17.7	26.0*	20.3
Attending recreational activities with parents	0-100	32.8	27.7	31.2
Attending counseling with parents	0-100	17.7	19.1	18.2
Having fun with parents	0-100	51.0	49.8	50.6
Parents' attending school activities	0-100	24.9	24.0	24.6
Parents' working too long	0-100	29.3	35.6	31.2
Parents' contact with police	0-100	19.0	28.9**	22.0
Parents' attending counseling	0-100	9.5	14.8	11.1
Parents' living in an owned house	0-100	14.0	24.5*	17.2
Parents' being single	0-100	18.7	13.8	17.2
Parents' committing crime	0-100	4.8	7.8	5.7
Attending recreational activities with siblings	0-100	30.4	21.0	27.5
Attending counseling with siblings	0-100	8.8	9.6	9.0
Having fun with siblings	0-100	47.6	37.2	44.4
Siblings' attending counseling	0-100	10.4	9.2	10.0
Siblings' committing crime	0-100	4.8	10.8	6.7

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The male participant in compensated dating had significantly higher experience in attending moral education ( $M = 65.0$  vs.  $48.3$ ) and sex education ( $M = 59.2$  vs.  $39.0$ ), meeting persons acquainted via the Web ( $M = 40.3$  vs.  $18.3$ ), living in a place arranged by social services ( $M = 14.7$  vs.  $3.2$ ), being abused by parents ( $M = 16.4$  vs.  $5.6$ ) and talking about sex with parents ( $M = 42.4$  vs.  $11.7$ ) than did the male nonparticipant. Moreover, the male

participant's parent significantly had more experience in attending counseling ( $M = 18.3$  vs. 3.5) and committing crimes ( $M = 11.9$  vs. 1.9) than did the nonparticipant's parent.

Table 22: Means of experiences by the boy's experiences of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Incident till 17: Attending school	0-100	64.0	71.1	65.0
Attending moral education	0-100	48.3	65.0*	50.7
Attending sex education	0-100	39.0	59.2**	41.9
Working to earn money	0-100	28.8	36.5	29.9
Working in indecent clubs	0-100	2.9	3.3	3.0
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	0-100	18.3	40.3**	21.4
Running away from home	0-100	12.8	20.3	13.9
Abusing drugs	0-100	27.9	34.2	28.8
Receiving counseling	0-100	42.8	45.8	43.2
Being arrested	0-100	17.2	28.8	18.8
Living in a place arranged by social services	0-100	3.2	14.7**	4.8
Receiving neighbor support	0-100	11.0	10.6	10.9
Marrying or cohabiting	0-100	2.9	4.4	3.1
Being pregnant	0-100	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rearing children	0-100	0.5	1.1	0.5
Associating with criminals	0-100	38.4	50.2	40.1
Being abused by parents	0-100	5.6	16.4*	7.1
Living with parents	0-100	65.6	71.7	66.4
Being regulated by parents	0-100	53.3	56.2	53.7
Receiving moral guidance from parents	0-100	48.4	56.2	49.5
Talking about sex with parents	0-100	11.7	42.4***	16.0
Attending recreational activities with parents	0-100	23.2	32.8	24.5
Attending counseling with parents	0-100	10.3	24.7	12.3
Having fun with parents	0-100	39.7	37.5	39.4
Parents' attending school activities	0-100	20.8	30.3	22.1

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Parents' working too long	0-100	37.1	45.6	38.3
Parents' contact with police	0-100	17.8	33.0	19.9
Parents' attending counseling	0-100	3.5	18.3***	5.6
Parents' living in an owned house	0-100	22.3	27.8	23.0
Parents' being single	0-100	9.8	4.4	9.1
Parents' committing crime	0-100	1.9	11.9**	3.3
Attending recreational activities with siblings	0-100	30.9	24.1	29.9
Attending counseling with siblings	0-100	5.5	3.9	5.3
Having fun with siblings	0-100	41.5	46.9	42.3
Siblings' attending counseling	0-100	10.2	9.8	10.2
Siblings' committing crime	0-100	8.0	12.5	8.7

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The participant in compensated dating was not significantly different from the nonparticipant in attachment to the father, paternal concern and parenting competence, and interaction with the father generally. Nevertheless, this was only the superficial finding that was in need of verification by more rigorous analysis discussed in the next section.

Table 23: Means of attachment to and parenting of the father by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Attachment to the father	0-100	56.3	54.6	55.9
Not feeling bored	0-100	68.2	63.5	67.0
Obedying	0-100	40.9	42.1	41.2
Disclosing problems	0-100	21.7	22.9	22.0
Not disliking	0-100	72.6	67.9	71.4
Getting along well	0-100	47.1	44.6	46.4
Not wishing another father	0-100	88.4	86.0	87.8
Paternal concern	0-100	57.1	54.3	56.4



Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Respecting	0-100	49.7	50.5	49.9
Not alienating	0-100	80.5	73.0	78.6
Not disliking	0-100	84.6**	76.3	82.4
Not being busy	0-100	54.7	51.0	53.7
Taking care	0-100	40.0	40.3	40.1
Rewarding	0-100	34.6	35.0	34.7
Paternal parenting competence	0-100	55.7	54.0	55.2
Helping	0-100	46.4	47.2	46.6
Not harming	0-100	85.7	80.9	84.5
Understanding	0-100	33.2	36.0	33.9
Knowing your friends	0-100	30.3	30.1	30.3
Consoling	0-100	23.0	27.6	24.2
Not insulting	0-100	72.5	66.0	70.8
Teaching	0-100	37.5	37.6	37.6
Not being too strict	0-100	72.7	62.9	70.2
Not using force	0-100	83.8	78.3	82.3
Not offending	0-100	75.7	73.7	75.2
Father-child interaction	0-100	19.4	21.9	20.0
Attending counseling	0-100	4.9	10.2**	6.2
Recreational activity	0-100	11.8	13.8	12.3
Having joy	0-100	41.2	42.1	41.4

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The above composites of attachment to the father, paternal concern and parenting competence, father-child interaction, and similar measures concerning the mother and siblings were reliable, in terms of internal consistency. That is, indicators of each composite were consistent in reflecting the concept underlying the composite. This was important particularly because of the inclusion of positively and negatively phrased indicators to reflect each concept.

Table 24: Internal consistency

	Number of items	$\alpha$
Attachment to the father	6	.669
Attachment to the mother	6	.729
Paternal concern	6	.685
Paternal parenting competence	10	.771
Father-child interaction	3	.529
Maternal concern	6	.722
Maternal parenting competence	10	.790
Mother-child interaction	3	.584
Siblings' help	6	.717

The female participant in compensated dating was not significantly different from the female nonparticipant in attachment to the father, paternal concern, paternal parenting competence, and father-child interaction in general.

Table 25: Means of attachment to and parenting of the father by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Attachment to the father	0-100	57.1	53.4	55.9
Not feeling bored	0-100	69.6	61.9	67.2
Obedying	0-100	41.0	39.4	40.5
Disclosing problems	0-100	21.4	23.1	21.9
Not disliking	0-100	74.9*	66.3	72.1
Getting along well	0-100	47.7	43.7	46.4
Not wishing another father	0-100	88.4	85.0	87.3
Paternal concern	0-100	57.5	52.9	56.0
Respecting	0-100	48.1	49.7	48.6
Not alienating	0-100	80.9**	68.4	77.0
Not disliking	0-100	86.1**	75.9	82.9
Not being busy	0-100	54.0	53.1	53.7

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Taking care	0-100	39.6	37.2	38.8
Rewarding	0-100	36.4	32.8	35.3
Paternal parenting competence	0-100	54.3	52.9	53.9
Helping	0-100	45.0	45.0	45.0
Not harming	0-100	84.4	80.0	83.0
Understanding	0-100	31.1	34.1	32.0
Knowing your friends	0-100	27.6	27.8	27.6
Consoling	0-100	23.0	25.6	23.8
Not insulting	0-100	72.3	65.5	70.2
Teaching	0-100	36.4	34.5	35.8
Not being too strict	0-100	72.2*	62.7	69.2
Not using force	0-100	81.4	77.8	80.3
Not offending	0-100	73.6	75.9	74.3
Father-child interaction	0-100	20.2	21.7	20.6
Attending counseling	0-100	5.1	10.9*	6.9
Recreational activity	0-100	12.5	13.1	12.7
Having joy	0-100	42.1	41.3	41.8

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The boys showed no significant difference in attachment to the father, paternal concern, paternal parenting competence, and father-child interaction due to participation in compensated dating.

Table 26: Means of attachment to and parenting of the father by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Attachment to the father	0-100	55.0	60.2	55.7
Not feeling bored	0-100	66.0	70.8	66.7
Obedying	0-100	40.8	54.2	42.7
Disclosing problems	0-100	22.2	22.2	22.2

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Not disliking	0-100	68.9	75.0	69.8
Getting along well	0-100	46.1	48.6	46.5
Not wishing another father	0-100	88.6	90.3	88.8
Paternal concern	0-100	56.3	60.9	57.0
Respecting	0-100	52.4	54.2	52.6
Not alienating	0-100	79.9	93.1	81.8
Not disliking	0-100	81.9	77.8	81.3
Not being busy	0-100	55.7	41.7	53.7
Taking care	0-100	40.8	54.2	42.7
Rewarding	0-100	31.6	44.4	33.5
Paternal parenting competence	0-100	57.9	59.0	58.1
Helping	0-100	48.6	56.9	49.8
Not harming	0-100	87.9	84.7	87.4
Understanding	0-100	36.7	44.4	37.8
Knowing your friends	0-100	34.8	40.3	35.6
Consoling	0-100	22.9	36.1	24.8
Not insulting	0-100	72.9	68.1	72.2
Teaching	0-100	39.4	51.4	41.1
Not being too strict	0-100	73.5	63.9	72.1
Not using force	0-100	87.6	80.6	86.6
Not offending	0-100	79.2	63.9	77.0
Father-child interaction	0-100	18.1	23.1	18.8
Attending counseling	0-100	4.4	6.9	4.8
Recreational activity	0-100	10.8	16.7	11.6
Having joy	0-100	39.8	45.8	40.7

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The participant in compensated dating was significantly lower in maternal concern ( $M = 58.2$  vs.  $64.8$ ) than was the nonparticipant.

Table 27: Means of attachment to and parenting of the mother by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Attachment to the mother	0-100	61.4	58.6	60.5
Not feeling bored	0-100	58.2	57.5	58.0
Obeying	0-100	50.6	44.4	48.7
Disclosing problems	0-100	39.6	38.9	39.4
Not disliking	0-100	72.2	69.1	71.2
Getting along well	0-100	59.3	54.8	57.9
Not wishing another mother	0-100	88.9	86.6	88.1
Maternal concern	0-100	64.8*	58.2	62.7
Respecting	0-100	59.3	51.9	57.0
Not alienating	0-100	84.1	77.5	82.0
Not disliking	0-100	83.2*	74.1	80.4
Not being busy	0-100	54.7	51.6	53.8
Taking care	0-100	58.7	52.8	56.9
Rewarding	0-100	48.3	41.6	46.2
Maternal parenting competence	0-100	61.2	58.5	60.4
Helping	0-100	55.1	52.2	54.2
Not harming	0-100	82.1	79.4	81.3
Understanding	0-100	50.3	49.4	50.0
Knowing your friends	0-100	50.4	45.6	48.9
Consoling	0-100	40.2	41.3	40.5
Not insulting	0-100	65.3	57.5	62.9
Teaching	0-100	50.3	49.4	50.0
Not being too strict	0-100	67.2	60.0	65.0
Not using force	0-100	81.3	76.3	79.7
Not offending	0-100	70.1	73.4	71.1
Mother-child interaction	0-100	29.9	28.8	29.5
Attending counseling	0-100	9.8	15.5	11.5
Recreational activity	0-100	23.3	18.4	21.8
Having joy	0-100	56.6	51.9	55.1

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The female participant in compensated dating was significantly lower in maternal concern ( $M = 56.0$  vs.  $65.6$ ).

Table 28: Means of attachment to and parenting by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Attachment to the mother	0-100	61.1	55.5	59.3
Not feeling bored	0-100	60.4	57.8	59.6
Obedying	0-100	48.0*	38.2	45.0
Disclosing problems	0-100	37.6	40.2	38.4
Not disliking	0-100	72.3	63.2	69.5
Getting along well	0-100	58.9	52.5	56.9
Not wishing another mother	0-100	89.4	80.9	86.7
Maternal concern	0-100	65.6**	56.0	62.6
Respecting	0-100	59.5*	49.5	56.4
Not alienating	0-100	84.3**	71.6	80.3
Not disliking	0-100	84.5**	69.0	79.8
Not being busy	0-100	56.0	52.9	55.0
Taking care	0-100	61.5	52.5	58.7
Rewarding	0-100	48.0	41.2	45.9
Maternal parenting competence	0-100	61.5	56.5	59.9
Helping	0-100	53.8	51.5	53.1
Not harming	0-100	83.2*	73.0	80.0
Understanding	0-100	50.2	46.6	49.1
Knowing your friends	0-100	48.5	49.5	48.8
Consoling	0-100	40.0	41.7	40.6
Not insulting	0-100	64.7*	52.9	61.0
Teaching	0-100	52.4	50.5	51.9
Not being too strict	0-100	66.8	58.3	64.2
Not using force	0-100	83.0**	69.5	78.8

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Not offending	0-100	72.1	70.6	71.6
Mother-child interaction	0-100	32.0	27.5	30.6
Attending counseling	0-100	10.6	17.0	12.6
Recreational activity	0-100	27.4*	15.7	23.8
Having joy	0-100	58.0	49.0	55.2

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The boy did not show a significant difference in attachment to his mother, maternal concern, maternal parenting competence, and mother-child interaction due to participation in compensated dating.

Table 29: Means of attachment to and parenting by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Attachment to the mother	0-100	62.0	64.6	62.3
Not feeling bored	0-100	63.5	68.1	64.2
Obedying	0-100	49.5	54.2	50.2
Disclosing problems	0-100	34.4	34.7	34.5
Not disliking	0-100	74.1	77.8	74.6
Getting along well	0-100	60.4	66.7	61.3
Not wishing another mother	0-100	90.7	86.1	90.1
Maternal concern	0-100	65.9	66.2	65.9
Respecting	0-100	61.7	58.3	61.2
Not alienating	0-100	90.1	83.3	89.2
Not disliking	0-100	86.3	76.4	84.9
Not being busy	0-100	58.7	51.4	57.7
Taking care	0-100	55.7	72.2*	58.1
Rewarding	0-100	43.1	55.6	44.9
Maternal parenting competence	0-100	65.5	63.3	65.2
Helping	0-100	63.1	59.7	62.6

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Not harming	0-100	91.1	88.9	90.7
Understanding	0-100	48.6	50.0	48.8
Knowing your friends	0-100	51.2*	30.6	48.2
Consoling	0-100	34.4	50.0*	36.6
Not insulting	0-100	75.9	69.4	75.0
Teaching	0-100	51.4	62.5	53.0
Not being too strict	0-100	69.5	65.3	68.9
Not using force	0-100	92.4	91.7	92.3
Not offending	0-100	78.0	65.3	76.2
Mother-child interaction	0-100	25.1	30.6	25.9
Attending counseling	0-100	9.4	12.5	9.8
Recreational activity	0-100	16.5	22.2	17.3
Having joy	0-100	49.3	56.9	50.4

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The participant in compensated dating was significantly lower in siblings' help ( $M = 55.7$  vs.  $62.4$ ) than was the nonparticipant.

Table 30: Means of siblings' help by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Siblings' help	0-100	62.4**	55.7	60.7
Not avoiding	0-100	91.5	87.1	90.4
Nor hurting	0-100	88.9	85.8	88.2
Helping	0-100	39.8**	26.8	36.5
Consoling	0-100	33.2	28.1	31.9
Teaching	0-100	29.8*	21.7	27.7
Not disdaining	0-100	91.3*	84.5	89.6

The female participant in compensated dating was significantly lower in siblings' help ( $M = 54.5$  vs.  $61.9$ ) than was the female nonparticipant.



Table 31: Means of siblings' help by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Siblings' help	0-100	61.9**	54.5	59.6
Not avoiding	0-100	91.5	87.0	90.1
Nor hurting	0-100	86.4	85.4	86.1
Helping	0-100	40.0**	24.7	35.3
Consoling	0-100	34.3	26.0	31.7
Teaching	0-100	30.1*	19.0	26.7
Not disdaining	0-100	89.3	84.8	87.9

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The male participant in compensated dating did not significantly differ from the male nonparticipant in the experience of siblings' help.

Table 32: Means of siblings' help by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Siblings' help	0-100	63.2	60.9	62.9
Not avoiding	0-100	91.4	87.5	90.8
Nor hurting	0-100	93.0	87.5	92.2
Helping	0-100	39.6	36.1	39.1
Consoling	0-100	31.4	37.5	32.2
Teaching	0-100	29.3	33.3	29.9
Not disdaining	0-100	94.5*	83.3	93.0

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The participant in compensated dating was significantly and substantially higher in expected compensating dating in future ( $M = 24.9$  vs. 2.6) than was the nonparticipant. This finding suggests the participant's choice to continue compensated dating. The choice implies that the participant did not regard herself or himself as a victim.

Table 33: Means of expected compensating dating by the adolescent experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=289)	CD (n=98)	All (n=387)
Future compensated dating	0-100	2.6	24.9***	8.3
Coming month	0-100	2.4	22.4***	7.5
Coming year	0-100	2.5	27.3***	8.8

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The female participant in compensated dating was significantly and substantially higher in expected compensating dating in future ( $M = 23.1$  vs. 2.8) than was the nonparticipant. Continuation in compensating dating was considerably likely in the female participant.

Table 34: Means of expected compensating dating by the girl's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=179)	CD (n=80)	All (n=259)
Future compensated dating	0-100	2.8	23.1***	9.1
Coming month	0-100	2.3	20.9***	8.1
Coming year	0-100	2.9	25.1***	9.8

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

The male participant in compensated dating showed a significantly higher expectation for compensated dating in future than did the male nonparticipant ( $M = 32.8$  vs. 2.3).

Table 35: Means of expected compensating dating by the boy's experience of compensated dating (CD)

Variable	Scoring	No CD (n=110)	CD (n=18)	All (n=128)
Future compensated dating	0-100	2.3	32.8***	6.6
Coming month	0-100	2.6	28.9***	6.3
Coming year	0-100	1.8	36.7***	6.8

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## Predictors of Compensated Dating

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Predictors, either risk factors or protective factors, were those indicated by regression analysis that delivered net effects on the outcome. Outcomes of compensated dating for the regression analysis consisted on the number of compensated dating episodes during the recent two months, the numbers of such episodes that involved sexual relationships, injury, and harm to mind, the likelihood of contracting venereal disease through the episodes, and expected compensated dating in future. Predictors of concern include family characteristics, personal experiences, family experiences, parenting, and attachment to parents. They were potential predictors in view of existing experience that suggests that unconventional family characteristics (e.g., broken family, stepparent family), personal experiences, and family experiences, and inadequate parenting and attachment to parents are risk factors of prostitution or compensated dating. Conversely, experiences of supportive services and parenting and attachment to parents are protective factors. With respect to the causal order, the analysis proceeded with a series of steps. The first step was to estimate the effects of family characteristics. The second step was about personal and family experiences except those related to compensated dating. The third step added experiences with compensated dating, the fourth step dealt with parenting. The fifth step focused on the effects of attachment to parents, and the sixth step introduced interactions between parenting and the experience of police arrest. Accordingly, family characteristics would be the earlier predisposing factors (i.e., causal factors that are longstanding), family and personal experiences would be precipitating factors (i.e., causal factors that impose immediate effects), parenting would be an enabling factor, and attachment to parents would be a proximally preventing factor (i.e., a factor with a direct and immediate effect). A predictor that had a positive effect on prostitution or related problems referred to a risk or signaling factor, whereas a predictor induced a negative effect referred to a protective or impedance factor. Importantly, the analysis also included and therefore controlled for all significant background characteristics, including gender, age, education, and so on. The analysis applied to all adolescents, and girls and boys as well.

Family and personal background effects

In predicting having a sexual relationship in compensated dating, family background characteristics that displayed significant negative effects were living with the father, identifying a biological mother, and identifying a stepmother. These effects were moderately strong ( $\beta > .25$ ). These findings are consistent with those in existing research about the contribution of the broken family, which does not have both parents, to prostitution (Cusick 2002). Identifying a biological mother also showed a significant negative effect on suffering harm to mind in compensated dating. Similarly, identifying a stepmother manifested a significant negative effect on suffering harm to mind in compensated dating. However, identifying a biological mother and a stepmother indicated significant positive effects on compensated dating. Identifying such mothers therefore showed opposite effects on compensated dating and prostitution that involves a sexual relationship. The findings suggested that such mothers might be permissive of compensated dating that did not involve a sexual relationship, but restrictive on or protective against prostitution that involved a sexual relationship or harm to mind. Besides, living with friends exerted a significant positive effect on compensated dating in general. This reflects the peer influence on prostitution (Hagan and McCarthy 1997). Another significant finding was the positive effect of having a self-employed mother on having injuries in compensated dating. This may reflect the constraint of maternal self-employment, due to work requirement, on her protection of her adolescent child.

Personal characteristics that showed significant positive effects on aspects of compensated dating were age, female gender and sexy grooming. Particularly, the girl was more likely than was the boy to suffer harm to mind due to compensated dating. The older adolescent might also suffer more because of the danger of compensated dating would increase with deeper involvement in compensated dating. Sexy grooming was obviously a preparation for compensated dating.

Personal characteristics that had significant negative effects on aspects of compensated dating were body attractiveness and residency. The adolescent, rated as more bodily attractive by social workers or others, might have more alternatives to compensated dating and to avoid suffering from compensated dating. Similarly, the adolescent who had stayed in Hong Kong for a longer time might have more protection against venereal disease contracted through compensated dating.

In contrast, parental allowances and thereby income had no significant impact on the adolescent's prostitution or related problems. Economic hardship was therefore unlikely a cause of prostitution.

Table 36: Standardized regression coefficients of family characteristics for predicting the adolescent's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Living with both parents	.067	.126	.127	-.014	.021	-.057
Living with the father	-.046	-.253*	-.130	-.125	.016	.055
Living with the mother	.010	-.025	-.055	.013	-.018	.057
Living with siblings	-.049	.010	.022	.002	.023	.005
Living with a partner	-.082	-.048	-.060	-.072	.007	-.014
Living with other relatives	.053	-.042	-.005	-.006	.076	-.021
Living with friends	.154**	-.018	-.020	-.007	.009	.033
Living with a domestic servant	.004	-.052	.023	-.023	-.050	.083
Father as the biological father	-.151	.119	-.071	.067	-.029	-.019
Father as the stepfather	-.084	.092	-.049	.076	.116	.122
Father as the mother's partner	-.093	.069	-.044	.012	.015	-.005
Mother as the biological mother	.179*	-.286***	-.141	-.192*	.117	.037
Mother as the stepmother	.188*	-.268**	-.142	-.191*	.082	.019
Mother as the father's partner	-.025	.059	.066	.008	-.060	.099
Paternal education	-.027	-.072	.023	-.040	.007	-.065
Maternal education	.015	.050	-.060	.024	-.105	.058
Father as an employee	.011	-.098	.029	-.116	.076	-.058
Father as an employer	-.029	-.085	.070	-.087	.034	-.043
Father as self-employed	.012	.017	.042	-.050	.053	.020
Mother as an employee	-.010	.061	.004	.016	.033	.038
Mother as an employer	-.060	.056	-.037	.004	-.024	-.024
Mother as self-employed	-.040	-.003	.188**	.082	-.035	-.075
Allowance from the father	.012	.030	-.044	.003	-.039	.051

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Allowance from the mother	-.087	-.056	-.063	-.070	-.079	-.096
Acquiescence	.089	.088	-.080	.095	.067	.064
Age	-	-	.191**	.307***	-	-
Female	-	-	-	.151**	-	-
Body attractiveness	-	-	-	-.106*	-	-.114*
Residency	-	-	-	-	-.209***	-
Sexy grooming	-	-	-	-	-	.162**
$R^2$	.070	.082	.081	.059	.054	.075

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Family characteristics that had significant negative effects on the girl's having sex in compensated dating were again living with her father, identifying a biological mother, and identifying a stepmother. Such parental characteristics would be protective against the girl's prostitution. Other findings were also similar to those applying to the adolescent in general. The unique finding was the significant negative effect of education on the girl's prostitution and other problems of compensated dating. This finding is generally consistent with the negative effect of education on prostitution (Lung et al. 2004).

Table 37: Standardized regression coefficients for predicting the girl's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Living with both parents	.018	.135	.158	-.026	.093	-.111
Living with the father	-.011	-.310*	-.214	-.166	-.095	.093
Living with the mother	.023	-.045	-.080	.017	-.071	.080
Living with siblings	-.077	.014	.046	.016	.080	-.058
Living with a partner	-.124	-.066	-.085	-.094	.022	-.026
Living with other relatives	.064	-.024	-.031	-.002	.081	-.031
Living with friends	.194**	-.012	-.025	-.009	.036	.048

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Living with a domestic servant	-.008	-.046	.065	-.025	-.056	.135*
Father as the biological father	-.162	.145	-.034	.085	-.025	-.013
Father as the stepfather	-.077	.094	-.072	.097	.128	.078
Father as the mother's partner	-.126	.046	-.041	.024	-.042	-.040
Mother as the biological mother	.202*	-.336***	-.196*	-.226*	.106	.086
Mother as the stepmother	.246**	-.314**	-.176	-.213*	.102	.104
Mother as the father's partner	-.048	.080	.090	.004	-.072	.113
Paternal education	-.051	-.101	.006	-.075	-.019	-.076
Maternal education	-.015	.053	-.028	.015	-.091	.092
Father as an employee	.051	-.123	.027	-.113	.072	-.076
Father as an employer	-.055	-.090	.010	-.091	-.038	-.059
Father as self-employed	.030	.006	.021	-.043	-.019	-.001
Mother as an employee	.005	.072	.004	.033	.079	.034
Mother as an employer	-.092	.005	-.003	-.008	-.041	-.050
Mother as self-employed	-.042	.012	.258***	.105	-.020	-.043
Allowance from the father	.002	.023	-.015	.012	.016	.029
Allowance from the mother	-.097	-.079	-.027	-.079	-.073	-.145*
Acquiescence	.087	.111	-.120	.114	.094	.060
Age	.241**	.294***	.259***	.421***	.221*	-
Body attractiveness	-.137*	-	-	-	-	-
Residency	-	-	-	-	-.295***	-
Education	-.179**	-	-	-	-	-.143*

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Education before 18	-	-.208**	-	-.143*	-	-
$R^2$	.101	.129	.129	.090	.069	.108

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

No family or personal characteristic was significantly predictive of the boy's having sex in compensated dating. The most consistent finding was the significantly positive effect of sexy grooming on compensated dated or related problems. This reflects the boy's preparation for compensated dating.

Table 38: Standardized regression coefficients for predicting the boy's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Living with both parents	-.083	.031	.116	.252	-.199	-.072
Living with the father	.089	-.012	.032	-.075	.272	.051
Living with the mother	.187	.038	.027	.015	.050	.106
Living with siblings	-.126	-.028	.011	-.224*	-.077	.092
Living with a partner	-.047	-.025	-.062	-.026	-.045	-.019
Living with other relatives	.033	-.091	.107	-.060	.065	-.021
Living with friends	-.031	.010	-.065	-.040	-.046	-.012
Living with a domestic servant	.018	-.033	.110	.085	.038	-.011
Father as the biological father	-.043	-.027	-.116	.000	-.088	-.113
Father as the stepfather	-.007	.077	.167	-.095	.137	.143
Father as the mother's partner	.167	.187	-.061	-.010	.098	.029
Mother as the biological mother	-.004	-.066	.164	.040	.139	-.177



Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Mother as the father's partner	-.031	-.110	.028	.007	-.015	-.259
Paternal education	-.095	.023	.126	.172	.105	-.049
Maternal education	.047	-.098	-.132	-.121	-.203	-.068
Father as an employee	.152	.103	.045	.059	.108	.164
Father as an employer	.166	.013	.294*	.196	.104	.081
Father as self-employed	.128	.149	.117	-.002	.206	.154
Mother as an employee	-.056	.079	-.058	-.006	-.111	.049
Mother as an employer	.007	.217	-.227*	-.150	-.034	.047
Mother as self-employed	-.115	-.057	-.100	.017	-.104	-.126
Allowance from the father	.099	.095	-.193	-.049	-.104	.113
Allowance from the mother	-.068	.018	-.220*	-.144	-.133	-.002
Acquiescence	.012	.056	.028	.025	.037	.083
Sexy grooming	.200*	-	-	-	.214*	.280**
$R^2$	.113	.117	.258	.122	.156	.124

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

#### Personal and family experience effects

The second step of regression analysis maintained a number of personal and family experiences as basic predictors and the other experiences as additional predictors. Those basic predictors included attending moral education, running away from home, being arrested, attending recreational activities with parents, attending counseling with parents, having fun with parents, parents' attending school activities, parents' working too long, parents' contact with police, and receiving moral guidance from parents. Additional predictors were other experiences added into the regression model when they were statistically significant, as selected by the stepwise procedure. This arrangement was a way to reduce the possible problem of multicollinearity, happening due to correlations among predictors.

In predicting having sex in compensated dating, significant predictors that showed negative effects were attending counseling with parents, rearing children, and associating with criminals. The parent-child joint counseling also showed a significant negative effect on suffering harm to mind due to compensated dating. Hence, the counseling appears to be effective in preventing prostitution. This finding echoes research in support of the effectiveness of multisystemic therapy, dealing with adolescents and their significant others simultaneously (Chambless and Ollendick 2001; Farrington and Welsh 2007; Huey et al. 2000; Murray and Farrington 2008). Rearing children would limit the adolescent's time and risk of prostitution. Associating with criminals might provide deviant alternatives to prostitution. Conversely, marrying or cohabiting, parents' contact with police, and parents' committing crimes engendered significant positive effects on having sex in compensated dating. Marrying or cohabiting particularly showed significant positive effects on compensated dating in general, suffering harm to mind from compensated dating, and contracting venereal disease from compensated dating. This finding reflects the influence of early sexual activity on prostitution and this has been a finding in existing research (Wilson and Widom 2010). Moreover, the positive effect of parental crime on prostitution is consistent with existing findings, such as those about the father's violence (Hagan and McCarthy 1987). In this connection, patients' contact with police might also be an indicator of parental crime.

Other significant and pervasive risk or signaling factors were working in indecent clubs, experiencing abuse by parents, and parents' living in an owned house. Working in indecent clubs might provide opportunities for compensated dating. The effect of parental child abuse has been apparent in existing research (Cusick 2002; Hagan and McCarthy 1997). Parents' living in an owned house implies the availability of privacy in housing, which may facilitate compensated dating.

Parents' working too long over the years did not show a significant effect on adolescent prostitution or compensating in general. However, this parental factor indicated a significant positive effect on the adolescent's contracting venereal disease in prostitution. The problem also received significant effects from working to earn money, marrying or cohabiting, not rearing children, parental abuse, talking about sex with parents, parental crime, and not attending recreational activities with siblings. Hence, a number of parental problems might be blameworthy for the adolescent's high risk of venereal disease. The adolescent's working for earnings also placed the adolescent into the high risk situation, probably because of the adolescent's desperation to earn money.

Table 39: Standardized regression coefficients of non-CD experiences for predicting the adolescent's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Attending moral education	.053	.005	.017	-.086	-.041	-.010
Running away from home	-.039	.014	.031	.024	-.064	-.043
Being arrested	-.006	-.089	-.024	-.062	.000	-.053
Attending recreational activities with parents	-.063	.017	.036	.002	.054	.047
Attending counseling with parents	-.062	-.131*	.018	-.131*	-.045	.044
Having fun with parents	-.086	-.100	-.091	-.111#	-.118	-.001
Parents' attending school activities	-.001	-.005	-.031	.071	-.007	.038
Parents' working too long	.000	.069	.017	.041	.113*	-.006
Parents' contact with police	.143*	.171**	.143*	.079	.111	.091
Receiving moral guidance from parents	-.015	-.037	-.051	-.072	-.030	.045
Attending school	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attending sex education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Working to earn money	-	-	-	-	.108*	-
Working in indecent clubs	.122*	-	-	.134**	-	-
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abusing drugs	-	-	-	-	-	-
Receiving counseling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Living in a place arranged by social services	-	-	-	-	-	-
Receiving neighbor support	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marrying or cohabiting	.206**	.401***		.369***	.211**	-

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Being pregnant	-	-	-	-.218***	-	-
Rearing children	-	-.116*	-	-.155**	-.103*	-
Associating with criminals	-	-.127*	-	-	-	.125*
Being abused by parents	-	-	-	.107*	.178**	-
Living with parents	-	-	-	-	-	-
Being regulated by parents	-	-	-	-	-	-
Talking about sex with parents	-	-	-	-	.110*	-
Parents' attending counseling	-	-	-	-	-	.156**
Parents' living in an owned house	.133*	-	-	-	-	.122*
Parents' being single	-	-	-.182**	-	-	-
Parents' committing crimes	-	.158**	.191***	.153**	.139**	-
Attending recreational activities with siblings	-	-	-	-	-.153**	.121*
Attending counseling with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	-
Having fun with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	-
Siblings' attending counseling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Siblings' committing crime	-	-	-	-	-	-
$R^2$	.248	.298	.199	.340	.289	.236

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

In predicting the girl's having sex in compensated dating, significant predictors that showed positive effects were marrying or cohabiting, parental contact with police, and parental crime. These predictors also displayed significant positive effects on other aspects of

compensated dating. Conversely, experiences that manifested significant negative effects on having sex in compensated dating were attending counseling with parents, being pregnant, and rearing children. They also showed significant negative effects on some of the other aspects of compensated dating. These experiences were therefore consistent predictors the girl's prostitution and related problems.

Table 40: Standardized regression coefficients of non-CD experiences for predicting the girl's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Attending moral education	.034	-.035	.023	-.084	-.083	-.108
Running away from home	-.061	.008	.055	.007	.026	-.028
Being arrested	.022	-.091	-.079	-.044	-.075	-.087
Attending recreational activities with parents	-.112	.034	.003	.019	.025	.042
Attending counseling with parents	-.011	-.161*	-.002	-.121#	-.137#	.106
Having fun with parents	-.051	-.086	-.070	-.069	-.073	.045
Parents' attending school activities	-.005	-.051	.018	.029	-.019	-.024
Parents' working too long	.045	.079	-.012	.027	.064	-.037
Parents' contact with police	.181*	.190*	.140	.108	.156	.204*
Receiving moral guidance from parents	-.012	-.087	-.057	-.029	-.015	.016
Attending school	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attending sex education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Working to earn money	-	-	-	-	-	-
Working in indecent clubs	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abusing drugs	-	-	-	-	-	-

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Receiving counseling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Living in a place arranged by social services	-	-	-	-	-	-
Receiving neighbor support	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marrying or cohabiting	.238**	.442***	-	.439***	.324***	-
Being pregnant	-	-.157*	-	-.206**	-	-
Rearing children	-	-.130*	-	-.179**	-	-
Associating with criminals	-	-	-	-	-	.157*
Being abused by parents	-	-	-	-	.161*	-
Living with parents	-	-	-	-	-	-
Being regulated by parents	-	-	-	.156*	-	-
Talking about sex with parents	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parents' attending counseling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parents' living in an owned house	.153*	-	-	-	-	-
Parents' being single	-	-	-.219**	-	-	-
Parents' committing crime	-	.121*	.139*	.136*	-	-
Attending recreational activities with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attending counseling with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	-
Having fun with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	-
Siblings' attending counseling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Siblings' committing crime	-	-	-	-	-	-

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
$R^2$	.344	.459	.275	.410	.254	.254

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

In predicting the boy's prostitution or compensated dating that involved sex, meeting persons acquainted via the Web was the only significant risk factor. This factor also showed a significant positive effect on compensating dating in general. Other pervasive risk or signaling factors were attending sex education, working to earn money, talking about sex with parents, and parental crime. These experiences might raise the boy's interest in prostitution. The former finding also echoed existing findings about the ineffectiveness of sex education (Sabia 2006). Conversely, pervasive protective or impedance factors were running away from home and receiving counseling. Probably, those runaway boys did not find prostitution as a quick way of getting money.

Table 41: Standardized regression coefficients of non-CD experiences for predicting the boy's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Attending moral education	.140	.003	.099	-.047	.158	.183
Running away from home	.035	-.059	-.194*	.008	-.206*	-.039
Being arrested	-.160	-.132	.105	-.123	.070	.020
Attending recreational activities with parents	.054	-.026	.052	-.167	-.047	.063
Attending counseling with parents	.044	-.023	.115	-.024	.145	-.053
Having fun with parents	-.072	-.042	-.248**	-.070	-.181	-.070
Parents' attending school activities	.096	.044	-.035	-.145	.032	.259*
Parents' working too long	-.089	.087	.096	-.070	.167	.054

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Parents' contact with police	.041	.131	.028	.047	-.014	.091
Receiving moral guidance from parents	.095	.067	-.061	.030	-.038	.010
Attending school	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attending sex education	.426***	-	-	.390**	-	-
Working to earn money	-	-	.195*	-	.253**	-
Working in indecent clubs	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	.189*	.356**	-	-	-	-
Abusing drugs	-	-	-	-	-	-
Receiving counseling	-.289**	-	-	-.292*	-	-
Living in a place arranged by social services	-	-	-	-	-	-
Receiving neighbor support	-	-	-	-	-.204*	-
Marrying or cohabiting	-	-	-	-	-	-
Being pregnant	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rearing children	-	-	-	-	-	-
Associating with criminals	-	-	-	-	-	-
Being abused by parents	-	-	-	-	.175*	-
Living with parents	-	-	-	-	-	-
Being regulated by parents	-	-	-	-	-	-
Talking about sex with parents	.272**	-	-	-	-	.295**
Parents' attending counseling	-	-	-	-	-	.266**



Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Parents' living in an owned house	-	-	-	.219*	-	-
Parents' being single	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parents' committing crime	.203*	-	.373***	-	.416***	-
Attending recreational activities with siblings	-.218*	-	-	-	-	-
Attending counseling with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	-.197*
Having fun with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	-
Siblings' attending counseling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Siblings' committing crime	-	-	-	-	-	-
$R^2$	.600	.335	.589	.357	.613	.498

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Compensated dating history was a pervasive predictor or risk factors of subsequent prostitution or related problems. In contrast, having injury in compensated dating and contracting disease in compensated dating delivered significant negative effects on some aspects of subsequent compensating dating. This finding suggests that learning or experiencing the harm of compensated dating would deter compensating dating. As such, the harm, injury, and contraction of disease would be punishment that social learning theory regards as a deterrence factor (Akers 1998).

Table 42: Standardized regression coefficients of CD experiences for predicting the adolescent's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Having sex in compensated dating	-.149*	-	-	-	.405***	-

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Having injury in compensated dating	-.148**	-	.196**	-	-	-.163**
Contracting disease in compensated dating	-.098*	-	-	-	-.094*	-.134**
Halting compensated dating	-	-	-	-	-	-
Compensated dating history	.637***	.236***	.035	.164**	-.064	.481***
$R^2$	.430	.344	.253	.351	.290	.238

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

In predicting the girl's compensated dating and related problems, compensated dating history was a pervasive predictor or risk factors. Moreover, having sex in compensated dating was a predictor of subsequent compensated dating involving sex and the contraction of venereal disease. Conversely, having injury and the contraction of disease in compensated dating indicated significant negative effects on compensated dating or related problems.

Table 43: Standardized regression coefficients of CD experiences for predicting the girl's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Having sex in compensated dating	-	.172*	-	-	.246**	-
Having injury in compensated dating	-.154*	-	-	-	-	-.180*
Contracting disease in compensated dating	-.125*	-	-	-	-	-.162*
Halting compensated dating	-	-	-	-	-	-
Compensated dating history	.512***	.050	.020	.169**	-.008	.466***

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
$R^2$	.500	.495	.291	.429	.300	.394

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

In predicting the boy's compensated dating and related problems, having sex in compensated dating was the most pervasive risk factor of subsequent compensated dating and related problems. Moreover, having injury in compensated dating was another risk factor of subsequent injury and harm to mind in compensated dating.

Table 44: Standardized regression coefficients of CD experiences for predicting the boy's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Having sex in compensated dating	.610***	.676**	-	.410*	.557***	-
Having injury in compensated dating	-	-	.597***	.464***	-	-
Contracting disease in compensated dating	-	-	-	-	-	-
Halting compensated dating	-	-	-	.246*	-	-.332***
Compensated dating history	.125	-.272	-.028	-.453*	-.042	.592***
$R^2$	.819	.494	.773	.567	.753	.664

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

#### Parenting and attachment effects

Paternal parenting competence showed significant negative effects on compensated dating and contracting venereal disease in compensated dating. Besides, attachment to the father displayed a significant negative effect on compensated dating. One possible way of protection, as noted before, was that the father could be a role model to provide moral

guidance fostering the child's moral development. The father's role is already noteworthy in psychoanalytic theory about the development the child's superego, or feeling guilty for immorality (Henry 1983; Kline 1991).

Table 45: Standardized regression coefficients of parenting and attachment to parents for predicting the adolescent's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Paternal concern	.132	.070	-.084	.031	.034	-.032
Paternal parenting competence	-.163*	-.029	.025	.067	-.162*	-.019
Father-child interaction	.019	-.006	.135	-.005	.196**	-.011
Maternal concern	-.135	.043	.179	.050	.024	.092
Maternal parenting competence	.100	-.056	-.161	-.152	.055	-.139
Mother-child interaction	-.085	-.063	-.100	-.004	-.120	.045
Siblings' help	.034	-.014	.011	-.048	-.011	.020
$R^2$	.445	.350	.268	.365	.408	.394
Attachment to the father	-.218**	-.138	-.024	-.121	.048	-.107
Attachment to the mother	.063	.002	.063	.020	.019	-.021
$R^2$	.460	.357	.270	.370	.410	.399

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

For the girl's compensated dating, maternal parenting competence, father-child interaction, and attachment to the father posed some significant negative effects. Notably, maternal parenting competence was protective of the girl's suffering in compensated dating. The finding echoes the protection of parental monitoring against the adolescent's sexual behavior (Jacobson and Crockett 2000; Longmore et al. 2001).

Table 46: Standardized regression coefficients of parenting and attachment to parents for predicting the girl's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Paternal concern	.005	-.055	-.118	-.050	.044	-.041
Paternal parenting competence	-.144	.066	.111	.127	-.136	.067
Father-child interaction	.076	-.030	.124	.026	.199*	-.182*
Maternal concern	-.092	.069	.208	.137	.056	-.027
Maternal parenting competence	.076	-.101	-.264*	-.212*	.028	-.134
Mother-child interaction	-.119	-.110	-.092	-.049	-.101	.156
Siblings' help	.113	.023	.020	-.008	-.050	.001
$R^2$	.523	.505	.319	.447	.324	.420
Attachment to the father	-.220*	-.176	-.003	-.151	.110	-.109
Attachment to the mother	.036	.008	.172	.040	.015	-.055
$R^2$	.538	.515	.328	.453	.329	.427

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

For the boy's compensated dating, paternal parenting competence and mother-child interaction showed significant negative effects on some aspects of compensated dating. These findings are justifiable by social control theory, which emphasizes parental control and parent-child bonding as protective factors (Bearman and Bruckner 2001; Little and Rankin 2001). Nevertheless, father-child interaction exhibited significant positive effects on some aspects of compensated dating. The interaction, as such, might be a signaling factor, which reflected the boy's earlier problems that provoked father-son interaction.

Table 47: Standardized regression coefficients of parenting and attachment to parents for predicting the boy's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Paternal concern	.304	.157	.211	.556*	-.019	.081

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Paternal parenting competence	-.230	-.133	-.302*	-.333	-.195	-.385*
Father-child interaction	.049	.187	.313**	-.293	.419***	.389**
Maternal concern	-.034	.128	-.178	-.234	-.089	-.091
Maternal parenting competence	.005	-.110	.202	.169	.190	.192
Mother-child interaction	-.063	-.018	-.213*	.038	-.244*	-.211
Siblings' help	-.057	.062	.080	-.071	.157*	.149
$R^2$	.835	.528	.807	.615	.807	.729
Attachment to the father	-.069	-.062	-.125	.008	-.149	.033
Attachment to the mother	-.070	.064	.044	.023	.096	-.042
$R^2$	.840	.529	.810	.615	.811	.729

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

#### Interaction effects between police arrest and parenting

According to the theory of crisis intervention, the adolescent's arrest by police is likely to create an opportunity for parenting to help the adolescent and thus reduce the adolescent compensated dating and related conditions. This hypothesis concerns the interaction effect of police arrest and parenting. Results from regression analysis indicated a significant negative effect of interaction between police arrest and paternal concern on future compensated dating. The effect suggested that paternal concern in the presence of police arrest tended to reduce the intention of compensated dating. Hence, paternal concern was a conditional protective factor, contingent on police arrest. However, interaction between maternal parenting competence and police arrest exhibited a significant positive effect on suffering injuries in compensated dating. The positive effect might suggest that maternal parenting competence was a signaling factor, reflective of the adolescent's earlier problems.

Table 48: Standardized interaction effects between police arrest and parenting on the adolescent's recent and future compensated dating

Interaction with police arrest	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Paternal concern	.052	-.063	-.014	.010	-.153	-.201*
Paternal parenting competence	-.036	.014	-.119	-.007	.071	.122
Father-child interaction	-.033	.013	.096	-.041	.019	.026
Maternal concern	-.015	.006	-.130	-.086	.004	-.011
Maternal parenting competence	-.003	-.037	.254**	.130	.065	-.011
Mother-child interaction	-.018	.012	-.111	.020	-.095	.024
$R^2$	.462	.360	.295	.377	.426	.413

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

For the girl, the positive interaction effect of maternal parenting competence and police arrest was significant. Maternal parenting competence might be a signaling factor, reflective of the girl's earlier problems.

Table 49: Standardized interaction effects between police arrest and parenting on the girl's recent and future compensated dating

Interaction with police arrest	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Paternal concern	-.060	-.033	.065	.030	-.103	-.107
Paternal parenting competence	.007	.105	.009	.049	.104	.148
Father-child interaction	-.043	-.037	.047	-.025	-.031	-.111
Maternal concern	.076	-.006	-.137	-.077	.056	-.065
Maternal parenting competence	-.045	-.107	.214*	.072	.005	-.054
Mother-child interaction	-.104	.090	.017	.060	-.005	.069
$R^2$	.551	.523	.359	.461	.338	.450

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

For the boy, interaction between paternal concern and police arrest indicated a significant negative effect on compensated dating that involved sex. Hence, paternal concern appeared to be a protective factor conditional on police arrest. The other interactions, nevertheless, manifested inconsistent effects on the boy's compensated dating and related problems. Their impacts were therefore not clear-cut.

Table 50: Standardized interaction effects between police arrest and parenting on the girl's recent and future compensated dating

Interaction with police arrest	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Paternal concern	-.272	-.549#	-.203	-.199	.158	-.265
Paternal parenting competence	.405*	.271	-.071	.509*	-.418*	-.069
Father-child interaction	-.095	.185	.349*	-.307	.130	.157
Maternal concern	.198	.236	.167	-.111	-.122	.137
Maternal parenting competence	-.331*	-.209	.025	.000	.334*	-.103
Mother-child interaction	.103	-.045	-.413**	.276	-.306*	-.011
$R^2$	.854	.563	.838	.664	.848	.763

#:  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## Summary

Protective factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the adolescent in general were:

- Mother as the stepmother, which might reflect the stepmother's parenting efficacy probably because of the narrower age gap between her and her child
- Body attractiveness, which might provide the adolescent with alternatives to prostitution
- Attending counseling with parents, which reflected the effectiveness of the counseling
- Rearing children, which hindered the adolescent's prostitution
- Having injury in compensated dating, which made the adolescent learn about the harm of prostitution



- Contracting disease in compensated dating, which made the adolescent learn about the harm of prostitution
- Paternal parenting competence, which indicated the father's effective social control over the adolescent

Additional protective factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the girl specifically were:

- Mother as the biological mother, who might offer more effective social bond with or control over the girl
- Education or education before 18, which showed the benefit of education
- Being pregnant, which would hinder the girl's prostitution
- Maternal parenting competence, which indicated the effectiveness of maternal parenting

Additional protective factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the boy specifically were:

- Running away from home, which might expose the boy to more street wisdom for self-protection
- Receiving counseling, which indicated the effectiveness of counseling
- Mother-child interaction coupled with arrest, which manifested the value of mother-child interaction

Additional protective factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the adolescent without prior compensating dating specifically were:

- Being arrested, which showed a deterrent effect

Additional protective factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the adolescent with prior compensating dating specifically were:

- Living with the father, which manifested paternal social control
- Mother as the biological mother, who would be an important protector
- Attending moral education, which showed its effectiveness
- Attending recreational activities with parents, which would facilitate a protective bond with parents
- Receiving moral guidance from parents, which would be effectiveness

Table 51: Significant negative effects on the adolescent's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Living with both parents	N	-	-	N	-	-
Living with the father	-	A, C	-	C	-	-
Living with siblings	-	-	-	B	-	-
Father as the mother's partner	-	-	-	-	N	-
Mother as the biological mother	-	A, G, C	G, C	G, C	-	-
Mother as the stepmother	-	A, G, C	-	A, G	-	-
Paternal education	-	-	-	-	C	-
Mother as an employer	-	-	B	-	-	-
Allowance from the mother	-	-	B, N	-	-	G
Body attractiveness	G	-	-	A	-	A
Residency	-	-	-	-	A, C	-
Education	G	-	-	-	-	G
Education before 18	-	G	-	G	-	-
Residency	-	-	-	-	G	-
Attending moral education	-	-	-	N, C	C	-
Running away from home	-	-	B	-	B	-
Being arrested	-	N	-	N	-	N

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Attending recreational activities with parents	-	C	-	C	-	-
Attending counseling with parents	C	A, G, C	-	A, G, C	G	-
Having fun with parents	C	-	B	A	-	-
Receiving moral guidance from parents	-	-	C	C	N	-
Working to earn money	N	-	-	-	-	-
Receiving counseling	B	-	-	B	-	-
Receiving neighbor support	-	-	-	-	B	-
Being pregnant	-	G	-	A, G	-	-
Rearing children	-	A, G	C	A, G, N	A	-
Associating with criminals	-	A	-	-	-	-
Being regulated by parents	-	-	N	-	-	-
Parents' being single	-	-	A, G	-	-	-
Attending recreational activities with siblings	B	-	-	-	A	-

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Attending counseling with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	B
Siblings' attending counseling	-	C	-	-	-	-
Having sex in compensated dating	A	-	-	-	-	-
Having injury in compensated dating	A, G	-	-	-	-	A, G
Contracting disease in compensated dating	A, G	-	-	-	A	A, G
Halting compensated dating	-	-	-	-	-	B
Paternal concern	-	-	-	-	-	N
Paternal parenting competence	A, C	-	B	-	A	-
Father-child interaction	-	-	-	-	-	G
Maternal parenting competence	-	-	G	G	-	-
Mother-child interaction	-	-	B	-	B	-
Attachment to the father	A, G	-	-	-	-	-
Paternal concern × Arrest	-	B	-	-	-	A
Maternal parenting × Arrest competence	B	-	-	-	-	-

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Mother-child interaction × Arrest	-	-	B	-	B	-

Data used for analysis: A = all adolescents, G = girls, B = boys, N = adolescents with no prior CD, C = adolescents with prior CD

Risk or signaling factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the adolescent in general were:

- Age, which might be associated with the growth of interest in and capability of prostitution
- Parents' contact with police, which might reflect parental problems
- Working in indecent clubs, which might facilitated the adolescent's prostitution
- Marrying or cohabiting, which might reflect sexual permissiveness
- Being abused by parents, which might induce prostitution due to strain
- Parents' living in an owned house, which might provide privacy and others that facilitated the adolescent's learning about prostitution
- Parents' committing crimes, which might reflects parental problems
- Compensated dating history, which showed the continuation of prostitution
- Having sex in compensated dating, which reflected the recurrence of prostitution

No additional risk or signaling factor of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the girl specifically were:

Additional risk factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the boy specifically were:

- Sexual grooming, which reflected the boy's intention to prostitution
- Attending sex education, which might stimulate the boy's interest in prostitution
- Meeting persons acquainted via the Web, which might be signal for the boy's prostitution
- Talking about sex with parents, which might reflect the boy's problem with sexuality
- Having injury in compensated dating, which might reflect the boy's engagement in prostitution
- Father-child interaction, which might reflect the boy's problem with sexuality

Additional risk or signaling factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the adolescent without prior compensating dating specifically were:

- Father as the biological father or stepfather, who might be more permissive

Additional risk or signaling factors of more than one problem related to compensated dating for the adolescent with prior compensating dating specifically were:

- Mother as self-employed, who might have less time taking care of the adolescent
- Parents' attending school activities, probably because of problems with study

Table 52: Significant positive effects of the adolescent's recent and future compensated dating

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Living with friends	A, G	-	-	-	N	-
Living with a domestic servant		-	-	-	-	G
Father as the biological father	N	-	-	N	-	-
Father as the stepfather	N	-	-	N	C	-
Mother as the biological mother	G	-	-	-	-	-
Mother as the stepmother	G, C	-	-	-	-	-
Mother as the father's partner	-	-	-	-	-	N
Father as an employer	-	-	B	-	-	-
Mother as self-employed	-	-	A, G, C	C	-	-
Allowance from the father	-	-	-	-	-	C

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Age	G, C	G, C	A, G	A, G, C	G	-
Female	-	-	-	A	-	-
Sexual grooming	B	-	-	-	B	A, B
Running away from home	N	-	-	-	-	-
Parents' attending school activities	C	-	-	C	-	B
Parents' working too long	-	-	-	-	A	-
Parents' contact with police	A, G, C	A, G, C	A	-	-	G
Attending school	-	-	-	-	C	-
Attending sex education	B	-	-	B, N	-	-
Working to earn money	-	-	-	-	A	-
Working in indecent clubs	A, N	-	B	A, N	B, N	N
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	B, C	B	-	-	-	-
Receiving counseling	-	-	-	C	-	-
Marrying or cohabiting	A, G	A, G	-	A, G, C	A, G	-
Associating with criminals	-	-	-	-	-	A, G
Being abused by parents	-	-	-	A, C	A, G, B	-
Being regulated by parents	-	-	-	G	-	-

Predictor	Overall	Sex	Injury	Harm to mind	Venereal disease	Future
Talking about sex with parents	B	-	-	-	A	B, N
Parents' attending counseling	-	C	-	-	-	A, B, N
Parents' living in an owned house	A, G, N	-	-	B	-	A
Parents' committing crime	B	A, G	A, G, B	A, G	A, B	-
Attending recreational activities with siblings	-	-	-	-	-	A
Having sex in compensated dating	B	G, B	-	B	A, G, B	-
Having injury in compensated dating		-	A, B	B	-	-
Contracting disease in compensated dating	-	-	-	C	-	-
Halting compensated dating	-	-	-	B	-	-
Compensated dating history	A, G	A	-	A, G	-	A, G, B
Paternal concern	-	-	-	B	-	-
Father-child interaction	-	-	B, C	-	A, G, B	B
Maternal concern	-	-	-	C	-	-
Maternal parenting × Arrest competence	-	-	A, G	-	-	-



Data used for analysis: A = all adolescents, G = girls, B = boys, N = adolescents with no prior CD, C = adolescents with prior CD

## Qualitative Interviews

A focus of qualitative interviews taken in forms of in-depth individual interviewing and focus group discussion was to serve two purposes: (1) to detail the characteristics and processes of adolescents' engagement in prostitution and (2) to explore solutions or good practices for preventing or deterring prostitution or compensated dating. The solution-focused approach rested on the premise that youngsters and their family have their strengths in the prevention, and practices are to rekindle or revitalize such strengths. Apart from this focus, qualitative interviews also explored details in risk factors and related dynamics, particularly in the family.

Table 53: Qualitative interviews

	Interviewees	Mode	Date
1.	30 youths experienced in compensated dating	Individual	May 10 – Oct 21, 2010
2.	15 parents	Individual	Jul 2 - Sep 24, 2010
3.	7 parents	Group	Sep 26, 2010
4.	4 parents	Group	Sep 27, 2010
5.	4 parents	Group	Sep 27, 2010
6.	4 social workers	Group	Apr 28, 2010
7.	5 social workers	Group	Apr 29, 2010
8.	2 social workers	Group	May 13, 2010
9.	4 social workers	Group	Sep 9, 2010
10.	2 social workers	Group	Oct 11, 2010
11.	1 social worker	Individual	Mar 31, 2010
12.	1 social worker	Individual	Jun 25, Aug 4, 2010
13.	1 social worker	Individual	Sep 2, 2010
14.	1 social worker	Individual	Sep 13, 2010
15.	1 social worker	Individual	Sep 16, 2010
16.	1 educator	Individual	Aug 13, 2010

	Interviewees	Mode	Date
17.	1 educator	Individual	Sep 15, 2010
18.	1 educator	Individual	Dec 13, 2010
19.	1 academic in Taiwan	Individual	Aug 19, 2010
20.	5 police officers	Group	May 14, 2010
21.	3 government social welfare officers	Group	Dec 30, 2010
22.	14 professionals	Group	Jan 6, 2011
23.	10 professionals	Group	Jan 6, 2011

### Adolescents with Experience in Compensated Dating

Up to 21, October 2010, **30** adolescents (27 girls and 3 boys) who had been involved in prostitution participated in personal qualitative interviews. The findings reported below evolved from the qualitative data of the interviews undertaken from the beginning of May to the end of October 2010.

These youths had prostitution via bars, nightclubs, or compensated dating. Two of them via bars had sexual intercourse, five via nightclubs had sexual intercourse, and 14 via compensated dating had sexual intercourse. Compensating dating thus was the most likely mode of prostitution.

#### Career Path

Among 27 female and 3 male youth interviewees, over 43% (13 persons) admitted to have work experience in nightclubs, and among the 13 persons, 4 of them had sold sex at the age of 18 or younger. Surprisingly, 11 out of 30 started their careers in nightclubs or bars at their early ages (under 18). Girls working in nightclubs and having compensated dating generally belonged to two distinct groups (except the cases: C001, C014, C015, C019, C022 & C027) who did both. It was possible that the girls regarded compensated dating as a freelance job. Two cases reported to have prior working experience in nightclubs before being involving in compensated dating (C001 & C015) while one case (C019) reported to have the reverse career path (i.e., from CD to nightclub). Notably, 4 girls (C001, C006, C016 & C021) turned to be pimps who would introduce their friends to engage in commercial intimate relationships and one (C009) used to be a customer of commercial sex.

## Pattern

Among the 30 interviewees, about two-third admitted having sexual deals with customers, whereas the rest (10 cases) did not. With regard to the activity pattern, some of them (C001, C004, C012, C017, C018 & C019) preferred having their deals with younger customers (i.e. aged less than 40). The evening seemed to be the peak time for their business. Nearly half of the cases (13 interviewees) claimed to have sex deals in hotels, including the cases under the ages of 16 (C018 & C027). Except one case (C004), all of them insisted to use condoms. Anal sex, oral sex, and sadomasochism (SM) were generally not acceptable to the interviewees. They corresponded with their customers via online self-referral, peer networks, and nightclub staff.

## Parenting

Out of the 30 youths, **18** (60%) reported coming from broken families, and **6** of them lived with stepmothers or stepfathers before embarking on prostitution (C001, C006, C010, C011, C024 & C028). Another **6** interviewees (C002, C009, C014, C022, C025 & C026) claimed that they had lived separately from either or both parents for a long period although their parents were not divorced (e.g., cross-border marriage, being looked after grandparent(s), imprisonment of parent, working in other place..., etc.). Notably, half of the interviewees (**14** girls and 1 boy) (C001, C003, C004, C005, C006, C007, C009, C012, C014, C017, C021, C022, and C024, C028, & C029) said that they had experienced physical, verbal, or sexual abuse by parents or siblings (esp., elder brothers) before their engagement in prostitution. However, this did not apply to the male interviewees. What was clear from the above picture was that most of the interviewed girls did not receive adequate or proper parental supervision. Their relationship with parents was far from satisfactory.

## Parents' problem

Data indicated that the interviewees' families likely suffered from stress due to one or more of the following circumstances:

- (a) Nine out of the 30 interviews had family members exhibiting offending behavior (C004, C009, C012, C013, C018, C021, C022, C024 & C028).

- (b) Three reported to have family members taking drugs (C005, C012 & C024).
- (c) Two reported to have mentally ill family members (C002 & C013).
- (d) Four found their families under financial stress, e.g., having father being in great debt (C003, C013, C018 & C023).

Three of them reported that their fathers had severe gambling problems (C001, C014 & C029).

### Positive and Negative Experiences with Family

The youths disclosed positive and negative experiences with their family member, including the father, mother, brother, sister, grandparent, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, other relative, and the family as a whole. Whereas the positive experiences made the youths happy or comfortable, the negative experiences upset or distressed the youths. The following experiences culled from the interviews would reflect adequate and inadequate parenting and family relationships.

#### Positive experience

The youths disclosed that, for the family as a whole, simple family activities such as having a meal, walk, shopping, traveling, and staying together during crisis were delightful. As such, being together with the family was the uplifting experience. Essentially, the adolescent treasured care by the family and the effort that the family paid to resolve problems in a collective way. A touching instance happened when the family did not have its dinner until the youth return to the home.

The youths maintained that positive experiences with the father included his protection, acceptance, relaxing interaction, problem solving, showing appreciation, watching television together, showing support during crisis, providing good care in daily living, and offering friendly reminders of some possible risks. In this connection, the desirable father was a strong, responsible, protective, and caring figure who could offer guidance and support for the adolescent's daily living. In addition, the desirable father needed to take care of the whole family and to defend it from getting into trouble.

The youths unfolded that positive experiences with the mother included her sleeping and shopping together, attending religious activities, cooking favorite food, staying calm during crisis, relaxing and funny interaction, open and honest communication, casual chat, and going

out for a picnic or meal in a fast food restaurant. Notably, the mother contributed to her child's happiness or gratification when the mother manifested warmth, just in some simple tasks. The mother's gratifying the child's desire was most characteristic of positive experiences recounted by the child.

The youths remarked that their sisters offered such positive experiences as having common interests, knowing his or her preference, unconditional acceptance and support, sharing of experience, offering friendly reminders of possible risks, and knowledge about courtship. Importantly, sisters were helpful when they were similar to the youths in various aspects, including interests, preferences, courtship, and risks. The sisters' help hinged on the sisters' showing care for the youths.

The youths revealed that their brothers gave the youths such positive experiences as having common interests, offering protection, assurance and support, relaxing time, concern about the youth's feeling, suggestions regarding problems, friendly reminders of possible risks, and acting as a mediator in family conflict. Notably, the brother could be helpful by playing the father's role. His unique contribution was in mediating family conflict, such as locating the youth and reconciling the conflict between the youth and parents.

The youths divulged that the stepfather could also offer positive experiences to the youth, in terms of understanding, offering freedom, giving knowledge, offering immediate help, communicating via MSN, showing support during crisis, and showing respect to the youth's self-determination. Hence, positive experiences with the stepparent rested on his understanding and respect for the youth and immediate assistance offered to the youth.

The youths purported that their stepmothers imparted uplifting experiences to the youths through the stepmothers' willingness to communicate, sacrificing of their own needs, and giving rewards for the youths' positive behavior. Hence, stepmothers could be delighting through their contact with their stepchildren.

The youths suggested that their other family members or relatives offered positive experiences in terms of communication, tangible support, offering important things, and paying attention to the youth needs. Remarkably, grandparents' giving rewards or gifts to the youths was exhilarating.

#### Negative experience

The youth exhibited that for the family as a whole, the label of a broken family and having quarrels among family members were negative experiences to the youths. For instance,

when a friend recognized that the youth's family was a broken one, the youth regarded it as a negative experience. The case illustrated that the recognition of the youth's family weakness or scruple was saddening.

The youths outlined that their fathers made such negative experiences for the youths as having debts, imposing too much control, denial of responsibility, being poor in controlling tempers, having criminal behavior, using violence on the youth and other family members, having affairs with other women, having no recognition of the youth's behavior, and being unable to offer children a sense of safety. As such, the father's irresponsibility for caring and protecting the family was a case for the youth's negative experience. Insecurity would be a crucial misdeed that explaining the youths' negative experience with their fathers' behavior. Hence, the father's failure to take up the role of a father to provide security and secure the child's attachment was the cause of the child's discontent.

The youths indicated that their mothers induced negative experiences in their children through running away, showing no respect or concern for their children, showing poor tempers or being too emotional, having mental health problems, having too little communication, refusing to take up the mother role, being unable to keep secrets or promises, interfering with the children's social life, using foul language, unfair treatment of children, and unwelcomed self-disclosures. Based on the comments, negative experiences would arise when the mother failed to enact her mother role as a considerate, tenderly, caring, and supportive adult. Meanwhile, the mother's own problems, such as running away from home and having affairs with men, were the spring of negative experiences.

The youths mentioned that their sisters produced the youths' negative experiences in terms of ridiculing, isolating, quarreling, and competing for parents' care and concern. Such negative experiences arose when the youths did not feel close to their sisters, and thus regarded the stepsisters as rivals and adversaries. Lack of emotional attachment to sisters was the cause of the negative experiences.

The youths held that their brothers imposed negative experiences on the youths in terms of being boring, untalented and unskillful, alienating, sexually harassing, using foul language, and interfering with the youths' social life. Hence, brothers were unwelcomed when they were not respectable. The poor relationship with brothers was the cause of the youths' negative experiences with the brothers.

The youths noted that their stepfathers were involved in negative experiences when they bragged about themselves, fought with the youths, and sexually harassing. As such, stepfathers who behaved offensively made an impression in the youths' negative experiences.

The youths said that their stepmothers appeared in the youths' negative experiences when the stepmothers failed to show concern for the youths. The failure resulted in the youth's feeling alienated.

The youths uttered that their stepsisters and stepbrothers added to the youths' negative experiences when their presence made the youth uncomfortable. Envy among stepsiblings was particularly salient in the relationship with stepbrothers. In all, living with stepsiblings, who were not consanguineous with the youths was the root of trouble.

The youths recollected that their grandparents invoked the youths' negative experiences when showing excessive concern, self-pity, and inflexible thinking, using foul language, and treatment the youths as scapegoats when the grandparents had poor relationships with the youths' parents. Hence, a number of grandparents' misbehaviors constituted the youths' negative experiences.

The youths added that their other relatives appeared in the youths' negative experiences when they took advantage of the youths. Hence, conflict with other relatives figured in the youths' negative experiences.

## Parents with Problematic Children

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Through personal and focus group interviews, 30 parents provided information on their families. Among them, two parents identified their daughters as participating in compensated dating or prostitution (Parent code p001 & p010), and the other parents did not have such identification. While their children had problems, some parents had rebuilt their relationships with the children. Anyway, the parents recalled their experiences with their children's problems.

Among the parents, eight were single mothers. Out of their 30 children with problems, 19 were daughters and 11 were sons. The problems were mostly drug abuse, spendthrift, and theft. Prostitution was a problem in two of the daughters and early sex was a problem in another two daughters.

From the interviews with the parents, some family risk factors, family protective factors, desirable community or service support, and service limitations were identifiable as follows.

## Family Risk Factors

The parents suggested that family risk factors were primarily evident from the two parents who found their daughters to engage in compensated dating or prostitution. A common denominator was the broken family because of parental divorce. Compounding the influence of this factor was inadequate parenting, which included the following.

- inadequate parenting time due to the welfare policy requiring parental work or training when the youngest child was 12 or older
- Permissive fathering by the divorced father, who pampered the daughter by give her money and freedom to violate rules, notably those imposed by the mother
- Not knowing how to discipline the indulged daughter

The following outlined ideas extracted from the parents to illustrate the family risk factors.

- Because I needed to attend classes, I did not have time to take care of her. Therefore, she was most rebellious at that time. This is because the government stipulates that when the child reaches 12 years old, you need to learn something or attend classes. Because I went to learn the work of the security guard, I did not have spare time to take care of her. Therefore, she becomes such a girl.
- The father pampered her, treating her as an emperor's daughter. Her personality is entirely different from her brother.
- Her father often instilled bad thoughts to her, making an impact in her mind.
- Her father indulged her very much. When she quarreled with neighbors' children, he did not say that she was wrong, and instead always said that others were wrong.
- I admit that I do not know how to discipline her.

## Family Protective Factor

The parents maintained that adequate parenting was the family protective factor, as found in the effective ways of parenting mentioned by parents who did not have children participating in compensated dating. Such effective parenting included effective parent-child communication, support, understanding, regulation on computer use, financial management, and essentially moral guidance. The latter guided the child to develop scrupulous conduct and sexual behavior. Importantly, such parenting needed to be consistent and begin early, when



the child is very young. Fostering the child's participation in sport was an exemplary merit. The following outlines views extracted from the parents to illustrate effective parenting.

- After quarrels, we wrote letters, instead of talking through telephone to quench bad temper, such that we can listen to each other soberly.
- We talked after having a quarrel to clarify disapproval of the son's behavior.
- I made more effort to understanding the daughter and letting her reflecting on the problem.
- I put the computer in the lounge and set a timer of playing with the computer
- I asking the daughter to give up a seat to older people and greeted neighbors. Whenever I see public service announcements against drug abuse, I would say that if you take drugs, your prospect would ruin.
- I incessantly instruct her to be honest and trustworthy.
- I instruct her not to speak foul language. I say that speaking foul language hurts your character, socializing, work, and the quietness in the street and public places.
- I give him a lump sum. If it is not enough, I tell him not to ask me for getting more. He therefore learns how to make ends meet.
- The Government needs to propagate more promotion to encourage children to strengthen their right values, respect parents, communicate with parents, and ways to accept their family members.
- You need to instill her strong values to take care of and protect herself throughout her life. It needs to begin when she is very young. Otherwise, I cannot think of the way that you can regulate her after she has attended a secondary school.
- I care about family values. All of us let them realize family values since they were very young. At this time, we need to set ourselves models. We do not go out of home, wearing sexually seductive clothes. I regard it as a need to let children realize the inappropriateness of such wearing.
- I nurtured a hobby in him, which was sport, when he was 10 or 9 years old. This was the time before puberty. He fostered at a very early time a goal to become a representative athlete for Hong Kong and a coach after the age of 18. Therefore, even though he has a handicap in reading and writing, his sport makes him feel balanced. Feeling balanced gives him a sense of success and confidence. He remarks, "I am not the worst; I have something good like others."

Desirable Community or Service Support

The parents divulged that desirable support from the community or service included volunteer, self-help, or supportive groups and the coordination of various sectors to tackle problems, as epitomized in the following.

- Serving as a volunteer for 10 years, I have had much sharing with other volunteers about wisdom concerning childrearing. I am happy in the volunteer service, and the happiness prevents me from taking unnecessary pains (i.e., splitting hairs).
- Having a chat with friends, not only social workers, make me feel good.
- The Government can organize mothers' groups in community centers to let mothers have a channel to vent their discontent about teaching their children. They can also learn from others' experience in the sharing.
- Most important is coordination among society, government, school, parents, and children. It requires the division of labor. There should be follow-up after arrest and treatment.
- It depends on all sectors, all members in society, schools, teachers, parents, and the government to endeavor collectively. We cannot be passive. Even though we cannot eradicate problems, we can impede and minimize them.

#### Service Limitation

The mother of a daughter engaged in compensated dating or prostitution identified the limitation or unhelpfulness of the social worker. This limitation might aggravate the problem, as remarked by the mother in the following passage.

- The children said that the social worker was troublesome. Therefore, they declined to go to see the social worker. My son said, "I am very busy. If he wants to see me, he should come to see me. Why should I go to see him?" My youngest son said, "If he wants to see me, he should come to my home to see me, why should I waste time to see him?"

## Professionals

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Professionals offered their views in various personal or focus group interviews from April 2010 to January 2011. Among them, nine were in the form of focus group. The professionals had specialties in family and youth social work, police, education, and law.

### Family Risk Factors

Interviewees suggested that family risk factors of compensated dating included the poor relationship with family, broken family, excessive control in the family, lacking care from family, too busy to have time to take care of children, and difficulty in instilling proper and moral values in children. Specifically, these factors led to communication problems between the parent and child, and parental ignorance of the child's risk. In an alternative way, parents would induce values of material possession, and give money to the child as compensation for inadequate contact with the child. Underlying the problem is the large age gap between the parent and child, which poses a hindrance to parent-child communication.

Quotes about family risk factors are as follows.

Her relationship with family was too poor. Every time meeting her parents was scolding. There was a lack of communication. The number of work hours was another factor. Her mother worked for long hours, and therefore her value instillation gives priority to earning for a living. Therefore, her whole value regards money as very important, making her lack a good model for value development. In addition, she could not obtain love in family.

Her family background was quite good. Her father was a priest. Probably monitoring was too strict, making her having many things to try.

When I heeded her family background, I discovered that her family relationship was very poor. Her family privileged boys and devalued girls, privileging elder and younger brothers. She felt that she did not receive care at home. Therefore, she would make many friends outside, or find the feeling of being cared in heterosexual relationships.

In addition, the following professionals' remarks illustrate such risk factors as the broken or parent-absent family and inadequate parenting, which included excessive control as well as inadequate control, and indoctrination of improper values.

- Parents often stayed away from Hong Kong, probably working in the mainland. Therefore, no one knew what the girl does at home. Under these circumstances, distance from family looked far away. The girl also was not willing to chat with her parents. This produced some problems.
- Some parents regulated their children very sternly. Their daughters never contacted the cyber world, and even did not know what television was screening. They looked detached from this world, under parental surveillance 24 hours a day. In case there was a holiday or family members took a trip away, the girl took this opportunity to go online and enter another world rapidly. The girl then contacted some persons and this happened just within a few days.
- A girl claimed that she wanted to take revenge. When she was about ten years old, her parents divorced. She hated her father's abandoning of her mother, and she realized that her father was very much concerned about her. She took compensated dating to agitate her father.
- The parent was a kind of manipulating. The parent made many decisions for the child. She thought that because she took control over the girl, the girl had no room to go astray. However, the girl just took advantage of the free time of 45 minute after school and before tutoring to slip away.
- Adolescents' prostitution is not purely because of their material needs. In contrast, they already have very much materially, even in excess of their needs. Parents generally think that they have satisfied their children's material needs, and this represents a guarantee of the quality of their parenting and child development. This is because the parents spend too much time on work outside and offer very little time with their children. The parents therefore provide much material to compensate for their limited time with their children together.
- Her father has extramarital affairs. Hence, the girl has been living in her aunt's home since her junior secondary schooling. She is a little overlord or princess among the children in her aunt's home, such that everyone is to please and make compromise for her.

- Because her relationship with family is too poor, there is scolding and a lack of communication whenever she meets her parents. The number of work hours is another factor. Because her mother works for a long time, her indoctrination of values gives a priority to earning money for a living. This makes her lack a good model in the building of values.
- Parents themselves are not good models. They do not give right values or directions to children. Another kind of parents have many problems in their communication with or parenting of their children.
- Very often, parents do not know using some opportunities. They very often feel frustrated. They think that they cannot communicate with their children. They are very pessimistic. They inadvertently instill materialism into their children.

#### Societal Risk Factors

Values or ethos in society supportive of prostitution, hedonism, consumptionism (consumerism), philistinism, and immoral behavior in general was blameworthy as a prop of adolescent prostitution. The fad of touting as teenage models was an instance. Such an ethos pervaded adolescents as well as their families. Professionals made the follow remarks.

- The whole society now laughs at poverty but not prostitution. The advent of teenage models would not be a problem, as deemed by the whole society. Everyone looks acceptable of the use of one's body to earn money.

#### Family Protective Factors

Presently based on qualitative interviews with professionals, a good practice that served as a protective factor of prostitution was parental care, especially during crisis intervention. A crisis could be one created by the authority or by the adolescent naturally, whereas intervention can involve helping professionals, parents, and other family members. Professionals made the following remarks.

## Parenting, parental concern and care

- A mother cooks soup for her child every night and goes to sleep after the child's return. This is effective, but it needs to last for two years.
- Parents spare some time during their work to communicate with their children, such as through MSN.
- Parents maintain good relationships with their children and enact role models for their children.

## Parental care in the presence of police arrest—crisis intervention

An outreaching social worker shared her work experience with young female sex worker in Tsuen Wan and Kwai Chung in the following way.

I have a client with low education; but she was very pretty, having been a model. However, because competition in the sector of model was very great, like the sphere of entertainment, it made her feel pressure... She also used drugs to narcotize herself, making her indulged in drugs and bring drugs to home... In one time when she abused drugs at home, her father discovered this. He advised her but it did not witness a change. Eventually, the father reported to police desperately. Police went to her home to make a search, and found many things. They also testified that she was addicted. Originally, she received a probation order. However, because of the lack of improvement, as she continued to abuse drugs under probation, and the probation officer found no change in her attitude, she was sentenced to go to Hei Ling Chau. I found that the girl began to awaken after going to Hei Ling Chau, and I moreover observed a very great change in her relationship with family. Because Hei Ling Chau is a remote place, seeing that parents continued to go there for a visit made her realize that parents care about her all the time. This also made her values have a very great change... She would not work as a model again. She wished to learn cake making, and she would save money to start a business and turn a new life... Her parents cared about her very much, but I think that they used the wrong way. Probably because a crisis existed, she saw that her friends in the past were lost, and did not care about her any more...

Parents' action made her understand in mind, making her awakened... Exactly because of the presence of this crisis, I think that this could allow her to release feelings, and make her parents realize that she was not so poor, as she only narcotized herself or dodged something.

The story indicated that parents were in vain to discourage the adolescent from unscrupulous involvement, before reporting to police. Sentencing to drug treatment through police intervention created a crisis for the adolescent to realize her parents' care. The crisis was therefore a trigger for the adolescent's recovery. Moreover, this case particularly illustrates the contribution of paternal parenting competence as a deterrent to the girl's prostitution.

Similar parental intervention during the child's crisis was as follows:

- The adolescent girl's mother was superb. She sought lawyers, raised money for drug treatment, and orchestrated the whole procedure. Consequently, the daughter went to live with her mother and eschew drug taking voluntarily, once she got out from court.

Parental care during the adolescent's problem

A community support worker shared her case in Tung Chung with the following words:

The risk encountered outside the home required support from family to be able to tackle. I think that exactly because the occurrence of these problems, she was only able to talk with family members, able to return home, letting family members accept her anew. I think that this was exactly an entry to tackle family problems... In fact, the daughter got pregnancy. Her mother had experience in this, and escorted her to a gynecological check. In the mother's eyes, this was probably a trivial thing. However, in the daughter's eyes, this represented acceptance. I think that the relationship was so amended... I think that acceptance was the turning point of this case.

In this case, the adolescent daughter's pregnancy was a crisis, which provided a chance of amending the relationship with her mother. Amendment of the relationship or acceptance tended to be the turning point to amelioration in the daughter. This case supplements the

survey finding that pregnancy was a protective factor of prostitution. Essentially, the protection hinges on intervention, from parents and/or helping professionals.

An outreaching social worker provided a complementary comment as follows:

I deeply believe that it is probably because of situational factors or the worsening of relationships, creating a need for being loved. Unless there is a crisis taking place, raising a need for bringing her to consult doctors, giving birth, etc., there is no way to reconstruct her values.

This comment indicated the importance of crisis to create a need for help, which in turn is helpful to facilitate value changes.

A crisis is also vital for the parent to learn about parenting and provide adequate parenting and support. A social worker provided the following comment:

I have seen the successful cases of parents. For instance, some parents never approved children. Because of no praise, children ran away from home. In this crisis, parents realized that how to get along with children to be able to help children. Receiving work in response to this, parents could quickly accept and deliberate. Conversely, working for parents would be more difficult during the peaceful time. It is because parents only held an attitude to learn more, thinking about application only when it was possible, and it did not matter when there was no possible application.

The quote suggested that professional intervention was effective when parents perceived a crisis and therefore evolved a need for the intervention to tackle the crisis. This could apply to parenting training, such that when parents realized a need for the training, they would accept and benefit from it. In this connection, the adolescent's problem could be a trigger for parents' awareness of the crisis and need for strengthening their parenting by resorting to professional support.



## Service Limitations

Professionals interviewed found that some limitations were notable in the family-related services of integrated family service centers, youth centers and outreaching teams, Care and Protection Order, and the police.

As regards services of the integrated family service centers, limitations mentioned by professionals were:

- Inadequate work for primary prevention, because of overburden and emphasis on tackling crises
  - Inadequate family life education
- Inadequate coordination of work, to maximize the contribution due to the mass and atmosphere
- Inadequate services for hard-to-reach parents, who do not visit the center

In more detail, professionals made the following statements about the integrated family service center and related services:

- An imbalance is that most time or resources of the integrated family service center are in fact spent on tackling some most urgent, remedial work. Resources are less likely placed into some more fundamental work. Under present circumstances, it does not realize the function of prevention.
- Under the current resource constraint, there is no solution. It is a zero-sum game. If you put resources on the top floor, there must be much fewer resources on the lower floors of preventive work.
- Currently, there is no coordination mechanism for collective discussion, effort, and goals in family life education. Without such a coordination mechanism, the impact of family life education is already compromised.
- It is difficult and not very feasible to remedy when problems have occurred. Social workers of the integrated family service center are not versatile.
- A service gap is special services, especially for tackling adolescent prostitution. It is because adolescent prostitution is very special.
- Another problem of the integrated family service center is that families currently contacted are not those having the highest need for services. It means that hard-to-reach

families, which have the highest need, such as dual-earner families, have a difficulty to enroll in traditional units or centers.

- The integrated family service center has no service or group specifically for preventing adolescent prostitution.
- The current problem is the lack of suitable local products for family education. Another problem is that the creation of products is not quick enough. Those materials that my colleagues use are still those that I used long ago. Products need to be pertinent to contemporaries. The materials of the Family Life Education Resource Center are too old. Some of them are video tapes, which no machine now can play.
- Concerning some cases, different service units would shirk their responsibility. The integrated family service center would say that the case is a case in school, followed up by school social work hitherto and having no reason for the referral.

As regards family-related services of the youth center and outreaching team, limitations cited by the professionals were:

- Inadequate work with the family, because of the reluctance of the adolescent and parents
- Concerning taking a further step to contact youth's family members, the current situation is difficult for this, unless under some crises.

As regards school social work services, limitations indicated by the professionals emerged from:

- Inability to follow-up young people dropping out from school
- They leave school very quickly. After they have left school, we cannot follow up. For instance, students do not live in our district. We also have our territorial limitations and have a difficulty in long-term follow-up.

As regards family-related services of Care and Protection Order, limitations unfolded by the professionals were:

- Inadequate follow-up because of the lack of authority after the completion of the Order

- The Care and Protection Order is only behavioral control, without follow up and counseling. When the Order terminates, the case comes back to the family service again. However, it is difficult to contact and follow up the case, as the service does not have authority.

As regards family-related services of the police, limitations indicated by the professionals were:

- Inadequate support for parents' help-seeking, such as in the case of runaway
- Only after parents have reported to the police many times about child runaway do the police follow up the case. This is the reason for parents not to report about child runaway. It is because it needs to report many times and experience teasing and distrust by police.

#### Good or Needed Practices in Family-related Services

The professionals manifested good or needed practices in family-related services in the following outline.

- Up-front rather than elusive prevention of adolescent prostitution, to avoid trivializing the problem
- Reaching out to engage hard-to-reach parents, such as at the workplace and lunchtime
- Family strengthening using a whole-family approach to maximize family members' synergistic contributions
- Early prevention to capitalize on its ease and efficiency
  - Prevention work at kindergarten or primary school
- Parent education, family education, or family life education
  - Web knowledge for early detection and prevention
- Counseling parents for secondary/tertiary prevention or remediation
  - Fostering parental care and acceptance during adolescent crisis, such as arrest
  - Parallel counseling for parents and children, to enhance their mutual support

The professionals supplemented the above outline with the following.

- It would specially proffer a theme, such as adolescent prostitution, and magnify it. I would personally choose to work upfront, also for the mindset of the whole society, lest it shrinks the problem. Because family backgrounds are variegated, mere talk about happy families is inadequate.
- The integrated family service center now would do some reaching out work, such as some home visits to explore hidden families. We can have some social workers proactively going to workplaces to do some contact work. For example, they can go to some companies, and use their lunchtime to conduct some parent seminars.
- The goal of intervention is how to help the family strengthen its functioning, concerning parent-child relationships and communication. It does not target the individual. This is the intervention orientation of family therapy.
- We offer our work earlier, when the child is in kindergarten or primary school. It is because if you do not do this, you will have a great difficulty to do it later. Therefore, preventive work needs to take place early. We put some positive atmosphere for family togetherness and learning together, rather than doing casework.
- We have done much work in kindergarten. It is the most resounding work.
- About parental regulation, we think that parenting education should take place as early as the time of childbirth.
- Resources are some mandatory counseling services for parents and children, and they should not only rely on the Care and Protection Order.
- We wish parents to have an inclusive attitude toward their children after the breakout of crises. Before the breakout, family members can hold an open-minded attitude, tolerating their children's having different thoughts. Having more understanding is building good communication.
- We counsel parents on one hand, and counsel children on the other hand. Effects would occur much quicker. Instances of success also would be more prominent.
- We wish to tell the father to be more caring and regulating.
- We organize some parent-child adventure day camps. They deliberately provide many opportunities for parent-child interaction. The most important is the last part, working through social workers' debriefing. It let children know what parents can be and realize their own trustworthiness. Raising their mutual understanding is more important.
- We would not disclose to parents about their children's compensated dating or related work. We mainly intervene during crises, such as going to court concerning drugs or

parental difficulty in regulating children. This is a golden chance to let social workers have opportunities to explain the whole situation to parents.

- It is useful to apply information technology to inform parents about parenting.
- The parent-child reading class is helpful.
- Parents and the whole families working together to tackle the problem of adolescent prostitution is important. It is inappropriate to sever the problem as an adolescent problem.
- Adolescent problems are tangled. It is difficult to tackle a single problem at a time. When one problem disappears, other problems heighten or emerge successively. Therefore, we would assess the whole family and children.
- I do not believe and accept the saying that family has no ability at all to help the adolescent.
- All the issues are problems of the superego. It requires education to uphold the superego.
- Many problems are tangled. Family education can resolve many problems that adolescents face.

#### Service Operation Desired by Some

Some professionals desired service operation as the following outline.

- Specialized services for the family-based prevention of adolescent prostitution to strengthen coordination and therefore efficiency

Supplementing the above outline, the professionals offered the following remarks.

- Adding staffs and funds to the integrated family service center cannot resolve the problem in preventive services. It is because this is a problem of the model, not fulfilled by adding funds or one and two staffs.
- What is required is not resources, but is coordination. The current integrated family service centers work individually and sporadically. They lack territory-wide coordination. Therefore, this is a waste.

# Triangulation of Findings

Four data sources for generating findings were the survey of youths, qualitative interviews with youths with experience in compensated dating, qualitative interviews with parents, and qualitative interviews with professionals. The findings were about risk or signaling factors of prostitution and protective or impedance factors of prostitution.

Risks or signaling factors that were common from the survey and qualitative interviews with youths were the adolescent's working in indecent clubs, parental abuse, parental crime, talking about sex with parents (notably parents' promiscuous affairs), and father-child interaction. The latter revealed that the father's indulgence in the daughter was a risk factor of the daughter's prostitution. Relatively few risk factors were common in both quantitative analysis of survey data and qualitative data. This was Because the qualitative interviews did not seek an explorative approach to cover all possible risk factors. Importantly, qualitative interviews were partly under the control of the interviewees, who would focus certain areas and ignore others. What is more, a unique aim of qualitative interviews was the elaboration of the certain focused factors, rather than enumerated all factors exhaustively. Notably, qualitative interviews with parents and professionals did not replicate much of the risk factors revealed from the analysis of survey data, as these interviewees were not concerned with such risk factors. From the standpoint of parents, risk factors would mostly reside in the child, but at the same time, the parents did not grasp the child's conditions very well. Hence, parents were reluctant to report risk factors on their part and were unable to disclose risk factors on the part of their children. For a similar reason, professionals were concerned with the protection and remediation of adolescents' problems. They were therefore ignorant or oblivious of risk factors with the adolescent and his or her family.

Table 54: Risk or signaling factors identified from the four data sources

Risk/signaling factor	Survey of youths	Qualitative interviews with youths	Qualitative interviews with parents	Qualitative interviews with professionals
Age	Adolescent			
Parents' contact with police	Adolescent			

Risk/signaling factor	Survey of youths	Qualitative interviews with youths	Qualitative interviews with parents	Qualitative interviews with professionals
Working in indecent clubs	Adolescent	Adolescent		
Marry or cohabiting	Adolescent			
Parental abuse	Adolescent	Adolescent		
Parents' living in an owned house	Adolescent			
Parental crime	Adolescent	Adolescent		
Compensated dating history	Adolescent			
Having sex in compensating dating	Adolescent			
Sexual grooming	Boy			
Attending sex education	Boy			
Meeting persons acquainted via the Web	Boy			
Talking about sex with parents	Boy	Adolescent		
Injury in compensated dating	Boy			
Father-child interaction	Boy		Girl	
Biological father or stepfather	Adolescent without prior CD			
Self-employed mother	Adolescent with prior CD			
Parents' attending school activities	Adolescent with prior CD			

*Note.* CD means compensated dating.

Paternal parenting competence and maternal parenting competence were protective factors unanimously found in all four sources of data. Parent-child recreation, parental moral guidance, and mother-child interaction during arrest were protective factors found in three of the four sources of data. Moreover, parent-child joint counseling, pregnancy, and moral education were protective factors identified in two sources of data. Among these factors, pregnancy tended to show its protection through parental intervention. In this connection, parental care for the pregnant adolescent would divert the adolescent from prostitution.

Table 55: Protective or impedance factors identified from the four data sources

Protective/impedance factor	Survey of youths	Qualitative interviews with youths	Qualitative interviews with parents	Qualitative interviews with professionals
Stepmother	Adolescent			
Body attractiveness	Adolescent			
Parent-child joint counseling	Adolescent			Adolescent
Childrearing	Adolescent			
Injury in compensated dating	Adolescent			
Infection in compensated dating	Adolescent			
Paternal parenting competence	Adolescent	Adolescent	Adolescent	Adolescent
Biological mother	Girl			
Education	Girl			
Pregnancy	Girl			Girl
Maternal parenting competence	Girl	Adolescent	Adolescent	Adolescent
Runaway	Boy			
Counseling	Boy			
Mother-child interaction coupled with arrest	Boy	Adolescent		Girl



Protective/impedance factor	Survey of youths	Qualitative interviews with youths	Qualitative interviews with parents	Qualitative interviews with professionals
Arrest	Adolescent without prior CD			
Living with both parents	Adolescent without prior CD			
Living with the father	Adolescent with prior CD			
Biological mother	Adolescent with prior CD			
Moral education	Adolescent with prior CD			Adolescent
Parent-child recreation	Adolescent with prior CD	Adolescent		Adolescent with prior CD
Parental moral guidance	Adolescent with prior CD		Adolescent	Adolescent

*Note.* CD means compensated dating.

The most prominent finding from the triangulation was that parenting was the most consistent factor related to adolescent prostitution. As such, the negative side of parenting, such as indulgence, abuse, and talking about sex (notably parents' promiscuous affairs) tended to result in prostitution. Conversely, the positive side of parenting, in terms competence, crisis intervention, and joint activity with children was preventive or protective against adolescent prostitution.

# Implications for Policy and Practice

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The study reveals a number of protective and risk factors for the concern of practice and policy in the family-based prevention of adolescent prostitution. Essentially, practice and policy are preferable to integrate the factors in a coherent, complementary, and wraparound way. The integration requires the strengthening of partnership between private and public sectors, encompassing parents, families, police, social service agencies, and other authorities and stakeholders. At any rate, the adolescent should be the target for family-based prevention, which includes treatment and rehabilitation. Based directly on evidence generated from the study, a framework for practice and policy to center on the family to prevent adolescent prostitution is in the following prefatory outlines and explanation after the outlines.

## Practices for Preventing Prostitution

For the adolescent in general,

- Encouraging having a stepmother, in case of mother absence, to furnish the maternal bond and control
- Encouraging parent-child joint counseling to maximize the effectiveness of counseling
- Informing about the injury and contraction of disease in prostitution to facilitate learning about the harm of prostitution
- Fostering paternal parenting competence to enhance the paternal bond and control
- Strengthening the adolescent's body image to raise the value of protecting the body
- Strengthening the adolescent's childrearing responsibility, if she or he has a child, as a means of diversion
- Preventing the adolescent's working in indecent clubs to undercut opportunities for prostitution
- Preventing or tackling parental abuse to relieve strain on the adolescent

That is, more generally,

- Strengthening parenting, especially paternal parenting
- Demonstrating the harm and illegality of adolescent prostitution

Additionally for the girl,

- Encouraging the biological mother to take care of the girl to maximize the effectiveness of mothering or the maternal bond
- Raising maternal parenting to consolidating mothering or the maternal bond
- Encouraging the girl to advance in education to facilitate adequate learning  
That is, more generally,
- Strengthening maternal prosocial influences

Additionally for the boy,

- Strengthening counseling, such as that about sexuality, to prevent the boy's prostitution
- Strengthening mother-child interaction (notably secure and not anxious, ambivalent) when the boy is under arrest, to maximize the effectiveness of mothering or the mother bond  
That is, more generally,
- Strengthening prosocial intervention

Additionally for the adolescent without prior compensating dating as primary prevention,

- Strengthening the police arrest for the adolescent's crime to deter prostitution by fostering learning about legal strictness  
That is, more generally,
- Strengthening police actions against adolescent crime

Additionally for the adolescent without prior compensating dating as secondary prevention,

- Encouraging the co-residence of the father and adolescent to strengthen the paternal bond or control
- Encourage the biological mother to take care of the adolescent to maximize the maternal bond or control
- Facilitating parent-child recreational activities to strengthening the parental bond or control
- Facilitating parental moral guidance to upgrade the adolescent's morality
- Strengthening moral education to enhance the adolescent's morality  
That is, more generally,

- Strengthening moral education and guidance

## Government Policy for Family-centered Prevention of Prostitution

### 1. Steering

#### 1.1. Zero tolerance for or abolition of adolescent prostitution

##### 1.1.1. Warning about physical and moral hazards of adolescent prostitution

### 2. Strengthening

#### 2.1. Parent-child family, including adoption family and the like

##### 2.1.1. Formation or re-formation

###### 2.1.1.1. Mother availability

##### 2.1.2. Parenting

###### 2.1.2.1. Paternal parenting

###### 2.1.2.2. Moral guidance

###### 2.1.2.3. Crisis intervention

###### 2.1.2.3.1. Support for adolescent counseling

###### 2.1.2.3.2. During adolescent arrest, pregnancy

###### 2.1.2.4. Support for education, moral education, chastity education

##### 2.1.3. Parent-child bonding

###### 2.1.3.1. Parent-child recreation

#### 2.2. Services, practices

##### 2.2.1. Targeting

###### 2.2.1.1. Adolescent risk and opportunity

###### 2.2.1.1.1. Compensating dating or related problems

###### 2.2.1.1.2. Cohabitation, marriage, pregnancy, childbirth

###### 2.2.1.1.3. Arrest

###### 2.2.1.1.4. Working in indecent clubs

###### 2.2.1.1.5. Age

###### 2.2.1.2. Parental risk and opportunity

###### 2.2.1.2.1. Child abuse

###### 2.2.1.2.2. Crime

###### 2.2.1.2.3. Police contact

###### 2.2.1.2.4. Hard-to-reach, unmotivated

##### 2.2.2. Family approach

2.2.2.1. Parent-child joint counseling

2.2.2.2. Early prevention

3. Coordinating

3.1. Family, school, police, social service

## Preventive Practice

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Preventive practice needs to eliminate risk factors and install protective factors of adolescent prostitution. Among family characteristics, risk factors of compensated dating or prostitution appear to include the broken and problematic family, notably the absence of a father. In the first place, sustaining the intactness, including reunification and remarriage, is a helpful practice to consolidate family resources for youth development. Particularly, the resources rest on the father's presence and fathering for preventing prostitution (Baron and Hartnagel 1998; Fox et al. 2002). The presence of the father may strengthen the control and monitoring of the adolescent. This finding accords with some theory and research (Grasmick et al. 1996; Paternoster and Brame 1997). According to power-control theory, the father is particularly potent in controlling the adolescent, especially the girl. Restoring the father's controlling role is therefore a promising way to tackle adolescent prostitution. However, their impacts were not consistently strong or not even statistically significant. The parental allowance provided to the adolescent also is not a strong protective factor of adolescent prostitution. Financial resources are therefore unlikely a predominant factor preventing adolescent prostitution. Family background characteristics thus may affect the adolescent's prostitution only indirectly, through mediation by more immediate factors.

Experience in attending moral education, but not sex education, is a protective factor of prostitution, especially suffering from harm in compensated dating. The finding agrees with existing research and theory, particularly concerning that view that the effective protective component of sex education is moral education (Morris 1994). The part of sex education that does not focus on moral education, such as biology and safe sex, may only raise the adolescent's sexual interest rather than preventing sexual permissiveness and promiscuity. Hence, the core or proper content of sex education should be moral education, concerning interindividual and social responsibility. At any rate, moral development is an impediment to prostitution (Hagan and McCarthy 1997).

Experience in receiving moral guidance from parents is a protection factor of prostitution or compensated dating sex specifically. This finding echoes the effectiveness of moral education in preventing prostitution. Not only moral education in the formal or school setting, moral guidance delivered by parents is also effectively preventive. The effectiveness is reasonable in view of the proximal and influential nature of the parent or family for adolescent development (Wilson and Widom 2010). Moral education is also important function of effective parenting (Simpson and Roehlkepartain 2003). According to psychoanalytic theory, parents represent an important source of moral development for the child to build his or her superego (Luo et al. 2007). In this connection, the child should learn what to feel shameful and guilty, and improper sexual involvement should induce feelings of shame and guilt (Flowers 2001). Facilitating parental moral guidance is a strategy for preventing and prohibiting prostitution.

Experience in meeting persons acquainted via the Web is a risk factor, echoing the finding that Internet contact beforehand is a common antecedent to compensated dating. The risk factor also reflects the adverse influence of Internet on prostitution (Mann and Sutton 1998). The Internet is quite a common medium for grooming children for prostitution and indecent activity (Choo 2009). Pornography in the Internet can endorse, induce, and sustain prostitution (Barron and Kimmel 2000). Such influence is in need of control.

Experience in marrying or cohabiting is a risk factor of prostitution or compensated dating, and particularly its harm. Such experience implies early initiation of a sexual relationship, which is conducive to prostitution (Wilson and Widom 2010). Moreover, sex partners are often pimps who lure or urge young people to become prostitutes (Brooks-Gordon 2006; Flowers 2001). In this connection, power theory is relevant to explain prostitution by the adolescent's vulnerability or powerlessness in the face of the powerful sex partner (Brooks-Gordon 2006). Discouraging of early marriage or cohabitation can be a policy goal that diminishes the risk of adolescent prostitution.

Experience of pregnancy is a protective factor of prostitution. Obviously, pregnancy inhibits sexual activities and prostitution as well. In addition, pregnancy creates a crisis or at least a concern for the adolescent to take care of oneself and the fetus. This is a turning point of help seeking and provision, which diverts the adolescent away from prostitution. Pregnancy is therefore a crucial entry point for social services to intervene for the prevention and cessation of prostitution. This is also a crisis for parents to amend relationships with their children and thus protect the children from involvement in prostitution.

The history of compensated dating and particularly having sex in the dating are risk factors of prostitution or compensated dating. Such unsurprising findings nevertheless indicate the continuation and even the addictive property of prostitution and/or compensated dating. Early prevention of compensating dating is therefore justifiable.

Experience in injury or contracting disease during compensated dating is an impedance factor of prostitution or compensated dating. This finding suggests that prostitution is partly voluntary, subject to the influence of learning, particularly that from the practice. As such, learning theory or behaviorist theory is appropriate to explain the extinction of prostitution as a consequence of punishment, in terms of injury. Accordingly, the theory posits that punishment is the way to reduce or deter a practice (Bahr 1979; Matsueda et al. 2006). The finding and theory therefore suggest the use of punishment or harm, and its threat or knowledge as a deterrent to prostitution. Accordingly, emphasis on the harm of prostitution in education and promotion would be an effective means to inhibit prostitution. More than this, personal experience of punishment, probably imposed by police or other authorities, would be a justifiable means to deterring prostitution.

Experience in attending counseling with parents is a protection factor of prostitution or compensated dating. This finding illustrates the effectiveness of family or joint counseling (Browne and Herbert 1997; McWhirter 2008; Stanton 2004). The effectiveness may hinge on interaction, cooperation, and mutual understanding facilitated in family counseling. Moreover, it reflects systems theory about interactive and reciprocal influences among family members (Appel and Holden 1998). It also endorses the effectiveness of cooperation, collaboration, partnership, and joint action to magnify the counseling impact. Organizing and facilitating family counseling is a promising way to prevent or prohibit prostitution.

Paternal parenting competence is a promising protection factor of prostitution, especially for the girl. This observation echoes existing research, which suggests that the father's violence is a risk factor of prostitution (Hagan and McCarthy 1997). More generally, parenting and its competence are impediments to many crimes and delinquent acts (Chung and Steinberg 2006; Kim 2009; Sampson and Laub 1993; Scaramella et al. 2002). The evidence is justifiable by social control theory (Messner and Krohn 1990). According to psychoanalytic theory, interaction with the father is particularly important for developing the child's superego and moral values (Buikhuisen and Meijs 1983). Alternatively, power-control theory indicates that the father is especially powerful to exert control over the child in order to prevent the child's delinquency (Grasmick et al. 1996). Nurturing paternal parenting

competence is therefore a remarkable strategy for preventing prostitution. Specifically, strengthening paternal authoritative parenting and maternal concern would be helpful.

Maternal concern during police arrest is a promising protection factor of prostitution. The protection benefits from crisis intervention, which fulfills the adolescent's need for help. This is the suggestion of need fulfillment theory that justifies the effectiveness of intervention or service when it meets the need (Allen and Eby 2007). The intervention, alternatively, functions to buffer stress, and this function is most effective (Cohen and Wills 1985). In this connection, police arrest induces stress and form a crisis for parental intervention, importantly in terms of maternal concern. Whereas police upholds and demonstrate justice, parents display warmth in helping the adolescent (Bernburg and Krohn 2003; Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999). Coupling of parental warmth and police justice would best impede adolescent prostitution. This offers the lesson for private-public partnership, involving collaboration among parents, police, and other authorities and stakeholders (Farber 2003).

## Policy to Facilitate Preventive Practices

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Foremost, policy needs to play a steering role to facilitate practices for preventing adolescent prostitution. The steering role is to emphasize the importance of the prevention, preferably with a proclamation of zero tolerance for adolescent prostitution. Zero tolerance for prostitution and adolescent prostitution in particular is necessary to align preventive practices in a way similar to that for preventing child abuse, drug abuse, and other crimes (Ansay and Perkins 2001; Hubbard 2004; Sanders and Campbell 2007; van Aswegen 2000). Notably, the proclamation of zero tolerance is important to lead families and adolescent to realize that adolescent prostitution is illegal and immoral. In addition, the policy needs to justify the zero tolerance by warning about the physical and moral hazards of adolescent prostitution. Awareness about the hazards is a protective factor of adolescent prostitution.

With a steering mission of eliminating adolescent prostitution, policy needs to strengthen the family prevention of adolescent prostitution, and therefore strengthen services or practices for the family prevention. The strengthening of family prevention needs to sustain or restore the parent-child family and efficient parenting. Notable in the parent-child family is the availability of a mother, who can be the biological mother or stepmother. In the strengthening of parenting, emphases are on paternal parenting, moral guidance, crisis intervention, and parent-child bonding. Meanwhile, services or practices to strengthen family



prevention needs to target at-risk families to enact a family approach to prevention. The targeting heeds risks and opportunities of adolescents and parents, including early sex, arrest, crime, and child abuse. Hard-to-reach or unmotivated families are also a target for preventive services. The family approach to preventive services needs to promote parent-child joint counseling or whole-family therapy. It is easier to approach families in an earlier stage of child development.

Integrating different measures to strengthen protection factors and weaken risk factors important relies on private-public partnership involving parents, public agencies, and other stakeholders. The strategy is to orchestrate a comprehensive measure to curb adolescent prostitution in a wraparound or seamless way. The wraparound approach is one combining psychodynamic theory, cognitive-behavioral theory, the solution-focused approach, ecological approach, and the family preservation approach (Cash 2008; Coady 2008; Corcoran 2008; Early 2008). It emphasizes collaboration, consensus, and active partnership to strengthen and complement the contribution of each partner. For its effective functions, wraparound partnership needs to involve all social systems, including the family, school, community, social services, and others for collective and collaborative effect (Marks and Lawson 2005). This effort may include education, promotion, legislation, enforcement, and service provision. It can also combine punitive, deterrent, divertive, caring, and enlightening tactics to help adolescents and their families to prevent and curb adolescent prostitution. Notably, concerted effort needs to strengthen moral education in school and the family to strengthen moral role enactment not only in adolescents, but also in parents.

## Limitations

Research about adolescent prostitution is remarkably sensitive and difficult to conduct. A pragmatic approach is necessary to collect data, typically through social service units. As a result, the sample for this study was not a representative sample. Therefore, the results of this study can only be used and interpreted with great caution. It is necessary to state that the sample reflects an underlying population of at-risk youth and their parents accessible from social services. Such youth are obviously not any youth in the street or living in Hong Kong and they are not exclusively experienced in compensated dating or prostitution. Hence, findings of the study would best apply to the specific population.

Based primarily on self-report survey and in-depth interviews, the findings are not objectively assessed and forensic evidence for any jurisdictional purpose. Data underlying the

findings were subject to interviewees' interpretation, perception, and retrospection, which might not dovetail with expert or forensic standards. For instance, there is no proof about prostitution and many life experiences other than interviewees' self-report. The data are instead useful for the research purpose.

Taking consideration of all the limitations, professionals' view, overseas experiences, and evidence generated from the study, a condensation of recommendations for government policy is available as follows.

# Policy Recommendations

## Prevention Targets, Missions, and Strategies: A Conceptual Framework for proposing Family-centered Policy on Prevention of Adolescent Prostitution

To organize the research findings in support of the policy recommendations, a conceptual framework is as follows. The framework adopts the three major components of a social policy, that is, missions, targets, and strategies. It also presents in columns, two major foci of the research, i.e., prevention of adolescents in general and prevention of at-risk adolescents in particular. This three-by-two matrix holds the recommendations of this study.

Family policy has different missions and strategies for different levels or targets of prevention. The targets are families with adolescents and families with adolescents at risk of prostitution. A prefatory outline of policy recommendations is as follows.

### Prevention targets, missions, and strategies

Prevention	Prevention of adolescent prostitution	Prevention of at-risk adolescent prostitution
Target	Families with adolescents	Families with adolescents at risk of prostitution
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Broken families</li> <li>• Problematic families</li> <li>• Adolescent problems</li> </ul>	
Mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthening efficient parenting</li> <li>• Strengthening parent-child bonding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crisis intervention</li> <li>• Parent-child joint counseling or service involvement</li> </ul>
Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facilitating the partnerships of professionals or units with families</li> <li>• Mobilizing community support for the prevention</li> <li>• Supporting specialized family services for wraparound prevention</li> </ul>	

Details in the prevention of adolescent prostitution involve the setting of goals for the family and family-centered policy corresponding to key concerns. The following two tables

summarize the content of key concerns, goals of family, and goals of family-centered policy for prevention of adolescent prostitution.

#### Prevention of adolescent prostitution

Key concern	Goal of family	Goal of family policy
Parent-child conflict <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parenting</li> <li>• Sanction</li> <li>• Freedom</li> <li>• Problems</li> </ul>	Consensus <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parenting</li> <li>• Rules</li> </ul> Competence Care and respect	Strengthening efficient parenting through family life education to achieve <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Harmony</li> <li>• Happiness</li> <li>• Healthiness</li> </ul>
Parent-child contact: time and quality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extrafamilial activity</li> <li>• Distrust, loss of faith</li> <li>• Conflict</li> <li>• Mental disorder</li> </ul>	Increasing time and quality Balancing activities Increasing the father's family responsibility Fair sharing of home duties	Strengthening parent-child family bonding

#### Prevention of at-risk adolescent prostitution

Key concern	Goal of family	Goal of family policy
Adolescent problem <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arrest</li> <li>• Pregnancy</li> <li>• Runaway</li> <li>• Injury, infection</li> </ul>	Parental understanding, support, and collaboration with professional services	Crisis intervention to prevent deterioration of any adolescent problem to adolescent prostitution
Broken family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict, hostility</li> <li>• Disloyalty</li> <li>• Emotional problems</li> <li>• Relationship problems</li> <li>• Insecurity</li> </ul>	Resolving problems Strengthening family functioning Reunion	Parent-child joint counseling or service involvement through conjoint family therapy

Detailed explanations for the recommendations are as the following sections. They outline the underlying research evidence, definition of family-centered policy, and details of the recommendations.

## **Aim of Policy Recommendations**

This is to present recommendations for family policy based on research evidence, theory, and international experience for the family centered prevention of adolescent prostitution.

## **Sources of Evidence**

Research evidence is that derived from the study, which is cogent as shown by the triangulation of various sets of data, including

- **Survey** of 387 youths at risk of or already engaged in prostitution, referred by outreaching social work teams and other youth services
- In-depth **interviews** with 30 **youths** with experience in prostitution, compensated dating, or commercial intimacy services, referred by outreaching social work teams, services for sex workers, and other youth services
- **Interviews** with 30 **parents** of youths at risk of or already engaged in prostitution, referred by outreaching social work teams, services for the community service support scheme, other youth services, and family services
- Personal **interviews** or **focus groups** with 58 **professionals**, including social workers, police officers, educators, and academics

## **Basic Principles Underlying the Family-centered Policy Recommendations**

Four principles underlie the policy recommendations in this paper are:

**First**, we need a family perspective in policymaking (Bogenschneider 2006).

**Second**, as stated in the aim of this paper, specific proposals for family-centered policy derive from research evidence of this study, theory, and international experience. They adhere to the principle of triangulation in data analysis.

**Third**, integration of the research findings based on the above data is appropriate for family-centered prevention, which needs to target adolescents at risk (Hogue et al. 2002).

**Fourth**, in proposing specific goals for the family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution, it follows the risk principle of rendering services according to the target's risk level (Andrews and Dowden 2006).

## **Definition of Family-centered Policy**

Family-centered policy is a series of principles for determining actions by the government for the actualization of goals that are applicable to families publicly, typically universally. In a generic way, family policy comprises specific policies, such as parenting support policy and private-public partnership policy. Regardless of its specificity, policy is an integration of three components, pertaining to its mission, target, and strategy.

Family-centered policy for preventing adolescent prostitution particularly sets the mission, targets, and strategies of the prevention. Notably, it needs to a strong mission of zero tolerance for adolescent prostitution in order to steer its strategies and implementation.

## **Scope**

The chief target of family-centered policy for preventing adolescent prostitution, without doubt, is the family and its adolescent members. Of primary concern is the family of origin, typically consisting of parents and adolescent children. Moreover, the auxiliary target is supporters of the family, including professionals such as social workers, police, and teachers, and nonprofessionals, such as neighbors.

## **Research Evidence I: Family Factors Affecting Prostitution**

Based on research evidence, drawn from the survey and qualitative interviews, adolescent prostitution is under the influence the following four family factors.

- **Broken family:** A broken family refers to the case that the adolescent is not living with both parents. A majority of the youth interviewees who engaged in prostitution had experienced separation or divorce of parents. Six of them (C002, C009, C014, C022, C025 & C026) claimed they had lived separately from either or both parent for a long period for the reason(s) other than divorce, for example, cross-border marriage, grandparent guardian, parent working in other places... etc (see Table 52). Living with both parents is particularly preventive of the prostitution of adolescents who has no prior involvement in prostitution. Moreover, living with the father prevents prostitution, particularly among adolescents who had experience in prostitution. Besides, when the adolescent has a biological mother or a stepmother, she or he is less likely to engage in

prostitution. In contrast, when the adolescent lives with friends, she or he is more likely to engage in prostitution. As such, adequate functioning of both parents would provide protection against adolescent prostitution. The protection can partly stem from the role modeling of both parents, who are faithful to their marriage and family solidarity. Conversely, a broken family is always a source of stress, which drives adolescent prostitution.

- **Parenting:** As a protective factor, it can comprise caring, supporting, guiding, monitoring, and regulating in an optimal way. Notably, parental moral guidance (see Table 51 and based on focus groups with social workers: cases FL1, FL2, TL1, FL3, WG2, BL1, and TL3), about the preaching of moral values, is a protective factor echoing the contribution of moral education in school (see Table 51). Parenting is also required to monitor the adolescent's Internet use, especially as a means of advertising or arranging for prostitution, as such Internet use is an antecedent to prostitution (see 52 and cases FL1, FL3, TL3). Moreover, parenting needs to monitor or even discourage the adolescent's contact with people acquainted via the Internet, as such contact is another antecedent (see Table 52 and cases FL1, FL3, and TL1). Early marriage or cohabitation is another antecedent (see Table 52 and based on focus groups with social workers: cases FL1, TL1, FL3, and WG1), which requires parenting to discourage or regulate as early as possible. Parenting during the adolescent's crisis such as police arrest (e.g., cases BL1, BL2, BL3, and BL4) or engagement with outreaching and Community Support Service Scheme social workers (all cases reported based on focus group interviews), adolescent pregnancy (e.g., case FL3), injury, and infection is a way to curb the adolescent's prostitution and to facilitate the adolescent's reintegration into the family and community (see Table 51 and based on focus groups with social workers).
- **Parent-child activity:** As a protective factor, it importantly includes the joint use of professional counseling and social services by parents and children (see Table 51 and based on focus groups with social workers). That is, both parents and children or the whole family are involved in the counseling or service. The joint use or activity implies communication, sharing, collaboration, and mutual support between parents and children. Interaction between the mother and child is particularly a protective factor (see Table 51). Moreover, the co-residence of parents and children is the basic condition for parent-child joint activity (see Table 51). Furthermore, running away from home and therefore not



living with parents, as reported by most social workers in focus groups, is a significant push factor for adolescent prostitution (e.g., cases FL1, FL2, and TL1).

- **Father's roles:** As a protective factor, the father's role as an employee or active working person is important (see Table 51). The crux is in the father's providing a role model to induce the child's attachment and emulation. Securing the adolescent's attachment to her or his father is particularly important to prevent the adolescent's prostitution (see Table 51). Conversely, not living with both parents a risk factor (see Table 52) and its detriment may be due to its interference with the father's roles. However, some fathers lack parenting skills or are incompatible with their spouses in dealing with their children. They hold different expectations and measures towards pocket money, school attendance, and moral behaviors (P004, P006, P010, P013). Moreover, the absence of a father and conflict with the stepfather in a stepfamily could be a push factor for adolescent prostitution (e.g. cases FL3, WG1, P010).
- **Parent's misbehavior:** As a risk factor, it includes sexual abuse, criminal behavior, and other misbehaviors, as most clearly revealed through in-depth personal interviews with youths engaged in prostitution. The interviews with adolescents engaged in prostitution revealed that 12 of them (C001, C003, C004, C005, C006, C009, C014, C017, C021, C022, and C024 & C029) had suffered from one or more types of abusive behaviors from either parent or sibling. Nine of them (C004, C009, C012, C013, C018, C021, C022, C024 & C028) disclosed to have family members exhibiting offending behavior. Three of them (C001, C014 & C029) complained about their fathers' addictive gambling (based on interviews with youths; and based on focus groups with social workers: cases FL1 and FL3). Moreover, early intervention with at-risk adolescents is also a significant measure (based on focus groups with social workers: cases FL1, LF2, FL3, TL1, BL1, BL2, and BL3). Parents' poor modeling may lead to their children's lessened sensitivity toward prosocial behavior (P006).

## **Research Evidence II: Service and Policy Gaps**

To prevent adolescent prostitution, families and professionals obviously need to do something, which importantly requires support from family-related or family-centered policy. Most relevant would be for public policy to preserve the functions of families, facilitate the actual performance of families in fulfilling the functions, and to provide goals and resources

for professionals for the prevention. There is obviously a gap in the existing provision of services.

- Integrated family services: The existing services of integrated family service centres have little space for dedicated effort to handle the problem of adolescent prostitution because of case overload and the problems of face and taboo in the part of parents (Tsang et al. 2010).

Youth outreaching social work service: The existing youth outreaching social work service has potential to help the adolescents. However, due to the sensitivity of the problem and the fragile working relationship between the client and the social worker, engaging and working with parents at the same time is difficult except in crises. Recently, nearly all outreaching social workers have heavy workloads related to some anti-drug programs. This demand for services will not significantly decrease in the near future and it reduces the time and effort of these workers on adolescents at risk of prostitution. Outreaching social workers play an important role in treatment and prevention of crime and adolescent prostitution in Hong Kong. However, they lack time and resources to help prevent adolescent prostitution. In terms of resources, specialized family service workers are required to play the currently absent role of cooperating with outreaching social workers to work with parents in early stages of prostitution prevention work. This makes the parents who are facing the potential problem of adolescent prostitution very difficult if not impossible to seek help.

School social work service: The existing school social work service has the limitation of inability to follow up adolescents leaving or dropping out from school. Accordingly, at-risk adolescents are not likely to stay in school for a long time. When they have left school, their follow-up or referral is difficult for the school social service to handle.

Professional work that show service gaps are the following services specifically for adolescent prevention:

- Hong Kong-wide family service preventing adolescent prostitution is lacking. Instead, existing and pertinent services mostly operate in an uncoordinated manner (based on personal interviews with social workers). For instance, youth services and family services are separate, each working for the prevention of adolescent prostitution in a partial manner.

- Involving families in crisis intervention: Adolescent prostitution, including its early stage and format, and especially its identification, detection, arrest, and harm, are crises that require family and professional interventions. The interventions, nevertheless, pose an opportunity for prevention of adolescent prostitution. Crisis intervention into adolescent prostitution is presently lacking, notably in the coordination of family and professional work. For instance, a protocol for involving the family and professionals in crisis intervention does not exist (based on focus groups and personal interviews with social workers). Parents reported that social services did not follow up the families of arrested children, and parents did not get advice or support from social services during and after the crisis (P002).

Service gaps in the coordination of family and professional work for preventing adolescent prostitution essentially require a family policy to address and bridge. Family policy in the direction of propelling private-public partnerships for prevention adolescent prostitution is therefore most pertinent.

### **Family-centered Policy**

Family policy needs to promote private-public partnerships for preventing adolescent prostitution in an integrated, wraparound way (Bogenschneider 2006; Farber 2003; Marks and Lawson 2005; Woolcock 1998). In this connection, the private refers to the family, including parents, adolescents, and other members, and the public encompasses the government, including police, the Social Welfare Department, and other agencies, and nongovernmental organizations. Partnership implies cooperation, collaboration, coordination, and cohesion for common interest and tasks. It is essential in crisis intervention by synchronizing and optimizing the complementary contributions of the family, professional, and authority. The partnership is both synergistically valuable and presently lacking.

### **Recommendations regarding missions in prevention of adolescent prostitution**

- **Recommendation 1: Strengthening efficient parenting:** Efficient parenting means effective parenting under limited time or opportunity. Effective parenting needs to strike a balance between being too strict and too lenient. Caring, love, affection, reasoning, and explanation are all essential to effective parenting. It is typically authoritative, involving

both understanding and induction, as opposed to authoritarian (see Table 51). Importantly, it needs to be conducive to communication with adolescents. Maintaining good parent-adolescent communication is the first step of effective parenting. Conversely, efficient parenting needs to resolve the key concern of conflict evoked in parenting, sanctions, granting for the child's freedom and tackle the child's problems (based on qualitative interviews). Parents need to be competent in parenting and achieve a consensus within the family concerning parenting and rules in the family. Moreover, competent fathering is especially important. In support of parenting for preventing adolescent prostitution in particular, informing families about the harm or illegality of and zero tolerance for adolescent prostitution is crucial.

- **Recommendation 1.1: Raising moral character, values, and reasoning:** Prostitution is a moral problem, which its solution requires parental contributions as well as moral education in school. Parental moral guidance, in line with moral education in school, is effective in preventing adolescent prostitution (see Table 51). Central in parental moral guidance is parents' inculcation of moral values, which are more important than sex knowledge or knowledge about safe sex. Conversely, consumptionism, fetishism with money, and aspirations for hedonism and material possession would require diversion among adolescents, as the economic hardship of the family is not a determinant of their prostitution.
- **Recommendation 1.2: Raising competence in monitoring the use of the Internet and other information and communication technologies:** Internet contact is usually a stepping stone to compensated dating and prostitution eventually (see Table 52). An initial checkpoint would be the monitoring or discouragement of the adolescent's face-to-face contact with someone acquainted through the Internet and other information technologies. The raising of parental competence needs to take account of the rapid change of information communication technologies.
- **Recommendation 1.3: Preventing early sex:** Early prevention or discouragement of sex is important for preventing further involvement. It is because once the adolescent experiences a sexual debut, he or she will be less cautious about sexual involvement or protection of chastity. Particularly, early marriage or cohabitation, and therefore even romantic love and dating, deserve attention (see Table 52).
- **Recommendation 2: Strengthening parent-child bonding:** Attachment to the parent requires the child's interaction with the parent and the parent's concern for the child.

Particularly, attachment to the father is important for fostering moral development, according to psychoanalytic theory (see Table 51). Accordingly, moral development requires parental discipline and reasoning about authority, typically provided by the father (Henry 1983). That is, the theory reasons that inducing fear in the child paves the road to moral development (Kline 1981). Notably, parental concern, notably paternal concern, is crucial for effective family involvement in crisis intervention for the adolescent (see Table 51). What is more, mother-child interaction can protect the adolescent from problems incurred by prostitution (see Table 51). The key concern deals with parent-child contact time and quality, covering problems stemming from extrafamilial activities, distrust, loss of faith, conflict, and mental disorder (based on qualitative interviews). This concern leads to the family goal of improving contact time and quality by balancing activities and shares of duties and work within the family. Strengthening attachment to parents thereby requires resolving problems of long working hours, screening and providing therapy and family life education.

### **Recommendations regarding targets in prevention of adolescent prostitution**

- **Recommendation 3: Broken families:** Adolescents who are not living with both parents are at risk of prostitution (see Table 52). The family with an absent parent suffers from the adequate creation of the parent-child bond and provision of effective parenting and control. Conversely, advice for reunion or remarriage is a way to assuage problems of the broken family, who requires the strengthening of parenting. What is more, parents from broken families require support for their own psychological and physical health.
- **Recommendation 4: Problematic families:** Problems in families that predict adolescent prostitution include parental abuse of the child, committing crimes, and as such drawing the attention of the police (see Table 52). Such problems would compromise effective parenting. Tackling these family problems, such as through counseling, is a necessary step toward prevention of adolescent prostitution.
- **Recommendation 5: Adolescent problems:** Adolescent problems predictive of adolescent prostitution include cohabitation, marriage, working in indecent clubs, and earlier compensated dating (see Table 52). Such problems can be gateways to prostitution. Mobilizing family coping with adolescent problems is essential. Notably, strengthening parents' communication and conflict management skills are essential.

## **Recommendations regarding missions in prevention of at-risk adolescent prostitution**

- **Recommendation 6: Crisis intervention:** A crisis is an opportunity for families to help and divert their adolescent children from prostitution, importantly in partnership with professionals such as police and social workers. The goal is to erect parental understanding of the crisis, support for the adolescent, and collaboration with professional services to make the crisis a turning point for the adolescent's rehabilitation. Crises include:
  - **6.1 Police arrest or intervention:** Police sanctions create a crisis to the adolescent for the family and other professionals to collaborate in crisis intervention. Both punishment and caring are necessary for prevention of at-risk adolescents' prostitution. Families and various professionals can provide complementary inputs to enhance the effectiveness of each input (see Table 51 and based on focus groups with social workers).
  - **6.2 Pregnancy:** The adolescent girl's pregnancy is distressful condition for families and other professionals to intervene. In this connection, the girl's physical and emotional needs for care provide the opportunity for intervention to demonstrate its effectiveness (see Table 51 and based on focus groups with social workers).
  - **6.3 Injury, infection such as venereal disease:** Physical suffering in the adolescent, especially due to prostitution, is a crisis in need of intervention (based on Table 51). Treatment of the physical suffering is an entry point for diverting adolescents from prostitution.
- **Recommendation 7: Parent-child joint counseling or service involvement:** Family-wide intervention involving parents and adolescent children is most effective. For one, collaboration between the family and professionals is a key to successful prevention (see Table 51). A pertinent concern is the problem in the family, which includes conflict, hostility, disloyalty, emotional problems, envy, unfairness, and insecurity within the family (based on qualitative interviews). Such problems are likely to arise from the non-original family, which does not include biological parents and their children. Counseling and other services are required to resolve the family problem. Professionals trained for family counseling would be most appropriate to render counseling services.

## Recommendations regarding strategies for preventing adolescent prostitution

- **Recommendation 8: Supporting specialized services for wraparound prevention of adolescent prostitution:** Such services can be extensions of existing specialized services for preventing adolescent prostitution. Their merits consist in providing direct services and coordinating efforts of families and various professionals to generate synergistic effects, based on the expertise of the services.
  - **8.1 Proactive approaches to service delivery:** The service unit needs to mobilize and engage families for preventive work in order to help needy families. It can include reaching out work to engage hard-to-reach families.
  - **8.2 Assessing needs and risks and allotting services:** Early detection of needs and risks of families and their children concerning adolescent prostitution is the first step to render preventive services. For this purpose, schools, youth and family services are helpful. With the detection and assessment, services are useful when they match the needs and risks. Corresponding to different risks and needs are two broad services:
    - Family strengthening: enhancing parenting and other family functions when the family is receptive to or capable of the enhancement
    - Family restructuring: removing or resettling family members when the family is not receptive to and capable of the enhancement
  - **8.3 Delivering parenting education for needy parents and families with at-risk children:** The service unit needs to educate parents about their duties and skills of moral guidance, crisis intervention, Internet monitoring, and other appropriate parenting performances, and most fundamentally about the values of family and parenting. Subsidized parenting education, as modeled after retraining in the Employee Retraining Board, can provide incentives for parents and would-be parents admitted by the education services.
  - **8.4 Minimizing any labeling effect on participants:** Ways to minimize any labeling effect on participants include situating specific services within general-purpose premises and packaging the services in appealing and non-sensitive manners.
- **Recommendation 9: Facilitating the partnerships of professionals or units with families:** Instituting laws or regulations is a requisite to facilitate professionals and their

partnerships in preventing adolescent prostitution. It needs to formalizing protocols for partnership in crisis intervention during such crises as police arrest and hospitalization. An important condition for partnership is the sharing of information. Particularly, adolescents aged 16 and 17 are of concern, because their prostitution is within a grey area between prostitution and sexual abuse.

- **Recommendation 10: Mobilizing community support for the prevention:** The target of mobilization includes employers, managers, and professionals, as well as residents. Sustaining family and moral values for parenting and adolescent development in society is essential to champion efforts to prevent adolescent prostitution and other problems. School has a role to strengthen moral education for cultivating family and other moral values, and eradicating immoral values, in order to prevent adolescent prostitution. Family-friendly measures may be a means to facilitate family values and parenting, and use of various services for parents and families generally. Moreover, facilitating mutual support groups provides another way to strengthen support within the community.

#### **Additional recommendations not based on evidence generated from the study**

The following additional recommendations are relevant to all-round prevention of adolescent prostitution, although the study has not collected pertinent data to substantiate the recommendations, due to the planned research focus on family-centered prevention.

According to the Policy Agenda of 2010-11 Policy Address, the Government has a wide range of ongoing initiatives. Among them, two initiatives warrants enhancement to help strengthen family-related policies to prevent and tackle the problem of child and juvenile prostitution.

1. “The Government is continuing to enhance the Governmental portal, *GovHK*, to provide more personalized interface for services and information to better meet the needs of users.” (Policy Agenda, 2010-11 Policy Address, p. 37). The personalized interface for services and information should include an interface with links to materials on family life education.
2. “The Government is considering the way forward on the review of the Control of Obscene and Indecent Articles Ordinance in light of public opinion received.” (Policy Agenda, 2010-11 Policy Address, p. 37). In response to the feedback received from public consultation, provisions should be strengthened to protect children and adolescents



from contacting obscene and indecent articles, including information in printed and electronic forms.

### **On Legislation and Law Enforcement**

1. The police rigorously enforce the law against juvenile prostitution.
2. In dealing with juvenile prostitution, there are two distinct ways. One is to treat them as offenders and the police follow the prosecution procedures. The other is to treat them as victims who need professional help. The Attorney General should make detailed and clear guidelines for the police force. The recommendation is to adopt an attitude of rehabilitation rather than punishment.
3. There are different practices in referring the parent informants who report missing of their children to appropriate professionals for services (including Social Welfare Department, integrated family service centres in the district, and outreaching social work). The Hong Kong Police Force should review its internal practice guidelines in order to harness the existing welfare services for these parents and to maximize the protection of the reported missing children and adolescents from pressure on their prostitution for earning a living.
4. The Government can follow practices of common law countries to include cases of voluntary and involuntary child and juvenile prostitution under the age of 16 into the coverage of child sexual abuse.
5. The Government should introduce legislative amendments to prohibit any form of pornographic activities through the Internet involving children and juveniles in order to reduce their risk of falling prey to prostitution.

### **On Social Policy**

The Government should

1. Consult the public about Hong Kong's strategy in the prevention of children and juveniles engaging in prostitution with a view to formulate Hong Kong's action blueprint and related measures for combating the decadent ethos.
2. Set up a cross-bureau and cross-departmental mechanism to review regularly juvenile prostitution, conduct research on the phenomenon, and formulate a child and juvenile prostitution prevention scheme to reduce the risk.

3. Explore how to orchestrate cooperation among different departments about using latest information and communication technology to facilitate effective tackling through control over the causes of adolescents' increasing role of being agents in juvenile prostitution.

### **On Social Welfare Policy and Services**

The Government should

1. Set up a special action fund on character education and sexual morality education for children to encourage applications for action. Using the revenue generated from the investment of the fund to support the long-term development of character education, sexual morality education, and family life education through community involvement.
2. Review the existing monitoring system of subvention for social welfare services with an aim to introduce incentives for social welfare organizations to establish a set of appropriate standards for assessing needs for character education, sexual morality education, and family life education and to support relevant services to meet the needs.
3. Examine together with welfare organizations how to promote cooperation between integrated family service centres and outreaching social work teams to work with the children and adolescents and their parents in view of the high mobility and low visibility of children and juveniles engaging in prostitution in different districts. The monitoring and reporting system should be improved and appropriate resources should be available for such cooperation.
4. Establish two extra family life education resource centres in both eastern and western districts of the New Territories. Extra resources should be available to these centres to produce audio-visual materials on character education, sexuality education, and family life education, in particular, sexual morality education.

### **On Education Policy and Services**

The Government should

1. In collaboration with higher educational institutions, produce learning and teaching resources so as to support teachers to strengthen the learning of positive values and proper

attitudes towards issues related to character education, sexual morality education, and family life education among primary and secondary school students.

2. Strengthen the learning and teaching of character education, sexual morality education, and family life education in order to prevent the problem of juvenile prostitution.
3. Strengthen teacher professional development programs and the production of learning and teaching resources to support teaching.
4. Strengthen the learning of family life education elements in Other Learning Experiences (OLE).
5. Monitor the efficiency and effectiveness of character education, sexual morality education, and family life education.
6. Formulate a long-term development strategy for the promotion of family life education and initiate the public engagement process for the promotion, with the aim of encouraging greater public awareness about and participation in the educational process to enhance the functions of protection and nurturance of families in Hong Kong.
7. Organize regular local conferences to promote exchanges amongst policymakers, professionals, and other stakeholders on latest developments and best practices on character education, sexual morality, and family life education.

# Further Research

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Further research is certainly necessary in the following policy areas, because of the lack of relevant data collected or significant findings shown in the present study. That is, the effectiveness of the following policies has not been empirically evident, and the policies are facing a number of alternative views or criticisms. An outline of the research is as follows.

1. Social welfare policy
  - 1.1. Raising welfare allowances to parent-child families, for supporting poor family or alleviating child poverty
  - 1.2. Relaxation of parents' work requirement, for allowing time for parenting
    - 1.2.1. Raising the child's age threshold for parents' work requirement, for allowing time for parenting
2. Family-friendly labor policy
  - 2.1. Working hours, for allowing time for parenting
  - 2.2. Flexible working time and place, for catering to parenting needs
  - 2.3. Family leave, for catering to parenting needs
  - 2.4. Childcare assistance, for enhancing parenting
3. Child's rights policy, upholding the child's rights
4. Anti-prostitution policy

Regarding social welfare, existing research has shown that welfare receipt is associated with a lower level of parenting, including constructive or supporting parenting (Reichman and Kenney 1997; Vander Ven et al. 2001). Among disadvantaged people, parenting efficacy is positively associated with employment and negatively associated with welfare receipt (Smith et al. 2000).

Regarding family-friendly labor policy, existing research has found that longer work hours are associated with less parenting, constructive or supportive parenting (Goldberg et al. 1996; Sayer et al. 2004). Working outside is associated with weaker partnership with school (Cox and Witko 2008; Epstein 2001). Among working people, occupational status and job autonomy is positively associated with parenting, especially in the woman (Costigan et al. 2003). The father has more childcare involvement when he takes more family leave or work for a shorter time (Tanaka and Waldfogel 2007). However, another study has found that

taking family leave has no relationship with participation in childcare (Seward et al. 2002). An issue in the effectiveness of family-friendly labor policy is the parents' self-selection to take family or parental leave and other family-friendly measures to take care of their children (Baird and Reynolds 2004; Haas et al. 2002). Accordingly, parents concerned with their children are likely to take the leave and other family-friendly measures and this is not due to the enactment of family-friendly labor policy. This means that parents' prior concern with their children is the responsible determinant of family-friendly measures taking and their children's development.

Child's rights policy is supposedly favorable to sustain children's well-being, by ensuring adequate provision and protection for children. However, such policy would imply the lessening of parental rights to take care of children and respect for children's autonomy to resist provision and protection (Bartholet 2011). For instance, drug testing in school is illegitimate when it allegedly interferes with children's rights.

Regarding prostitution policy, Sweden adopts a prohibition policy to curb drug issues and strengthen social solidarity by supporting women's movement (Gould 2001). Besides, abolitionist policy is justified for sustaining the family orientation and eliminating slavery or involuntary toil (Hubbard 2004; Kilvington et al. 2001).

# Conclusion

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The study achieves the following four objectives using its findings to proposed implications and recommendations for government policy concerning the family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution:

## Objectives Achieved

1. Clarifying family-centered factors that are useful for practice and policy to tackle adolescent prostitution and its risk: Such factors, culled from quantitative and qualitative data provided by youth, parents, and professionals relate to parenting practice, parent-child bonding, family problems, and adolescent problems revolving around the family. Parenting factors deal with moral guidance and crisis intervention when the adolescent is under arrest or other stresses. Parent-child bonding factors build on care and shared activity between the parent and adolescent. Whole-family counseling and recreation are instances of the shared activity. Family problems involve parental misconduct such as child abuse and criminal activity. They also reflect the structural basis of broken family, which does not have both mother and father living with the adolescent. Adolescent problems concerning the family include cohabitation, marriage, early sex, and pregnancy.
2. Verifying the influences of family and parental factors on adolescent prostitution and its risk: The factors have influences on the adolescent's prostitution, compensated dating, injury or infection due to compensated dating. Even though the influence of each of the factor is weak, the concerted influence of all the factors is substantial.
3. Exploring relationships among the family and parental factors and social work and suggestions from social work and other professional which are relevant to practice and policy: Such relationships show that coordinated efforts among family members and social work, police, and other professionals are necessary to provide the wraparound prevention of adolescent prostitution. A critical instance is the coordinated effort to facilitate the crisis intervention of the family and others into the adolescent's case.
4. Developing practical knowledge to inform the prevention of adolescent prostitution and mitigate its risks: The above knowledge unfolds the significance of the family and professional services for family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution. It forms

the basis for the following implications and recommendations for policy and practice to optimize the prevention.

### Implications and Recommendations

Implications and recommendations for government policy evolve from findings from analyses of data collected from youth, parents, professional and literature review. The findings indicate that adolescent prostitution can be rampant, when adolescents and parents do not consider it illegitimate and immoral. Nevertheless, the bright side is that proper parenting and parental intervention are helpful to prevent prostitution. This is why family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution is crucial.

These implications lead to the conclusion that for the family-centered prevention of adolescent prostitution, the government can have a role to steer the policy to facilitate the practice. The steering role is to avow intolerance for adolescent prostitution in order to mobilize societal support for the family-centered prevention. As such, the clear moral and legal stand against adolescent prostitution is necessary to champion the policy and practice, as in the ethicopolitics of the United Kingdom, which imposes a proactive urge against problem behavior. Integral to the policy is the strengthening of the family prevention through the support of practice or service.

The strengthening is composed of structural and functional parts. Whereas the structural part means the maintenance of the intact structure of family, the functional part rests on efficient parenting and parent-child bonding. Importantly, the maintenance of intactness of family includes the use of remarriage to form a stepfamily. The crux is to maintain the co-residence of parents and their children. Children living away from their parents, either biological parents or stepparents, are at risk of prostitution. In addition, family strengthening needs to involve the enhancement of paternal parenting, parental moral guidance, parental crisis intervention, and parental support for education, notably moral education. Of importance is the increasing of parenting efficiency, given the constraint of time and resources. Parenting can be efficient as parents are the always the first and best teachers of their children, because of the intimate link between parents and children. Nevertheless, some parents necessarily require professional and others' support and education to optimize their parenting. What is more, facilitation of parent-child recreational activity is a way to strengthen parent-child bonding. Such facilitation, support, and education inevitably require professional practices or services. The policy guidepost for such practices stands on the application of the family approach to target families with the risk of adolescent prostitution.

Essentially, the family approach needs to involve the whole family, preferably when the child is young. It is also required to support hard-to-reach families in the family prevention. In view of service gaps, services specialized and committed for the family prevention is responsible for targeting at-risk families and facilitating the prevention strategically. The strategy is to mobilize community support for the family prevention and services. Consolidating professional partnerships for crisis intervention, such as during arrest or injury, needs to be opportune.



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# Appendix 1: Detailed Review of Situations of Adolescent Prostitution or Compensated Dating

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Compensated dating, originating from Japan and widely known as *enjo-kosai* in Japanese, was not prevalent until the 1990s in the Japanese culture. Subsidized dating, assisted relationship, freelance teenage prostitution, and casual teen prostitution are also used inter-changeably in the English literature in referring to the same phenomenon. Compensated dating simply refers to a girl's dating with one purposively for compensation, usually remuneration. To some, compensated dating is viewed as a transaction, in which individuals, mostly girls, sell their sexual services for money or gifts without any control or coercion (Wakabayashi 2003).

In Japanese, *enjo-kosai* is literally translated to “a relationship with (mainly financial) support,” dated back to the Japanese vocabulary by the male-centered mass media in the 1970s (Ueno 2003). When *enjo-kosai* is defined separately, *enjo* means “assist” in the sphere of economic, while *kosai* means “socializing and entertaining” in the sphere of social and culture (Lam 2003). Generally, the Japanese culture during that time referred *enjo-kosai* as a “sexual relationship with a disproportional age gap between middle-aged men with young women who were university students and office girls with relatively low income” (Ueno 2003:317).

This review aims to provide an overview of the origin and prevalence of compensated dating phenomenon in Japan and how this culturally-unique practice influenced other East Asian cultures, specifically Korean and Taiwanese cultures. The question, “Is compensated dating similar to the juvenile prostitution in the U.S.” is further explored. Finally, the prevalence of compensated dating in the local Hong Kong context is discussed with emphasis on the need for the family-centered approach of prevention strategies to curb such culturally immoral practice.

## Origin of compensated dating in Japan

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Although the term, *enjo-kosai*, surfaced in the Japanese media in the 1970s, this practice became a hot topic in the media not until the early 1990s. The Japanese economic boom in the 1980s coincided with the rise of this phenomenon, which allowed many Japanese,

especially upper-middle class individuals, to enjoy extravagant lifestyles (Udagawa 2007). When the economy began to fall, schoolgirls of those upper-middle class parents can no longer afford such luxurious lifestyles like the purchase of branded items, started to venture for quick and easy income.

The advancement of communication technology in Japan was strongly responsible for the spread of compensated dating in the 1990s. Among others, the introduction of dating hotlines, also known as “telephone clubs” that enabled male adult subscribers to telephone chat clubs to receive private telephone calls from females, typically young girls for further mutually agreed requests (Lam 2003; Radford and Tsutsumi 2004; Ueno 2003; Wakabayashi 2003). The “telephone clubs,” which made possible for both parties to have direct access with anonymity, was a driving force behind the rampant incidence of *enjo-kosai* in Japan.

According to Wakabayashi (2003), *enjo-kosai* may consist of a variety of nonsexual services, including having dinner together, watching a movie, or visiting an amusement park. In terms of sexual services, sexual contact may range from allowing the man to touch the girl’s body from outside of the clothes to allowing him to touch her body directly without any clothes, or demanding the girl to touch his body (Wakabayashi 2003). The price for sexual intercourse may range from 30,000 yen to 50,000 yen per service and it is often occur during a compensated dating transaction (Wakabayashi 2003).

Ueno (2003) found that three out of 10 Japanese high school girls reported to have contact with telephone clubs and a positive attitude toward *enjo-kosai* in a survey conducted by the National Association of Parent-teacher Associations 1995. A survey conducted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government among 5,500 junior and senior high school students in Tokyo in 1996 indicated that 4% of high school girls and 3.8% of junior high school girls partook in some kind of *enjo-kosai* practices (Kadokura 2007). A survey conducted by the Asian Women’s Fund in 1997 discovered similar results. Five percent of high school girls participated in *enjo-kosai* (Kadokura 2007).

Research indicates that most of the girls participated in compensated dating in Japan are usually from “decent” families who are neither rebellious nor troublemakers (McCoy 2004). These girls, however, are likely to experience family dysfunction and a lack of communication with their parents. Field surveys, in general, indicated that Japanese girls participated *enjo-kosai* for several reasons: (1) out of curiosity when sexual information and stimulus is so rampant in the media, (2) sex is a tabooed topic in the middle-class family, (3) gender segregation keeps girls at gender-specific schools from access to boys in same age

range in the mid-adolescence, and (4) a boast to their physical self-worth with compensation (Ueno 2003).

A survey conducted in 2001 by the Asian Women and Children's Network in Yokohama further determined that girls who engaged in compensated dating are likely to be in search of affection in the absence of attention at home and to have extra spending power in purchasing fashionable items (McCoy 2004). Similarly, Miyadai (1996) found that Japanese girls who practiced *enjo-kosai* were either for traumatic reasons or for pleasure and utilitarian purposes. Notably, the former was more common among those practicing *enjo-kosai*. Some of them were incest and rape survivors, while some experienced domestic violence (Ueno 2003).

Due to the severity of this social problem, the Japanese government has enacted several laws. In 1999, the "Prohibition of Child Prostitution" and the "Prohibition of Child Pornography and Sexual Abuse" were established (Radford and Tsutsumi 2004; Udagawa 2007; Wakabayashi 2003) to protect children's rights. A 2002 ordinance on juvenile welfare penalizes adults who frequently engage minors who are under 18 years of age for sexual services (McCoy 2004). These family and social welfare policies regulate *enjo-kosai* uniformly in Japan. Because of the establishment of these laws, the number of arrests in relation to these regulations has increased significantly every year (Udagawa 2007).

## Compensated dating in Korea

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Compensated dating is prevalent in the Korean culture. Compensated dating, is widely known as *wonjo-gyoje* in Korean, meaning "aid for association" (Chang 2003; McCoy, 2004). Like the Japanese, this phenomenon has been a long-standing critical social problem. Korean police statistics for year 2000 revealed that the police arrested 222 girls aged 18 years or younger for engaging in *wonjo-gyoje*, with 62.6% of the cases involved girls who were under 16 years of age (McCoy 2004). Study conducted by Kong (2003) showed that one out of four high school students have practiced compensated dating in Busan in 2000. In a report to the Korean Commission on Youth Protection in 2002, most of incidents of teenage prostitution, compensated dating included, were made through Internet chat rooms (58.7%), phone rooms (13.2%), mobile communications (9%), acquaintances (7.2%), or "hunting" (5.7%) as a result of the communication technological advancement in the late 1990s (Chang 2003).

Like Japanese culture, Korean culture is conservative and patriarchal in nature. Adolescent girls are expected to be “asexual beings” in Korean society and never speak of their desire even within the family setting (Kong 2003). Hence, familial and social issues such as lack of support and care from family, parental violence, familial dissolution, and parental neglect arose. Economic deprivation was also a major driving force behind such problems of family stress (Chang 2003; Kong 2003). Most of these girls grew up in an environment suffering from childhood experience of physical and sexual violence (Chang 2003; Kong 2003). Consequently, some of the adolescent girls engaged in *wonjo-gyoje* as a means of seeking love and care that had been lacking in their lives and for economic necessity (Kong 2003).

The problem becomes more serious when Korean teenage girls expose themselves to an expansive consumer culture. Consumption is not merely to fulfill personal needs, but also to prove one’s own identity and status in the Korean society. Living in this context, adolescent girls are willing to engage in compensated dating to earn quick and easy money to satisfy their urges for fashionable consumption (Chang 2003; Morrison, 1998).

As *wonjo-gyoje* among teenage girls is becoming ubiquitous, the Korean Juvenile Sex Protection Act began to take effect in July 2000 (McCoy 2004; Shim 2002). This act serves to protect adolescents, especially girls, who are allegedly incapable of making rational decisions, particularly in the area of sexuality. Violators of such laws will be convicted for low jail times and fines and their identities will be made public (Shim 2002). Although the Act declares an exemption for child victims of sexual exploitation from criminal prosecution, adolescents can be liable for incarceration up to one year in “child protection facilities” as a punishment (McCoy 2004).

## Compensated dating in Taiwan

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The term, *enjo-kosai*, appeared in Taiwan in the 1970s as a distinctive “Japanese feature.” It was not until 1996 where the practice of compensated dating emerged in mainstream Taiwanese youth culture. Many attributed the popularity of such practice to the famous Japanese drama “*kami sama moo sukoshi da ke*” (“God, please gives me more time”) telecast in Taiwan from July to September 1999 (Ho 2003; Lam 2003). Images of high school girls in AV and comic books, bubble socks, printclub, and mobile phone decorations were among the first elements of the subculture of *enjo-kosai* that anchored Taiwan (Lam 2003).

Since then, compensated dating has become a new buzzword for the price negotiation of one-night-stands over the Internet (Ho 2003). The absence of work opportunities and quick income drew much attention of Taiwanese teenage schoolgirls to *enjo-kosai* “business” in their after-school hours (Ho 2003).

Unlike some Korean girls who engaged in compensated dating out of economic deprivation, most of Taiwanese *enjo-kosai* girls tend to come from perfectly functional families where their parents are likely to have well-paid jobs, and these girls are having good grades in school (Ho 2003). One distinct feature out of their normal lifestyle was that these girls accessed the Internet at home to negotiate transactions for compensated dating after school. A survey of teenagers and young adults aged 16 to 26 years in September 2001 reported that sex work was an acceptable form of employment for 70% of those polled (Ho 2003). Strikingly, the younger the interviewees, the stronger they favor the value of compensated dating. Yet another survey in June 2001 reported that 5.52% high school students in Taipei city considered compensated dating as a possible summer job (Lam 2003).

However, some of those engaged in compensated dating came from dysfunctional families. Most of them experienced childhood sexual trauma such as incest, rape, and early sexual experiences (Hwang and Bedford 2003). Studies identified that sexual abuse in particular, as opposed to physical abuse, appears to be the clearest precursor to juvenile prostitution (Schissel and Fedec 1999; Widom and Kuhns 1996).

Because of the prevalence of compensated dating among Taiwanese youth, the Association for Abolition of Child Prostitute inaugurated in July 1999 to crack down local activities of child pornography (Lam 2003). It happened when the underground sexuality industry, compensated dating included, adopted another strategy thwarted the new regulations. Not only was this social problem never efficiently tackled in Taiwan, it was more serious when it spread to a much younger generation. A coalition formed by a few Taiwanese NGOs named, “Child-youth Alliance” reported the ratio between students and nonstudents engaged in compensated dating was three to seven, with ages ranging from 16 to 22 years (Lam 2003).

## Adolescent Prostitution in the West

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Juvenile or teenage prostitution in the West, especially in the United States is commonplace. Scholars argued that there are two dichotomous notions of prostitutes: (1) prostitutes are autonomous individuals with options to select prostitution as their occupation

and (2) prostitutes are victims who lack free choice (Shaver 1994; Barry 1984). Past studies revealed several family-related dynamics played a critical role in the determination of a female juvenile's risk for prostitution entry. Primary risk factors such as low economic status in the family, domestic violence and abusive experience, chaotic and ineffective parenting styles, and early sexual experiences were prevalent in the juvenile prostitution literature (Hwang and Bedford 2004; Kuntay 2002; Pedersen and Hegna 2003; Seng 1989). Sexual victimization strongly connected to prostitution (Silbert and Pines 1981).

Of note, runaway behaviors among teenagers because of these factors and eventually resort to prostitution in order to support themselves financially were commonly seen in juvenile prostitution (Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004; Flower 2001; Hwang and Bedford 2004; Kuntay 2002; Pedersen and Hegna 2003; Wakabayashi 2003). As an escape route of their traumatic familial experiences, drug and alcohol abuse was the primary reason that juvenile prostitutes remain in the prostitution business in order to fund their substance use (Kuntay 2002; Brawn and Roe-Sepowitz 2008; Wakabayashi 2003). Not all juvenile prostitutes were the outcomes of traumatic experiences. Opportunity to gain immediate rewards (Schaffer and DeBlassie 1984) and for sexual excitement (Wakabayashi 2003) are other reasons for engaging in juvenile prostitution. Like the *enjo-kosai* in the East, inefficient parenting can arise from such practice.

Several family and social welfare-related policies have been set up to combat teenage prostitution in the U.S. The "Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1978" inaugurated to protect children from teenage prostitution and child pornography (Wakabayashi 2003). In addition, the "Protection of Children from Sexual Predators Act of 1998" aimed to penalize violators who intend to entice, encourage, offer, or solicit any minors to engage in criminal sexual conduct (Wakabayashi 2003). To stop runaway behaviors, the "Runaway and Homeless Youth Act" was enacted in 1978 and amended in 1980 for the purpose of assisting local organizations in providing temporary shelters for youth runaways in order to prevent the risk of involvement in juvenile prostitution (Wakabayashi 2003).

The Western phenomenon of juvenile prostitution is somewhat similar to the practice of compensated dating in the East. Compensated dating may be a temporary state prior to prostitution. Kong (2003) asserted that compensated dating is a transitional stage for girls to make alternative decisions before moving into prostitution in the long run if their problems persist. Though juveniles who engage in compensated dating for money, they are not regarded as prostitutes.



## Compensated Dating in Hong Kong

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In Hong Kong, female teenagers involved in paid sexual services have been an accepted social reality even far before the arrival of the compensated dating subculture. Since the 1970s, the “innocent girls” (“hok san mui”) have been a prominent favorite in Hong Kong underground sexuality industry (Lam 2003). Later on, various terms have been emerged in the sex industry using the word “mui” (girl) in identifying different paid sexual services by young females, such as “yu-dan-mui” (girl engaged in nonsexual intercourse), “chong-mui” (hourly girl), and “kuat-mui” (young female masseur; Lam, 2003). As long as these young women are above age 16 years, they are not liable for any criminal violations.

Like its Taiwanese counter, Hong Kong youth culture was influenced by the Japanese subculture of *enjo-kosai* in the late 1990s. Recent surveys on the topic revealed alarming findings. A survey conducted by Yau and colleagues (2009) indicated that 82% of students are willing to go shopping, dining, and entertaining with a stranger who will pay for all expenses and 48% of those polled are willing to do so for some form of compensation. Compensated dating without sexual services was supposed to be an acceptable social activity by 21% of the students polled in the survey. In addition, 6.6% of these students know and 9.5% of them estimate that their classmates are participating in compensated dating. According to the students’ perception, earning money for consumption (87%), receiving luxury gifts (47%), obtaining a sense of love and care (43%), financially needed to support their illicit drugs consumption (42%), financially supporting themselves for tuition payment and family expenses (33%), paying friends’ debts (22%), and providing companionship to their compensated dating partners (15%) were reasons for compensated dating. Another survey by Chu and colleagues (2009) found that 34% of young individuals consider partaking in compensated dating and 45% of those polled were girls, although over 70% of them acknowledged the adverse impact that such practice will bring to the society.

Similar to the circumstances in Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese cultures, compensated dating in Hong Kong can also be traced back to the family dynamics of youngsters. Inefficient parent-child relationships, inconsistent parental discipline patterns, and parental and domestic violence are leading risk factors of juvenile delinquency, including youth compensated dating (Elliot, Huizinga, and Menard 1989; Krohn, Stern, Thornberry, and Jang 1992; Warr 1993). Some girls who practice compensated dating are in search of attention and

love that is lacking at home (Ho 2003; Siu, 2009; Yau et al., 2009). Besides longing for psychological compensation, familial economic deprivation may be a driving force for some girls to practice compensated dating. Local surveys found that some girls who were involved compensated dating services came from functioning families where their practice was merely for financial remuneration (Yau et al. 2009).

The laws and policies in Hong Kong dealing with compensated dating are evolving. The local police practice against sex workers does not aim at the sex work abolition, but instead makes them “invisible” to the public in order to maintain a scrupulous image in society (Lam 2003). Hence, efforts by the local government and relevant social welfare organizations in tackling such social problem are wanting. Preventive efforts are in dire need before the compensated dating phenomenon in Hong Kong becoming more prevalent.

## Risk and Protective Factors of Adolescent Prostitution

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Macro factors in society, such as information technology, materialized consumerism, and openness to the world, are alleged determinants of adolescent prostitution or compensated dating (Ho 2003; Ueno 2003). Nevertheless, their influences are still in need of cross-societal and macro-level empirical research for verification. What empirical research can do is mostly the identification of causes at individual or personal level. Causes of risk factors detected by such research involving adolescents in general are commonly having a violent father, victimization in child abuse in general, sexual abuse and neglect in particular, friends engaging in prostitution, tutelage in prostitution, and committing of crime (Hagan and McCarthy 1997; Wilson and Widom 2010). The experience of child abuse is particularly predictive of crime and delinquency, including substance abuse and association with addicts (Lau et al. 2005; Wilson and Widom 2010). All these problems are in turn risk factors of adolescent prostitution. In contrast, protective factors are moral beliefs and even school problems, with the latter suggesting that school involvement is the underlying protective factor. According to ecodevelopment theory, family problems are immediate risk factors of adolescent prostitution, because the family is the most proximal external factor affecting the adolescent from the outside (Wilson and Widom 2010). Ecodevelopment theory maintains that contact, contagion, and the exchange of resources in the ecological context are influential on adolescent development. When the family plays a predominant role in the sharing and distribution of resources, problems in the family would have immediate impacts on the

adolescent. A family problem concerned is child abuse in a general sense, including sexual abuse and neglect, which appears to induce the adolescent's criminal involvement, which is a personal factor leading to prostitution more directly. As such, criminal involvement in general is more influential than is running away from home in particular as a determinant of prostitution. Essentially, such findings apply to adolescents in general but not necessarily to adolescents at risks of criminal or moral problems. That is, adolescents who have criminal involvement have some more and different factors leading to their prostitution.

Among at-risk adolescents, the experience of child abuse, including sexual abuse and neglect, is predictive of alcoholism, running away from home, institutionalization, association with peers, antisocial behavior, crime, arrest, and imprisonment (Bao et al. 2000; Benda 1999; Horwitz et al. 2001; Kaufman and Widom 1999; Ruffolo et al. 2004; Thompson et al. 2001; Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999; Yoder et al. 2001; Zgourides et al. 1997). Particularly, sexual abuse is likely to be more influential on the problems, particularly prostitution (Hagan and McCarthy 1997; Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999; Yoder et al. 2001). Explanations provided included social learning and social control (Brannigan and Van Bruschot 1997). Accordingly, sexual abuse may be a kind of socialization for prostitution, such as that devaluing virginity and celibacy. Sexual abuse may also be problematic as a form of family dysfunction, which turns on a green light for prostitution. Besides, the experience of child abuse is particularly predictive of theft and violence, probably because of strain afflicted by the abuse (Baron and Hartnagel 1998; Piquero and Sealock 2000; Sasse 2005; Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999). The impact of child abuse can be enduring, as the experience can happen early in life (Sasse 2005). Moreover, the experience of child abuse can lead to rape or sexual offense through the increase in sexual promiscuity, exposure to pornography, and hostile masculinity (Malamath et al. 2000). Sexual problems in general also originate from the experience of sexual abuse, which induces association with deviant peers, sexual promiscuity, and drug abuse successively (Tyler et al. 2001; Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999). Alternatively, sexual abuse also drives one to stay alone, which is also a risk factor of drug abuse and sexual problems successively (Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999). Staying alone is further likely to lead to association with delinquent peers (Bao et al. 2000; Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999). A parallel path leading from child abuse to depression also occurs in at-risk adolescents (Whitbeck and Hoyt 1999; Whitbeck et al. 1999). Obviously, child abuse is a source of strain (Bao et al. 2000).

A general issue related to adolescent prostitution is sexual permissiveness and behavior, which would be too early and risky for adolescents. Their risk stems from their roots in impulsiveness and irrationality, and ramifications in teenage pregnancy and abortion (Levine

2001; Miller et al. 1998). Moreover, adolescent sexual behavior is problematic from a moral stance, which associates it with deviance (Benda and DiBlasio 1994; Biglan et al. 1990; Bock et al. 1983). Research has identified a number of family, contextual, and personal determinants of adolescent sexual permissiveness or behavior, including intercourse and debut. Firstly, family structure tends to make a difference in sexual involvement, with atypical family structure being a risk factor (Pearson et al. 2006). More specifically, risk factors in family structure include the presence of unmarried or never married parents, marital breakup, a divorced mother, widowhood, remarriage, cohabiting, having no father, having a single parent or mother, and stepparenthood (Bearman and Bruckner 2001; Cavanagh 2007; Dehejia et al. 2009; Dorius and Heston 1993; Moore 2001; Pierret 2001). Conversely, traditional family structure, having two parents, especially biological parents, represents a protective factor (Browning et al. 2005; Jacobson and Crockett 2000; Little and Rankin 2001). Besides, a foster family also tends to increase the risk of sexual involvement (Bearman and Bruckner 2001). Moves of the family, having multiple residences, or residential instability would also increase sexual involvement (Pierret 2001; South et al. 2005). Another common family factor is socioeconomic status, which tends to protect the adolescent from sexual involvement (Jacobson and Crockett 2000). In particular, family income and parental education appear to be protective (Dehejia et al. 2009; Michael and Bickert 2001; Moore 2001). The status is also likely to be more protective for the girl (Bearman and Bruckner 2001). Moreover, when both the father and mother have higher education, the protective function is especially greater than is the contribution of either parent's education (Caltabiano et al. 2007). When family income is lower than the threshold of poverty, however, the adolescent's precocious sexual involvement is not particularly high (Evans et al. 2004). Another influential family factor is conflict within the family, which tends to drive the adolescent to sexual involvement (Musick and Bumpass 1999). Conversely, when the family maintains higher cohesion, in terms of mutual sharing, identification, and support, the adolescent's sexual involvement would be lower.

Within the family, parental approval of sexual activity is particularly a risk factor of the adolescent's sexual involvement (Erin and Friel 2001; Little and Rankin 2001). Parental disapproval, conversely, is a protective factor of the sexual involvement (Bearman and Bruckner 2001). The relevant theory, as alleged, is social control theory. Accordingly, parental disapproval functions as social control to protect the adolescent from sexual involvement. Similarly, parental monitoring of the adolescent's behavior is a protective factor of the adolescent's sexual activity (Jacobson and Crockett 2000; Longmore et al. 2001). In

particularly, when parental monitoring applies to the adolescent's place and association with peer, the protective function is salient (Browning et al. 2005). Moreover, parental monitoring is more effective in protecting the girl's sexual involvement than the boy's sexual involvement (Browning et al. 2005; Jacobson and Crockett 2000). One explanation provided is that the girl displays earlier puberty growth than does the boy, and this difference underlies the differential influence of parental monitoring.

The family and parent are also influential in other contexts. A school that has more single mothers on welfare would have higher sexual involvement in its students (Harris et al. 2002). Moreover, a neighborhood with lower family income or a higher risk of poverty in the family would have its adolescent residents higher in sexual involvement (Browning et al. 2005; Dehejia et al. 2009). When the neighborhood provides more welfare benefits, as more residents or families receive public assistance, the adolescent's sexual activity tends to be higher (Dehejia et al. 2009; Levine 2001). In the same vein, when the neighborhood has more disadvantaged people or members of the underclass, who are long-term unemployed and having other chronic problems, the adolescent's sexual involvement would be greater (Baumer and South 2001; Upchurch et al. 1999). Explanations provided for the neighborhood influence include the limitations of opportunity structure and social control in the neighborhood and contagion among neighborhood members (Baumer and South 2001).

Parental monitoring of the adolescent's peer association is crucial because peer association is a notable influence on the adolescent's sexual involvement. Obviously, when then peers have sexual involvement, the adolescent is also likely to have sexual influence (Little and Rankin 2001). The peer's sexual permissiveness and approval of sexual activity are also risk factors of the adolescent's sexual involvement (Little and Rankin 2001; Phelps et al. 1994). Moreover, the peer's drug use and deviant or problem behavior in general tend to lead to the adolescent's sexual involvement (Boyce et al. 2008; Browning et al. 2005; Little and Rankin 2001). In contrast, when peers hold stronger conventional beliefs or lifestyles, the adolescent's sexual involvement is less likely (Michael and Bickert 2001).

At personal level concerning personal factors, gender and age does not show unanimous effects on the adolescent sexual involvement (Bearman and Bruckner; Browning et al. 2005; Miller et al. 1998). That is, it is yet uncertain whether the male or female, or older or younger adolescent is more sexually active. Similarly, education level does not clearly show an effect of sexual involvement, as the effect is not yet consistent (Jacobson and Crockett 2000; Musick and Bumpass 1999; Pearson et al. 2006). Other uncertain demographic characteristics are puberty and obesity (Cawley 2001; Davila et al. 2009). Obviously, pubertal development

shows a positive effect on sexual involvement in some occasions (Browning et al. 2005; Harris et al. 2002). Early menstruation, in particular, tends to be predictive of the adolescent's sexual involvement (Moore 2001). In contrast, pubertal age or time in puberty indicates a negative effect on sexual involvement (Michael and Bickert 2001).

The adolescent's experience with parents and peers also affect sexual involvement. A favorable parent-child relationship is likely to dampen the adolescent's sexual involvement (Erin and Friel 2001). The experience of social support from the family also tends to diminish the adolescent's sexual involvement (Browning et al. 2005). However, association with peers is a risk factor of sexual involvement (Benda and Corwyn 1998). Receiving support from peers also raises the girl's sexual involvement (Browning et al. 2005). Moreover, the experience of pressure and force from other people to engage in sexual activity is a risk factor of sexual involvement (Boyce et al. 2008; Erin and Friel 2001).

A number of activities appear to be predictive of the adolescent's sexual involvement. Firstly, media use, especially that of movies and comic books, tends to be a risk factor of sexual activity (So and Chan 1992). This finding explains the influence of the popular culture on the adolescent's sexual involvement, prostitution, or compensated dating. Besides, lifestyle risk factors include the romantic relationship and activity, consumption of pornography, delinquency, marijuana use in particular, alcohol drinking, cigarette smoking, having troubles in school, conduct disorder, and grade repetition (Cavanagh 2007; Davila et al. 2009; Dehejia et al. 2009; Little and Rankin 2001; Paul et al. 2000; South et al. 2005; Zillman 1989). Besides the influence of these obvious deviant behavior, talk about sex with parents and the mother in particular is predictive of sexual involvement (Erin and Friel 2001; Pearson et al. 2006). Moreover, attending sex education is predictive of sexual involvement especially when the child is young (Somers and Eaves 2002). Sport involvement is also predictive of the boy's sexual involvement (Miller et al. 1998). Provided explanations for the prediction include the contribution of sport to cultural and even financial resources, which facilitate the boy's sexual involvement. Meanwhile, the finding refutes the claim that sport performs a social control function for reducing sexual involvement. In contrast, protective factors of adolescent sexual involvement include shared activity with parents, school achievement, artistic involvement, and church attendance (Erin and Friel 2001; Miller et al. 1998; Paul et al. 2000; Pearson et al. 2006). Conversely, stopping church attendance is predictive of sexual involvement (Caltabiano et al. 2007). This stopping is in turn less likely when the father and mother attend church. In contrast with sex education, programs that

promote the pledge of virginity are likely to dampen sexual activity (Bearman and Bruckner 2001). This happens especially in a socially closed school.

A longstanding issue is the effectiveness of sex education in reducing sex-related problems or inducing them unintentionally and undesirably (Dailey 1997; Dunn and Alarie 1997; Furniss and Blair 1997; Herold 1997). Concern is present regarding whether sex education stimulates sexual interest (Mturi and Hennink 2005). A related issue is whether sex education should focus on abstinence from sex or harm reduction (Arnold et al. 1999; Fromme and Emihovich 1998; Levine 1998; Newmeyer and Rosenbaum 1998). The latter seeks to approve safe sexual involvement to avoid risky one and pregnancy (Buysse and Oost 1997; Kirby and Coyle 1997; Witte 1997). Promotion the use of contraceptive is one form of the harm reduction approach to sex education. There is also an issue that sex education is the duty of parents, not of school (Halstead and Reiss 2003). Related to the various issues is the uncertainty that sex education affect the adolescent's sexual involvement, including first and repeated intercourse, unprotected sex, pregnancy, and contract of sexually transmitted disease, based on a review of research (Sabia 2006). One provided explanation of the uncertainty is the available of external sources of sex information, which dilutes the effect of sex education. Another observation is that sex education may not be comprehensive enough to realize its impact. Nevertheless, research has also found that comprehensive sex education provokes rather than discourage sexual intercourse (Milton 2003). Teaching about contraception use clearly would not postpone sexual activity (Halstead and Raiss 2003). Rather, the focus on abstinence in sex education appears to delay sex involvement, especially in lower grade students (Denny and Young 2006). The abstinence approach is therefore the favorable one sponsored according to public policy (Perrin and De Joy 2003). In Hong Kong, sex education can be a problem because of the shortage of teachers (Fok 2005). Meanwhile, teacher quality is an essential determinant of the effectiveness or at least acceptance of sex education (Bourton 2006). Despite the problems, the moral or cognitive development approach to sex education has strong theoretical grounds for effectiveness (Morris 1994). Accordingly, promotion of cognitive or moral development should be the goal of sex education, particularly in the emphasis on interindividual relationships. The approach is to facilitate transformation from an impulsive, hedonistic mindset into an interindividual one, stressing love, work autonomy, and attachment. Sex education according to the cognitive-developmental approach emphasizes affirmation and confrontation of values, transcendence beyond egotism, buttressing interindividual dignity and interconnectedness as opposed to personal rights and freedom.

Parenting in general or parental monitoring or control in particular always safeguards adolescent development and prevent adolescent problems. Importantly, parenting recently receives increasingly stronger policy support as a means to tackle adolescent problems (Shulruf et al. 2009). Notable contributions of parenting include those to the adolescent school engagement and achievement, popularity, social competence, and leadership, especially through arrangement for association with prosocial peers (Chen et al. 2005; Johnson et al. 2007b). Specifically, parenting can encompass parent involvement in school and other spheres of the adolescent's life, monitoring or control, concern, teaching, discussion, communication, interaction, and sharing activities and things. Among them, parental control, monitoring, supervision, or regulation can reduce the adolescent's delinquency, school problems, depressed mood, hanging out on streets, and arrest (Kerr and Stattin 2000). However, parental control also worsens the parent-child relationship (Hagan and McCarthy 1997; Hay 2003; Hoffmann 2003; Kerr and Stattin 2000; Luthar et al. 2006; Parcel and Dufur 2001; Storvoll and Wichstrom 2002; Tremblay et al. 2003; Vitaro et al. 2001; Weatherburn and Lind 2001). Similarly, parental concern is a protective factor of adolescent delinquency (Nagasawa et al. 2001). Meanwhile, parental punishment is likely to lead to the adolescent's noncompliance, externalizing, and aggression (Kasen et al. 2004; Larzelere et al. 2004). Hence, having parental control that is not too punitive would be optimal for preventing adolescent problems. The art of using reinforcement and punishment in parenting is therefore crucial and training for parenting (Shriver and Allen 2008). In contrast, parental appraisal of crime can be a determinant of adolescent delinquency, through the adolescent's social learning (Heimer and Matsueda 1994).

Attachment to parents, in the part of the adolescent, is crucial for preventing crime and delinquency, according to social control theory (Cheung and Cheung 2008; Hoffmann 2003; Krohn et al. 1992; Liska and Reed 1985; Messner and Krohn 1990; Miller and Matthews 2001; Warr 1993). Such attachment includes the adolescent's involvement in activity with parents and fear of loss of parental care (Agnew 1995; Krohn et al. 1992). The attachment tends to reduce crime through the strengthening of moral belief and receiving of parental support (Benda 2002; Heimer and Matsueda 1994). Particularly, the attachment helps the adolescent's reintegration with the family and community and reduction in aggression and drug abuse (Benda and Corwyn 2002; Castello and Dunaway 2003; Hay 2001; Jang 2002).



## **Appendix 2: Questions for qualitative interviewing with adolescents**

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1. What joyful or positive experiences that your family brings to you?
  - 1.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?
2. What stressful or negative experiences that your family brings to you?
  - 2.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?
3. What problems do you family successfully help to resolve?
  - 3.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?
4. What social services do your family uses?
  - 4.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?
5. How does your family respond to your experience in compensated dating or prostitution?
  - 5.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?

## **Appendix 3: Questions for qualitative interviewing with parents**

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1. What serious behavioral problems does your child have?
  - 1.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?
2. What joyful or positive experiences do you have with your child?
  - 2.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?
3. How do you successfully help your child resolve problems?
  - 3.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?

4. What social services and other kinds of support do you use?
  - 4.1. How about their family member, time, process, feeling, function, and result involved?

## **Appendix 4: Questions for qualitative interviewing with professionals**

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1. How do you prevent adolescent prostitution through the adolescent's family?
    - 1.1. How about their adolescent, family member, problem, time, goal, process, approach, response, result and shortcoming involved?
  2. What preventive approaches do you experience from the adolescent's family?
    - 2.1. How about their adolescent, family member, problem, time, goal, process, approach, response, result and shortcoming involved?
  3. What can strengthen the prevention approaches of the adolescent's family?
    - 3.1. How about their adolescent, family member, problem, time, goal, process, approach, response, result and shortcoming involved?
  4. What government policies affect the prevention of adolescent prostitution through the adolescent's family?
    - 4.1. How about their adolescent, family member, problem, time, goal, process, approach, response, result and shortcoming involved?
  5. Overall, what other aspects in family services and policy for preventing adolescent prostitution are in need for improvement or strengthening?
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## Appendix 5: Profiles of youths, parents, and professionals interviewed

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Table 56: Profiles of youths interviewed

Case No.	Sex	Age	Education	Bar		Nightclub		Compensated dating	
				Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)
C001	F	16	F.3				✓ (15,16)		✓ (16)
C002	F	16	F.4		✓ (16)				
C003	F	18	F.1					✓ (15,17)	
C004	F	15	F.2					✓ (14)	
C005	F	18	F.5		✓ (17)				
C006	F	18	F.3			✓ (16,17)			
C007	F	16	F.4					✓ (16)	
C008	F	17	F.3				✓ (15, 17)		
C009	F	23	F.5		✓ (17)				
C010	F	19	F.4					✓ (17)	
C011	F	17	F.3			✓ (15,16)			
C012	F	15	F.3					✓ (14)	
C013	F	15	F.2				✓ (15)		
C014	F	15	F.4				✓ (15)		✓ (15)
C015	F	19	F.3				✓ (16)		✓ (19)
C016	F	22	F.5			✓ (18-22)	✓ (12-17)		

Case No.	Sex	Age	Education	Bar		Nightclub		Compensated dating	
				Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)
C017	F	16	F.3					✓ (15, 16)	
C018	F	15	F.2					✓ (14,15)	
C019	F	18	F.3				✓ (15)	✓ (14-16)	
C020	F	14	F.1				✓ (14)		
C021	F	14	F.2			✓ (14)			
C022	F	17	F.3				✓ (15)	✓ (15)	
C023	F	20	F.4					✓ (20)	
C024	F	21	F.2			✓ (15)			
C025	F	17	F.2	✓ (16)					
C026	M	17	F.5					✓ (16)	
C027	M	19	F.4	✓ (13)				✓ (13)	
C028	M	17	F.5					✓ (16)	
C029	F	18	F.4					✓ (15)	
C030	F	22	F.3		✓ (16)				

Table 57: Profile of parents interviewed

	Role	Adolescent sex	Adolescent age	Adolescent problem
1.	Single mother	Female	15	Prostitution
2.	Single mother	Female	16	Theft, drug abuse
3.	Mother	Male	14	Fighting
4.	Mother	Female	22	Early sex
5.	Single mother	Female	21	Smoking
6.	Mother	Female	13	Drug abuse, truancy
7.	Single mother	Female	15	Injuring

	Role	Adolescent sex	Adolescent age	Adolescent problem
8.	Father	Female	16	Smoking
9.	Single mother	Female	23	Drug abuse
10.	Single mother	Female	14	Prostitution
11.	Single mother	Female	14	Early sex
12.	Mother	Female	13	Theft, runaway
13.	Mother	Female	17	Theft
14.	Single mother	Female	15	Theft
15.	Mother	Male	22	Drug abuse
16.	Father	Female	-	Theft, fighting, runaway
17.	Mother	Female	-	Drug abuse
18.	Father	Male	-	Drug abuse
19.	Mother	Male	-	Drug abuse
20.	Mother	Male	-	Drug abuse
21.	Mother	Female	-	Fighting
22.	Mother	Male	-	Theft
23.	Mother	Female	-	Internet addiction
24.	Mother	Male	-	Internet addiction
25.	Mother	Male	-	Spendthrift
26.	Mother	Female	-	Spendthrift
27.	Mother	Male	17	Spendthrift
28.	Mother	Female	-	Spendthrift
29.	Mother	Male	15	Spendthrift
30.	Mother	Male	18	Spendthrift

Table 58: Profile of professionals interviewed

	Occupation	Mode	Organizations involved	Date
1.	4 social workers: youth services	Group	Boys' and Girls' Clubs Association of Hong Kong Evangelical Social Service Hong Kong Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association	Apr 28, 2010

	Occupation	Mode	Organizations involved	Date
			Yang Memorial Methodist Social Service	
2.	5 social workers: youth services	Group	Evangelical Social Service Hong Kong Hong Kong Christian Social Service Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association	Apr 29, 2010
3.	2 social workers: youth services	Group	Yang Memorial Methodist Social Service	May 13, 2010
4.	4 social workers: Family services	Group	Christian Family Service Centre	Sep 9, 2010
5.	2 social workers: School	Group	Hong Kong Christian Social Service	Oct 11, 2010
6.	1 social worker: youth service	Individual	Hong Kong Council of Social Service	Mar 31, 2010
7.	1 social worker: youth services	Individual	Caritas Hong Kong	Jun 25, Aug 4, 2010
8.	1 social worker: family services	Individual	Hong Kong Council of Social Service	Sep 2, 2010
9.	1 social worker: family service	Individual	(Confidential)	Sep 13, 2010
10.	1 social worker: family services	Individual	Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui Lady MacLehose Centre	Sep 16, 2010
11.	1 educator	Individual	Christian Zheng Sheng College	Aug 13, 2010
12.	1 educator	Individual	Parenting Forum	Sep 15, 2010
13.	1 educator: law	Individual	City University of Hong Kong	Dec 13, 2010
14.	1 academic in Taiwan	Individual	National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan	Aug 19, 2010
15.	5 police officers	Group	Hong Kong Police Force:	May 14, 2010

	Occupation	Mode	Organizations involved	Date
			Kowloon West	
16.	3 government social welfare officers	Group	Social Welfare Department	Dec 30, 2010
17.	14 professionals	Group	Boys' and Girls' Clubs Association of Hong Kong Caritas Hong Kong Evangelical Social Service Hong Kong Hong Kong Council of Social Service Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups Methodist Centre Yang Memorial Methodist Social Service Zi Teng	Jan 6, 2011
18.	10 professionals	Group	Against Child Abuse Boys' and Girls' Clubs Association of Hong Kong Evangelical Social Service Hong Kong Hong Kong Police Force: Kowloon West Hong Kong Young Women's Christian Association Christian Zheng Sheng College	Jan 6, 2011

## Appendix 6: Detail of qualitative interviews with youths

Table 59: Extended profile of youths interviewed

Case No.	Sex	Age	Education	Bar		Night Club		Compensated dating		Others <sup>1</sup>
				Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	
C001	F	16	F.3				✓ (15,16)		✓ (16)	Pimp (16)
C002	F	16	F.4		✓ (16)					
C003	F	18	F.1					✓ (15,17)		
C004	F	15	F.2					✓ (14)		
C005	F	18	F.5		✓ (17)					
C006	F	18	F.3			✓ (16,17)				Pimp (16)
C007	F	16	F.4					✓ (16)		
C008	F	17	F.3				✓ (15, 17)			
C009	F	23	F.5		✓ (17)					Customer (17)
C010	F	19	F.4					✓ (17)		
C011	F	17	F.3			✓ (15,16)				
C012	F	15	F.3					✓ (14)		

<sup>1</sup> For examples, pimp or customers



Case No.	Sex	Age	Education	Bar		Night Club		Compensated dating		Others <sup>1</sup>
				Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	
C013	F	15	F.2				✓ (15)			
C014	F	15	F.4				✓ (15)		✓ (15)	
C015	F	19	F.3				✓ (16)		✓ (19)	
C016	F	22	F.5			✓ (18-22)	✓ (12-17)			Pimp
C017	F	16	F.3					✓ (15, 16)		
C018	F	15	F.2					✓ (14,15)		
C019	F	18	F.3				✓ (15)	✓ (14-16)		
C020	F	14	F.1				✓ (14)			
C021	F	14	F.2			✓ (14)				Pimp
C022	F	17	F.3				✓ (15)	✓ (15)		
C023	F	20	F.4					✓ (20)		
C024	F	21	F.2			✓ (15)				
C025	F	17	F.2	✓ (16)						
C026	M	17	F.5					✓ (16)		
C027	M	19	F.4	✓ (13)				✓ (13)		
C028	M	17	F.5					✓ (16)		
C029	F	18	F.4					✓ (15)		

Case No.	Sex	Age	Education	Bar		Night Club		Compensated dating		Others <sup>1</sup>
				Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	Sex (age)	No sex (age)	
C030	F	22	F.3		✓ (16)					

Table 60: Adolescents' pattern of compensated dating or prostitution

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C001	F	16	✓				Aged 20-30	Once a fortnight	Restaurant & Bar	No sex	Via nightclub	~\$500
C002	F	16		✓					Bar	No sex		

<sup>2</sup> Commercial intimate relationship without sex

<sup>3</sup> Commercial intimate relationship with sex

<sup>4</sup> Preference in terms of the age, appearance, background

<sup>5</sup> Weekday vs. weekend/holidays; morning vs. afternoon vs. evening

<sup>6</sup> With customer (condemn, payment), with pimp (commission rate)

<sup>7</sup> Self referral, friend's referral, pimp's referral

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C003	F	18			✓		No underage, no 3P, & no homosexual		Hotel	Condom, no SM, no anal sex	Self referral via Internet; Pimp's referral	\$800 - \$1,500
C004	F	15			✓		Similar age; younger than 25	Weekend	Indoor area	No condom, no anal sex, no oral sex	Friends' referral	\$160-500
C005	F	18		✓					Bar	No sex		
C006	F	18				✓		Up to her	Nightclub & hotel	Condom & no removal of T-shirt	Via nightclub	\$500-600

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C007	F	16				✓	1 customer only	Christmas Eve	Hotel	Condom, no removal of T-shirt, no oral sex	Self referral via Internet	\$800
C008	F	17	✓							No sex		A few hundreds
C009	F	23		✓						No sex		
C010	F	19				✓	2 regular customers with stable income	In the afternoon	Hotel		Self referral via internet	\$1,000
C011	F	17			✓						Via Nightclub	

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C012	F	15			✓		Friends who are similar in age	In the evening	Friends' home		Friends' referral	For accommod ation
C013	F	15	✓						Nightclub	No sex	Friends' referral	
C014	F	15	✓					In the evening	Restaurant	No sex	Via nightclub	\$2,000
C015	F	19		✓				Up to her	Nightclub	No sex	Via nightclub	\$800-900
C016	F	22				✓			Hotel & nightclub	Condom	Via nightclub	

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C017	F	16			✓		No ugly & old customer	In the evening		Condom, no anal sex, taking contracep tive drugs in advance	Self referral via internet	A few hundreds to \$1,500
C018	F	15			✓		Aged 20-50	In the morning or in the late evening	Hotel, customers' home or her home	Condom	Self referral via internet	\$1,000

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C019	F	18			✓		Under age 40 (including teachers, college students, YAR, and white-collar workers)	In the morning	Home	Condom, taking shower in advance, no anal sex, no 3P	Self referral via internet	\$1,000 (1Q) \$1,500 – 1,800 (2Q)
C020	F	14	✓				Around age 40	In the evening	Nightclub	No sex	Friends' referral	
C021	F	14			✓		Dating with one policeman without sex	In the evening	Nightclub		Friends' referral	\$1,000

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C022	F	17			✓		No specific preference	anytime	Hotel	Condom, oral sex, no anal sex, no 3P	Self referral via internet	\$2,000
C023	F	20				✓	No specific preference	anytime	Hotel	Condom, no anal sex	Self referral via internet	Below market price (refuse to disclose)



Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C024	F	21			✓		No ugly, old & old-fashione d customers One lawyer	In the evening	Hotel	No lending of lipstick to customer Condom, oral sex, no anal sex, no mouth-ki ssing	Via Nightclub	\$100-\$800
C025	F	17				✓	No specific preference	Weekday, in the evening	Bar	Condom	Via bar	

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C026	M	17				✓	Males: Tourist (Foreigner); Business Traveler (Singaporean); Age 30+	In the afternoon; at mid-night	Hotel	Condom, anal sex, oral sex	Via agents Commission: 6:4	\$1,000
C027	M	15			✓		Males: Tall, handsome, & talkative	No specific preference	Hotel or at home. No public toilet	Condom, lubricator	Self referral via gay bar and Internet	\$1,000

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>2</sup>		CD (S) <sup>3</sup>		Who <sup>4</sup> (customer)	When <sup>5</sup> (date/ time)	Where (venue)	What <sup>6</sup> (rules)	How <sup>7</sup> (ways of get connected with)	How much (average per time)
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16						
C028	M	17				✓	No specific preference	No specific preference ; depends on his own emotional status e.g. feeling lonely	Hotel or at home	Condom, oral sex, anal sex, sex toys	Friends' referral	\$1,200 - \$1,300 (No sex); Max: \$5,000-\$6,000 (sex); Average: \$3,000-\$4,000 (sex)
C029	F	18			✓		A designer	No specific preference	Hotel	Condom, no anal sex	Self-referral via internet	\$1,100
C030	F	22		✓			2-3 regular customers	No specific preference	Restaurants and bars	No sex	Via bar	\$1,000

Table 61: Family structure and hazard

Case No.	Gender	Age	CD (NS) <sup>8</sup>		CD (S) <sup>9</sup>		Relationship (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				Crisis encountered by family member(s) (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16									
							Separation or divorce of parents	Living with either step mother/ father	Separation with father and/ or mother	Being abuse by family member (s) <sup>10</sup>	Offending behavior or	Drug abuse	Mental health problem	Financial stress <sup>11</sup>	Others
C001	F	16	✓				B	B		S					AB - Gambling
C002	F	16		✓					B				B		B - AS
C003	F	18			✓					P				AB	
C004	F	15			✓					P, V	B				
C005	F	18		✓						P		AB			

<sup>8</sup> Commercial intimate relationship without sex<sup>9</sup> Commercial intimate relationship with sex<sup>10</sup> P = physical abuse; V = verbal abuse; S = sexual abuse/harassment<sup>11</sup> Including the financial problem due to gambling

Case No.	Gender	Age	CD (NS) <sup>8</sup>		CD (S) <sup>9</sup>		Relationship (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				Crisis encountered by family member(s) (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16									
							Separation or divorce of parents	Living with either step mother/ father	Separation with father and/ or mother	Being abuse by family member (s) <sup>10</sup>	Offending behavior	Drug abuse	Mental health problem	Financial stress <sup>11</sup>	Others
C006	F	18				✓	B	B		S					
C007	F	16				✓	B			P					
C008	F	17	✓												
C009	F	23		✓					B	P, V	B				
C010	F	19				✓	B	B							
C011	F	17			✓		B	B							
C012	F	15			✓		B			P	B	B			
C013	F	15	✓				B				B		AB	AB	
C014	F	15	✓						B	PV					Gambling of father
C015	F	19		✓			A								

Case No.	Gender	Age	CD (NS) <sup>8</sup>		CD (S) <sup>9</sup>		Relationship (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				Crisis encountered by family member(s) (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16									
							Separation or divorce of parents	Living with either step mother/ father	Separation with father and/ or mother	Being abuse by family member (s) <sup>10</sup>	Offending behavior	Drug abuse	Mental health problem	Financial stress <sup>11</sup>	Others
C016	F	22				✓	B								
C017	F	16			✓					P					
C018	F	15			✓		B				B			AB	
C019	F	18			✓		B								
C020	F	14	✓				B								
C021	F	14			✓		B			V	B				
C022	F	17			✓				B	P	B				
C023	F	20				✓	B							AB	
C024	F	21			✓		B	AB		S	B				
C025	F	17				✓	B		AB			AB			
C026	M	17				✓			AB						

Case No.	Gender	Age	CD (NS) <sup>8</sup>		CD (S) <sup>9</sup>		Relationship (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				Crisis encountered by family member(s) (B = before only; A = after only AB = happened before her/ his CD and keep on after)				
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16									
							Separation or divorce of parents	Living with either step mother/ father	Separation with father and/ or mother	Being abuse by family member (s) <sup>10</sup>	Offending behavior	Drug abuse	Mental health problem	Financial stress <sup>11</sup>	Others
C027	M	15			✓										
C028	M	17	✓			✓	B	AB		P	AB				
C029	F	18			✓		B			P					AB – Gambling
C030	F	22		✓											

Table 62: Family structure and experience

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16	Positive	Negative
C001	F	16	✓				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Being listened by mother</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sexual harassment by stepfather</li> <li>• Quarrels with stepfather</li> </ul>
C002	F	16		✓			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talking with father about her problem of pregnancy</li> <li>• Support by brother</li> <li>• Assistance offered by a sister on her studying</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mental health problem of mother</li> <li>• Mother's attempt of suicide</li> </ul>
C003	F	18			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talking with parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical abuse by father's financial stress</li> <li>• Indifferent relationship with siblings</li> </ul>
C004	F	15			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Under good care by parents when she was sick</li> <li>• Concern by grandparents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Triad background of father</li> <li>• Mother did not respect her, e.g., bad labeling on her</li> </ul>

<sup>12</sup> Commercial intimate relationship without sex

<sup>13</sup> Commercial intimate relationship with sex



Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16	Positive	Negative
C005	F	18		✓			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protection/concern by elder brother when she was in crisis/being bullied by others</li> <li>• Casual chats with elder sister</li> <li>• Financial support by elder sister</li> <li>• Friendly reminder of sister on her dressing</li> <li>• Sister served as a mediator in her conflict with parents.</li> <li>• Casual chat with mother</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seeing father abusing mother</li> <li>• Being physical abused by father</li> <li>• Father was an alcoholic</li> <li>• Receiving criticism from parents on her sexy dressing</li> </ul>
C006	F	18				✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stepmother giving up her personal need to cater to her need (purchasing toys).</li> <li>• Father refusal to place her in girls' home as way of protecting her</li> <li>• Unconditional acceptance by father</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sexual harassment by father</li> <li>• Living with stepsister (adjustment to sudden change)</li> <li>• Being physically abused by mother</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C007	F	16				✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Father staying with her on her birthday</li> <li>• Support by the sister-in-law</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sister putting too much emphasis on money</li> <li>• Father imposing too much demand on her academic performance</li> <li>• Beaten up by mother</li> <li>• Mother's runaway</li> <li>• Mother not caring about her (looking her down)</li> </ul>
C008	F	17	✓				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Positive time with elder brother (relaxing)</li> <li>• Going out with elder brother</li> <li>• Elder brother offered tangible support, e.g., problems on computer use and English.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Separation with elder brother due to his overseas study</li> <li>• Parents' control: turning the computer off or not allowing her to smoke inside the bedroom</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16	Positive	Negative
C009	F	23		✓			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nice time with 2 younger sisters (having common interest)</li> <li>• Love and respect by 2 sisters</li> <li>• Family day: outdoor activities, e.g., BBQ</li> <li>• Casual talking with mother (about her courtship)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Commanding parental style of father</li> <li>• Beaten up by father in public place</li> <li>• Father's long face</li> <li>• Imprisonment of father (due to fighting with others)</li> <li>• Beaten up by mother / quarrel with mother</li> <li>• Putting burden on her looking after younger sisters</li> </ul>
C010	F	19				✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freedom offered by mother</li> <li>• Mother offered feedback on her Facebook</li> <li>• Care and concern by younger brother</li> <li>• Care and monetary support by stepfather</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rude wording to her young brother</li> <li>• Humiliating wording to her mother</li> <li>• Conflict with her father</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C011	F	17			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Great time with grandmother when living together in Mainland</li> <li>• Care and concern by mother</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No communication with mother when having meals together</li> <li>• Did not have a common topic for sharing</li> <li>• Knowing very little about her mother's situation and her mother seldom asking her about her school life and social life</li> <li>• Mother putting too much emphasis on money</li> <li>• Quarrel with stepfather.</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C012	F	15			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protection and concern by elder brother</li> <li>• Friendly reminder by elder brother on her choice of friends</li> <li>• Offering support when she ran away from home</li> <li>• Seeking ideas from elder sister on schooling</li> <li>• Concern by grandfather</li> <li>• Care and support by stepmother on schooling</li> <li>• Talking with sister (his uncle's daughter) about her courtship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Father being too harsh to her</li> <li>• Uncle and aunt liking to make a comparison between her and her elder brother</li> <li>• Grandmother's conservative/traditional thoughts (gender inequality)</li> <li>• Deviant behavior of her mother (e.g., taking katemine and drinking frequently)</li> </ul>
C013	F	15	✓				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care and concern by the eldest brother (calling/giving her support when she encountered difficulty in courtship)</li> <li>• Support by the second elder brother</li> <li>• All family members having meals together</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Her second elder brother not respecting her friends</li> <li>• Her second elder brother scolding her boyfriend</li> <li>• Deteriorating relationship with father</li> <li>• Agreement by her mother to place her into girls' home</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16	Positive	Negative
C014	F	15	✓				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care and concern by mother</li> <li>• Funny time with father</li> <li>• Positive relationship with elder brother</li> <li>• Care and concern by grandmother</li> <li>• Falling in love with boyfriend</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gambling addiction and being in great debt of her father (being disturbed by loan shark)</li> <li>• Father having physical violence against her</li> <li>• Elder brother having physical violence against her (breeding on her head)</li> </ul>
C015	F	19		✓			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reward given by mother on her academic performance</li> <li>• Sharing with mother about her unhappiness about courtship</li> <li>• Needed material offered by father (when he visited her in Mainland)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother demanding too much on her academic performance</li> <li>• Father only satisfying her material need but showing no affection</li> <li>• Mother's attempt of suicide giving her pressure</li> <li>• Father's surveillance behavior</li> </ul>
C016	F	22				✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talking with mother when she was lonely</li> <li>• Mother respecting her self-determination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother's talkative style – repeating the same meaning again and again</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16		
							Positive	Negative
C017	F	16			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Going out with mother (shopping)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Corporal punishment by father (e.g. slapping her face)</li> <li>• Quarrel/fighting with mother</li> </ul>
C018	F	15			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leisure time with younger brother</li> <li>• Taking care of her younger brother</li> <li>• All family members going out together (to Cheung Chau)</li> <li>• Sharing and exchange of courtship experience with grandmother.</li> <li>• Uncle coaching</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Natural father's conservative thought (discriminating against females)</li> <li>• Father not having a good plan for marriage, raising children and performing his role properly</li> <li>• Indifferent feeling towards father after his release from jail</li> <li>• Mother abandoning her guardianship</li> <li>• Mother having affairs with other men (father's friend met in jail)</li> <li>• Quarrel with father</li> <li>• Imposing sex education in an inappropriate way</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C019	F	18			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Going out with mother</li> <li>• Mother staying calm when she was taken to the police station</li> <li>• Being tolerant and considerate by mother</li> <li>• Mother sharing her working situation</li> <li>• Visit by mother and young brother when she was in the drug treatment center</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tight control by mother (a lack of trust on her)</li> </ul>



Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C020	F	14	✓				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friendly reminder by her father on her sexy dressing</li> <li>• Father taking care of her when she was sick</li> <li>• Father lying in front of probation officer as a way to protect her</li> <li>• Father being in tears when she was found guilty for crime</li> <li>• All family members going to restaurant together</li> <li>• Mother communicating with her via MSN</li> <li>• Friendly reminder by her mother on her interaction with boyfriend</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quarrel with mother over money</li> <li>• Unpleasant feeling about her mother's boyfriend and stepsiblings</li> <li>• Mother requesting money from her natural father although she did not need it</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C021	F	14			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overseas travel with mother (to Thailand)</li> <li>• Talking with mother about her courtship</li> <li>• Shopping time with mother</li> <li>• Having fun with 2 elder brothers</li> <li>• Care and concern by father</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother blaming her on negative behaviors, e.g., playing truant, staying away from home</li> <li>• Her elder brother's devotion to Christianity made her feel bored</li> <li>• Father neglecting her when he was busy to get along with his girlfriends</li> </ul>
C022	F	17			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All family members sticking together and playing with cats at home</li> <li>• All family members going out for leisure, e.g., to the park and museum</li> <li>• Showing concern by mother in a nonverbal way</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Help seeking pattern of mother found annoying (too superstitious)</li> <li>• Blaming her when her younger brother did not behave well (shifting of the parenting role to her)</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C023	F	20				✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother's considerate attitude, asking her not to put on too much pressure</li> <li>• Talking to mother when facing unstable courtship</li> <li>• Whole family visiting her in hospital after her attempted suicide (in crisis)</li> <li>• Sharing common interests with young sister (friendly relationship with sister)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tight control by mother</li> <li>• Receiving corporal punishment by mother when she did not perform well in schooling</li> <li>• Father going to her workplace to scold her</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C024	F	21			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care and concern by grandmother (despite that the problem had been over sometimes)</li> <li>• Having fun together with natural mother and stepfather</li> <li>• Having fun with stepfather</li> <li>• Her stepfather identifying her as his own daughter</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Her mother sharing her romantic stories with other men (unfaithfulness of her mother)</li> <li>• Her mother concealing her mother role</li> <li>• Natural father doing violence on her mother</li> <li>• Injustice of her father toward her mother (wrongly accusing her mother of being unfaithful to marriage)</li> <li>• Natural father having an affair with another woman</li> <li>• Elder brother having criminal behavior, e.g., drug trafficking, sexually harassing her, and getting along with triad members</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C025	F	17				✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travelling overseas with elder brother</li> <li>• Trust, care and concern by foster-mother</li> <li>• Great time with elder brother and sister-in-law</li> <li>• Keeping communication with elder brother via MSN</li> <li>• Having great time with mother-in-law who is very trendy and modern</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Natural mother's negative comments on her appearance</li> <li>• Gambling addiction of her natural mother</li> <li>• Inappropriate sex talk</li> <li>• Mother imposing her inappropriate concepts about courtship and money</li> <li>• Mother stealing money from her father but shifting responsibility to her</li> <li>• Drug taking by natural father</li> </ul>
C026	M	17				✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care and concern by elder sister (giving up her study opportunity in university for taking care of her)</li> <li>• Talking to elder sister about his homosexuality</li> <li>• Sleeping with mother and chatting with her freely</li> <li>• Going out with father to book shops and for meals</li> <li>• Going out with mother for shopping around</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Separation with parents (both parents working in HK when he was in Mainland)</li> <li>• Elder sister not keeping his secret</li> <li>• Hostile attitude of father toward homosexuality</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			<	≥	<	≥	Positive	Negative
			16	16	16	16		
C027	M	15			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talking to elder brother about his homosexuality</li> <li>• All family members traveling to Mainland from which they felt a sense of support; joining hands to overcome difficulties together</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Father having reservations, who could share joy but not personal problem (not open enough)</li> <li>• Mother being conservative and working too long</li> </ul>
C028	M	17	✓			✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Getting along with his step younger brother easily (at similar ages and communicating via MSN).</li> <li>• Stepfather putting efforts to building rapport with him</li> <li>• Stepfather showing him how to look at thing from a different perspective</li> <li>• Stepfather willing to share deeply about himself</li> <li>• Mother's soft and tender voice</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited parent-child interaction (raised by grandmother)</li> <li>• Mother's addiction to playing mahjong</li> <li>• Authoritative image of her mother</li> <li>• Violence by elder stepbrothers when they were living together</li> <li>• Natural father not paying for his mother's livelihood (irresponsible attitude)</li> </ul>

Case No.	Sex	Age	CD (NS) <sup>12</sup>		CD (S) <sup>13</sup>		Experience in getting along with family members	
			< 16	≥ 16	< 16	≥ 16	Positive	Negative
C029	F	18			✓		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traveling to Mainland with her mother</li> <li>• Care and concern by stepfather</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gambling/debt/smuggling problems of her natural father</li> <li>• Being beaten up by natural father</li> <li>• Her natural father demanding her too much on schooling</li> <li>• Irresponsibility of natural father: not paying for their livelihood</li> </ul>
C030	F	22		✓			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All family members taking overseas trips to Thailand and Korea</li> <li>• Encouragement and support by father when she was in crisis (crime and receiving drug treatment)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unequal treatment between her and her sisters by her mother</li> <li>• Annoying communication style of her parents</li> </ul>

Table 63: Adolescents' positive and negative family experiences

	Positive	Negative
Family as a whole	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Simple family activities, e.g., having a meal, walk, shopping together</li> <li>- Traveling overseas (overcoming difficulties together)</li> <li>- Staying together during crisis</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Being labeled as a “broken family”</li> <li>- Having quarrels among family members</li> </ul>
Father	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Relaxing interaction</li> <li>- Protection</li> <li>- Acceptance</li> <li>- Problem-solving</li> <li>- Showing appreciation</li> <li>- Offering friendly reminders of some possible risks</li> <li>- Watching TV together</li> <li>- Showing support during crisis</li> <li>- Providing good care in daily living</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Poor in controlling tempers</li> <li>- Having debts</li> <li>- Imposing too much control</li> <li>- Denial of responsibility</li> <li>- Unable to offer children a sense of safety</li> <li>- No recognition of her/his behavior</li> <li>- Having affairs with other women</li> <li>- Having criminal behavior</li> <li>- Using violence on her/him</li> <li>- Using violence against other family members, e.g., mother or sibling</li> </ul>



	Positive	Negative
Mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Relaxing and funny interaction</li> <li>- Casual chat especially on courtship</li> <li>- Open and honest communication</li> <li>- Going out for a picnic/meal in a fast food restaurant</li> <li>- Shopping together</li> <li>- Sleeping together</li> <li>- Attending religious activities</li> <li>- Staying calm during crisis</li> <li>- Cooking her/his favorite food</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Poor temper / too emotional</li> <li>- Having mental health problems</li> <li>- Interfering with her/his social life</li> <li>- Using foul language in communication</li> <li>- Showing no respect</li> <li>- Showing no concern</li> <li>- Unable to keep secrets/promises</li> <li>- Running away</li> <li>- Unfair treatment of children</li> <li>- Impose control improperly</li> <li>- Too little communication</li> <li>- Refuse to take up the mother role</li> <li>- Unwelcomed self-disclosure (e.g., affairs with other men)</li> </ul>
Sister	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sharing of experience and knowledge about courtship</li> <li>- Offering friendly reminders of possible risks</li> <li>- Knowing her/his preference</li> <li>- Unconditional acceptance and support</li> <li>- Common interest</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Having quarrels</li> <li>- Isolating her</li> <li>- Ridiculous</li> <li>- Competing for parents' care and concern</li> </ul>

	Positive	Negative
Brother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Acting as a mediator in family conflict</li> <li>- Offering suggestions regarding problems</li> <li>- Offering friendly reminders of possible risks</li> <li>- Offering a sense of protection</li> <li>- Having relaxing time together</li> <li>- Showing concern on her/his feeling</li> <li>- Assurance and support</li> <li>- Common interest</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Using foul language in communication</li> <li>- Alienating attitude</li> <li>- No talent and skill (useless)</li> <li>- Interfering with her/his social life</li> <li>- Boring</li> <li>- Sexual harassment</li> </ul>
Stepfather	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Offering immediate help</li> <li>- Giving knowledge</li> <li>- Understanding</li> <li>- Offering freedom</li> <li>- Showing respect to her/his self-determination</li> <li>- Showing support during crisis</li> <li>- Communicating via MSN</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bragging about oneself</li> <li>- Sexual harassment</li> <li>- Fighting with her/him</li> </ul>
Stepmother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sacrificing her own need</li> <li>- Giving rewards for her/his positive behavior</li> <li>- Willing to communicate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Showing no concern (feeling of alienation)</li> </ul>
Stepsister	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Able to communicate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Feeling uncomfortable when living with a person without a blood relationship</li> </ul>

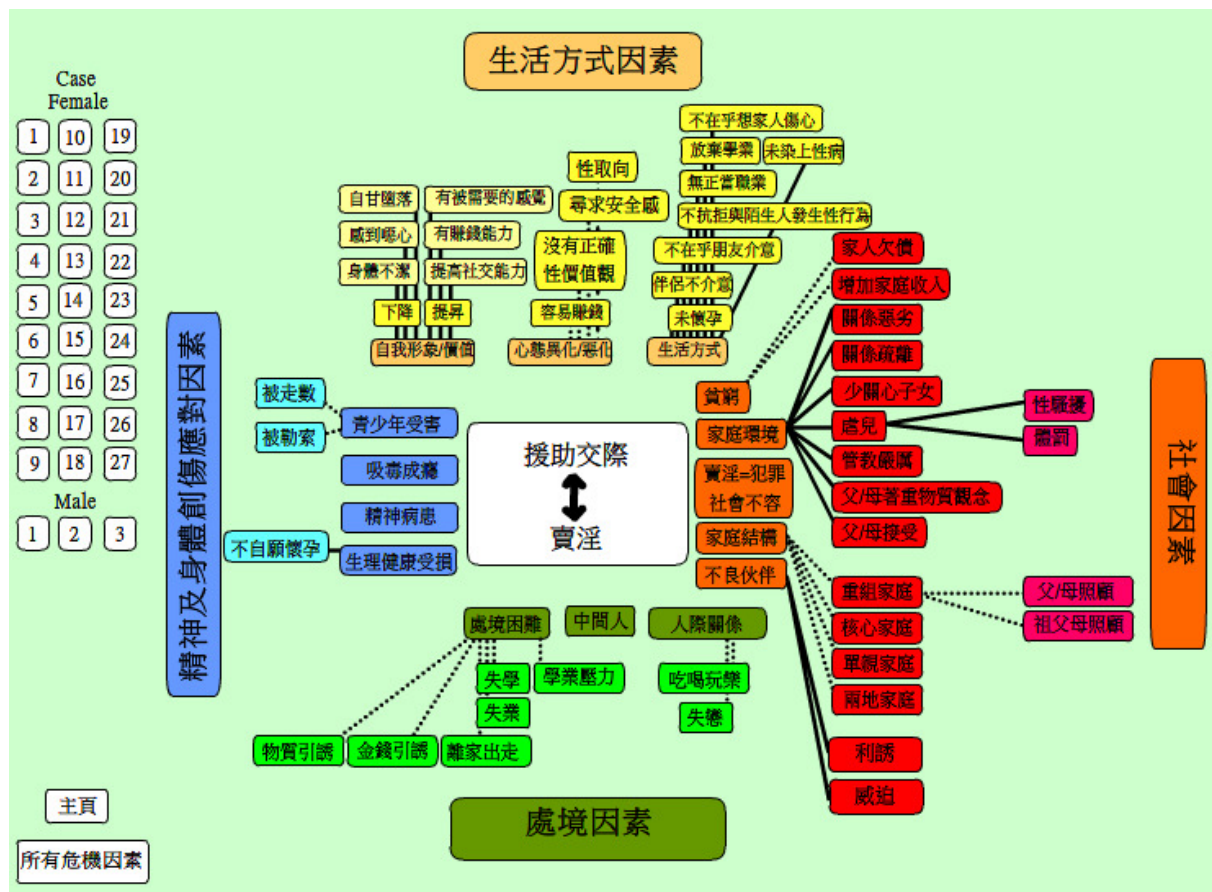
	Positive	Negative
Stepbrother	- NA	- Feeling uncomfortable when living with a person without a blood relationship - Envy
Grandparent	- Tangible support - Offering her/him the most significant things - Paying attention to her/his needs	- Using foul language in communication - Inflexible thinking - Self-pity - Showing concern too much - Treating her/him as a scapegoat (having poor relationships with her/his parents)
Another relative	- Caring and support by sisters-in-law and cousins	- Taking advantage of him/her

## **Appendix 7: Relevant transcripts from qualitative interviews with adolescents with experience in compensated dating or prostitution**

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Appendix 7 contains personal data of the interviewees. To comply with the requirements of Chapter 486 Personal Data (Privacy) Ordinance, Appendix 7 has, therefore, been removed.

## Appendix 8: Four characterizing conditions in adolescents with experience in compensated dating or prostitution



## **Appendix 9: Relevant transcripts from qualitative interviews with parents**

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Appendix 9 contains personal data of the interviewees. To comply with the requirements of Chapter 486 Personal Data (Privacy) Ordinance, Appendix 9 has, therefore, been removed.

## **Appendix 10: Relevant transcripts from qualitative interviews with professionals**

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Appendix 10 contains personal data of the interviewees. To comply with the requirements of Chapter 486 Personal Data (Privacy) Ordinance, Appendix 10 has, therefore, been removed.

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