The Effects of Age and Drug Dependency on the
Emotional Exhaustion and Job Satisfaction of Adult Streetworkers in Australia

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ABSTRACT

This multi-method study investigated a sample of adult streetworkers ($n = 107$) in Melbourne, Australia in 2008. We contacted outdoor prostitutes through four “drop-in” centers run by not-for-profit organizations. Drug use was the over-riding common characteristic of most of these streetworkers. Using emotional labor theory as a theoretical framework, we hypothesized that individuals who worked on the streets solely to earn money to buy drugs would experience the highest levels of emotional exhaustion and the lowest levels of job satisfaction. We predicted these effects would be most evident for older drug dependent streetworkers. Content analysis of open-ended interview responses identified acting, age, and drug dependency as key themes. Moderator hierarchical regression analysis of responses to closed-ended questions with tests for mediation supported the hypotheses. It also demonstrated that older drug dependent streetworkers felt most trapped in their occupation and this sense of being locked-in was associated with emotional exhaustion but not with job satisfaction. The evidence that age and drug dependency affects the psychological outcomes associated with streetwork suggests that the efforts of police and the courts will be ineffective in dealing with people whose addiction traps them in an occupation that offers few intrinsic rewards. Decriminalization would encourage police to protect streetworkers from violence. Agencies could seek financial support to provide welfare and exit strategies.

KEYWORDS: streetworkers; job satisfaction; emotion work; prostitution, sexual behavior

INTRODUCTION

Prostitution is a thriving service industry in developed countries. A recent Australian investigation of a nationally representative sample of 20,000 adults reported that 1 in 6 men had paid for sex (Rissel, Richters, Grulich, De Visser, & Smith, 2007). Yet, the work experience of prostitutes is rarely the focus of academic studies (Weitzer, 2000). Research is “concerned more about sex than it is about work” (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001). In this article, we focussed on the traditional work-related psychological outcomes associated with difficult service jobs, in the form of emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction. Several factors make prostitution an occupation likely to be associated with high levels of emotional exhaustion and low levels of job satisfaction. There are the physical risks associated with violence from clients and pimps (Rissel et al., 2007) and the toll that sex with multiple strangers has on a worker’s health (Vanwesenbeeck, 2005). There are also psychological issues that arise from the stigma attached to the occupation (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). These factors are most pronounced for prostitutes who perform their work outdoors (Weitzer, 2000). Sexworkers on the streets face greater risks for lower financial rewards than sexworkers attached to brothels or escort agencies (Weitzer, 2005). Streetwork is illegal in most developed countries and workers endure harassment from police and derision from the community (McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Sanders, 2004).

Sexworkers, like many service workers, engage in emotion work as part of their job activities. Emotion work describes the effort needed by the worker to express the emotions required by the client in interpersonal transactions (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Like an actor on a stage, the worker displays appropriate feelings to elicit the desired response from the client (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Goffman, 1968; Grandey, 2003; Sanders, 2005a). Emotion work consists of surface acting or deep acting (Hochschild, 1983). Surface acting

involves workers shaping their behavior without changing their inner feelings; deep acting involves a modification of inner feelings (Grandey, 2003). Offering sexual services to strangers involves emotion work of the most intense kind. Sexworkers develop practiced lines or scripts designed to please the client; some manufacture an identity, adopt false names, and “dress the part” (Hubbard, 2002; Sanders, 2005a).

Emotion work affects the psychological outcomes of sexwork. A stigma or moral taint is attached to prostitution and other occupations that are “generally regarded as somewhat sinful or of dubious virtue” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). The performance of such “dirty work” usually evokes emotional dissonance in the worker. Emotional dissonance is the conflict between genuinely felt emotions and the displayed emotions demanded by the job; it is the sense of strain caused by portraying feelings that are not felt (Hochschild, 1983). Good emotion work decreases emotional dissonance leading to low emotional exhaustion (Grandey, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Good emotion work is also associated with job satisfaction (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1997): workers who “act the part” and actively engage in emotion work are able to construct a professional identity (Ibarra, 1999) and re-interpret their activities as worthy and skilled work (Bolton, 2005; Mears & Finlay, 2005).

Emotion work, however, can be all-consuming. It may lead to the loss of the worker's sense of authentic self (Hoschschild, 1983). In particular, acting may harm a worker's ability to experience genuine emotion (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). This is particularly damaging for sexworkers because they “fake” innermost sexual and romantic feelings (Terkel, 1974). To combat this problem, workers simultaneously attempt to psychologically detach themselves from their occupation (Brewis & Linstead, 2000). They “separate, change and revise one set of feelings that are appropriate during sexwork while preserving another set of feelings for private

interactions” (Sanders, 2005a, p. 325). Effective psychological distancing is associated with low levels of emotional exhaustion (Sonnentag, Kuttier, & Fritz, 2010) and relatively high job satisfaction (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999).

Not all streetworkers, however, are able to successfully manage the emotional demands of the job. In particular, drug dependency can make it difficult for streetworkers to generate the effort needed for effective emotion work and distancing strategies. Streetwork is performed in large part by illegal drug users (Church, Henderson, Barnard, & Hart, 1999; Cusick & Hickman, 2005; Miller, 1995; Sanders, 2004, 2005b). But drug use is a continuum, ranging from controlled use to full drug dependency (Koob et al., 2004). Sexworkers who go on the streets solely to gain money for drugs will find it particularly challenging to engage in emotion work. They are motivated only by the money needed to acquire the next “fix.” Heroin addicts in particular have short time horizons and are insensitive to the future consequences of their behavior (Petry, Bickel, & Arnett, 1998). Severe drug addiction is characterized by a chronic negative affective state (Koob et al., 2004) that is heightened when access to the drug is denied or uncertain (Koob & Moal, 2002). Client expectations for positive emotional displays conflict with the sexworker’s negative mood, generating emotional dissonance (Morris & Feldman, 1996; Zellars, Hochwarter, Perrewe, Hoffman, & Ford., 2004). Further, the drug dependent worker suppresses emotions by substance abuse rather than by intentional identity separation (Kramer, 2004). Overall, streetworkers who work solely for drug money are least likely to carry out effective emotion work and most likely to have weak distancing strategies. In consequence, they experience high levels of emotional exhaustion and low job satisfaction.

The age of the sexworker (as opposed to work experience) has several direct but conflicting effects on the psychological outcomes of streetwork. Younger workers find it easier

to perform emotion work that is attractive to clients (Edlund & Korn, 2002). At the same time, paid sexual encounters may be particularly distasteful for young people: emerging sexual interest is associated with the search for romance and the emotional attachment offered by a partner (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Shulman & Sharf, 2000). In combination with drug use, however, age has a clear impact on emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction. Older workers who are on the streets solely to earn drug money are likely to be more emotionally exhausted than younger workers because, for older prostitutes, more effort is required to maintain a steady stream of clients (Weitzer, 2000). They are also likely to experience less job satisfaction as a consequence of their lower ability to earn enough to guarantee continuing access to drugs.

Finally, there is a mediating impact of a worker's continuance commitment (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993). Continuance commitment is the degree to which an individual experiences a sense of being locked in to the job (Jaros, Jermier, Koehler, & Sincich, 1993). It is experienced when individuals perceive no escape from situations that are extreme and unpleasant (Oberdiek, 2001) such as prisoners of war (Ursano et al., 1996) and disadvantaged groups faced with persisting inequalities (Taylor, Mogghadam, Gamble, & Zellerer, 1987). In the workplace, continuance commitment is associated with low status jobs in which workers have few, if any, intrinsic rewards (Hearn & Stoll, 1975; Johnson & Chang, 2006).

Continuance commitment in streetwork has been termed “trapping”: drug dependent streetworkers fear that they will be unable to find alternative work that offers sufficient ready cash to satisfy their cravings (Cusick & Hickman, 2005). Older workers in general fear that their age will make it difficult to find other work (Kuhnert & Vance, 1992). Older drug dependent streetworkers, therefore, feel most trapped in their occupation because they are likely to be most

pessimistic about other job opportunities. Yet, although these feelings of being locked-in lead to emotional exhaustion (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2001), they do not influence job satisfaction (Jaros et al., 1993). In contrast to emotional exhaustion, job satisfaction denotes a worker's psychological attachment to the job *regardless* of the availability of other work opportunities (Meyer, Stanley, & Herscovitch, 2002; Tett & Meyer, 1993). Continuance commitment mediates emotional exhaustion but not job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 1: Drug-dependent streetworkers will experience greater emotional exhaustion and less job satisfaction than those who are not drug dependent.

Hypothesis 2: The older the worker with a drug dependency, the higher the emotional exhaustion and lower the job satisfaction relative to comparative workers without a drug dependency.

Hypothesis 3: Continuance commitment mediates the relationship between the moderating impact of age on drug dependency and emotional exhaustion.

METHOD

Participants

There are major difficulties associated with researchers directly approaching streetworkers. Streetworking is illegal in Melbourne, the site of our study. Streetworkers are suspicious of strangers, fearful of arrest or disclosure, and intent on attracting clients (Faugier & Sargent, 1966; Maher, 2000; Miller, 1995). They “live chaotic lives, on different time-frames” (Sanders, 2004). To overcome these problems, we worked closely with the four not-for-profit agencies operating drop-in centers for adult (18 years and over) streetworkers in Melbourne, a major Australian city. During the March-October 2008 period, we made several visits to each center to meet staff and streetworkers and to become familiar with the street environment and

local police patrols. Senior representatives from the four agencies participated in two central project meetings held at the university. We publicized our survey by pinning up posters in the centers, emphasizing the support of the agencies. Agency staff approached workers directly, encouraging participation. We paid streetworkers \$30 cash to offset the loss in their working time. Most interviews lasted about 30 minutes though some continued for well over an hour.

Drawing on a wide range of sex research in the sociological, organizational, legal, medical, and sex studies literatures, we developed an interview protocol comprising open-ended and closed-ended questions. Center staff and streetworkers provided feedback on five pilot drafts. Data collection was conducted November 2008-January 2009. A researcher administered the interview to individual streetworkers in a private room in each center and there was little missing data. Interviews were completed by 107 streetworkers. Our partner agencies estimated that this number represents approximately 25% of the total streetworker population in the area.

The streetworkers were a diverse group. 86 (80%) participants were female, 16 (15%) were male, and 5 (5%) were transgender. Most (80%) of the streetworkers were born and educated in Australia, 10% in New Zealand, and the remainder in the UK and other European countries. Although age ranged from 22 to 54 years, the mean age was 35, and the modal age was 27. Experience in sexwork ranged from 1 month to 33 years. The average length of time spent in sexwork was 12 years although only 25% of the sample had worked in the sex trade continuously. Some had become streetworkers at an early age (as young as 12 years); others at older ages (one at 49 years). The mean age to begin working on the streets was 22 years; the modal age was 17-18 years.

As measured by father's occupation, over a third (37%) of these workers came from families with managerial or professional backgrounds. However, their own educational

background and qualifications were generally low. The mean age of school-leaving was 16 years and some participants had stopped attending school as young as 12 years. Days of work ranged between 1 and 7 days a week, with a mean of 4 days, and most working 7 days. Hours of work per day ranged from less than an hour to 15 hours, with most people working an average of 6 hours. For most streetworkers, income was high, with average weekly earnings of \$1,406. Drug use was the over-riding common characteristic of most of these workers. For most workers, almost all of their income was spent on drugs. The majority used heroin but speed, cocaine, “ice,” ecstasy, and cannabis were also reported. Only 10 workers did not use drugs regularly and some of these had only recently stopped using.

Procedure

We used two methods of analysis: content analysis of qualitative data in the form of responses to open-ended questions and statistical analysis of quantitative data in the form of responses to closed-ended questions.

Content Analysis

In order to identify the themes in our model, we conducted a content analysis of textual data. Content analysis is the process of coding by manual sorting and aggregation of text, resulting in the identification of similar groups of responses (Neuendorf, 2002; Neuman, 2010). Streetworkers were encouraged to describe their jobs and, in two separate questions, to explain the positive and negative aspects of their occupation. Two researchers independently completed a two-stage sorting process. Each worker’s responses were sorted into categories created around a common word or phrase. Related categories were aggregated into broader themes (Neuman, 2010). The two coders’ categories and themes were compared periodically and a common coding manual, consisting of all the categories and themes, was developed. A coefficient of intercoder

reliability was calculated (Cohen's kappa = .79); values between .75 and .80 indicate high reliability (Ellis, 1994).

Statistical Analysis

To test the hypotheses, we used statistical analysis in the form of hierarchical moderator regression with tests for mediation, employing the procedures recommended by Edwards and Lambert (2007). We conducted three separate regressions. We regressed controls, predictors, and the interactive term on continuance commitment, emotional exhaustion, and job satisfaction, respectively. In the last two regressions, we included an extra interactive term (drug dependency x continuous commitment), to take account of any effects of second stage moderation. Expressions involving products of coefficients were tested with confidence intervals using coefficients estimated from 1,000 bootstrap samples.

Unless stated otherwise, streetworkers responded to survey questions in the following way: 1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree. Item responses were averaged to create a scale value.

Predictor Variables

Drug-related job motivation. Five drug-related items were: “I do this work to pay for my drugs,” “I became a sexworker to finance my drug habit,” “I would not be a sexworker if I did not need money to buy drugs,” “I would quit this job if I did not need the money to buy drugs,” and “Drugs are a problem in my life” (alpha = .90).

Streetworker age. Age was measured in years as a continuous variable.

Mediator Variable

Continuance commitment. Four items were adapted from Meyer et al.'s (1993) Continuance Commitment scale: “I am worried about what might happen if I stopped doing

sexwork without having other work lined up,” “I feel that I have hardly any other alternatives to being a sexworker,” “It would be very hard for me to stop sexworking at the moment even if I wanted to,” “Too much in my life would be disrupted if I decided I wanted to stop sexworking just now” ($\alpha = .75$).

Outcome Variables

Emotional exhaustion. Seven items were adapted from the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981). Two sample items are: “I feel emotionally drained from the work I do” and “Working directly with clients puts too much stress on me” ($\alpha = .93$).

Job satisfaction. Five items measured job satisfaction (Hackman & Oldham, 1976). Two sample items are: “Generally speaking, I am very satisfied with this job” and “I am generally satisfied with the kind of work I do in this job” ($\alpha = .81$).

Control Variables

Five control variables were included that are frequently mentioned as influences on psychological work outcomes in extant literature (Dalla, Xia, & Kennedy, 2003; Hoigard & Finstad, 1992; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Sanders, 2004): female (1 = Female; 0 = Other); friendships with other streetworkers (1 = Yes; 0 = No); years of experience (continuous); concealment (comprising four items adapted from Larson & Chastain, 1990, a sample item of which is: “I tell lies about my job to stop other people knowing what kind of work I do” ($\alpha = .93$)); weekly hours of work (continuous).

RESULTS

Content Analysis

The coding identified seven distinct themes in the narratives. These themes are shown in Table 1. Here, we summarize the key issues associated with the four themes directly relevant to

our hypotheses: acting, identity, drug-related job motivation, and streetworker age. Three additional themes (friendships with other street workers, the need for concealment, and hours of work) were included as control variables in our quantitative analyses. The codes in parentheses refer to theme and category numbers in Table 1.

Acting was carried out in the form of pretending and dressing the part, reluctantly by some (1a-1b) and willingly by others (1c).

A positive identity was reported by some (2a-2c) and, for others, the effects of failing to establish a positive or separate identity were expressed as dislike of clients and having sex with strangers, feelings of disgust, low esteem, and low confidence (2d-2g).

Some workers worried about earning sufficient money to satisfy their drug dependency; they needed a certain amount of money to satisfy their cravings and those of their partner (3a-3c); they relied on drug dealers but disliked them (3d-3e). For some workers, all their money was spent on drugs (3f). There were reports of sickness, not enough drugs, and bad drugs (3g-3h). Some workers felt that streetwork fostered addiction through easy access (3i). Others, however, had stopped using drugs or never had used drugs (3j-k).

Age was important. In general, clients preferred younger workers. Older workers were concerned about growing older (4a). But while younger workers found clients more easily, they experienced the jealousy of older workers (4b-c).

Finally, there were three other issues that were mentioned with frequency, though there was variability in the responses: friendships with other streetworkers (5a-d); the need to conceal their occupation (6a-d); and hours of work (7a-c).

In summary, the content analysis confirmed the importance of the variables in our model and identified additional variables that influenced streetworkers' reactions to their work.

Statistical Analysis

The means, SDs, and zero-order correlations for all variables included in the regression analyses are shown in Table 2. Regression results are shown in Tables 3-5. For purposes of clarity, results for control variables are not presented for the emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction regressions. However, friendship with other workers was significantly associated with low emotional exhaustion ($b = -.53, p < .05$) and longer hours of work with relatively high job satisfaction ($b = .01, p < .05$). All three hypotheses were supported by the combined results of the regressions.

The continuance commitment regression results are shown in Table 3. Drug-related job motivation did not have a main effect ($b = .07$) but it had an interactive effect with streetworker age ($b = .02, p < .05$): the relationship between drug-related job motivation and continuance commitment was stronger for older streetworkers.

The emotional exhaustion regression results are shown in Table 4. Drug-related job motivation had a significant positive association with emotional exhaustion ($b = .15, p < .05$). Continuance commitment had a significant effect on emotional exhaustion, raising the possibility of an indirect effect ($b = .31, p < .01$). Age moderated drug-related job motivation's effect on emotional exhaustion ($b = .02, p < .05$): the relationship between drug-related job motivation and emotional exhaustion was stronger for older streetworkers.

The job satisfaction regression results are shown in Table 5. Drug-related job motivation had a significant negative association with job satisfaction ($b = -.17, p < .05$). In contrast to the emotional exhaustion findings, continuance commitment did not affect job satisfaction ($b = -.11$) demonstrating the lack of an indirect effect for job satisfaction, as expected. Age moderated

drug-related job motivation's effect on job satisfaction ($b = -.02, p < .05$): the relationship between drug-related job motivation and job satisfaction was weaker for older streetworkers.

The results for the bootstrapping procedure are presented in Figs. 1 and 2. The direct effects were as follows. Figure 1 shows that drug-related job motivation had a significant direct positive association with emotional exhaustion for older streetworkers ($b = .31, p < .01$) but not for younger ones ($b = .05$). Figure 2 shows that drug-related job motivation had a significant direct negative association with job satisfaction for older streetworkers ($b = -.43, p < .01$) but not for younger ones ($b = -.01$). The indirect effect of drug-related job motivation for older workers through continuance commitment was demonstrated in relation to emotional exhaustion. Figure 1 shows that for older streetworkers, there was a significant indirect effect of drugs on emotional exhaustion through continuance commitment ($b = [.36 * .23] = .08, p < .05$). For younger streetworkers, there was no indirect effect ($b = [.01 * .39] = .00$). Figure 2 shows the lack of an indirect effect in relation to job satisfaction for *both* older workers ($b = [.36 * .03] = .00$) and younger workers ($b = [.01 * -.15] = -.00$).

DISCUSSION

Our findings demonstrated that while streetworkers in general led very hard lives, some were particularly vulnerable to negative psychological outcomes. Two factors played critical roles in determining the emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction of the streetworkers in our research. Persons who carried out the job to finance their drug-dependency reported the lowest levels of job satisfaction and the highest levels of job-related emotional exhaustion. In particular, older drug dependent streetworkers experienced the most negative psychological outcomes. The data allowed us to compare younger and older streetworkers and control for years of experience as a streetworker, thus providing confidence that our effects were the result of age and not length

of experience. Why do age and job-related drug motivation have such important effects? We argued that individuals who were most drug dependent had the lowest ability to conduct good emotion work and engage in effective strategies. Older drug dependent streetworkers were likely to be least effective in “acting the part,” attracting clients, and earning money. They were also likely to feel most fearful of finding other work to finance their drug habit. Their perception of being locked-in led to high emotional exhaustion but not low job satisfaction.

The results contribute to the literature on emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction. Previous research has suggested that these variables share similar determinants but are distinct constructs (Maslach & Schaufeli, 1993). Here, we see these similarities and distinctions displayed in a particular type of job. Emotional exhaustion “closely resembles traditional stress reactions such as fatigue, job-related depression...and anxiety” (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001, p. 499) while job satisfaction results from the “appraisal of one's job and job experiences” without reference to the availability of other options (Locke, 1976). Our streetworker findings demonstrated common causal characteristics in the form of drug dependency, especially for older streetworkers, but the results also showed differences. Importantly, the impact of the mediator--continuance commitment--was apparent only in relation to emotional exhaustion. There were also differences in the impact of two of the control variables: friendships with other streetworkers were associated with low emotional exhaustion while high hours of work (that is, high income) were associated with relatively high job satisfaction.

Aside from the main focus of our study, our results confirmed other findings from existing research. Most literature highlights very young streetworkers (Davis, 1993; Tattersall, 2004; Weitzer, 2000) and some of the adults we interviewed had started work as minors, usually

when they were still in high school. Concealment characterizes prostitution (Sanders, 2005b) and, in our study, contributed to feelings of being locked-in. Most transactions between streetworkers and clients were “quick and impersonal” (Bernstein, 2007). In contrast to the findings of some recent studies of indoor workers (Bernstein, 2007; Sanders, 2005b), we found scant evidence of workers blurring the distinction between “sex for work” and “sex for pleasure.”

Policy Implications

These findings help inform policy. Although prohibitive and restrictive practices are common in many countries, a growing body of evidence demonstrates that they meet with little success (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001). Criminal prosecution often generates a recycling process whereby sexworkers pay their fines and serve their time, only to return to prostitution (O'Connell Davidson, 1995). Our results help us to understand this phenomenon in relation to streetworkers. Persons who worked on the streets solely to finance their drug habit--especially older streetworkers--had no alternative means of gaining ready cash, apart from theft or extortion. The efforts of police and community protesters are wasted on people whose addiction traps them in an occupation they find abhorrent. However, such efforts might raise the costs and stress levels of other streetworkers who are in the occupation by choice, bringing about a reassessment of occupational preference. Our results showed that some of these streetworkers exhibited a pride in their job. Sexwork is a market response to the continuing and universal demand for sexual services and, from those streetworkers' perspective, their illegal status was repressive and discriminatory.

In the context of changing cultural mores and the growth of global sex tourism, several countries have introduced legislation that reflects an increased concern for the welfare of

sexworkers. However, there is a wide range of stigma related to prostitution (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001). This is reflected in different kinds of regulatory change. Sweden has introduced legislation that, while rendering sexwork illegal, only penalizes those who seek sexual services. Other countries have sought to apply a normalization approach which presents sexwork as no different from other work and humanizes the individuals involved (Weitzer, 2000). The Netherlands, for example, formally legalized prostitution in 2000. In New Zealand, prostitution was decriminalized in 2003. In the Australian state of New South Wales, prostitution has been decriminalized since 1987 and is not subject to criminal penalties; soliciting for prostitution is legal outside residential areas (Egger & Harcourt, 1991). Although the neighboring Victorian state government decriminalized indoor prostitution in 1994, workers on the streets remained outside the law. Recommendations of the government-commissioned Neave Report (Victoria, 1985) that were not adopted in the legislation included those that related to decriminalization of streetwork in specific areas. Sexworkers with illegal status, therefore, became more vulnerable because they were formally excluded from the regulated, legal circuit (Egger & Harcourt, 1991). Decriminalization of streetwork in tolerance zones would help remedy this situation. A system of regulation and control could be established, with safe houses and licensed areas established by consultation with community groups. Decriminalization would encourage police to protect streetworkers from harm and deter violent clients. Agencies could seek financial support to provide counselling and welfare for those workers who choose to remain on the streets, and exit strategies for those who prefer to leave.

Limitations and Strengths

Limitations of the study need acknowledgement. Under-age streetworkers (whom the agencies would be legally obliged to report to the authorities) were not represented in this adult

sample and their exclusion might affect the age result: very young workers will find it most difficult to perform emotion work and carry out effective distancing strategies (Furnham & Buhrmester, 1992; Furnham & Wehner, 1994). Streetworkers who most feared disclosure and itinerants were less likely to attend the centers. Streetworking in the locality we investigated may not be representative of Australia in general although a study of streetworkers in New South Wales reported similar streetworker characteristics (Egger & Harcourt, 1991). The sample was unlikely to be representative of countries where all prostitution is illegal, or where streetwork is decriminalized. Further, the results would be more compelling if we could study workers longitudinally. However, it is extremely difficult to recontact the same workers in a later time period as many streetworkers are transient (Sanders, 2004). Finally, although participants provided data via survey and interview methodologies (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986) and one of the predictor variables used in this study (age) was objective (Crampton & Wagner, 1994; Podsakoff & Organ, 1986), self-report data may artificially inflate the size of relevant relationships due to common method bias (Crampton & Wagner, 1994).

However, this research has considerable strengths. It is very difficult to gain access to streetworkers. As a consequence, there are very few studies, most of which rely on very small and specialized samples. We were able to interview more than 100 streetworkers. Relative to most studies, this was a large sample that comprised a quarter of the streetworkers in the locality. This allowed us to carry out a novel multi-method study that investigated variability in attitudes to occupation. We recommend further investigations of the complexity of the psychological job-related outcomes of an understudied subculture of workers.

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Table 1. Results of Content Analysis

	Number of responses
1. Levels of acting	61
(a) dislike having to pretend to enjoy sex.	
(b) dislike having to get “dolled up”	
(c) I enjoy looking the part	
2. Professional identity	57
(a) I am good at this job;	
(b) I am a prostitute and proud of it	
(c) this is my occupation	
(d) hate having sex with clients, sex with a stranger;	
(e) dislike/hate everything about the job; like nothing about it	
(f) you hate yourself; feeling disgusted with yourself after job, thinking about it afterwards	
(g) low confidence	
3. Drug related job motivation	73
(a) worry about getting my quota of clients to get the drugs I need	
(b) not enough money for drugs	
(c) worry about partner relying on me to make money for drugs	
(d) drug dealers not on time; not able to get drugs	
(e) drug dealers waiting for you with pimps after a client	
(f) having to pay for heroin addiction; dead-end job - all goes on drugs -- no money left;	
(g) sick because need drugs; sick when don't earn enough for drugs; sick when dealer late	
(h) hate dealers who sell bad drugs	
(i) too easy access to drugs -- cannot stop using	
(j) I used to use but I don't any more	
(k) I never use drugs	
4. Age	31
(a) hate getting older -- hard to look the part	
(b) younger workers: experience jealousy and bitchiness from other workers	
(c) younger workers: find it easy to get clients; more attractive to clients	
5. Friends and enemies	24
(a) like some of the girls	
(b) this job stops me being lonely	
(c) other girls rip off clients who treat us badly to pay them back	
(d) other girls give us a bad name: throw syringes; abuse locals	
6. Concealment	37
(a) constant fear of being recognized on street;	
(b) fear of partner, husband, parents finding out;	
(c) fear of humiliating my son, daughter, children	
(d) don't care who sees me	
7. Hours of work	77
(a) have to work long hours; night hours; work late to get enough money	
(b) working less now	
(c) only work when I want to	

Table 2. Descriptives and Correlation Matrix (n = 101)

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<hr/>											
Controls											
1. Female	0.82	0.38	----								
2. Yrs of experience	12.91	8.57	.01	----							
3. Friends	0.66	0.48	-.07	.13	----						
4. Conceal	3.62	1.13	.05	.07	-.17	----					
5. Weekly hours	24.66	22.04	-.09	-.01	.04	-.17	----				
Predictor Variables											
6. Age	34.68	7.97	.15	.01	.68**	.06	-.20*	----			
7. Drugs	3.52	1.16	.08	.04	-.25**	.33**	.06	-.20*	----		
Mediator											
8. Continuance commitment	3.43	0.92	.07	.01	-.01	.41**	.15	-.06	.28*	----	
Outcome Variables											
9. Emotional exhaustion	3.60	0.88	.02	-.24*	-.15	.38**	-.04	-.13	.32**	.45**	----
10. Job satisfaction	2.63	0.91	-.01	.06	.20*	-.35**	.26**	.09	-.30**	-.20*	-.53**

* $p < .05$, * $p < .01$

Table 3. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Continuance Commitment (n = 101)

	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)
Constant	1.49** (0.44)	1.40** (0.49)	1.39** (0.47)
Controls			
Female	0.17 (0.24)	0.20 (0.35)	0.27 (0.24)
Yrs of experience	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Friends	-0.06 (0.20)	-0.09 (0.20)	-0.11 (0.19)
Conceal	0.41** (0.08)	0.39** (0.09)	0.37** (0.09)
Weekly hours	0.01* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)
Predictor Variables			
Age		-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Drugs		0.07 (0.09)	0.07 (0.09)
Interaction			
Drugs x age			0.02* (0.01)
<i>R-square</i>	.23	.25	.29
<i>Change in r-square</i>		.02	.05*
<i>F</i>	5.66**	4.32**	4.80**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 4. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Emotional Exhaustion (n = 101)

	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)
Constant	3.64** (0.44)	3.58** (0.44)
Predictor Variables		
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Drugs	0.15* (0.07)	0.17* (0.07)
Mediator		
Continuance Comm	0.31** (0.09)	0.26** (0.09)
Interaction		
Drugs x age		0.02* (0.01)
<i>R-square</i>	.36	.39
<i>Change in r-square</i>	.14**	.03
<i>F</i>	6.34**	6.65**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 5. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Job Satisfaction (n = 101)

	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)
Constant	2.44** (0.49)	2.53** (0.48)
Predictor Variables		
Age	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Drugs	-0.17* (0.08)	-0.18* (0.08)
Mediator		
Continuance Comm	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.10)
Interaction		
Drugs x age		-0.02* (0.01)
<i>R-square</i>	.24	.30
<i>Change in r-square</i>	.05	.06*
<i>F</i>	3.69**	3.80**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 1. Direct and Indirect Effects: Emotional Exhaustion

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 2. Direct and Indirect Effects: Job Satisfaction

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

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