



THE GEOGRAPHY OF CRIME: LANDSCAPES OF VISIBLE PROSTITUTION IN SAN DIEGO

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Crimes are not equally distributed throughout the territorial extent of cities. Each specific category of crime has a spatial distribution of its own. Stereotypically, people perceive central business districts of cities to be dangerous, high-crime areas, while places at some distance from downtown, such as the suburbs, are thought to be safer. However, this general perception is by no means always accurate. Because the internal structure of cities is dynamic and always changing, generalizations based on classical urban models about the spatial distribution of crime may no longer be appropriate. Harries, for example, argues that "changes in urban systems are occurring so rapidly that our ability to monitor, analyze, and understand is exceeded, at least with respect to criminogenesis."¹ As the pace of urban decentralization accelerates in Western cities, it becomes increasingly clear that crime may concentrate in areas other than the inner city. The creation of historical preservation districts in downtown areas may even discourage the concentration of certain types of criminal activity.

Rengert's work on suburban burglary demonstrates that certain types of crime tend to be more prevalent at particular kinds of sites.² Along similar lines, Ley and

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Cybriwsky determined that particular categories of crime tend to cluster. They observed the kinds of places where cars were stripped and abandoned; and they pondered the rôle of landscape in relation to crime. They ask: "might there exist a common set of spatial and ecological conditions favorable to deviant behavior?"³ In the process of analyzing crime on a micro scale, Newman observed that crime rates in New York's public housing differed from building to building and stairwell to stairwell. In reaching beyond the confines of neighborhood crime rates, he detects environmental design features which appear to account for varying rates of crime. Newman concludes that "certain kinds of space and spatial layout favor the clandestine activities of criminals."⁴

These observations regarding the place specificity of various crime categories appear to be applicable to visible prostitution.⁵ Accordingly, this paper will identify a set of common landscape variables which are advantageous to streetwalkers. By providing a woman with a plausible excuse to stand on the street during daylight hours, such variables will either help to protect her from arrest or enhance her visibility so that she can generate business. The relationship between landscape variables and arrest rates will be tested statistically to determine if a linear relationship exists at a micro or block level.⁶

Though prostitution has been an integral part of the urban scene throughout time, it has generally been neglected by geographers, its spatial character notwithstanding. A notable exception, and one of a relative handful of works by geographers on prostitution, is Richard Symanski's book, *The Immoral Landscape*. Symanski not only discusses the strategies which streetwalkers employ while soliciting, but also implies that there is a relationship between landscape and prostitution.⁷ Prostitutes, says Symanski, will "choose locations that facilitate their ability to spot vice squad and customers. Their locational predictability helps return business."⁸ Stopp examines the distribution of massage parlors in Washington, D.C. He notes that those massage parlors which blend into the

surrounding environment by conforming to limitations on signs and exterior building facades are more likely to be accepted by the community and ignored by the police.⁹ Similarly, Shumsky and Springer, in tracing the historical distribution of brothels in San Francisco, found that their distribution changed in response to the variety of legal restrictions placed upon prostitution.¹⁰

Few studies, however, have encompassed the distribution of visible prostitution, which constitutes a frequent and important aspect of the American street scene. Visible prostitution is, by far, the most obtrusive form of prostitution; and, like other forms of prostitution, it has both social and moral overtones for communities. Because streetwalkers are so highly visible, people are likely to express concern and disapproval wherever they conduct business. Accordingly, visible prostitution tends to "cluster" in response to restrictions placed upon the mobility of streetwalkers by influential communities and the police.¹¹ In spite of police sweeps and community harassment, however, women tend to return to their "favorite" locations time after time.

The reason for this seemingly irrational behavior on the part of streetwalkers can be ascertained, at least in part, by studying the urban landscape. When this is done, it can be demonstrated that it is not simply a particular neighborhood which attracts prostitutes, but rather a combination of relaxed social attitudes, traffic patterns, and landscape variables which are advantageous to their line of work. Indeed, insofar as visible prostitution is concerned, landscape may serve as an indicator of its presence. Thus, since prostitution often accompanies other types of criminal activity, a better understanding of the networks and patterns of visible prostitution could help police officials predict possible sites of more violent crimes and determine which parts of the city require more surveillance.¹² Once the landscape variables important to streetwalkers are identified, more is understood not only about the places where crime occurs, but also about why crime occurs where it does. Though varying crime rates

for cities and neighborhoods have been researched by others, such research has seldom focused on block-level factors. By utilizing a micro-scale level of analysis, it is possible to discern detailed patterns of crime and also to acquire a better understanding of the spatial processes associated with criminal activity.

The Changing Distribution of Prostitution in San Diego

At the turn of the century, nearly every major American city had a zone of tolerated vice.¹³ The historical distribution of so-called red-light districts was clustered, with all "immoralities" (brothels, drug-trafficking, gambling, and streetwalkers) confined to one area, often a single neighborhood.¹⁴ This spatial segregation of prostitution existed as a result of police corruption. Uptown landlords charged exorbitant rents to red-light tenants, and police graft was common.¹⁵ Male police officers, patrons, musicians, and messengers were free to move into and out of these zones — women were not. Prostitutes were restricted in their movements, especially outside of these districts; and no "respectable" woman would ruin her reputation by entering them. Indeed, some women were so physically confined to the red-light zones and their brothels that they were commonly referred to as "inmates." In San Francisco's Barbary Coast, for example, certain alleys had gates which kept women bound to their work.¹⁶ Because red-light zones were areas of gender-restricted mobility, prostitutes tended to work and reside in the same locale.

During the last two decades of the previous century, San Diego's red-light district, the Stingaree, was located downtown by the waterfront and in the midst of Chinatown, "a place avoided by respectable people."¹⁷ (See Figure 1.) At that time, San Diego was a boisterous boom town, comparable to several other growing Southern California towns of the day. It had a male-dominated society consisting of fishermen, miners, sailors, laborers, and cowboys. Women were scarce, particularly for Asians who, due to the Asian Exclusion Acts of the late nine-

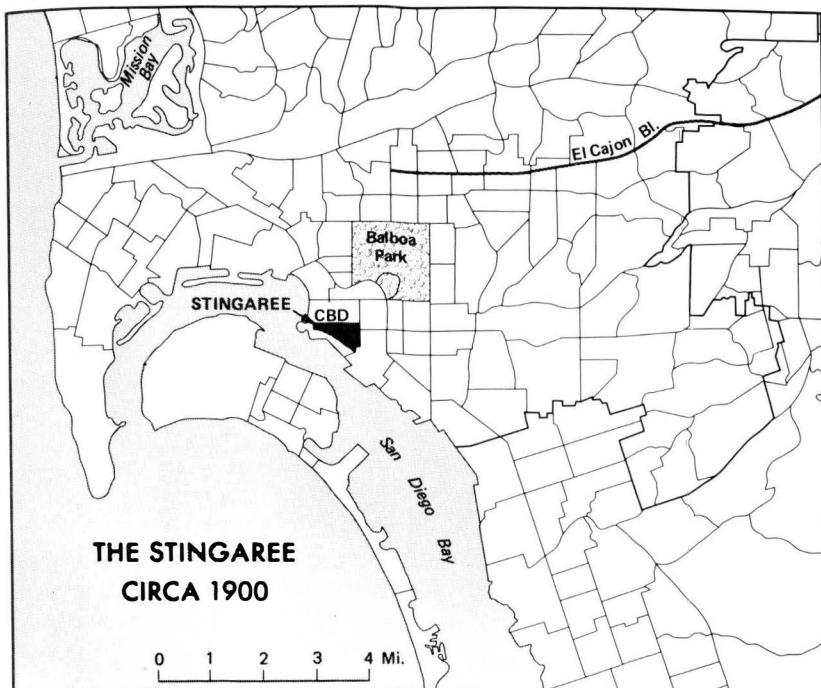


Figure 1. The Stingaree, San Diego's historic red-light district, was located south of the present-day Central Business District, along the original waterfront.

teenth century,¹⁸ were forbidden to bring wives or families.¹⁹ Historians estimate that in the heyday of the Stingaree, there were 350 prostitutes and seventy-one saloons in a ten-square-block section of San Diego. Flop houses, opium dens, saloons, gambling halls, and bull pens were intermixed with small, Chinese shops and the Chinese market. The turn-of-the-century Stingaree was described as a place where: "Hopheads crazed with their drugs and painted women hysterically disheveled from drink fought out their battles in a vile-smelling arena."²⁰

Like red-light districts in most cities, the Stingaree also had exclusive parlor houses which catered to a more affluent clientele. The women who worked in these houses were considered a step above an ordinary prostitute. Regardless of the status of individual prostitutes, however,

all were normally confined to red-light zones; and their mobility was restricted.²¹ In 1887, for example, when three women (prostitutes) attempted to attend a performance at Leach's Opera House, outside the Stingaree, they were escorted from the theater while the audience "thundered applause."²²

In 1912, according to newspaper accounts, the police finally "slammed the lid on prostitution in the Stingaree."²³ They held a massive crackdown, arresting 138 women. The prostitutes were given an ultimatum—they could reform or leave town. The following day, 136 women left town. Nonetheless, Chief of Police Wilson was doubtful about the success of the raid. After the red-light district closed, he claimed that he saw "no means of preventing the spread of prostitution to other parts of the city."²⁴ As predicted, just one week later a couple was arrested for prostitution. This time they were uptown, clearly outside of the Stingaree.²⁵

Since 1912, prostitution has spread outward from the original zone of the Stingaree. Prostitution remained downtown, along Market Street; but it also spread to Broadway, downtown San Diego's main commercial thoroughfare. Eventually, it moved into Point Loma, where the Navy and Marine Recruit Depots were located. When San Diegans departed for inland and eastern suburbs, prostitutes soon followed along major traffic routes, but most commonly along El Cajon Boulevard, which traverses some eight miles from Park Boulevard near the city center to La Mesa Boulevard beyond the city limits. In 1987, San Diego witnessed over 500 arrests for visible prostitution, the majority along El Cajon Boulevard (Figure 2).

Data and Methodology

Data on arrests for prostitution was accessed from the records section of the San Diego Police Department. Each case file contained specific details about a woman's arrest as well as the circumstances directly prior to her arrest, such as street address of the crime, dialogue before the arrest, and the activity in which the woman was engaged

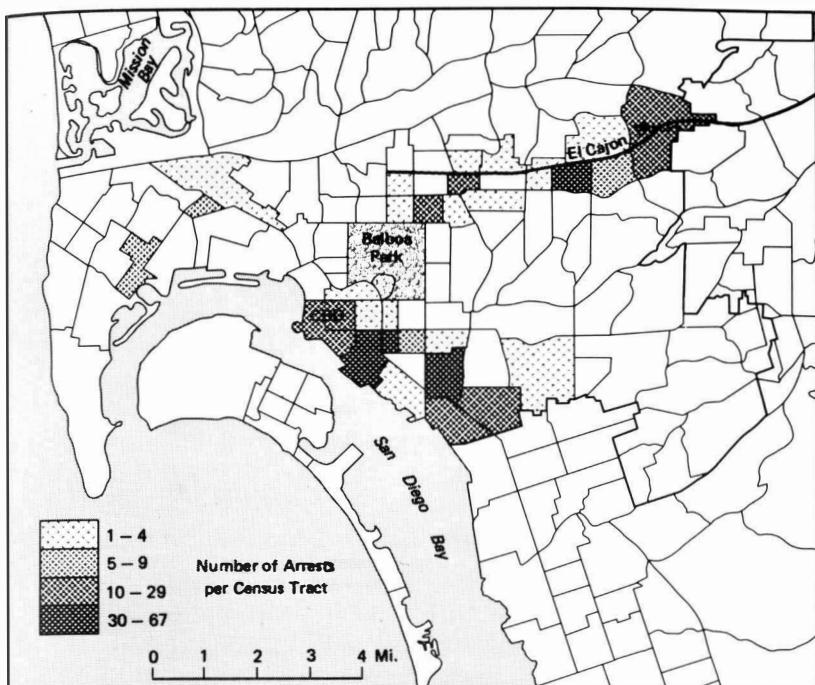


Figure 2. Depicted are arrests for solicitations per census tract. The blocks between 40th and 55th of El Cajon Boulevard are the focus of contemporary visible prostitution in San Diego.

(walking, sitting, hitchhiking) before she was approached by a police decoy. The only police data used was that for women who were arrested and booked. Data actually utilized included none on any of the hundreds of women who, in the process of being given citations on the street, promised to appear in court; all data on prostitutes who were arrested on warrants was also excluded. For purposes of statistical analysis, the location where an officer first saw a woman soliciting on the street was designated as the "arrest site," though normally this was not the location of the actual arrest. The site of initial solicitation was used since a majority of arrests were actually made in a police officer's car, after a woman had incriminated herself as a prostitute. The street addresses of initial instances of solicitation as well as the residence addresses of prostitutes

were both mapped by census tract to display general city trends.

In addition to utilizing arrest data, extensive field work was conducted in areas with high arrest rates. This consisted of walking and driving along streets frequented by prostitutes and recording observations of streetwalkers and their activities for various times and days of the week. Activities observed and recorded included the way women used their immediate environment, where and how potential customers pulled over to prostitutes on the street, and what kind of objects the women stood near or by while soliciting. These data provided a foundation from which comparisons could be made with police arrest patterns.

Permission was also received to survey convicted prostitutes at Los Colinas Correctional Center in San Diego. Information acquired in this manner substantiated assumptions made about the link between landscape and the activities of streetwalkers. In the survey questionnaire, women were asked to rank street features which were important to their work and to list characteristics which made a location optimal. Questions pertained only to work locations and the work environment. No personal questions were included. Since women were not allowed to be directly interviewed, only general answers were provided. Many women did not want to be surveyed. Some assumed that the research was for police use, even though they were told otherwise. Thirty women completed the questionnaires; and judging from questions which were answered, it appears that responses, though brief, were honest. Inferential statistics were applied to the police arrest data.

It was hypothesized, for example, that as the number of "important" landscape variables per intersection increased, so would the number of arrests. This was based on the assumption that women would be arrested most often where they worked. A multiple regression was used to determine whether the relationship between arrests and landscape variables was linear (Table 1). Thirty cases

**Table 1. EXTRACTED VARIABLES FROM
STEP-WISE REGRESSION**

Variable	% of Variance Explained	Cumulative Variance
1. Telephones	.24	.24
2. Lots	.17	.41
3. Liquor Stores	.10	.51
4. Benches	.09	.60

Together, these four variables accounted for 60 percent of the total variance in the regression equation. Public telephones, which accounted for almost 25 percent of the variance, were the most important variable.

were selected randomly from all the streets along El Cajon Boulevard on which police arrests occurred. At least thirty streets were required in order to use inferential statistics.

Landscape variables were selected from field checks, observations, and survey response data. They included the most common and characteristic features of the street, such as business types and bus stops. Other variables, such as trash cans, public telephones, landscaping, trees, and bushes were used because of their differing frequency from corner to corner. The remaining variables were objects and places traditionally linked with prostitutes—street lamps, adult theaters, bars, motels, and the like (Table 2).

Landscape variables and arrests were totaled for each intersection for all thirty of the cases along El Cajon Boulevard. This data was then computed at the .05 significance level, using a step-wise regression to extract the most significant variable first (Table 1).

Distribution of Visible Prostitution in 1987

Discerned meso patterns of visible prostitution for the City of San Diego can be observed in Figure 2. Study results show three obviously clustered zones. These zones might be considered the type of communities which are

Table 2. LANDSCAPE VARIABLES MEASURED ALONG EL CAJON BOULEVARD

corners	street lamps	bus stops
walls	trees	benches
alleys	bushes	telephones
signs	massage parlors	trash cans
card shops	lots	7-11 stores
theaters	gas stations	corner stores
bars	auto-related businesses	liquor stores
gyms	motorcycle businesses	fast food stops
	restaurants	

more vulnerable to visible prostitution because of their environmental, social, and economic attributes. The first zone is downtown San Diego, which contains parts of the old Stingaree boundaries. Here, old hotels still cater to transient workers and minorities (Figure 3). Traditional areas of prostitution often retain the same land usage, sometimes, as in the case of Paris, for centuries.²⁶ Further, the inner city has been identified as a place where the poor, street people, and prostitutes often reside.²⁷ It should be added that many city centers grow up around waterfronts; and because of the proximity to sailors, saloons, and dance halls, prostitution often became a feature of old waterfront districts.²⁸

The second zone of prostitution is in a low-income, minority community located in southeast San Diego. Prostitution has long been associated with low-income areas, in part because there are often but few alternative economic opportunities available to women living in these neighborhoods. Immigrant enclaves, such as Chicago's West Side, New York's Bowery, and San Francisco's Barbary Coast, were communities noted not only for their ethnic character, but also for their poverty and prostitution. Of course, not all immigrant women working in these neighborhoods were prostitutes, nor are most minority women in southeast San Diego. However, some locals may become "part-timers."²⁹ Police reports cited the



Figure 3. Former red-light districts and run-down sections of downtown areas are the parts of cities most often identified with prostitution.

diverse range of earnings among prostitutes. The earnings of women arrested in southeast San Diego indicate that they were paid, by far, the lowest fees for their services. Thus, the poorest neighborhoods are not the most desirable places for streetwalkers to work; indeed, such neighborhoods tend to be their last alternative. Also located in southeast San Diego is the 32nd Street Naval Station, close to the waterfront. Here, professionals work one small strip

on Main Street and serve the military, the shipyards, and factory workers.

The third zone of prostitution is located inland, along El Cajon Boulevard, and serves as the primary locale analyzed in this paper. El Cajon Boulevard is a commercial strip, similar to those found throughout the United States. Commercial activity along the Boulevard includes a string of auto-related businesses, bars, cheap motels, and Southeast Asian restaurants. Inadvertently, the presence of car dealerships provides streetwalkers with unclaimed spaces or "lots" (Figure 4). The position El Cajon Boulevard once held as a major shopping district has diminished as shoppers have shown a preference for modern malls. In the process, land uses have changed from family-oriented enterprises, such as children's clothing stores, to bars and card shops (Figure 5). However, El Cajon Boulevard still serves San Diego as a major traffic arterial for commuters who work downtown and live in the suburbs. Like other strip developments of the post-war years, it is designed to accommodate the automobile and to provide drivers with maximum accessibility to a variety of businesses. In marked contrast to conditions on the freeways, traffic along the Boulevard is slow-moving and interrupted with stop lights, which facilitates solicitation of motorists.

In line with past findings, most San Diego prostitutes live close to the areas in which they work (Figure 6). Frequently, however, a prostitute arrested in one zone of high prostitution activity would indicate that her residence was located in another of the high prostitution arrest zones. This suggests that women may live in one zone and work in the other two, depending upon levels of police enforcement or the time of day. Thus, though contemporary streetwalkers may be less spatially restricted than prostitutes of a century ago, they apparently are still somewhat limited in their residential choices; or, perhaps, they may simply prefer to live close to the area where they work out of convenience. Since both arrests of prostitutes and their residences display a clustered distribution, de facto zones of prostitution can be said to exist in



Figure 4. Automobile-oriented businesses provide empty lots and void space which may be utilized by prostitutes.

San Diego. These zones are known to police, patrons, and the public; and while this data depicts the general pattern of visible prostitution, a more revealing picture can be gleaned by analyzing prostitution at the micro level.

Landscapes of Visible Prostitution

The single most important unit in a streetwalker's environment is a corner formed by the intersection of two



Figure 5. Businesses such as card shops, adult book stores, and theaters help generate customers for streetwalkers.

streets. Surveyed prostitutes ranked corners as the most important variable in their work. Furthermore, nearly all police arrest records indicate that women cited for solicitation were either posed on a corner or walking. When a given corner is not functioning well as a base for attracting customers, or when it becomes too dangerous or visible to police, women usually walk to a new location. In most cases, a woman will stand on a corner until she has found

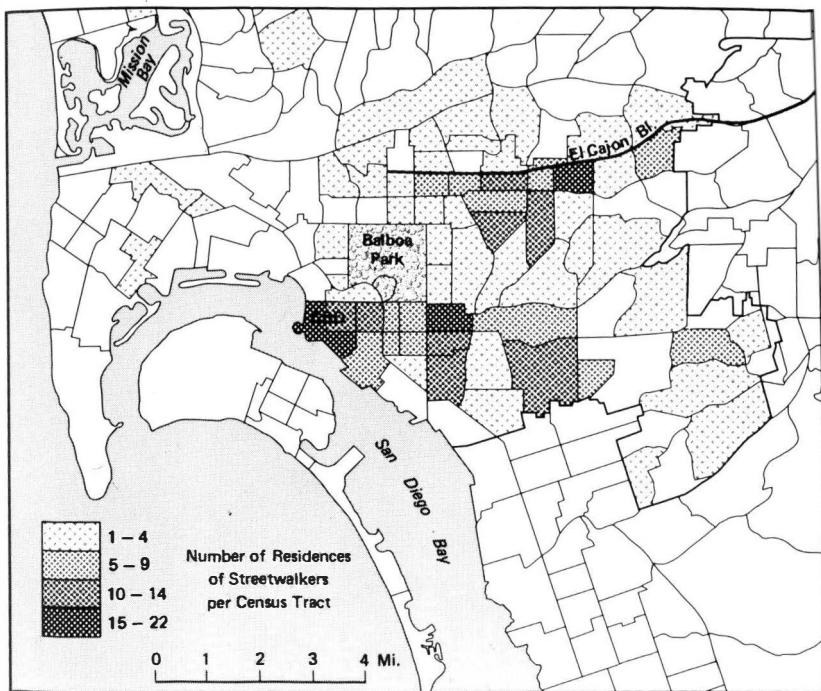


Figure 6. Mapping the residences of streetwalkers by census tract indicates that many prostitutes live close to the areas where they work.

a patron. In an interview, one streetwalker indicated that "a lot of the time we just stand on a corner; or if there's a lot of cops out, we keep walking."³⁰ Figure 7 shows the level of activity streetwalkers look for on a corner. The woman waiting for the bus, the man leaning on the mail box, and the woman using the public phone booth create a street scenario which streetwalkers could easily use for a corner turf. This particular corner is, in fact, a regular "hangout" for streetwalkers. The gas station next to the corner grocery allows potential patrons to pull over and maneuver their cars quickly.

Survey results showed a definite pattern. Women consistently preferred street features (landscape variables) which allowed the greatest visibility, such as corners, transportation stops, and lots. Women also ranked motels highly. Though motels do not provide visibility per se,



Figure 7. On this corner, a bus stop bench, a telephone booth, and temporary parking combine to provide a streetwalker with excuses for loitering as well as a means of disguise to shield her from the police. Additionally, both the wall of the grocery store and the sidewalk sign could possibly be used to shield a prostitute from patrol cars. Corners which are active during the day, like this one, provide the street a certain degree of anonymity.

they are extremely important in determining locations for solicitations. Most areas known for prostitution will have an ample supply of inexpensive motels or hotels, though a possible exception may occur in situations where prostitutes work in brothels or massage parlors. Motels, in any event, are meso features with a sphere of influence for a whole neighborhood; yet they are not necessarily important on a micro scale or block level. Figure 8 shows a typical motel along El Cajon Boulevard. Note the advantageous location of the public phone booth. A streetwalker may not have to stand in front of a motel as long as one is nearby. She knows that a customer can easily transport her to a neighborhood motel. It is more practical to solicit where business can be generated easily and to decide later upon a specific place for sexual acts. The question of



Figure 8. According to police reports, many of the inexpensive hotels along El Cajon Boulevard facilitate the activities of streetwalkers.

"place" is, in fact, usually discussed in a patron's car; and depending upon the price of the woman, couples may use vacant lots, alleys, car interiors, or motels. Some women live temporarily in a motel and have their first customer of the day pay the price of the room. Motels are usually safer for prostitutes than cars and other alternate locations. Some streetwalkers, however, will not enter a car. Rather, they will talk to potential clients through car win-

dows and tell them which motel to meet at once a price has been agreed upon. Though this strategy is not inherently less dangerous, it is less conspicuous than entering a car. Other women prefer working out of cars. One woman admitted: "I like car dates because you don't have to take your clothes off . . . it's easy money; and you do it right there in the car."³¹ In San Diego, where several prostitutes have been recent victims of a serial murderer, they may be more cautious.

A close examination of arrest figures discloses surprising differences in arrest rates from one corner to the next. Indeed, the confirmation that some intersections have a disproportionate frequency of arrests (see Figure 9) raises a number of questions. Could certain corners be more important to streetwalkers than others? Or do they select spots for solicitation randomly? Why should different arrest rates occur on a strip with seemingly homogeneous characteristics? Perhaps the landscape is not so homogeneous; rather, features significant for prostitution may occur with differing frequency. Landscape variables, in fact, do appear to be one of the main reasons for disparities in arrest rates. Figure 10 is a photograph of the corner with the second highest number of arrests for El Cajon Boulevard. The landscape variables on this corner combine to create a virtually ideal environment for solicitation. The public phone booth in front of the building and the large parking lot, in combination with the card shop across the street and the motel half a block from the corner (both unseen in this photo), all work together to facilitate solicitations by streetwalkers.

Analysis by multiple regression, which extracted the landscape variables that explained the greatest amount of variance, supports a connection between landscape content and crime. The regression explained 60 percent of the variance with four variables—telephone booths, lots, bus stop benches, and liquor stores (Table 1). The four variables—extracted through use of the multiple regression equation (Table 1)—demonstrate the need of streetwalkers to utilize their environment in such a way that they can

ARRESTS PER BLOCK 1987

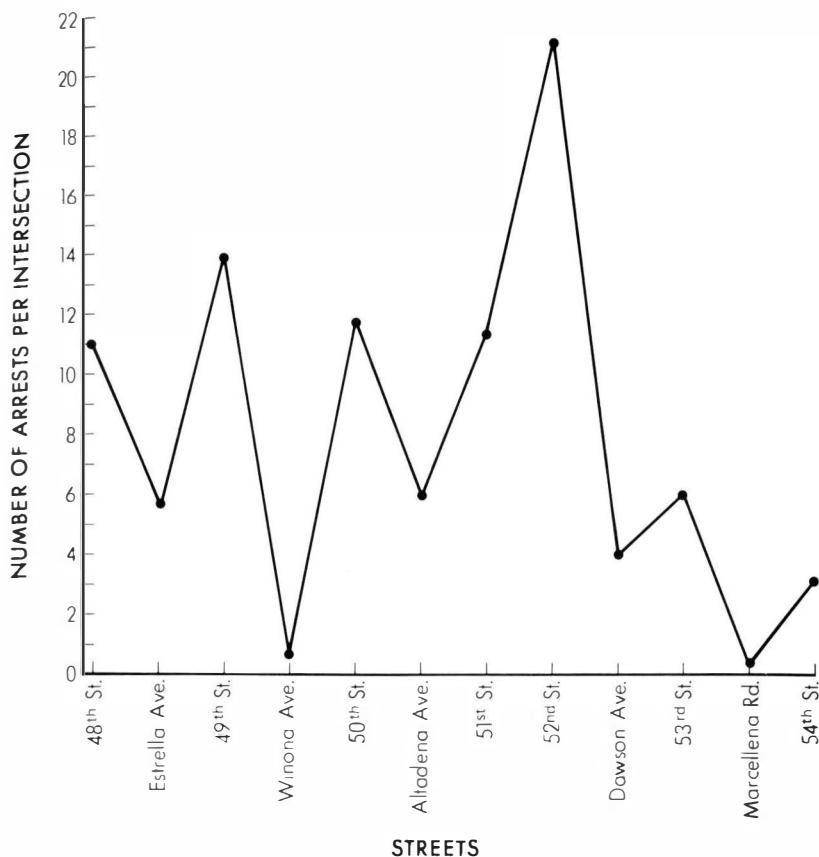


Figure 9. Streetwalkers do not choose solicitation sites randomly. Extreme variations in the arrest rates per block along El Cajon Boulevard reveal their preferences.

blend, periodically, into the streetscape and protect themselves from criminal arrest.

Landscape variables such as telephones and benches at bus stops provide women with a plausible excuse to loiter or stand on the street without appearing obvious to the casual observer. Even on a quiet street, such as the one in Figure 11, the presence of a telephone provides streetwalkers an acceptable excuse to loiter. Telephones are fre-

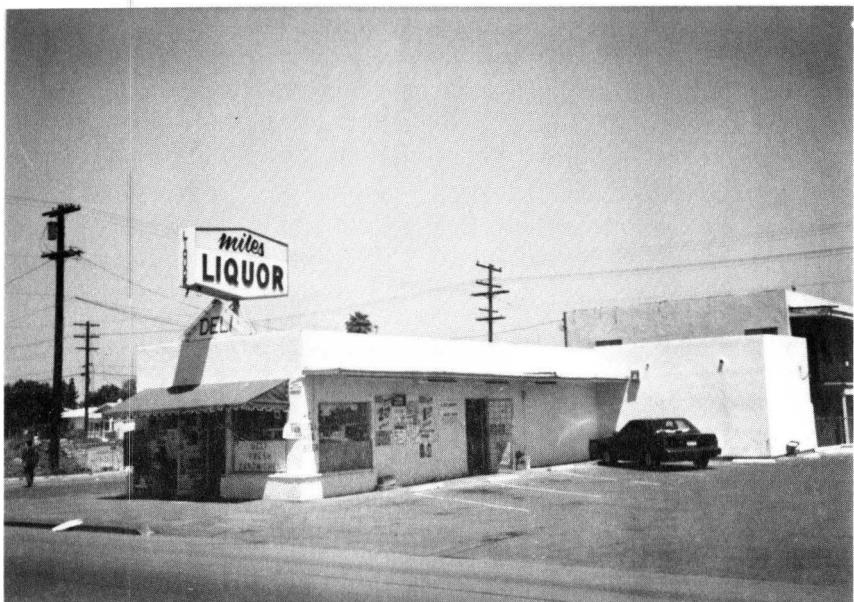


Figure 10. The public telephone, the liquor store, and the readily available parking space all combine to create a micro environment conducive to visible prostitution.

quently located on corners near businesses or liquor stores and sometimes in the parking lots of convenience stores. In San Diego, Pacific Bell currently allows some businesses to have a public telephone removed if it proves to be a public nuisance and serves as a loitering ground for street-walkers.³² In such situations, women utilize telephones as their excuse to be in front of a 7-11 outlet or some other store while scanning the parking lot for customers.

Liquor stores, especially those located near motels or gas stations (lots) and on corners, are favored locales; for they usually have good accessibility as well as parking lots. In California, some of these stores are even able to accommodate drive-through business. Dialogue in police reports frequently noted brief trips to stores for food, liquor, cigarettes, or condoms before going to motels. Many women requested these things before sexual acts, perhaps because they were outdoors, exposed to the elements, and



Figure 11. Statistically, telephones proved to be the most important landscape variable for streetwalkers. They allow women to loiter inconspicuously.

may have been tired and thirsty. One woman, at least, was arrested for solicitation after she promised an undercover police officer oral sex if he would buy her dinner at a Taco Bell restaurant. Obviously, this woman was less of a professional than most streetwalkers; but even seasoned professionals use convenience stores along the El Cajon strip. Sometimes, entering a store provides a means of escaping from view when police drive by; bus stops may offer similar protection.

In order to minimize the attention they receive, most women who work the Boulevard during daylight hours are more subtle in their behavior. This need for subtlety can pose a dilemma for women. In order to solicit successfully, streetwalkers have to be seen; yet, they want to avoid police confrontation. Working at a busy bus stop may present a means to eliminate some of the problem. If a woman wants to be less visible, she can sit on a bus stop bench. If she wants higher visibility, however, she advertises by standing or even hitchhiking near the bus stop. When police are patrolling, she can alternate between sitting or standing. Some women, though, will solicit boldly on the curb line regardless of the time of day. Although the prostitute in Figure 12 was not sitting at a bus stop, she employed the same type of day-time tactics. A bus stop was just a few feet to her right, but to lower her visibility during the day she preferred to sit. She alternated her behavior discreetly, at times sitting passively on the fire hydrant, at times calling out and waving to passing vehicles on Main Street in southeast San Diego. As anticipated, this prostitute chose a location which was near an auto repair shop and a card shop. Cohen noted that "over crowded parking conditions interfere with business negotiations. [Prostitutes require] accessible curb-side areas where cars can easily approach and temporarily park."³³ A bus stop, or some other area of restricted parking, provides accessibility for patrons.

A crowded corner can sometimes be advantageous to a streetwalker, since at such a place she may go unnoticed by police. As was the case with telephones, bus stop benches are usually found at busy intersections. High numbers of people and cars passing at particular corners serve to help keep streetwalkers in business. One streetwalker claimed she preferred to solicit in places "where there's people around."³⁴ Where people mill about, shopping or running errands, prostitutes are less noticeable. Most pedestrians and drivers may look at a discreet streetwalker and assume that she is not a prostitute because she appears to be waiting for a bus. Particularly in San Diego where



Figure 12. During the day, bus stops provide streetwalkers with a plausible excuse to stand on corners.

many women dress somewhat scantly because of the mild climate, a prostitute who is not clad in gaudy or vulgar fashion may be passed over as just another young woman.³⁵

Lots, a common characteristic of commercial strips, are found along the entire length of El Cajon Boulevard. In addition to the accessibility which they offer drivers, lots afford streetwalkers with maximum visibility, since they present neither obstructions nor distractions which might bar a potential customer's view. Depending on the time of day, lots can even be used for commission of sexual acts. More importantly, many lots comprise anonymous space. Where lot space is not linked to a business or store, a void is created; and prostitutes claim and use such spaces as their own. Of course, not all lots are vacant; some, such as used-car lots, are linked directly to businesses. Obviously, prostitutes can not use these spaces during the day. At night, however, many of these same lots will be deserted

and empty and are then more likely to be used by prostitutes and their clients. Shop owners and restaurant operators often resent streetwalkers because their presence is considered a sign of a high-crime area.

Conclusions

Streetwalkers will use their immediate environment either to protect themselves or to increase their visibility. The micro environment of the commercial strip provides an advantageous locale for women. Along such strips, there are "hot spots" or "pockets" where the existence of anonymous space, certain types of stores, and other landscape variables allow prostitutes to generate a lot of business. Women know which corners are most suitable for solicitation; and multiple arrests notwithstanding, they will return constantly to these sites. Survey responses identified landscape variables which provided women with visibility. Use of a step-wise multiple regression yielded a moderate statistical relationship between the number of arrests per intersection and the presence of telephone booths, lots, liquor stores, and bus stop benches. A linear relationship was determined; as the four landscape variables increased, so did the number of arrests per intersection. Like other types of crime, visible prostitution has a spatial distribution of its own. Prostitutes will seek out places which are most conducive to their dual need for visibility and protection from arrest. Prostitutes are no longer confined to red-light districts similar to those of the past. Today, streetwalkers will solicit in the suburbs as well as in other parts of the city where their presence is tolerated, and where environmental features combine to create suitable locations for visible prostitution.



NOTES

1. Keith Harries, *Crime and the Environment* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1980), p. 33.
2. George Rengert and John Wasilchick, *Suburban Burglary* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1985).

3. David Ley and Roman Cybriwsky, "The Spatial Ecology of Stripped Cars," *Environment and Behavior*, Vol. 6 (1974), p. 53.
4. Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973), p. 12.
5. Visible prostitution refers to women soliciting sexual favors in public for payment. A person who engages in this type of activity is often called a "streetwalker." This paper does not examine the distribution of other forms of prostitution, such as escort services and massage parlors, nor does it study male prostitution.
6. The terms "meso" and "micro" are both used frequently in the paper. Meso refers to those features of neighborhoods which make them attractive to prostitutes, such as inexpensive hotels and motels or close proximity to male employment. Micro refers to features helpful to prostitutes at the block level. A street lamp, for example, allows a prostitute to be seen more easily on one corner than on another.
7. Richard Symanski, *The Immoral Landscape* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), pp. 162-178.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
9. Harry Stopp, Jr., "The Distribution of Massage Parlors in the Nation's Capitol," *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 11 (1978), pp. 989-995; see especially, p. 995.
10. Neil Shumsky and Larry Springer, "San Francisco's Zone of Prostitution, 1880-1934," *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 7 (1981), pp. 71-89; see especially, p. 88.
11. Helen Reynolds, *The Economics of Prostitution* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles Thomas Publishers, 1986), p. 7-9.
12. *San Diego Union*, May 16, 1984, B-2.
13. Mark Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 1-5.
14. L. Bowen, *The Road to Destruction Made Easy in Chicago* (Chicago: The Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, 1916), p. 83.
15. Robert E. Reigel, "Changing American Attitudes Towards Prostitution (1800-1920)," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 29 (1968), pp. 437-452; see especially, p. 445.
16. Jacqueline Barnhart, *The Fair But Frail* (Reno: The University of Nevada Press, 1986), p. 30-40.

17. Elizabeth MacPhail, "San Diego's Chinese Mission," *Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 23 (1977), pp, 9-21; see especially, p. 9.
18. R. Heizer and A. Almquist, *The Other Californians* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 154-177.
19. This is certainly not meant to infer that Asians were drawn to the Stingaree by choice. Rather, through no fault of their own, they were often found near to or in areas of prostitution. This was also true of other poor, immigrant groups, such as the Blacks in Detroit, the Irish in Boston, and the Italians in Chicago. Since Chinese merchants were "favored" by the American government, they were allowed to bring their families. However, this was not a privilege extended to the "coolie," or common laborer. Male Chinese residents of a small city, such as San Diego, often had to travel to Los Angeles for brides. In San Francisco and other large cities, women were smuggled into the country, either as mail order brides or as female slaves (prostitutes).
20. Craig MacDonald, "The Stingaree," *San Diego Union* (May 22, 1977), G-2.
21. In certain cities which were nearly devoid of women, prostitutes sometimes enjoyed greater social freedoms. San Francisco was one such exception. For a brief period of time (1847-1860), San Francisco prostitutes held an unusually high status and often participated in social events.
22. *San Diego Union* (May 6, 1984).
23. *San Diego Union* (November 11, 1912).
24. *Ibid.*
25. Elizabeth MacPhail, *When the Redlights Went Out in San Diego* (San Diego, California: The San Diego Historical Society, 1974), pp. 18-20.
26. Vern and Bonnie Bullough, *Women and Prostitution: A Social History* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1987). See Chapter 10, pp. 188-210.
27. Michael Dear, "Psychiatric Patients of the Inner City," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 67 (1977), pp. 588-594; see especially, p. 589.
28. Barnhart, op. cit., note 16, p. 7.
29. The term "part-timer" refers to women who solicit occasionally and do not make their living solely by means of prostitution. These women are often married and have only a small clientele. As indicated by police records, "part-timers" rarely work on the most well-known streets. Not only would such women

want to keep their identity unknown, but also main thoroughfares seem to be reserved for professionals.

30. Diana Prince, "A Psychological Study of Prostitutes in California and Nevada" (San Diego: United States International University, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1986), p. 223.
31. Prince, op. cit, note 31, p. 229.
32. Pacific Bell Customer Information, 1987.
33. Cohen, op. cit., note 14, p. 81.
34. Prince, op. cit, note 31, p. 117.
35. Both police and potential patrons can confuse streetwalkers with regular women. My sister and I have been questioned by police and approached by males while we walked the Boulevard and when we waited for the bus.