THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEXUAL ABUSE AND JUVENILE PROSTITUTION IN FEMALES

By

RAYMONDE JANET EDNEY

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1971
M.Ed., The University of British Columbia, 1980

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Department of Counselling Psychology
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution is explored through interviews with eight women who had had both of these experiences in their lives. Analysis of the narrative data identified both social-structural and intra-psychic factors that played a role in leading these sexual abuse survivors into juvenile prostitution.

Social-structural factors are defined as the cultural and societal conditions within which children are raised and socialised and within which they must learn to function. The social-structural factors identified by this study were cultural factors, gender stereotyping, the family, the schools, social networks, social service agencies, employment opportunities, religious institutions, sexual abuse and entrance into prostitution. Social-structural factors affect the individual at the intra-psychic or psychological level. Intra-psychic factors identified here were alienation, identity and personal control. Sullivan's (1984) theory of critical interpretation was used to examine the limiting effects of the social structures on the lives, behavior and choices of these women.

This research found that sexual abuse and the victims' responses to sexual abuse prepared and trained the young girls for prostitution. Further, alienation appeared to be a major determining factor that combined with the presence of sexual abuse influenced the outcome of juvenile prostitution. Finally, these young women found that their personal control was limited
and restricted by the social structures that maintained social control.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

It is not uncommon to hear prostitution referred to as the oldest profession in the world, a fact of life that will always be with us. Nevertheless, when prostitution becomes highly visible, as street prostitution has become over the past few years in Vancouver, communities and governments become concerned and annoyed by its presence. In addition, over the past few years there has been a growth in the number and visibility of prostitutes under the age of 19. Although the presence of these juveniles in prostitution is as old as the profession itself (Weisberg, 1985; Wells, 1982), this recent increase has been noticed in both the United States (Boyer & James, 1982) and Canada (Mathews, 1986; Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1983).

Extent of Juvenile Prostitution

Due to their quasi-legal and transient nature, accurate figures on the numbers of juvenile prostitutes active on our streets are difficult to obtain. Recent changes in Canadian law have made it even more difficult to estimate the numbers of active juvenile prostitutes as they must now move around in order to avoid prosecution. In 1979, a report carried out by a locally sponsored task-force, TRACY of B.C. (Taking Responsible Action for Children and Youths) found that a "sizeable amount" of juveniles were prostituting in Vancouver with numbers fluctuating from 100 in the winter to 300 in the summer. These figures agree with those cited by Brenkolt-Hogarth (1981) who estimated there were
200 juveniles on the streets of Vancouver when she carried out her study. More recent figures cited by Benjamin (1985) in his report on juvenile prostitution in Toronto estimate the numbers of female juvenile prostitutes in Toronto to fluctuate from 500 to 2,000 seasonally.

These figures are similar to those obtained in the United States where in 1983 it was estimated that there were 800 juvenile prostitutes, male and female, in the Seattle area. In 1982, a more general figure estimated that there were 600,000 female prostitutes under the age of 18 in the United States as a whole (Boyer & James, 1982). Of these, some were reported to be as young as eight, but most were within the twelve to sixteen age range.

As a result of the increased visibility of juvenile prostitutes and the active concern of communities, the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Commission) was formed in 1983 to look into these problems in Canada. With specific reference to prostitution, this Commission recommended in its 1985 Summary that further research into prostitution should be encouraged and supported "...as a means of informing attempts to address it as a social phenomenon and to deal effectively with its adverse impact on those who are and who have been involved with it" (p. 34).

Definitions of Prostitution

Writing in 1937, Kingsley Davis recognized that a broad definition of prostitution as the employment of sex for non-sexual
ends could include such respectable institutions as marriage. To combat this problem, early definitions of prostitution tended to involve the conditions of barter, promiscuity and emotional indifference (Davis, 1937; Lemert, 1951; Pomeroy, 1965). Contemporary researchers have preferred to omit the condition of promiscuity and have struggled with the condition of emotional indifference (James, 1977; Newman & Cohen with Tobin & MacPherson, 1985). Benjamin (1985) takes issue with all these terms, arguing that they are judgmental and suggest the "bad girl" imagery. He suggests a less value-laden definition as the provision of non-marital sexual services for material gain.

This research uses Benjamin's (1985) definition of prostitute as a person who provides non-marital sexual services for material gain. Although a prostitute may be of either sex, available research suggests that the motivating factors, dynamics and circumstances involved differ for male and female prostitutes. This research is focussed on female prostitutes. Therefore, where the term prostitute is used in this study, it will be assumed that it refers to female prostitutes unless otherwise stated.

Prostitutes also vary in how they make contact with customers. As a result, they may be variously defined as street prostitutes, call-girls (who use the telephone) or escorts (contacted through escort services). The definition of prostitute used here does not concern itself with how the prostitute meets her clients. However, it should be noted that juveniles generally seem to use the street to meet clients and as the following
discussions will show, this has certain effects on their life styles and their decisions to prostitute.

Researchers who differentiate between adult and juvenile prostitutes tend to define juvenile according to age. Most researchers describe juvenile prostitutes as between the ages of 11 and 18 inclusive (Benjamin, 1985; Boyer & James, 1982; Frank & Rosettis, 1980; Weisberg, 1985). This is in keeping with Provincial regulations that find a child in need of protection until the age of 19 (Kossuth & Korde, 1986). Canadian law does not recognize either prostitutes or juvenile prostitutes (Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children & Youths, 1984) and therefore offers no guidelines on this question.

Theories of Prostitution

To date research on prostitution has generated three theoretical approaches. Psychoanalytic theory of prostitution has looked for unconscious causes and developmental problems such as latent homosexuality and oedipal fixations to explain the phenomenon (Gibbens, 1957; Glover, 1969). However, many of these theories have been shown to be unfounded in light of more recent data. Others rely on outdated and biased views and are hard to prove (James, 1976; Pomeroy, 1965).

Conscious theories of prostitution have examined the reasons reported by the prostitutes themselves. These include need for money, pressure from pimps and attraction to an independent and adventurous life style (James, 1976). While these reasons for prostituting are valid in themselves, they do not explain how
women and juveniles come to the point where they must prostitute in order to obtain money and independence or are vulnerable to the pressures of a pimp.

Current research tends to focus on situational theories of prostitution (Boyer & James, 1982; Lowman, 1984, 1987; Mathews, 1986;). Situational factors include cultural factors, gender stereotyping, parental abuse and neglect, age, runaway status, socioeconomic background and interventions. Situational factors focus attention away from the individual and examine the structural and cultural factors which permit and perpetuate prostitution in our society. Situational theory suggests that the "social phenomenon" of female prostitution is a result of women's economically inferior status and sex-based identity in Western society (Davis, 1937; Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985). That is, because girls and women are valued primarily for their appearance and sexual qualities, they are limited to achieving money and power through barter of these qualities in one way or another. Within this framework, sexual abuse and incest seem to play a powerful role in preparing young girls and women for a life of survival by selling sex (Boyer & James, 1982).

Recent studies have found high rates of incest and sexual abuse in the developmental histories of juvenile prostitutes (Ritch & Michaud, 1985). However, given the high incidence of sexual abuse in our society, it is clear that all sexual abuse and incest survivors do not prostitute (Benjamin, 1985). Other factors are likely to be involved which influence the outcome of
prostitution in sexual abuse survivors. It is the purpose of this research to explore these factors and the ways in which they contribute to the outcome of juvenile prostitution.

Research Design

This research explores the relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution in order to better understand the factors that are influential in this relationship. A review of the literature on causes of prostitution and informal discussions with individuals who are involved with these issues suggest several factors that may influence this outcome in juvenile girls. These factors can be divided into two major categories: social-structural factors and intra-psychic factors.

Social-structural factors include cultural factors, gender stereotyping, the family, social service organizations and sexual abuse. Intra-psychic factors include self-esteem and control. These factors were used as a starting point for this research and form the underlying structure of both the interview and the analysis of the results. The analysis also generated additional sub-categories of factors which are fully discussed in the results chapters.

The analysis incorporates Sullivan's (1984) theory of critical interpretation. Sullivan (1984) states that individual behavior is limited and restricted by larger social structures of dominance such as class, race and gender. If we are to understand the individual, we must examine her as she relates to and functions within these structures of dominance. Following
Sullivan's (1984) approach this research examines the influence of social-structural factors on the lives and behavior of the individuals who prostitute as juveniles. The ramifications of the research findings on preventative and remedial interventions into the phenomenon of juvenile prostitution are briefly discussed in the final chapter.

A multiple case-study design was chosen for this research. Narratives were collected through open-ended interviews that were conducted with eight women who were victims of sexual abuse, including incest, and who had prostituted as juveniles (that is, under the age of 19). Volunteers were eighteen or older so that the interviews were retrospective in nature. The interviews were designed to guide the volunteers through a life history with particular emphasis on the specific factors that influenced the ways in which they started to prostitute. The interview was developed specifically for this research and practice interviews were conducted to ensure that the desired information was being accessed. Content analysis was used and interventions were developed from the results. The analysis and results were read by four of the original volunteers, and their responses have been included in the final chapter.

Definition of Terms

Prostitution

Prostitution is defined here as the provision of non-marital sexual services for material gain (after Benjamin, 1985).
Prostitute

Following the definition of prostitution, a prostitute is a female person who provides non-marital sexual services for material gain.

Juvenile

For the purposes of this research, juvenile prostitutes will refer to female prostitutes between the ages of 11 and 18 inclusive. The terms juvenile, adolescent and girl will be used to describe this age group.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse is defined as those sexual contacts or interactions between a child under the age of 19 and another person where the child is being used as the object of gratification for the assaulter's sexual needs and desires (after MacFarlane, 1978). For the purposes of this research, sexual abuse is assumed to include those situations that might otherwise be described as incestuous. While this definition of sexual abuse arguably includes events that occur during the course of prostituting activities, this study is primarily concerned with sexual abuse that occurs before the commencement of prostitution as defined above.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In responding to the increased presence of prostitutes and specifically juvenile prostitutes in our society, researchers and theorists have taken two major approaches. The first attends to the immediacy of the problem and seeks ways to attract women and girls away from prostitution and to rehabilitate them to more acceptable and legitimate ways of life. The second focus is preventive in nature and looks at the factors that precipitate or motivate girls and women to become prostitutes. Understanding the causes of prostitution also informs and assists the remedial work of the first focus. This study explores the relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution and the factors that are involved in that relationship. The focus of this literature review is on research and theories on prostitution.

Early theorists and researchers did not always differentiate between juvenile and adult prostitutes (Davis, 1937; Greenwald, 1970; Layton, 1975; Pomeroy, 1965). Even where reference has been made to the range of ages found among populations of prostitutes, results have not always differentiated between age groups. As a result, theories of prostitution tend to be generalized over all ages and consideration of juvenile prostitutes as a separate group is relatively recent and rare. This review considers all available theory on prostitution with a specific focus on North American research and theory. Where adult and juvenile populations are specified it will be noted and discussed accordingly. The literature has generally treated male and female prostitution separately and this review is only concerned with
theory and research on female prostitutes.

In discussing the major theories of prostitution, James (1976) considers a variety of precipitating or "motivating" factors, both internal and external to the individual, and develops three general categories. These are psychoanalytic, conscious and situational. It is helpful to follow her outline in reviewing the literature on causes of prostitution.

Psychoanalytic Theories of Prostitution

Psychoanalytic theories of prostitution look at the innate biological and intra-psychic makeup of the individual to explain her behavior. Biological determinism suggests that bad genes cause bad women (Newman & Cohen with Tobin & MacPherson, 1985) and early theorists looked for retardation or inherited disabilities in prostitutes (Gibbens, 1957; Glover, 1969; Maerov, 1965). However, most of these studies found lack of education and neglect, rather than a basic lack of intelligence, in the prostitute populations they studied. Further, the studies do not report on educational background or which intelligence tests, if any, were used. As a result it is difficult to determine the validity of the results, and inquiries into retardation and inherited disabilities as causes of prostitution are inconclusive (James, 1976).

At the intra-psychic level, psychoanalysts have looked to oedipal fixations to explain prostitution. Psychoanalytic theory suggests that prostitutes are acting out unconscious homosexuality (Gibbens, 1957; Greenwald, 1970), unconscious hatred of men,
unconscious wishes to punish their mothers for being unavailable (Newman et al., 1985; Maerov, 1965) or they are atoning for guilt over incest fantasies (James, 1976).

With specific reference to juvenile prostitutes, Gibbens (1957) states:

In many ways there is no doubt unconscious homosexuality but what we see on the surface is an inability to feel any real affection for men, a fear of being dominated by them and a thinly disguised hostility and contempt for them; when they [juvenile prostitutes] resolve their difficulties and get married, they usually seem to be the dominant partner. (p.7)

Glover (1969) calls these girls "larval prostitutes" and suggests that their age has different ramifications for the psychoanalytic theory. Since young adolescents normally show evidence of infantile sexuality, homosexual tendencies in juvenile prostitutes cannot be considered perverse. Further, adolescence is typically marked by change and transition in sexual development. As a result, Glover (1969) like Gibbens asserts that juvenile prostitution is a transitory phase. Glover (1969) stresses that we must also consider environmental factors such as unstable families, lack of sex instruction and lack of early family love in the adolescent prostitute's evolution.

Pomeroy (1965) and James (1976) argue that the problem with psychoanalytic theories of unconscious reasons to prostitute is that they can neither be proven nor disproved. New attitudes about behaviors and sexuality that were previously regarded as
perversions that represent regressive sexual development call into question some of the bases of these theories. In addition, recent findings and information may shed new light on overt behavior of prostitutes. For example, unconscious or conscious hatred of men is easy to understand when the prostitute has a history of sexual abuse or incest in her childhood. Although studies have tried to estimate the frequency of lesbianism among prostitutes, it is not at all clear whether homosexual tendencies develop after negative experiences with male customers or before entering into prostitution (Prus & Irini, 1980).

Although seriously questioned, the theory of delayed psychosexual development has not been entirely rejected. Rather, it has been reframed in terms of recent findings on incest and sexual abuse in the history of juvenile prostitutes. Boyer and James (1980) and Tessman and Kaufman (1969) point out that incest and sexual abuse of a child may interrupt the normal progress of psychosexual development with disastrous results on the child's self-esteem and sexual self-concept. The focus then becomes more on the ego or self as opposed to the id or impulses (Newman et al., 1985). To date, studies on ego-development in juvenile prostitute populations have been inconclusive (Newman & Caplan, 1982; Newman, 1985).

The final psychoanalytic theory of prostitution considered here is that of women's natural and unconscious masochism. Glover (1969) states that injurious medical and physical consequences of this way of life attest to unconscious masochism in prostitutes. He does not, however, suggest that male customers who are
"robbed", "blackmailed" and "infected with venereal disease" (Glover, 1969, p. 12) are masochistic. In refuting the theory of female masochism, Caplan (1984) suggests that much behavior that has been labelled masochistic in women is learned behavior. She states that women have been taught to be passive, patient and nurturant to the exclusion of their own needs and therefore deny themselves pleasure and comfort in order to take care of others first. In her study of juvenile prostitutes, Caplan (1984) found that they had learned to put up with less and to make do because they had never known anything better. They did not necessarily enjoy their lifestyle, and the strict definition of masochism as enjoyment of pain and humiliation is hardly applicable to these juveniles.

In focussing on unconscious reasons to prostitute, psychoanalytic theory ignores society's role in the prostitute's situation as well as the prostitute's conscious perceptions and understanding of her behavior (Newman et al., 1985). Pomeroy (1965) points out that the reasons people choose lifestyles and careers are both conscious and unconscious. This holds for someone choosing to become a lawyer as much as for someone who becomes a prostitute. It is important then to consider both levels of motivation and not to reject conscious reasons. "It is time to examine prostitution from the woman's point of view rather than just the traditional clinical perspective" (James, 1976, p. 177).
Conscious Theories of Prostitution

Conscious theories of prostitution are factors cited by the prostitutes themselves as reasons for prostituting. Under this category, James (1976) includes such factors as economic need, pimps, independence and adventure. A number of studies have considered these factors in looking for an explanation for entrance into prostitution (Boyer & James, 1982; Brown, 1979; Davis, 1937; Davis, 1971; Gray, 1973; Greenwald, 1969; Pomeroy, 1965; Rosenblum, 1975).

Economic necessity has long been cited as a major cause of prostitution. Kingsley Davis (1937) was one of the first to explore this theory. He recognized that women are economically disadvantaged in Western society. However, he stated, if we were to consider economics as the only motivation to prostitute, we would have to ask why so few women are in fact involved. He concluded that there is more to it than pure economics.

Most authors agree with Davis, finding that prostitutes did not cite dire need for money as a motivation to prostitute and/or tended to spend it frivolously when they had it (Brown, 1979; Greenwald, 1969; Newman & Caplan, 1982). Some authors suggest that the economic factor is linked with other issues. For example money replaces lost self-esteem and represents prestige (Davis, 1971), independence (Rosenblum, 1975) or love (Glover, 1969).

It may be more likely that money is a secondary factor in the outcome of prostitution. This can be seen most clearly in the case of runaway teenagers. These juveniles run away from abusive environments, not towards prostitution. But they resort to
prostitution in order to get money to survive or to support a drug habit (Brown, 1979; McCall, 1983; Silbert, 1982; Taking Responsible Action for Children and Youth, 1979).

Similarly, a woman who is struggling to support a child on welfare may find herself forced into prostitution as the only available alternative to make the additional money she requires. Situational factors such as lack of adequate daycare and poorly paying jobs restrict women's career choices and force women to the point of desperation where prostitution becomes the only way to earn money to survive (James, 1976). Need for money may be a conscious reason, but it is secondary to the situational factors that bring women to this point of need.

The role of pimps in enticing women and girls to prostitute is not well established. Most studies have found pimps' influence to be generally minimal (Gray, 1973; Mathews, 1986), and to be secondary to friends in introducing women to prostitution (James, 1976). The role of pimps, like money, seems to be secondary in that the girls or women have to be vulnerable or on the streets before the pimps can try to influence them. Both Weisberg (1985) and Benjamin (1985) conclude that most prostitutes have contact with and are involved with a pimp at one time or another, but the suggestion is that the pimp is mainly a factor in keeping the prostitute in the life through persuasion, coercion or promises of love and protection (Gray, 1973; James, 1976; TRACY, 1979).

James (1976) found that a substantial number of women were attracted to the independence afforded by money earned through prostitution. She suggests that financial independence and the
associated opportunities cannot be realized within most traditional women's roles. Her findings are supported by Pomeroy (1965) and Brown (1979). However, James (1976) also reports that the desire for independence is related quite strongly to a dispute with the family and a desire to leave home. In looking specifically at juveniles, some researchers have found that adolescents from relatively affluent backgrounds have prostituted for excitement, adventure or simply for the camaraderie of the street life (Boyer & James, 1982; Brown, 1979, James, 1978; TRACY, 1979). These adolescents seem to be searching for the attention and acceptance that is lacking at home (Boyer & James, 1982; Newman & Caplan, 1982).

While these and many other conscious factors may be significant in precipitating a decision to prostitute, it seems that their effect is secondary to the situational factors that bring women and girls to the point where prostitution is a realistic and possibly singular option.

Situational Theories of Prostitution

Situational theories of prostitution are discussed here under the subsections of cultural factors, gender stereotyping, parental abuse and neglect, runaway behavior, age, socioeconomic status and interventions. Although each factor is discussed separately, situational factors are closely interrelated.

Cultural Factors

Prostitution has always been a part of Western social
structure. Social attitudes towards its value have conflicted and varied over time. A historical review reveals cyclical attempts to regulate, rehabilitate or repress prostitutes (Wells, 1982). It is a reflection of society's double standard that all these attempts were directed at the prostitutes, not at their male clients (Lowman, 1984). Only recently have the laws been changed in Canada to allow male customers of prostitutes to be prosecuted as well as the prostitutes themselves. Even so, early figures show that it is still mainly the prostitutes who get prosecuted and convicted (Lowman, 1989; Uniform Crime Reporting, 1989).

There has always been, and still remains, an underlying tacit acceptance that at least ignores, if not encourages, the customers of prostitutes. As a result, prostitution continues to exist as a part of the structure of society and the continued supply of prostitutes and demand for their services are ensured.

Another perspective on the persistent presence of prostitution is that prostitution is a natural outcome of a patriarchal society. Within Western society, women have always had and continue to have restricted access to money and power. This is easily demonstrated by the figures on poverty among women, earning power of women, and the undervalued kinds of work to which women are generally restricted (Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1984b; Chapman, 1978; Davis, 1937; James, 1978; MacMillan, 1976; Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985). Women's relative powerlessness is further demonstrated by their vulnerability to violence through rape, wife battering, pornography and child sexual abuse (Canadian Advisory
Council on the Status of Women, 1984b). Failure of the law to counteract victimization of women emphasizes women's powerlessness in our society. "Victimization is made possible by powerlessness, and a victim class is made possible by chronic powerlessness. Equality and economic equity for women would make their victimization at the hands of men much less inevitable" (Chapman, 1978, p. 267).

Western society further sets the stage for prostitution through its:

Commercialised, depersonalized and one-sided view of sexuality [as it appears] in advertising, in fashion, and in subtle and blatant standards of beauty, attractiveness and desirability for women (standards which are not set by women and which few women can meet). Prostitution is an extreme case of this, with its explicit bargaining of price-for-service, with the emphasis upon youthfulness (youth is at a premium even though customers can be and are of any age) and upon obvious and stereotypical ideas of female attractiveness. (Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1984a, p. 5)

Inequality of women and their economic stratification guarantees a supply of women who must sell their bodies in order to survive. Patriarchal attitudes and commercialized, one-sided and depersonalized sexuality guarantees the demand for the prostitute and her services.
Gender Stereotyping

Along with cultural factors, gender stereotyping plays a major role in setting the stage for other situational factors and for the eventual outcome of prostitution. This discussion first examines gender stereotyping of women and its role as a precursor to prostitution. The subsequent section looks at theoretical models of transition processes that incorporate gender stereotyping into a process leading to prostitution. This section also looks at the role of family instability and early sexual experiences in these transition processes.

Gender Stereotyping of Women

In 1937, Kingsley Davis remarked that a broad definition of prostitution as the use of sex for ulterior motives would apply to many institutions in our society, including marriage. Struggling to survive in a competitive-authoritative system, women use sex to redress the status differential that results from their lack of economic viability.

Several authors comment on the effects of gender stereotyping on women. Boyer and James (1980) point out that female children are rewarded for being cute, endearing and generous. As they are rewarded for attractiveness and passivity, they gradually learn to barter or make exchanges with their appearance and later with sex. In this way, girls and women come to realize that their value is measured by the sexual responses of others. These authors suggest that an important precursor to prostitution is women's sexual experience and conditioning which
directs them to define their self-worth in sexual terms. The sex role alternatives available to women have been described on a whore-madonna continuum (James & Vitaliano, 1979). Those who cross the strictly defined boundaries of acceptable sexual expression are labeled as whores and will lose status, privileges and options which are open to 'good' women.

Similarly, Rosenblum (1975) and Lemert (1951) state that the difference between what is considered acceptable behavior and the overt exchange of sexual favours for money exhibited by prostitutes is only a matter of degree. Thus prostitution is a normal extension of a generalized sexual pathology in our culture in which sexual promiscuity and thinly disguised commercial exploitation of sex in informal contexts play a large and important part (Lemert, 1951).

Gender stereotyping results in a limited range of occupational choices for women. Occupations that are generally open to women tend to be poorly paid, low status and service related (James, 1976, 1978). In addition, certain jobs that are available to low-skilled women require subtle and not so subtle use of physical appearance or sex. For example, women in waitressing jobs may be encouraged to wear revealing uniforms and to flirt with the customers in order to sell more drinks. These women may also find that flirtatious behavior and sexual favours are rewarded with higher tips, a meal or a promotion. The line between such "quasi-prostitution experiences" (James, 1976, p. 188) and full-time overt prostitution is thin and James suggests that some women recognize this and make the move to prostitution.
because it offers more money for similar services.

**Transition Processes**

Several theorists have suggested that the move to overt prostitution involves a shift or drift that involves both social stigmatization and the adoption of a negative and limiting self-concept (Davis, 1971; Lemert, 1951; Rosenblum, 1975). Boyer and James (1982) have developed a model of deviant drift which incorporates these conditions, but which also takes into account early sexual experiences they found to be common in the juveniles that they studied. These authors state that because girls and women are judged in our society primarily on their desirability and sexual behavior, early sexual experiences will have a particularly significant effect on the developing self-concept. Any model that describes a process of entrance into prostitution must incorporate this sex role issue.

The Boyer and James (1982) model includes four stages. In the first stage of adaptation, the child becomes predisposed to prostitution by adopting a negative self-image. Low self-esteem may develop as a result of negative sexual experiences and/or a reputation among her peers for being 'bad'. The child becomes depressed, embarrassed and withdraws psychologically. The second stage is acculturation during which the adolescent perceives the sex role alternatives available to women through the whore-madonna continuum. Because of her sexual experiences, she perceives herself as a whore and this leads to failures at school, truancy and dropping out. At the same time, her family relationships are volatile and her friendships are unstable so her needs are met by
a new group of delinquent friends. Her behavior tends to be promiscuous in her desperate search for love and she runs away to escape misery at home. Involvement with the justice system strengthens her deviant labelling and exposes the adolescent to prostitutes. Prostitution becomes a means to get money, and if the adolescent decides to stay with that life, she enters the third stage of assimilation into the prostitutes' sub-culture. Here she gradually adopts the language, behaviors and values of the 'fast life' and her eventual arrest or apprehension implies her formal labelling as a prostitute. Those who enter the fourth stage, commitment, have drifted to the deviant end of the spectrum of available sexual identities for women. Boyer and James (1982) describe this as a shift in sex role position to the whore end of the madonna-whore continuum. With this shift comes the perceived loss of alternatives available to 'good' women and the prostitute becomes trapped in her role.

The Boyer and James (1982) model of deviant drift suggests that there is a specific relationship between early sexual experiences and development of a deviant identity that leads to deviant sexual behavior or prostitution in adolescents and adults. Studies that have explored the relationship of early sexual experiences to developing sexual identity and deviant sexual behavior in adolescents and adults have supported this thesis and shown that sexual experiences are of particular importance in the developing female identity (Davis, 1971; James & Meyerding, 1977a, 1977b; James & Vitaliano, 1979). Adolescents and children who have been subjected to sexual abuse learn to
gauge their worth as sex objects. Given the madonna-whore spectrum that our society imposes on women, sexual abuse victims tend to label themselves as whores or bad girls and women. Adolescents who are promiscuous in their desperate search for love and affection will similarly be labelled whores by their peers. The label of promiscuity guarantees a loss of status and isolation that leads to identification with a deviant lifestyle. Internalization of deviant self-concept based on a negative sexual self-image (whore) promoted primary deviance and the state of drift in the adolescents studied by Boyer and James (1982).

While it is not possible to prove a direct relationship between early rape and incest and prostitution, James and Meyerding (1977b) suggest that early sexual experiences may affect the developing self-concept in such a way that these experiences become a precipitating factor to prostitution.

It seems possible...that to be sexually used at an early age in a way that produces guilt, shame and loss of self-esteem on the part of the victim would be likely to lessen one's resistance to viewing oneself as a saleable commodity. (James & Meyerding, 1977b, pp. 40-41)

These findings are supported by authors who repeatedly cite promiscuity and prostitution as common behavioral manifestations of sexually abused adolescents (Berliner, Blick & Bulkley, 1982; Berliner & Stevens, 1981; Conte & Berliner, 1981; Ledray, 1984; MacFarlane, 1978; Maller, 1984; Wooley & Vigilanti, 1984). Other behavioral indicators of sexual abuse include isolation from peers and non-deviant environments, runaway behavior and truancy and
involvement with drugs and alcohol (Berliner et al. 1982). Each of these behaviors may be secondarily involved in a decision to prostitute in order to survive or support a drug dependency (Benjamin, 1985; McCall, 1983; Wiesberg, 1985).

Parental Abuse and Neglect

The presence of neglect, abuse and unstable families in the formative history of prostitutes is a major factor in the Boyer and James (1982) model of deviant drift. These situational factors are frequently mentioned by researchers and theorists in this area (Bracey, 1979; Brown, 1979; Glover, 1969; Greenwald, 1970; Jackman, O'Toole & Geis, 1967; Ledray, 1984; Newman, 1985; Newman & Caplan, 1982; Sheehy, 1973). Recently, the focus of research has turned to physical and sexual abuse in the developmental history of prostitutes. Greenwald's (1969, 1970) study of 20 call-girls is an interesting case in point. He states:

While there is evidence that women often fantasy [sic] such early sexual experience, the consistency with which this pattern appeared in the girls' stories makes it probable that these were actual rather than fantasied [sic] experiences. (1970, pp.169-170)

Several researchers have attempted to assess the incidence of physical and sexual abuse in the early lives of prostitutes. Weisberg (1985), in a review of the literature on juvenile prostitutes, found the incidence of early sexual abuse and incest to be high and that most of these experiences were forced or
coerced in some way. She also found that physical abuse and neglect were very common in the lives of young female prostitutes. Similarly, Benjamin (1985) found frequent mention of dysfunctional families in the background of juvenile prostitutes.

Canadian studies have produced contradictory results. The Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (1984a) concluded that the rate of sexual abuse in juvenile prostitutes was no different from that of other Canadian children. However, the Canadian Advisory Council of the Status of Women (1984a) states that incidence of sexual and physical abuse in juvenile prostitutes in Canada is similar to that found in the U.S. which has been cited as high as 80%. Lowman (1984) concurs with this finding. More locally, a Task Force on Children Involved in the Vancouver Street Scene (Frank & Rosettis, 1980) found 53 out of 106 suffered physical abuse and 29 out of 101 experienced sexual abuse or incest at home. This study included male and female prostitutes and non-prostitutes. In a follow-up study (1981) it was concluded that abuse, including sexual abuse, was not statistically related to prostituting behavior. Another local study carried out by a group called TRACY (Taking Responsible Action for Children and Youth, 1979) determined that there was a strong indication that sexually abusive homes were linked to entrance into prostitution by adolescents. This report cites figures that show up to 50% of prostitutes have had incestuous experiences in their lives at home. Finally, and most recently, in a study of juvenile prostitutes in Vancouver, Ritch and Michaud (1985) found that 80% of the girls they interviewed
cited sexual abuse as a reason for leaving home.

The disadvantages with these studies are many, making it difficult to compare the findings and to draw conclusions. In some cases, sexual and physical abuse are dealt with separately, but in others they are combined. Further, the studies include various methods of obtaining data, including speaking to prostitutes, ex-prostitutes, social workers, police, officers of the Court and reviewing literature. As a result, we are left with a vague impression of dysfunctional families, physical abuse and possible sexual abuse in the case histories of juvenile prostitutes. It is not possible to be more specific.

In the United States, two researchers have generated more specific figures on this question. In a study of 20 adolescent prostitutes, James and Meyerding (1977a), found 65% had been victims of coerced sexual activities within their families. In a second study using 138 juvenile prostitutes the same authors found that 37% had been molested, 51% raped and 63% physically abused prior to becoming prostitutes (1977a). Both studies contacted the women and girls in jails and on the street.

Silbert and Pines (1981) studied 200 street prostitutes in the Bay area of San Francisco, 60% of whom were under 16 years and 70% under 21 years of age. These researchers found that 62% of the prostitutes interviewed had been beaten by their families and 61% were victims of incest or child sexual abuse between the ages of 3 to 16. Of these, 70% experienced repeated abuse by the same person.

Both James and Meyerding (1977a) and Silbert and Pines
(1981) looked specifically at who the abusers were. The overall picture was one of sexual abuse by an adult who is at least known to, and very likely significant to, or trusted by the child victim.

Research into physical and sexual abuse of prostitutes is hampered by several factors. The major problem is the generally taboo atmosphere that surrounds discussion of sexual abuse and incest. To some extent, this atmosphere has relaxed over the past decade and this may explain the sudden rise in incidence reported by prostitutes. But the remains of this taboo still affect reporting of sexual abuse and incest and, as a result, it is difficult to know what the incidence is in a general population for comparative purposes. With this in mind, caution must be exercised in accepting conclusions that the incidence of sexual abuse and incest is similar in both prostitute and non-prostitute populations as suggested by the Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (1984).

Some explanation of the fluctuating incidence reports may be found in the way abuse is defined by different researchers. Recent recognition of incest and sexual abuse as a possible precursor to prostitution may have prompted researchers to ask the relevant questions and thereby yielded the increased incidence results. In the final analysis, however, our information on sexual abuse and incest will always rely on self-report and success of this method will rely heavily on social attitudes and the relationship between the researcher and the subject. The high incidence reported by Silbert and Pines (1981) may be related to
their care in developing such a relationship.

Figures that represent a high incidence of incest and sexual abuse in the histories of prostitutes still do not prove that sexual abuse causes prostitution. Indeed, if we accept that 10 to 20% of all adolescents have been sexually abused, we know that they do not all become prostitutes (Benjamin, 1985; James & Meyerding, 1977a, 1977b; Silbert & Pines, 1982). However, if taken in the context of the Boyer and James (1982) model of deviant drift, it is evident that sexual abuse is a significant factor in the development of a deviant self-concept that in turn may lead to prostitution.

It may be that the particular experiences and attitudes that a child may have regarding sex are important factors in a child's susceptibility to sexual exploitation. Unstable, abusive and alienating family and community environments may influence a child's movement toward acceptance in a deviant culture, but confusing and distorted early sexual experiences (e.g. child molestation) may be an especially influential factor that predisposes the child to respond to involvement in prostitution and pornography in contrast to other delinquent activities (TRACY, 1979, pp. 40-41).

**Runaway Behavior**

Runaway behavior, in particular, has been linked with abusive or neglectful homes and eventual prostitution by many researchers. Weisberg, in her 1985 review of literature, notes that most juvenile prostitutes are runaways. She is supported in
this thesis by Silbert (1982) who found that 96% of her sample of 200 prostitutes were runaways. Boyer and James (1982) and the Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (1984a) made similar statements. Benjamin (1985) and Silbert and Pines (1981) suggested adolescents run away from abusive homes because they see no other way to deal with the problems. Bracey (1979) suggests that rather than actually running away, many adolescents have already been removed from their families and placed in foster care or group homes and it is from there that they run. All in all, the rate of runaway children and adolescents is rapidly increasing. In the United States in 1983, it was estimated that one million male and female youngsters between the ages of 11 and 17 ran away from home, 80% of whom used prostitution to survive (McCall, 1983). Canadian figures from 1974, estimated that 30,000 young people were on the road (Visano, 1983).

While runaway behavior is clearly a situational factor in prostitution, it is not a primary cause. As stated earlier, adolescents run away from abusive situations, not toward prostitution. Once they are out on the streets, the runaway factor combines with others to make prostitution an opportune way to make the money needed to survive.

**Age**

Runaway behavior is associated with juvenile status. An individual aged 19 or over may leave home to escape miserable conditions but will not be labelled as a runaway, as juveniles
under the age of 19 can be. In addition, the ramifications of running away as a juvenile and leaving home at an older age are different. Juvenile runaways are subject to apprehension simply because of their age when adults clearly are not (Benjamin, 1985). Further, the potential for earning money in legitimate jobs is far greater for adults than it is for juveniles. The frequency with which runaway juveniles resort to prostitution to survive is understandable within this framework.

Juvenile status also has ramifications in terms of the laws and social services that can be offered to them. Under Canadian law juveniles aged 12 to 17 years are protected under the Young Offenders Act (Wilson & Tomlinson, 1985). While prostitution is not illegal, soliciting is, and a juvenile must be caught soliciting in order to be charged. However, even with the recent tightening of the soliciting laws, the police have difficulty in charging and keeping a juvenile in custody. Of greater relevance are the provincial social service regulations which find a child to be in need of protection until she is 19 (Kossuth & Korde, 1986). These regulations require that the child be under someone's guardianship and have a permanent address in order to receive social service assistance and money. However, if the child does not choose to stay in any of these environments, they cannot force her to do so. As a result, present systems of intervention and assistance are not very successful with adolescents who have found running away to be an effective way to deal with aversive situations (Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths, Volume II, 1984b).
Adolescents are reported to run away from home most commonly between the ages of 11 to 14 years (Brown, 1979; Marchand, 1979; McCall, 1983; Task Force on Juvenile Prostitution, 1980). Coincidentally, this is the age when incest and sexual abuse victims typically disclose the abuse and/or begin to rebel in their families. If the adolescent does not get any support or help at this time, she may run away (Berliner et al. 1982). Indeed, the TRACY (1979) study of Vancouver juvenile prostitutes found that girls whose mothers did not support them when they reported the abuse ran away most frequently.

In light of these statistics, it is not surprising to find the typical age of onset of prostitution is in the 12- to 15-year range. Of the authors reviewed here, two found the average age of onset to be 17 (Davis, 1971; Maerov, 1965). However, both noted cases as young as 14. Weisberg (1985), in her review of the literature, found the mean age of entry to be 14. Silbert (1984) found 68% of her sample were 16 or younger when they started prostituting and Gray (1973) found a mean age of 14.7 for first act of prostitution. The Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (1984a) reported that half of all juvenile prostitutes have "turned their first trick" at age 15 or younger, and Frank and Rosettis (1981) found that 60% of the children who prostitute made their first street appearance by the age of 14 or 15. It is not surprising, then, that Benjamin (1985) states: "...there is a general consensus in the literature, that the majority of prostitutes first enter 'the life' in adolescence" (p. 7). Interestingly, it is the most recent studies which find the younger age of onset. This factor lends credence to the
theory that in recent years more prostitutes are starting at a younger age.

Like runaway behavior, age is not a primary precipitator of prostitution. It is a situational factor in juvenile prostitution. Onset of adolescence brings with it a desire for independence and a need to test the rules. As a result, sexual abuse or incest is often disclosed at this age or may precipitate disruptive behavior that exaggerates family disharmony. Adolescence may also bring with it a belief that running away is a viable possibility and an improvement over an abusive home. Further juvenile status means limited access to means of support, heightening the possibility that runaway adolescents will have to resort to prostitution. In this way, age is clearly a situational factor but one that is linked to abusive and broken homes in much the same way as runaway behavior.

**Socioeconomic Status**

Contrary to commonly held beliefs, prostitutes do not generally come from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Both Weisberg (1985) and Benjamin (1985) in their reviews of the literature, conclude that most juvenile prostitutes come from middle class families but that representatives from all social classes can be found in this population. They are supported in this finding by the Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (1984a) and Silbert (1984) who found that two-thirds of her sample came from families of average or higher income. The more important issue as concluded by these authors is the presence
of family dysfunction and abusive situations. Further, family dysfunction and abuse are not related to socioeconomic status (Brown, 1980; James, 1978; James & Meyerding, 1977b; Silbert & Pines, 1981).

Interventions

The failure of interventions that are designed to help the victim of sexual abuse, dysfunctional families and runaway juveniles may be another situational factor in prostitution. Specifically, failure of support systems or rejection of the victim of abuse has been tentatively linked to runaway behavior (Berliner et al. 1982; Bracey, 1979; TRACY, 1979). If the victim of abuse does not run away, she may be rejected from the family for disruptive behavior or may be apprehended. Social services offer foster home placements, group homes, hostels and some limited funding for survival and schooling for juveniles who have left their homes. Unfortunately, a very high rate of movement between these placements attests to their failure. Benjamin, (1985) and Frank and Rosettis (1980) found that juveniles who have been evicted, apprehended or have run away tend to have poor relationships with social service workers. Limited resources, poor laws and misinformation about the problem makes these services close to ineffective (Matthews, 1986; Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths, Volume II, 1984b; Frank & Rosettis, 1980). Indeed, Benjamin (1985) found that the vast majority of juvenile prostitutes leave the streets within one to five years without help from social services.
Summary

An examination of the literature on precipitating factors and the motivation to prostitute reveals a complex picture. Each theoretical approach has contributed in some way.

Psychoanalytic theory of unconscious causes has been criticized for its dependence on out-dated value judgments and its resistance to measurement and proof. However, in light of more recent findings on sexual abuse and incest in the history of prostitutes, it is useful to consider their effects on the development of personality and sexual identity.

Conscious theories of prostitution such as the need for money, pressure by pimps or desire for independence and adventure are easier to measure than unconscious causes. While they clearly do play a part in the decision to prostitute, these reasons alone do not explain the situational factors that place the individual in a position where she must make these decisions.

Current research focusses on situational theories of prostitution. Situational factors focus attention away from the individual and look instead at structural and cultural forces that permit and perpetuate prostitution in our society. Several situational factors have been discussed here and some have been researched. Women's inferior economic status and their gender stereotyping set the stage for the use of sex to survive in a patriarchal society. Unstable and abusive families, runaway behavior and juvenile status all interact to increase the likelihood of turning to prostitution to survive. While it is
evident that no single factor can be said to cause or lead to prostitution, recent findings on the high incidence of sexual abuse and incest in the life histories of prostitutes suggest that this particular factor may be a major determinant in the outcome of prostitution.

Review of Methodologies

This section reviews the approaches that have been used to study the phenomenon of prostitution to date. This review covers the type of study, instruments used, population and samples used and the information that has been generated. As with the review of the literature, the focus is on juvenile prostitutes where possible, however, studies that have not differentiated age of prostitutes are also included. In addition, the focus remains on female prostitutes in Western society. Further, since the present research will be based in Vancouver, particular attention is paid to Canadian and Vancouver studies and their findings for purposes of comparison and reference. The studies are reviewed here under four classifications: clinical studies, ethnographic and field studies, task forces and case studies.

Clinical Studies

The clinical studies reviewed here were carried out with subjects who were institutionalized in jails or clinical care settings (Maerov, 1965; Newman, 1985; Newman & Caplan, 1982). These studies used samples of 10 to 76 women, and data were collected through standardized measures, clinical records and
interviews. These researchers examined ego development in adolescent girls who had a history of deprivation and abuse. Both Maerov (1965) and Newman and Caplan (1982) found strong evidence of faulty ego development in the adolescents they studied. However, Newman's (1985) results were inconclusive.

The advantages of clinical studies are the availability of subjects and access to clinical records. As a result, self-report data do not have to be relied upon, thus eliminating many of the problems associated with self-report research. Newman and Caplan (1982) are the only researchers reviewed here who did not use any self-report data. As a result, they did not report the problems that Maerov (1965) did in establishing a trusting relationship between the researcher and the subjects. The problem with these clinical studies is their sampling bias and the size of the groups studied. Combined with the difference in the results among the studies, these problems make it difficult to reach any significant conclusions about ego development in adolescent prostitutes.

**Ethnographic and Field Studies**

Ethnographic or field study involves time spent in the field with the subjects as a participant observer. Four researchers described their methodology as including this approach (Boyer & James, 1982; Mathews, 1986; Rosenblum, 1975; Sheehy, 1973). Each of these researchers spent a period of time with prostitutes in their working environments. Sheehy does not specify number of subjects or the period of time spent in the field. Rosenblum (1975) spent nine months with five call girls and Boyer and James
combined ethnographic field work with interviews of 200 prostitutes over a four-year period.

Of particular interest here is Mathews' (1986) study which was carried out with male and female juvenile prostitutes in Toronto. Using participant observation, field work, case-file study, surveys and personal interviews, Mathews was able to collect input from juvenile and adult prostitutes, social workers and police. Rejecting theories of deviance and pathology which locate the cause of prostitution within the individual, Mathews developed a social effects model that examines the individual within her social context. By approaching the phenomenon of prostitution in this manner, Mathews was able to develop several proposals for intervention and prevention in his conclusion.

The four researchers reviewed here used ethnographic approaches to develop an understanding of the prostitute's behavior in terms of the social context in which she lives. Boyer and James (1982) and Mathews (1986) were able to develop and suggest interventions from their results. While ethnographic and field work studies may be faulted, like the clinical studies reviewed here, for their sample size and bias, the information gained through these approaches is useful in broadening the perspectives available on the issue, in adding to statistical and demographic data gathered through other approaches, and in developing theory around the etiology of prostitution.

**Task Forces**

Another approach to gathering information on prostitution is through task forces. These committees are sponsored by
governments and their agencies and respond directly to the social concern expressed over the growing numbers and visibility of juvenile prostitutes in our cities. The Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (the Badgley Report, 1984) and the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Commission, 1985) are two of the better known task forces that have published their findings in recent years. Other task forces or groups presenting reports on prostitution are the Canadian Advisory Council of the Status of Women (1984) and Michael Benjamin's resource document on Juvenile Prostitution (1985) which focussed on problems specific to Toronto. Vancouver reports include Prostitution in Vancouver (Layton, 1975), The Sexual Exploitation of Children, (Taking Responsible Action for Children and Youth, 1975), Task Force on Juvenile Prostitution (City of Vancouver Health Department, 1981), Children Involved in the Vancouver Street Scene (Frank & Rosettis, 1980, 1981), and A Report on Juvenile Prostitution (Ritch & Michaud, 1985).

Generally, the goals of these task forces are to determine the seriousness and extent of the problem, look for causes and suggest solutions. Data are gathered through interviews with the juveniles themselves, interviews with key informants such as police, social workers, street workers and members of the judiciary, literature reviews, case file reviews where available and presentations from interested groups and members of the community. Through this method, demographic data such as age, race, education, religious background and family history are
collected. In discussing the causes or precipitating factors to prostitution, every one of these studies named dysfunctional families and particularly, physical and sexual abuse as major factors in the life histories of juvenile prostitutes. Varying interventions are suggested and include strengthening laws to allow arrest, detention and rehabilitation of juveniles (Badgley Report, 1984) and major restructuring of society to combat inequality of women (The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1984; Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985).

While the methods of collecting data for task forces may sometimes be unscientific or haphazard, the inclusion of so many sources of information can be helpful in further expanding and developing the picture of juvenile prostitution and the surrounding conditions. The data collected by the task forces reviewed here are specific to Canada and Vancouver. As such, they are particularly helpful in determining the characteristics and extent of the local problem as well as for comparison purposes with other North American cities.

Case Studies

The most common form of study used to investigate the issue of prostitution is the case study. Several varieties of the case study approach are represented in this field. Most commonly, case studies of prostitutes have used structured (Boyer & James, 1982; James & Meyerding, 1977a, 1977b; Silbert & Pines, 1981) or semi-structured (Gray, 1973; Jackman, O'Toole & Geis, 1976)
interviews, occasionally backed up by information from official records (Bracey, 1979; Davis, 1971; Maerov, 1965; Pomeroy, 1965). Where reported, single interviews have been held with subjects lasting from two to four hours. Only Silbert (1984) conducted follow-up interviews with 53 prostitutes after a period of six to ten months to determine the effectiveness of a counselling intervention used with these individuals.

Interviews were conducted with groups of 13 (Jackman et al., 1967) to 200 women (Boyer & James, 1982; Silbert & Pines, 1981). Subjects were obtained in various ways but usually through some contact with social service agencies of one variety or another. Some authors used samples obtained exclusively from institutions or prisons (Davis, 1971; Gibbens, 1957; Maerov, 1965), while most combined imprisoned or institutionalized prostitutes with those contacted on the streets or in bars (Bracey, 1979; Bryan, 1969; Gray, 1973; Jackman et al., 1967; James & Meyerding, 1977a, 1977b; Pomeroy, 1965). Four researchers paid their subjects for the interviews (Bracey, 1979; Gray, 1973; Newman, 1985; Pomeroy, 1965). Only Silbert and Pines (1981) obtained their entire sample of 200 through volunteers who frequented their program and heard about the study through street acquaintances and contacts. Even so, their sample cannot be called unbiased or random in that it represents only those prostitutes who chose to participate in the study. Similarly, all the samples used in the studies reviewed here represent biased populations in that they have had some contact with social service agencies or have been chanced upon in the street. Clearly, when dealing with a population which is
labelled and treated as deviant and who survive through quasi-legal means as prostitutes do, it is difficult if not impossible to obtain truly unbiased, random samples.

The information gathered through case study interviews is varied and dependent on the goal of the case study. Gibbens (1957) was particularly interested in oedipal problems in prostitutes and looked for incidents of homosexuality, mental deficiency and family background. Other case studies have examined the process by which girls and women become prostitutes. Hypothesizing that early life experiences influence self-concept and perceived choices in life, these researchers have generated data on adolescent sexual experience, labelling and self-concept (Boyer & James, 1982; Davis, 1971; James & Meyerding, 1977a, 1977b; James & Vitaliano, 1979; Silbert & Pines, 1981). In some cases, data on prostitutes have been compared with similar data on general populations (James & Meyerding, 1977b) and deviant, non-prostitute female populations (Gray, 1973; James & Vitaliano, 1979). This process has generated data on the higher rates of coerced and unpleasant sexual experiences at earlier ages in prostitute populations.

The case study approach has generated a wide variety of information on rates and incidences of variables in the prostitute population. The problem with such incidence data is that they do not show how or why incest, for example, results in prostitution. Some researchers have developed a process or progression of stages which result in the eventual outcome of prostitution. Boyer and James (1982) combine their case study data with ethnographic
data and existing theory to develop their theoretical model of
drift into deviance. Other small sample case studies have
contributed to the data generated by ethnographic, task force and
clinical studies in examining the prostitute in her present
situation. These studies have looked at the prostitute's
personality and her social context.

With the exception of three studies, Canadian research on
prostitution is entirely represented by task force studies.
development in juvenile prostitutes and "non-standard" adolescents
in Toronto. Also in Toronto, Mathews (1986) looked at the
phenomenon of juvenile prostitution from a psycho-social
perspective. In Vancouver, studies on prostitution have been
entirely task-force oriented. As a result, information on
juvenile prostitution in Canada and Vancouver is severely limited.

Research on prostitution to date has examined possible
antecedents to prostitution, past factors, present circumstances
and characteristics of the problem. In reviewing the literature
on theories of prostitution, several situational antecedents to
prostitution were discussed. In particular sexual abuse including
incest was suggested as a major precipitating factor to
prostitution. However, it cannot be shown that sexual abuse
causes or leads to prostitution and the fact that most sexual
abuse survivors do not prostitute emphasizes this point. It is
the goal of this research to explore the relationship between
sexual abuse and prostitution, and to look for factors which
influence the ways in which sexual abuse victims become juvenile
The Present Study

The literature and informal discussions with outreach workers, prostitutes and incest survivors suggested several factors that may be influential in the ways in which victims of sexual abuse become prostitutes as juveniles. These factors provided a starting point for research and were incorporated into the interview that was used to collect narratives from women who had both the experiences of sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution. The factors have been divided into two categories: social-structural factors and intra-psychic factors (see Table 1).

**Social-Structural Factors**

Social-structural factors are defined as those societal and cultural conditions that form the context within which children are raised and socialised and within which they must learn to function. They include cultural factors, gender stereotyping, the family, social service agencies and sexual abuse.

**Cultural Factors**

Cultural factors reflect values and attitudes which are incorporated into and enacted through the structures of society. Western society exhibits a double standard in its attitude towards prostitution and prostitutes (James, 1978). This double standard is reflective of a patriarchal structure wherein the women who prostitute are degraded and criticized while their male customers
are tacitly condoned and even encouraged.

Table 1
The Structure of Research

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<th>Social-Structural Factors</th>
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<td>Cultural Factors</td>
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<td>Gender Stereotyping</td>
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<td>The Family</td>
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<td>Social Service Agencies</td>
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<td>Sexual Abuse</td>
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<th>Intra-psychic Factors</th>
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Our society has a similar double standard when sexual abuse and incest are concerned. Rather than a tacit acceptance of sexual abuse or incest, the prevalent attitude of denial and refusal to speak of these issues allows the abuse to continue unabated (Butler, 1982a, 1982b). The double standard is further evidenced in the tendency to blame the victim for her own abuse.

Western culture also limits women's access to money and power by limiting their access to jobs and undervaluing (underpaying) the jobs that are available to them. Women's economic inferiority and their sex role identity sets the stage
for the use of sex to survive in an "authoritative-competitive" society.

The young victim of sexual abuse may encounter these cultural values through attitudes that blame her for the abuse and that label her negatively for her sexual experiences and behavior. She may also encounter them as the easy availability of rewards and money for sexual favours and as restricted access to jobs or jobs that pay as well as selling sex does.

**Gender Stereotyping**

Cultural attitudes and values are evident in gender stereotyping of girls and women in our society. Young girls are trained to be passive, to please others before themselves and to be sweet and endearing. Girls and women learn fast that appearance and sexual attractiveness are rewarded and they begin to define their self-worth in sexual terms. Women's sex role value is described on a whore-madonna continuum and those who cross the strictly defined boundaries of acceptable sexual conduct are labelled as whores and will lose status, privileges and options open to "good" women (Boyer & James, 1980; James & Vitaliano, 1979).

The young victim of sexual abuse may encounter these social attitudes through the very fact of her sexual abuse that defines her sex role early and acutely. She may also experience these social attitudes as the expectation of the abuser that she will accept his authority and not attempt to resist or get help. Prevailing social attitudes may be expressed through labelling and
defining the victim as bad or promiscuous.

The Family

The family may be seen as a microcosm of society with a hierarchical and patriarchal structure that reflects cultural and social values. While some of these assumptions are beginning to be challenged in Western society, the fact that the adult male member of the family is still the major wage earner tends to give him authority and power in the family (Butler, 1982a). Who in fact makes decisions in the family along with other structural considerations such as presence or absence of parents and other relatives, who works, and at what, may all affect the growing girl's perceptions of her own role and options in society.

The assumption that sexually abusive families must be dysfunctional or broken in some way has been challenged by some researchers (Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Landis, 1956). However some evidence of poor mother-daughter relationships and mother-daughter role reversals has been found in incestuous families (Borgman, 1984; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Ledray, 1985; Meiselman, 1979). In addition, Newman (1985) has found that father absence during middle childhood may be related to prostitution in adolescence. While it is not clear how this relates to sexual abuse or incest, it may be important to consider the father as a potential support figure who disappoints this expectation by sexually abusing his daughter and/or by deserting her.

The structure of the family may affect the victim of sexual
abuse in many ways. Poor family relationships, role reversals and lack of support figures may discourage the victim from seeking help and encourage her to accept her role as a victim. When the family fails the victim, she may come into contact with social service agencies.

Social Services

Social service agencies and agents are defined here to include social workers, police, the legal community, street workers, foster and group homes, counsellors and mental health professionals. These agencies reflect cultural values in their attitudes and approach to victims of sexual abuse and their families. While attitudes and approaches are gradually changing, many still reflect the belief that the juvenile's word cannot be trusted, that she is somehow to blame and that family unity is the priority (Butler, 1982a). These agents and agencies may be called upon to help and support the victim and her family or to substitute for the family in supporting the victim. The effectiveness of these agencies is not well documented but the evidence that is available suggests they are not particularly successful. Indeed, several authors suggest that insensitive handling by social service agents may exacerbate the trauma suffered by the sexual abuse and incest victim (Finkelhor, 1984; MacFarlane, 1978; McCaghy, 1971; Ruch & Chandler, 1982; Summit & Kryso, 1978). Further, juveniles who have run away, been evicted or removed from their families, tend to have poor relationships with social service personnel (Benjamin, 1985). The very high
rate of movement between placements suggests that the system as it is set up is not working for these juveniles (Frank & Rosettis, 1980).

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse is a social-structural factor that reflects the values and attitudes of our society. Its presence has been found to be related to long-term negative outcomes in victims. Social responses to sexual abuse and its victims are reflected through the presence or absence of support systems. The ways in which the support systems respond, or do not respond, are a reflection of cultural attitudes and values, and these responses affect the victim at the intra-psychic level.

The characteristics of sexual abuse.

Several researchers have studied the relationship of specific characteristics of sexual abuse to long-term trauma or negative outcome in the victim. Several specific characteristics of abuse have been suggested as influencing long-term negative outcomes. Although some of the findings have been disparate and open to debate, some general conclusions can be drawn. Intra-family abuse seems more likely to create ambivalence, uncertainty and confusion in the victim and any other person who finds out about it. Abuse by several abusers and/or over a long period of time may contribute to a sense of helplessness and internalization of a victim status in the victim. Duration of abuse may also be related to increasing age of the victim and
increased awareness and guilt. Unless violence is involved, a very young victim may not react negatively to the abuse. Type of sexual activity (for example, exhibitionism, fondling, or intercourse) does not seem to be as important as the context of the abuse in causing long-term trauma. However, use of force or violence and a greater age difference between the victim and abuser have been found to be highly associated with trauma. Finally, if the victim feels at all ambivalent about the abuse because she may have responded positively or feel that she has co-operated with or even caused the abuse, she is more likely to suffer from long-term negative outcomes (Conti & Berliner, 1981; Finkelhor, 1979; Gagnon, 1965; Groth, 1970; Landis, 1956; McFarlane, 1978; McCaghy, 1971; Ruch & Chandler, 1982; Silbert & Pines, 1983; Summit & Kryso, 1978; Wooley & Vigilanti, 1984).

Long-term negative outcomes have been variously described as emotional and psychological problems such as poor self-esteem, guilt, ambivalence, fear of intimacy, distrust and depression which may be expressed through behaviors including isolation, promiscuity, prostitution, drug and alcohol abuse, suicide and problems with long-term relationships and sex (Borgman, 1984; Briere & Runtz, 1986; Conte & Berliner, 1981; Groth & Burgess, 1977; Landis, 1956; Ledray, 1984; MacFarlane, 1978; Meiselman, 1978; Wooley & Vigilanti, 1984). Although prostitution is only one of the behavioral outcomes mentioned, most of these emotional and psychological problems are related and have been found in prostitutes (Benjamin, 1985; Berliner & Stevens, 1982; Brown, 1979; Greenwald, 1970; Lemert, 1951; Newman & Caplan, 1982;
Silbert, 1984).

The conditions in which the sexual abuse occurs and its characteristics reflect social-structural attitudes and values that tolerate sexual abuse. If abuse occurs frequently over a long period of time and is perpetrated by several abusers and/or by members of the family, it is reflective of structures and attitudes that perpetuate sexual abuse and thereby almost normalize or condone it. In these situations, the victim may be more likely to internalize her victim status and accept her sex role as her lot in life.

**Sexual abuse and support systems.**

Support systems are defined here to include individuals and resources that victims of sexual abuse might look to for help or relief. The success or failure of these support systems are reflective of the attitudes and values that are part of our culture.

Much has been written about responses to the victims of sexual abuse. Emerging from a period when incest and sexual abuse was regarded as fantasy and the victim as an unreliable witness, clinicians and theorists now generally recommend acceptance and support of the victim who discloses sexual abuse (Burgess, Holmstrom & McCausland, 1979; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; MacFarlane, 1978; Sgroi et al., 1982).

The effect of disbelief or active rejection of the victim of abuse is described by Phillips (1985):

Taking direct action in the form of disclosing the abuse to
others can be a very risky venture as experienced by these victims. Fearful of being blamed, expecting rejection, and struggling to find the words to describe the abuse itself, time and again these victims met with what they feared the most. Not only did the lack of support compound the trauma, it effectively eliminated external resources for coping, and established a tenacious pattern of shame, isolation and alienation. (p. 59)

Phillips (1985) found that those victims who received support and comfort and were believed, felt affirmed in their innocence and aided in their coping attempts. Even intuitive support by a friend or adult and a positive relationship with another significant adult, had a beneficial impact over time (Finkelhor, 1979; Phillips, 1985).

Lack of positive support has been tentatively linked to runaway behaviour (Berliner et al., 1982; Bracey, 1979; TRACY, 1979), loss of trust and self-esteem and the belief that love and acceptance are dependent on sexual favours (Berliner & Stevens, 1982; Summit & Kryso, 1978). Each of these manifestations are commonly found in the prostitute population.

Victims of sexual abuse and incest who do not find positive support frequently resort to self help remedies in order to cope. Phillips (1985) and Finkelhor (1979) found that victims who saw no other way out of abusive situations withdrew from the actual abusive act by pretending to be asleep or dissociating themselves mentally. Many victims of sexual abuse run away or use drugs and alcohol to gain some relief from their situations. Unfortunately
these methods of coping, although initially helpful, tend to lead to other serious problems in the long term (Phillips, 1985; Finkelhor, 1979). Self-help coping strategies may be more accurately defined under intra-psychic factors, as the strategies are actions taken by the victim. They are discussed here because of their close association with sexual abuse and the absence of external support systems. Coping strategies will be further discussed under the intra-psychic factor of control.

The success or failure of support systems are factors that represent the attitudes and values of society and culture. When support systems fail and the victim is met with rejection by representatives of the social structures such as her family and/or social service agencies, the abuse is thereby condoned. If support is positive and forthcoming, the victim may have a sense of her own agency and feel supported by society and the abuse is thereby condemned.

The social-structural factors that have been discussed here have been included as factors that may influence the outcome of prostitution in juvenile girls. These factors represent a starting point for research and do not preclude the presence or relevance of other social-structural factors not discussed here. Interview items were designed to open discussion about these and any other factors and their influence on the lives of sexual abuse survivors who prostitute (see Appendix A).

Intra-Psychic Factors

Social-structural factors affect the individual at an
intra-psychic or psychological level. Specifically, sexual abuse has been found to affect the victim's self-esteem and sense of control or agency in her life.

**Self-esteem**

Poor self-esteem is repeatedly and commonly cited as one of the negative long-term effects of sexual abuse. Further, poor self-esteem is commonly cited to be found in prostitutes. Described in a variety of ways, poor self-esteem is seen as a general contempt for oneself (Finkelhor, 1983) or more specifically, a belief that one is sexually deviant or bad and primarily a sex object (Borgman, 1984; Ledray, 1984; MacFarlane, 1978). These descriptions are reminiscent of those delineated by James and Boyer (1982) in their findings on how sexual abuse leads to poor self-esteem or more specifically a negative sexual self-image which is expressed behaviorally through prostitution.

The theoretical literature defines self-esteem as a subjective sense of self that reflects self-attitude and self-appraisals. "...[S]elf-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in attitudes the individual holds towards himself [sic]" (Coopersmith, 1967, p. 5). "Self-esteem is awareness of good (excellence, goods) possessed by self" (Campbell, 1984, p. 9). However, the sources of self-esteem and the standards or scales by which the subjective assessments are made may be both externally and internally based (Campbell, 1984). Thus social values, standards and attitudes will affect self-esteem directly and in defining internal values, standards and attitudes.
Coopersmith (1967) is frequently referred to as a major contributing researcher and theorist on self-esteem. In his book *The Antecedents of Self-Esteem* Coopersmith (1967) delineates "several major conditions and experiences that seem to be associated with positive and negative self-attitudes" (p. 38). These are successes, values and aspirations and defenses, and they are affected by events and significant others in the life of the individual.

Success has four elements, or sources which affect self-esteem. Power is "the ability to influence and control others", significance is "the acceptance, attention and affection of others", virtue is "the adherence to moral and ethical standards", and competence is "successful performance in meeting demands for achievement" (p.38).

The individual's values and aspirations will affect the importance the individual attaches to success in any area. Thus the individual will only judge herself poorly if she does not meet success in an area or endeavour that she holds to be important. Values and aspirations are frequently internalized from parents and other significant others in the child's life.

Coopersmith's (1967) third condition of self-esteem is defenses. These are the methods by which the individual defends herself against attacks to her self-esteem. These methods are also learned from parents and significant others, and a positive self-evaluation is dependent on their success.

The role of the family, parents and significant others in the development of positive self-esteem is made clear through
Coopersmith's (1967) antecedents of self-esteem. Elements of his sources of self-esteem can be found in programs that are designed to build self-esteem in school children.

In his *Parent's Guide* to building self-esteem, Reasoner (1982) lists five characteristics of self-esteem. A sense of security involves consistency, dependency and safety so that the child always knows what is expected and what to expect. A child who is the victim of abuse may always be worrying about what may happen to her, and thus may not develop a sense of security. A sense of identity or self-concept involves acceptance, encouragement and affection, so that the child feels important and significant. Reasoner states: "...[S]elf-image is formed from the impressions the child has gathered based on how others treat the child, the comments others have made about the child, and how others react to the child" (p. 6). A child who is the victim of abuse, and is blamed rather than supported for the abuse will not feel important and significant and her identity will be affected by this. A sense of belonging comes from being accepted by others. The family plays a major role in early development of this feeling and "children who are unsure about how others in the family feel toward them usually feel uncomfortable, rejected or lonely" (Reasoner, 1982, p. 10). Thus a child who is the victim of abuse and has not been supported by her family will not develop a sense of belonging. A sense of purpose requires a positive self-concept and a sense of security. Children who lack a sense of purpose seem to lack direction and have given up trying to succeed. A child who has been the victim of abuse is likely to
feel insecure and uncertain about herself, and thus will have trouble developing a sense of purpose. Finally, a sense of personal competence results from the sense of personal power that comes from meeting challenges successfully. Reasoner (1982) states that children need to be given responsibility and allowed to handle difficult situations if they are to develop a sense of competence. Overly authoritative approaches or absence of support and guidance results in feelings of helplessness and resentment in children. Thus a child who is a victim of abuse, and who is not supported in her attempts to stop it will not develop a sense of personal competence or power. The relationship of personal power and self-esteem will be discussed further in the section under control.

It is clear from the literature review that many of the conditions and experiences that are required for the development of positive self-esteem are not present in the lives of sexual abuse victims and juvenile prostitutes. The significance of good or bad self-esteem in an individual is the effect it has on her behaviour and choices in life. "Research indicates that children who lack self-esteem often become nonachievers, delinquents, drug-users and school dropouts" (Reasoner, 1982, p. 2). Certainly this perspective is in keeping with the research on sexual abuse and prostitution, and the suggestion that the development of a negative sexual self-image is related to the outcome of prostitution.
Control

Another theory about sexual abuse including incest that has gained credibility in recent years is the issue of control. This theory states that sexual abuse and incest is an expression of power and control rather than one of uncontrollable lust (Butler, 1982b; Finkelhor, 1983; Groth, 1982; Groth & Burgess, 1977; Sgroi, 1982; Sgroi et al., 1982).

Sexual offenders...tend to engage in sexual behavior with children in the service of non-sexual needs, especially the need to feel powerful and in control....Within this context, it is more appropriate to regard child sexual abuse as a power problem and to plan and design intervention strategy accordingly. (Sgroi, 1982, p. 1-2)

As a major aspect of sexual abuse, then, control must be an issue both for the victim and the offender:

Issues of dominance, power, authority, control and aggression are developmental life concerns, both to the victim and offender which are lived out in the context of the sexual offence. (Groth & Burgess, 1977, p. 263).

Control is also reported as a concern for prostitutes. Juvenile prostitutes frequently report a subjective sense of control gained through running away from the abusive environment and living independently on the streets (Lemert, 1951; MacMillan, 1976; Millet, 1976; Rabkin, 1983; Ridington, 1985; Silbert, 1984; Silbert & Pines, 1983). Young prostitutes rationalize that they have a choice around who to have sex with and when. This coincides with Mathews's (1986) finding that prostitution is a
solution rather than a problem from the perspective of these adolescents.

Newman (1985) suggests that the psychological "hook" may be the power gained over clients in exchange for sex and money. A relationship with an abusive father may lead to the belief that power, not affection, is the appropriate currency between men and women. An identity as a devalued sex-object demands that intimate relationships with men be conducted in terms of sexual and monetary power. Further, the money earned gives the adolescents access to goods and rewards offered by society and contributes to a sense of power and independence (Newman et al., 1985, Sheehy, 1973).

The ways in which sexual abuse and other events affect the sense of control that an individual has can be seen through a discussion of learned helplessness theory (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978). Learned helplessness is a psychological state of helplessness in which the individual learns and believes that she has no control over aversive events that affect her. Abramson et al. (1978) have applied an attributional framework to the theory of learned helplessness which suggests that individuals make causal attributions about negative events and experiences which determine the generality and chronicity of learned helplessness and also affect self-esteem.

Abramson et al. (1978) identified three causal attributions. Internal versus external attribution of cause will determine whether the individual blames herself (internal attribution) or other people or circumstances (external
attribution) for the event. While either attribution results in a feeling of helplessness, because either way the individual can do nothing about it, an internal attribution will result in lower self-esteem. Thus, an individual will feel increasingly helpless or out of control if she believes no one, including herself, can help her. But if she blames herself for the abuse, as sexual abuse victims often do, her self-esteem will be lower.

The second type of attribution is global versus specific. A global attribution leads to generalised helplessness in all situations whereas a specific attribution leads to helplessness in a narrow range of situations. If a victim believes that all men are potential abusers and that no one can be trusted, her sense of helplessness will be global or generalised over a broad range of situations.

Finally, chronicity of helplessness is determined by stable versus transient attributions. Stable attributions result in long term and recurrent helplessness whereas transient attributions result in short-lived and non-recurrent helplessness. A belief that nothing can be done to stop abusive situations and bad events from happening will result in chronic helplessness that continues over time.

Peterson and Seligman (1983) have used the attributional model of learned helplessness to understand psychological reactions to victimization. These reactions are described as emotional numbing and maladaptive passivity and are reminiscent of the responses to sexual abuse and incest described by Silbert (1984) in her study of 200 prostitutes. Peterson and Seligman
suggest that causal attributions may partially account for differing reactions to victimization and that certain types of victimization may lead to differing causal attributions. For example, if victimization is repeated over time as sexual abuse and incest often is, the victim is more likely to make global and stable attributions and to develop a generalized belief about future uncontrollability. Her victimization also engenders a self-belief about being a person who is vulnerable to victimization. Similarly, a victim who is assaulted in a setting previously defined as safe, such as her home or her bedroom, is more likely to experience loss of control than the victim who is assaulted in a place she can avoid in the future (Scheppelle & Bart, 1983).

It can be seen how specific factors in a sexually abusive situation may decrease the victim's sense of control (Briere & Runtz, 1986). For example, use of force or violence and a greater age difference between the victim and the abuser may significantly reduce the victim's ability to control a situation. Further, abuse which continues over years and abuse by several abusers reduces the victim's sense of control because of its repetitive nature. In addition, it can be seen how support systems may increase control if successful but decrease a sense of control if unsuccessful. Several researchers have found that support systems which are positive give the victim a sense of control over the abuser and the situation (Armstrong, 1978; Finkelhor, 1979; Meiselman, 1978; Phillips, 1985). Specifically, Phillips (1985) found that strategies that had a beneficial impact over time and
aided in coping resulted in a sense of control, options and personal and external resources. Failure of support systems hindered coping and resulted in perceptions of no options, no control and no personal or environmental resources. For example, the victim who is successful in mentally separating herself from the abuse, stopping it through confrontation or obtaining outside help and support is more likely to feel that she is able to control aversive events. She may also maintain or increase her self-esteem. "Coping with such adversity in a way that makes one feel powerful must certainly be an important ingredient that distinguishes the survivors from the casualties of an experience like incest" (Finkelhor, 1979, p. 213). The victim who is unsuccessful in reducing the effects or stopping the abuse may experience loss of control. Further, and especially if she is rejected, blamed or blames herself, she will suffer from loss of self-esteem.

The victim who repeatedly encounters attitudes and structures that deny her control may become convinced that the only way she can get affection, money and power is through the sale of her body. In effect, she internalizes her victim status and ceases to expect any better treatment than that which she has become used to (MacFarlane, 1978). As a result, prostitution becomes the only alternative to an unhappy home. "The women seem to be trapped in a perpetual double-bind in which to gain love they must sacrifice themselves and to gain control they must prostitute themselves" (Wooley & Vigilanti, 1984, p. 348).

Control and self-esteem are intra-psychic factors that may
influence the ways in which the victim of sexual abuse becomes a prostitute. The interview accessed intra-psychic factors through questions around the individual's feelings and self-perceptions during her life with her family and in response to events that occurred (see Appendix A). Control and self-esteem are two aspects which are discussed here because they emerged from reviews of the literature and informal conversations with those involved in these areas. However, the interview was designed to open discussion on intra-psychic factors in general, allowing for additional factors to emerge during the process of data collection.

Factors that may influence the ways in which sexual abuse survivors become prostitutes have been divided into two categories: social-structural factors and intra-psychic factors. By organizing the data and information in this way, the interaction between these factors and their effects on each other can be shown. This analysis also assists an understanding of how the individual is limited and controlled by social-structural factors and how she functions within those constraints.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This research explores the relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution in order to better understand the factors that are influential in this relationship. A multiple-case design using interviews to collect narrative data was chosen as the optimum method to realise these goals.

Design

Rosenwald (1988) states that multiple-case research is designed to "enrich social knowledge" and "create a new basis for addressing social problems" in a practical way "for those afflicted" (p. 243). The use of narrative contributes to this goal in that it produces knowledge "...that deepens and enlarges the understanding of human existence" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 159).

Collection and analysis of narrative data take into account the personal experiences and perspectives of the individuals who are the focus of inquiry. Through this process, the subjects of research can contribute more directly to the body of knowledge that is developed about them. Further, inclusion of subjective accounts contributes to the fullness and depth of our understanding of the phenomenon. Mathews (1986) speaks to the importance of this process in developing and broadening understanding of the social phenomenon of juvenile prostitution:

In the process of generating or implementing knowledge about adolescent prostitution, the voices of the young people
involved are conspicuously absent. As a result, the knowledge is "constructed" or reconstructed in terms of linguistic and/or methodological specifications of organizational or professional structures of relevance, not in relation to, or with a consideration of, the concrete actual conditions of young people's lived experiences, or to their relations with others. In this "social construction and organization" of knowledge about adolescent prostitution, the young people are taken from their life situations and relationships, they (the situations and relationships) are left, for the most part, behind. Young people involved in prostitution are then placed in a context which is not theirs, but appropriated by the agents or agencies of this knowledge-generating-and-implementing class. These young people then become the "business" of these agents or agencies (Smith, 1974). Prostitution and the adolescent prostitute are "subjects" created from categories of institutional or professional relevance, and societal values, attitudes, and norms of behavior. The subjects of prostitution and the adolescent prostitute, now categorized, factualized, and specified by these institutions or professions as a-historical and documentable "realities", can then be made amenable to address, intervention, and/or treatment by these same institutions and professions. (p. 226-227)

Matthews suggests that our failures to date in intervention and prevention of juvenile prostitution may result from theory
developed without input from the juveniles themselves. Lowman (1987) concurs and states that the fidelity of the subjects' accounts must be maintained if we are to understand their definition of their situation.

Polkinghorne (1988) defines narrative as "...the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful. Narrative meaning is a cognitive process that organizes human experiences into temporally meaningful episodes" (p. 1). Given the opportunity all respondents will tell stories or narratives, as it is their way of "making sense of" and "giving meaning to" their experiences (Mishler, 1986, p. 118). Narratives or accounts are usually enlisted in research that seeks to find an explanation for some phenomenon or event. Scott and Sanford (1968) suggest that the study of accounts, or narrative, is related to the study of deviance, because this is the only time that an explanation is called for. Clarification or analysis of the narratives will lead to clarification of the deviant behaviour. The process through which analysis of narratives takes place is discussed fully under the section on analysis in this chapter.

The methodology of this research also incorporates Sullivan's (1984) theory of critical interpretation. Sullivan (1984) states that much of human action is outside the control of human agency and is embedded in social conditions outside human consciousness. These social conditions represent structural conditions of human action and are described as structures of domination as in class, race and gender. As a result, Sullivan (1984) states, human freedom is limited and social or structural
conditions operate as potent determinants of human action. Thus, individuals must be understood in relation to the social structures that limit and dominate them. "...[T]he personal phenomenological world of actors within cultures is embedded in the larger structural totalities of class, gender, race and so forth, which involve relationships of power" (Sullivan, 1984, p. 25).

Sullivan's approach requires that the individual's subjective experience be critically interpreted within the structures of society which dominate and restrict her responses and actions. Lowman (1987) in his discussion of research on juvenile prostitution in Canada concurs, and states that the subject's perspective must be framed within the broader structural context within which her decisions are made. In order to incorporate this contextual dimension, the interviews include questions that focus on social-structural factors that may have been influential in the lives of sexual abuse survivors who start to prostitute as juveniles. Thus, individual experiences will be interpreted in relation to the social-structures in which they occur. Further these structures of domination and control will be examined for the ways in which they form a context within which the social phenomenon of prostitution occurs.

One of the goals of this research is to contribute to the development of preventive and remedial interventions into the social phenomenon of juvenile prostitution. Collection and analysis of narrative accounts incorporate the experiences and
perspectives of the women who are the focus of this inquiry. In this way it is hoped that the recommendations that arise from this research will contribute to more effective and relevant interventions.

Procedures

Retrospective interviews were conducted with individuals to collect the data. While the interview questions had a specific focus in view, they were also designed to allow the respondent to tell her own story, in her own words, thus generating the narrative data that were required by this research. The interviews were designed to collect personal and experiential information around factors that influenced the ways in which the individual began to prostitute. Subjects were asked to describe their life histories by dividing their lives into five-year periods (0-5, 5-10, 10-15 and 15 plus). They were asked to include incidents of sexual abuse and the onset of prostitution in these life history accounts along with major events they remembered. This description was used as a basis on which to develop and expand specific points of interest to the research. For example, questions around family structure and relationships were asked in relation to each time period, and points where changes were made, such as leaving home, led to discussion around the subject's frame of mind at the time, who made decisions around the change, and how she saw her choices.

Interview questions were developed from the literature review to access information within two areas of focus:
social-structural factors and intra-psychic factors. They are included on the interview schedule under these categories (see Appendix A). As anticipated, the questions were not necessarily asked in the order shown on the schedule, but were used when relevant to expand the discussion. Also, the original plan to have the volunteers write out a life-line was abandoned after the first interview because subsequent volunteers were uncomfortable with this process, and the written life-line did not add anything to the oral interview in the one case that it was carried out.

Interviews were conducted by the researcher in the volunteers' homes or the home of the researcher. They lasted from one and a half to three hours. Volunteers were paid $20 for their time and contribution. The first three interviews were used as practice interviews to assess the researcher's ability to obtain relevant information. These interviews were found to be successful based on the following criteria. The volunteers were able to understand and respond to the questions and they were able to talk about potentially sensitive issues covered by the interview. Further, in Mishler's (1986) terms, the interviews gave the volunteers the opportunity to tell stories or narratives which made "sense of their lives" and in so doing addressed the how and why questions that formed the basis of this research. The remaining five interviews were conducted in a similar manner to the first three. All interviews were audio-taped with the volunteer's permission and were subsequently transcribed in their entirety by the researcher.
Once the analysis of the data was completed and the interpretations and conclusions written up five of the original eight women were recontacted and asked to assess the validity, significance and reliability of the analysis. The women were contacted purely on the basis of availability, and willingness to participate a second time. These women were sent a copy of their transcribed interview, their own case study (from Chapter Four) and Chapters Five and Six. They were asked to respond generally to the researcher's analysis and in particular to five questions (see Appendix B). Four of the women participated in the second interview. A discussion of their responses and comments are included in Chapter Six.

Sampling

The target population was females, 18 or older who were survivors of sexual abuse and who had prostituted as juveniles. Due to the nature of this population it was impossible to obtain a random and unbiased sample of subjects. Volunteers were contacted through social workers, street workers and counsellors. Volunteers proved more difficult to access than had been anticipated and as a result the original age maximum of 24 was withdrawn, and eight interviewees were obtained as opposed to the original target of 12. Mishler (1986) suggests a range of 8 to 20 subjects for the optimum results in multiple case study research. In this study eight cases provided the opportunity for comparison between subjects and for developing and broadening perspectives
on concepts and issues. At the same time individuality and differences could be defined and maintained, and the individual stories were not lost to generalisations about the group.

One of the concerns that was considered in undertaking this research was gaining access to the data required. A reluctance to discuss the sensitive and personal subject matter that was the focus of the research was anticipated. Further, careful consideration had to be given to the emotional well-being of the volunteers in terms of the aftermaths that might result from opening up old memories and painful feelings. The process through which the volunteers were accessed addressed both of these concerns, in that the individuals who referred them to the researcher had a good relationship with the volunteers, and only those women who were ready to talk about their experiences were referred. The thoroughness of this process may well have resulted in the low number of volunteers that were finally interviewed. Also, the referring individual was available for back-up and support of the volunteer, and the researcher made a follow-up phone call after each interview to ensure the well-being of the volunteer.

The women who did volunteer to participate in this research were all willing and able to talk about the sensitive subjects required by the interview. Many of them had had some counselling and all had gained a perspective on their lives that enabled the volunteers to discuss their lives openly.

The volunteers had all left the street at the time of the
interviews and were, with the limited exceptions noted below, no longer prostituting or using hard drugs and alcohol. Some of the women reported that they would still prostitute occasionally if they wanted a little extra cash or would still have a drink or smoke marijuana once in a while. All the women appeared sober and drug-free during the interview.

The ages of the volunteers ranged from 18 to 36 with all but two falling within the age range of 18 to 22. Six of the volunteers had at least one child. Two of the women were married at the time of the interview, four were living with their boyfriends and two were single, or not in a relationship. One of the volunteers was independently employed and one was seeking employment. The rest were dependent on husbands or social assistance for their income. All but one of the volunteers, who lived about 80 km from Vancouver, were living in the Vancouver/Lower Mainland area. All the volunteers had lived the majority of their lives in Canada, so that the events described all occurred in a Canadian context.

Analysis

The analysis of this research data is guided by the original propositions or research questions. The strategy of relying on theoretical propositions can be used where the propositions have shaped the data collection plan, and will therefore help to focus attention on certain data. The propositions help to organise the entire case study and this approach is particularly useful in answering "how" and "why" questions (Yin, 1984).
The research propositions provided a structure of categories and themes through which the data could be organized and presented. That is, the categories of analysis were primarily deductively imposed on the data. However, it was always the intent of this research to allow for new or unforeseen material to emerge, and the interviews were designed with this in mind. Accordingly, some of the original categories were redefined and additions and deletions within categories were made as the analysis of the data proceeded.

Polkinghorne (1988) states that research with narrative can be descriptive or explanatory. This research uses both approaches. "The purpose of descriptive research is to present the narrative schemes the storyteller has intended" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 169). In the process of telling their stories, individuals present a series of underlying themes. It is the researcher's job to search out these themes and present them. "...[D]escriptive narrative research involves detection, selection and interpretation of the data, which in narrative text is the interview..." (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 169). A full description should include elements that are unique to a story as well as elements that cross over stories. Uniqueness is as important as commonalities.

Explanatory narrative research is designed to "...construct a narrative account explaining 'why' a situation or event involving human actions has happened" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 161). This approach looks for explanations and links between events, and their significance to the individual. Explanatory
narrative research looks for underlying patterns across stories.

The content analysis was carried out in two stages and conducted according to Holsti's (1968) directions. Holsti (1968) describes content analysis as "...a multi-purpose research method developed specifically for investigating a broad spectrum of problems in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference" (p. 597). Content analysis should have **objectivity** in that the analysis is carried out according to "explicitly formulated rules"; **system**, in that inclusion or exclusion of content categories are carried out according to consistently applied criteria of selection; and **generality** in that the findings must have theoretical relevance.

Categories of analysis deal with what is said and how it is said. Categories should be defined so as to represent elements of the investigator's theory; to be exhaustive so that all relevant data can be classified; and to be mutually exclusive so that no item can be scored more than once in a category set. These guidelines were adhered to in the development of categories, content units and during the sorting process.

Alexander (1988) outlines two methods of defining and developing categories. Extraction by salience is an inductive method that essentially allows the data to reveal itself. Examples of salience are primacy, frequency, uniqueness and negation. The second method of developing content categories is through asking the data a question, or through deduction. Alexander states that this method can be used in conjunction with the first, and in this case the criteria for selection or salience
are determined by the question. The categories were developed primarily through the deductive method in this analysis, although some were developed inductively.

The actual process of analysis was conducted by the researcher in two phases. All the audio-tapes were transcribed in their entirety. During this process it was possible to begin discerning common themes. Next, reading and rereading the transcripts the researcher began to make notations in the margins according to subject and content of the material. For example, where the volunteer was talking about her family, a code "F" was noted in the margin next to the statement, "SCH" was used for schools, "SS" for social services and so on. During this process, key phrases and statements were underlined. It soon became evident that the themes that were identified through this process fell into the original structure of the research. Thus they were sorted into the categories which serve as the focus areas of this research: social-structural factors and intra-psychic factors. Color coding was used on the notations on the transcripts to signify these categories.

This initial phase of the analysis was primarily deductive and the categories were defined objectively, generating descriptive results. However, some new themes did emerge from the data and were inductively developed (see Table 2). Social-structural factors now include cultural factors, gender stereotyping, the family, the schools, social networks, social service agencies, the employment market, religious institutions, sexual abuse and entrance into prostitution.
### Table 2

**Categories of Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preinterview</th>
<th>Postanalysis</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Social-Structural Factors</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural Factors</td>
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<td>The Family</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Service Agencies</td>
<td>The Schools</td>
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<td>Sexual Abuse</td>
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<td>Social Service Agencies</td>
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<td>Employment Market</td>
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<td>Religious Institutions</td>
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<td>Sexual Abuse</td>
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<td>Prostitution</td>
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<td><strong>Intra-Psychic Factors</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>Alienation</td>
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<td>Control</td>
<td>Identity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Personal Control</td>
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The intra-psychic factors of self-esteem and control were further developed through the second stage of analysis. The categories and themes are further defined in the chapters that present the results. The first part of the results are presented in the case
A second phase of analysis was then carried out, which looked for themes and patterns across the cases. In this phase the salient theme was repetition, which is defined as the frequency with which subjects or issues were brought up and returned to through the interviews. For this phase the narratives were reread and the frequency with which underlying themes appeared was counted. From this analysis, three key concepts were chosen, based on their high rate of occurrence within and across individual cases, and their relevance in terms of the literature review and the focus of the research. These key concepts are alienation, identity and personal control.

The three concepts were also chosen for their subjective nature, which is in keeping with the research design. Alienation, identity and personal control are personal perceptions and subjective experiences. Thus it is the women's personal sense of being alienated (or not), fitting into a specific role, and being in control (or not) that is explored and described here. Each of these concepts are also experienced in relation to external, or objective situations, or social structural factors, so it is possible to look for links between these external factors and the experiences of alienation, identity and personal control, as they are perceived by the volunteers.

The influence of the original focus of the research and the structure of the interviews is clear in the development of these three key concepts. However, some redefinition did take place as a result of the rereading and reanalysis of the data. For
example, the original concept of self-esteem was redefined and broken down into the two concepts of alienation and identity. And within the category of alienation, the new concept of alienation from the self emerged as a result of this second stage of analysis. The three key concepts are defined and discussed in the second part of the results, in Chapter Five.

In the final chapter on Discussion and Conclusions, the structures of dominance and their role in the lives of the volunteers are explored. It is here that the influence of cultural factors and the gender stereotyping is discussed. A second section addresses the focus of the research which is to explore the relationship between sexual abuse and prostitution and to examine the factors that are involved and influential in this relationship. The ramifications of these research findings for interventions, and the impact of this research on the volunteers are discussed. Finally, recommendations for future research are presented.

Rosenwald (1988) states that the emphasis in multiple-case research is on the "generation of a satisfactory construction" (p. 248) and he argues that knowledge is most useful when it serves "emancipatory rather than instrumental interests" (p. 249). Sullivan (1984) concurs with Rosenwald and their position is in keeping with the goal of this research to contribute to interventions and promote change. Thus this analysis endeavours to develop the best possible conclusions and interpretations from the available data, which are valid in that they are well-grounded and supportable, significant in that they are important, and
reliable in that the meaning of the data is not lost in the transcription and interpretation (Polkinghorne, 1988).

Throughout the results and conclusions sections of this paper, the statements and words of the eight volunteers are used as direct reference points. The interpretations and conclusions are grounded in the original data, and these data are presented in their original form. Thus the reader can assess the validity and reliability of the analysis as conducted by this researcher. In addition, the interpretations and conclusions that were developed by the researcher have been read and assessed by four of the women who originally provided the data. Thus the reliability and validity of the analysis has been further assured, and the voices of the women who are the focus of the research have been further included. The significance of the analysis can be measured by the continuing attention that the phenomenon of juvenile prostitution receives in the media and the positive reception that this research has found with those who work with these juveniles.
CHAPTER FOUR: CASE STUDIES

The first part of the results are presented through case studies whereby each volunteer's story is presented separately. Presentation of the case studies in this manner allows for the individuality and differences between the women to be described and explored.

Each case is presented through a framework of the social-structural factors that the women described as influential in their lives. The factors that are included here are the family, the schools, social networks, social service agencies, employment opportunities, religious institutions, sexual abuse and entrance into prostitution. These descriptive factors of the women's life stories form a reference point for the following discussion of key concepts and the final analysis of social control and the effects of cultural factors and gender stereotyping on the lives of the volunteers.

The women have been given fictional names. These names carry through this paper consistently wherever reference is made to a specific volunteer. Double quotation marks delineate material quoted from the narrative text. Single quotation marks within the double quotation marks are used to delineate direct quotes used by the volunteers in their narratives.

Abby

Abby was 20 at the time of the interview. She had stopped prostituting and had been independent of drugs and alcohol for about a year. Abby was living in the Lower Mainland with her
new baby and a boyfriend. She was dependent on social assistance for her income.

Abby lived with her natural father and mother and younger brother until she was fourteen. The family spent a lot of time with her grandparents and aunts and uncles. Abby described her family as "not openly loving....My family wasn't one to talk to. My aunt and my cousin who watched me were the only people I felt comfortable with."

Abby's father held a number of blue-collar jobs, and the family moved frequently with his changing job opportunities. Abby's mother also worked as a waitress and a bank teller, but her employment was secondary to that of Abby's father and designed only "to help put my dad through school".

Abby described her mother as the main authority figure in the family: "My mum had full reign....She took care of everything." Much of her mother's authority was tied to her strict religious convictions and religion figured prominently in Abby's view of the way she was brought up. "Religion tied into everything. The things I could do, the people I could see." Abby described herself as "a shy kid" who "took to authority very well....It was just a point of matter. If they said it, you did it. And that's it."

As a young child (under age 10) Abby became her brother's primary caretaker. She also took on many of the household tasks: "My dad would come home from work. So I'd cook dinner, clean up and look after my brother. He ended up calling me 'mum'." "I had taken over the family role. I cooked, I
cleaned, I disciplined."

Abby felt restricted by her family's religious beliefs that prevented her from making friends, and from joining in with many of the activities at school. "Because of my religion, I didn't, wasn't allowed to spend time with the kids. So it was kind of like keep to yourself." At about 13 Abby "finally got the first friend that my mum agreed on."

Abby recalled doing well academically and behaviorally in the first years of school: "My teachers loved me....I was a very good student and I didn't have anything else to do with my time but study. So, and then taking to discipline so well." Abby's grades began to fail when she was 13, and at 15 she "got kicked out of school because I wouldn't go to school."

Abby was sexually abused by her grandfather and her father. She believes the abuse started around age five, and ended when she finally disclosed to her mother at age 14. Abby remembered feeling "very uncomfortable" with her grandfather and developing "paranoia" about the dark and baths and showers.

Her attempts to avoid the abuse were of limited success. Abby already had a sense that her family would not listen to her, and any attempts she made verified this feeling: "My family wasn't one to talk to....At that age you don't know how to approach it, other than I'd say I didn't want to go over there [grandfather's]....'Well, we're going anyway.'" About her father's abuse Abby said: "I never told her [mother] because my mum was the kind of person who just never listened to you in the first place. And then if you told her anyway, she had her own
opinion and that was the thing."

Unable to prevent her father's on-going sexual abuse of her, Abby "lay there pretending to sleep" and learned to "turn it off". She also began drinking from her parents' liquor cabinet and using drugs at about age 12. At the same time she stopped eating and her grades went down at school.

Abby finally disclosed her father's sexual abuse to a school counsellor, who told her mother that Abby was "rebellious and needed some good discipline". "So I got home, my mum started calling me every name in the book and started slapping me around. And I was so mad, I just screamed it at her."

The ensuing expulsion of Abby's father from the family left Abby with very mixed and confused feelings: "I felt really guilty, because I felt I had broken up the relationship." Her guilt was reinforced by the reactions of relatives who blamed Abby for the problems. "My grandparents, some of my relatives wouldn't talk to me at all. They said right to my face that my mum should get rid of me and put me somewhere because I had a problem....So that just made it double. I felt really guilty."

Abby resented her mother for not doing something about the abuse earlier, especially when her mother revealed that she had been similarly abused as a child and had suspected her husband of abusing Abby. "I still resent my mum a lot, because she did know....I did, and I think I always will hold it against her." Abby was also angry with her mother for rejecting her father. "[My dad] said that he would move out and go to counselling if only she would stick by him, and help him. And my Mum told him
to go to Hell....And about a week later we moved [out of province]" By this stage her feelings about her father were really confused. "I felt really bad for my father. I really loved my dad still. But I hated him....I felt guilty that he got left alone." On top of it all, Abby had to leave her new friend. "[I was] really mad. My one and only friend I ever really had I was leaving."

For the next two years (14 - 16), Abby moved back and forth between her father and her mother. She found her mother increasingly restrictive "she had to walk me to school....She'd pick me up at lunch, or somebody else would. And after school." And her father unwelcoming: "My dad said I could live with him if I wanted to. But he didn't want me to." Abby drank and used drugs more and more and eventually was expelled from school for non-attendance and ran away from home.

During this phase of her life, Abby came into contact with a variety of social service agencies and agents. Her experiences with these services varied. She criticised the agencies for not doing enough and for lack of understanding and insight into the problems of kids like her: "There really wasn't anybody for me to reach out to to help me, really, to find what I wanted to do. There wasn't anybody for me to talk to about my feelings or anything like that. I mean once in a while you run into a good person. But it's kind of hard to go through 20 to find one." "When I first started seeing social workers, they were trying to convince you to stop and work it out at home. Their parents are still married 20 years down the
road. They've lived in the same house the last 20 years....And they, they don't really pass judgement, but they don't understand."

Abby remembered positively experiences with social services where individuals, unlike her mother, gave her some freedom to take responsibility for herself, understood her problems, and were lenient and flexible. "The lady [counsellor] was very, very nice. She was sexually abused. She knew exactly how I felt." "I went to welfare, and the social worker there was a very nice man. He gave me the option of being under care again....What they were going to do was put me in a lenient group home, where it was there for what you needed....It was a good transition home, because you weren't bound by rules and restrictions....And I ended up staying there." "My foster parents tried to let me take a lot of responsibility for myself....But nobody really, my mum always told me what to do, what to wear."

After cycling through a number of foster homes and juvenile detentions, Abby began to support herself by prostituting. "I had no money. No place to stay. I stayed with a friend of mine for a little while....She used to be a prostitute....And she was going to go to Edmonton for the weekend and work. And I thought, well, I was real wary of it. But I thought, I need the money. I have no place to stay, and I can't live on her. And I went with her and I ended up not coming back." Abby stated that: "Being sexually abused, I think made it a lot easier for me. Because you've already
learned to turn it off. I mean, it felt uncomfortable, but it got to the point where, well I've already done this so what's the big deal in doing it again. Lie there and pretend that everything's fine and dandy, and you get paid for it at that!"

Prostitution also became an attractive option as Abby's attempts at legitimate employment failed for her. "I ended up quitting because the guy was a jerk....He was always grabbing me or groping me." She knew she could make a lot more money prostituting and she felt she would have more independence in this way. "I was tired of being pushed around everywhere. I wanted to do something. I wanted to make my money and just be happy which I thought working the streets would be great."

However, after a while, it became clear that prostituting did not afford her the independence that she had hoped for: "I ended up getting pushed around anyways....It's not really nice to be working out there." When she became pregnant, Abby decided to leave prostituting. At the end of the interview, Abby expressed some sense of achievement in having got through a lot of bad times and in general seemed satisfied with her life: "I've been through a lot of shit. But my life turned out to be good."

Bev

Bev was 20 at the time of the interview. She had stopped prostituting and had been independent of drugs and alcohol for 18 months. She was living in the Lower Mainland with a boyfriend, and was looking for employment.
Bev spent the first ten years of her life with her mother and sister, and a wide-ranging group of friends and relatives whom she called family. "By family I mean not necessarily blood relatives. But people who had always been in my mother's life since she was like 13 or 14 on the streets." She did not know her biological father.

Bev's family background gave her both a sense of how deep rooted and indelible her life-style was "So this family line's been going back for a few generations now", as well as a sense of rootlessness, "I don't have roots, because I don't know who my people are. I'm supposed to be part black, and supposed to be part Indian. I don't know any family of mine who are white. Except for my mother and my sister. And my sister is the same as I am. So I feel really rootless."

Bev's mother depended on Social Assistance and prostituted for her income. "I've lived in slums and I've lived next to millionaires." "There was a lot of times when we didn't have food, so we couldn't go to school because there was nothing to eat. It was either feast or famine."

There was no clear line of control or authority in Bev's family. Bev's mother was very young, "She was a baby having babies" and often seemed unavailable and involved with her own struggle to survive. "We were scared to tell her [mother] because he [step-father] was abusing her. We didn't want to have to worry her." Bev identified herself as the care-taker and protector of her sister, and equated that role with male characteristics: "I sort of took on the role of the little man
in the family....I was definitely the care-taker and I beat up the boys that beat up my sister or called her bad names....I was very protective of her. Very protective."

Bev's relationship with her mother was mixed. She described them as "close" but also stated that she was "scared" of her mother. "I respected her more than anything else in the world, you know. Didn't like her because she beat us."

Bev was reared in a culture that introduced her early to nightlife, bars and clubs and their surrounding excitement and violence. This life-style set up a conflicting push-pull or attraction-rejection in Bev that was reflected throughout the interview. "Like, we spent our life growing up in nightclubs." "When I was a kid it was something fun. I got to be with the grownups. Got spoiled, got noticed, got attention, got to dance. Everyone tell you how cute you look." At the same time Bev became familiar with the negative aspects of this life: "Things I've seen. I've seen people die, get stabbed and guns been held on other people." "My aunties....They're all dead. Almost all of them from junk overdoses." Bev's conflicting attitudes are reflected in her feelings towards her grandfather. "My grandfather was this wild guy that I guess died about four years ago. He ended up being like a really big criminal. Really major league criminal. And I really liked him. He was weird. He was one of the bad guys in my life."

Part of the violence that always seemed to be present in the life-style Bev grew up in was the constant sexual abuse she and her sister were subjected to. "Through those years
there had been many occasions when uncles and friends were....I don't know why, you know, they would just feel us up. It was always, there was always ugly stuff. Men were always touching me and my sister....It's just like a constant memory. Always....And not telling anybody because not thinking anybody would believe me. And they were such nice guys." However, Bev also recalled specific episodes of sexual abuse and rape at the hands of male baby-sitters when she was five and her step-father when she was eight. At 11, after she began living and working on the streets, rape became almost a fact of life.: "It's like I hit 11 years old and I was raped....And it hasn't stopped." Unlike her ambivalence about her family and friends who sexually abused her, Bev's anger towards these assailants was clear. "I hated him. I hated his guts." "I think [he] should be killed."

Because sexual victimization seemed to be such a fact of life, and also because her mother seemed unavailable, Bev did not seek support or outside help. Instead, she sought ways to escape from her pain through reading and writing poetry. "I've always been a voracious reader. That's how I went away before I found drugs." Bev experienced a lot of "blackouts" over her life, which left her feeling alienated from herself: "It's just such an alien feeling to have this memory that isn't part of me."

Drinking was almost a way of life for Bev, and her identification of drinking with socialising and fun continued to evoke contradictory feelings. "I grew up a wine and cheese
connoisseur. I really miss wine....I think I was an alcoholic the first time I picked up a drink. But no, the first time I picked up a drink I don't even remember. Because we always drank." Bev's serious use of drugs started when she began to work the streets at age 11.

Bev left home to live on the streets when she was 11. The move came about as a result of becoming involved with "the wrong crowd of people." "I [was] introduced to the group [by my sister]. And from there it was the end for me. I just went. I never pulled back again. I just went from smoking pot and getting raped to hustling and doing heavy drugs." Of her involvement in prostitution, Bev said: "What got me there is I didn't think I belonged anywhere else. I'd been fucked by men all my life. Any way they could fuck me."

Bev prostituted until she was 14, when she resumed living at home and attempted to return to school. However, her involvement with drugs and the street life made it impossible for her to succeed at school, so she dropped out.

School played a minimal role in Bev's early life. "We moved a lot. We went to at least 15 elementary schools. More, way more, 20 maybe." Bev recalled doing well academically at school, even when she returned after living on the streets. "I got good grades. When I was in school, that is." Bev found that she was not safe from sexual assault even in school when she was raped by a fellow student. When she complained she was labelled "a slut" and expelled from the school.

Bev remembered her experiences with the social service
system almost entirely negatively. At age eight or nine she and her sister were put in a home for emotionally disturbed children. Bev's description of how this happened illustrates her feelings of abuse by the system. "All them psychiatrists [got] really excited....Let's grab them both and stick them in the looney bin and fucking figure them out. Right? Well, so we both got snatched." Bev described the home as physically abusive, and felt that this event changed her life and the family completely. "That's when life changed." "That's when the family started to fall apart because they just tore my sister and I away from my mum. And we stopped trusting her at that point."

After Bev started to live on the streets she was frequently picked up by the police and put into group or foster homes. Bev found these placements useless and recalled the negative attitudes of the people working there. "They were always catching me and putting me in jail, or putting me in group homes, or putting me wherever. And I'd stay for a few days and leave....Nobody cared. They didn't give a flying fuck. They said that to you."

Bev's assessment of social services was that they were misdirected and of little help because they are run by individuals who have no real understanding of the problems street adolescents like her faced. "I don't have any faith in rehabilitation of child molesters and rapists....I don't see it working. I've never seen it working....I don't think a male judge and jury can really know what to do [with abusers]....It's
not alright to spend money that should be spent on women and children, the poor people, the old people - to spend money on them [the abusers] that could be spent on us."

When Bev left prostituting, she felt that an outside source intervened and stopped her: "And why walking out my apartment I went: 'I can't work any more. I'm going to die'? Like I don't know if I was doing that. Maybe it was God." At the time of the interview, Bev was attempting to find legitimate employment. Of her life she stated: "I wouldn't change it though. Because no matter what that, no matter what my life's brought me or taken away from me, it's made me what I am today. And I can't be that bad because I've got an awful lot of good people that just love me silly."

Carol

Carol was 36 at the time of the interview. She lived with her husband of 13 years and her three daughters, in a small community just outside Vancouver. Carol had been independent of drugs and alcohol for 19 years. Although she had been employed outside the home at various times throughout her marriage, she was not working outside the home at the time of the interview.

Carol was the oldest of four children, with one sister and two brothers, and lived with her mother and father for the first 10 years of her life. She and her family associated a lot with extended family members, and Carol spent some periods of her life living with her grandparents, aunts and an uncle.

She described her father as non-supportive and unloving,
and her mother as helpless: "She never just did nothing. Like she never raised her voice. She never did anything. She never even spoke up to my Dad." Carol's father was physically abusive to everyone in the family, including her mother.

Carol felt rejected by her father right from the beginning: "I was first born. You were supposed to be a boy. You were not supposed to be a girl....Maybe if I'd been a boy it (physical and sexual abuse) would never of happened to me....It seemed like he wanted to punish me all the time....It seemed to me like I was sort of the outcast. The reason why, I wasn't a boy."

Carol's sense of rejection deepened when she was sent to live with her father and his new wife, her step-mother at age 10. "I figured right then and there my mum never wanted me anyway." "Him [father] and his girlfriend, the bitch. She was a witch. She hated my guts." And when she finally ran away at age 12 she remembered "You know, my dad never even looked for me. My father never even looked for me."

Carol's mother did not work and was dependent on social assistance or male partners for her income. Her father worked erratically in a band and the family was not consistently provided for: "Half the time we had no groceries, anyway."

Carol described her father as absolutely in control in her family, much of the time expressing his will through brute force and violence. "He didn't like something my mum did, he'd beat the shit out of her." When Carol lived with her father and her step-mother, authority was exercised by both parents, equally
Carol did poorly in school and only achieved a Grade 6 education. "Because of everything that happened, my years, I failed grade after grade after grade of course." Finally at age 16 she was expelled because she was pregnant.

Carol suffered continual physical abuse at the hands of her father. In addition, she recalls him abusing her sexually from the age of two. She also was sexually abused by a boarder in the house and at age eight, her father started selling her to his friends. After she ran away from her father's house at age 12, Carol was sexually abused by an uncle she lived with and her father again sexually assaulted her on one occasion.

The sexual abuse was frequently accompanied by violence, and Carol recalled a range of emotions. "I remember it really hurt bad. And I remember I was really scared." "I'd get so sick. I'd throw up, and, you know, nauseated....And I'd feel like, I'd love to kill him. You know, I'd love to kill him....And I felt really numb inside and really gross. I don't know who I hated more. The men that were coming up to see me, my mother or my father."

Carol also recalled her confusion about her father's and others' reactions to the abuse, and the sense of resignation she was left with. On one occasion her father reported the boarder who sexually abused Carol to the police. But he did not respond similarly to his friends' abuse of her. Also Carol's mother, the police and teachers failed to follow up her reports of her father's physical and sexual abuse. "They never followed it
up. So I figured, I guess things happen. I remember when I was a little kid I would look at other little kids, my cousin and stuff, and I'd wonder if their dads did the same thing to them, you know." When she was ten, Carol's father was taken to court. He was given a probationary sentence and he left the family. A short time later Carol's mother sent her to live with him and his girlfriend.

Unable to get any relief from her abusive father and step-mother, Carol attempted suicide a few times and eventually ran away. "That night I says to my sister: 'I had enough. I can't take it no more. Dad's going to kill me yet. And that bitch [step-mother]. I hate that fucking pig. And I can't take it no more and I'm running.'" The suicide attempts and running away were acts of desperation for Carol, taken in a mood of despair and hopelessness. "I didn't care any more. I mean I thought I was half dead anyway. And I really didn't care. Like I'd taken so much abuse, a little bit more wouldn't matter....I laid on this bench and I remembered what people said could happen to young girls in the park. But who'd give a damn if they found my body? That's just as well because I don't really care. Oh I had tried suicide twice in between there already. Two or three times."

Over the next few years, Carol lived with various family and extended family members. She had a baby which was taken from her by social services and also bore her father's child. It was during this period that she began to use drugs to deal with her depressions and loneliness.
As the sexual abuse of her father became known, Carol was rejected, blamed and labelled in negative sexual terms by the rest of the family. "My grandfather told me I was a disgrace on the family. And he said they didn't want nothing to do with me no more. They said all I was was a slut and a whore." "And nobody wanted me around. I mean everybody said I was a disgrace. My brother said I was nothing more than a fucking whore. And you know, everybody said it, so you start believing it."

Carol moved to another province and attempted to work as a gas jockey. But she got fired because of her drug use and began prostituting to survive and support her addiction. Carol's move into prostitution was motivated by desperation and hopelessness. "I mean, you know, I didn't give a damn, I really didn't care. That's all I knew, eh. I mean, all you know is sex." "It was totally disgusting. But it was a way to support my habit."

Carol came into contact with a number of social services over her life. Initial contacts with the police and the courts were neither negative nor helpful to her. After she ran away from her father her contacts were negative, because they let her down or actively rejected her and her needs. "I wouldn't go back to the welfare because they didn't take my brothers away [from her father]. Or my sister. And I was really mad at them." "The welfare wouldn't help me. They put him [baby son] in a foster home where I could see him on weekends. Talk about hurt!"
However, a resource for drug addicts was helpful to Carol, giving her the time to recover from drugs and helping her rebuild her life. "The Junkie's Haven helped me quite good, quite well. They really helped me a lot. They helped me get my life together so to speak. Then they made me phone home." Carol particularly remembered the support and understanding she felt from a worker there. "They wanted to take me to a mental institution to dry me out....He wouldn't let them take me because he figured, he saw this girl and he said he knew there was a lot of trash that happened in her life."

Carol's retrospective view of social services was that they were not helpful if they had no understanding of the situation. "A person never wants to hear text book, hear it from a text book. They want to know, hear it right from life. You know. Real experience. What's happened. How to deal with it." For Carol, the most important thing was to have someone who would listen. "Like all my life no-one would listen. The authorities wouldn't listen. Doctors wouldn't listen. Teachers wouldn't listen. No-one would listen....It's hard to tell. It's hard to tell that somebody's doing something to hurt you. It's, you ache to tell....You can't tell because they're not going to listen."

In spite of the extremes that she had been subjected to in the past, Carol felt that she had been able to make some use of her experiences in helping other young children. "And when I sit down and talk to them, they know I mean it because I been there. And when I feel then, that the past has been worth it."
At the end of the interview, she was able to say that she felt life had turned out alright for her. "My story isn't a nice one. All my life it's been a pretty bad one. But mine has a happy ending."

Debbie

Debbie was 21 at the time of the interview. She was living in Vancouver with her husband of two years and her baby daughter. Debbie was independent of drugs and alcohol and was no longer prostituting.

Debbie was born in a small community about 80 km outside Vancouver. She stayed there until coming to Vancouver when she was 15. Debbie was the youngest of three children, with an older sister and brother. She lived with her mother and father and siblings until she was four, when her father left the family. Her mother never remarried, and never worked outside the home. The family was dependent on social assistance for their income after their father left.

While Debbie's father was living with the family, he was frequently drunk and physically abusive to Debbie's mother. When he decided to leave home, Debbie somehow felt that she was to blame: "When I was four we were going for a ride around the garbage dump. And my Dad was saying: 'Oh, I'm leaving.' This just came out of the blue....And I was just like, did I do something wrong?...You know, is this my fault?....I was the only one in the car besides my mum. I started, well I did something wrong." Debbie heard from her father very infrequently after
that: "He never used to write me or nothing....I used to send him Father's Day cards and letters and that. And I never got a word back. So I just stopped giving him, forget that."

Debbie never really felt close to anyone in her family. Her brother and sister were six and seven years her senior, and shared their own relationship of which Debbie was never a part: "When I grew up my sister and brother were so close." "I was never close to my brother or sister neither." Once her brother and sister left home, she felt she had nothing in common with her mother: "I was just living with my mum. I didn't get along with her too well."

With her father absent, authority in the family rested with her mother by default. "She [mother] brang us up more or less." However, Debbie felt that her brother and sister got away with a lot "Mum didn't know what was going on", and when she was 12 Debbie rejected her mother's authority and started running away and running her own life: "I'd have curfews at nine o'clock at night (sigh). I couldn't go out anywhere. I mean bring anyone home and she'd cross examine them."

Social networks and the schools played an important role in Debbie's life in defining her sense of difference. Debbie felt that she was unable to dress as well as her peers and the theme of "not fitting in" at school or with her peers in the community came up repeatedly: "I just didn't fit in there somehow. I guess in Grade seven people started picking on me. Because I, I wouldn't say much, you know. We were, I wasn't dressed very well." "I just didn't fit in. I didn't fit in."
After several suspensions from school for non-attendance and smoking, Debbie was finally expelled at 15. The vice-principal's attitude on this occasion confirmed her sense of alienation from the school system: "He [vice-principal] says: 'I don't need bitches like you in this school. I run a perfect school.' That's what he told me....That was the end of my school."

The social networks that Debbie did "fit in with" and felt comfortable with were those that she found living on the streets. "It [the streets] just seemed like place where I seemed to fit in....Yeah, you know, people would talk to me....Here's a place where I'm not going to get picked on." Friends also provided places to run away to and stay with: "I managed to hook up with this girl....I stayed with her for a while."

Debbie started running away locally when she was 13 for brief periods. When she was 15 she began running away to Vancouver for longer periods of time. Of her running away she said: "I was just more of a roamer, I guess. I just didn't fit in there somehow." And later: "I figured it's time to take control of my life. Just get out of this town....I could take care of myself. That's why I started, you know."

Debbie's first remembered incident of sexual abuse was with a summer employer. She found him "grotesque", but felt she needed the money and stayed for two summers. Debbie also felt somewhat to blame for the abuse: "If I tell anyone, they'll think it's my fault....I was wearing shorts and that. Figured,
you know, maybe it's my fault....What's the use of telling anyone. I needed the money to continue working there."

When she was 15 Debbie was violently raped by a man who picked her and her friend up hitch-hiking. Her memories of this incident still gave her nightmares six years later, and she still lived in fear that the assaulter would seek her out again: "I'm still scared to this day. Walking down the street. What if this guy, because he threatened me quite a bit after." Debbie did press charges on this assaulter, but felt let down by the process and the final outcome: "Took one year and a half before it actually got to New West. Court....He got four years, and that's it. It's disgusting. He was out before then."

Although, at one level she was angry about the assault, Debbie also took on some of the blame: "I, I was angry. I figured, you know, this shouldn't be happening....I actually was pretty angry. I figured, you know, it was my fault. Everyone kept making me believe it was my fault. And then on top of it my friend's father blamed it on me too." In court, her association with street adolescents was used to invalidate her story. "That was used against me in court. I mean I was going to school in the Senator [hostel for street youth], I also lived in the Senator with the kids too. That really got used at me in court, eh....Because they're only known for prostitutes only....Well, this guy tried to tell the court I agreed to it."

When she was raped a second time, Debbie felt it useless to struggle either with her assaulter or with the courts: "I
was screaming....I thought: 'I might as well give up', you know. 'This isn't going to work.' Like I was trapped. Just get it over with. I'm not fighting any more." "I didn't tell anyone. I didn't even tell my mum." "What is it going to look like going to the cops and telling them: 'Well, I got raped again' you know....I figured they wouldn't believe me. You know: 'This girl is making things up'. And considering the places I was living."

After the rapes, Debbie started drinking and using drugs heavily, and at about the same time she began prostituting. The drugs and alcohol helped her cope with the prostituting: "I'd have to be right loaded. You have to be. And then when you wake up you got to be right loaded....I wouldn't have been able to handle it." Of her entrance into prostitution, Debbie stated: "After that, after the rape, I just figured, I don't give a shit. This is a good way to get money, you know. Why not get paid for it....Let's get this over with. Get high, and just get your mind off the trouble."

Debbie's experiences with social service agencies were mixed. She felt let down and blamed by the courts, and there were occasions when she felt the police were physically and sexually abusive. "This guy [probation officer], he was, he was taking unnecessary moves....He said, if he ever got us alone, he'd get us good, eh." "You can't even trust the cops. When I was working the streets and the cops come along, they'd want something, eh. So they wouldn't take you in."

The individuals in the social service systems that Debbie
felt were least helpful were those that did not understand her and tried to impose their will on her. "I was really mad at that social worker. He waited for something to happen. I asked so many times to get moved out to Vancouver, and finally when something happens [the rape] he sends me out here, you know." "I went to this one guy [psychiatrist], he kept telling me that I miss my father and this and that. Trying to put ideas in my head....I ended up getting somebody else."

Debbie felt that the individuals who were most helpful to her were those who took the time to talk to her and listen to her story. "I finally started trusting her [a group home worker]....Well, we actually sat down and talked. I actually had a conversation with her for a few minutes....She was one of the better workers."

An unusual source of support for Debbie was disc jockeys. The advantage of disc jockeys was that they were always available, and they would listen to Debbie and reassure her. "They [the disc jockeys] were there 24 hours. And they didn't, like they never really met me, you know. They were just there....Basically you could just talk to them." "I got into a conversation about the rape with one D.J. He was saying: 'It isn't your fault. You don't deserve that.'"

Debbie felt that there should be more publicity about the reality of street life and the dangers. With the added risk of AIDS, she said that "It's not really worth it".
Ellen

Ellen was 21 at the time of the interview, single and employed. She was living in Vancouver and had not prostituted or abused drugs and alcohol for six years.

Ellen was born the youngest of three children, and lived with her older brother and sister, mother and father until she was ten. The family spent a lot of time with extended family members, including cousins, grandparents and aunts and uncles. Ellen's father was replaced by a step-father when she was ten. After age 11 Ellen did not live with her family any more.

Ellen's father ran a small business and her mother worked as a house cleaner. Her mother continued to work after Ellen's father left.

Ellen felt particularly close to her grandfather and uncle and enjoyed the special time and attention she got from them. "They usually were able to do things for me. And they spent a lot of time with me, doing things with me." But her hostile relationship with her sister and her disrespect for her mother were themes that followed throughout her life-story. "I spent a lot of time fighting with my sister....We were real enemies, you know." "My mum's a real woussie, right....Timid and always apologising for everything that we did....She was a spineless jelly-fish."

Ellen was taught a strict sense of obligation and loyalty to her family. "As a young child I learned a sense of obligation and things like that. Loyalty to the family and things like that." Her father had control while he was present: "My dad made the decisions....He had pretty much all
the control in the family." However, Ellen recalled rebelling against family limits as early as eight. "[I would] stay out later than I was supposed to. Always. And started insisting on going on holidays on my own. Like going on ferries by myself to my grand, my uncle's house."

When her father left, Ellen essentially took charge of the family. "I had a real attitude... Like the time that I spent trying to act like an adult, now was my chance. So I took care of the family." And when her new step-father attempted to assert his authority, Ellen rebelled and resisted in every way she could. "He'd [step-father] tried to discipline me.... And I just wouldn't have it.... Everything he said I did opposite of, even if I knew it was wrong. I did it just to piss him off."

Ellen's memory of the adults in her life was that they always let her down. "I always felt like adults were letting me down.... My mum especially was the person I felt most let down by. But that was from the very beginning that I always felt that way. And my grandfather let me down. You know. Like I was, when he died I was extremely angry at him."

Ellen never felt very successful at school. "I never liked school. I never did. So I never really did well." At eight she was already rebelling against authority, and at 11, Ellen's increased use of drugs and truancy made it impossible for her to concentrate on work. "I was never, I was never paying attention to anything. And school got worse. I started hanging out in the alley near the school smoking drugs."

Ellen tended to associate with friends who were older than
her, and who were the source of her drugs, companions to be truant with and provided places to stay when she started running away. "[At age eight] I liked to hang out with the older kids at the park and smoke drugs." "I made a new friend....She was a few grades higher than me. And we'd skip out." "I ran away from that [group home] and moved downtown. I lived with a girl." It was also a friend that introduced Ellen to prostitution. "When I found out she was doing it, then I thought: 'Well, she can make money, I can too.'"

Ellen was sexually abused by her father from age 6 to 10. Her feelings about the abuse were confused and mixed. Although she knew there was something unusual about the behaviour, she also accepted it because she accepted her father's authority and her responsibility to the family. "I just knew something strange was happening in the house. And then it started happening to me." "I knew it was wrong....I wasn't really afraid of it. Like it didn't scare me." "My sense of it was my obligation and being loyal to my family I would do it." "I just started letting it happen because he's my dad." There was also some suggestion in Ellen's comments that there was some rivalry between the two sisters for this "special attention" from their father. "She [sister] found out that it was happening to me too and got really pissed off....Maybe she was jealous. Like I don't know." "It [sexual abuse] started happening to her first. She was angry that I was getting any kind of attention."

A number of things prevented Ellen from getting any
support or help for the sexual abuse. At one level she had accepted it and saw nothing to complain about: "There was really nothing else to confide in anybody about." She was also constrained by her sense of loyalty to the family. "I was sworn to secrecy and I didn't say a word." "I didn't tell teachers because my mum told me that it was nobody else's business but the family's." And Ellen's sense that there was something wrong with this behaviour made her fear what other people would think of her if she told. "I didn't want to tell my grandfather because I didn't want him to think that I was awful for letting him, or whatever."

Her father's subsequent confession to the authorities and leaving the family left Ellen more confused. "It broke my heart [when he left]. I didn't want him to go....I liked him. He was a nice guy." Eventually, Ellen's feelings about her father were resolved, but she remained angry with her mother. "I blamed my mother more than I blamed him."

At age 11, Ellen's mother admitted her into the Maples [a residential adolescent treatment centre]. Ellen started running away from the Maples and continued to run away from the group homes she moved to after the Maples. Of her running away she said: "Like my control was to run." "I always thought that I didn't have to be where I didn't want to be, you know. So I took it into my own hands every time."

By 13, Ellen was living with a friend downtown who introduced her into prostitution. Of her prostituting Ellen stated: "I don't remember doing it for like any particular
reason. I just did it....It was easy. It was easy." After six months, Ellen decided to leave the streets, and went to social services to get help in finding a place to live.

Ellen's early experiences with social services were negative. She had learned from her father that social services were not useful or helpful and was angry when they came to her home and questioned her after her father turned himself in:
"Well, my dad had a real dim view of it [social services]. So it had sort of drilled into my brain. And so I had an extremely dim view of it. And I was angry that they even considered coming into my home. Questioning me. Questioning my family."

Ellen's experiences with psychiatrists were equally negative, because she felt negatively labelled. "I just thought that he [psychiatrist] thought I was nuts or something....Like I felt like I was on display or something." Court experiences made Ellen feel invalidated and angry: "The times I went into court. Family court. They would talk about me, talk at me, you know. Right through me. And I was, it always made me angry."

Ellen reported positive experiences with individuals in the social service system who trusted her and respected her ability to make decisions. "He was a good guy....Like better than all the other social workers I've ever had....He trusted me. He trusted what I, like the decisions I made for myself."

In retrospect Ellen stated that the social service system worked best for kids like herself when it was not controlling. "...with me too, and with all the kids,....when they're in the care system or when they've been screwed around by their family,
they're not going to trust an adult to make a decision for them. Your social workers, psychiatrists, helpers are there to inform them and let them make their own decisions."

At the time of the interview, Ellen reported a sense of achievement and pride in herself which is expressed in her optimism for the future. "Like I'm past it. It's over. It happened. I wouldn't change it you know. I wouldn't want it to be any different....It's happened and it's over. And I learned a lot for it and I'm a better person for it." "I'm proud of myself. And I'm, I'm proud of what's to come too. Because I know I'm going to make a difference to somebody, somewhere."

Fran

Fran was 18 at the time of the interview. She was recently separated from her boyfriend and was living with her new baby boy in Vancouver. Fran was no longer prostituting steadily, although she stated she would still prostitute occasionally for extra money. She was primarily dependent on social assistance for her income. Fran had not abused drugs and alcohol for a year.

Fran was born the youngest of three children. She lived with her two brothers, her mother, father and grandmother until she left home at age 12. Fran's family spent some time with extended family members.

Of all her family members, Fran stated that she felt closest to her relatives from the States. "I'm really close with [them]. I can talk to them and stuff." The rest of the
family Fran found unavailable and judgemental: "I can't really talk to them [parents]....They gave me lots of material stuff. But nothing, like I could never tell her [mother] about a boy I like or something, because she'd say: 'Oh you dirty mind.' You know." "They [relatives from Vancouver] don't really want to know what's happening to you."

Fran felt that the family's religious beliefs affected the way they related to her. "They're very, they're Baptists, they're very religious. By the book....Because I'd tell her [mother] something once and she'd bring it back on me later. So I just never bothered telling her anything." "The ones in the States are more like the Pentecostal kind. More openness. But up here..."

Fran's father ran a construction company and her mother took care of the house. Her father was the ultimate authority although her parents shared authority most of the time: "My dad kind of had the last say. What he said went. But I mean my mother, she was the one that ran the house. I guess both of them [made decisions]."

Although Fran resented her family's rigidity in communicating with and understanding her, she was surprised when social services charged her parents with physical abuse. "They [social services] said there was abuse and neglect. Because my, they said because my dad would give me a spanking with a hose or something that wasn't the hand." "I didn't think it was abuse, because when we got a lickin' we usually did something wrong."

As a young child, Fran was afraid of her parents when she
felt she had done something wrong: "I was scared to go home, because I was late from school." And when she was expelled from school, Fran remembered: "I was so scared to go home. I didn't know what my parents were going to say." But Fran soon began to rebel and found that her parents could do nothing about it: "I first rebelled was when I told my dad I'm not going to church." "I was bad at home for a while. I was a real little thief for a while." "They'd [parents] ground me and talk to me. But I just....They couldn't really do nothing to me."

School started out well for Fran. "I was really good at first. I was in a special class [for advanced students] and everything." But when Fran was expelled and moved in Grade 6, everything changed. Fran remembered this as a turning point in her life where she felt victimised by the power structure of the system. "When I got kicked out, then everything just kind of changed. And it wasn't the same after that. We had, I guess it was a new principal and I guess he figured you got to show everyone now that you're the boss, and he kicked me out. He really, really shouldn't of because I probably would've still been in school and graduated, you know."

Part of the reason for Fran's failure at her new school was the group of friends that she made there. "When I went to that school, it was like, it was way different. The kids were into B and Es....I didn't get, I didn't start doing B and Es and stuff like that. But the drugs and just, I just learned about a lot more things."

Because of her mother's rigidity and disapproval of her
friends, Fran stopped bringing them home, and gradually her social network replaced Fran's home and family. "I'd bring my friends in from school, and my mother would give them a third degree....And if she didn't think they were good enough I had chores to do....And so finally I just started not bringing my friends there and I'd go out." "I had made friends down town, and like, I thought of them as my family. It was like a big family down town."

Fran was sexually abused by her older brother from the age of 8 until she was 13. She did not have any negative reactions to the abuse, and had no sense that there was anything wrong with it for a long time. "I didn't know that you just don't have sex with everybody. And I was having sex with everybody. Like now I look back on that I feel really bad about it. But I didn't know. I didn't know."

As a result of her experiences with her brother, it seemed natural to Fran to have sex with other "guys". "I thought since I was doing it with him [brother] it was okay to do it with other guys. I didn't know it was wrong." She also enjoyed the closeness and attention she got when she was with these men. "I felt good that somebody would want me or want to be with me that close."

At age 11 Fran started working at a brothel for young children after school. After about two years she found the house "too weird" and went out on her own working the streets independently. Fran viewed this move as gaining some control over her life, and as a way to earn money more seriously. "I
figured, well now they're going to pay me and I'll tell them what's going to happen. No more telling me what's going to happen." "I needed money and I started doing drugs and I started working just to get the drugs." She stated that her experiences with sex made it relatively easy to prostitute: "I'd already had sex anyway, in my mind, so it didn't seem that bad."

Fran never felt the need for help or support around the sexual abuse with her brother. But she learned to dull out pain when she would fight with her brother and when she got spankings. This came in useful when she worked at the brothel. "So I got lots of spankings and then with my brother when we'd fight I learned to dull out pain....Then at the place where I, at the place where they did little kids and that. There was er, you have to do some things and you just kind of block it out." Although she did not describe it as a coping mechanism, Fran's use of drugs and alcohol coincided with her increased sexual activity. "Because when I started doing this [sexual activity], it's when I started doing it with other people and I got into drugs."

Fran started leaving home at age 12. The process was a gradual one of staying over at friend's homes for longer and longer periods. "I can remember the first night when I stayed away for the whole night. And then I just kept going from there." By the time she was 13, Fran was living on the streets.

Fran's experiences with social service agencies were
mixed. At times she did not understand the need for these agencies' involvement in her life. "They took me to the hospital [after a sexual assault]....And the police came to the hospital. I guess the hospital has to phone them in that kind of case." Of the ensuing court case she said: "Oh, I didn't want to....I didn't like it at all."

But Fran also met some very supportive individuals through the social services whom she credits with helping her a great deal. "But once, when I met him [family worker] it was like a big relief. Him and K. [social worker] because it was the first person that I could really talk to and that I really felt comfortable." "He made sense to me." "He was always there to listen." "If I hadn't met him I would have probably still been out there....He's changed everything."

In all, Fran expressed a sense of achievement, and felt that she had learnt a lot from her life that would be useful to her in the future. "I'm glad it happened. I mean I'm not glad. But I am because I really learned a lot."

Grace
Grace was 26 at the time of the interview and living in Vancouver. She had two young children and was living on social assistance. Grace had not prostituted for six years and was no longer abusing drugs or alcohol.

Grace was the oldest of four girls in her family. She lived most of her life with her sisters and her mother and father in a suburb of Vancouver. When she was 10 her
paternal grandfather moved in to live with the family.

Grace's father worked in the construction business and her mother worked in secretarial jobs. Her grandfather ran a small farm when he came to live with the family.

Grace remembered the lack of closeness and contact with her family as a child: "I remember not having a certain bonding type with my parents. You know, a closeness, communication, stuff like that. Um, they were always working. They were always busy. You know, they didn't have much time for us because they were trying to make our lives good." As she grew older and started running away, Grace felt rejected by her parents, and understood that she was somehow secondary in their lives: "My dad was pissed off that I'd hurt my mum so much." "I could see on my mum and dad's face that they really disagreed and they were fed up with dealing with me." Even as Grace had renewed her relationship with her mother over recent years, she still felt distanced by her: "Even when she was saying that and she was crying, I didn't feel it was here. You know, I didn't feel that she was all there..."

Grace stated that her mother was the ultimate authority in the family, even though her dad sometimes resented that. "My mother is always been in charge....My mother makes all final decisions....And my dad fights with her about the fact that she doesn't stay at home and she's always out." But Grace's mother failed to restrain her grandfather from beating and sexually abusing Grace and her sisters: "He'd [grandfather] say: 'I don't care what your mum said. You're doing this.' You know."
As a result Grace felt severely let down by her mother and resented her for refusing to face evidence of abuse or deal with it. "I have a real resentment, a disliking, because I feel she lied to me most of my life. You know. And to me she seems phoney."

As the oldest of the children, Grace was expected to be responsible for them, and she ended up carrying a major load in caring for the family: "I was the oldest, so I was appointed the supervisor of my three, the kids....I was supposed to keep my three sisters from fighting." "Being the oldest, I sure had a lot of pressure and responsibility put on me. Getting up so early in the morning and doing all my duties. And taking care of my sisters. And pretty well being an adult. Try, being told to be an adult myself when I was just a kid. They put a lot of pressure on me." But although she had all this responsibility in the home, Grace was given no recognition and her needs were not heard. "By this time it was routine for us not to say a word when they [parents] got home, and stuff like that." "My side was not heard, or not even been, not even allowed to be said."

Grace referred minimally to her years at school. She found herself ostracised by the other children because of her way of life: "And I was always getting bugged: 'Oh the farm girl. Look at the farm girl. The fat farm girl.'" Grace left school when she finally left home at 15.

As with her peers at school, Grace felt different from the kids she spent time with at a camp when she was nine. "I went
with my church on a camping trip....I felt a little out of place. Um, I'm not really sure why." Gradually, Grace began associating with friends who provided places for her to run away to, drugs, and eventually introduced her to prostitution. Grace's friends on the streets replaced her family for her. "Everybody on the streets seemed like a real close tight knit family. As opposed to my own family."

Grace was sexually abused once by her father when she was 8, and consistently by her grandfather from the age of 10 to 14. The incident with her father left her confused, awkward and "feeling out of place". When she resisted and ran away, her father did not bother her again. Grace could not as easily avoid her grandfather, and she felt "gross about the roughness and pain." But Grace found that by complying with the sexual abuse, she could avoid beatings. "When he's in a good mood he had a lot of physical contact. So I'd, you know, try things like that to get him in a good mood, you know....So it was like a routine to me. To get him in a good mood and stop him beating us, to give him this." Grace used sexual bartering to get some control over her grandfather's moods and cruelty to herself and her sisters.

By the time her grandfather had started to sexually abuse her, Grace had long since learned that her parents did not want to hear her complaints about his beatings or anything: "Dad and mum....they started getting negligent as to even listening to our problems about our grandfather or school. They didn't want to hear nothing at all and they'd be angry at us for wanting to
tell them." On one occasion when Grace came as close as she knew how to telling her mother about the sexual abuse, her mother chose not to follow it up: "I had tears in my eyes. My mum asked me: 'What's wrong?'....And I said: 'If you loved me you'd keep grandpa away from me.' And my mum looked at her mum and her mum looked at her. And then they just both looked at me a shook their heads and walked away....And that's where she left it. She didn't investigate. And I thought: 'Well she's not going to talk to me about it. To hell with it.' So I never really bothered pushing it."

With no source of external support, Grace learned to "tune out" and "turn off" the sexual abuse. She also became very depressed and began using alcohol and drugs to deal with her depression. "I was really depressed all the time....I was just into it [pot] enough that um, it would alter my moods, you know....The days that I was really depressed, I would go into my mum and dad's liquor."

Eventually, seeing no other escape from her oppressive responsibilities, Grace began running away. "At 15 I started running away. Because I started getting so bogged down with taking my baby sister to kindergarten. Coming back home. Going to school myself...." "I just think it was a matter of getting away, getting out and letting me do my own thing."

The friends that Grace stayed with when she ran away introduced her to stronger drugs and prostitution. Although she was nervous about it at first, Grace found prostituting familiar and monetarily rewarding: "It's not like I haven't done it [had
sex] before....And I thought: 'Why not? You know, I get money for it. Why not?'." "I thought, 'Well, this isn't so bad. It's not as rough and ugly as grandpa.' So it didn't really bother me that much. And then I started making a lot of money." Grace also found that the coping strategies that she had learned with her grandfather, and her increased use of drugs were helpful in coping with the prostituting. "It [drugs] put me in the mood....It was easier to just shut out, you know. Shut off and, you know, close my eyes....I learnt it [to shut off], you know, I learned to do it fully by the time I'd gotten used to the streets."

For Grace, it was as much the actual abuse by her father and grandfather as her parents' denial of her problems and needs that influenced her entrance into prostitution: "I think it was, the two main reasons that got me into the streets was my grandfather's abuse, sexually and physically, and my father's kind of approval. My parents, both of them. They gave me the type, the approval by their unwillingness to deal with my problems. They had their own problems which were more important, is how I felt."

Grace's encounters with social services were both negative and positive. Her negative experiences were with individuals and agencies that she found to be controlling, punitive and insincere. "They [the police] interrogated me for the longest time....And he really put a good scare into me, because he come right up to my face and just screamed in my face." "[At a Youth Detention Centre] You had to follow the rules, otherwise you'd
get penalised." "She put on the role of the concerned foster mum and that. And I knew it was an act."

The effect of these approaches on Grace was to make her even more determined to do things her own way. "So I just walked out the front door, and locked it and went downtown."

"My 17th birthday was just coming and....[the police are] going to try and pick me up and too bad for them, right....And the night of my birthday I went out on the street. And I thought: 'Come on you guys. I'm waiting for you. I'm working' and everything else like that." Retrospectively, Grace explains: "I think I resented any type of authority figure....I had my mind set on doing as I pleased, type thing....I'm sick and tired of being told what to do."

Grace's positive experiences with social services were with individuals who had a genuine concern for her, who were flexible and who did not attempt to restrict or control her. "Well he's [house worker] giving me a choice, which is right on." "I really got to know [the house worker] really good in that. You know. He was really friendly....He was really good to me. He, you know, talked to me. He helped me feel better....He was interested in me." Retrospectively, Grace states: "Well, they've [social service workers] got to have a natural concern. Like not just, a, um, an authority type concern. It's got to be natural, genuine. Build up a trust and a friendship, and...A lot of social workers don't work on gaining their trust. They work on telling them what they can and cannot do. You know. Instead of giving them rules to begin
with, I think, well for me, it was easier when they just let me make my own decisions and helped me in that."

In retrospect, Grace felt that she had acheived a lot and had made the best of her life. "I'm not proud of being on the streets. Yet I'm not ashamed of it. You know, it was a learning lesson for me in survival."

Helen

Helen was 20 at the time of the interview. She lived in Vancouver with her mother and her new baby and was dependent on social assistance for her income. Helen had stopped prostituting and had not abused drugs and alcohol for a year, when she volunteered for the interview.

Helen was the youngest of two children by three years. She lived most of her life with her mother and brother. Helen's father lived with the family sporadically for short periods. Helen's mother sometimes worked as a bank clerk and later for social service groups. She also spent periods of time on social assistance.

Lines of authority and control were not clear in Helen's family. When her father was home, he believed he should be in control. "My father is Scottish. He was raised Scottish where men, you know, matter and women don't. And um, so this was basically his mentality. You know, girls were left to their mothers and if I behaved outrageously in front of him I was put in my place." Helen's brother continued this tradition when her father was not present: "My brother started beating me. He was
being, that's what fathers were as far as he was concerned."

But Helen felt that her father was made ineffective by his alcoholism, and described herself as the strongest member of the family who as a result, was frequently left in control. "There was a lot of sitting around waiting until he came home and watching him pass out." "And of course, my dad was useless. My dad was useless. My mum was pretty much useless at the time. And because of all my brother's problems he was pretty much useless....I was used to it [being in charge] from Toronto." "My brother's always been the emotional type. So's my mum. Not me. And I took care of things, you know. Paid my mother's bills. When she came home, I looked after her and made her dinner."

Aside from being helpless, Helen found her mother unavailable and felt let down by her as a child. "My mum by this time was working part-time....and she just didn't have a lot of time." "When I was 12 I wouldn't even talk to my mum any more." "I expected my mum to know [about the sexual abuse]. And she didn't. So I had been angry at my mother for years and years and years." Later, Helen felt rejected by her mother. "My mum drove me to the bus stop one day, and I took off. Apparently pointing to me never to return." "According to her [mother] she and her friends and my brother were all out in their cars looking for me and stuff like this. But I was right on Broadway!....And all these people couldn't find me? I don't believe it. You know, I hear all this shit that they were looking for me. I don't believe it."
School started out traumatically for Helen as she was sexually abused by a teacher in pre-school. Except for a few years in the first grades, Helen always had trouble fitting in in school and accepting authority. "I refused to read [Jane see Dick]....I refused to [print]....I got picked on in class, sent to the office. Because teachers didn't know what the hell to do with me." By the time she reached high school, Helen was using drugs and skipping out regularly, and was expelled several times. "We used to sneak off....and smoke them [marijuana]....I got suspended seven more times and eventually kicked out." Helen finally left school permanently at 16, when her drug use and street activities took over her life.

Helen always felt different from her peers at school, and tended to make friends with other "outcasts". "I got my very first best friend....The social outcast at the school." "I proceeded to get in with the very worst kids in the area." Helen was introduced to drugs and prostituting by friends and her social network provided places for her to run away to. But Helen was not a follower, and to a great extent did outrageous and dangerous things in order to impress friends. "I was telling everybody that I was so cool because, you know, I had this dad in jail. And fuck everybody and fuck this, and I was really cool as far as the kids were concerned. I was tough shit."

Helen remembered being sexually abused at age five or six during her year at pre-school. Her abuser was a male teacher and Helen's strongest memories were of the way that he made her
believe that her mother hated her and he was the only friend she had. "A number of threats he would use were if you told your mum she would throw you out of the house because you're dirty and you're disgusting. You know. 'I'm your best friend.' That's the type of coercion he used." Helen remembered her reactions being of anger at her abuser "I just got extremely angry....I wanted him dead." and her helplessness "I want to die....a lot of suicidal thoughts."

Her abuser successfully cut Helen off from seeking outside help. As a result, she coped by blocking out memories of the abusive events and shutting down her feelings. "What I successfully did was block everything, you know. I was emotionless. I didn't respond to practically anything."

By the time she was 13 Helen was using drugs and alcohol and had started running away from home. The first time she ran away from home, Helen was escaping her brother's violence. She went to a group home where she had friends. After this, Helen was sent to the Maples and lived at various group homes and at home until she moved to the streets, at age 16.

Helen first tried prostituting at 13, with a friend, and seriously started prostituting at age 16. She saw her prostituting behaviour as self-abuse. "Primarily it was because that abuser had me convinced that I needed to be punished. That I was infinitely bad. And no matter what I did I would always be so. My brother reaffirmed that. My father reaffirmed that. My mother by not protecting me reaffirmed that. The Maples reaffirmed that."
To a great extent, Helen prostituted to support her drug habit, which she also saw as self-abuse. "I abused [drugs] real heavy for a while. Like I spent every waking moment working."

"Drugs were not a way of shutting off my emotions. Because I looked at it as I chose an injectable drug. I chose something that would definitely batter my body."

Helen's interactions with social services were almost entirely negative. She felt that they had nothing to offer her. "I got a really bad trick and I reported him to the police. And we went to court once and they let him out on bail." "They couldn't find a place for me. I was saying I didn't want to go home and they were trying desperately with a social worker, trying to find me a place to stay, like a group or foster home."

Helen found social services very controlling and responded by entering into power struggles and attempting to manipulate them. "I used to drive my psychiatrist nuts." "I was getting pain killers left, right and centre, you know. I was very cool. I got them to believe the most outrageous shit. I can't believe it." "My sort of social worker tried to blackmail me into a group home. And he told me he'd give me independent living if I stayed in detox five days. So I stayed exactly five days and had my dealer visiting me in there."

In order to be trustworthy for Helen, a worker had to be strong and dependable (not easy to manipulate), but also not controlling of Helen. "Well C. [worker] was not easily manipulated. I still find I couldn't manipulate her. She's
real quick and, you know....I think that's a lot of why I liked her....I don't like M. because he screwed me around a lot. But I couldn't beat him. And that was a challenge. I spent a lot of time around him because I couldn't fuck him up....The people I couldn't fuck around I really liked." Eventually it was a one-to-one street worker that helped Helen quit drugs and leave the streets.

Of the social service system Helen stated: "A lot of times the Ministry comes across as very controlling. And it scares the kids. And I, so I teach them, you know, how to get the upper hand over them."

Although the street life worked for Helen for a while, because she felt some sense of belonging there, she eventually succumbed to a helpless and hopeless state. At one of these low points, Helen "ended up" at a group home where she met the right individual and "cleaned up".

Conclusion

The life stories of the eight volunteers have been presented here individually. For each of the cases, the social-structural factors that they described as being influential in their lives have been presented. While there are many similarities in the factors that were present in the lives of these women, the individual presentation of their stories serves to highlight the individuality of each woman and the variations among them. The next chapter explores the similarities and differences through the discussion of the key concepts.
CHAPTER FIVE:  KEY CONCEPTS

In this chapter, the second part of the results are presented as the key concepts. The key concepts are the intra-psychic factors which are defined as the feelings and sense of identity described by the volunteers, and which are influenced by the social-structural factors that were present in their life stories. The key concepts were derived through the second phase of analysis.

In reading the women's narratives in this research, it became clear that there were issues or themes that each one returned to repeatedly during the progress of the interview. This pattern of repetition was used as an indication of saliency (Alexander, 1988) and themes were drawn from the data on this basis. Some of these themes were common across all the women, although their intensity or relative importance varied from individual to individual. This chapter discusses three themes, or key concepts which have been chosen for their frequency in the women's stories and their relevance to this research. They are: alienation, identity and personal control.

Alienation, identity and personal control are intra-psychic factors that were influential in the lives of the women interviewed here. The original intra-psychic factor of self-esteem has been separated into the factors of alienation and identity, because they are more descriptive of the experiences related by the volunteers and represent their perceptions more accurately. The concept of personal control has been chosen to represent the subjective sense of control or
agency that was expressed and experienced by the volunteers. While they are discussed separately here, the three key concepts are in fact closely related and interact with each other in the intra-psychic make-up of the women in this research.

Alienation, identity and personal control are subjective concepts, in that they are personal perceptions and subjective experiences. As such they provide a compatible conceptual framework for the analysis of these data which is subjective and based on the perceptions of the women who were interviewed. The perception of alienation, identity and personal control is also developed and experienced in relation to objective or external factors. These factors are identified here as the social-structural factors that form the underlying theme of this research. Thus the volunteers' perceptions of the interactions between the social-structural factors and the intra-psychic factors and their influences on the way they began to prostitute as juveniles can be explored.

Alienation

"I never belonged. I was always the outsider. So being a street person was very important to me." Helen.

The term alienation is used here to describe the subjective sense of being different, outcast or rejected that the women described in relation to social structures and social groupings that were a part of their lives. It also describes the sense of alienation from themselves that was experienced and described by the volunteers.
Alienation is generally described as a social-psychological state (Geyer, 1980; Seeman, 1958; Zwerling, 1968). That is, the experience of alienation comes about as a result of the interaction between alienating social-structural conditions and the individual's response to them. The psychological state of alienation, is described as personality and behavioral tendencies (Zwerling, 1968) or a predisposition to be alienated (Keniston, 1965). However, this psychological state develops as a result of social conditions (Geyer, 1980; Keniston, 1965; Zwerling, 1968). Thus, as Geyer (1980) states, alienation is experienced subjectively, but is largely environmentally or objectively determined.

Seeman (1958) defined five types or concepts of alienation. **Powerlessness** represents the state where the individual is unable to affect outcomes and feels ineffectual. **Meaninglessness** represents the individual's lack of understanding of the way structures or organisations work and thereby her role within them. **Normlessness** describes the state where the individual believes that she must resort to unacceptable behaviour or means in order to access the goals that society holds important. **Isolation** occurs when the individual feels separated or disconnected from the rest of society and from other individuals. **Self-estrangement** describes the state where the individual is alienated from her "real" self.

The women in this study described their subjective sense of alienation, as being different, rejected or outcast from the
social-structures of their families, the schools, social networks and social service agencies. Their sense of alienation was also related to their experiences with sexual abuse and the conditions that surrounded the abuse. In the following discussion it will be shown how the women's experiences of alienation, which are representative of the five definitions outlined above, are related to these social-structural factors.

**Alienation and the Family**

For some of the volunteers their first experiences with alienation came from their own families. The volunteers described feelings of rejection, exclusion and invalidation within their families and sometimes a sense that their family was somehow different or alienated from others.

Debbie never really seemed to belong to a family. She felt guilty and let down by her father's desertion of the family when she was four, she felt excluded from her brother and sister's relationship and disconnected from her mother.

"He [father] never used to write to me or nothing....I used to send him Father's Day cards and letters and that. And I never got a word back. So I just stopped giving him...forget that!" "When I grew up my brother and sister were so close." "I was never close to my brother or sister neither." "I was just living with my mum. I didn't get along with her too well. We were just too much alike. I got on her nerves." Debbie.
Debbie's sense of exclusion and rejection came about partially from the dissolution of the family as members gradually left. Carol's family did not dissolve in the same way, and she also had some close relationships with extended family members. But Carol felt like an "outcast" in her family, and felt rejected by her family on many occasions.

"It seemed like he [father] wanted to punish me all the time....It seemed to me like I was sort of the outcast. The reason why, I wasn't a boy." "I figured right then and there my mum never wanted me anyway." "...and his [father's] girlfriend the bitch. She was a witch. She hated my guts." "You know my dad never even looked for me. My father never even looked for me." "My grandfather told me I was a disgrace on the family. And he said they didn't want nothing to do with me no more." "I found out where my sister was. I went to see her, and she says: 'You're not...' She told everybody I was her foster sister, and I was a real bad egg. And she told me to get out." Carol.

In other cases, the closeness, or tightness of the family structure made the volunteer feel different or alienated from non-family members and peer groups. For Abby this was tied into the family religion and it had a negative impact on her.

"Well my family's very religious....They [family] were my only friends....Because of my religion I wasn't allowed to spend time with the kids [at school]." "I wanted to go to
a show, go roller skating with a guy, just like all the other girls did. And because of her [mother's] religion, no. Until I was legal marriage age I could not go anywhere with a guy." Abby.

Ellen expressed a similar sense of separation of her family from non-family, and an accompanying sense of being somehow different which was specifically related to the sexual abuse. However, for Ellen this did not seem to carry negative side effects.

"I just knew something strange was happening in the house. And then it started happening to me." "As a young child I learned a sense of obligation and things like that. Loyalty to the family and things like that." "My mum told me it's nobody else's business but the family's. And that, um, we could work it out. I didn't know what she was talking about, what we had to work out. But all I knew was that we didn't involve anyone else away from the family." Ellen.

Ellen's commitment and sense of loyalty to the family is expressed through her attempts to keep everything together after her father left.

"So I took care of the family. I insisted that everybody stay home and..." Ellen.

Other volunteers expressed a sense of alienation from the family through their experiences with invalidation or not being heard. These women talked about their inability to talk to their parents, and their sense that their opinions and needs
were not important. In effect they did not feel a part of the family, and became separated or alienated from it.

"It was just a point of matter. If they said it, you did it. And that's it." "My family wasn't one to talk to."
"My mum was the kind of person who just never listened to you in the first place. And then if you told her anyway, she had her own opinion, and that was the thing." Abby.

For Abby, this attitude on her parent's part represented their strictness and narrow view of the world, which became the major focus of her rebellion and need to leave her mother.

"My mum and I had fought and fought for a year." "It was just a fight over who's going to win." Abby.

For Grace, her parent's refusal to listen to her represented their lack of caring and their selfish attention to their own needs. Grace felt that she was driven into herself, but, like Abby, she experienced a similar need to get away.

"They [parents] wouldn't want to listen to us kids and our problems of the day....They didn't want to hear nothing at all. And they'd be angry at us for wanting to tell them." "My side was not heard, or not even been, not even allowed to be said." "They had their own problems which were more important, is how I felt." "I'd started turning into myself. And I'd never really stay downstairs and watch T.V. I started staying up in my room, you know, and trying to do things for myself." Grace.

In these cases the ultimate outcome for the volunteers was their alienation or separation from the family. However, the
family was not always a source of alienation for these volunteers. Ellen developed a sense of difference that was not always negative, and her special relationship with her grandfather reinforced a sense of individuality in her that she rather enjoyed.

"My grandfather did lots of things that he knew I wasn't allowed to do. But he taught me them anyways. Like, playing poker and smoking a cigar on the porch....My mother hated how tomboyish I was. Because my sister was kind of in the kitchen cooking. Kind of prissy. And I was the opposite of that. I liked football and watching hockey games and stuff like that." Ellen.

Bev expressed a very strong sense of community and inclusion in her family when she was very young. She also had a very close relationship with her sister until they were 10. However, when her relationship with her sister and mother broke down, Bev became physically and emotionally separated from her family.

"The first nine years of my life were just my sister and I. We've always been....I have some beautiful memories of my...childhood." "My family for the first twelve years of my life....There was always my family: Auntie L., Auntie D. and...And so the first twelve years of my life that was there. I had family. And the last eight years I haven't. You people have started dying a lot and frequently. And I got involved in other things. And I didn't stay close to anybody because I guess I didn't
think I could." Bev.

In the end, all eight of the volunteers interviewed for this research became separated from their families first emotionally and then physically, by leaving home. For some this came about as a result of the dissolution of the family, and for others as a result of an increasing sense of invalidation and exclusion within the family.

The role of the family and the family environment in bringing about the psychological state of alienation is referred to specifically by alienation theorists (Geyer, 1980; Keniston, 1965). Geyer's (1980) description of the alienating process refers to the influence and effect of invalidation of the child. He states that it is not so much specific traumatic events as it is a general family atmosphere where the needs and possibilities of the child are disregarded and denied that begins the alienation process.

In their various ways the eight women interviewed here felt alienated from their families and began to develop a sense of their isolation and difference within their families and from other families and children in their communities.

**Alienation and the Schools**

Another source of alienation for these volunteers was the school system. Like the family, the schools represented a social structure that all children are a part of, or have experience with, in one way or another. And, similarly to their experiences within their families, the volunteers' experiences
with the schools were varied.

For some of the volunteers, the subject of school might never have come up if it had not been introduced by the interviewer. For these women, school seemed to have little importance or significance in their early memories. Others recalled doing well academically in school in their early years, but academic success never lasted, and all the women interviewed here had dropped out or been expelled from school before completing Grade 12. The significance of this failure for some of the women was illustrated by the importance assigned to making up their missed education later in their lives.

"I had to re-do my Grade 8, 9 and 10. And I did it all in a year. And I had about a B average. And I did it, I don't know, one of the reasons I did it is I really wanted her [foster parent] to believe that I can do something, you know." Ellen.

Failure to complete High School represented the inability of these young girls to function in another legitimate social structure. This experience was alienating in itself, but the most powerful sense of alienation came from the active rejection the volunteers experienced from those in authority and from their inability to "fit in" with the other students.

Abby started out doing well academically at school. But her academic success did not make up for her social alienation and her predominant memory of school was of being separate or different from the other children.

"I was a very good student. I didn't have anything else
to do with my time but study. So, and then taking to discipline so well." "School was boring....I liked going to school, but it wasn't...Because of my religion, I wasn't allowed to spend time with the kids. So it was like, keep to yourself, and a lot of people thought I was terribly shy or terribly rude." Abby.

Similarly for Helen, good grades and good behaviour did not make her feel accepted, and her tendency to befriend outcasts reflected her early sense of deviance or inferiority.

"You know, I pulled straight A's. I was a good girl, and you know, people didn't notice me. And I made sure people didn't notice me....I got my very first best friend in [Name of town]. The social outcast of the school." Helen.

Social standing or acceptance seemed to affect these volunteers more than their academic ability, and it was their sense of being different from their successful peers that influenced their feeling of alienation. Debbie's sense of difference from the other children at school was very acute.

"I just didn't fit in there somehow. I guess in Grade 7 people started picking on me." "I could not get very good in school. When I got into Grade 10 I got kicked out of school. Like I got suspended before that. Smoking in the washrooms and cutting out....I just didn't fit in. I didn't fit in. I didn't fit in." Debbie.

Her sense of alienation from school was finalised when she was expelled:

"He says: 'I don't need bitches like you in the school.
I run a perfect school.' That's what he told me. That was the end of my school." Debbie.

Fran felt that her rejection from one school was responsible for the changed direction her life took.

"I was really good at first. I was in a special class [for advanced students] and everything. Then, when I got kicked out, everything kind of changed. And it wasn't the same after that....He [principal] really, really shouldn't of [kicked me out] because I probably would've still been in school and graduated, you know." Fran

The schools were a source of alienating experiences for these volunteers as they failed academically, behaviourally, and socially, and they were either expelled or dropped out. The alienation described by the volunteers in relation to the schools resembles that defined as powerlessness and isolation by Seeman (1958). The young girls found themselves incapable of engaging in the functioning of the school and felt out of contact with its members. However, for some, schools were also the source of social networks with whom the young girls could identify, and through which they accessed drugs and alcohol and the street life.

Alienation and Social Networks

As they became more and more isolated from their families and the school system, the volunteers in this study began to make friends and identify with other young girls who were in the same position as they. These friends and contacts supported them when they skipped school and ran away from home, and
introduced them to drugs, the street community and
prostitution. For some of the volunteers, the importance of
these networks was simply that they felt accepted and
comfortable with with them. Debbie, who felt alienated
everywhere else, felt at home with these people:
"It [the streets] just seemed like a place where I seemed
to fit in....Yeah, you know, people would talk to
me....Here's a place where I'm not going to get picked
on." Debbie.
Grace found the family here that she felt she had lacked
before:
"Everybody on the streets seemed like a real tight-knit,
close family. As opposed to my family. So I felt really
close to them." Grace.
The significance of these social groups was that they were
as different and alienated from legitimate structures as the
volunteers felt. Acceptance into these groups meant
identification with them and further alienation from the
legitimate structures of society. This process was most clearly
described by Helen, who found that the only successful identity
for her was a deviant identity.
"Because I never belonged, I was always the outsider. So
being a 'street person' was very important to me....I
belonged there, and belonging is very important....The
social workers black-listed me. I was on top. I was one
of the black-listed kids. The kids that social workers
dread dealing with, and that sort of thing. And that felt
good." Helen.

The process by which girls identify with other deviant or illegitimate groups is central to the process of drift which Boyer and James (1982) describe in their theory of drift into deviance in adolescent prostitutes. Through their adoption of the deviant identity the girls become more inclined to accept and become involved in the behaviors and activities of these groups and they become susceptible to prostitution.

Although the state of deviance may be more strictly defined under the concept of identity, it is referred to here as it relates to the process of alienation. The form of alienation described here, in Seeman's (1958) terms is that of normlessness, where the individual feels incapable of reaching socially desirable goals through acceptable or legitimate means. Identification with deviant or outsider individuals and groups contributed in a major way to the young girls resorting to illegitimate means to access socially acceptable goals. Through these associations the young girls accessed acceptance, drugs and thereby happiness, independence and money, all socially desirable goals, but all unavailable to the women in this study through legitimate means. Through their associations with illegitimate groups the young girls became more and more alienated from legitimate social structures.

Alienation and Social Services

Once the young girls had left home and were living with friends or on the streets, social service agencies and agents
became involved with their lives. To some extent these agencies contribute to the sense of deviance in those who deal with them, because by definition social service agencies only get involved with people who have problems of one variety or another. The volunteers in this study reported their share of alienating experiences with social service agencies and agents. However, the young girls also met individuals within this system who they felt validated by and as a result felt positive about.

Some of the volunteers described alienating experiences with social service agencies in a similar way to those with their families. They felt that they were not heard or listened to, and that their needs and opinions had no value or worth.

"I was resentful towards it all [social services]. Because here my parents were like they were and these people were saying, you know: 'Well, it's not that bad.' Well they didn't know, you know. And they tried to tell me: 'Well, life couldn't be that bad.' " Grace felt that these workers were simply not in touch with the realities of her situation. Abby expressed a similar opinion:

"When I first started seeing social workers they were trying to convince you to stop and work it out at home. Their parents are still married 20 years down the road. They've lived in the same house for the last 20 years. And their life, it hasn't been great, but I mean it's been better than most people's. And then they, they don't really pass judgement, but they don't understand." Abby.
The feeling that was expressed repeatedly by these volunteers, at one stage of their lives or another, was that no-one would listen to their stories, or understand their needs. "Like all my life no-one would listen. The authorities wouldn't listen. Doctors wouldn't listen. No-one would listen." Carol

Where they felt unheard and ignored, the young girls felt invalidated by the social services and once again isolated or alienated from the system. In other examples, volunteers felt labelled and judged by the social service agents they met up with. For Ellen, just having to visit a psychiatrist meant that there was something wrong with her. "He [psychiatrist] was alright. I just thought that he thought I was nuts or something....I thought it was a stupid thing we were doing. I felt like I was on display or something." Ellen.

Debbie, also, felt unfairly diagnosed and judged by a psychiatrist. "I ended up seeing this psychologist and this psychiatrist. They figured I had a little...problem. I went to this one guy. He kept telling me that I miss my father. Trying to put ideas in my head. What he was doing." Debbie.

These experiences contributed to the overall sense of being misunderstood and alienated from the social structure of social services and its agents. When the young girls felt invalidated and judged, their sense of alienation increased and they became
more isolated from the very system that was designed to help them.

To some extent the type of alienation expressed by the young women in relation to the social services is similar to the concept of powerlessness and meaninglessness outlined by Seeman (1958). The young girls felt unable to affect outcomes through the social service system, and they also expressed a sense of confusion and bewilderment about the organisations and their function. Where they felt alienated from the social service system, the young girls did not understand its relevance to them and at times felt that the agents and agencies interfered in their lives for unknown reasons.

Each of the women interviewed here also cited positive experiences with social service agents, when they felt validated and understood. These experiences had a significant effect on the volunteers developing a more positive sense of themselves and their eventual exit from the streets. For some of the women, the simple experience of being heard was validating for them:

"Well we actually sat down and talked. I actually had a conversation with her for a few minutes....She was one of the better workers." Debbie.

"I really got to know [house worker] really good in that. You know, he was really friendly....He talked to me. He helped me feel better....He was interested in me." Grace.

For Debbie and Grace, the experience of being listened to and heard was unusual, as each came from a family where they felt
ignored and misunderstood. Fran expressed similar sentiments, and credited her movement away from the streets to the efforts of a worker who she could talk to.

"I had a family worker....When I met him it was like a big relief....Because it was the first person I could really talk to and that I really felt comfortable." "I'd never really had someone to talk to like that out of, well out of anywhere. Because my family, I didn't really talk to them." "He's [family worker] always there to listen. He's seen me through ups and downs and everything." "If I hadn't met him I would probably still have been out there." Fran.

For Ellen, trust was an important issue, and the experience of being trusted was validating for her. Ellen found that positive experiences with social service workers influenced how she felt about herself and thereby the outcome of her life.

"She [foster mother] was reasonable. She gave me the opportunity to make right and wrong decisions, but trusted me for it....She gave me the key to the house. There was no locks on her door, on her bedroom door. She trusted me with her child." "He was a good guy, too, my social worker. You know like better than all the other social workers I've ever had. So I particularly remember him over my life and stuff. He trusted me. He trusted what I, the decisions I made for myself." "At the Maples I had two workers. Team workers. And, and they were an excellent choice. They were good for my life. They were.
They made a big difference. And [social worker] made a big difference. And I just started to like myself. I understood that it wasn't my fault. That any of that was not my problem....I understood, started to understand that I wasn't born rotten." Ellen

Ellen's experience with validation by social service workers helped her feel better about herself and less deviant. Validating experiences were identified by the women as occasions where they felt understood, respected and connected to the workers who listened to them. Through these connections it became possible to think of themselves differently and to separate themselves from the street networks.

**Alienation and Sexual Abuse**

A major source of alienation for these volunteers was the sexual abuse that all of them had experienced. Sexual abuse was alienating in two ways for these volunteers. They felt isolated because of their sense of being different from others and their inability to get help or be heard, and they also became alienated from themselves through the coping strategies that they resorted to.

The women recalled feeling isolated because they were unable to communicate their feelings and abuse to others. This was particularly evident in Ellen's case where the sexual abuse was a family secret, and she was not allowed to discuss it with anyone else.

"I was sworn to secrecy and I didn't say a word." Ellen.
Often, the girls met with disbelief or denial, so that they felt that no-one would listen to them.

"Mum looked at me strange. I think that's the first time I tried to tell her about my father....And it was like she didn't want to hear it. So I shut up." Carol.

As a result of a similar experience with rejection, Grace stopped trying to tell anyone about her abusive situation, probably partially because of her mother's reaction, but also because of a general unease about the subject. When asked if she considered telling a friend who was giving her shelter when she ran away from home, Grace said:

"I don't know what it was [that stopped me from talking about it]. I never really talked about it [sexual abuse] until after I'd been on the streets for a while." Grace

By this stage Grace had internalised the knowledge that sexual abuse was something that should not be discussed, even though she felt alright about disclosing the physical abuse her grandfather inflicted on her and her sisters.

The sexual abuse also affected the young girls' sense of self, and made them feel different in a negative way. The guilt and self-blame that seemed to come with the sexual abuse, contributed to their developing sense of deviance. Deviance as an identity will be discussed fully under the next section.

Some of the volunteers described a sense of alienation from themselves that resulted from their experiences with sexual abuse and their attempts to cope with it. Bev talks about this sense of alienation from herself when memories that she had
previously "blacked out", began to emerge.

"It's just such an alien feeling to have this memory that's something that isn't part of me. That isn't a part of a book I've read or a movie I've seen, or something I've heard from somebody else. This isn't somebody else's memory. This is my memory, you know. And I don't know where it came from." Bev.

Bev's sense of alienation from herself is further expressed through her struggle to accept and face the abuse she had been subjected to, and to resist the temptation to slip back into the denial which made it possible for her to survive these experiences.

"I hate that word [sexual abuse]. I hate that state of being. But lately working with [my therapist] I've been getting a lot of flashbacks and really getting into this state of hurt that I've never felt before." "It's just so damn difficult knowing that to ever try, that to ever be normal I've got to accept the fact that I'm not." "My brain says: 'Life has been different for you. You have had some difficult times, and life hasn't been great. You've really tried to look through your rose coloured glasses and that's kept you alive. But it's alright to admit that you've actually had a hard time.' Those are like bad words to me. 'A hard time.' I feel stigmatised. I feel like a leper. I feel like ungrateful. I feel guilty about feeling bad about anything that's ever happened to me." Bev.

Survival, for Bev meant downplaying and blocking the reality of
the hurt and abuse she was subjected to, and in effect denying
the feelings and sensations that her body experienced. In a
similar way, other volunteers talked about separating themselves
mentally and physically from the abuse they were suffering.

"I learned to dull out pain. You just kind of block it
out." Fran.

"I kind of turned myself off....This is what I tried to
tune out as it was happening so it wasn't bothering me."  
Grace.

Fran and Grace found ways to actually numb themselves from the
physical pain or discomfort of abuse. Helen and Ellen resorted
to emotional numbing in order to avoid emotional pain.

"I never got upset about very much. Like, you know, I was
never hurting. Well I probably was, but I'd never admit
it." Ellen.

"What I successfully did was block everything, you know.
I was emotionless. I didn't respond to practically
anything." Helen.

At some point in their lives all of the volunteers used
drugs and alcohol, to escape from depression and pain.

"I drank a lot of beer. Smoked a lot of dope. Like I
just tried to party, party, party to get this thing out of
my mind." Debbie.

"It [drugs] put me in a good mood. I didn't really have
to have it, but it made it better for me if I had it. It
was easier to, to just shut out. You know, shut off. You
know, close my eyes and I was just laying there and it
was, you know, nothing to me....and I learnt it, you know, I learned to do it [shut off] fully by the time I'd gotten to the streets." Grace.

By resorting to these coping strategies, the young girls were successful in numbing and separating themselves from the physical and emotional pain they were subjected to. Essentially they became alienated from themselves in a struggle to survive. These mental coping strategies have been recorded by other researchers into sexual abuse survival (Bass & Davis, 1988; Briere & Runtz, 1985; Fairtlough, 1986; Halliday, 1987; Phillips 1985;), and sometimes the technique is taken to the point of developing a separate identity (Bass & Davis, 1988; Fairtlough, 1986; Halliday, 1987). In this way the victim can mentally separate herself from the body who suffers the abuse, and can protect herself from the physical and emotional pain. In the subsequent experience of this researcher, it was found that adolescent prostitutes frequently keep a separate name and identity for the street (Cathy, 1987; Price 1989). This may represent a further evolution of this strategy for survival.

Some reference to separate identities was made by the volunteers in this research. Perhaps the most extreme example was described by Carol, as she talked about a period in her life when she became extremely aggressive and abusive to men. In this role Carol seemed to express some of the anger that she had previously repressed.

"I hated them [men]. Sometimes after sex with one of the guys....I'd go, not right to them but in my mind, I'd be
laughing in their faces. Spitting on them and telling: 'You're a joke!' You know. 'You really are a joke.'...Like you know I had for a while what they call a dual personality? Like a split personality. I didn't know what I was doing....Apparently I was going up to guys and telling them how ugly they were and that the only thing guys were good as is a respiratory system for a penis." Carol.

In a similar way, Debbie became another person when she was angry.

"I got to the point where I like black out. When I get mad, like angry to the point where I'm shaking, I black out." "I was so freaked out....And I just blacked out. Right, and I just blacked....I apparently, I just went for this guy." Debbie.

This state of alienation from the self is consistent with the concept of self-estrangement described by Seeman (1958), and is characterised by the development of an ideal self which is used to cover up the negative feelings associated with the real self. Frequently the negative feelings and associated traumatic events are "forgotten" or suppressed in such a way that they become inaccessible to the consciousness of the individual. As a result the individual never feels entirely legitimate or real, and she loses contact with natural spontaneity or her possibility for self-realisation (Geyer, 1980; Keniston, 1965; Seeman, 1958).

Separating themselves from the pain and reality of their lives in this way meant that the young girls in this study
became alienated from themselves, who they were and their feelings. These coping strategies made it easier for the young girls to adapt to street life and start prostituting, as they were able to block out the painfulness and unpleasantness of the life, and to separate themselves from the realities of their situations.

**Conclusion**

The subjective experience of alienation was found in various forms in the stories of each of the women interviewed for this research. The volunteers felt alienated from the social structures in their lives and from themselves, as a result of their experiences within these social structures. The types of alienation that the women described can all be found in the five definitions of alienation outlined by Seeman (1958).

Powerlessness was expressed in relation to their inability to affect or control the social structures that they lived within. The young girls felt powerless within their families, the schools and to some extent within the social service system. Their sense of powerlessness within these social structures made the young girls feel alienated from the structures and drove them away from them. Powerlessness will be discussed further under the categories of personal control.

Meaninglessness is closely tied to powerlessness, because if the individual does not understand how a system works or how she fits into the structure, she does not have the power or
wherewithall to affect outcomes or change. The women expressed a sense of meaninglessness when they did not understand how they fit into the social structures they had to deal with. They seemed to experience the state of meaninglessness in particular in relation to the functioning and structure of the social service systems when they were unable to work within its parameters or to understand how that system worked.

Because of their confusion and powerlessness within the legitimate social structures, the young girls moved away from them and began to identify with illegitimate and outcast groups. As a result they experienced the state of alienation described as normlessness. Increasingly unable to achieve desirable social goals through legitimate means, they began to accept illegitimate and socially unacceptable means to reach these goals. Running away, prostituting, and using drugs achieved for them the goals of independence, relief from depression and pain and money.

The young women experienced isolation from most of the legitimate social structures that they were in contact with, as well as from the individuals that represented those structures. They felt isolated from their families, from acceptable peer groups, from the school system and from the social service system. They did not feel isolated from the illegitimate groups that they began to identify with, but as members of those groups they accepted their illegitimacy and isolation from the rest of society.

Finally, some of the women expressed a sense of alienation
from themselves, which mirrored the state of self-estrangement described by Seeman (1958). This self-estrangement came about as a result of their negative experiences with sexual abuse and the factors surrounding it. By cutting themselves off from the discomfort, pain and depression, the young girls were able to cope with the abuse, but they also ceased to deal realistically with dangerous, abusive and harmful situations.

The conditions of alienation that all these women experienced isolated and cut them off from the legitimate social structures and legitimate means of survival. The sexual abuse was alienating in itself, but because of their isolation from legitimate social structures, the young girls were cut off from any means of support or help they might otherwise have been able to access. Instead, they became vulnerable to illegitimate social structures and illegitimate means of survival. Prostitution was a major part of survival by illegitimate means, which was made easier by the condition of alienation from themselves which many of the women described.

The alienation that the women experienced at both levels, that is from social structures and themselves, was reduced when they encountered individuals in the legitimate system who validated them by listening to, trusting and valuing them. Each of the women interviewed here had encountered individuals who played this role in their lives, and who they credited with helping them to leave the street life. Usually these individuals were part of the social service system, who came in
contact with the volunteers after they had left the legitimate social structures of home and school and had started to live on the streets. The validating experiences helped the young girls trust and value themselves, thereby reducing their alienation from themselves. They also began to get a sense of connection to individuals in the legitimate world, and to feel less alienated from legitimate structures and groups.

**Identity**

"What got me [prostituting] was I didn't think I belonged anywhere else." Bev.

It is common to find references to poor self-esteem in the literature on sexual abuse and prostitution. Authors describe poor self-esteem in sexual abuse survivors and prostitutes as a general contempt for oneself (Finkelhor, 1983) or more specifically a belief that one is sexually deviant, or bad and primarily a sex object (Borgman, 1984; Ledray, 1984; Macfarlane, 1978). James and Boyer (1982) talk about a negative sexual self-image in sexual abuse survivors who drift into a deviant life-style and prostitution.

Each of these terms could be accurately used to describe certain aspects of the sense of self related by the eight women interviewed here. However, the volunteers' narratives reflected a broader view of their sense of self, that included identity, identity formation, and its ultimate effects on their life choices and activities. Thus the term identity has been chosen to incorporate all these aspects of the sense of self.
The sense of identity is a subjective perception. But identity is formed as a result of interrelations with external factors and people. The social influence on the developing identity is referred to by Breakwell (1986) who defines identity as "a dynamic social product, residing in the psychological processes, which cannot be understood except in relation to its social context and historical perspective." (p. 9). Leonard (1984) names three major social determinants of the individual. The economy affects the earning power and type of employment available to the individual, which in turn affects her statuses and role in life. The family establishes gender and age hierarchies, and the ideology of specific roles and statuses within the family. Finally, the state defines and regulates norms, as well as gender, class, ethnic and age hierarchies and differentiations through its institutions of law, social services and education. Each of these social systems determine and regulate the identity of individuals through assigned roles and statuses that are related to their social class, gender and ethnic group. Leonard's social systems are representative of the social-structural factors which are considered in this research for their influence on the lives of the volunteers.

Erikson (1968) sees identity as developing through a series of crises and resolutions, that result from the individual's interaction with significant others and her social environment. Identity formation is a life-long process. "The process 'begins' somewhere in the first true 'meeting' of mother and baby as two persons who can touch and recognize each other,
and it does not 'end' until a man's [sic] power of mutual affirmation wanes" (Erikson, 1968, p. 23). As a result of these experiences the individual develops a mostly unconscious definition of herself, who she is and what she stands for in the world. These self-definitions may be reflected in the choices the individual makes around her friends, interests and activities, and roles she adopts (Josselson, 1987).

An individual's sense of identity at any time will be dependent on what has gone before and will determine what is to follow. In this sense, identity is "...a way of preserving the continuity of the self, linking the past and the present" (Josselson, 1987, p. 10). In that it is a way of explaining events and of giving meaning to one's life, identity serves a similar purpose to that of story-telling or narrative. "Self identity becomes linked to a person's life story, which connects up the action into an integrating plot" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 151). In this way narrative lends itself to this analysis and discussion of identity.

For the purposes of this discussion, identity is defined to include the process of identity formation, the sense of self, and the ramifications that identity had on the choices and activities pursued by the women in this study. Roles and relationships in the family are discussed as they relate to identity formation. Also, the event of sexual abuse and the conditions surrounding it, such as negative and labelling interactions, are explored for their influence on identity formation. Finally, the women's reflected sense of sexual and
deviant identities and the effects of these on their perceived roles and choices will be discussed.

Identity and Family Roles and Relationships

The formation of identity is an interactive process. The role of significant others, and in particular families and family members in this process is referred to by Erikson (1968), Josselson (1987), and Leonard (1984). As the volunteers described their roles and relationships within their family, they talked about how they felt about themselves and began to develop a sense of their worth and identity. As described in the previous section, the volunteers developed a sense of being different and alienated as a result of their experience of invalidation and exclusion within the family. In a similar way, their roles and relationships within the family contributed to a feeling of devalued worth.

The victim of consistent physical and sexual abuse from her father, Carol located the blame within herself at an early age. As a result she grew up feeling guilty and with a sense that she had somehow caused her own abuse.

"I was the first born. You were supposed to be a boy. You were not supposed to be a girl...Maybe if I had been a boy it would never have happened to me....It seemed like he [father] wanted to punish me all the time." "I felt sorry for him [father]. When he cried. Like I guess I was trying to protect him or something. I felt maybe I shouldn't have done this to make my father cry." "I grew
up with guilt....I was always the guilty party....I was always blaming myself." Carol

Carol's confusion around her father contributed to her sense of guilt. Her guilt and sense of worthlessness were reinforced by attitudes expressed by other family members:

"My grandfather said I was a disgrace on the family. And they said they didn't want nothing to do with me any more....And nobody wanted me around. I mean everybody said I was a disgrace....And you know, everybody said it. So you start believing it." Carol.

Abby's relationship with her abusive father engendered a similar sense of confusion and guilt in her. Attitudes expressed by other family members, also contributed to Abby's sense of devalued worth.

"I really felt bad for my father. I really loved my dad still. But I hated him....I felt guilty that he got left alone." "I was a terrible kid. And then after my grandparents told me that, I just felt that all this time I really was a terrible kid....And I felt I had to follow through." Abby.

The active abuse and labelling of these young girls contributed to their internalizing guilt and their developing negative sense of self. They began to learn that they were somehow inferior or bad.

For some of the volunteers their identities were further confused by the roles they were expected to play within the family. Abby and Grace were given a great deal of
responsibility in the home, and in many ways took on what might traditionally be regarded as the mother's role. What was confusing and frustrating for them was the lack of recognition they received for this work and the lack of an accompanying right to have a say and express opinions.

"My dad would come home from work. So I'd cook dinner, clean up and look after my brother. He ended up calling me 'mum'." "I had taken over the family role. I cooked, I cleaned, I disciplined." "Well, my mum was the kind of person who, if one kid did it, then the other kid's guilty too - is more or less what it was. And if [my brother] got in trouble for something, a lot of the time I'd get a lickin' too, because she'd [mother], well I'm older, I should know better." Abby.

"Being the oldest, I sure had a lot of pressure and responsibility put on me. Getting up so early in the morning and doing all my duties, and taking care of my sisters. And pretty well being an adult, try, being told to be an adult myself when I was just a kid. They put a lot of pressure on me." "But I was held responsible for anything my sisters did." "My side was not heard or not even been, not even allowed to be said." Grace.

Other volunteers found themselves taking care of the family when their mothers seemed unable to do so.

"I had a real attitude....Like the time that I spent trying to act like an adult, now was my chance. So I took care of the family." "My mum had no control over
anybody. Not even her own life." Ellen.

"My dad was useless. My mum was pretty much useless at the time. And because of all my brother's problems, he was pretty much useless." "And I took care of things, you know. Paid my mum's bills. When she came home I looked after her and made her dinner, and that sort of thing. Paid her bills." Helen.

Having to take over for their mothers left these women without access to adult support and care. Both Helen and Ellen expressed their disappointment in their mothers for letting them down.

"I expected my mother to know [about the abuse] and she didn't. So I had been angry at my mother for years and years and years. Because I expected her to, I don't know, have the infinite wisdom and realise that something was wrong, and protect me, although I didn't tell her and nobody knew." Helen.

"My mum especially was the person I felt most let down by. But that was from the very beginning that I always felt that way." Ellen.

Several of the volunteers expressed a sense of being let down by their mothers in the face of their abuse, with the underlying message being that they were not important enough to warrant any extra care or help. For Carol, it was clear that her mother was simply unable to help, and her feelings are confused by her retrospective understanding of that. But her sense of being let down surfaces throughout her story.
"She [mother] just never did nothing. Like she never raised her voice. She never, she never did anything. She never even spoke up to my dad." "I think that was the first time I tried to tell her [mother] about my father....And it was like she didn't want to hear it. So I shut up." "He hurt us. He hurt me and he hurt my sister. And she knew. And she made us go back to him. And she knew." "I don't know who I hated more. The men that were coming up to see me, my mother, or my father. Well my mother I loved." Carol.

Bev expresses similar ambivalence about her mother's unavailability as in retrospect, she views the situation with understanding and insight.

"She was a baby having babies." "We were scared to tell her [mother] because he was abusing her. We didn't want to have to worry her." "I respected her more than anything else in the world, you know. Didn't like her because she beat us." Bev.

Abby's anger with her mother is clearer. Even though her mother supported her when she finally disclosed the abuse, Abby felt that her mother had let her down by refusing to see it for all the years it went on.

"I still resent my mum a lot. Because she did know....I did, and I think I always will hold it against her."

Abby.

For Abby it was her mother's refusal to face the reality of her situation that angered her and left her with a feeling of
resentment, even when she had resolved her feelings about her abusive father. Ellen expressed similar feelings:

"I blamed my mother more than I blamed him." "My mum didn't talk about it. We weren't allowed to talk about it at all." Ellen.

These women felt unsupported and let down by their mothers. In their experiences, their mother's inactivity on their behalf meant that the abuse continued, they continued to accept the blame and guilt associated with it, and this contributed to their negative or 'bad girl' identity.

The impact of feeling of secondary importance to her parents is articulated by Grace as she relates her eventual prostituting behaviour to their refusal to help her with her problems or to validate her. But she too, expresses a particular sense of being let down by her mother, because of her refusal to confront Grace's reality.

"My parents, both of them. They gave me the type, the approval [for prostituting] by their unwillingness to deal with my problems. They had their own problems which were more important, is how I felt." "I have a real resentment, a disliking, because I feel she [mother] lied to me most of her life. You know, and to me she seems phoney." Grace.

Every one of the eight women interviewed here had issues around their mother's availability that affected their identity. Some were angry with them for not intervening in the abuse that seemed so obvious, while others simply found their mothers unavailable or unable to help them in any way because of
their own struggle for survival. Whatever the reason the young girls felt unprotected and let down by their mothers and thereby left with the guilt and confusion around their abuse, and an underlying sense of their own unimportance or worthlessness.

With the increased awareness of the rate of sexual abuse in our society, there has been a tendency to hold the mother at least partially, if not fully responsible for the sexual abuse of her daughter (McIntyre, 1981). It has been argued that this is a result of a failure to analyse the patriarchal roots and causes of sexual abuse, and of the lack of recognition of the dependent and powerless position of women and therefore mothers in the family and our society (Butler, 1982a; McIntyre, 1981).

Certainly, there was some recognition of this factor in retrospect for some of the women interviewed here. However, this did not help them at the time when they were struggling with the abuse and its effects on their developing identity as children.

Another perspective on the role of the mother is offered by Halliday (1987) who points out that children are still raised to believe that their mothers are all-knowing and all-seeing, as represented in statements like: "Mothers have eyes in the back of their heads" and "mom can tell by looking at [you] what [you] have been up to" (Halliday, 1987, p. 111). As a result, children expect their mothers to know about the abuse. This sense was certainly expressed by some of the women interviewed for this research, and their sense of betrayal and neglect resulted from this belief.
However, there seemed to be a particular significance attached to relationships with mothers by these women, that was not as evident when talking about their fathers. To some extent this may be explained by the fact that all of the women had some on-going relationship with their mothers, throughout their lives, whereas for some, fathers came and went or were not present at all. Even those women who had maintained relationships with their fathers, seemed to have resolved that relationship in a way that they had not been able to with their mothers.

The significance of the relationships with their mothers may also have been related to the young girls' developing identity as females, in their mothers' image. Their tendency to identify with their mothers is reflected in their comparisons of themselves to their mothers, which was not evident in relation to their fathers. Debbie, for example states:

"I didn't get along with [mother] too well. We were just too much alike, eh." "It's really weird, like, we're similar. We've got the same ways." Debbie.

Debbie accepts her similarity to her mother, and in so doing seems to accept the inevitability of the pattern being repeated by her own daughter:

"What am I going to do if she starts running away [like I did], you know." Debbie.

Other volunteers defined themselves through their differences from their mothers, as they strove not to repeat the same patterns they saw in their relationships with their
mothers.

"That's her [mother's] life. Now I just kind of say that's the way she's going to live her life. And that's fine for her. It works for her, but not for me." "For a while I was scared, because someone told me once: 'You're going to raise your kids like your parents raised you'. And then I was: 'Oh no, I don't want to do that.'"

Grace.

"My mum's a real woussie....Timid and always apologising for everything that we did....That kind of a woman. She was a spineless jelly fish." "I don't like who [my mum] is. But I do love her because she's my mother and I will do what I can for her. So that's the extent of it."

Ellen.

The anger and resentment that some of these volunteers felt for their mothers as they struggled to define themselves, may also have affected their ability to use their mothers as role models. Thus, the young girls who found themselves carrying out their mothers' roles in the family, and who felt so seriously let down by their mothers had no female that they respected to pattern themselves after.

The roles and relationships that these volunteers had with their mothers and fathers affected their developing identities. As young children, lack of validation by their parents tended to make them feel unimportant, worthless and to carry the guilt and blame for their abuse. Their relationships with their mothers, in particular, carried special significance and for most of the
women there was a sense of being let down or unsupported which seemed to exacerbate their negative identity. Also, as females, the volunteers tended to identify with their mothers, and defined themselves in relationship to their mothers, either accepting or rejecting their mother's role.

**Identity and Sexual Abuse**

The women interviewed here also identified themselves in terms of their experiences with sexual abuse and related factors. The volunteers talked about a sexual identity that they developed as a result of their early and frequent experiences with sex, and the negative connotations that this identity took on as they encountered social attitudes. Some of the women also expressed a sense of deviance that was related to their frequent victimisation and resulted in their resignation to a victim role or status.

Early development of a sexual identity was reflected in statements by some volunteers that they had "grown up too fast".

"Between five and ten I started becoming like sexual myself....I seemed to have more crushes on men than I did on boys....You know, I wore some clothes that I knew I shouldn't and do things that I wasn't supposed to do." Ellen.

"I always looked older too. I developed a lot earlier than most girls." Fran.

Some of the women expressed a sense that in growing up so fast they missed the innocence of childhood, and as a result
faced adulthood without the maturing experiences of childhood.

"Once you're out there you're not a kid any more, and once you're out there you never grow up, either. You're a kid all the time." Bev.

One of the learning experiences they missed was around the appropriate expression of sex and sexuality.

"I mean my parents never told me. But I know from learning that sex is supposed to be a beautiful thing with somebody that you love." Ellen.

"I thought at those times it was, you know, natural. I didn't know it was wrong to be done in the family and without permission." Grace.

What the young girls knew about sex and sexuality was what they learned through their abusive situations. As a result they became used to their role as sexual partners and either became resigned to the role, or in some cases began to value themselves by their sexuality.

"My parents never told me anything....Like I didn't know much about anything." "I thought that since I was doing it with him, it was okay to do it with other guys." "I didn't even enjoy it....I didn't, I didn't even know....I felt good that somebody would want me or want to be that close to me." Fran.

"It wasn't a point that sex was any fun, because it wasn't. But I felt loved then." "I always felt I had to prove something....um, that I was okay....I felt good when a car would stop and take me out." Abby.

"He did enjoy it when we did have it [sex] and that. So
it made me feel good." Grace.

While they identified themselves through their sexuality and felt good when they were appreciated by men, the young women became aware of negative social attitudes to their behaviour. They learned about these attitudes through labelling and judging they were subjected to by the people in their lives. Negative sexual labelling seemed to be a common experience to these women, and they encountered it from parents and other family members, and teachers.

"[The school counsellor said] that I was rebellious...That I needed some good discipline..." Abby.
"[The teacher] said: 'When a child is bad they should be expected to take the punishment for it.'" Carol.

Some felt labelled for relatively innocent thoughts:
"Like I could never tell my mum about a boy I like or something. Because then she'd say: 'Oh you dirty mind.'" Fran.
"My mum started calling me every name in the book....I had told the counsellor that I wanted to be able to go out with my friends and their boyfriends. And so my mum started calling me a slut and that." Abby.

Fran and Carol were labelled when the fact of their sexual abuse became known:
"They all said I was a slut and a whore....My brother said I was nothing more than a fucking whore. You know, everybody said it. So you start believing it." Carol.
"They told my parents....And they were mad. They said: 'Oh, did you enjoy it?' Or: 'How could you?' They said, accused me of a few mean things." Fran.

Helen was labelled by the abuser:

"[The abuser told me] you're dirty, you're disgusting....And I wasn't worth two-bits....I've called myself dirt or worse. Lower than dirt. And that's exactly how I felt." Helen.

Carol and Helen describe how the labelling affected their sense of self or identities. Taking on the blame for her sexual abuse resulted in feelings of worthlessness and guilt for Grace.

"I used to blame myself for my grandfather for the longest time....So I thought myself as being guilty for the last, you know....Back then it was a nightmare. Now it's something I can look at....I can get rid of the feelings of guilt and worthlessness." Grace.

Debbie similarly blamed herself for her abuse and ended up carrying the guilt.

"I figured if I tell anyone, they'll think it's my fault. Because, you know, it was summertime. I was wearing shorts and that. Figured, you know, maybe it's my fault." Debbie.

The effects of social attitudes on identity formation is referred to by Josselson (1987) in her definition of identity: "...[identity] provides a match between what one regards as central to oneself and how one is viewed by significant others
in one's life" (p.10). As a result of their frequent abuse, negative social attitudes towards their sexual experiences and the labelling that these young girls encountered, they began to develop a negative, or deviant identity. The sense of deviance that came with being a sexual abuse victim came about in different ways. Abby stated it very simply:

"Back then it wasn't a very well publicised situation. So I figured I was the only kid it happened to." Abby.

This simple feeling of being different was emphasised and made negative by her family's reactions to Abby when she finally disclosed.

"My grandparents, some of my relatives wouldn't talk to me at all. They said right to my face that my mum should get rid of me and put me somewhere because I had a problem."

Abby.

For Carol, her experiences with abuse were so violent and frequent, she began to feel that she was somehow singled out for bad luck:

"It's like all my life bad things have happened." "I must, for the longest time I thought I was running around with the words 'punching bag' written all over me. Or 'Go ahead and rape'." Carol.

Bev expressed a similar sense:

"It's like, you know, most women in the world are going to be raped one time in their lives. Then there are women like me....It's like I hit 11 years old and I was raped....And it hasn't stopped." "Having been abused so
early, you know, I think that almost made it a groove that my sister and I got stuck in. And somehow the abusers out there just smell you out. And they just keep up the cycle of abuse." Bev.

For volunteers whose experience with sexual abuse was not particularly negative, there was initially no reason for them to question their situations. As they became aware of social attitudes to sexual abuse, their feelings became confused and they gradually began to feel deviant because of their sexual experiences. Fran recalled this process most clearly:

"I thought since I was doing it with him [brother] it was okay to do it with other guys. I didn't know it was wrong." "I went to this church once and they said something about not having sex before you're married. And I went: 'What! I didn't know that.' And that's when I first started thinking about it. That this is wrong." Fran.

But at another level, Fran did have some sense that her brother's sexual abuse of her was wrong, because she was able to use their secret to control him.

"When we were fighting, I'd try to use that against him. I'd say: 'Do you know what? Do you know what?' But I'd never say it. And he'd get this look on his face and he'd leave me alone." Fran.

Similarly, Ellen reflected confusion in her remembered feelings and attitudes to her sexual abuse. At one level she knew that there was something wrong or "strange" about her
father's sexual abuse of her, but on the other hand the experience was not unpleasant, and even got her some special attention, so there seemed no reason to question it.

"I knew something strange was happening in the house. And then it started happening to me. It didn't feel right."

"There was really nothing else to confide in anybody about." "I didn't want to tell my grandfather because I didn't want him to think I was awful for letting him [father] or whatever." "I was one of those kids attention starved all the time....Because he had started [sexual abuse] with my sister, I guess. And it always for me, I felt like my brother and I were losing that attention that he'd given us. So when it started for me I was kind of happy." Ellen.

As with Fran, Ellen's feelings of deviance were reinforced and emphasised when she came into contact with social attitudes:

"When I first started finding out about sexual abuse and stuff, understanding a bit more, I felt really gross. Disgusting....That everything about me was disgusting." Ellen.

In each of the preceding examples, the volunteers expressed a sense of their own deviance which was in some way related to their experiences with sexual abuse. For Carol and Bev, their sense of being inevitably victimised and the focus of bad luck resulted in their accepting this fate and adopting a deviant identity that was related to being a victim. Ellen and Fran, however, did not report the same sense of being
victimised, perhaps because of their ambivalence around their situations. Rather, their sense of deviance seemed more personalised, and developed out of internalising social attitudes to their sexual experiences.

Victims of sexual abuse frequently talk about feeling hurt or damaged by the sexual abuse they have experienced (Halliday, 1987). This "damaged goods syndrome" is specifically related to the sexual abuse that occurred, and carries with it a negative connotation. The deviance or victim status that the women in this study reported seems to go deeper than this "damaged goods syndrome" in that it is almost described as genetic. Carol's sense that she was victimised because she was born a girl, and Debbie's belief that she is like her mother and that her daughter will be the same again seem to suggest a role or identity that was inborn even before the abuse occurred and may even have contributed to the abuse. All of the women in this study had prostituted for some period in their lives. To the extent that they adopted this role, their victimisation had continued and their sense of being somehow deviant increased. While all the women did not describe their deviance in as powerful and inevitable terms as did Carol and Debbie, this may have been a factor in their entrance into prostitution.

James and Boyer (1982) refer to a negative sexual self-image in adolescents who prostitute. Their thesis is that women are judged on a whore-madonna continuum in our society, and those who overstep the boundaries of acceptable sexual conduct and behavior are negatively judged and labelled. Young
girls who are blamed and rejected as a result of their victimization through sexual abuse, and as a result of their early and active interest in sexual behaviour encounter these negative attitudes and gradually accept the labels and adopt the negative identity.

Certainly this process is evident in the women interviewed for this research. Some took on the blame and guilt for their sexual abuse because there was no-one to validate or support them. Some were judged and labelled in sexually negative terms and many of their stories reflected an acceptance of themselves as sexual partners of men and a tendency to value themselves through their sexuality. For a period of time in their lives, this identity seemed to be the predominant one. The women who identified themselves in other ways, such as Abby as a "good student", and Ellen as a "Brownie", did so only in their early years. By the time they had left home and were living on the streets, these alternative identities were not available to them.

Identity and Life Choices and Roles

The sexual and deviant identities that the young girls in this study had developed when they left home, severely diminished their choices and the roles available to them. For most of her life Bev had not considered alternative life-styles for herself and had just accepted that there were things she could not expect for herself.

"I didn't know that it could be different two years ago."
"Being a writer....Going to university. Being happy. Those sorts of dreams I wouldn't let myself think about because they would never happen....They were not a part of this girl's life. They were not what I would ever be allowed to have. They were not something that people like me got to get." Bev.

Similarly, the young girls did not consider themselves employable in legitimate jobs. For some the possibility of legitimate employment did not even occur to them, because of their circumstances.

"I was just so young that it didn't occur to me to get a job." Fran.

"I thought about [getting a job] once. But you need a SIN [social insurance number]. And then you have to have an address, right....I didn't want to use it because I was probably a missing person." Debbie.

For others, the type of jobs they might have been able to get simply did not meet their needs.

"I wasn't going to be able to support myself, I figured to, in the way I wanted to be supported. A four dollar an hour job wouldn't get me what I wanted." Abby.

"It was always just the streets are the easy way. Because you can't make as much money at a job. I could make almost a month's pay in a night." Fran.

By the time they had reached the streets, the young girls had identified with the illegitimate and outsider groups they found there and had accepted a role as sexual partners for men. The young girls either did not consider themselves legitimately
employable, or felt unrewarded in these jobs. At the same time, they found that they were valued highly for their sexual favours, and this economic reality served to reinforce their sexual identity.

Their experiences with sexual abuse and their sexual identity made prostitution an acceptable, and even familiar, method of earning a living and surviving.

"What got me there [prostituting] was that I didn't think I belonged anywhere else. I'd basically been fucked by men all my life - any way they could fuck me." Bev.

"With the attempted rape thing, and just sort of with my brother, I'd already had sex anyway, in my mind. So it [prostituting] didn't seem that bad." Fran.

For the women in this study, their sexual identity provided a way of accessing attention and money, although it was simultaneously a source of negative labelling and guilt. In retrospect, the volunteers believed that they did not feel good about themselves in the role of sex-object and outsider. But at the time, they found acceptance, validity, attention, status and money for survival through the street community and prostituting, that they did not find through the legitimate social structures of the family and schools in their lives. For some period of time, their sex-role identity worked for them and "felt good".

When they got to the point of leaving the streets the women had to deal with their negative identities. The difficulty of finding a new identity is attested to by Bev:
"About a year ago I wore make-up all the time, and high heels and silk dresses. And now I live in flat shoes. And never put on any make-up, except occasionally some lipstick. And I...in jeans. And I just go like that all the time. And I feel inadequate and I feel inferior, because all these women walking around looking so good and so fine and so rich. But no, it's just part of the thing of judging myself by standards that aren't mine. Standards I've been taught to judge myself by. I've been taught to be an orifice. And um, I'm trying to learn to like myself in jeans." Bev.

Having given up prostituting for a living, Bev's struggle is to find an identity for herself that is not tied to appearance and sexuality. Her difficulty arises as she realises that all women are valued in this way, and that to fit in she would have to accept those standards of worth again. But she has seen the superficiality of valuing herself by her looks, and strives to move beyond the traditional standards of society.

"I'm so scared of being shallow. Because I judge myself by what I've been taught to judge myself. Like how I look, how much I wiggle my ass. How much make-up I put on. And I don't want to judge myself like that any more." "[W]hat's the point that I become nothing in a more socially acceptable way?" Bev.

For some of the women, the way out of their negative identity is to separate what they see as their own responsibility from that of society's. In so doing, they are
able to reject the judging and labelling they once internalised and to accept themselves as growing, and valuable human beings.

"I understood that it wasn't my fault. That any of that wasn't my problem. It was my parents. My parents were the ones that screwed me, not me. And my step-father was screwed up. Not me. And I wasn't a rotten kid. I was just made to be rotten. I understood, started to understand that I wasn't born rotten, people made me rotten." "I'm proud of myself. And I'm proud of what's to come too. Because I know I'm going to make a difference to somebody somewhere." Ellen.

In gaining some perspective on the external factors that affected her life and choices, Ellen squarely places the blame on the social structures and factors that were a part of her life. Grace came to see things similarly.

"I can get rid of these feelings of worthlessness and guilt." "My therapist gave me a little story on...and her story of abuse and prostitution and stuff like that. Her story was so similar to mine, it really set me off my feet. Like, you know, I'm not the only one. That's where I really realized I'm not the only one" "Society has to open its eyes to the reality of this problem. They close it to, you know, the fact that it's wicked, it's evil. But they don't realize how much it really detriments somebody. You know, it really hurts them emotionally for life. At least there are some of us that are strong enough to carry through, you know, and make it better. We
try!" Grace.

The optimism that both Grace and Ellen express as they face the future attests to their efforts to divest themselves of the negative identity that society imposed on them and to value themselves positively.

Conclusion

The women in this study did not talk about good or bad self-esteem. They described feelings of guilt and self-blame, and of being outsiders and outcasts. The concept of identity has been used here to include the women's sense of self, how they developed this sense and how this affected their perceived roles and choices in the world.

Family relationships and roles seemed to play a major part in the developing sense of self described by these volunteers. Lack of validation, support and understanding left the young girls feeling second best and unimportant. In particular confused roles and relationships and their sense of betrayal by their mothers, left the volunteers with a negative identity and without positive role models for themselves.

Their sexual abuse, and the negative reactions of others to their early sexual development resulted in the young girls blaming themselves and taking on the guilt for their sexual involvement. The young girls were judged and labelled negatively, but they also found that their sexuality was a way to access attention and money for survival. Gradually they internalised an identity that was tied to their sexuality. This
identity narrowed the potential roles and choices of the young girls and made it possible for them to prostitute when they could see no other way to survive.

The relationship of gender to the development of identity and roles can be seen in these volunteers' stories. As discussed earlier, Leonard (1984) argues that status and roles are assigned and regulated by the social systems according to gender. To a large extent, girls and women are rewarded for being passive and attractive. Gradually they learn that bartering with their appearance, or sexuality is the only way to access money and power (Boyer and James, 1980; Davis, 1937; Rosenblum, 1975). Active sexual abuse of girls simply reinforces these messages and emphasises their roles as sexual partners to men. Sex role conditioning also results in a limited range of occupational choices for women, and occupations that are generally open to women tend to be poorly paid, low status and service related (James, 1976, 1978). In addition, certain jobs that are available to women require subtle, and not so subtle, use of physical appearance and sex. Given this context, and the specific experiences with sexual abuse and labelling that the women in this study encountered, it is not surprising that their identity was so strongly and specifically related to their sexuality.

Personal Control

"Everybody else had control over me." "I was always out of control until I got off junk." Carol.
Control has been chosen as one of the key factors to be discussed here because it has been identified as an issue both in sexual abuse (Butler, 1982b; Sgroi, 1982) and prostitution (Ridington, 1985; Silbert, 1984). Personal control is defined here as the perceived ability of the individual to direct the events of her life or to affect their outcomes.

In their attributional theory of learned helplessness, Abramson, Seligman and Teasdale (1978) state that individuals make causal attributions about the events and experiences in their lives. If the individual believes that she is able to affect the outcomes and events of her life, she will make internal attributions. Having internal control means that the individual has a sense of personal control over her life, but also that she is responsible, and therefore to blame for negative events. If the individual feels that she has no control over events and outcomes in her life, she will make external attributions, and thereby give up personal control, as well as responsibility and blame. External causal attributions are closely related to the state of powerlessness described by Seeman (1985) as a state of alienation that is experienced when the individual feels she cannot control outcomes and events.

Abramson et al. (1978) identify two other causal attributions that individuals make in relation to the events in their lives. Global versus specific attributions determine the generality of helplessness over situations, and stable versus transient attributions determine the chronicity of helplessness over time.
Attributional theory of learned helplessness is subjectively based, in that the causal attributions that the individual makes are subjective and reflect only her perceptions of how events occur. As such, attributional theory provides a compatible and appropriate framework for the analysis and discussion of the narratives which form the data base of this research.

Personal control, or lack of it, will be examined as it was reflected in the volunteers' experiences with the social structures of the family and the social service agencies. The volunteers' sense of control will also be explored in relation to their experiences with sexual abuse, their own coping strategies and prostitution. Finally, the effect of the sense of lack of personal control on the developing victim identity of the young women in this study will be discussed.

Control and the Family

The women in this study expressed their sense of being out of control when they felt unable to change or affect external factors and events. For some of the women these uncontrollable events occurred within the family and their sense of being out of control is reflected in the language they used in telling their stories.

"My mum sent us back to live with him." Carol.
"I wasn't allowed to spend time with kids." Abby.
"My mum admitted me to the Maples." Ellen.

In these examples the women felt that decisions were made for
them and that people in authority, in this case their parents, took control of their lives. They had no input or ability to affect these decisions and external events. Both Abby and Grace expressed a strong sense of having no say within their family and of having to abide by strict family rules.

"They [parents] wouldn't want to listen to us kids and our problems of the day....They didn't want to hear nothing at all. And they'd be angry at us for wanting to tell them." "My side was not heard or not even been, not even allowed to be said." Grace.

"If they [parents] said it, you did it and that's it." "Nobody really [gave me control]. My mum always told me what to do, what to wear." Abby.

Abby and Grace felt that they were given an inordinate amount of responsibility within the family as children, and felt unable to change their situations because they had no say in the family. When they reached adolescence, a great part of their rebellion was directed at these strict ordinances, and when they ran away it was as much from the authoritarian control as it was from the abuse.

"I'd get home at five and I would have to start dinner. Go into the barn. Do all the barn duties. And er, go back inside. Watch my sisters. Finish cooking supper. When my mum and dad would come home, I would make them their drinks, you know. By this time it was routine for us not to say a word when they got home and stuff like that. I guess we grew accustomed to it because it really
didn't bother me. And I remember one night I had an argument with my parents, because after supper I wanted to go out with my girlfriends and that. And they said: 'Well, no. You have your chores to do.' And we got into a fight and I didn't want to do it. And they grounded me....I remember waiting in my room until real late at night and sneaking out the front door and taking off." Grace.

"My mum wanted me to come home. I said no I had to go to work. And I just walked out....But I think that was one of the greatest reliefs ever....My mum and I had fought and fought for a year." "It was just a fight over who's going to win." Abby.

Other volunteers reported growing up in families where there was little structure and little authority exercised over them. In some instances this meant that the young girls essentially took over and ran things in the family.

"So I took care of the family....My mum had no control over anybody, even over her own life." Ellen.

"My dad was useless. My mum was pretty useless at the time. And because of all my brother's problems, he was pretty much useless. (Interviewer: So in a sense you were in charge. You organised things.) Yeah. I was used to it from Toronto." Helen.

In a similar way to that expressed by Abby and Grace, Helen and Ellen found that increased responsibility in the family did not carry with it ultimate control over their lives. Helen eventually ran away because of her brother's physical abuse, and
Ellen's mother signed her into an adolescent treatment unit.

**Control and Social Services**

Many of the women reported experiences with social service agents where they felt powerless and unable to control their own lives. Again, their language reflects their sense of powerlessness in relation to social services.

"So he [worker] made me go back with him." Helen.

"I got stuck at Cypress House for two, three weeks." Grace.

"Grab them both. Stick them in the looney bin and fucking figure them out. Right. So we both got snatched." Bev.

"I got taken away from my parents twice, through Human Resources. I got put into care six months then." Fran.

"I got picked up by the police a number of times." Helen.

To a great extent this powerlessness had to do with lack of input and consideration, and therefore control over decisions which affected their lives. Debbie expresses this quite clearly.

"Like I was really mad at my social worker. He waited for something to happen. I asked so many times to get moved out to Vancouver, and finally something happens, and he sends me out here [Vancouver], you know." Debbie.

However, the women also described positive experiences with the social service agencies, which they remembered as being helpful to them. These experiences tended to be with individuals and situations where they did not feel controlled
"I think C's got a good idea about her [group] homes though. Like it's flexible. That is the main idea."
Debbie.
"So I went to welfare and the worker there was a very nice man. He gave me the option of being under care again."
"[They] put me in a lenient group home where it was there for what you needed. It was a good transition home because you weren't bound by rules and restrictions."
Abby.
The volunteers remembered favorably the social service agencies and agents who allowed them to make decisions for themselves and respected their right and ability to know what was best for themselves. They did not feel over-powered and restricted by these situations and as a result were able to use them and accept their help and guidance. Retrospectively Grace states:
"Well, they've [social workers] got to have a natural concern. Like not just a, um, authority type concern. It's got to be natural, genuine. Build up a trust and a friendship and...A lot of social workers don't work on gaining their trust. They work on telling them what they can and cannot do. You know. They, instead of giving them rules to begin with, I think, well for me, it was easier when they just let me make my own decisions and helped me in that." Grace.
Control and Alienation

Powerlessness over social structures and their effects is one type of alienation described by Seeman (1958). It is related to the state of meaninglessness, where the individual does not understand how a structure functions and therefore cannot use or change it. For some of the women, unfamiliarity with a system or structure was related to their sense of being out of control.

"They took me to the hospital to get checked out and everything. And the police came to the hospital. The hospital, I guess, has to phone them in that kind of case....I didn't want to [go to court]. Those other lawyers. They know how to get you. They know how to break you down up there....I didn't like it at all." Fran.

"We tried to lay charges. And they made me go to the hospital. And it was too late. It was 48 hours and they said I had to have, they had to have in 24 hours. So they never even tried to charge my father." Carol.

Fran and Carol expressed a sort of mystification with the way the system worked and affected them. Their sense was that their own needs did not fit within the parameters of the rules and regulations of the system, and that they were powerless to change the events that took place.

From the opposite perspective, Bev describes the sense of control which came from her familiarity with the illegitimate street society.
"I felt power from the lifestyle. Because I was part of the lifestyle, because I knew it....I knew how to work it. I knew all the people I needed to know." Bev. Helen expressed a similar belief and understood that she felt out of control when she felt like an outsider and was invalidated.

"When you're in a school, and you're an outsider and the kids pick on you, you don't have any control. You don't control that situation. Everybody on the other side is in control. Nobody wants to listen to you. Nobody wants to hear you. And I've felt like that all my life. The term: 'You don't understand me' has played a major part in my life."

The relationship between alienation and powerlessness, or external attributions of control can be seen in these women's statements. When individuals feel alienated in these ways, they feel unable to affect outcomes and unfamiliar with or isolated from the structure within which they are trying to function. However, when they feel familiar with the social structure, they understand its functioning, and they feel more in control of their lives.

Control and Guidance

Although the women in this study seemed to avoid and resist external attempts to control them and their lives, their stories also reflected an underlying need for some sort of structure or limits to their lives, that would offer them
guidance, but in a non-authoritarian way. Helen seemed to be in a power struggle with authority figures for much of her life and her narrative was full of examples of power struggles she entered into with anyone she felt would try to control her.

"I got into all sorts of trouble in the Grade III class. I refused, like it's silly, I refused to read out of the [readers]....And I refused to [print]." "I used to drive my psychiatrist nuts, because I'd sit there and figure out all his games before he did them." "I got this real rush out of fucking the system around." Helen.

But at the same time Helen seemed to be looking for some limits and control of her life. She reported slashing herself as a young adolescent when she felt she had misbehaved.

"I'd do something, like I'd forget to do my homework. And because my mum didn't punish me, or she wasn't there...I'd punish myself. I'd take the razor blade and slice up the top of my arm." Helen.

The workers that Helen dealt with whom she felt most positively about were those workers who did not give in to her, but who also did not try to control her.

"Well C. was not easily manipulated. I still find I couldn't manipulate her. She's real quick, and you know....I think that's a lot of why I liked her....I don't like M. because he screwed me around a lot. But I couldn't beat him. And that was a challenge. I spent a lot of time around him because I couldn't fuck him up....The people I couldn't fuck around I really liked." Helen.
Helen's story reflects her struggle for power and control over her own life versus her need for boundaries and someone who would be strong enough to lean on, but not attempt to control her. Without supervision or guidance from her mother, or anyone else, her life felt out of control and she resorted to self-mutilation to try and put some limits on herself. Helen's experience with self-mutilation is not an uncommon one. It is frequently reported as a self-punishing behavior by sexual abuse survivors who still carry the blame and the guilt for their abuse (Halliday, 1987).

In the end, Helen's life on the streets became totally out of control as her addictions took over. At this point it was a worker who helped her to rid herself of her addictions and to leave the streets.

Grace's story reflected a similar conflict over the issue of control in her life. Once she had left home, Grace was determined that she was going to run her own life, and she responded rebelliously to any overt attempt to control her.

"And she [street friend] smacked me in the face and said: 'Get home'....She's protective of me I guess....And then I told her: 'Well, to hell with it. I'm going to do as I please.'" Grace.

Experiences with the police whom she found extremely punitive and controlling, simply made Grace feel revengeful and motivated her return to the street.

"My 17th birthday was just coming and....the police are
going to try and pick me up. To bad for them, right....And the night of my birthday I went out on the street. And I thought: 'Come on you guys. I'm waiting for you. I'm working' and everything else like that."

Grace.

Retrospectively, Grace stated:

"I think I resented any type of authority figure....I had my mind set on doing as I pleased, type thing....I'm sick and tired of being told what to do." Grace.

But at the same time, Grace reported becoming involved with another young girl of her own age, who essentially pimped Grace for four years. Repeatedly, Grace recalled deciding to leave the streets and over and over again this friend would manipulate her into going back.

"I always got caught up in that bind....She was the type of person, she was a good con. She'd twist your feelings around so much that you would do what she wanted you to do....And we ended up hanging around together again....And I was back on the streets and everything else." Grace.

Coming from an authoritarian family, Grace had learned to resist authoritarian control. But she seemed to be powerless in the face of the manipulative kind of persuasion this friend used on her. At a certain level, Grace seemed to need this friend to structure her life in a way that she could not accept from more obviously controlling people. Eventually, when Grace did leave the streets, it was because a regular customer encouraged her to, not of her own decision. As with Helen, when Grace's life seemed to be out of control and without boundaries, it took
someone else to guide her and help Grace make changes, in a non-authoritative way.

The importance of boundaries and guidelines for growing children is referred to by Coopersmith (1967) and Reasoner (1982). These authors suggest that consistent and dependable rules and regulations give children a sense of security and help to make their lives predictable, and controllable. However, over-authoritarian control, denies children any sense of control or the opportunity to learn responsibility, and results in helplessness and resentment of authority.

Control and Sexual Abuse

Several of the volunteers recalled their feelings of powerlessness in the face of the physical and sexual abuse they suffered.

"I was screaming. I thought: 'Well I might as well give up, you know. This isn't going to work.'" Debbie.

"I'm most in touch with...not being able to save my sister." Bev.

Debbie and Bev express their sense of powerlessness over assailters in terms of their inability to physically stop the abuse. Both of these women expressed an enduring sense of powerlessness over unpredictable attacks that they carried with them still at the time of the interview.

"I wasn't scared. After that I was scared. After that man raped me. I can't go out at night by myself." Bev.

"I'm still scared to this day. Walking down the street."
What if this guy...because he threatened me quite a bit after, you know, about this court case." Debbie.

The sense of powerlessness expressed by Debbie and Bev relates to the unpredictable nature of the attacks. The volunteers who had successfully left or separated themselves from an abusive family member did not express the same type of lingering fear of attack. Having left the situation where the abuse took place, and in some cases where the abuse had been dealt with, these women did not seem to feel powerless over those situations, any more.

The sense of powerlessness that came from Helen's experiences with sexual abuse went deeper than the feeling of physical helplessness:

"You have no control over yourself or your, you know, somebody has complete dominance over you. Like every facet of you. Even your mind, you kind of even, you know...I mean sure as the abuse progressed I was able to close my mind off, close my emotions off pretty successfully. But not enough because obviously it still effects me." Helen.

For Helen, the loss of control was over her sense of self and the enduring bad feelings that surfaced when she was unable to control her emotions. As a result, Helen has spent most of her life attempting to control her emotions, thereby keeping a sense of being in control of herself and her life:

"What I successfully did was block everything, you know, I was emotionless. I didn't respond to practically anything." "My brother's always been the emotional type.
So's my mum. Not me. And I took care of things, you know." Helen.

**Control and Coping Strategies**

Faced with apparently uncontrollable abuse and abusive situations, the young girls did what they could to get some sense of control over their lives. Helen, in shutting off her feelings, relates emotional control to being in control of her life. Other volunteers reported resorting to emotional numbness in order to get some sense of control over their lives.

"I never got upset about very much. Like you know, I was never hurting. Well I probably was, but I'd never admit it." Ellen.

The young girls also used the separating techniques, referred to in the previous section on alienation, to numb themselves against physical discomfort, and all of the volunteers used drugs and alcohol as a way of keeping pain and depression under control.

"I remember the feeling of the first time I did [speed]. That's why I did it a second time. Because I'd stay up all night. I didn't feel depressed. I felt, you know, good about myself then." Grace.

Some of the women were able to use the sexual abuse itself to gain some sense of control.

"I'd try to use [the secret of the sexual abuse] against him. I'd say: 'D'you know what? D'you know what?' But I'd never say it. And he'd get this look on his face and
he'd leave me alone." Fran.

By threatening to give away their secret, Fran was able to control her brother when they were fighting. Grace used sexual favours to prevent her grandfather from beating herself and her sisters.

"And when he's in a good mood he had a lot of physical contact. So I'd, you know, try things like that to get him in a good mood, you know....So it was like a routine to me. To get him in a good mood and stop him beating us, to give him this [sex]." Grace.

In this way Grace was able to control the physical abuse she and her sisters were subjected to.

The volunteers also attempted to get some control over their lives by rebelling and running away. As the young girls reached early adolescence, they began to become aware that there were other options for them beyond their lives with their families and schools. To a great extent this knowledge came with the new friends they were making at school and through their growing need to test and push their limits. Fran, for example, who early in her life had been afraid to go home late from school because of the trouble she would be in, gradually found that there was really nothing her parents could do to stop her from rebelling and running away.

"I first rebelled when I told my dad I wasn't going to church....I was bad at home for a while. I was a real little thief." "They'd ground me and talk to me. But I just....They couldn't really do nothing to me." Fran.
Similarly, Ellen reached a stage with her stepfather when she simply needed to rebel.

"Everything he said I did opposite of. Even if I knew it was wrong. I did it just to piss him off....I'd steal his money right out of his wallet while he was sleeping."

Ellen.

Eventually, the young girls found that the limits that the system could impose on them could most simply be evaded by running away. Running away and avoiding unpleasant situations became the optimum way of maintaining control over their lives:

"I always thought I didn't have to be where I didn't want to be, you know. So I took it into my own hands every time." "My control was to run." Ellen.

"That's part of the reasons I started to run away. I had my own control." Debbie.

For some of the young girls, running away was a rebellious act which they did in response to a specific event.

"One night I had this major row with my brother. He beat me up and I took off." Helen.

"[My dad] just about killed me....And I says to my sister: 'I had enough. I can't take it no more. Dad's going to kill me yet....I can't take it no more and I'm running." Carol.

For others, running away developed gradually and was used more passively to avoid unpleasant situations.

"I can remember the first night when I stayed away for the whole night. And I just kept going from there." Fran
This kind of passive avoidance was Fran's primary way of taking control over her life. In retrospect Fran recognised that she had often been manipulated into situations. But when she could no longer handle those situations, she simply left, and found that this was the most expedient way to run her life.

"Someone will tell me something or tell me to do something, and I don't really argue much. I just kind of do it. Or if someone says something bad, or something I don't like I just, it doesn't, I don't get mad. I just kind of put it off." "I just kind of stopped. I just didn't go back one day....I just got tired of it." "And I just one day threw away all my numbers [of regular customers]. Told them I'm not working any more." Fran.

Rebelling against authority and running away from structures of society where they felt most out of control allowed these young girls to gain some sense of independence and control over their lives and situations. However, in order to maintain their independence from the legitimate structures of society, they had to find a means of support, and prostitution became the expedient and obvious way to do this. In that it contributed to their sense of freedom and independence, prostitution felt like a way of taking control to these young girls.

"I was tired of being pushed around everywhere. I wanted to do something. I wanted to make my money and just be happy, which I thought working the streets would be great." Abby.
"I could take care of myself. That's why I started [prostituting] you know. I ended up, I eventually ended up taking care of myself." Debbie.

Prostituting also represented a way of taking control over the sexual activity the young girls seemed to accept as inevitable. "I wasn't taken to these people. These people were coming to me. I had the choice to say: 'I don't want to see you,' or, you know. And I could say how much money and I was in control." Fran.

Unfortunately the coping strategies that seemed to work so well in the short term eventually got out of control for the young girls. Increased dependence on drugs and alcohol developed in to a vicious cycle where the young girls needed the drugs in order to prostitute and had to prostitute in order to get enough money to buy the drugs.

"I needed the money. And I started doing drugs and I started working just to get my drugs." Fran

"I was totally hooked on drugs. Totally dependent on drugs." "I started turning the odd trick. It was totally disgusting. But it was a way to support my habit." Bev.

Grace gave up legitimate employment in order to earn enough money to buy drugs.

"I worked in the daytime. And at night I'd go home and go out to work to get some speed." "I quit the job....I just think I quit because it interfered with what I wanted to do at the time." Grace.

The young girls also found that they were not always in control
when they were prostituting, and that this type of activity did not afford them the kind of independence that they had hoped for. Some of the women found themselves under the control of pimps.

"I thought working the streets would be great. But it wasn't. I ended up getting pushed around anyways." "I worked for two pimps....[It got] to the point where I couldn't even go to the bathroom without phoning and asking....But they were the boss then. I got a few beatings to let it be known that they were boss." Abby. Others ran into abusive customers whom they could not control.

"I've had so many bad dates [customers] it's unbelievable. In fact I think I got the record for being raped. I'll never ever go out to the [streets]." Fran.

Gradually, the coping strategies that had given the young girls some immediate sense of control ceased to work, and they once again found themselves unable to control their lives.

Control and Learned Helplessness

Some of the volunteers, finding themselves once again in a helpless situation living on the streets and feeling that life was again out of control, reached a point where they totally gave up.

"I mean I got to the point where I was at knife point, eh. I mean you have people carrying guns and this and that. It didn't scare me. But I got to the point where I didn't care." Debbie.

"I got attacked in an alley....I told him to go ahead and
cut my throat. You know, it just didn't matter. And there was some point where I hit when nothing mattered."

Helen.

The sense of helplessness and hopelessness expressed by these women is reminiscent of the helplessness that Silbert (1984) found in the prostitutes she studied. Silbert found that as a result of repeated abusive experiences the women reached a point of "learned helplessness" where they believed there was nothing they could do about their situations. Once they reached this point, Silbert found that it became increasingly difficult to reach the women and to provide services for them.

The learned helplessness referred to by Silbert is that condition described earlier in the discussion of attributional theory. Learned helplessness is a psychological state of helplessness in which the individual believes she cannot control aversive events (Abramson et al. 1978). This state or belief comes about as a result of repeated aversive events which may occur over time and across varying circumstances thereby increasing the generality and chronicity of the state of helplessness. Repeated and generalized victimization may engender in the individual a self-belief about being a person who is vulnerable to victimization (Peterson & Seligman, 1983). If the victim blames herself for the aversive events that she is subjected to, this will negatively affect her self-esteem and she will believe that she is someone who is vulnerable to victimization (Peterson & Seligman, 1983). In some cases this may result in the development of a victim identity.
The women in this study were all subjected to repeated and generalized abuse. Many of them reported developing a belief about men's universal need for sex and their own role as sexual partners for men.

"I just felt it was a thing of life. It was just natural instinct. I mean every...dad does it." "I've been raped 158 times....Like the guys with my dad....Guys pushing me into cars. I'm finding myself in the middle of nowhere and being raped....Insane. These guys are totally insane." Carol.

"I thought that since I was doing it with him, it was okay to do it with other guys." Fran.

Carol and Fran generalized from their early experiences with sexual abuse to their expectations from other men. Carol's experiences with abuse at the hands of her father and his friends were violent and extremely painful. She came to accept that this was the way all men wanted sex, and her experiences confirmed that belief. Fran's early experience with sex was not particularly abusive or uncomfortable. She learned to be a sexual partner to men from these experiences and accordingly followed through.

Debbie's early experiences with sexual abuse were with an employer. She felt unable to do anything about his advances, and came to expect that all employers are the same.

"I was prepped when I was 13. That guy was talking all these disgusting things. I believed him. He would have.
He would have done something to me." "[Name of Town]'s got those same kind of people as Vancouver....I nearly got a job at the PNE. Then I heard....You hear all these stories....There's lots of ass-holes out there."

Debbie's generalised belief was further reinforced by her experiences with the police:

"Even the cops. You can't even trust the cops. When I was working on the streets and the cops come along, they'd want something eh, so they wouldn't take you in." Debbie.

Leaving home represented a way of taking control of their lives to the young volunteers interviewed here. When these coping strategies did not work and they found themselves still out of control and subject to abuse, many of the young girls gave up and felt totally powerless to help themselves. However, each of the eight women interviewed here had left the streets and were free of drug and alcohol addictions at the time of the interview. All but one of the women credited this move to an external power, be it God, a baby or a social service worker.

"Walking out of my apartment I went: 'I can't work any more. I'm going to die.' Like I don't know if I was doing that. Maybe it was God. It couldn't have been anyone else but God." Bev.

"I don't know what happened. For some reason I ended up back at Cypress House. And this guy...who was assigned to me as a one-to-one worker....He was NA [narcotics anonymous] and AA [alcoholics anonymous]. So he took me to the meetings and I cleaned up." Helen.
In contrast to Silbert's findings, Helen and Bev seemed to become more accessible to help when they stopped trying to control everything themselves. In effect giving up control for these women enabled them to allow other people or forces to help them and guide them away from the streets and the street life.

Control and Responsibility

Having left the street life, the struggle was then to regain some sense of control over their lives. For Carol this was achieved by recognising that she could make her own decisions and thereby taking responsibility for her life.

"I mean it's the person's decision. It's like I said. Maybe a lot of bad things have happened to me, but no-one twisted my arm to do the drugs. That was my decision in life. No-one forced me to be a hooker. Maybe I felt I had to be, but it was my decision....I was mixed up, I was confused, but it was my decision." "It's like saying 'Once a junkie always a junkie.' Well it's sort of true. 'Once a prostitute, always a prostitute.'" Carol.

By taking responsibility for the decisions that she made, Carol accepts internal control, but also seems to take on an enduring identity that is related to her early behaviour. When she blames the social structures, or makes external attributions, she relinquishes her sense of control.

"I was forced into the situation where it was the only way I could get a few dollars for his [baby's] medicine." "He wouldn't give me any more dope if I wouldn't hook for
him. So again I was forced into the situation." Carol. 
Debbie seems to give up internal control completely, thereby accepting her victim status and projecting it into her own and her daughter's future.

"I'm still scared to this day walking down the street. What if this guy...because he threatened me." "I just hope she [baby] doesn't have to go through the shit that I did. Now I look at her, you know, I wanted a boy...What am I going to do if she starts running away?" Debbie.

As Ellen reflects on her sense of control over her life, her thinking begins similarly to Carol's, as she takes responsibility for the decisions she made when she was young.

"I knew, like through my life I've always known what's right and wrong from the beginning. I've just, some, usually chosen the wrong roads to take." "Even when I was doing drugs and stuff, it was my choice and I knew I was making the decisions." Ellen.

However, Ellen did not take on the guilt and blame for these actions in the same way that the other young girls did, and she did not adopt a victim identity. Thus, as she describes a period in her life when she couldn't control all the accidents happening to her, Ellen did not identify herself as someone singled out for punishment, but rather explains that she wasn't "paying attention" or her "brain wasn't there".

"I couldn't control all these accidents were happening to me all the time....so like all the time I was falling and hurting myself. It was like my brain was never there." Ellen.
And when she was assaulted, Ellen felt justifiably angry, rather than helpless and enduringly fearful:

"When I was 14 I got attacked in a back alley, from where I was living at the time. Which is really weird. Like two guys attacked me. And they didn't really hurt me that bad. But I, you know, I was pissed off that it happened." Ellen.

Although Ellen did spend a short period working as a prostitute, she never really became entrenched in the street life and when she decided to leave she took an active role in finding the best way to do this. Ellen's sense of control over her life was reflected at the time of the interview as she viewed her future and her role in the future with optimism.

"I'm proud of myself. And I'm proud of what's to come too. Because I know I'm going to make a difference to somebody, somewhere." Ellen.

**Conclusion**

The life stories of the women interviewed here reflect an on-going quest for control over the events that they found aversive and unbearable. The volunteers reported a sense of powerlessness when external authorities and agencies made decisions for them and directed their lives; when they felt unfamiliar with these agencies or unable to meet their pre-conceived demands; and when they felt invalidated, ignored and devalued. They found these authorities and conditions in the legitimate social structures of their families and the
social service agencies. The abuse that they suffered further contributed to their sense of powerlessness over external events, and the failure of the legitimate authorities and agents in their lives to validate their suffering or do anything about the abuse contributed to their distrust of those agents and authorities. Repeated and on-going aversive events and situations contributed to chronic and generalised helplessness and increased sense of powerlessness.

Unable to control the external factors and agents in their lives, the young girls developed their own coping strategies, that relieved them of the emotional and physical pain that they suffered. Through these strategies they gradually separated themselves from the legitimate structures that they felt had failed them, and from any potential help that these sources could offer. In this way, they also took on a greater responsibility for their lives. Thus, when the strategies failed, as they all did, the young girls were left with the blame, and this affected their sense of self in a negative way. But in the short term at least, the volunteers gained a sense of control from these strategies, that they had been unable to find elsewhere.

In their search for control, the young girls tended to resist and evade the legitimate authorities and structures that they had found unhelpful, and sometimes abusive. Their rebellious and evasive behaviour appeared to be totally out of control and concerned only with finding unlimited freedom. But in fact, their need was not to be totally uncontrolled, but
rather to find limits and boundaries that were not simultaneously abusive. As a result the young girls continued to get into situations where someone was controlling them, and they often found these relationships difficult to leave.

Ultimately, the illegitimate coping strategies got out of control, and the young girls found the illegitimate world of the streets to be at least as abusive as the legitimate world they had left. In one way or another, the eight women here came to terms with the fact that they must somehow cooperate with or use the legitimate sources of control that they had originally learned to distrust and resist, in order to leave the illegitimate life-styles that had failed them. Individuals within the social service system who offered support and guidance in an uncontrolling way and who validated and valued the volunteers were the ones who made this process possible.

Discussion

This chapter has focussed on the intra-psychic factors of alienation, identity and personal control as they were experienced and reflected in the narratives of the eight women interviewed here. These subjective states were experienced as a result of interaction with external, objective factors - that is, they were contextually based. Factors have been defined as social-structural factors that were influential in the lives of these women. As the intra-psychic factors are examined for their influence on the outcome of prostitution in these eight volunteers, the influence of the social-structural factors on
their development can also be seen.

Alienation is defined as the feeling of powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. The women expressed this feeling in relation to the social-structural factors of the family, the schools, social networks and the social services. Experiences with sexual abuse and related events also contributed to the sense of alienation in these young women. Their sense of alienation resulted in these young women withdrawing from legitimate social structures and identifying with illegitimate or outsider groups.

Alienation appears to be a major contributing factor in the outcome of juvenile prostitution in these women who were sexual abuse survivors. As a result of their isolation from legitimate social structures, the young girls were cut off from any source of help or support around their abusive situations, sexual and otherwise. Further, their identification with other alienated groups made them particularly vulnerable to illegitimate means of survival, including prostitution. In these women, alienation seemed to combine with and exacerbate the sexual abuse and play a major role in their entrance into prostitution as juveniles.

Identity is defined here to include the developing sense of self and its effects on the choices that the individual makes and the roles she adopts. Of particular influence on these eight women's developing sense of self was their families. Through their interactions with their families and family members, these young women began to develop a sense of
themselves as secondary and inferior. Their experiences with sexual abuse contributed to an identity that was tied to their sexuality and their perceived roles as sexual partners for men. The young women also developed a sense of deviance that was related to their sense of alienation, or difference, and to the labelling and judging that they encountered as a result of their sexual experiences. Their inferior, sexual and deviant identities restricted the perceived choices and roles of these young girls and influenced their entrance into prostitution.

Personal control is defined here as the ability to affect one's life. The volunteers experienced a sense of personal control, or lack of it, in relation to the social structural factors that influenced their lives. Where families or social service organisations directed and controlled their lives, the young girls felt out of control. Their sense of alienation contributed to their sense of powerlessness, as they felt unable to understand or control the structures that they functioned within. Lack of support and help around abuse also contributed to the young girls' sense of loss of control.

Feeling out of control within the legitimate social structures, the young girls sought control through alternative, illegitimate means. Use of drugs and alcohol and psychological separation methods gave them an immediate sense of control over their depression and pain. Running away, joining illegitimate groups and prostituting gave them an immediate sense of control over their lives.

Alienation, a deviant identity and lack of control are
intra-psychic factors that are all interrelated and had a major effect on the young girls' identification with illegitimate and outsider groups. These factors, in conjunction with the sexual abuse, contributed to the development of a sexual identity that influenced the ways in which these eight women began to prostitute as juveniles.
CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research explores the relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution with a view to broadening our understanding of the factors involved in this relationship. The multiple-case design was chosen to access the perspectives and experiences of the individuals who are the focus of this inquiry.

Throughout this paper it has been argued that the experiences and perceptions that were reported by the volunteers were contextually based, and that the context affected their experiences and perceptions. In order to understand the effect of the context, or social structures on the individual, this research started from the perspective of women who had had the experiences under inquiry, that is of sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution. These findings have been presented in the previous two chapters. This chapter takes the analysis a step further and following Sullivan's (1984) theory of critical interpretation examines the ways in which structures of dominance, or the social-structural factors, limit and control human behavior.

The second section of this chapter reviews the findings of this research and addresses the research questions which focus on the factors that influence the ways in which sexual abuse survivors begin to prostitute as juveniles. The ramifications of these research findings for intervention strategies are discussed. The final two sections of this chapter discuss the ramifications of this research for the women who volunteered
their life experiences for review, and recommendations for future research.

Social Control

"You people, this world, this society, you guys are the ones that made it impossible for her to do anything else in the beginning." Bev.

In his study of "unreached youth" in Toronto, Byles (1969) states that social control is designed to obtain conformity by means of persuasion, indoctrination, coercion or force, and that the bases of social control are the values enshrined in society. These values are taught by the agents of social control, who are the individuals who make up the agencies or institutions of social control. Byles (1969) defines the institutions of social control to include the family, the schools, employment and the law.

Byles' institutions of social control are consistent with Sullivan's (1984) structures of dominance and both concepts are represented in the social-structural factors which form a focus of this research. This section addresses the role of the social-structural factors in the lives of the women who were interviewed.

Social-structural factors are defined to include cultural factors that are incorporated in the structures of society. The structures of society that were influential in the lives of the women interviewed are the family, the schools, social networks, social services, the employment market, and in some cases
The Family

The family is one of the most enduring and basic structures of society. It is the first structure that individuals come into contact with, and much of early socialisation and learning takes place within the family. "No other social institution plays a comparable part in shaping the motivations, the adaptations, the inhibitions, and the values of the young" (Keniston, 1965, p. 309).

The family can assert its authority and control in two ways: through controlling the child's access to power and control, and through role modelling. Leonard (1984) states that the family is a powerful mechanism for teaching and establishing gender and age hierarchies, and role development. In Western society, families tend to be hierarchical and patriarchal in structure. The adult male member is usually the major wage earner, and as such he tends to maintain authority and power within the family (Butler, 1982a). "The dominance of males over females, especially within families, and especially in relation to fathers and children, reflects social order" (VanderMey & Neff, 1986, p. 83).

The patterns of authority and control within the family, in the eight cases discussed here, were not always clearly defined. In several instances the women identified their mothers as being in control within the family, even when there was an adult male present. However, their mother's authority
was always compromised by the fact that she either appeared to decline or was unable to control the sexual and physical abuse of her daughter. Male abusers maintained ultimate power over the young girls in this respect, and in a variety of ways, the family structure supported that balance of power by disallowing any access to control or power for the young victims.

The families of the eight volunteers varied in amount of authority that was exercised over the children. There were examples of extremely strict and authoritarian families and examples of families where little or no control or authority was exerted on the growing children.

In severely authoritarian families, the young victim had no voice and was thus disempowered from speaking out or protecting herself from abuse. Abby, for example, attempted to protect herself from her grandfather's sexual abuse by refusing to visit him:

"I never really liked going over there to begin with. And my parents knew that, and, it wasn't the type of thing to be bringing up. Because at that age you don't know how to approach it, other than I'd say I didn't want to go over there....'Well, we're going anyway.'" Abby.

In families where no one seemed to be in control, there was also no one available to help the young victim of abuse.

"We were scared to tell her [mother] because he was abusing her. And we didn't want her to have to worry." Bev.

"Well I didn't think it was my mum's...I wouldn't tell my
mum because you know, she...and this and that. I didn't talk to anybody about it [sexual abuse]." Debbie.

Both overly authoritative and overly lenient family structures deny children the opportunity to learn how to solve problems or change circumstances in their lives (Coopersmith, 1967; Reasoner, 1982). These authors suggest that without guidelines and boundaries children lack the sense of predictability and security, and without recognition and control children become helpless and resentful of authority.

Family dysfunction has been found to be a factor in the life-histories of prostitutes in several more recent studies. Lack of bonding and attachment (Gray, 1973; Greenwald, 1969), and confused roles and relationships (Borgman, 1984; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Ledray, 1985; Meiselman, 1979) have been found in the families of prostitutes and incest survivors. In general the stories of the eight women interviewed here bear out these theories. There was a consistent pattern of poor communication, lack of support and confused roles for these women and their families. As a result the young girls found themselves without support and validation from their families, and were disempowered from doing anything about the abusive events they encountered.

Butler (1984a) suggests that the earning power of men is related to their natural authority in the family. The eight volunteers in this study grew up in families where economic security relied on the presence of an adult male. Where there was no adult male present, the families subsisted on low incomes
or, more frequently, social assistance. The mothers who were employed, worked in traditionally low-paying, low-skilled jobs. Where a working father was present, the mother's job was seen as secondary to his employment. In terms of earning power, the adult females in these families had little access to power.

Observing this pattern, young girls might be expected to develop limited expectations for themselves as wage-earners. Certainly this trend was evident in terms of employment patterns of the mothers and daughters in this study. To a large extent when they found legitimate employment, the eight volunteers followed their mother's patterns of employment, most of them finding unskilled, poorly paid jobs, or being dependent on male partners or social assistance for their income. In only two instances did the volunteers report working at non-traditional jobs, and in neither case did this last for long.

The extent to which the young girls followed their mother's pattern in terms of role and identity in life has been discussed in the section dealing with identity. For some of the volunteers, their lives at the time of the interview appeared to be similar to their mother's, in that they were dependent on men for their income and were primarily involved in raising children. Others were consciously struggling to be different from their mothers, and in so doing attempting to empower themselves and take an active role in directing or re-directing the course of their lives.

In general, the effect of the structure of the family on these eight volunteers was to disempower them as children by
refusing to hear or validate them, or by being unavailable to them. As a result, the abuse was uncontrolled and the young girls learned that they could not control male abusers. To the extent that these volunteers followed their mother's role, they accepted a limited and restricted access to power, and in some cases a victim's role. Those who broke away from that pattern, were increasingly able to direct and take control of their lives, and were less likely to see themselves as victims.

The Schools

Schools are another social structure with which every child has early and prolonged contact. Newman (1985) and Boyer and James (1982) have found a negative correlation between failure at school and the developing identity and sense of self-worth in juveniles. Schools tend to be organised in a highly structured way with clearly defined rules and strict expectations of performance and behavior. Children can succeed or fail in school in three ways: academically, behaviorally and socially. Academic success or failure is clearly demarcated by grades and percentages; behavioral success or failure is regulated by rules and monitored by those "agents of social control" who may accept or reject a student from a class or the school; and social success or failure is measured by the groups the individual can gain acceptance to, groups which are also evaluated for their legitimacy/acceptance or illegitimacy/non-acceptance.

A great deal of emphasis is put on educational success in
our society. One of the first things that the social service system encourages street adolescents to do is to go back to school, and there is a fair amount of money spent on developing specialised catch-up programs for individuals who have not completed high school. The importance of success at school was reflected in the stories of the volunteers several of whom were either working on or had completed their Grade 12 equivalency at the time of the interview. But to a great extent, in the early lives of the women interviewed here, schools represented another social structure where they learned that they had no power and they felt inadequate and alienated.

Another way that social control is maintained is through control of access to information. Both the schools and the family exert a great deal of control over the information that is given to children. Access to information about sex and sexuality has long been carefully guarded and restricted, and the introduction of sex education in the schools has been a slow process, fraught with controversy (Gillespie, 1989). However, ignorance about appropriate sex and sexuality also leaves children vulnerable to the rationalisations and justifications given them by abusive adults, so that knowing no better, they go along with their requests or impositions (Finkelhor, 1984; VanderMey & Neff, 1986).

Several of the women in this study stated that in retrospect they could see that they were quite ignorant about appropriate sex and sexual expression. Some of them learned belatedly about the taboos around incest, and others simply
accepted their abusive situations because they had no other information by which to judge their experiences. The result of the social control of information was to subject these young girls to sexually abusive and exploitive experiences, and to deny them the knowledge and tools that would empower them to do something about their situations.

In the life experiences of the women interviewed here, the schools also played a role in preventing the young girls from getting help around their abusive situations. For Abby and Carol, this meant that individuals in the schools failed to follow up on their tentative requests for help.

"I got up the courage to write the letter [about the sexual abuse] and give it to her [school counsellor]....She didn't tell my mum because she figured I was lying....The counsellor told her that I was rebellious. That I needed some good discipline." Abby.

"When I did say one time that my dad hurt me, they [teachers] said: 'When the child is bad they should be expected to take the punishment for it.'" Carol.

In Helen's case, it was a teacher who sexually abused her and the school system subsequently blocked any inquiry into the incident.

"The social worker I had a number of years ago tried to track down this guy and the school board won't release any information." Helen.

The stories of the eight women interviewed here reflect their sense of alienation within the school structure, as well
as a strong sense of disempowerment and an inability to function within this structure. As a result the young girls again found themselves without information, support or validation when it came to dealing with their abusive situations. The school system and those who represented it operated in such a way as to disempower the young girls, thereby maintaining the balance of power in favour of the male abusers.

**Social Networks**

Social networks represent another structure of dominance that reflect social attitudes and values. Social groups are evaluated and judged for their legitimacy, acceptability and desirability, and members of a group carry its identity and evaluation. Social control is exercised through this evaluation of groups and their members. Groups and individuals who behave differently enough from the norm to attract attention are defined as illegitimate, unacceptable, or deviant (Byles, 1969). Once they have been labelled this way, they are treated differently, and frequently lose access to rights and privileges accorded legitimate of acceptable individuals and groups (Kitsuse, 1964).

The evaluation and labelling of behavior and individuals is described by Boyer and James (1982) specifically in relation to sexual behavior. These authors state that women are judged on a whore/madonna continuum according to their sexual behavior. Those who cross the invisible line of acceptability are labelled negatively, or as whores, and lose the options and
privileges that are open to other "good" women.

The women in this study cited many occasions when they were labelled in negative sexual terms. Labelling was a part of the blaming that resulted when the fact of their sexual abuse became known, and it contributed to the sexual identity that the young girls began to develop for themselves. By judging and negatively labelling girls and women who cross the boundaries of "appropriate" sexual behaviour and expression, society ensures that these people are alienated and illegitimized thereby limiting their access to resources and their options. As the next section illustrates, working as prostitutes also reduced the young girls access to protection by the law, and in some instances made them subject to harassment by the police.

Social networks were influential in the lives of the women who were interviewed for this research. The networks that they felt most comfortable with were those that existed outside of the legitimate structures. These networks became a source of alternative, illegitimate life-styles and contributed to the deviant or outsider identities that the young girls were rapidly developing. As a result of identifying with these illegitimate groups and individuals, the young girls became further alienated from legitimate sources of support or help, and their options and choices became further limited.

Social Services

Social service agencies make up another social structure that all of the eight women interviewed had extensive experience
and contact with. Social services are defined to include all agencies that are designed to support and help juveniles, as well as the law enforcement system. Presently the services available in British Columbia to underage juveniles who run away from home include a variety of group and foster home resources which operate under varying regulations. There is also one juvenile detention centre and a residence for juveniles with emotional disturbances. In addition there are a variety of street services and street youth workers who endeavour to contact juveniles who are living on the streets and to either reconnect them with their families or to place them in any of the above named resources.

The social service agencies and structures that the juveniles in this study came into contact with operate within a set of laws concerning juveniles and their welfare. In British Columbia, a child is considered in need of protection and supervision until she or he is 19 (Kossuth & Korde, 1986; Report of the Committee of Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths, Vol. II, 1984b). Further, under the Young Offenders Act juveniles aged 12 to 17 are not held accountable for their criminal acts in the same manner and extent as adults. This allows for some flexibility in arresting, charging and sentencing of young persons involved in criminal acts (Wilson & Tomlinson, 1985).

Prostitution is not illegal in Canada, and while the laws against soliciting have been tightened recently, juvenile prostitution has no specific status under the law. Consequently
a juvenile who is under the age of 17 and who is caught in the act of soliciting, is most likely, under the Young Offenders Act, to be found in need of protection and referred to the child welfare authorities for placement. Such placements are usually not secure, that is they are not locked, and it is relatively easy for the juvenile to run away. As the report of the committee on Sexual Offences Against Youths and Children (1984b) found, if the juvenile who survives by prostituting neither seeks nor is amenable to institutional help, the protection of the law is tenuous.

Previous research into street youth and juvenile prostitution has found social service agencies to be relatively ineffective in servicing this population and assisting them to exit the street (Benjamin, 1985). In fact, although there were many examples of negative contacts with social service agencies and agents in the volunteers' stories, each one of the women in this study did credit a social service worker of some variety with helping her leave the street life.

From the stories of the volunteers, the social service agents and agencies that they dealt with fell into two clear groups: those who were punitive and controlling, and whom they found to be unhelpful, and those who were supportive and understanding, and thus found to be helpful. While this division, not surprisingly, tended to fall along the line that divides law enforcement agencies from other social service agencies, this was not always strictly the case. The determining factor seemed to be the worker's attitude and manner
of treatment of the young person, rather than the agency she or he represented.

In general, the women remembered most positively those individuals who validated them and who dealt with them in a supportive and flexible manner. Their supportive nature and flexibility seemed to make it possible for the young girls to trust and to return to these individuals. Situations and individuals that were extremely punitive and controlling were remembered negatively, and did not inspire trust or any desire for further contact.

There were, however, also instances where the women retrospectively changed their negative feeling about an individual or situation.

"Like when I think about it now, the [group] homes were pretty much okay. But it was just, it was just me. I just, I just didn't know what I wanted." Fran.

"He promised me confidentiality, and then he told my mum. Because he felt it was very important for my mum to know. At this point I agree. It was important for my mum to know. Unfortunately it set me off on a chain reaction of all sorts of things. And I still don't trust him to this day." Helen.

Although in retrospect Fran and Helen recognise the value that these situations and events might have had for them, at the time they were not helpful, and did not address the girls' immediate needs.

To a great extent the volunteers interviewed here saw the
social service system as another institution which had authority
and power which could be used to either help them or restrict
and control them, that is make them do things they did not want
to do. In the lives of these eight volunteers the social
service system failed to intervene or correct the dysfunctional
situations in which they spent their early years. Once they had
left home, the young girls were unwilling to accept restrictions
and authority from any source. When they found social services
to be punitive or authoritarian, they found them harassing and
annoying, rather than protective or helpful. In the lives of
these eight women, the social services were most successful in
helping and protecting them when they were flexible, supportive
and validated the young girls' needs and experiences.

The volunteers in this research did not find much
protection from the law. The laws dealing with sexual abuse and
sexual assault have come under criticism from various sources
for some time now. Recent changes in the laws around sexual
abuse and the acceptability of children's evidence in court have
attempted to rectify some of these problems (Stewart, 1988).
But in 1984 the Canadian Advisory Council of the Status of Women
found that the courts did not deal adequately with problems of
sexual abuse and children's evidence (1984b). In the
experiences of the volunteers in this study, their abusers
almost never went to court, and if they did and were convicted,
their sentences were very limited.

Canadian law deems a female capable of consenting to
sexual activity when she reaches age 14, and her previous sexual
behave in court to discredit her and prove belief of consent by the accused (Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences, Vol. II, 1984b). This practice has survived recent changes in the laws dealing with sexual assault, and was upheld as recently as 1989 in Alberta ("Alberta considers appeal", 1989). As a result, women and girls who make a living by selling sexual services are very likely to be discredited in court and convictions in these cases are more difficult.

The women in this study felt particularly hostile to and uncomfortable with the courts and the representatives of this system. To a great extent, the police and the laws were not seen as being there to protect or help them, but rather to harrass them.

"This guy [police officer] was taking unnecessary moves....Because he said if he ever got us alone, he'd get us good, eh." Debbie.

"The man was a cop and he was really mean. And he put a really good scare into me because he came right up to my face and just screamed in my face." Grace.

When the girls were working on the streets and attempting to avoid detection, they tended to avoid the police and found them a nuisance rather than a protection. If they were picked up or charged the young girls resented the intrusion into their lives and usually ran away from the placements they were assigned to.

"And the judge says: 'You go live there [a foster home] and we'll see how it goes. You come back to court in six months.' So I thought: 'Okay.' And then I thought:
'Once I get to the foster home I can take off again and do what I want.'" Grace.

The volunteers also found the courts and the legal system unhelpful and unsupportive when it came to getting help with abusive situations:

"Took one and a half years before it actually got to court....He got four years. And that's it. It was disgusting. He was out before then." "I also lived at the Senator [a street hostel for adolescents]. That really got used at me in court, eh....Because they're only known for prostitutes only....Well this guy tried to tell the court I agreed to it." Debbie

Debbie's experience with the courts was frustrating and personally degrading. She found that her personal life-style was used to invalidate her charges of sexual assault, and she felt severely let down by the sentence her assaulter eventually received. Helen's experience was similar.

"I got a really bad trick and I reported him to the police. And we went to court once and they let him out on bail." Helen.

The women in this study gave many examples where they felt unfairly dealt with by the police and in court. Several of them were disappointed in the outcome of the cases in terms of the sentences their assailters received, and in two cases, the women felt personally harrassed and attacked while giving evidence. As a result the courts and the legal structures were seen as unsupportive and unprotective by the women who were victims of
abuse, and the male assaulters frequently were never brought to trial or convicted.

The courts and the legal system may be seen as the final arbiters of social control. For the eight women interviewed here, the law never seemed to be on their side. The law failed to protect them from the sexual abuse they encountered as children, and later from the abuse they encountered on the streets. Both as children and as members of a deviant group, the word of the women was not considered trustworthy or valid. As a result, the volunteers were disempowered from doing anything on their own behalf, and the male abusers were protected.

To the extent that the law was unable to protect these young girls, the social services were limited in their ability to help them. Social services cannot intervene in families where there have been no charges or convictions, and their interventions with juveniles and runaways are restricted by laws and regulations. The net result, for the women in this study was failure of the system to protect them and their continuing exposure to abuse and exploitation by males who seemed to be protected or ignored by the law.

**Employment Market**

Leonard (1984) states that status is related to earning power, which in turn is regulated by class, gender and ethnic position. In Canada, women earn 60% of what men earn and employment opportunities for women tend to be restricted to
low-skill, low-paying jobs (Canadian Advisory Council on the
Status of Women, 1984b; Special Committee on Pornography and
Prostitution, 1985). For juvenile girls, the market is even more restricted.

The employment market in Canada undervalues and underpays women's work. As a result women and girls are restricted in their options and their access to money and the power that it assumes. Conversely, women and girls are paid well for sexual services. As a result, prostitution becomes an expedient alternative to women who are living illegitimately, who may have drug and alcohol habits to support, and/or who are unable to make a living in any other way.

However, the money earned through prostitution does not bring status and power to the girls and women who survive in this way. Negative social attitudes and judgements of the girls and women who prostitute illegitimize their activities and lower their status. As a result they become vulnerable to abuse and lose their access to protection by the police and the legal system. Negative attitudes also affect their self-esteem, and in order to deal with the resulting depression and the physical abuse that they inevitably meet, girls and women who prostitute frequently use drugs. As a result, the money that they earn is used for purchasing drugs and as the addictions become more out of control, so do their lives.

The employment market is representative of the social attitudes that devalue and disempower women in our society. The young girls in this study were harassed and poorly paid in the
legitimate job market. As a result their options were severely limited and their access to money and power restricted.

Cultural Factors

One of Sullivan's (1984) structures of dominance is gender. The role and status of women in our society has been proposed by several theorists and researchers to be a major factor in the presence of sexual abuse and prostitution (Boyer & James, 1980; Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1984b; Chapman, 1978; Davis, 1937; James, 1978; MacMillan, 1976; Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, 1985). This perspective has been discussed fully in the literature review (Chapter 2). Briefly stated the theory holds that girls and women are disempowered and limited in Western society by their economically inferior status and their sex-based identity. Women's work is traditionally undervalued and underpaid, and girls and women are valued primarily by their appearance and sexuality. Consequently, women are often limited to accessing money and power through barter of sexual qualities in one way or another. However, this use of sexual attributes for ulterior motives is regulated by our society, and if this behavior is too blatant, as prostitution is deemed to be, the women and girls are negatively labelled and judged, and their access to money and power is further restricted.

Some of the women who were interviewed for this research recognized the relationship between their gender and society's devaluation of them. For Bev it was clear that money and power
were in the hands of men, and women could only access these things through men. She commented of her mother's marriage to an abusive man:

"She was doing the right thing. Getting a man who had money to give us an education." Bev.

For Bev the exchange of sexual favours for money and power was clearly reflected in her relationship with her grandfather:

"He was a wild man. He was always trying to stick his tongue down our throats. And that was gross. He was always asking us questions, if we were wearing underwear under our skirts and touching us. And then he'd take us to X restaurant, which is one of the best restaurants. Give me $100 and say 'Make yourself scarce for an hour'. I'd do it. You bet. It was great fun....I mean he'd have the best table in X reserved for him. He was a big man I guess." Bev.

By putting up with her grandfather's sexual overtures, Bev was able to be a part of the power and extravagance that this man represented, and at the time this exchange seemed reasonable.

Other volunteers understood their victimisation in terms of their gender. Carol grew up feeling somehow deviant because she was not a boy, and projected her own expectation of victimisation onto her daughters when they were born.

"It seemed to me like I was sort of the outcast. The reason why, I wasn't a boy." "When my girls were born, I cried and I says: 'Oh my God, I just gave birth to victims.'" Carol.
Debbie expressed the same feelings about her baby daughter.

"I just hope she doesn't have to go through the shit that I did when I was a kid. Now I look at her, you know, I wanted a boy." Debbie.

These statements reflect an underlying awareness and acceptance of their own diminished value and disempowerment because they are female. The social attitudes and values that might lead to these feelings and perceptions in these women are reflected in the structures of society and the ways in which these structures limit and control women and children.

Through its disempowerment of victims of sexual abuse and sexual exploitation, social structures maintain women and children as helpless victims and assume and protect the power of men. The existence of sexual abuse of children in our society is a reflection of social attitudes towards the relative positions of men, women and children (Butler, 1982a; McIntyre, 1981). Recently emerging statistics have suggested that one in four female children will be sexually abused before she is 18. Usually the abuser is male (Ledray, 1984; Russell, 1983; Wynter, 1987). The very act of sexual abuse is an expression of male dominance and power as well as a clear signal as to the female child's role as a sexual partner for men. Denial, disbelief and blaming the victim tend to protect the male abuser, and it tends to be difficult to bring him to trial (S. Rivkin, personal communication, July, 1989). As a result the assumption of male dominance and the female child's status as a victim and a sexual partner for men, is reinforced and further entrenched. "The
responsibility for so dangerously shifting the accountability for incest onto the female victim rests squarely on the patriarchal nature of our society as a whole and makes us aware of the double victimization and powerlessness of being a child and a girl" (Butler, 1985, p. 36).

The structures of control do not give up power easily or willingly, and when cracks or imperfections are uncovered in the social-structures, the instinct has been to deny, cover up and restrict access to information. Recent attempts have been made to expose the incidence of sexual abuse and to institute measures to deal with the problem. These include changing the laws to allow children to testify in court, and imposing regulations that require reporting and investigation of disclosures of abuse. The overall thrust of the changes has been to authenticate the rights and independence of the individual child. In response to these challenges, groups have developed that propose to protect the rights of those individuals who see their authority being challenged, that is fathers, teachers, employers, and to invalidate the rights and needs of children who "[destroy] the reputations of innocent people - most of whom are male" (Maynard, 1988, p. 124) by lying about abuse ("Abuse Case", 1987; Cottin Pogrebin, 1983; Maynard, 1988).

The social structures also limit personal control in children. Cottin Pogrebin (1983) states that "...as a society we love children only when they are under control" (p. 42). This is expressed informally through hierarchical family
structures that deny the right of children to express opinions and to speak up for themselves and in the schools, where strict rules and regulations are applied to control and limit children's independence and expression. This is also reflected in the laws that until recently would not accept a child's evidence in a court of law, and still restrict the inclusion of a child's testimony.

Certainly, the women in this study expressed their sense of not being heard or validated as children. Several of them had had the experience of being ignored or rejected when they attempted to let people in authority know about their sexual abuse. These experiences were reflective of the disempowerment of children and victims that occurs in our society.

Social-structural factors and the structures of society exert control over women and children in several ways. Devaluation of women's work restricts their access to money and the power that comes with it. Evaluation of women and girls on their appearance and sexuality restricts their options and limits their worth. Families, schools and social service agencies, including the legal system that invalidate and deny children's rights and needs, disempower and devalue them. Denial of sexual abuse, restriction of information, and blaming the victim protects male authority and disempowers female victims of the sexual abuse. Unsupported and disempowered, abuse victims come to accept their lot and find prostituting an acceptable method of survival.

This section on social control has examined the
social-structural factors that were present and influential in the lives of the women interviewed here. These factors were considered in Sullivan's (1984) terms as structures of dominance which influence and limit the behavior of those individuals who live within them. Some of the effects of the social-structural factors were reflected in the narratives of the volunteers. Through examining the structures of control and the ways in which they limit and restrict behaviour, it is possible to better understand the choices that the women in this study made.

The Research Findings

This research explores the relationship between sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution. The framework for the inquiry was structured around the factors that were influential in the lives of the women who had both the experiences of sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution. The factors were developed from the literature review and adjusted according to the findings in the interviews. They are social-structural factors and intra-psychic factors.

Social-structural factors form the context within which the individual is raised and socialised. Cultural values and attitudes are reflected and incorporated in the social structures. The social-structural factors that were identified by the women in this study as being influential in their lives are the family, the schools, social networks, social services, the employment market, religious institutions, sexual abuse and entrance into prostitution.
Intra-psychic factors are defined here as the inner sense of self and identity of the individual. This research focussed on the factors of alienation, identity and control as they influenced the ways in which these young women began to prostitute.

The social-structural factors represent the context or environments where the young girls began to develop their sense of themselves, their roles and their value and worth. These include Sullivan's (1984) structures of dominance which restrict and limit the behavior and choices of the individual. The volunteers experienced invalidation, rejection, isolation and abuse in each of the enumerated social structures. Their families were a source of lack of support and invalidation, and families that were run according to a strict religious ethic seemed to intensify the sense of alienation in the volunteers; the schools contributed to their sense of alienation and failure; social networks were a source of further identification with deviant or alienated individuals and groups; some social service agencies, and in particular the law and the courts, were further sources of invalidation and alienation; and the employment market was a source of invalidation for the volunteers. Obviously, not all the social structures were sources of negative experiences at all times to all of the volunteers. However, the generalised picture was one of a sense of alienation and isolation from the legitimate social structures, and a resulting sense of worthlessness and lack of control over their lives within these structures. Withdrawing
from the legitimate social structures, the volunteers identified with illegitimate or deviant social structures, thereby intensifying their sense of deviance and alienation and limiting their choices and sources of help.

The social-structural factors of sexual abuse and related conditions influenced the young girls' developing identity and affected their behavior and the choices they made. Through their experiences with sexual abuse, the volunteers developed an identity that was tied to their sexuality and their role as sexual partners for men. In addition their inability to get help or support for the abuse, and the ensuing labelling and blaming that they encountered for their sexual experiences, reinforced the young girls' sense of worthlessness, alienation and lack of control. Lack of support around their sexual abuse also contributed to a sense of helplessness in the young girls that resulted in a resignation to their lot as victims or sexual partners for men. Their experiences with sexual abuse gave the volunteers the tools that they needed in order to prostitute, but also contributed to their isolation from legitimate sources of help and support, as well as their alienation from themselves. In all of these ways, the social-structural factor of sexual abuse influenced the ways in which these eight women began to prostitute as juveniles.

Social-structural factors include cultural attitudes and values that are reflected in the social structures of society. In Western society women and children are limited in their access to money and power and in the roles that they are allowed
to play. These attitudes and values are reflected in the social structures that deny children voice and control over their lives, that restrict females to subservient and sexually based roles, and that restrict women's access to money and the power that comes with it. Each of the social-structural factors enumerated here played a role in ensuring that these attitudes and values were enforced thereby restricting and limiting the choices and behavior of the young girls who grew up within them. In these ways the social-structural factors influenced the ways in which these eight volunteers began to prostitute as juveniles.

The three factors of alienation, an identity that was primarily tied to sexuality and lack of control influenced the ways in which these eight volunteers began to prostitute as juveniles. Alienation from legitimate social structures cut the young girls off from legitimate sources of help and guidance, and contributed to their identifying with illegitimate groups. Attempts to separate themselves from the negative aspects of sexual abuse, contributed to the young girls becoming alienated from themselves. Identifying themselves through their sexuality allowed the young girls to accept their role as sexual partners to men and in some cases to accept a victim status. Lack of control over their lives within the legitimate social structures and over the abuse that they seemed to consistently encounter drove the young girls to an early quest for independence through running away, living with illegitimate social groups and making men pay for their sexual favours. In all of these ways the
intra-psychic factors of alienation, identity and control influenced the ways in which these young women began to prostitute as juveniles.

None of the specific factors enumerated here as influencing the lives of the volunteers can be said to have caused their eventual entrance into prostitution in isolation. However, the interplay of all of these factors seems to have created the conditions that contributed to the outcome of prostitution in these young girls. The sexual abuse itself, which has been linked to the outcome of juvenile prostitution in previous research, seems to play a substantial role in almost literally training the young girls to be sexual partners for men and in preparing them with coping skills to deal with the abusive and uncomfortable aspects of this role.

Moreover, the sexual abuse occurs within a social context which disempowers and devalues women and children. Within this social context the volunteers in this study felt alienated and out of control, and cast in a role that was defined by their sexuality. In the lives of the women interviewed here, the social structures and conditions that allowed the sexual abuse to occur in the first place, also cut off their access to support or help, thus furthering the processes by which they began to prostitute.

This group of eight volunteers is representative of the North American population of juveniles who prostitute in a number of ways. Their average age of running away from home, age of entry into prostitution and period of prostitution are
well within the ranges found by other studies. In these eight volunteers, the age of running away from home ranged from 11 to 15 years, with an average age of 12.9 years. Previous studies have found a range of 11 to 14 years of age (Brown, 1979; Frank & Rosettis, 1980; Task Force on Juvenile Prostitution, 1981; Weisberg, 1985). Age of entry into prostitution ranged from 11 to 17 with an average of 14.4 years in this study. Previous studies have reported a range of 14 to 16 years for the onset of prostitution in juveniles (Benjamin, 1985; Gray, 1973; Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths, 1984a; Silbert, 1984; Weisberg, 1985). The average period of prostitution in this group of women was 3.2 years with a range of 6 months to 8 years. Benjamin (1985) found a range of one to five years in his study.

Similarly aspects of the intra-family relationships, relationships with social service agencies and educational histories found in these eight women concur with those found in other juvenile prostitute populations (Benjamin, 1985; Borgman, 1984; Gray, 1973; Greenwald, 1969; Herman & Hirschman, 1977; Meiselman, 1979). Finally, the development of a sense of alienation and an identity that is tied to sexuality closely resembles the deviance and negative sexual self-image described by other researchers into sexual abuse survivors who prostitute (Boyer & James, 1982; TRACY, 1979).

Certainly it can be stated that the findings from this group have verified the findings of other researchers. Further, this study has met its goal to explore the relationship between
sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution, and new findings have resulted. Specifically, the role that the sexual abuse and coping strategies play in preparing the young girls for prostitution has been explicated. Also alienation appeared to be a major determining factor, which combined with the presence of sexual abuse, influenced the outcome of juvenile prostitution. Finally the issue of control, the interplay between personal and social control, and the quest for personal control that drove these women has been explored. Each of these findings has ramifications for the development of interventions into the social phenomenon of prostitution.

Interventions

The purpose of this discussion is to bring the perspectives of the eight volunteers who have had the experiences under inquiry to the ongoing and evolving development of preventive and remedial intervention strategies. Although not exhaustive, it is hoped that this discussion will contribute to the range of approaches that are available to us when working with this at-risk group of juveniles.

If the process by which sexual abuse survivors begin to work as prostitutes is considered as a continuum or progression of events, it seems logical that interventions that occur at the earlier end of the continuum should be more effective in preventing the outcome of prostitution. At this stage the victim is younger and the contributing factors are fewer. As the victim of sexual abuse progresses along the continuum, she
becomes less receptive to remedial interventions (Silbert, 1984). Conversely, the development of intervention strategies is more difficult at the earlier end of the continuum, where the structural factors that cause the problems are not as easy to identify or approach. For example, it is more difficult to identify an alienating and sexually abusive family than it is to identify juveniles who are living and working on the streets.

Cultural attitudes and values are in evidence at every stage of the continuum of social-structural factors that influence the outcome of juvenile prostitution. Preventive interventions would involve broad changes in social structures that would combat the inequalities that women and children face in our society. This conclusion has been reached by other researchers, such as The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (1984), and the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (1985).

Changing attitudes and values requires government intervention and programs. Mass media advertising should be used to educate people about the nature of sexual abuse and prostitution and to inform them that sexual abuse and purchasing of sex from juveniles is both illegal and unacceptable. The recent campaign in Vancouver of posters declaring "Real men don't buy kids" is an example of this type of intervention. Governments should also regulate advertising and media programs to combat the gender stereotyping that is frequently reinforced through these forums.

Adults who deal in any way with victims of sexual abuse
and street involved youth need education around the realities of sexual abuse and the importance of supporting, believing and validating the victims. The list of these people is virtually limitless, but specifically it should include any individual who may come in contact with sexual abuse survivors, such as members of the legal and law enforcement community, social service workers at all levels, teachers and school personnel, medical professionals and psychiatrists, psychologists and counsellors. To a large extent it is the underlying attitudes that these individuals bring to their dealings with their clients that influence their effectiveness. Workshops for these professionals should be ongoing and should deal not only with education but with discussions of attitude and relationships with the children and women they come in contact with. Regular inservice or workshops should also deal with the personal frustration that these professionals often face.

An important part of this work on changing attitudes and values should include an examination of the role that men play as sexual abusers and as customers of juvenile prostitutes. Research into male sexuality should be encouraged and funded.

The government is also responsible for the laws that reflect values and attitudes. Laws should be enacted that protect the equality of children and women and their access to justice. Every effort should be made to accept the evidence of children, and information about a complainant's past sexual activity should be considered absolutely irrelevant. In addition affirmative action programs and pay equity legislation
should be initiated to help bring about equal opportunity of employment for women and equal evaluation (that is, equal pay) of their work.

Children should also be fully informed and educated about appropriate sexuality and their rights. Schools are the obvious forum for this to take place and some programs have already been developed in British Columbia schools (for example the C.A.R.E. Kit, 1984). However, parental permission is still required for children to take these programs, and inclusion of the programs and sex education in the curriculum is not universal. It must be recognised that children have the right to this information and it should be universally available and required. In addition, school curricula should include courses on women's studies and equality in order to combat the gender stereotyping that exists in our society.

The family may be one of the social structures that is most inaccessible to intervention. To a large extent this is because the family has been regarded as ultimately inviolable. This attitude is changing and some provisions have been made for intervention into families that have attracted the attention of authorities due to obvious dysfunction. As a result, social services and counselling and psychiatric agencies tend to become involved only after severe problems surface. These agencies are not designed to be proactive or preventative in their interventions. Educational and counselling interventions at early stages of family development could be one way of preventing future, more serious problems. Such preventive
interventions could be developed through media programs. Some of the advertisements put out recently by breweries and religious organisations which focus on spending time with, and valuing children are examples of educational approaches to strengthening family structures. In addition community resources should provide free and accessible parenting programs which emphasise the importance of mutual respect and validation of children.

In the event that family dysfunction becomes evident, or that sexual abuse occurs, supportive services for both the child or victim of sexual abuse as well as the other family members must be made available. The importance of the family in supporting the victim of abuse was recognised by Grace:

"It really starts out with the parents and the communication. And if my parents had been there. If they'd turned around and taken the time to put their worries aside and deal with what was going on with me, I don't think I would ever have gone to the street...So that's where it really starts. And a lot of parents - I think it's because you're so afraid. It's um, incest or sexual abuse, it's like a black ball to the family name - and they're so afraid of admitting, it's happened in our family. And that's where it really, you know, they've got to learn to accept that as a fact and deal with it instead of shutting it out and blocking it off." Grace.

Support for the family should be widely and readily available through community and family service agencies and should be
offered through a variety of services. Support groups, counselling and psychiatric interventions should be equally available and free to the users. Interventions at this level should focus on acceptance and support of the victim, dealing with the effects of the abuse with the victim, support for non-abusing family members and mandatory counselling for the abuser.

Education, information and development of programs should increase the likelihood of identifying sexual abuse when it occurs. Unfortunately, most sexual abuse still goes unidentified and unreported. Without early intervention, as the victims of sexual abuse grow older, they trust adults less and less, and take on the negative identities associated with sexual abuse victims. Once these juveniles start running away, they are intent on maintaining their own independence and controlling their own lives. Intervention at this level is difficult, and generally carried out by the social service agencies. The volunteers for this research had some very clear advice on how to maximise success with the juvenile population at this level:

"Well they've got to have a natural concern. Like not just a, an authority type concern. It's got to be natural, genuine. Build up a trust and a friendship and... a lot of social workers don't work on gaining their trust. They work on telling them what they can and cannot do. You know. They, instead of giving them rules to begin with, I think, well for me, it was easier when they just let me make my own decisions and helped me in that."

Grace
"One thing that I've always noticed, with me too, and all the kids, is that when they're in the care system or when they've been screwed around by their family, they're not going to trust an adult to make a decision for them. Your social workers, psychiatrists and helpers are there to inform them and let them make their own decisions."

Ellen.

Essentially, by the time the juvenile has reached this stage, restriction and control will not work or be helpful to them. Rather, individuals and situations which provide stable and dependable back up resources for the juveniles, which validate their needs and experiences, and which give them some input into the decisions that will affect their lives seem to have the most success in terms of eventually helping the juveniles to leave the streets and begin to survive within the legitimate structures.

Interventions at this stage should be designed to empower and enable, rather than to restrict and control. Once again, in-service and education for the professionals who are likely to deal with these juveniles is of major importance. Time and again the women interviewed here stated that it was the individual's attitude and acceptance of them that inspired their trust and enabled them to learn to cooperate with and live within the legitimate social structures.

Some specific suggestions for changes in the social service system should include the perceived accessibility of the structures. For example, the buildings from which justice is
dispensed tend to be very intimidating. Sessions of court could be held in informal surroundings with a circle of chairs as opposed to the extremely hierarchical arrangement that is presently used. Further, judges, lawyers and court workers should talk to children and juveniles in language that they can understand, and ensure that they have an opportunity to express their thoughts and feelings.

The police should train and use special officers, who can dress casually and drive regular cars, and who can take the time to get to know the juveniles and deal with them in non-authoritative ways. Where authority is absolutely necessary other officers should be called in, but the specially trained officers should remain with the juvenile as a type of advocate. Aspects of this approach have been used in the past, but they have been too few and not dependably available.

Social service offices that are designed to service juveniles should be in locations that are easily accessible to the juveniles and should be set up informally and comfortably and with a minimum of barriers and doors that keep the clients out and the workers in. In Vancouver a number of special programs and services are available for use with these juveniles, but frequently money and space is limited. In addition, the bureaucracy involved often delays delivery of the service, resulting in frustration and loss of commitment by the juvenile.

The social service system offers a variety of foster care and group home resources for runaway juveniles. These resources vary in the way that they are run and in their effectiveness.
Some regulation by the Ministry that contracts these resources out is required. A survey of the most effective houses would contribute to the development of these regulations. Further, the individuals who run the houses should be required to take thorough and ongoing education and in-service, provided by the ministry.

One of the more successful programs that exist in British Columbia is the one-to-one street worker program. Here a street worker is assigned to an individual in order to make a connection and hopefully build a friendship with her. This worker may also be involved in connecting the adolescent with various programs and with acting as an advocate for her in the many bureaucratic meetings and procedures she must go through. The problem is that there are not enough of these workers, and frequently they are reassigned away from one adolescent to a new, more needy case. As a result the first adolescent is let down, and left feeling frustrated and abandoned. Consistency and long-term stability are of vital importance if successful and trusting relationships are to be developed with these young girls. In addition, the street workers should receive ongoing and thorough inservice, education and support.

At this level of service there is a lot of stress and frustration for the workers. Adequate care of the workers, in the form of support groups, in-service and good working conditions could go a long way to ensuring positive contacts with the juveniles. In addition increased funding for programs and personnel, and provision for flexibility in the
administration of services would allow workers to deal creatively and promptly with the juveniles on their case loads.

Finally, access to counsellors, psychologists and psychiatrists must be improved. A full variety of counselling professionals should be available for families, victims of abuse and juveniles. The services should be free, available without waiting periods and without restrictive policies and guidelines around acceptable clients. The decision to seek counselling frequently comes about as a result of a crisis and is not always an easy one to make. If services are not available when that decision is made, frustration and loss of commitment occur.

As with the social service interventions, intra-psychic interventions should be empowering and enabling, as well as open and honest in their approach so as to avoid the perception of being studied and labelled that some of the volunteers reported. At this level, counselling interventions can deal with the effects of the sexual abuse, in terms of its effect on identity and the issue of control in the individual. Some of the volunteers reported using artwork as an outlet for their emotions. Use of artwork can be helpful in the therapeutic process, especially if it has been a familiar and helpful tool for the individual previously.

The volunteers in this research had all left the streets and had varying ways of dealing with the issues of identity and their control needs. Those who were able to separate societal responsibility from personal responsibility seemed able to free themselves from the victim identity and reported an optimistic
outlook on the future. For these women, it was their new understanding that they were not alone or different, and that they were not to blame for the abuse, that helped them see themselves more positively. Had they had access to this knowledge and understanding earlier in their lives, the outcome might have been different.

Feminist approaches to counselling and therapy recognise the importance of examining the influence of society on our intra-psychic make-up and our behaviour (Gilbert, 1980). Early interventions of this nature should deal with the guilt and blame that is associated with sexual abuse, sex and sexuality, and should examine the role of society in defining girls and women as inferior, powerless and sex-objects.

This group of volunteers expressed their need for support, understanding, validation and a sense of personal worth and agency at all stages of their lives. Had they experienced these things earlier, their eventual use of drugs and alcohol, running away and resorting to prostitution may have been avoided or minimized. When they did eventually find individuals who could validate them in these ways, they began the slow process of looking for alternative ways of survival.

Part of the validating process is accepting and respecting the individual's right and ability to make her own decisions. With the juvenile runaway, this sometimes means allowing her to return to the street until she decides that she no longer wants to do this. Successful interventions at this stage work gradually at broadening the possibilities and options for the
juvenile, so that she can learn new identities and roles for herself and begin to understand and function within the legitimate system.

The process of leaving the street and all that this entails is not a simple one. Frequently the juvenile leaves and returns a number of times before finally staying away. Sometimes this takes a period of years. It is extremely important that the support systems that may be available to the juvenile not give up on that individual, but rather remain as a stable and constant source of help and support each time the individual decides to try again.

Clearly all of the suggestions for intervention that are discussed here cost money, and the lack of funding for programs such as these is a commonly heard complaint. How funding is assigned to programs and in what proportions is reflective of cultural and social attitudes and values. Increased funding for programs which address stereotyping attitudes and for services which provide support to families, sexual abuse survivors and street involved youth is an important and very clear way to validate women and children in our society.

The Research Process and the Volunteers

In the process of conducting research, it is all too easy to lose sight of the volunteers who contribute so much of themselves while attempting to contribute to the greater good. The research methodology used here was designed to avoid this outcome as much as possible. Speaking to the use of narratives,
Mischler states that the process of data collection can be empowering to the volunteers. "Through their narratives people may also be moved beyond the text to the possibilities of action. That is, to be empowered is not only to speak in one's own voice and to tell one's own story, but to apply that understanding arrived at to action in accord with one's own interests" (Mischler, 1986, p. 119).

While it would be presumptive to assume that the interview process empowered the volunteers to change their lives, it can be stated with some certainty that the interviews were not alienating or disempowering for the women. Indeed, several of the volunteers spontaneously remarked that they were pleased to be able to help out and contribute to research that may help prevent others from going through the same problems as they had. Some also stated that the process of going through the interview was helpful to them, and that they came out with some sense of personal achievement having recounted their lives and realised what they had been able to survive, and overcome.

"Well I've been going for therapy since July, you know. I've found myself, you know, gone through my whole life story with my therapist. And I've found the more I talk about it the easier it is for me to deal with it, accept it and, you know, change my life after what happened. So. And I also like to help people, other people. And make parents know to protect their children against rape. And watching the signs and everything else...I'm not proud of being on the streets. And yet I'm not ashamed of
it. It was a learning lesson for me in survival. I'm the type of person, I'm very open. I've learned to be very open in the last few years." Grace.

"I'm proud of myself now. Now that you've made me reminisce. Because I don't usually think about my past anymore. Because I've gone through it and I'm over it and I don't think much about it. It doesn't hurt me as much as it used to. When I look back and think about it how, how nice it is to see me this way....When I think about it, you know....I'm proud of myself. And I'm, I'm proud of what's to come too. Because I know I'm going to make a difference to somebody somewhere." Ellen.

From these statements, and others like them, it can be said that some sense of empowerment did result from the interview process. Through telling their stories the volunteers felt validated and pleased to contribute in any way that they could.

Once the analysis was completed and the results written up the volunteers were again contacted in order to allow them to comment on and react to the interpretations of their stories. Five of the original eight volunteers were reached and these women were very enthusiastic about reading the paper. Four participated in the followup interview.

In general the responses were very positive. Some of the women found the paper quite long and had some difficulty finding the time to read it all. Indeed one of the women had not finished reading the paper when I interviewed her, and another
was unable to respond in time. However, once they did read it the women found it clear, if a little repetitive, and easy to understand.

Three of the women found that the interpretation through the theoretical material and the key concepts gave them further insights into their own stories:

"It really identifies key points when the damage is done to me." "It was very clear to me. It said what I really said and it did it in a term that I had no knowledge of." "For me it helped to identify a little bit more what went on inside in my psychological development." Grace.

"I think there's good insights in there. I haven't finished it all....It really made sense." "The paper itself, see in this context the quotes that you take from my interview start to make sense, start to become clearer. And some of them are useful." Bev.

In effect the analysis and development of these women's stories helped them to see themselves and their lives a little differently and to make sense of them in new ways.

Two of the volunteers had suggestions about the theoretical concepts which they felt were underemphasised or missing. Carol felt what she called the "baby theory" should have been included as one of the "stages" of survival. This theory represents "the need we all have occasionally to feel sorry for ourselves and to be taken care of." This research does not deal with the "stages" of survival, so Carol's suggestion was not included.
Helen felt that the role of social control was not emphasised enough.

"It had in here an area of what the social impact was - the historical, family impact was. And I found that more important than it was put out in the paper." "It's one thing to be abused by a family member. It's another thing when there's a whole historical basis for doing that abuse. And it puts a different perspective. It's not just this person abusing you, it's your history and it's your culture. And in a really deep sense that destroys a person's identity." Helen.

Three of the women noted that their perspectives had changed since the initial interview. This was not surprising considering that these volunteers were involved in personal counselling, and in community and outreach work of some variety. In one case, reading about herself two years ago was the most helpful part of the project to the volunteer:

"I think it's helped me more since I received this (the paper) than at any other point." (Interviewer: How?)

"Just realising who I was two years ago, you know, and where I was. What I was thinking at 19 is so drastically different - well not drastically even, but different enough to surprise me. And I think to a certain extent, at some level it's given me encouragement that two years from now my feelings, my thoughts, the way I think about things may be different." Helen.

Two of the volunteers commented that they identified with
the other women in the research and were curious to know them better. These women seemed to appreciate the strengths in their counterparts and the ways in which they survived.

One of the volunteers had some disagreement with the way that her story was presented, and changes were made that were agreeable to both her and the researcher.

Finally, all the women felt positive about their experience with the research process:

"When I did it (the interview) I went in, I had a little fear doing it. I think I was more fearful of um, like the shows they have on T.V. about street kids and stuff, they're more exploitive than they are helpful and understanding. And I had that reservation and that fear in me. But after reading it I didn't feel that way. I felt it got through what people didn't really understand about being a sexual abuse survivor, going on the street, what it's like, what it did to the person and how it wasn't easy going to the streets. It wasn't easy. It was a learned behavior that we needed as survival. And it stressed that quite clearly. And that I'm really happy about because it's not exploiting that: 'Oh I just gave up and went to the streets'." Grace.

"It made me feel a little useful. It helped me feel a little useful. And it's given me one of the things that I've spent most of my life needing...that specialness. Being special for a while, for somebody's thesis. Somebody sitting there going: "Gee you're special. I
want to hear all about it.' And that's nice." Bev.

By recontacting the volunteers in this way, the study allowed for continued input from the women who are the focus of inquiry. Throughout the presentation of the results and the development of intervention strategies, the volunteers' perspectives and stated needs have been represented and respected. In this way the voices of the eight women have contributed directly to the body of knowledge on the relationship of sexual abuse and juvenile prostitution.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research was a multiple case study, designed to develop a deeper understanding of the ways in which sexual abuse survivors begin to prostitute as juveniles. Through interviews with eight women who had had both of these experiences in their lives, the perspective of those who this research is intended to help has been included, and interventions discussed. In addition several directions for future research emerged.

This research examined only those women who were sexual abuse survivors and who had prostituted as juveniles. A comparative study with sexual abuse survivors who have not prostituted as juveniles could investigate specific factors which may act as protectors or interventions which prevent the outcome of prostitution in sexual abuse survivors.

The present research explored the issue of control in sexual abuse survivors and juvenile prostitutes. Further research into the development of learned helplessness in sexual
abuse survivors and the development of a victim identity would certainly be of value in contributing to our understanding in this area. Also, some exploration of the need for control or limits, and the effect of this need on juveniles who get into exploitive relationships is needed.

In addition there is a need for comparative studies of male and female sexual abuse survivors who prostitute in order to determine the role of sexual stereotyping and socialisation on males and females in our society.

To date, the great majority of research into prostitution and sexual abuse has focussed on the female victims of abuse and the prostitute. It must be remembered that the other half of the equation is the male offender and the male customer of the prostitute, who often is not considered abnormal at all. Some of the most important research that needs to be conducted in order to understand this social phenomenon is on male sexuality, and specifically in relation to male sexual offenders and male customers of prostitutes.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

To start the interview, subjects will be asked to describe a life history by taking their lives in 5 year periods (0 - 5 years, 5 - 10, etc.) and describing where they lived, who they lived with and major events that they remember, being sure to include incidents of sexual abuse and onset of prostitution. From this a "life-line" can be constructed, and events and aspects can be used as jumping off points to cover the questions suggested below.

The following questions have been categorized according to the area they are expected to cover. They will not necessarily be used in the order shown, and represent a guideline for points to be covered. It is hoped that the questions will broaden the subject matter covered rather than restrict or limit it.

I. Social-Structural Factors

To be asked in relation to each 5 year period:

1. Tell me some more about your family during this period. For example: absence/presence of parents and other relatives; relationship with individual members; who did you trust/not trust; who was in charge/made decisions; who worked and at what; financial status of family; religion; etc.

2. If there was any contact with social service agencies/ helpers during this period; was the contact helpful/not helpful; how did contact come about; etc.
3. Was there anyone you felt particularly close to during this period? Who could you tell about a problem? Who would help you with a problem?

4. At what points were changes made: Who made the decision to change? What choices did you have at the time? How did the system help/hinder you?

In relation to incidents of sexual abuse:

5. I would like to talk a little more about the sexual abuse situations - who was involved, how long it went on, your age, etc.

6. What did you try to do about the abuse at the time? Later?

7. What worked/did not work?

8. If you talked to someone, why did you choose that person? What was their response?

9. What did you do next? Why?

In relation to leaving home:

10. Under what circumstances did you leave (e.g., ran away, apprehended, kicked out, etc.)? Age? How did you live? Did you try to get a job? Etc.

11. What would have had to be different at home in order for you to stay? At a group home, foster home, etc?

12. Did you know anyone else on the streets?

At choice points:

13. What did you imagine you were moving towards? What did you actually find?
II. Intra-Psychic Factors

In relation to the sexual abuse situations:

14. How did you feel about the abuse?

15. How do you think your life was changed by the assaults?

In relation to specific life periods:

16. How did you feel different or special as a person during this period?

17. What was important to you as a teenager? (10 - 15, and 15 + periods)

18. Were there people and/or events during this period that made you feel good/bad about yourself?

19. Were there people and/or events that made you feel more/less in control in this period?

20. In which areas of your life did you feel in control and in which areas did you feel out of control?

21. Which events/people over your whole life-line had something to do with your becoming a prostitute?

22. What are your ideas about why you started to prostitute?

23. What advice would you have for a young girl in the same situation as you?
APPENDIX B.

Follow-Up Interview

1. What are your reactions to what I have written?
2. Do you recognise yourself in the interpretation and discussion?
3. What do you think about the theoretical material and key concepts? Are these concepts relevant to you and your story?
4. What has been misinterpreted or left out?
5. What difference has participating in this study made to you?
6. Do you think that this study could be helpful to other girls and women in similar situations? How?
APPENDIX C

Contact Letters and Consent Form

Dear (Contact Person),

I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Counselling Psychology at U.B.C. For my doctoral dissertation I am conducting a study on sexual abuse survivors who have prostituted as juveniles (i.e. before age 18). It is the goal of this project to understand the factors and events which influence the ways in which sexual abuse survivors become juvenile prostitutes in our society. I anticipate the results of this research will aid us in developing improved preventive and remedial interventions into the problem of juvenile prostitution.

In order to carry out this research, I will need a minimum of 12 volunteers who meet the following requirements: 1) Females 18 and over who have been 2) victims of childhood sexual abuse and/or incest, and who have 3) prostituted before age 18. I would require about 2 to 4 hours of their time and volunteers will be paid $20 upon completion of the interview. The interview will cover life history, experiences with sexual abuse and prostitution, family background and contact with social service agencies.

Should you know of any young women who you think might fit these requirements, and who would be willing to talk to me about her experiences, I would greatly appreciate it if you would pass on this information to her. I enclose information sheets for
Consent Form

I hereby voluntarily consent to participate in this study on Sexual Abuse Survivors Who Prostitute. The nature of this study has been explained to me and I understand that I will be asked to participate in an interview with the researcher, Ray Edney, who is a graduate student in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia.

I agree____, do not agree____ to having the interview tape recorded.

I understand that the researcher will be taking notes during the interview.

I have been informed that my interview responses will be treated confidentially.

I understand that I can refuse to participate or choose to withdraw from the study at any time, and that this will have no effect on the availability of any programs, treatment or services.

I will receive a copy of this consent form.

Signed__________________________

Date____________________________

Witness__________________________