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**MEDIATING THE PROBLEMATICS
OF
FEMALE YOUTH PROSTITUTION**

by

Lorri M. Biesenthal, B.A.

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

September 22, 1993

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**MEDIATING THE PROBLEMATICS
OF
FEMALE YOUTH PROSTITUTION**

submitted by Lorri M. Biesenthal, B.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology
and Anthropology

Carleton University

October 12, 1993

Dedication

In loving memory of my mother,

Marion Biesenthal

Abstract

The key to advancing our understanding of female adolescent prostitution is grounded in revealing or unmasking the sexist and moralistic nature of current research. This thesis argues that the female adolescent prostitute experiences gendered inequalities based on her sexuality and life style which also affects how she understands and makes sense of her everyday world. The thesis provides a preliminary forum for this voice and attempts to make sense of how the young female prostitute defines her world and the contradictions and problematics she faces.

The thesis begins by reviewing three groups of literature: feminist frameworks, several traditional and historical sociological/criminological theoretical descriptions within the deviance literature, and the adolescent prostitution literature. From this discussion emerges the recognition that the boundaries of traditional sociological/criminological deviance theory have imposed certain restrictions and perpetuated biases toward female adolescent prostitution, thereby limiting one's ability to appreciate the phenomenon fully.

Using an alternative sociology as defined by Smith (1987), the thesis concentrates on making sense of the phenomenon of female adolescent prostitution from the perspective of the female adolescent prostitute's experience and voice as the subject rather than the object of study.

Acknowledgements

I would firstly, like to thank the young women who shared their voice and experiences with me. Meeting with them and discussing their everyday worlds grounded this thesis and made it real.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Ken Hatt, for his comments, suggestions and commitment during the duration of my thesis. I am so appreciative that he ensured that I maintained ownership throughout the course of this project. I am also grateful to my three committee members, Dr. Catharine Kelly, Dr. Tullio Caputo and Dr. Scott Clark for their insights and comments on earlier drafts.

Thanks are also due to my colleagues in the Department of Justice who were extremely supportive and encouraging during the whole process.

I would like to thank my family and Aunt Freida who have always been very proud of my academic pursuits; although, I am not sure they completely figured out what my obsession with young hookers was all about.

Finally, I am indebted to my partner, David, for his confidence, strength and devotion that began at the inception of the thesis and has never left. He believed in me when I often found myself questioning what I was doing. I am eternally grateful.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Because prostitutes, as illegal women, are separated from "straight" society and, as a result, we in the 8-to-5 world actually know very little about what happens when prostitutes hustle in the early morning hours. We've had to accumulate information about prostitution -- and form attitudes based on that information -- from questionable sources. These sources have been, to an overwhelming extent, male, and they have presented a male vision of prostitution (James, et. al, 1977:3).

1.1 Background

Generally, prostitution¹ could be described as any sexual exchange which occurs in turn for something else. This may involve the exchange of sexual access for varying commodities. A legal definition, however is much more rigid. Based on official statutes, prostitution has often involved the inter-relationship between sex, cash, promiscuity and, arguably, visibility. Legislation historically has defined prostitution as that which involves a "woman" who exchanges sex for money.

Prostitution is an historical social activity that has involved many women -- young and old. It is an activity that has been socially organized and described from many different perspectives. The result of this research has provided much information and misinformation, thus, has created a "gap" into which legal, political and moral prejudices have been substituted (James, et. al; 1977: 37).

¹ While prostitution is an activity that involves both females and males, it is an activity that has been depicted as overwhelmingly represented by females. Although clients are usually males, regardless of the gender of the prostitute, research indicates that the two types of prostitutes are quite distinct (e.g., reasons for entry, type of practised sexual activity, role of a pimp, police harassment, visibility in criminal statistics (Weisberg, 1985; Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988)). For the purpose of this thesis, female adolescent prostitution will be the focus of study. Detailed research that has focused on the phenomenon of adolescent male prostitution includes Price et. al; 1984; Weisberg, 1985; Visano, 1987 and Cates, 1989.

1.2 The Legal-Historical Context

The period between 1860 and 1890 in Victorian Britain was significant because of the rise of legislation oriented towards social engineering (Smart, 1992). Behaviours requiring regulation became more precisely specified. As various technologies developed, the law became more precise. The laws governing the incarceration of prostitutes under the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866 and 1869 were influenced by medical advice on the basis of how long it took to cure venereal diseases (Smart, 1992: 11). Laws, together with medical science, influenced the control of moral behaviour. It appears that the emphasis was placed on the control of women, not men, when sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) were conveyed by both. The question can be raised as to why STDs have been traditionally perceived as a problem of "women". And one answer is, "because they are one of many avenues used to control female sexuality".

Public awareness of what today would be referred to as child sexual abuse arose in the 1870s out of concern over child prostitution (Hooper, 1992: 56). The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), formed by philanthropic reformers in 1889, drew attention to child prostitution. One result was the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885) which raised the age of consent for sexual intercourse from 13 to 16 years. The legislation also arose out of concern with the so-called "White Slave Trade" and the procurement of English girls for foreign brothels (Smart, 1992: 14). The implications of this law, however, portrayed young prostitutes as sexually innocent, passive victims of individual men. This paved the

way for increased surveillance of working class girls and diverted attention away from the economic reasons why many engaged in prostitution (Gorham, 1978). The potential for "protection" to become a means of controlling female sexuality emerged as a recurring theme in response to youth prostitution.

In Canada, similar evidence finds law and medical science regulating prostitution for "the moral good" (CACSW, 1985). Historically, for example, Victorian moralists and social purists regarded prostitution as "one of a series of social evils that threatened the fabric of society" (Lowman 1991: 114). Women and children were deemed to be in need of being rescued and reformed in a manner that would never find them entering the ranks of prostitution (CACSW, 1984: 15). The growing awareness of prostitution received considerable attention within both the public and private spheres.

Of late, the federal Canadian government has invested considerable resources into two national evaluations that addressed procedural aspects of prostitution. These are: The Badgley Report (1984), Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (Volumes 1 & 2), and the Fraser Report (1985), Report of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (Volumes 1 & 2). The Badgley Report focused on sexual offences pertaining to the sexual victimization of youth. The report made 52 recommendations regarding child sexual abuse, including adolescent prostitution as a form of this abuse. The report acknowledged the many contradictions that surround youth prostitution:

The issue of prostitution in Canada, in particular, juvenile prostitution, is clothed with ambiguity, myths and hypocrisy. Publicly, there is

widespread indignation and condemnation concerning the plight of these youths. Their visible presence on the downtown street corners of many large Canadian cities is seen in some quarters as a failure of existing public services -- social, enforcement and legal -- to deal adequately with the problem. A sharp disparity exists between what is publicly said should be done and what is actually done to reduce the occurrence of juvenile prostitution. While in the rhetoric of public debate the needs of these youths are allegedly recognized, the services available to them either are limited in scope, or in some instances, have been curtailed (Badgley, 1984: 947).

The report stressed that the legal emphasis should be removed from the victim (i.e., youth prostitute) and placed on the customers and pimps (i.e., exploiters). Note the "passive" image of how the young prostitute's gender is preserved as female:

The tragic consequences of a life of prostitution for young persons are extensively documented in this report. These serious harms justify the imposition of a specific criminal sanction against the customers of young prostitutes (Badgley, 1984: 1055) ...In the committee's opinion, the parasitic relationship between pimps and the young prostitutes in their employ is an intolerable form of child abuse. The pimp cultivates and exploits the prostitute's vulnerabilities -- her low self-esteem, her loneliness on the street and her need for love and protection...In the committee's view, the response of the criminal law to this egregious exploitation of the young must be certain and severe (Badgley, 1984: 1072-3).

One outcome of the Badgley Report was the enactment of Bill C-15 (1988) which criminalized the activity of adolescent prostitution with the addition of s. 212(2) and 212(4) in the "procuring" section of the Criminal Code. These sections currently state:

212(2): Every person who lives wholly or in part on the avails of prostitution of another person who is under the age of eighteen years is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding fourteen years.

212(4): Every person who, in any place, obtains or attempts to obtain, for consideration the sexual services of a person who is under the age of eighteen years is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.

Despite the Badgley committee's intentions, the reality is that the new procuring sections, s. 212(2) (living off the avails of a prostitute under 18 years) and s. 212(4) (obtaining a person under 18 years for sexual purposes) -- indictable offences with increased penalties where the victim is under 18 years -- are not being enforced by police according to the Department of Justice Canada's review on the impact of Bill C-15 (Hornick and Bolitho, 1992). Since 1988, only a few charges have been laid in Canada using these provisions.

The Fraser Report (1985) focused primarily on adult prostitution. However, in a subsection focusing on "child" prostitution, like the Badgley Report, it made similar recommendations regarding the need to protect youth from sexual exploitation. The report notes:

With respect to prostitution, one of the major concerns of witnesses was how to prevent young people from taking up prostitution; similarly, finding ways of enabling and encouraging them to leave prostitution was a priority. Criminalizing the street prostitution activities of young persons was seen by some as a way of deterring prostitution or breaking the tie between the youngster and this way of life. There was, however, significant recognition that criminalizing these activities was at best a superficial solution, since the reasons why young people become prostitutes can be complex (Fraser, 1985: 566-7).

An outcome of the Fraser Report was Bill C-49 (1985) which made it illegal for persons to communicate for the purposes of prostitution. Section 213 presently indicates:

213(1): Every person who in a public place or in any place open to public

view (a) stops or attempts to stop any motor vehicle, (b) impedes the free flow of pedestrian or vehicular traffic or ingress to or egress from premises adjacent to that place, or (c) stops or attempts to stop any person or in any manner communicates or attempts to communicate with any person for the purpose of engaging in prostitution or obtaining the sexual services of a prostitute is guilty of an offence punishable on summary conviction.

213(2): In this section, "public place" includes any place to which the public have access as a right or by invitation, express or implied, and any motor vehicle located in a public place or in any place open to public view.

Despite the philosophy of Bill C-15, official crime statistics indicate that adolescent prostitutes are still being charged, thus, criminalized for soliciting, under s. 213 (Statistics Canada, 1993: In Press). When one compares the implementation of the recent legislative changes between the adult "communicating law" (Bill C-49) and the adolescent "customer/pimp law" (Bill C-15), the young prostitutes are still being charged. In comparing the two types of law enforcement, Lowman (1991; 141-2) indicated that in Vancouver, police laid 2,180 charges using the "communicating law" during the first two years of its implementation, as compared to only two charges laid against customers of youths during the first two years of the "customer/pimp law". There appears to be a discrepancy regarding how police typify the prostitution problem. They may be viewing the general communicating aspect (i.e., visible nuisance) as a more serious problem than the customers of young prostitutes. While s.212 is not being enforced, police are still picking the "girls" up and criminalizing their behaviour under s. 213. A young person may be charged under s.213 and tried for the offence in a youth court pursuant to the Young Offenders Act -- 12 to 17 years inclusive. Thus, the incidence of prostitution is problematic in that prostitution, per se, is not an illegal activity in Canada; it is soliciting for the purposes

of prostitution that is illegal. Paradoxically, it is a legal activity predicated on illegal behaviour. Bill C-49 (s.213) makes it virtually impossible for a prostitute to work (i.e., communicate for the purposes of work) without being subject to a criminal offence.

There has been difficulty in defining what constitutes adolescent prostitution². Current and conventional literature concerning adolescent prostitution has focused on substantive (e.g., antecedents) and procedural (e.g., policy) issues. Within this literature, female adolescent prostitutes are not consistently described. There is no apparent fine line that distinguishes adolescent prostitutes from their adult counterparts except perhaps an arbitrary line drawn by legislation. In general, the literature focuses on those between 12 and 21 years. The Badgley Report (1984), which conducted the most extensive Canadian research on adolescent prostitution also used this age range, despite the fact that people over 18 years are no longer youth according to the Young Offenders Act.

Adolescent prostitution, which involves a young person under the age of 18 years for purposes of federal legislation, has been the subject of much debate within the literature. There is an extensive socio-historical tradition of research focusing, in particular, on the early 20th century (Perry, 1978; Rosen, 1982; Bullough and Bullough, 1987); criminological-legal depictions (Geis, 1972; Boyer and James, 1979;

² Language is a powerful tool. I, too, struggled with how to describe or to refer to the young women involved in prostitution. I chose the term "female adolescent prostitution" because a) I was focusing my discussion on only "females"; b) "adolescence" is a term to describe particularly the teenage years; and c) "prostitutes" because it is a term that both CORP and POWER (prostitute organizations) have reclaimed and use. I have used the terms adolescent and youth interchangeably throughout the thesis.

Messerschmidt, 1987); and sociological or psychological perspectives (Schaffer and DeBlassie, 1984; Miller, 1986; Newton-Ruddy and Handelsman, 1986).

Academics have focused on providing social contexts, definitions, explanations, and what should be done about prostitution. These activities have provided a particular understanding of the phenomenon of commodity sex generally, and female adolescent prostitution, specifically. The current research literature incorporates arguments that centre on substantive or procedural issues. Writers emphasizing the substantive problems of adolescent prostitution, for example, examine the exploitation and oppression of young women and girls, the domination and abuse, or who prostitutes and why. Writers emphasising procedural problems focus on how existing laws define prostitution; how prostitution laws are enforced or applied; and whether prostitution should be criminalized, legalized or regulated (Miller, 1991: 48). Little research has involved the young female prostitutes as the subject rather than the object of the analysis or the researcher as a co-subject of the study with identified preconceived notions of what constitutes prostitution (Bell, 1985; Delacoste and Alexander, 1987; Mathews, 1989; Hoigard and Finstad, 1992). Traditional research has often focused on the pre or post entry variables, producing an "information gap" that has emphasized the "problem" of adolescent prostitution rather than the "problematics" of being involved in the activity. Thus, the criminal justice system gathers procedures integrating prostitute, police, lawyers, judges and the whole criminal justice system into a course of action to deal with this "problem". This concept "prostitution" becomes a basis on which the work about prostitution is

interpreted and organized in relation to the criminal justice system. Little emphasis is placed on the "problematics" of the young woman's relationship to the various players. Emphasizing the problem rather than the problematics also provides the young prostitute with a procedure for analyzing how such social "defects" leads her to prostitution and involvement with the criminal justice system, thus, adding to her own blame.

The phenomenon of female youths involved in prostitution is a unique focus of study. It is filled with many contradictions and disparities. It is an activity that continues to receive both state and public attention. It is the potential entry point into a continuum of sex trade activities. Retrospective studies have indicated that many prostitutes become involved and turn their first tricks when they are adolescents (Badgley, 1984; Fraser, 1985; Bagley *et.al*; 1987; Lowman, 1989). Since the 1970s, social science literature produced an interest in adolescent prostitution as a social problem. Social policy has evolved based on this research, ostensibly aimed at both protecting youth from prostitution (Badgley, 1984; Bagley, *et.al*, 1991: 109), and deterring the customers and pimps (i.e., Bill C-15). However, the primary form of intervention has been charging for the purposes of solicitation (i.e., Bill C-49). The state's focus on procedural issues as a response to adolescent prostitution will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

The voice of the female youth prostitute has been marginalized at best and invisible or absent, at worst. Adult prostitutes' voices have been collected in several anthologies by feminist academics who have identified the need to hear and

represent the subject's voices (Bell, 1985; Delacoste and Alexander, 1987; Pheterson, 1989; Hoigard and Finstad; 1992). Within these collections, adult prostitutes have been viewed as experts on their own everyday lives. Their experiences and frustrations have been openly discussed and reflectively shared. The female adolescent prostitute, however, is only present through discussion and dialogue of adult females in deliberating on how their careers began as youth.

1.3 The Framework of the Thesis

The key to advancing our understanding of female adolescent prostitution is grounded in revealing or unmasking the sexist and moralistic nature of current research. It will be argued that the female adolescent prostitute experiences gendered inequalities based on her sexuality and life style which also affects how she understands and makes sense of her everyday world. This thesis will attempt to provide a preliminary forum for this voice and attempt to make sense of how the young female prostitute defines her world and the contradictions and problematics she faces.

The thesis begins by, firstly, reviewing three groups of literature: feminist frameworks, several traditional and historical sociological/criminological theoretical descriptions within the deviance literature, and the adolescent prostitution literature. It is necessary to discuss all three bodies of literature to exemplify four features: first, a summary of the varying feminist perspectives, given that the thesis is advocating a feminist alternative; second, the invisibility of women in traditional

theoretical deviance research; third, the perpetuation of stereotype - reinforcing images of women, when they have been included; and fourth, the effects that this type of research has had on the objectified perception of the phenomenon of adolescent prostitution. From this discussion emerges the recognition that the boundaries of traditional sociological/criminological deviance theory have imposed certain restrictions and perpetuated biases toward female adolescent prostitution, thereby limiting one's ability to appreciate the phenomenon fully.

Following Smith (1990a:13), this thesis takes the view that our inability to transgress the common explanation of female adolescent prostitution from its sexist and moralistic social support is related to how traditional sociology/criminology thought -- its methods, conceptual schemata, and theories -- has been based on and built up within the male social universe, even when women have participated in traditional sociology's methods and theories. This has resulted in how the relevance of sociology has been organized in terms of a perspective on the world that assumes the pragmatic procedure of governing as those that frame and identify its subject matter (Smith, 1990b: 15). This has resulted in men controlling and regulating women -- especially their sexuality. This may be illustrated in the limited and sexually biased response of the state and the public -- the relations of ruling -- to both legal and social reform of prostitution, in general.

Pheterson (1989) notes that since the turn of the century, governments around the world have debated procedural issues such as advantages and disadvantages of state regulation, prohibition, or abolition of prostitution. Regulation has involved

placing the sex-industry under police controlled state laws that involves registration or surveillance of prostitutes through legal mechanisms. Prohibition has involved further state control through legislation and the limitation of prostitution through criminalization. Abolition strategies, by contrast, focus on the exploitation of prostitutes and the need to rehabilitate them (Pheterson, 1989: 8-12). All three of these responses involve state intervention into women's lives. Women's activities are thus "ruled" by a set of beliefs, attitudes and procedures that penetrate every aspect of their lives. Smith argues (1990a: 14) that there are relations of ruling. This refers to the total complex of governing, and includes more than the general notion of government as political organization activities, and is differentiated into many spheres, by which our kind of society is ruled, managed, and administered, and are the institutions through which we are ruled and through which we participate in ruling. Government response about how it should, will or can address prostitution has not truly changed over the years except for the terminology. Changing terms simply reflect new ways or limits on ruling but we continue to "rule" to intervene in the everyday life of these women. Academia (especially sociology /criminology), too, perpetuates these endeavours. It justifies and rationalizes the governing in abstract concepts and symbols. Sociology, in particular, transposes the actualities of people's lives and experience into the conceptual currency with which they can be governed (Smith, 1990a: 14) by turning subjects into "objects" of study and ultimately into "objects" of ruling.

This objectification is the key component in the search for knowledge. Social

science views society and its governing processes as social entities outside of those persons who participate in and perform them. These entities are studied as formal organizations that are objectified structures with goals, activities, obligations etc. that are separate from those of the persons who work for them. Academic professions are organized quite similarly. Academics acquire knowledge that is then appropriated by the discipline as its own; their purpose is to contribute to that body of knowledge (Smith, 1990a: 15). They are taught to learn, think and practice according to how the discipline defines what is relevant. Academics are traditionally taught to discard one's personal experience as a source of reliable information and restrict insights according to the framework of the discipline. This has traditionally been defined as "objectivity". This "objectivity", however, hinders traditional sociology's ability to explicate for women, indeed for anyone, the ways in which their lives are embedded and structured by complexes of powers and relations beyond the scope of their experience. Subjects have, through their lived experiences, knowledge about the ways in which power relations penetrate their lives. These insights go far beyond the knowledge external, objectifying agents bring to a study.

Thus, there is a disjunction between sociologists appreciation of how women experience the work and the concepts and theoretical schemes by which they inscribe social self-consciousness and knowledge. The objectified knowledge of social science does not connect up with the realities of people's experiences. The political, economic and social structures that works within the objectified forms of knowledge - the relations of ruling -- does little to change the problem of women's

unconnectedness. Within the relations of ruling is a standard conceptual practice and method to produce knowledge about people for the institution of ruling, thus, reinforcing its own methods of exclusion. A sociology for women, indeed a sociology for people, would work in the opposite direction, developing strategies for knowing and disclosing it to people to make sense of how things happen to them as they do (Smith, 1992: 131). It means exploring what one already knows how to do and participate in, and thus finding methods of exploration that do not fall into the same traditional objectifying mode.

An alternative method for research and analysis is proposed in this thesis involving a feminist sociology as developed by Dorothy Smith. Smith (1987) calls into question the traditional objectified modes of knowing, characteristic of the relations of ruling. She seeks to expand our knowledge (without falling back into the same old methods) beyond conventional understanding. This is done by taking into account the site of experience, the presence of actual subjects, and the actualities of the world we live in (Smith; 1990a: 12). It is grounded research, a framework that has not specifically been defined to aid in the general understanding of female adolescent prostitution. However, it is a framework that enables an alternative sociological inquiry from where women (i.e., young prostitutes) enter into her everyday world. It is a methodological tool that uncovers and legitimizes that which has seldom qualified as contributing to the "knowledge-base" -- lived experiences. It is a tool that legitimizes the many disparities that affects the young female prostitute's everyday life.

Voices of young local women involved in female adolescent prostitution will be provided as obtained from interviews with Mandy, Jane, Angela and Sarah³. It is important to introduce, at the outset, the young women and recognize their voice and experience as contributing to the knowledge on female adolescent prostitution⁴: Mandy is currently 16 years old, began prostituting when she was 15, but has not been hooking for the last six months. She is a bright young woman who is in the transition of getting off "the street". She continues to adjust and would like to one day finish high school. Jane is an 18 year old woman who lived on the street since she was 15 years old. She has an extreme wealth of knowledge about life on the street and who the players are. She is currently holding down a full-time job in a local restaurant. She would like to some day be a social worker. Angela is 18 years old and began prostituting when she was 11. She has not been hooking for approximately one year. She has a wealth of knowledge about female youth involved in both street prostitution and escort services. Angela just completed her high school diploma and would like to one day attend university. Sarah is an 18 year old mother who began street prostituting when she was 16. She has not been hooking since she became pregnant about a year ago. Sarah would like to one day be a veterinary assistant.

It will be argued that traditional sociological/criminological deviance theory

³ These are pseudonyms for the young women I spoke with in order to ensure their anonymity and to respect their privacy.

⁴ Each of the young women that I spoke with were white. I fully appreciate that young women of colour who are also prostitutes may experience their everyday worlds quite differently (i.e., with respect to how they mediate and make sense of what it is that they do).

has silenced or misrepresented women's experience, thus affecting our understanding of female youth prostitution. It will then be argued that it is necessary to reconceptualize and study an activity that has been primarily viewed as "female" from the female experience. This is argued in several ways. Firstly, sexuality and gender-approved ways affect how most women are socialized.

... the traditional female experience has taught many women (including prostitutes) that to cajole and to con are the attributes respected and encouraged in women. And yes, virtually every woman is aware that women's sexuality is a commodity used (not so subtly) to sell toothpaste, beer and pantyhose, or (more subtly) to land a husband or a job. And yes, most women discover early in their lives that few opportunities not related to their sexuality are open to them (James *et. al*, 1977: 4).

Sexuality remains central to how young women describe their lives (CACSW, 1992). Thus, ignoring this would be overlooking a fundamental and near-universal discourse in terms of which young women are constituted and, to a large part, constitute themselves. Knowing and acknowledging this enables research to be what Cain (1989: 4) has identified as reflexive.

Secondly, women do not need to be compared with men in order to exist or to be adequately understood sociologically. At least this is not sufficient. Women have often been defined as that which is not man. Traditionally, the question often posed has been "how are women different?" It is first necessary instead to ask who women are; and secondly, how do they become who they are (Cain, 1989: 14; Andrieu-Sanz and Vasquez-Anton; 1989: 70-71). It will be argued that in order to obtain the actualities of one's everyday life, it is first necessary to transgress the traditional boundaries of sociology and criminology that restricts the "everyday" lived

experience as a legitimate form of knowledge.

The thesis will aim to reflect the experience and concerns of female adolescent prostitutes who have traditionally been marginalized by the research process and omitted in what often gets quantified as knowledge. In addition, researching from the margins enables the young women to be consulted on what action needs to happen in order for change to occur. The margin is the context in which those who experience inequality and exploitation and injustice live their lives. For the purposes of this thesis, researching from the margins accepts that knowledge is socially constructed; social interactions form the basis of social knowledge; different people experience the world differently; because they have different experience people have different knowledge; knowledge changes over time; differences in power have resulted in the commodification of knowledge; and a monopoly on knowledge production (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 26).

The thesis thus exemplifies the utilization of an alternative feminist sociology that socially constructs the everyday experience of the female adolescent prostitute as a legitimate form of knowledge. In addition, the thesis examines how the young female prostitute mediates, that is, communicates between her lived experiences and what is legitimized as experience by the powerholders within the relations of ruling.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literatures

The purpose of this chapter is to review the three identified pertinent bodies of literature that have impacted the research on adolescent prostitution. These include: feminist perspectives; the traditional sociology/criminology explanations of female deviance; and the literature on adolescent prostitution.

2.1 Feminist Frameworks

Before alluding to a feminist sociology, it is first necessary to define the term feminism. This is a very difficult task given that there is more than one feminism. Feminism is many different things to many different people. At the very least, it is a belief that women experience subordination on the basis of their sex. However, most perspectives differ in at least two ways. The first concerns how the subordination originated and varies according to ideological commitments associated with that view. Secondly, perspectives may also differ on how subordination is institutionalized (Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1988:224).

Defining feminism is, therefore, very difficult. This complication arises because feminism includes both an analysis of women's oppression and a set of strategies for social change. The literature contains extensive discussion of the essential characteristics of feminism. There are many paradoxes in this discourse, such as acknowledging diversity among women but claiming women's unity; requiring gender consciousness but calling for an eradication of gender-based distinctions and divisions; and aiming for individual freedom and autonomy by mobilizing a mass

based movement (Daly and Chesny-Lind: 1988: 502). These have been evident in both the first wave (during the 19th and early 20th centuries) and the second wave (1960s to present) of the women's movement.

Unfavourable interpretations, related to the above noted paradoxes of feminism, have often included assumptions that women (i.e., feminists) do not know what they want or that they want it both ways. Harding (1986: 244), however, responds to this assumption by saying that "feminists do not know and should not know just what we want to say about a number of conceptual choices with which we are presented -- except that the choices themselves create no-win dilemmas for our feminisms." Daly and Chesny-Lind (1988: 502) thus indicate that the task of describing and changing a spectrum of women's experiences, which have often been formed by particular and competing allegiances to class, race and other social groups, can not be straightforward but a blurred and contingent enterprise. Therefore, just as there is no current single "male" approach to study society, likewise there is no single feminist approach to study social issues either.

Feminist perspectives are in essence, contra-patriarchal, suspicious of positivist methods, critical of stereotypical images of women, and see the question of women as central to inquiry (Gelsthorpe and Morris; 1988: 227). Feminism is thus described as a mode of analysis, a perspective rather than a theory. It utilizes methodologies that are appropriate and empathetic to these concerns. Jagger and Rothenberg (1984) and Daly and Chesny-Lind (1988) have described four theoretical feminist perspectives within their research. They are: liberal feminism, Marxist feminism,

radical feminism and socialist feminism. Each of these will be reviewed and examined. They will also be reviewed in terms of their application to prostitution policy.

2.1.1 Approaches to Feminism

Liberal feminism argues that gender inequality has limited women's roles to the private (domestic) sphere. These societal prohibitions on women's exposure to, and their inability to participate in, the public sphere, limit women's activities. This process is primarily the result of gender role socialization. Psychological theories such as social learning, cognitive development etc. suggest an ongoing, often intensive socialization process that acts to reinforce traditional gender formations. Such theorists thus argue that socialization is easy to change by simply adding women to the analysis. Strategies for social change would include removing all obstacles to women's access to the public sphere especially education, paid employment and political activity, thus, enabling women to participate equally with men in the public sphere. Therefore, inequality lies in the current social structures which appear to be fair but which actually exclude women. Allowing women to participate fully in the structure would reduce inequality. Thus, liberal feminists place an emphasis on legal change to end inequality (Jagger and Rothenberg, 1984; Daly and Chesny-Lind, 1988).

Marxist feminism argues that gender inequality has derived from hierarchical relations of control. These arose with the emergence of private property and its

control and inheritance by men. In this analysis, gender issues are secondary and related to class relations. Thus, in a transformation from a capitalist to a democratic socialist society where control of private property would not reside with any class or gender, women would be brought fully into economic production. Gender formation has been implicitly based on a master-slave relationship as it applies to husband and wife. Strategies of change would include socializing housework and child care; the abolition of marriage and sexual relations founded on notions of private property; and the eradication of working class economic subordination (Jagger and Rothenberg, 1984; Daly and Chesny-Lind, 1988).

According to radical feminism, the origin of gender inequality evolves from the needs or desire of men to control women's sexuality and reproductive potential. Patriarchy is a set of social relations in which individual men and men as a group control women that predates the rise of private property. Some arguments assume a biological basis to men's desire to control women. Whatever the basis of this inequality, power relations between men and women have become central to socialization. Men's controlled socialization process teaches them to view themselves as superior and as having a right to control women. These gender power relations are amplified and reinforced by compulsory heterosexuality. Strategies for social change would include overthrowing patriarchal relations and devising methods of biological reproduction to permit women's sexual autonomy. The eradication of women's social subordination without obliterating gender differences may be achieved through the creation of women-centred social institutions (Jagger and

Rothenberg, 1984; Daly and Chesny-Lind, 1988).

Socialist feminism is a flexible combination of radical and Marxist feminism. Its focus is on gender, class and racial relations. The basic premise is that class, domination, sexuality and labour are linked. The explanation of the process of the formation of gender inequality is similar to radical feminism, but with a greater emphasis on making psychological and psychoanalytical arguments historically and culturally specific. An emphasis is also made on analyzing women's agency and resistance. Strategies for social change would include an amalgam of Marxist and radical feminist strategies. There is also a simultaneous focus on transforming patriarchal and capitalist class relations.

In conclusion, feminists have begun to challenge traditional knowledge and how it has been used to maintain oppressive relations by arguing that information is interpreted and organized to reinforce the views of a particular small group who present it as "objective knowledge". An example of this is how feminism has challenged traditional academia.

2.1.2 Feminism and Academia

Recently, feminism has shifted its focus from women in the "world" to the subject of gender relations within established traditional disciplines. This work has begun to challenge the content, as well as the parameters, of knowledge in these areas. It is research that proposes one of the most sustained challenges to conventional thinking and requires attention from mainstream scholarship (Smart,

1989: i). As it pertains to criminology, feminism has challenged the assumption that definitions of crime and categories of offences apply equally to all historical periods and to all cultural and social groups (Gavigan, 1987: 48). To rectify the bias, feminism has asserted the importance of women, gender relations and feminist standpoints for penal philosophy, criminal justice institutions and the state as a whole. Since criminal justice is influenced by gender-specific interactions in families, schools, community, culture and society, feminism has specifically begun challenging the conventional theory, research and research methods within these social spheres (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1991: 40). Challenging the status quo is a crucial level of "questioning". It goes beyond just adding women to the analysis. Smith (1987) accomplishes this by "including" women.

Gelsthorpe and Morris (1988: 224-5) discuss how academic disciplines have traditionally and historically been dominated by males. The implications of this is that "male studies" have been assumed to be "general knowledge". The construction of knowledge and who defines it is only partially exemplified in academia being historically restricted to men. Women were not allowed to participate and when they were, the knowledge that was legitimized was still male defined. As a result, the male focus has been predominant. This is illustrated in a quote from Spender (1981:1):

Most of the knowledge produced in our society has been produced by men; they have usually generated their explanations and the schemata and then have checked with each other and vouched for the accuracy and adequacy of their view of the world.

Feminism challenged this "knowledge" by introducing women into the

"knowledge". In the process, they have increased awareness of their position. However, as Eichler (1980) has argued, and as will be argued in this paper, the male-defined conceptual tools and language which are often used by feminists are inappropriate to feminist social science. If these tools are used, there is a risk of reinforcing the sexual stereotypes that are often the focus of feminist concerns. For this reason and others to be discussed later, it is necessary for women to transgress the boundaries that contain the male defined conceptual tools of sociology and criminology.

Cain (1989:1-2; 1990:6) has described the need for feminist transgression as being entangled in or confronted by a hegemonic web which is resistant to every attack. Who women are is not a simple question. It involves problems of hegemony and variation. Cain (1989: 14) defines hegemony as a common sense of absolute pervasiveness in terms of which women are constituted and constitute themselves and each other. It is an active process. Therefore, as it has been voiced by a variety of sociological "subjects" including native peoples, blacks and the poor, it is necessary for women to define a new language to capture their own "incapable-of-being-thought" experiences so that they can be brought to voice in a supported process that contributes to the giving of voice. Cain (1990: 1-2) considers an alternative approach to criminology that she has called transgressive criminology. She argues that research of this nature utilizes three strategies: reflexivity, deconstruction and reconstruction. This approach would allow findings to be shared with subjects to ensure its accuracy. It would examine the logic and the ways traditional discourse has been deployed. It

would also reconstruct women's own voices to go beyond the denial which Cain argues is the common lot of woman kind (Cain, 1989:17).

Thus, the manner in which traditional research has been collected and legitimized has had serious consequences for women for it has focused primarily on the behaviour of the "criminal man". Women have been virtually invisible. When women have been included, there has been a focus on sexual stereotyping of women according to their sexuality. An adequate approach requires analysis which reconstitutes women as the subject of inquiry.

2.1.3 Feminism and Prostitution Policy

Within the varying feminisms, prostitutes have not always felt a part of feminists political support for prostitution. According to many politically organized prostitutes (Bell, 1987; Pheterson, 1989), they have felt isolated from the women's movement because of the determination of some feminists belief that women are protected by efforts to abolish prostitution (e.g., reformation of prostitutes and punishment of customers). Prostitutes and other feminists (primarily socialist feminists) have identified reformation tactics as mainstream "solutions" that may contribute to the further exploitation of prostitutes and the denial of their self-autonomy and the ability to make their own choices.

The notion of "choice" has received much attention in the literature. It has also been debated within the different forms of feminism. Abolitionists are those who consider prostitution to be incompatible with the dignity of human life. They

consider prostitution to be a form of sexual exploitation but do not advocate for further criminalization. They have replied to prostitutes' claims of sexual self-determination as self-defense by arguing that freedom and consciousness are exceptions within prostitution and that the majority of prostitutes are victimized women and children. When asked whether a prostitute can ever be a self-determining agent, abolitionists have responded negatively (Pheterson, 1989: 14).

Brock's (1984) Master's Thesis entitled, Feminist Perspectives on Prostitution: Addressing the Canadian Dilemma looks at the diversity of views of the different feminisms on prostitution policy issues. Brock (1984) has contrasted three feminist perspectives: liberal, radical and socialist feminisms to illustrate this.

The liberal feminist perspective is primarily concerned with the political-legal dimensions of prostitution. As every woman, prostitutes have a right in a democratic society to control their own bodies and fates. The legal system, however, limits the prostitute's rights to self-determination through criminalizing the prostitute's behaviour. Decriminalization, as a short-term measure of social reform, is advocated to overcome these impediments. However, long-term solutions lie in the transformation of gender roles to eliminate the subordination of women in contemporary society and the elimination of prostitution (Brock, 1984:62-3).

The radical feminist perspective argues that patriarchal power is maintained primarily through controlling female sexuality. Prostitution is the ultimate form of controlling women. Prostitutes are viewed as victims of patriarchal power. Overcoming the divisions imposed on women through defined social character is

necessary for a united female struggle. Like liberal feminists, radical feminists support decriminalization, while acknowledging the limitations of the gains to be made. Nothing short of a social revolution predicated on transforming gender relations is adequate for redefining female sexuality, separating sexuality from power relations and subordination, and the ultimate destruction of prostitution (Brock, 1984:71-2).

The socialist feminist perspective on prostitution finds it to be a specific patriarchal practice that predates capitalism. It is shaped by existing social formation including the context in which it occurs and the methods by which the state regulates it. Social class is important in who becomes involved in the activity. Some socialist analysis argues that state regulation of prostitution within capitalistic patriarchy bears a more direct relation to the structure of the family than to the ruling class controlling the working class for purposes of property interests. Other analysis argues that the construction of state regulatory legislation of prostitution is connected to the protection of ruling class property interests. Early 19th century development of a "science of sexuality" was embedded with class and gender specific relations and resulted in the increase in "forms of power" which further regulated, stigmatized and isolated prostitutes. Since capitalism and patriarchy are now mutually dependent, gender struggle must inform class struggle to eliminate exploitation based on sex and class (Brock, 1984: 90-91).

Therefore, given that liberal feminists are primarily concerned with the effects of legislation and how it is implemented, they only superficially address the social

construction of sexuality. Liberal feminists emphasize factors that precipitate individual entry and are thus susceptible to misappropriation by those who reduce female "deviant" behaviour to aberrations of one's character and reinforcing individual treatment and punishment through psychoanalysis and punitive legal measures and thus the legitimation of powerful institutions (Brock, 1984: 94). Radical feminists, on the other hand, contribute to understanding prostitution through emphasis on how patriarchy affects the psychological make up of women and men, thus reproducing structures of sexuality, sexual identity and relations. Patriarchy in ideology is reinforced through sustaining a system of female economic disadvantage and male assurance of the availability of a class of women to degrade and sexually exploit. However, while radical feminists identify the depth of patriarchy in a capitalist society, Brock (1984:94) argues that their definition of patriarchy and conceptualization of the state are both simplistic. The state is perceived as monolithic rather than a series of institutional heterogeneous practices. Brock further argues that radical feminism cannot provide an analysis of the contradictions that exist within the state system of relevance to its treatment of prostitution nor attempt an analysis of the other functions of the state in the maintenance of the social order (Brock, 1984:94).

Socialist feminism begins with the construction of the ideological and material forces that spawn prostitution. As a result, they articulate the need to state the causes of prostitution before discussing the means of dealing with prostitution. Socialist feminist research builds into its analysis the understanding of sexuality,

sexual identity and sexual relations not as natural but as historical creations that reflect and reproduce specific social practices. Thus, there is no one cause of female subordination, rather, it is created and reproduced through a complex interplay of social, political and economic forces.

Brock's thesis (1984) clearly demonstrates that feminists throughout the world and over time have not been immune to presenting social, legal and ideological distortions and paradoxes when describing the lives of prostitutes. However, while feminists have been advocating to expose and eliminate inequalities between genders with prostitution being a primary product of that inequality, many prostitutes have felt isolated from the women's movement (Bell, 1987; Delacoste and Alexander, 1987). Many feminists themselves are isolated from women in the sex industry. Some prostitute organizations are angered by radical feminists belief that women are protected by efforts to abolish (e.g., reformation of prostitutes and punishment of customers) or regulate prostitution (e.g., the toleration of prostitution but with regulated medical check-ups) (Bell, 1987; Delacoste and Alexander, 1987; Pheterson, 1987). These often have been state-defined and imposed "solutions" that in the minds of prostitutes may further oppress them in the end.

While each of the described feminisms are undertaking the same issue (i.e., prostitution), they too have often focused on the "problem" rather than the "problematics". It is thus necessary to build on our feminisms but transgress the same systematic mainstream boundaries that run contrary to our feminisms and advocate and practice alternative research methodologies beginning with women's everyday

lived experience as their primary expertise.

2.2 Sociological/Criminological Theories of "Female" Deviance

The extent to which women have been invisible in traditional sociology and criminology, like most academic disciplines, can be illustrated from central works on deviance. Theoretical depictions of women within this literature have either been virtually non-existent or women have been included according to stereotypical depictions which have defined them according to their sexuality. This begins very early with the inception of criminology.

Cesare Lombroso (1895), building on Darwinism, provided one of the first criminological theories that attempted to explain criminal behaviour as something that could in fact be explained and more than an "act of God". Lombroso argued that crime and delinquency were the result of "moral degeneracy", pointing to atavism (i.e., a throwback to an earlier stage of evolution) as the cause. Therefore, criminals could easily be recognized by their degenerative body characteristics.

Female criminals were not of particular concern to Lombroso because he was of the opinion that there were so few -- except for prostitutes. Prostitutes were the most visible, thus, the most atavistic of female criminals, which led to their excessive "immorality" that needed to be controlled (Messerschmidt, 1987: 253). Lombroso compared a common prostitute's foot to that of the ape, finding that both had a "prehensile" grasp. Lombroso (1895) focused his research on the criminal male while the criminal female remained invisible or her existence was based upon her unchaste

sexuality. The implications of this theoretical depiction set the tone for the historical representation of the female deviant as both invisible and unchaste for the sociological and criminological research to follow.

Another key piece of research that reinforced sexual stereotypes is the Gluecks' 1934 study Five Hundred Delinquent Women. It is a very important focus of study because the Gluecks found 500 delinquent women to be worthy of research. This study too, however, laid many ground rules for studies of female deviant behaviour which followed. Their analysis consisted of reviewing female criminal case and file histories from a reformatory, looking for correlations that could explain female involvement in crime. Interestingly, the analysis revolved around the issue of sexual conformity. The Glueck's defended the focus on illicit sexuality as follows:

"Regardless of our views on the soundness or fairness of the laws governing the social control of the sexual impulse, society had deemed these offences harmful and serious" (Glueck and Glueck, 1934: 88).

Although the study revealed a high correlation between delinquency and "abnormal environmental experiences" such as foster home placement, for example, the Gluecks' basic conclusion was that the major cause of female delinquency was sexual precociousness; that is, a lack of control over the sex impulse (Glueck and Glueck, 1934: 97).

A further example is cited by Morris (1987: 3). Morris (1987) illustrates this by using one of many traditional theories explaining adolescent crime: Shaw and McKay's (1942) linking of area of residence to criminal behaviour. Shaw and McKay plotted residences in Chicago of over 60,000 adjudicated and institutionalized male

delinquents between 1900 and 1940. The majority lived in transitional, inner-city areas, near the centre of the city. Residences were plotted in other American cities and the findings were the same: official delinquents were concentrated in the overcrowded deteriorated parts of the cities. Shaw and McKay concluded that this was due to the nature of the area, characterized by social disorganization, physical deterioration, racial and ethnic segregation and a high incidence of social ills, and not the nature of the individuals. Their analysis of crime was presented as that which provides social and economic advantages which residents of a particular area were denied. Following in the convention of focusing on male delinquency, the residents were, however, referred to explicitly in male terms:

Role problems of the adolescent male probably are more serious than are the problems of other age groups. With the exception of the school, for which he may not be adequately prepared, no meaningful conventional institutional setting is available for him in urban communities. If the adolescent male fails in school or drops out, or for other reasons finds school roles unsatisfactory or unplayable, he finds himself in an institutional void. He is not wanted in industry or commerce, he is too young for military service and odd jobs traditionally available to his age group are decreasing in numbers (1969:383 as found in Morris, 1987:3-4).

Shaw and McKay devoted only a few pages to female delinquents which described the greatest proportion of their delinquency as sexual. The significance of the female offender was virtually ignored or trivialized by their theoretical assumptions. There must have been young females living in the same inner city areas under study, experiencing the same deprivations, family structures etc. as their male counterparts. Their delinquency, however, was virtually unaccounted for aside from

its sexual connotations. As a result, Shaw and McKay (1942; 1969) reinforce clearly "gendered" differences in their explanations about "adolescent" delinquency.

In addition, theories that have focused on "man-made" criminality have been developed from researching male subjects and, as a result, verified on male subjects. This would not be problematic if it were clearly presented as such. However, these theories have often been generalized to pertain to all criminals, defendants and accuseds -- male and female (Morris, 1987: 2). Leonard exemplifies this (1982: 49-62) by challenging several traditional theoretical models. For example, when analyzing Merton's "Anomie Theory" (1957), Leonard argues firstly, that the theory assumes that everyone has the same or similar goals of success. This is questionable given the varying sub-groups (e.g., nationalities, ethnicities) of people in society. Secondly, Merton's formulation has completely ignored women. Merton's theory has been built on the premise of every"one" wanting to obtain the American Dream as a form of success. The "American Dream" of success, however, has been primarily a male aspiration. Hence, it is the male's economic crimes that thus fit the anomic pattern. Merton's theory assumes that women's socialization emphasizes the stereotypical notion of love and marriage as their most primary and more accessible goals. Therefore, women are not driven to crime, even in the most frustrating economic times (Leonard, 1985, 62).

Traditional theory has had no difficulty rationalizing its neglect of women. It has been argued that female offenders were not as "important", as they represented such a small proportion of all arrested offenders. This same argument, however, has

not prevented academic disciplines from recognizing the advantage of studying the exception when explaining the "good boy" in a delinquent area (Hirschi, 1969; Reckless, 1967 as found in Davis and Stasz, 1990: 42). The fact that traditional sociological or criminal theories have relied on only the male experience has two implications: firstly, they are really theories about men's crime, and secondly, doubts arise over a particular theory's validity as a general theory if it has not, thus does not, apply to women (i.e., one-half of the potential criminal population) (Morris, 1987).

Even when females have been included in theoretical analysis, they have reinforced stereotypical roles. For example, Cohen (1955) blatantly defined female delinquency as primarily sexual. His explanation for male and female differences in delinquency was dependent upon the belief that "boys collect stamps and girls collect boys". Boys sought status through obtaining material possession. In contrast, women's status depended on marriage to a successful man. This led to different problems of adjustment. A boys's delinquent subculture was viewed by Cohen as completely inappropriate for girls' problem of adjustment because:

"It is, at best, irrelevant to the vindication of the girls' status as a girl, and at worst, because it positively threatens her in that status in consequence of its strongly masculine symbolic function ... A primary determinant of the female's "peace of mind" and feeling of security is her assurance of her sexual attractiveness (1955: 143-4 as found in Morris, 1987: 60).

Morris (1987:60) states that according to Cohen (1955), the problem for a female was whether to give or withhold sexual activity. She may want attention and company but if she gives too much, she loses respect. Cohen (1955: 147) then wrote that the "problem of explaining female sexual delinquency may be viewed as a

problem of accounting for choices and compromises between these socially structured alternatives" (Morris: 1987: 60). The point is that in addition to "stamps", boys also seek to "collect" sexual conquests, more so than women, and this has been socially believed to be acceptable, primarily due to a double standard that surrounds sexuality. What is "bad" about bad girls is that they challenge gender stereotypes. "Bad" girls do not break the law so much as they do what "good" girls should not do. Central to this double standard is patriarchy's attempts to control women's sexuality. Women who reject this control thus challenge the whole patriarchal structure, as they attempt to wrest control of their own sexuality from their fathers and the male dominated legal system.

While each of these theoretical examples were written in a different context, and a different time frame, the point is that they have shaped the past and present theoretical views. Further, exploring who women are behind the crimes they commit could arguably provide evidence for dealing with the importance of female criminality. How these views were legitimated needs to be understood in order for them to be corrected and readdressed. It may be quite likely that these writer's would also agree.

The level of female crime in Canada has increased significantly and continues to rise. Between 1986 and 1990 in Canada, the number of female youths charged by police increased by 29 per cent, which was double the 14 per cent increase recorded for male youths (Statistics Canada: 1992). The positivist strategy of accounting for female adolescent prostitution, in terms of differences or no differences from males

also misses the mark. For example, Table 1 outlines the Canadian young offender statistics on prostitution from 1986 to 1990. It is evident that despite the fact that adolescent prostitution is not characterized by a high offence rate per 100,000 population, and despite the fact that arguably there are just as many female as male youth involved in prostitution (YSB, 1991), at first blush, it is interesting that female youth are over-represented in the charging statistics in Table 1. There are many factors at play here, however, the point is to provide some evidence to a social sanctioning of female sexual behaviour.

The empirical picture of adolescent prostitution only further exemplifies the "trap" which women are in. They are further criminalized for an activity that has typically been defined as "female" despite the represented male participation in the activity. In addition, within the production of statistics, there is no phenomenon of female adolescent prostitution that can be separated from the procedures that produce the statistics. The mainstream agency (e.g., Statistics Canada) that produces the statistics also, in their own way, contribute to the reproduction of adolescent prostitution. The numbers reflect incidence but not the anxiety, despair, anger, frustration and perhaps sense of self-loss that leads someone into female adolescent prostitution. But they do produce the way in which adolescent prostitution is to be recorded and understood within mainstream society and for mainstream society. The statistics contribute to the legitimation of the control of women's sexuality.

Table 1: Canadian Young Offender Prostitution Statistics (Age 12-18 yrs)

Source: Youth Court Survey, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics; as appeared in Brannigan and Caputo; 1992

Prostitution Offence Rate per 100,000 by City

Year	Halifax	Montreal	Toronto	Ottawa	Winnipeg	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
1986	16	7	61	9	2	10	1	1	22
1987	7	4	91	8	5	10	1	1	42
1988	0	4	83	9	5	7	3	12	31
1989	0	3	61	1	8	14	17	25	20
1990	7	3	9	10	5	10	24	18	17

Total Prostitution Charges in 1990 by City and Gender

	Halifax	Montreal	Toronto	Ottawa	Winnipeg	Saskatoon	Calgary	Edmonton	Vancouver
Boys	0	16	42	4	0	0	8	10	8
Girls	8	36	150	28	34	18	154	100	70
No charge	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Total Youth	8	52	192	10	34	18	164	110	78

Further research has clarified, however, how the offenses for which young males are arrested differ from those of young females (Davis and Stasz; 1990: 231):

The young females have been continuously criminalized for status offenses of truancy, incorrigibility, and sexual misconduct almost 10:1 as late as the mid-1960s.

Davis and Stanz (1990: 231) support this by drawing upon Gold (1970) and Datesman and Scarpitti's (1980) research which found self-report studies reporting a higher rates of sex offences, running away and incorrigibility for boys than girls.

Thus, women have not always been ignored in traditional sociological/ criminological texts or theorizing. The "malestreaming" of theory has often represented, or more accurately misrepresented women, in superficial ways with brief stereotypical and uncritical references to them as sexual deviants. Although feminism has challenged many of these stereotypes, some biases remain -- particularly around the issue of prostitution.

2.3 The Literature on Adolescent Prostitution

Interest in adolescent prostitution has increased dramatically over the last twenty years. The body of literature addresses numerous aspects of the problem, including the definitional issues, antecedents, characteristics, consequences, patterns, participation and responses to the problems associated with adolescent prostitution (Grey, 1974; James and Meyerding, 1978; Bracey, 1979).

The current literature on female adolescent prostitution can be organized around three themes: (i) conventional or pathological explanations; (ii) economic or

opportunity explanations; and (iii) alternative research that aimed at addressing the gendered power dimensions within which that prostitution occurs.

The model that emerges in the review of traditional sociology/criminology has emphasized the social origins of the youth, the distinctive behaviour that results, the difficulties associated with this behaviour and the institutional responses that are put forth by key players within the system.

2.3.1 Conventional/Pathological Explanations

There are three emphases within this set of explanations around adolescent prostitution. They are (i) pathological; (ii) psychoanalytic; and (iii) correlational studies. Pathological explanations of prostitution originated in early descriptions of female deviance. At the end of the last century, for example, Lombroso (1895) reported that physiological abnormalities and deficiencies were the cause of all female crime, particularly, prostitution. Kemp (1936) asserted that 30 to 50 per cent of all prostitutes must be classed as "feeble-minded", thus implying that prostitutes were crazy, mentally deficient or impaired. These theories have been discredited due to their simplistic and inaccurate grounding.

The pathological explanations have been replaced with more "modern" psychological assessments. For example, Macro (1965) and Greenwald (1970) argue that prostitutes exhibit signs of "latent homosexuality". However, these views provide no hard data linking overt or latent homosexuality with female prostitution. Obsessive oedipal fixations (Winick and Kinsie, 1971) have also been hypothesized,

again, without establishing that these fixations apply more to prostitution than any other activity. Mental health issues were examined by Gibson-Ainyette *et al* (1988). Comparing prostitutes to non-prostitutes and "normal" female adolescents on standardised psychological tests, adolescent female prostitutes were more likely to experience higher levels of depression, hysteria, paranoia, psychasthenia, schizophrenia and hypomania.

Psychoanalytic explanations of prostitution and sexual behaviour among girls have reinforced the gendered stereotypes by equating women's sexual activity directly to pathology. Most often this refers to the Oedipal syndrome and the repression of early sexual love for the parent (Freud, 1925 and 1933). In Freudian theory the penis is viewed as central to the Oedipus complex and to the subsequent psychological development of both men and women: for men, it is the presence of the penis, and for women the absence. The fact that women do not have a penis is viewed as the critical experience. It is used to explain their sense of inferiority, passivity and dependence (Morris, 1987: 2). Two themes thus emerge from Freudian analysis: (i) the prostitute "craving for sex" (Al-Issa, 1980: 216), and (ii) the "abnormality" of a female who turns to prostitution (Newton-Ruddy and Handelsman, 1986). Thus, these theories attempt to articulate and legitimize a psycho-biological connection and the lack of a penis to explain firstly, the young prostitutes subordination, but more indirectly, all women's subordination.

Correlational research has focused on the situational and overlaps with previous psychoanalytical explanations for prostitution (Heyl, 1974; Bour *et al*, 1984;

Newton-Ruddy and Handelsman, 1986). Early life experience, particularly early sexual activity and sexual trauma (i.e., rape and incest) were also identified in early writings as contributing factors to the entry into adolescent prostitution (Maerov, 1965; Gray, 1973; James and Meyerding, 1978; Brown, 1979). Vitaliano *et.al* (1983) found that prostitutes had a higher frequency of first sexual intercourse prior to age 15 which was more likely to have been by force or coercion. Correlations have also linked to parental abuse, physical abuse, emotional detachment or neglect, and generally poor relationships with parents or a "dysfunctional" family with entry into prostitution (Greenwald, 1970; James, 1976; Silbert and Pines, 1981). Exposure to street life and access to prostitutes was also a significant factor for some young women (Brown, 1979; Bracey, 1983; Silbert and Pines, 1981). Additionally, it has sometimes been observed that the influence or role of a man/pimp may be an influencing factor (Bracey, 1983; Webber, 1991)

Within this discussion, the research has primarily concentrated on comparing female, non-adolescent prostitutes and adolescent prostitutes (James and Meyerding, 1978; Vitaliano *et.al*, 1981; Bour *et.al*, 1984; Gibson-Ainyette *et.al*, 1988). This research focused on descriptives of early sexual experience and self-concept. The findings indicated that adolescent prostitutes were more sexually experienced and had a lower level of self-esteem than non-prostitutes (Mitchell and Smith, 1984; Bagley and Young, 1987), including a high degree of sexual self-objectification (James, 1976b; Vitaliano *et.al*; 1981). The point has been to establish that young women involved in prostitution are different from other young women who are not involved

in the sex trade.

Other writings have identified loneliness, dependency and non-fulfilment of the female sex role as being "causal" (Konopka; 1966: 38-45; 70-86; Datesman, Scarpitti and Stephenson, 1975; Newman and Caplan, 1982). In addition, Schaffer and DeBlassie (1984: 695) described adolescent prostitution as the failure to internalize mainstream values. Sexist, moralistic and negative reactions to any deviance from the female sex role was also suggested as a precipitant to delinquency (Connell, 1970: 268). The sexuality of adolescent women as the root of delinquency was discussed in terms of promiscuity often ascribed to "female" emotions of dependency and loneliness (Konopka, 1966: 96-98).

The conventional/pathological research has reinforced the traditional and moralistic view of women in society. The design of the research focuses on the female adolescent prostitute as the object of study. The research has emphasized the social descriptives of the youth that correlates with her involvement in prostitution. The research has also reinforced the anti-social behaviour by either medicalizing or criminalizing it with their respective institutional responses. This is accomplished by focusing on research descriptives such as her physiological or psychological abnormalities or deficiencies without going beyond the actual descriptives. Or these descriptives are often placed in an objective context without the perceptions of how the persons who are affected the most perceive or make sense of their situation. The findings continue to reinforce and perpetuate the stereotypical female sex delinquent by firstly, assuming that her behaviour is delinquent; and secondly, reinforcing it as

such.

2.3.2 Economic/Opportunity Explanations

In addition to research which suggests more general variables, the economic-opportunity research identifies reasons for the female adolescent prostitutes. Most researchers who focus on the economic/opportunity explanations of adolescent prostitution do not deny the existence of conventional descriptive variables. Other economic factors, however, are identified as contributing to the young woman's decision to enter into prostitution. These motivators have been identified as money, independence, excitement and a dislike for routine jobs (James, 1976; Boyer and James, 1982; Mathews, 1989; Brannigan and Fleischman, 1989). Economic circumstances are cited repeatedly as reasons for entry. Within this literature, female adolescent prostitution has been logically rationalized and viewed as an occupational choice affording the highest attainable standard of living for low-skilled or unskilled young women (James, 1976; Reynolds, 1976). Certain researchers highlight the non-traditional alternative working conditions. It is thus assumed that prostitution becomes attractive because of what it can offer a young person: supposed adventure, glamour and an opportunity to meet others in similar situations as themselves (James and Meyerding, 1982; Boyer and James, 1982; Mathews, 1989; Brannigan and Fleischman, 1989).

One advantage of the economic-opportunity model has been the identification of the prostitute's decision to prostitute as a subjective one (Brannigan and

Fleischman, 1989). This has been criticized by researchers who argue that "reasons" for prostituting are not necessary "causes" (Cole, 1987; Lowman, 1991). These critics identify the relationship between choice and constraint as the most crucial point. In other words, the decision to prostitute is not made in conditions of the young prostitute's choosing (Lowman, 1991: 160).

Several of the researchers that focus on the economic aspects of entry into prostitution for youth have acknowledged that females are socialized much differently in our society than males (Reynolds, 1986; Mathews, 1986 and 1989; Webber, 1991). However, few have identified how this could impact the decision for young females to enter into adolescent prostitution. Although these structural arguments contend that prostitution attracts youth because it serves a function, they cannot address why all young women with limited economic access and a desire for excitement do not become prostitutes.

This is to suggest that researchers who have focused on economic explanations of adolescent prostitution, again, have not taken their analysis far enough. For example, Mathews (1989: 7-9) has developed a "Social Effects Model" that clearly defines adolescent prostitution, not as a problem for the adolescent, but as a solution. Mathews identifies how the conventional personal pathology/deviance model isolates the phenomenon of adolescent prostitution in the individual. He argues that such an analysis deflects awareness of the broader economic and social dimensions that impinge on the adolescent prostitute. Rather than isolating the youth prostitute as a deviant outside mainstream society, Mathews's model fully recognizes the youth as

a social actor and an interpreter of her or his own values, attitudes and beliefs predominant in society. The model describes entry and maintenance in adolescent prostitution along four "fundamental" dimensions: a) employment needs; b) material needs; c) personal needs and d) social power issues. Through interviews with young female and male prostitutes, Mathews (1989) uses the youth's experience and "adds" their voice, to address all four dimensions.

This is a tremendously insightful and useful model. However, Mathews relates the ability to adjust to a person's level of resources, as being neutrally similar for both male and female youth (Mathews, 1989: 7-8). A young female's "natural" resources have often already been defined for her in a particular manner by society (James et.al,1977). The two genders often do not start on an equal footing before entering into the activity. In addition, he does not address the moralistic dimension of social power that adversely affects the female adolescent prostitute. He makes no distinction between young women and young men when he attributes power to cultural and media images aggrandizing youth sexuality. While his concern with cultural and media images are reasonable, the implications of how the media has depicted the female image of sexuality is quite different than that of the young male. Mathews (1989) does indicate that there are "inequitable differences in male/female socialization" at the beginning of his analysis; he does not, however, build this into his framework. This is problematic given how prostitution has already been reinforced as a typically female crime that involves primarily "bad" young women.

Like the conventional/pathological explanations, the research agenda focusing

on economic factors has continued to evolve around the issue of female sexuality (i.e., the young female prostitute uses her sexuality to make the most money). The literature traditionally has been research "about" adolescent prostitutes, but little research has been for or by female adolescent prostitutes. Little research has utilized a female voice. Or, when it has, the research has not explored how the phenomena known to sociology or criminology express the actual activities of particular individuals (e.g., Campbell, 1984; Miller, 1986; Webber, 1991). Therefore, both the conventional and opportunity research, to date, has focused on the substantive descriptives (e.g., antecedents, physiological or psychological deficiencies) or procedural concerns (e.g., legislation) rather than the not-so-visible issues such as men controlling women's sexuality or the gendered hierarchy that exists within our society. The research has not explored how female adolescent prostitution is organized by the multi-social relations that exist in a world often defined by males for males. It typically has not addressed the historical implications of the absence of women in research, nor the implications of researching women based on traditional sexist or mainstream ideals of morality. Section 2.3.3. discusses an approach which has emphasized these factors.

2.3.3 Gender/Power Explanations

The more conventional literature on female deviance, adolescent prostitution and adult prostitution have been challenged recently because of their "conceptual neglect of the sex variable" (Davis, 1977), or their sexist definitions of deviance

(Rosenblum, 1975). Rosenblum's (1975) study was one of the first to examine prostitution from a woman's perspective. Rosenblum introduced the spuriousity of the "Madonna/Whore" or "good girl/bad girl" dichotomous approach that is key to the critique of traditional research. This research takes into consideration the force of cultural stereotypes that classify females as "good women" (Madonnas) or "bad women" (Whores) on the basis of a woman's conformity to societal roles or expectations. Traditionally, women have been expected to function in the sexual, biological and service roles of wife and mother, exchanging the exercise of those functions for economic support. The prostitute functions within the traditional pattern, with the important difference being that the barter aspect is open and that the prostitute is not the exclusive sexual property of a male. Hence, she cannot be a "good woman" (Boyer and James, 1982:76-77). The part of the "whore" carries a negative sex role image. She is overly promiscuous with strangers for whom she cares little and accepts cash for her services. She acts in direct opposition to the Judeo-Christian ideal of femininity: the madonna, the virgin, the asexual maternal woman (Boyer and James, 1984: 109). One implication of acknowledging this Madonna/Whore distinction has to do with the occurrence of prostitution with the young female prostitute.

The young female prostitute is placed in demand because the traditional view of the "natural" promiscuity of men prevails (James, 1976b). To meet the cultural demands of masculinity, female sexual behaviour has been dichotomized into "good" and "bad" girls. The dichotomy emanates from restrictions placed on female sexual

activity -- restrictions which are contrary to the expectations placed on male sexual activity. As a result, sexual gratification becomes a purchasable commodity (Boyer and James, 1984: 110). Rosenblum (1975: 169) summarizes this as:

"prostitution utilizes the same attributes characteristic of the female sex role, and uses those attributes to the same ends; ...the transition from non-deviance to deviance within prostitution requires only an exaggeration of the situation experienced as a non-deviant woman.

The degree to which a woman's sexual behaviour falls into accepted patterns will determine whether she is perceived as good or bad. As noted above, there has been little prostitution research that has not focused on the traditional interests of antecedents and descriptives. There is a second implication from acknowledging this Madonna/Whore distinction. If considered closely, the power inherent in the social construction of knowledge leads one to address the gendered power dimensions and problematics of prostitution to collect women's voices as avenues of experience and legitimate forms of knowledge. Some of those researchers who have adopted this approach are: Sullivan (1985; 1988), Bell (1987), Delacoste and Alexander (1987), Pheterson (1989), Hoigard and Finstad (1992) and Shaver (1992 and 1993).

Sullivan's (1985 and 1988) research highlights adolescent prostitution as representing the intersection of three important social institutions of sexuality: the family, prostitution and the free market economy. Sullivan (1988) argues philosophically that adolescent prostitution may be explained using any theoretical perspective depending on what answers are being sought. He uses a discourse analysis which argues that professional "regimes of truth" play down or ignore much of the biopolitical economy (i.e., the overwhelming number of young women

involved) surrounding adolescent prostitution. Sullivan indicates how until the recent passage of new legislation, Canadian law has been historically uneven and discriminatory in spirit and enforcement (1988: 118). He (1988: 118) goes on to say that many supporting players in adolescent prostitution are in fact members of mainstream society (e.g., police, lawyers, judges, social workers, doctors) and all profit indirectly from the course of adolescent prostitution. As a result, self-fulfilling intervention strategies ignore economy and focus on individuals and families as the targeted problem.

Bell's Good Girls Bad Girls: Sex Trade Workers and Feminists Face to Face (1987), is a collection of material presented at a 1985 Canadian conference entitled "Challenging Our Images: The Politics of Pornography and Prostitution." The book is a reconstruction of the good girl/bad girl dichotomy that has not only been used to describe all women but also used by sex trade workers who are of the opinion that to be feminist still requires women to be good girls. Many sex trade workers have opted to empower themselves through their "bad girl" identity since it is one that they have complete control over. The existence of this collection indicates that there is a dialogue between feminists and sex trade workers. The sex trade workers have fully been the respected authority as experts on their own lives.

Delacoste and Alexander's Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry (1987) is a collection of female writings and voice. The collection documents sex trade worker's resistance on issues that have previously been either distorted or invisible based on sexist ideology: how they reflect on their lifestyle; how they make

sense of the options available to women; how prostitution can be compared to marriage. The authors are feminist academics who write for listen to and hold themselves accountable to prostitutes.

Pheterson's A Vindication of the Rights of Whores (1989) is an edited anthology of women's lives involved in the sex industry. It is the sharing of fifteen years of activism in the international movement for prostitutes' rights that covers two international congresses of prostitutes organizing for change. It is also a collection of women prostitute's voices, speaking of experience, frustration and self-organization around the fight for legitimacy. It focuses on their lived experiences from where these women enter their worlds, as subjects of prostitution and the sex trade. It identifies how the governing institutional structures of the legal system, for example, are sexist, moralistic, thus problematic, in their strategies of control over women and prostitutes.

Hoigard and Finstad's (1992) work entitled, Backstreets: Prostitution, Money and Love, is about prostitution in Norway, recently translated into english. The authors have gone to great lengths to describe prostitution from the prostitute's perspective. Their voice is preserved as they describe the prostitution scene, the main participants, inside/outside prostitution, the pimps, after prostitution and the fight against it.

Shaver (1992) holds that the research on prostitution has typically been undertaken according to the ideological notion of associating prostitution with sin, crime and illicit sex. She argues that both historically and currently, the rhetoric used

to describe prostitution and the laws used to criminalize activities associated with prostitution are infused with sexual moralism. In challenging traditional research, Shaver (1992: 15) also challenges the assumption that the commoditization of sex dehumanizes sexual relations, that they are cold, impersonal and impoverished. She also questions whether the quality of commodity sex is less than other forms of impersonal sex that does not involve money. Shaver's most current research (1993) proposes that many gendered dimensions to prostitution are stereotypes: not all women are run by pimps and even when they are it may not be as bad as commonly suggested. Prostitutes practice safe sex and do not present an undue AIDs/HIV risk. Prostitutes are not desperate women -- some have chosen the industry. The dangers, risks and hazards involved are gender-based rather than job-based.

The gender/power analysts raise the need for an alternative approach. With the focus on sexuality in the literature, it becomes especially important in the area of prostitution and adolescent prostitution, in particular. As outlined in Chapter 1, the key to advancing the debate on female adolescent prostitution is grounded in the ability to understand and recognize the sexist and moralistic support that has legitimized and reinforced traditional images of the female adolescent prostitute as a sexual deviant. In the conventional approach, there is an emphasis on describing the danger, degradation and exploitation of adolescent prostitution, rather than the underlying nature and effects of these factors upon the individual young women. If not, there is an emphasis on the procedural issues concerning how the young women should be treated legally as victim or offender.

2.4 The Need for an Alternative Approach

Academic theories about adolescent prostitution have typically evolved out of general discussions surrounding female deviance or out of retrospective adult prostitution research (De Francis, 1965; Datesman, Scarpitti and Stephenson; 1975). As shown previously, the literature on female deviance has represented a very narrow picture of women. Traditional sociology/ criminology has historically neglected women or applied male models to explain female deviance when they have included women. This has affected how traditional research has depicted the young female prostitutes. The traditional theoretical female delinquent has been criminalized for her sexuality, therefore, it is no surprise that the adolescent prostitute would be doubly so -- she has blatantly defied the moral boundaries placed upon her by society.

The literature on female youth prostitution has focused on pathologizing her behaviour or making correlations to the female non-delinquent that would find the young women entering into prostitution. Traditional sociology/criminology has often used retrospective research to identify motivations of entry, given that a significant number of adult prostitutes turned their first trick as an adolescent (Silbert and Pines, 1981; Bagley and Young, 1987). The research methodology and the variables focus on the social characteristics that ostensibly define the "type of person" who becomes involved in female adolescent prostitution. The approach is aimed at individualizing the blame (Benjamins and Masters, 1964; Maerov, 1965; Greenwald, 1970; Winick and Kinsie, 1972; Silbert, 1981; Silbert and Pines, 1981; Bagley and

Young, 1987).

While many of these identified variables may describe and be characteristic of a young female prostitute, they represent a description of her life and life style. Many of these variables may also be found in a young female non-prostitute. Thus, in the interest of providing an objective understanding of young female adolescents involved in commodity sex, doubt can be cast firstly, on the generalizability of these variables to all young prostitutes; and secondly, the information is used to reinforce the traditional stereotypes and behaviour that was set out to be researched.

The opportunity research expanded these notions. The conventional view, however, merely deflects awareness of the broader gendered economic and social dimensions that impinge on a young female's decision to solicit on the street. Other factors may also affect her decision (e.g., high youth unemployment; the absence of family support; the necessity of meeting basic survival needs (Campbell, 1984; Miller, 1986; Mathews, 1989; Webber, 1991). The economic opportunity research, however, has failed to deal with the implications of gender.

The research that has addressed the gendered dimensions of female adolescent and adult prostitution has transcended the simple descriptives. The research discusses how adolescent prostitution also aids in the economic opportunity of mainstream society (Sullivan 1988); gives voice to the dichotomy of the good girl/bad girl (Bell, 1987); provides avenues where sex trade workers can speak out on sex work and the controversies that surround their work (Delacoste and Alexander, 1987); preserves the prostitute as the subject and expert of her lived

experiences (Hoigard and Finstad, 1992); legitimizes that the prostitute's voice as a place where theory needs to begin (Pheterson, 1987); and reinforces the need for prostitution research that goes beyond its traditional sexist and moralistic history.

In sum, there are five points that need to be built in to a more complete analysis on female adolescent prostitution. They are:

- 1.) Gender/sex is itself a variable or matter for analysis.
- 2.) Such an analysis requires showing or explicating how power and gender are co-implicated.
- 3.) That co-implication is such that power has led knowledge to be framed in "good" or "bad" terms.
- 4.) If this is the emphasis, then the implications for researchers are that women have a voice in the research.
- 5.) These are truly radical implications for the conventional approach in mainstream sociology/criminology.

An alternative feminist methodology would argue that female adolescent prostitution needs to be understood in context of the institutionalized sexism that affects how traditional images of female criminality become perpetuated and legitimized. The contradictions that face young women and men are evident in this teenage voice:

"I think that males have it easier in our society, even though things are getting a lot better for women. Boys do have it better, comparing my life to my brother's. I got sent up to an institution because I was messing around. He went out and got some girl pregnant. He was only 17 and he never got into any kind of trouble for it. She did, but he didn't. Two teenagers get caught having sex, then of course it's the girl that gets arrested on an unlawful morals charge. What do they do to the guy? Nothing. It's like in the family if a man's daughter comes home and her hair's all messed and her shirt's unbuttoned, he calls her a little slut. But if a boy comes home and tells his dad he made it with someone tonight, he says. "Oh, that's my son." That's just how it is". (Troubled female teenager, (Rosenberg and Zimmerman, 1977: 89) as found in (Davis and Stasz, 1990: 232).

Gender and power are central to the young woman's analysis.

It is towards an alternative approach as found in the framework described by Dorothy Smith (1987) that we now turn. Smith (1986-7: 6) articulates the need for an alternative sociology of women. Like Eichler (1980), Smith argues that this alternative should not and can not begin with the traditional categories of the academic discourse. Its purpose is to approach the actualities of the social world with a view to discovering in it the lineaments of the theoretical object. Rather, a sociology of women would develop an inquiry process which explores the everyday/everynight world, not in itself, but as it is articulated to the social relations of the larger social and economic process; in this case, how female adolescent prostitution is defined, thus controlled by these larger social relations. This alternative method enables women to disclose their own social situation, their everyday/everynight world, how they see it organized and determined by the social processes, which may not have been knowable through the conventional means women have had to define their everyday/everynight world. Smith's alternative method would be located as a socialist/radical feminist response aimed at social change. Smith goes beyond just "adding" women. Her framework will be utilized to legitimate how four young women make sense of their everyday lives on the street.

**Chapter 3: The Implications of the "Malestreaming" of Sociological
Theory: Institutional Ethnography and a Sociology for
Women**

3.1 A Sociology from the Standpoint of Women

Eichler (1980) proposed that it is necessary for analysis to evolve outside the boundaries of traditional sociology, which in part involves establishing a new alternative language. The language used by traditional disciplines has bias built into it. It has not included analysis from the perspective of women or other disadvantaged groups. The understanding of women and crime needs to be modified to address the general position of women within a given social context, and an examination of the social and economic factors that are a part of women's everyday worlds.

Sociology, as a discipline, can be seen as a systematically developed consciousness of society and social relations. Traditional sociology, however, has engendered a consciousness that encourages practitioners to look at society, social relations and peoples' lives outside of themselves. As a result, sociology has generally ignored the position of the practitioner in society and the role played by the same individual in the social scientific process.

The development of a sociology from the standpoint of women involves utilizing a different approach to familiar sociological objects. Its goal is to explain the actual social processes and practices organizing people's everyday experience. It is a process whereby one's presence as subject is preserved and not transformed

into the object of study. This has traditionally been where the subject has entered established disciplines. According to Dorothy Smith (1986-7: 6)

...it means taking seriously the notion of sociology concerned with how the phenomena known to sociology expresses the actual activities of actual individuals ...and exploring how these are organized as ... complex social relations beyond the scope of any one individual's experience. It means a method which does not begin with the categories of the discourse, approaching the actualities of the social world with a view to discovering in it the lineaments of the theoretical object. Rather it develops an inquiry which explores the everyday world not in itself but as it is articulated to the social relations of the larger and economic process.

This alternative method of a feminist sociology recommended by Dorothy Smith (1987) is reflexive. That is, it utilizes the knowledge of both subject and sociologist by viewing them both as co-subjects. Smith acknowledges building upon the ideas of de Beauvoir, Garfinkel, Habermas, Marx, Schutz, Weber, and Foucault but she attempts to go beyond them, as well. Smith approaches a feminist sociology as a specialized knowledge of the social world that is rooted in the particular local experiences of women as subjects. Its purpose is to provide a beginning. The specification of where the beginning is located and how it explains the relations by which women are included in the ideological discourse is the purpose of inquiry. A sociology for women would be able to reveal for women how their own social situation, their everyday world, is organized and controlled by social processes which are not known to them through how we define our everyday world.

3.2 Smith: The Everyday World As Problematic

Smith has developed a number of concepts which consolidate her feminist sociology. The crucial factor in her analysis is what constitutes the everyday world as "problematic". For women, there is a struggle between their local or individual experiences and the extra-local discourses of professional expertise, which Smith has deemed the "relations of ruling". Smith argues that these discourses reinforce a vision of society which contradicts, thus, denies women's local experiences. The professional discourses provide a universalized view of life which does not invite input from the standpoint of women. Therefore, the practices and visibility of particular actors within society members -- the relations of ruling -- are organized by a logic that is not a part of the local setting in which women find themselves. Thus, a feminist sociology would acknowledge women's experiences and achievements at the local level and elevate them and "ground" analysis at the extra-local levels in those experiences. Traditionally, the relations of ruling have operated so as to deny women's existence. This process involves more than noting limitations in sociology or making local or extra-local connections. Rather, it addresses the powerlessness and subordination of women in a patriarchal society, which is the root of female oppression. In addition, a feminist sociology takes the complicated and debated relation between patriarchy and capitalism a step further. It begins on the margins, that is, outside the traditional boundaries with women as the primary experts on their everyday lives.

The power, organization, and direction of the "relations of ruling" are more deeply and densely structured than can be articulated in traditional concepts of professional discourses. For example, Smith identifies a connection between a distinctively organized capitalist society and the patriarchal experience (Smith, 1987: 3). She argues that the standpoint of men and the relevances, interests and perspectives objectified in sociology as well as in the relations of ruling do not exist by coincidence. Therefore, in explaining a particular social phenomenon, traditional sociology has come to examine it from the standpoint of the male active in the relations of ruling. This is seen in the extra-local organized practises of professional expertise that integrate multiple forms of power (Smith, 1987: 2-3). For example, psychological studies that focus on defining the female delinquent according to her sexuality (e.g., hysterical, depressed and paranoid (Gibson-Ainyette *et.al*; 1988)), feed into the legal and mental health systems, criminalizing her behaviour and reinforcing her overwhelming involvement in sex crimes. This adds to the socially defined stigmas, penalization or ostracization assigned to young female prostitutes for their denial of the traditional institutions of the family and traditional female roles as wife and mother. This, in turn, reinforces the label and self-blame that James and Boyer (1983:115) identified as "paving the road to prostitution".

Smith also identifies what she defines as a gender subtext within the relations of ruling. This finds the ruling apparatus purposely organized to appear objective, impersonal and universalistic. Yet, as the women's movement has begun to challenge the visible over-representation of men in power hierarchies and structures, the

resistance to change is still apparent. In the fight against discrimination, women come up against the impersonal gendered subtext, that of male:

...for man represents both the positive and the neutral, as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas woman represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity ... and confined to the subjective (de Beauvoir, 1951: xv).

Smith does not argue for the pure "objectification" of the relations of ruling, given its gendered subtext, but for the ruling apparatus as an organization to acknowledge and utilize women as active participants. In this way, women can find and make themselves into legitimate subjects. It is a male world in its knowledge, assumptions, language and patterns of relating. Women are caught in a world that is presented as genderless, and the very lack of gender is itself the source of a problematic experience. Knowledge, assumptions and language are thus taken from the male experience into the external and objectified forms of discourse. Embedded in these relations of ruling, women are "other". Smith (1987: 6-9) has used the term "bifurcated consciousness" to express how women's worlds have been defined for them, thus structuring the way they come to experience everyday life. Their bifurcated consciousness is the link between institutional learned knowledge (i.e., how women are supposed to think and see) and how women experience their everyday world in their assumed roles (i.e., how women make sense of what they think and see). In addition, Smith introduces the notion of mediation -- the way women negotiate between their particular local worlds and the abstract conceptual world. Mediation is the term used to explain how women interpret their lived experiences

in order to legitimate and make sense of them. The failure of the texts defined by the relations of ruling to include women's experiences of their particular worlds is the "line of fault" according to Smith (1987). The line of fault finds women beginning to express how they experience their everyday worlds and making progress in understanding and explaining particular social and economical issues affecting them.

For example, the actual work people do in their particular forms are entered into relations in which the particular character of the work drops out of sight. That is, producing items or services for exchange on a market where numerous others are involved, enters into relationships that abstract from the local actualities. In addition, the value of the item or good is purified of its particular uses to become a value in exchange against other products (Smith, 1987, 157). Similarly, concrete forms of labour are resolved into abstract labour (i.e., the average labour-time to produce a given item or service). The idea of a commodity locates the social organization of bringing together the concrete uses of an object or service produced for sale and its entry into the extended relations of an exchange value (Smith, 1987: 158). Marx (1977) has explained this as the social relations of capitalism that has the special ability of dissolving the particular and concrete into abstracted and generalized forms. Therefore, quite disparate objects and services are able to be evaluated and exchanged against each other. Capitalism translates the particular and concrete into abstract forms, resulting in the properties of these relations organizing one's everyday world. It is not difficult to see how the accounts of work and social organization in a factory or other work settings are organized by them. The effects are more general

but we are local participants within. The generalized character of local social organization is determined by the generalized relations to which it is articulated (Smith, 1987: 158). Complementing economic relations in transforming the local, the concrete and particular into general and abstract forms is in itself the ruling apparatus. The role of the ruling apparatus is to organize the local character of the actual into standard forms of organizational action. Investigating the everyday world as problematic questions the relations that are generalized by exploring the character of those relations from the experience of those on the margins.

3.3 Institutional Ethnography

Smith provides a research strategy for developing a sociology which permits explicating and understanding the notion of power. The conceptual organization of sociology has been developed in the context of an apparatus of ruling. This apparatus includes certain varieties of administration, management and professional organization interwoven by the multiple forms of textually mediated discourse. Women have not played a major role in defining the discourse. Women have occupied a subordinate role and have been largely excluded from this ruling apparatus and its "processes of textual discourse and organization". They have assumed the non-specific tasks deemed unworthy of mentioning, however, essential to the functioning of the apparatus. Smith (1987: 153) draws upon women's roles as mothers and wives as an example. As mothers, women have complemented the educational work of the school and educational system by teaching and nurturing.

As wives, women have provided the bodily and emotional supports for men who have been actors and movers in the ruling apparatus. This is not new. Smith's point, however, is to illustrate how women's lives are a part of a "double ghetto". Women's lives are important to both children and husbands, but are not a part of the established discourse.

A sociology from the standpoint of women takes as its point of departure women's relations to the ruling apparatus. In as much as women have been both necessary to and unrecognized by the ruling apparatus, women find themselves located outside the mainstream relations of ruling. In reconstructing sociology, it is important to give sociological expression to women's experience. However, an alternative sociology, if it is an alternative, must also provide women with the means of addressing the social relations organizing the worlds of their experience (Smith, 1987: 153).

According to Smith the "problematic structuring inquiry" from the standpoint of women consists of those particular properties of the social organization of women's everyday world. The organization of a woman's local world is a complex interwoven division of labour that connect one's life and setting to national and international social, economic and political processes (Smith, 1987: 154). It legitimizes the fact that contemporary society can only be partially discoverable within the scope of one's daily life.

Smith further proposes that the specialized work of the sociologist focuses on inquiry organized by this shared problematic in which both parties are co-subjects.

Subjects need to regard themselves not as owners of different valued canons but rather as co-subjects of a world that is created jointly (Smith, 1987: 141). This enables the immediately experienced, and the activities in which they are organized and possibly legitimated in relations to be utilised through specialized co-subject investigation (1987: 154). Smith calls upon sociologists and those who want to understand the social matrixes of their experience to work cooperatively in such endeavours. She compares the process to consciousness-raising and knowledge to be shared. This strategy of knowledge sharing offers a means of exploring and making public the social grounds and organization of the lineaments of the oppression experienced by women. Furthermore, the knowledge acquired by the participants in the cooperative process can be shared with others who experience oppression in different guises (e.g., poverty, racism) at the hands of the same ruling apparatus (Smith, 1987: 154). Thus, the uniqueness of a feminist sociology is that it can be sociologically powerful as well as "politically emancipatory".

The language, knowledge and discourse of the everyday world as it is incorporated into the description of that world is rooted in social relations beyond it and expresses relations which are not unique to the particular setting being described. That is, there are categories anchored in local settings whose meaning depends upon a larger complex of social relations that are not directly visible within them. Therefore, taking the everyday world as problematic as a starting point does not confine one to particular descriptions of local settings without the possibility of

generalizing (Smith, 1987: 156-7). Smith sees this as an issue of being socially organized within a larger social and economic process of capitalism.

The strategy of "institutional ethnography" involves the explication of how women's worlds are organized from outside. Smith (1987: 160) uses the concept "institutional" to identify those complex relations that form part of the ruling apparatus, and contribute to its being organized around a particular purpose (e.g., education, law, etc.). "Institutional" does not refer to the means of social organization but rather the intersection and coordination of more than one inter-relational mode of the ruling apparatus. These institutions affect the professions and ideologies that have developed to provide the categories and concepts to express the relation of local courses of action to the institutional function. Smith introduces the notion of "ethnography" as the means of exploring, describing and analyzing the complex inter-relations not conceived in the abstract but that affect the everyday world of the individual (Smith, 1987: 160).

Undertaking institutional ethnography involves three procedures. First, one must analyze the ideological procedures in the relations of ruling to show how they structure or constrain the organization of activity. These ideological procedures are components of the social relations articulating the work process to the institutional function. Second, one needs to examine the actual concrete work in the everyday world. General ideology analyzes, interprets and gives legitimacy to ideology within the institutional context, therefore, it has not included how one makes sense of this. Finally, through the use of social relations, one examines the way in which ideology

and the everyday world are knitted together. The concept of social relations allows explication of the arrangement of these work processes as social courses of action. Work is articulated and performed by many individuals and the interwoven process in social relations is by no means always a conscious effect. What becomes conscious is structured by the ideology processes which are components of social relations (Smith, 1987: 166). As we work within these relations of ruling, we return to the standpoint in the relations of ruling that they carry and transmit, much as a gene carries and transmits particular properties from one generation to the next (Smith, 1989: 36).

Smith looks at the impact of mothering as an example to explain this. As discussed above, the established conceptual practices within the sociological literature on family, social class and school analyze mothering in its relation to school. As a result, mothering does not appear as work. Mothers appear as necessary links to children's education but without "agency" status. There is no language to legitimize this work. Language of the social sciences is the language of the institutional process. Its conceptual practices are of the same order and have indeed contributed to defining it. Specifically, the ideology of women as mothers sets a number of organizational activities in place. Having documented that, one looks at the actual mothering and the social relations which articulate these together. Smith draws on the example of the single parent to illustrate this. The very concept of "single parent" is an "operator". It locates her experience as that of a single parent and enters it into the generalized and generalizing relations of an institutional process. It is part of a

set of complex relations that defines families according to the relations of ruling. When using "single parent" as one's entry point, the purpose is not to identify typical features and variations among the class of single parents (as arguably would be done within traditional methods). Rather, the purpose is to explicate how institutional relations determining one's everyday world and, thus, their local organization, may be explored to uncover their ordinary invisible determinations in relations that are generalized (Smith, 1987:158-160). The female "single parent" family is already to be viewed as a disadvantage because there is no male present to remove the burden of the woman having to also earn a living -- therefore, depriving herself and her children of the time and energy needed for work in relation to school. The category provides an interpretive procedure that presupposes defect regardless of a mother's actual practices. A child's problems in the classroom setting are also attributed to this "background" effect. Thus, mothers participating in the ideological discourse learn how to analyze their own experience, examine it for its essential "defects" and reflect on their experience with anxiety (Smith: 1987: 173).

To the extent that women are committed to the conceptual practices of established disciplines, they are also committed to the boundaries these disciplines draw, to their selective attention, and to their defined work process and organization. The methods of analyzing social processes tend to reproduce the knowledge and problematic experience found in the existing relations of ruling. Even in defining a new vocabulary along with new concepts with different but "acceptable" boundaries of analysis, women would still be prisoners of the method. Women would be unable

to break out of the institutional presuppositions in order to define analysis in terms of the functions of the institution (Smith, 1987: 164-5). The actual work organization that has been defined by the ruling apparatus defines the relations between mothers, children and school as situated in defined material contexts within an economy of conditions, effort and time. Inquiry therefore would begin with this work organization but would not be defined and analyzed for women by the categories and concepts of institutional ideology. As women, it is important to be conscious of work essential to the accomplishment of accountable order which is not itself made observable or reportable as work. In so doing, the analysis is grounded in a world which fully recognizes individuals as competent practitioners within their everyday worlds. It acknowledges in its organization and determinations the active ways in which people participate and experience (Smith, 1987: 166).

The logical conclusion of such a strategy leads to an alternative sociology, a feminist sociology, to transgress the boundaries of the contemporary institutional order that governs contemporary society and in which women's experience are situated (Cain, 1986; Smith, 1987). An institutional ethnography, as defined by Smith, allows researchers to do this. The alternative to starting within discourse is to start outside it in the work and practical reasoning of individuals as they experience their everyday world.

3.4 Mapping the Everyday World as Problematic

It is not enough simply to recover the character of work and work organization within the ruling apparatus. The next step is to explore how that work process is embedded in the social relations of the extended and social economic process. This begins with what Smith (1987: 171) calls "making a sketch" (see Figure 3.1) of the relevant relations (i.e., those implicated in the everyday experience). The sketch organizes the everyday world. Further, it extends the analysis from the level of the everyday analyzed as a work process to the expanded social relations in which that work process is embedded. In addition, it is intentionally open at one end where it is extended to the relations of the political economy (Smith, 1987: 170). The sketch is one of many views on what the relations may look like but since it is "grounded" and since problematicity is the context, it takes priority over other views. That is, it is a "privileging" of an account.

In taking the everyday world as problematic and developing institutional ethnography as a method of inquiry, the intention is to "map an actual terrain". The result is to explore and explicate the social relations. Order is not the problematic of a sociology for women. Order arises in the actual practices of actual individuals including their practices of reasoning, interpreting and accounting for what has happened. The generalizable properties of social relations in the institutional mode are realized in peoples' actual practices. The terrain to be explored and explicated by the institutional ethnography is one of work processes and other practical activities

Figure 3.1 The Mapping of the Everyday World As Problematic

as these are rendered accountable within the ideological schemata of the institution (Smith, 1987: 175-6). Smith emphasizes that it is not ideological schemata themselves that make up the institutional mode but the relations between the ideological and actual practices or events (Smith, 1987: 176).

Inquiry of this sort is an open-ended process that begins from where one is individually located. An institutional ethnographic process of inquiry is one of exploring the social, political and economic processes that organize and determine the actual bases of experience of women. It explicates social relations that generate characteristic bases of experience in an institutional process. It begins with lived

actualities and not in the abstract with relevance determined by a predefined body of scientific knowledge. Institutional ethnography, by definition, thus transgresses the conceptual boundaries around the institutional apparatus (Smith, 1987: 177). Starting with women and a position with some concern does not destroy the "scientific" character of the enterprise. Detachment is not a condition of science and in sociology there is no possibility of detachment. It is necessary, therefore, to begin from some position in the world.

An objective social process finds its bases in women's lived experience. The purpose of a feminist sociology is to acknowledge the particular social processes that are lived. Smith's feminist sociology draws heavily on institutional ethnography but does not view it as a unified investigation. It is rather an inclusive, somewhat holistic method that enables one to specify the unclear, identify further research and develop a more exacting knowledge of the social relations determining women's everyday worlds. The research needs to be reflexive and co-shared with involved subjects. It is a means of accounting for the experience of individuals, for providing methods of making the working experience of women justifiable to themselves and others rather than only to the ruling apparatus (Smith, 1987: 177-178).

3.5 Summary

In utilizing an alternative sociology as identified by Smith (1987), there are two primary features to its implementation. First, the conceptual scheme that she actually uses; and second, the way she describes and justifies using that scheme. The

first of these is captured quite well in Smith's notion of the "problematic". That is legitimating the contradictions that women often face. The second, is dealt with in her notion of institutional ethnography and mapping where women are located in their everyday world. Within the first feature, key concepts include **problematic, relations of ruling, gendered subtext, bifurcated consciousness, mediation, and line of fault**. Smith's concepts provide women with a language to begin to express how they experience their everyday worlds and make progress in understanding how particular issues may affect them. Within the second feature key notions involve **reflexiveness, transgression, and mapping**. These concepts enable women to locate where they enter into their everyday worlds. They are crucial to understanding and using Smith. They are tools to utilize, legitimate and make sense of women's everyday/everynight lived experiences.

In conclusion, one primary limitation to Smith's model is the omission of ethnicity problematics in her descriptions of an alternative sociology. For women of colour, the problematics they experience may often include racism over and above gender and class. Therefore, a woman of colour may try to make sense of her world through a "tri-furcated" consciousness that grapples with what she does as a woman that contributes to the on-going maintenance of the relations of ruling but is not acknowledged; in addition to feeling that part of the exclusion may be due to the fact that she is not white. A woman of colour, thus, may become a woman of a "triple" ghetto. In addition, Smith's examples are often based on heterosexual relations (i.e., children, husbands). Women involved in same-sex relations again grapple with

problematics within a privileged heterosexual relations of ruling. These limitations are shared in the thesis. The four young women I spoke with were all young white heterosexual women.

Chapter 4: Female Adolescent Prostitution: Beginning from the Standpoint of the Young Women Involved

As outlined, in Chapter 1, the key to advancing the female adolescent prostitution debate is grounded in the ability to understand the sexism and morality which supports it. It has been argued that the boundaries of established sociological/criminological theories have limited the understanding of adolescent prostitution. The purpose of this chapter is to utilize a feminist sociology, utilizing the voices of Jane, Sarah, Angela and Mandy¹ as the entry point into their everyday worlds as adolescent prostitutes. Their voices reflect upon conventional and economic factors that may have influenced their participation in prostitution. However, in addition, their experiences go beyond their entry and involvement and illustrate how they make sense of their worlds and their choices. Their verbalization will provide a better understanding of the phenomenon of female adolescent prostitution while utilizing an alternative framework that starts with how these young women make sense of their everyday lives.

4.1 Researching From the Margins

It has been argued in Chapter 3 that although academics have traditionally been guided by a norm of objectivity and have sought to make universalistic conclusions, there are serious difficulties in taking this approach. These have been

¹ Jane, Sarah, Angela and Mandy are pseudonyms for the young women I spoke with in order to ensure their anonymity and to respect their privacy.

outlined by Smith (1987) who suggests that this activity represents the imposition of a selective perspective from mainstream academia.

In developing a sociology from the standpoint of women it has been argued in this thesis that a feminist sociology must begin by transgressing the boundaries of current sociology and criminology. It is important that the process empower women to reclaim, name and re-name their experiences, thus, their knowledge of the social worlds that we live in and help form (Stanley and Wise, 1983: 205). Only then can women feel a sense of ownership and use the knowledge. In addition, researching from the margins is a necessary part of action for change. As previously noted, the margin is the context in which those who experience inequality and exploitation and injustice live their lives. They often experience a limited distribution of resources and they have often been excluded from participating as either producers or subjects of knowledge (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 33). As noted previously, researching from the margins accepts that:

- 1) knowledge is socially constructed;
- 2) social interactions form the basis of social knowledge;
- 3) different people experience the world differently;
- 4) because they have different experience people have different knowledge;
- 5) knowledge changes over time;
- 6) differences in power have resulted in the commodification of knowledge and a monopoly on knowledge production (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 26).

A feminist sociology begins by explicating the actual social processes and practices organizing female adolescent prostitution from the standpoint of where young prostitutes are located in their everyday or night world. Using their primary collected voices, the young prostitutes' presence will be preserved as subject while

exploring how this phenomenon has been organized within defined social relations beyond the scope of the everyday world.

The central focus on prostitution, following Smith, is upon inquiry that is organized by the problematic. For example, to address the problematics, it is important to ask such questions as: How do the young females involved in prostitution define it? How do they see themselves becoming involved in the business? How do they make sense of their world of adolescent prostitution? How is their sex trade world organized? Who are the players? Why are there players? How are their relationships defined and organized? Many of the responses to these questions may in fact be influenced by mainstream definitions, given that we are all products of our social environment. Others may reflect a totally different interpretation.

According to Smith (1987: 154), the immediately experienced and the activities in which the immediately experienced arises are organized and given shape by social relations that can only be fully disclosed by the people who are directly involved. This derives out of cooperative discussion between the researcher and the adolescent prostitute which finds both parties contributing to the defined knowledge as co-subjects. This process is aimed at understanding the interwoven connections of the relations of ruling. The researcher fully views the female adolescent prostitute to be the expert practitioner of her everyday world -- how it is put together and its routine. It is the adolescent prostitute's working knowledge that becomes the starting point of inquiry. The final result is reflexively shared which finds both parties learning

from each other. The research process offers a means of finding the lineaments of the oppression and support that adolescent prostitutes share with other women with different oppressions and supports rooted in the same matrix of relations.

As in Smith's example of wives and mothers, so too has adolescent prostitution been a part of and yet unacknowledged by the ruling apparatus, as a response to the limitations set by the ruling apparatus for youth. There is a sexual demand for young women and thus there is a supply. What is interesting, however, is that both the supply and demand are manufactured and limited by the same sources of male power. The same source of power that defines youth prostitution to be morally wrong, illegal and that women's sexuality is something to be controlled, is also lining up to use the service, thus commoditizing "youth" and turning it into a premium entity.

"And you know, there are a lot of men out there who like little girls so you make good money".(Angela, Transcript J22A2-14).

The young female prostitute's point of entry centres on the work she does or service she provides and how society is structured and organized. The social organization of female adolescent prostitution is only partially discoverable in the scope of the young women's daily activities within the sex trade. The young prostitutes' local organization is determined by a complex set of relations and division of labour that interweaves social, economic, legal and political processes. The interwoven connections socially, find the young female prostitute on the margins of society; economically, she may be involved in prostitution to supplement her

income or to survive if she falls within the cracks between qualifying for provincial assistance due to her age; and politically she has little or no voice.

The attempt to understand female adolescent prostitution begins with the voices of young women as they describe their lives on the street as prostitutes. It explicates the frustration of doing what they have to do to survive when they do not fit the mainstream mould, on one hand; and coping with how quick mainstream society is to judge or blame them, on the other. Several examples illustrate the women's emotion pertaining to how the relations of ruling organize and make bureaucratic decisions which affect their lives. Their voices and stories also illustrate a note of desperation and frustration while describing their livelihoods in hazardous and dangerous working conditions. Finally, their voices exemplify contradictions and problematics that reflect how they mediate between what they experience, what they do in order to make sense of their lifestyles, and how they cope to exist. In examining the inter-relations of the ruling apparatus from the standpoint of the adolescent prostitute, the purpose is not to identify the typical features and variations of women involved in prostitution, nor to represent the institutional order as a system in itself. Rather, the purpose is to explicate, in a preliminary way, institutional relations determining young female prostitutes' everyday worlds and how the local organization of youth prostitution may be explored to unveil its ordinary invisible determinations within the relations of ruling. It is a description of how four particular women make sense of their lives and should in no way be extrapolated to

the general picture. This is the method of institutional ethnography (Smith, 1987: 160).

The following sections aim at first acknowledging and legitimating the problematics. Chapter 5 addresses the implications of mainstream society's perpetuation of the adolescent prostitute as "whore".

4.2 An Institutional Ethnography of Adolescent Prostitution

Ethnography not only restricts itself to methods of observing and interviews, rather, it is a commitment to an investigation and explication of how, in this case, adolescent prostitution operates, and how its lifestyle is attractive based on actual practices and relations. The "problematic of the everyday world" using adolescent prostitution finds the young women confronted with a number of "conventions" sanctioned on moral and sexist grounds.

Using a questionnaire of approximately 30 questions (Appendix I), I set out to have guided conversations with young women who had been involved in prostitution to obtain their insights on their everyday lives. The research questionnaire was designed with the purpose of finding out how the female youth prostitute makes sense of her everyday lived world. How does she mediate between where she is located on the margins (i.e., in an activity that society has deemed morally wrong) and the mainstream institutions that aim to "help" her? The questions were discussed with members of my thesis committee, an ethics committee

at the Youth Services Bureau and reflectively with the young women who shared their experiences with me.

Contacts were first made with several players in the local Ottawa system who deal with "troubled" female youth: the Salvation Army, the Youth Services Bureau (YSB) and Centre 507. When I explained my research focus and my attempt to utilize an alternative feminist framework I experienced some difficulties. Firstly, upon contacting the Salvation Army, they indicated that "they no longer had an outreach worker; he would have been able to assist me". In addition, they were of the view that many of the young women that live with them are not hookers; rather, the Salvation Army is usually the first refuge after the young women run away. The relationship that the young women I interviewed had with the "Sally Ann" would definitely imply otherwise. The Director did, however, invite me to contact her again if I was "stone-walled" elsewhere. When Jane questioned the Director about her response to me, the Director invited me to call her again. Secondly, I contacted the Youth Services Bureau (YSB). After speaking to several people -- from outreach coordinators to directors -- it was decided I needed to talk with the Unit Supervisor who chaired the YSB Ethics Committee. It was decided that given the nature of my research, he could not make a unilateral decision and my research request would have to go to the "Committee". I was quite encouraged that the YSB had an ethics committee, however, it was going to take approximately one month for them to meet and decide. After approximately one month, the YSB Ethics Committee agreed to give me access and enable me to work with an outreach worker. They provided me

with feedback on the questions and ethical concerns over my responsibility as a researcher to report sexual abuse to the authorities if the young women are under 12 years. I noted their concerns, however, by that time, I had already conducted four interviews on my own. All of these women were older than 12 years. Through a personal contact with a young woman who had lived on the street, Jane, contacts were made with Centre 507. The director of the Centre kindly spoke to several young women who he knew had worked in prostitution. The Director was the former outreach worker at the Salvation Army. The women he spoke with decided whether they would like to speak with me. The young women contacted me and we set up a meeting.²

The guided conversations were taped. They usually lasted anywhere from 60 to 90 minutes. The setting was fairly congenial and was usually decided upon by the young women. Jane and Mandy's conversations occurred in park settings; Angela and I talked in a restaurant; and Sarah and I spoke in her home. The conversations usually occurred over coffee and donuts/cookies that I supplied. Each of the young women was ensured anonymity in the text. Our conversations were transcribed by me (Appendix II) and each young woman received a hard copy within one week of our meeting. Accompanying the transcript was a thank-you card and a nominal fee of \$15.00 for their time. The amount was determined with the Director of Centre 507. Each of the young women was invited to comment on the transcript to ensure

² On a side note, as a result of the cooperation of the Director of Centre 507 and the quality of knowledge shared with me in the conversations with the young women, I have been volunteering at the Centre to try and give something back for the tremendous insights shared with me.

I had accurately transcribed their text. They were given two numbers where they could contact me. One number included voice-mail where a message could be left. As a result, a certain amount of trust was shared. This appears to have been a mutually beneficial process.

Each transcript was thoroughly reviewed numerous times and categories seemed apparent within the text. A file was used for each category and sections from each transcript were placed inside. Approximately thirty categories emerged. These categories were used to find links and problematics in the voices of the young women that could be utilized to make sense of their everyday lives. In addition, my observations of how youth street prostitution physically operated were also reflected upon. A pattern of "hurricane thinking" (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 147) which involved making sense of all the categories was utilized and nine phases emerged. The patterns are evident in Figure 4.1. The figure outlines the discourse of female youth prostitution as described by the young women I spoke with. The discursive pattern was discussed and reflected upon with my advisor, several colleagues and the Director of Centre 507.

4.3 Reconstructing the Discourse

Table 4.1 emerged after making sense of the four guided conversations. The conversations began by my asking the young women to explain to me their participation in prostitution. Their entrance into prostitution was usually preceded by a breaking point that involved a conscious decision to run from their current living

arrangements. Their running usually occurred as a consequence of severed ties with mainstream connections (e.g., family, school). Their "breaking point" ensued in anger, varying emotions, running and utilizing their sexuality (i.e, femaleness) and experience to survive.

I became involved in prostitution after I turned 15. Things just weren't going well for me. Like I wasn't doing well at home. I hated school. Nothing seemed to be going right for me. I ran away, you know. Um. I had a friend who was like doin' it and she like said at first it was hard but like after a while you got used to it, you know. She introduced me to this guy. She was doin' it and like said it wasn't all that bad so I started workin' shortly after I ran away (Mandy, Transcript J26M1-21)...Its like, when you're, I don't know, its not like you have a lot of choices out there, you know. I had to get out; and when I ran I went to my friend; and like next thing you know you're doin' it. It wasn't like I didn't know what to do, you know. It wasn't new to me or anything. I had to get out and when I ran I went to my friend (Mandy, Transcript J26M2-3).

Figure 4.1 Discourse of Female Youth Prostitution

* signalled by a "breaking point"

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

"Well, I guess I started when I left home. When I left home I was 11 and then in three days I was hooked up with a man ... We started talking. And within three days I was escorting for him ... And then I escorted for about three years -- yeah, until I was about 13 -- and ah, 'cause I ran away just right after my birthday and I turned 11 (Angela, Transcript J22A1-14) .

It usually starts like what I've seen ... is a 10 or 12 year old out there. And ... all that happened is that her and her parents got into a fight. She left her parents and she went down to the Rideau Centre and she met up with a pimp and the next night she was out there working. It's just that quick. And so that's how it happens. They just get into a fight with their parents. They go down to the Rideau Centre and they get mixed up with one or two of the bad or wrong people (Sarah, Transcript J22S3-4).

Previous sexual experience was a factor that two of the young women I spoke with mentioned. Both Angela and Mandy indicated that sex "was not new" to them nor to both of their friends who were involved in prostitution. Thus, they utilized and maximized on their previous lived experiences.

It wasn't like I didn't know what to do, you know. It [sex] wasn't new to me or anything (Mandy, Transcript J26M2-7). ... I guess it's different for some girls, you know. But like for my friends, they usually knew somebody or knew of somebody. And like most of us knew what we were doing. You know, experienced, like (Mandy, Transcript J26M2-10).

'Cause, well I guess to sum it up, I already knew how to make men happy. It was nothing new to me (Angela, Transcript J22A-23). ... Well, you know, my circle of friends they had, you know, been having sexual relationships with whoever -- like be it boyfriends, father, brother, whatever, you know, before or like since they were about 9 or 10, you know (Angela, Transcript J22A-26).

The voice illustrates how their lived reality "unmasks" the social contradictions. Angela's father's power is revealed as abusive. This is not how "father" is perpetuated within the relations of ruling. Rather, "father" would be described as protector, for example. Therefore, as these contradictions emerge, women see their world differently. They challenge contradictions not as victims but as actors responding to their lived contradictions. They see the abusive power of male brothers or boyfriends etc. which illustrates contradictions of women's sexuality -- that which is controlled for and used by men.

The starting point of inquiry with these particular young women begins with prostitution and how they would define it. Their responses assumed a fairly conventional reply that involved the concept of money.

Prostitution is what you do for money. You know, you sell your ass to survive (Mandy, Transcript J26M1-36).

Where a girl stands on the street corner and sells their bodies (Jane, Transcript J19J1-23).

Working on the street for money (Sarah, Transcript J22S1-32).

"Oh, for me, well, [prostitution] is just a way to survive. Now when, you're under 16 and you're on the run, you know you can't get a job. You can't turn yourself in or they're gonna' throw you in detention, you know. And you know there are a lot of men out there who like little girls so you make good money." (Angela, Transcript J22A2-11³).

³ Appendix X contains each transcribed conversation. The quotation may be quickly found in transcript. The J22A2-11 code may be interpreted as follows: J represents the initial for the month that the conversation occurred i.e., July; the number that follows, 22, represents the date of the conversation (July 22). "A" represents the first initial of the young woman's pseudonym (Angela); 2 represents the page number of the transcript; 11 represents line 11. The reader is referred to this code throughout the thesis.

It is interesting that the focus of their response was on the financial component. Not one of the young women described the sex. Mandy and Jane implied the selling of one's body or body part, however, the money became the focus of the definition and not the act itself. Angela's definition, and Mandy's to a certain extent, finds them mediating between the need to survive when you are too young to get a job sanctioned by the mainstream. You are running from an institution assumed by the mainstream to "protect" you (e.g., home, detention). You know that there is a demand for your youth and your services. The end result is money, and you need money to survive. Again, the contradictions here which "punish" a runner for running bring the relations of ruling into disrepute. The young women here recognize the disrepute but they are still caught by other contradictions.

When I asked them why they thought men bought sex, they responded with very functional answers.

Well, two things. Like I said, some of them have real perverted fantasies that they just can't take home, you know. They have jobs and they have reputations to uphold and families and stuff. Um, some are really, well, I had one john who brought his son to me because he never had sex before, you know. They're shy or something. They do it with the ho. You're never gonna' see her again, you know. They get their kicks. Some of them, you know, they just need a quick fix or quick blow and that's it. He's just horny (Angela, Transcript J22A5-26).

I don't know. I guess they can't get it anywhere else. Or maybe they're rich men who don't want a relationship but still want to have sex -- no ties. Or an old married man who just wants a fling (Jane, Transcript J19J3-9).

Everybody thinks this is weird but they're not happy with whatever their wives are doing (Sarah, Transcript J22S4-21).

I think it's 'cause they can't get it at home and stuff. Or they want to be with someone different, you know. Some of them are real pervs, you know. Like they want you to do stuff but most of them are not that bad (Mandy, Transcript J26M4-28).

The young women's descriptions centre around men's sexual fantasies, inexperience, unfulfillment and the preservation of male anonymity. Thus, in the young women's minds they are very much providing a service or fulfilling a job. When asked if they thought what they did was a job, their answers were that prostitution was how they made their money.

Because it's just what I did all the time. It was a job for me (Sarah, Transcript J22S4-10).

Well, like I did a job and like I got paid for it, you know (Mandy, Transcript J26M4-15).

[Customer's] morals, I mean they're really perverted, when I think back. They knew what they wanted. I knew what they wanted. We did it. It was a business deal (Angela Transcript J22A4-35). ... Well, I provided a service and I got paid (Angela, Transcript J22A5-7).

Jane, who was a street kid, did not see it quite the same way.

Well, not exactly. Like I said before, for some of them it might be to make ends meet but for a lot of them it's just so they can get their next fix (Jane, Transcript J19J2-28).

The involvement in prostitution was initially described as being very attractive to the young women I spoke with. There were many reasons for this. They described a limited number of "mainstream" jobs available to youth. In addition, the jobs that are available (e.g., McDonalds) often do not pay the same or as quickly as prostitution. There was also the excitement and the experimentation of controlling one's own life: one's sexuality, making decisions, the glamour, the drugs and alcohol.

There may or may not have been a friend/man/pimp that introduced them to the "life". They described their involvement as occurring very quickly.

Like I said, I had this friend and she was doin' it. I don't know. It's like, when you're, I don't know, it's not like you have a lot of choices out there, you know (Mandy Transcript J26M2-3).

It all happened so quickly -- it's just easy money. Whenever I wanted money all I had to do was just go stand on the street corner and I got it, you know. It would take me like 20 minutes, you know. And I would have like \$60 or \$70 (Sarah, Transcript J22S1-34). ...[If you wanted] Clothing; if you wanted cigarettes; if you wanted beer; you wanted alcohol; drugs. All you had to do was do about an hour's work and got whatever you want (Sarah, Transcript J22S10-9).

When you're young, like I was only 11, you know, it's glamorous. ... And some of my customers, you know would take me out to like restaurants (Angela Transcript J22A4-31). ... I think when you're younger, it's a lot of experimentation. It's a lot of new things. A lot of new stuff, you know prostituting. You know, the whole excitement is new (Angela, Transcript J22A11-23).

When I asked the young women about the role of drugs, they replied that drugs were a part of the game. Their usage, however, seemed to progress with time.

Like when you first get involved [drugs are] apart of the excitement, you know. But after awhile you get to a point where you know its like too much, you know. But a lot of the older ones, man, they do it for the drugs, you know. No question (Mandy, Transcript J26M7-10).

That's what I did with a lot of my money. A lot of them buy drugs -- a lot of them. ...An average night I'd make about \$200.00 and about \$150.00 on drugs. About \$50.00 would go towards cigarettes and food and that's it. ...I know a girl whose working for an escort service. She makes about \$700.00 per night -- \$200.00 goes to her bosses and the rest goes to cocaine. She weighs a total of 125 lbs. and she's about 5'11"-- not a pretty sight (Sarah, Transcript J22S9-11).

Well some of them [get involved in prostitution] to support lets say they have kids -- to support their kids. Others are to support their drug habits (Jane, Transcript J19J1-30).

For some older women, you know, I think you get to a point where you, you know, you turn to the drugs to forget about it. And then it becomes away to get drug money. But for me, personally, I had nothing else to do, you know (Angela, Transcript J22A2-17).

Sarah describes how drugs consumed most of her and her friend's earnings. Angela mediates quite interestingly when describing the role of drug usage as a means to cope with one's choice of prostitution as a career. The young women were also asked to describe their living arrangements while they were working.

When I was on the street, I lived in a pretty seedy apartment in Regent's Park. When I was escorting, I lived with the boss's wife. I lived with his family. ...I think he just took a liking to me. I think he thought I was too young. He had apartments around that other women lived in but he thought I was too young. He didn't want to take a chance with the apartment getting raided. 'Cause I was bringing in good money, you know. You make good money off of an eleven year old and if I lived in the apartment, there was always the chance that it was going to get raided. The cops could come (Angela Transcript, J22A6-2).

Oh [my living arrangements] changed. I lived with other girls for awhile and then I lived in a room, you know, like a rooming house. For a while I lived in a hotel (Mandy Transcript J26M4-35).

I lived in an apartment building for a while. I lived in a hotel room. And after awhile we just did it in a car (Sarah, Transcript J22S4-32).

Where Angela lived while she was escorting was important to her job. It should be noted that she discusses living with her boss's family in terms of them protecting their income rather than her as an eleven year old without a place to live. Mandy and Sarah described their living arrangements as being somewhat flexible and less predictable.

Pimps may or may not be players in organized female youth prostitution. This may be due to the changing role of women in society along with the impact of the

second wave of feminism. Sarah's experience indicated that she worked on her own.

I [worked on for myself] did. That way when I was done I didn't have to turn my money over to any body. I could do what I want with it. I could go where I wanted (Sarah, Transcript J22S5-6).

Jane corroborated that many of her friends worked on their own:

A lot of the hookers that I know downtown don't even have pimps. They're doing it on their own free will (Jane, Transcript J19J3-25).

Sarah also alluded to pimps being potential players for the more younger females involved in prostitution.

Well, [pimps] don't really go after the people that are over 16. They go for those 12 to 16 and that age group 'cause they're one of the easiest to con because they're always looking for money. They're young plus their bodies are just starting to develop... Yeah. And a lot of the pimps, they're in their late twenties. Like, there's one pimp down there and he's 43 and he's pimping a 12, 13 and 14 year old which I don't really like (Sarah, Transcript J22S3-17).

Mandy (aged 16), however, described working for "someone":

Yeah [I worked for the same guy as my friend]. He was okay. He wasn't all that bad, you know. Like, he didn't like hurt us or anything. As long as we did our business, like he was pretty cool (Mandy, Transcript MJ26M1-30).

Angela discussed the role of pimps as depending on where one works:

Well, it depends on the city sometimes, too. In Toronto, it's quite advisable to hook up with someone, okay. Because, there are just so many [pimps] out there, just so many (Angela, Transcript J22A3-26).

As Angela notes, the role of a pimp or "boss" may reflect where and in what city the young woman is working, in addition to the type of prostitution one is involved in. Angela worked for someone on the street and in a service. Sarah describes her friend who works in an escort service:

Um hum. [I know] A 17 year old and I don't like it. 'Cause when you're working a service you don't get to pick who you want. They're given to you. They're given to you and you're told if you're going with them. And if you're working as a [street] prostitute, if you don't feel like you want to go with that person you don't. But if you're working in a service -- escort service or if you're working a ...I hate that word, whorehouse, you don't have a choice. You just go (Sarah, Transcript J22S3-35).

Sarah mediates her decision of street prostitution over working for a service. On the street Sarah has control over who she sees and how many customers she will service in an evening and how much money she will make. Angela describes her "boss" while she was escorting:

I met him in ...in McDonald's. I was sitting there. I had no money. I really don't remember what I was doing. He came down and bought me a hamburger. We started talking. And within three days I was escorting for him. Because I was so young, he couldn't put me on a street corner 'cause I'd get picked up by the cops like that, you know. And then I escorted for about three years -- yeah, until I was about 13 -- and ah ...'cause I ran away just right after my birthday and I turned 11. And then on and off between that I got picked up by CAS thrown in group homes, ran away back to this guy. And he was really good to me. I have nothing against him. You know, um, I mean his morals some people might say are a little fucked, you know. As far as pimps go he didn't hurt me in any way, you know, and he respected me. But um, he got, I mean CAS got wind of him by another girl they had who was working for him and he got arrested and thrown in jail and he was gone. So then I ran away again (Angela, Transcript J22A1-18)... My, um, well I wouldn't call him my pimp, but my boss, he ran an escort agency. It's still in the papers. He would get phone calls. He would come get me and pick me up and take me to the hotel rooms -- visit the hotel room. You'd do your thing and he waits for you, you know and that's basically that ...In Toronto, I just hooked up with people. They knew the players and I got to know, you know. And, there's a lot of, you know, their morals are really fucked but there's a lot of respect, I guess (Angela, Transcript J22A4-3).

Angela describes her work for a pimp in Toronto and her "boss" while she worked in an Ottawa escort service. She described her service boss as having treated her

well. She mediates between how she felt others would view her boss's morals and the fact that he did not hurt her and he respected her. There seems to be some ambiguity surrounding the extent of the pimp's role in female youth prostitution and what the media would have us believe.

The physical organization of female youth street prostitution in Ottawa was also observed. For three consecutive weekends a friend and I walked the area where the young women worked. In addition we also observed, from a parked car, the dynamics of female youth street prostitution in the Byward Market area. The watch occurred between 11:00 p.m and 2:00 a.m.. Figure 4.2 is a map of the work area. This was confirmed and reflected upon with several of the young women I spoke with.

Figure 4.2 Mapping Ottawa Female Street Prostitution

R: Restaurant C: Church A: Apartment P: Park T: Taxi

As evident in Figure 4.2, the young women work on the corner of St. Patrick and Cumberland in front of a small park. It is a very dark and dimly lit street. They stand off to the side of the sidewalk. There is a taxi-cab station on one corner, an

older house of apartments on another, and St. Brigid Roman Catholic church on the fourth corner. The dynamics are such that the young women are very seldom left on their own. On a bench, in front of the park, "someone" usually one (up to a maximum of three young males) is present and watching the young women. Sometimes the watching occurred from across the street in front of the taxi-cab station. The males usually rotated their watch in shifts of about 15 minutes. They often came from a small cafe on St. Patrick Street. A lot of activity focused around the park. The workers and observers continuously came in and out of the park. This was a fairly consistent pattern over the three observed weekends that occurred on both Friday and Saturday nights. In addition, on two Sunday mornings, we returned to the park to comb it for job-related litter. Not one used condom, package or any drug paraphernalia was found on the park grounds. However, on the first Sunday, in the garbage was a yellow shopping bag with a quantity of used condoms in it. This would suggest that the young women were conscious not to leave used materials for others to easily find. On the second Sunday, used condoms and packaging were visible in the garbage can.

When we walked Cumberland, in front of where the young women were working, they appeared somewhat timid and very quick to step back from the curb. They turned their faces towards the park and their backs toward us. This was not a pattern practised by the older hookers on Clarence or Murray. The young women's attempts to conceal their identity may have been due to assumptions that we were

police or social workers -- someone who did not belong or someone they did not want to see.

From the experiences of the four young women I spoke with, there appears to be what I have defined as two other inter-related levels of everyday life: **reality** and **entrenchment**. These are accounted for by broken lines in Figure 4.1 of the discourse. The broken lines represent fluid motion between the levels indicating that the factors described by the young women are continuously at play at all times. However, greater cognizance and awareness to these factors increase with time. The first of these levels I have deemed **reality**. Reality emerges after the initial attraction to "the life" and their involvement in prostitution has occurred. It entails their everyday existence, frustration and problematics with having to deal with the "lifestyle" they have chosen -- the existence of weapons, violence, conflict, customer's attitudes, respect, stress and danger. Danger involving weapons and violence are an everyday occurrence. It also illustrates the contradictions of "freedom" in controlling the body -- you've crossed a line and become linked to a life where other "rule breakers" are located. They are physically forced together with those who are violent etc.

My best friend and this black guy [were] getting into a fight. And he pulled out a gun and he shot my friend. That was bad. There was a whole bunch of us together and ...we all jumped on the black guy (Sarah, Transcript J22S6-32). When I was working there were just so many people getting hurt. It was either gun shot wounds or stabs (Sarah, Transcript J22S7-10). Like a lot of people I know on the street don't walk around with nothing less than a seven inch blade. That's their means of protection. And if they're not carrying a knife, they're carrying a gun. It's just one of the two (Sarah, Transcript J22S7-14).

It's like living on the edge, you know. And you know. Like my best friend was murdered, you know. And she was a hooker. She was murdered and she was 16, you know. And that's what it is. You're living right on the edge and you don't really care what happens 'cause your life sucks any way, you know. So if they kill you, they kill you. And if not, well you've got cash (Angela, Transcript J22A2-37).

...like, we were at this party, like my best friend and I. And this guy, like I think he took her for someone else, you know. And like he came up to her and said, "you fuckin' whore" and he stabbed her, right there. Oh. Like she didn't even know him or anything, fuck. She was okay and everything but like I was pretty scared. Like everything happened so fast, you know (Mandy, Transcript J26S6-3).

Sarah, Mandy and Angela each described having a close friend being murdered, shot or stabbed. Weapons ironically become their greatest means of danger and their greatest means of protection. Angela makes sense of it in terms of mediating between "not really caring" about what could happen and having at least the money if nothing should happen.

The business aspect of prostitution focuses on the customers. Without their demand for young sexual services, the young women would not be able to supply the request. When asked to describe their customers the young women identified them as being often older married men, many of whom were regulars.

I had a lot of regulars. When I was between 11 and 13 and I was escorting, it was all regulars and they were older. They had daughters of their own. You know, they had these sick fantasies. In stead of taking it home, they played it out with me. ...Yeah. You know, on the streets, well, I had my own pimp. Like I wouldn't go out with any man over 55, cause it was just like, "uch". And I wouldn't go out with Somalians. After about a month, I just had my regulars, you know (Angela, Transcript J22A5-9).

Most of them were married -- most of them. The wife couldn't give them what they wanted so they go to us prostitutes. We understand (Sarah,

Transcript J22S4-13) ...Most of them were in their thirties -- middle age, I guess (Sarah, Transcript J22S4-24).

Mostly older but like I said I had a lot of regulars. Most of them were married, had families and stuff. You know, they had jobs and shit and just needed a quick fix. Or some of them couldn't get what they wanted at home so they'd come and see the ho, you know (Mandy Transcript J26M4-18).

When asked how they were treated by their customers, the women identified the customers as having an attitude. They often treated them like a "whore" or "ho" or they tried to control them.

Oh, like a whore, you know. It was always there, you know. But I kind of built up a wall to that. It didn't bother me. Like I said, you know, you go to hotels for only like twenty minutes. After twenty minutes they come and say get out. So, you know, you only had to put up with it for that long. You're paid a hundred bucks and that's it (Angela, Transcript J22A5-19).

Oh, most of them, they weren't too bad. But you know ...they treat you like a ho. Like they don't care, you know. You just get used to it (Mandy, Transcript J26M4-24).

Their attitudes stink. Like if you didn't do what they wanted, how they wanted, when they wanted you would get blown up at. But you got to tell them to ...put them on the line right away. That's what I had to do quite a bit of the time (Sarah, Transcript J22S10-29).

Mandy mediates between her view of customers and having to get used to how they treated her. The young women, thus, had to mediate between supplying the demands for their service, but not being treated with a great deal of personal respect from their customers. Both Angela and Mandy discussed "having to get used to it" or trying to block it out. Angela made sense of it by rationalizing that it was only going to be for twenty minutes (i.e., a structured period of time). Sarah expressed having to absorb verbal abuse and having to take control of the situation.

Two of the women described not having experienced a bad trick, but everyone worried about it and everyone knew of someone who had experienced one. There is always the fear that your next trick could be violent.

I never, I can honestly say, not once, did I have a bad trick. ...Like in Toronto, on the streets, it's different, you know. You get into fights with some of the other girls sometimes, you know. It's a little more stressful. Escorting, even when I went back to escorting. I was 17, you know, for my dad, you know. I never had a bad trick. When you do the street, you know, you always take that chance of having a bad trick. 'Cause you don't know those people (Angela, Transcript J22A4-34).

It is interesting, however, that when I asked Angela to describe her worst experience on the street, she described what could be deemed a "bad experience" but in her view it was not a "bad trick".

In the escort service, I didn't really have any bad ones. But in the street, well, I got picked up I was on Church and Isabella, around that area. Actually I was right outside my Detention Home. I got picked up by this kind of Lebanese guy. And I had seen him around before, you know. I was having a bad day. I was sick. I didn't look to good because I was sick and I knew I needed money 'cause, you know, you gotta' bring in a certain amount, right. And, this was when I was using, off and on, you know. I stopped using when I was around 14. I was 14 and he got me drunk and I don't know. I guess I passed out and I ended up in Brampton, fuck. You know. And I was like, oh, I was standin' there I had no money. He took my money. He took my purse. He took my shoes, you know. And I was, to this day I don't know where to hell he dropped me off. It was like some residential area, you know, in nylons. I had no money to my name. I just sat down and cried. You know, I was feeling so horrible, you know. I was sick. I had this cold. I just sat down and cried. And then some nice guy came and drove me back to Toronto. he took me for coffee and he bought me smokes (Angela, Transcript J22A7-31).

When I asked Mandy what she disliked the most about the business, her response was,

"Like you were always worried about whether some lunatic was gonna' pick you up, you know. Or some psycho would do a number on you. When you think about it, it's scary" (Mandy, Transcript J26M8-15).

Sarah had a similar reply when describing her customers,

"I was lucky. I never got any psychopathic weirdos".

"Luck" was often used by the young women to describe not getting "caught" in an unwanted situation with police or ending up with a bad trick. It is an interesting term to use given that traditionally luck has been used to describe something that should come by chance or good fortune.

Each of the women described using safeguard measures to protect themselves sexually (i.e., condoms) and taking action to protect themselves physically. When reflecting on the interview, one of the young women described "double-bagging" as an extra precaution that she used during both oral and vaginal sex. They also described their dependence on each other for support and protection.

When I first started, you know, street prostituting we'd go on double dates, you know. 'Cause it's safer that way. And that's pretty common practice. At least it was with the people I knew, you know. It was like common when you first start you don't go out on your own. You go with someone who's more experienced. She looks out for you, shows you the ropes (Angela, Transcript J22A7-22).

...usually if I'm working with somebody else I always take the license plate of the person she went with and she would do the same for me (Sarah, Transcript J22S6-26).

Sometimes my friend and I would like, you know, watch out for each other and stuff (Mandy, Transcript J26M5-35).

The young women described their closest friends as being other young hookers. They shared very close ties and a strong sense of support as evidenced in the previous quotations regarding physical protective measures.

My friends were mostly other prostitutes. Yeah, they were my friends. ... 'Cause like we kind of understood each other, you know. We all had problems but that was okay (Mandy, Transcript J26M5-15).

Who were my friends? Ah, other prostitutes. Yeah, they were my friends. I knew lots of people but the other hookers were my friends. We understood each other. ... Um, well my relationship was, I don't know, it was good. We could talk. Like we could talk about stuff at home, you know. We all knew why we were out there, you know. We all knew we were running and had to hide from the cops. We all had the same focus and we'd just try and keep hooking and make money (Angela Transcript J22A7-4).

Their relationship to their family was described with less enthusiasm.

Ah. It really sucks, man. I don't even talk to them (Angela Transcript J22A7-13).

Okay. My parents never agreed with [prostitution]. They argued with me from day one about it. It was my choice. There was nothing they could say that would change my mind. They gave up. My boyfriend, well, at first he was a little against it. He knew that I wasn't going to quit for him and then as soon as I got pregnant that's when I quit (Sarah, Transcript J22S6-10).

Ah not that good. I guess it's better now. Like I've been in contact since I quit, you know about six months ago. But it's really hard. Like they don't understand, you know. I don't know. They didn't understand why I ran and they can't believe I was hooking. I don't really like to talk about it (Mandy, Transcript J26M5-21).

Each of the young women described strained family ties. Of all the sensitive issues I discussed with Mandy, her family was the only thing she articulated as something that she did not really want to elaborate on.

The young women also discussed "the life" as being quite stressful and hectic. This language was particularly used to describe their relationship to the older hookers ("over 18 or so") and police. The young women described a distinction between the younger hookers and the older ones, as Angela notes:

...when I was older and working, around 15 or 16, you know, it was stressful. 'Cause the older ones were past their peak. Once you hit about 18, you past your peak, man. And then you're just trying to look good. I think they have some kind of, this is just my opinion, but we make better money. We get more tricks, you know. We get more johns then they do, you know. And it's because we're younger. Maybe they're jealous, you know. But it was stressful (Angela, Transcript J22A6-18).

There's, okay, the young girls. Their area is St. Patrick and Cumberland, right?. You go up to, let's say, St. Patrick and Dalhousie. If you're a young girl you're asking to get your head kicked in by the older hookers. "Cause that's their area... Even if no one's working there. One of the hookers that's sharing a corner or something up the street will come and kick you off. 'Cause I used to drink in the back at the Byward Market Cafe. I mean the Byward Cafe. And it's like hookers go in and out of there and you know it. There would be young hookers that I know and they'd be talking to me and they'd see this older hooker come in and she'd say, "Jane hide me. She's gonna' kick my ass for being down in her area." And it's like, "Don't worry. She won't touch you. You're not out on the street. You're in here. Don't worry about it." And they'd walk in and shoot her a look (Jane, Transcript J19J5-9).

Well, like we really didn't have a relationship [with the older hookers]. Like we just kept out of their way, you know. 'Cause like they worked their part and we worked ours, you know. But it could be pretty stressful 'cause they know you're young and stuff, right. And, I don't know, you got the feeling they didn't like you and stuff. Probably 'cause we got more customers, you know (Mandy, Transcript J26M5-5).

The young women described a strained relationship with the older and more experienced women who worked the street. It is interesting given that they would have likely shared similar experiences. Their descriptions of there being "no

relationship" with older experienced hookers, reinforces the young hooker's youth being their premium commodity -- sought after by their male customers and disdained by the older female workers.

There was also worry or stress involved when Mandy and Sarah described their relationship with police.

I've been pretty lucky. Like you always gotta' watch out for cops you know. It can be pretty stressful. Some of my friends have been [to court as a witness or accused]. But I was lucky, you know (Mandy, Transcript J26M7-5).

Hectic...But most days it was really good except that I kind of worried about the police (Sarah, Transcript J22S2-23).

Angela, on the other hand, spoke of having a fairly good rapport with police, particularly the Juvenile Task Force (JTF) in Metro Toronto. However, it is not always like that in Ottawa.

It [relationship with police] was actually pretty cool. ...There was a couple of them that I had a good relationship with ...It's a respect thing, man. You know, you respect them, they'll respect you. Personally I think Ottawa cops, like they knew I was prostituting and escorting at 11. They sort of thought oh this was cute, right. I was kind of like a little mascot, you know. ...In Toronto, I had a lot of contact with the JTF in 52 Division and they are nice guys. At first they weren't sure if I was under age or not, 'cause I obviously let on that I was older than I was. And they would give me their pager numbers and tell me that if I ever had a problem with a bad trick or john to call them and they'd be there for me. I'd go visit them if I was sick or something and I needed an aspirin. I'd say, "Hey Zak, I'm feeling sick, you got an aspirin for me?". "Sure, sure!", you know. ... They don't blame me for it. Toronto cops they have respect for hookers. They don't blame you and they don't hold it against you. Ottawa cops, [sigh] the regular Ottawa cop does. I've had experiences where I had a couple they were detectives, not cops, well they weren't blue, you know, they were nice guys. But you get those guys in blue, huh (Angela, Transcript J22A9-21).

Also evident in Angela's voice is the conflict she experienced with different police. Angela mediated between respecting cops and having them respect her, and having certain "blue" cops blame her for being a prostitute. Conflict is discussed throughout. The young women are constantly mediating. They described mediating with how they experience their lives and describing other facets of their relationships between other power holders: police, Children's Aid Society (CAS), welfare etc.. The young women encounter conflict on an everyday basis.

These guys [police] it was actually just here on Murray Street. I was with my friend and we weren't working, okay. And I hadn't been working for a while. It was right after I went back home. I was just out. We had been to Hull and we got stranded here because the buses had stopped running. And every car was stopping and asking us, you know. We said, "We're not available. We're not available". We flagged down this police car 'cause there was this guy just sitting there. We ended up huddled in a phone booth in the freezing cold. There's this guy sitting and parked his car like right in front of the phone booth watching us. This cop car comes by and we said look this guy's bothering us. We're not hookers. We're stranded out here. We're 16, you know. He told us to find our own way home. If we were going to get in the job then we better do the job. We were like, my friend was like almost crying. She used to be a hooker, too. She was like, I'll do it if you don't want to do it, you know. And it's like, fuck that. So we went and sat in Bagel Bagel until 5:30 and took a bus (Angela, Transcript J22A10-5).

I would never call the police if I got robbed. ...'Cause they'd say it was my own fault and then they'd pick me up anyway. ...Well, you just had to know these guys. ...You just had to know these guys, man. I mean, they were really nice cops these two cops, in particular. No, I wouldn't call them. Like, say I got robbed. So what. I go turn another trick and I'll get some more money, you know. But if I got beaten up, I can't work anyway. I needed a break. Like sometimes you know I wanted to get caught. Not consciously thinking I want to get caught, just subconsciously, you know. A place to sleep, three meals a day and just no stress. So sometimes, you know I'd put myself in situations where I would get caught. It was like oh well, you know (Angela J22A12-16).

No. I would never call the police [if I were in trouble]. ... 'Cause they'd say it was my own fault and then they'd pick me up and charge me or call CAS and shit. I didn't need the hassle, you know. ... You can't [call the cops] when you're underage and doin' something that's illegal, you know what I mean? (Mandy, Transcript J26M7-23).

Well, I think they're stupid because the cops that they put out on the market area, right, they're the ones who bust the [drug dealers] on Rideau Street. And they're the ones who go and bust the hookers. I think they should have different cops for that because I know the cops that bust people on Rideau Street. They're total pricks. I mean I could be sitting there waiting for a bus and they'd come up to me and tell me to empty my pockets. Minding my own business. I wouldn't be even sitting with the drug dealers or anything, right? Just minding my own business and they'll ride up to me on their bikes and [say], "Want to empty your pockets for us." "Why?" "We have reason to believe you're trafficking drugs." "I empty my pockets and there you go." "Are you happy now?" It's like total harassment down on Rideau Street (Jane, Transcript J19J4-23).

Jane also reflects on the conflict and contradictions between having to make extra cash if the young woman is also a mother. It is problematic that they are not making enough money on provincial family assistance or "Welfare" and then they risk the chance of losing their children because they are hooking:

You know they're going out, especially the younger ones, they're going out -- cause I know a couple of them that just had a baby and they're not getting enough money from Welfare so they're going out and selling their body. ... Yeah and they get caught and CAS comes and takes the kid away because you're selling your body on the street (Jane, Transcript J19J3-26).

Jane also identified the conflict and having to mediate between the people who are supposedly there to help you, on one hand, and how quick they are to pass judgment on you, on the other.

Yeah. It's strange too. Like the Salvation Army I remember I was hanging around this hooker that was staying there. Really nice girl, you know. She was like a major blow head but she was a really nice girl.

...I was hanging around with her a lot. Rumours started to fly at the Salvation Army that I was a hooker. And my friend who worked the front desk. He was like my big brother. He took me aside one day and goes "Jane, not to offend you or any thing but rumour has it around with the staff and everyone that you're prostituting." And I was like, "What? Just because I'm hanging around with a hooker I'm doing the very same thing as her." Its like come on give me a break. ...It's like judgement. Bang. It's like, "Jane's hanging out with a hooker so we'll see her on York Street", you know. It's not surprising but it made me really mad though, you know. It's like come on. It puts my friend down and it puts me down at the same time. ...And it makes you think about what they're saying behind my friend's back, you know. Bein' all sweet to her to her face and what do they say when the door's are closed, you know? It's like, "Kick her out, she's nothing but a whore, or something, you know." (Jane Transcript J19J8-34).

Angela also voiced this contradiction.

Well, now that I've so much time on my hands you do a lot of thinking. In the past six months, I guess I've started, like I have a councillor now to start to deal with it. Like I get flashbacks now. I cut. That's something I've never done before. I'm just starting to deal with everything that's ever happened before at home, on the streets. They were saying you know I wasn't good, you know prostitution. And then you feel bad. That's what makes me sad. And you know, sometimes it just hits you, too. Someone just says a word or someone's putting down hookers. You know its like, fuck, I was one of them.

Another factor that continually arose was the notion of respect. Respect was often described by the young women in terms of reciprocity or in terms of an understanding. If you respect someone, then they will respect you. It was a way of "the life".

In Toronto, I just hooked up with people. They knew the players and I got to know, you know. And, there's a lot of, you know, their morals are really fucked but there's a lot of respect, I guess. ... [laughter] You know, I don't know how to explain it [respect]. It's really weird, you know. It's just, they see you as their property -- "She's my girl so don't fuck with her." "She's gonna stand on this corner. Don't fuck with her", you know. Introduce you around. Then they know that you work for "so and so". Okay we'll leave you alone. No problem, you know.

And pimps -- the strong pimps they're scared of, pimps are scared of, you know. Basically there's a general respect there, you know. Like, just do your business. Don't fuck with me. Don't get in my way. Don't take my turf, you know. Don't stand on my corner. Don't put your girls on my corner, and we won't have a problem, you know. But, if you insist on putting your girls on my corner, they're gonna' have to do something for being there (Angela, Transcript J22A4-9).

Oh 'cause like everybody has their place [to work]. Like the older hos, they work on Dalhousie so like you can't work there. And like you have to respect that. ...Respect? Yeah. You know, that's what it's all about. It's hard to explain. Like everybody's got to do their business, you know. So you just gotta' respect that, I guess (Mandy, Transcript J26M3-27).

The next inter-related level of "the life" I have entitled entrenched. Remembering that these are not necessarily chronological stages, categories describing a more entrenched lifestyle emerged for the young women. For example, with time, there were feelings of no control or choice -- the very factors that often attracted the young women to the business. In the beginning of their involvement, they felt in control and making their own choices. With time they reflect on the life and others who do not make it out. The life becomes parallel to an addiction. They are surviving, however, they are also dealing with being judged by those with and who control the power -- the relations of ruling.

A lot of the really older ones [hookers], like in Toronto, the one's that are around 30, you know, they're junkies. I mean they need a fix and they look old. You look at them and you wonder why any guy would want to sleep with her. And it's like the younger ones. I mean they, like I used drugs too but it wasn't like, I was not prostituting to get money for my next fix. I did it because I wanted to go shopping, you know. It's like you get to a point. And I remember my point, exactly. Where you either stop or you keep going and you start doing it for the drugs. Because what you're doing sucks and you know it. Like when you're younger, you don't really know it. It just kind of happens. Like I had been on the run so much. I didn't have councillors telling me that you're better than that. It's just like I did it at home and can do

it here and get paid, you know. It was just a habit for me, you know. The older ones, they don't like what they're doing. Like they really don't, if you get them alone. Like I talked to some of them, like if you can get them when they're straight, they really don't like it, you know (Angela, Transcript J22A6-28).

...It's[the life] like incredible, you know. you just get so involved and shit. It's like a lot of different things that are new and stuff. And it's really exciting. But then you get sick of it, man. It just gets to you after awhile. And then you hate it. 'Cause you know it's not right and shit. But still you do it, you know....What do you mean? Like everybody tells you it's [prostitution] not [right], like the workers and shit. And you do it so then sometimes you sometimes feel like shit, you know. Like you try not to let it bother you but it does you know, sometimes (Mandy, Transcript J26M2-26).

Figure 4.1 represents power -- the relations of ruling -- within its own box.

The fact that relations of ruling focus on prostitution as the problem is problematic for the young women involved. The emphasis is primarily on the undersocialization factors resulting in blame. There is a continuous mediated struggle that finds the young women outside the relations of ruling and being controlled within it. Sarah's description of not liking CAS but how the people involved in CAS were there for her is a good example of her mediation:

Well, CAS right now is like, I don't like them but they're really good when I need them. Like, I'm starting to get a little frustrated with Jaime and for the next 30 days Jaime's going into foster care but even though she's going into care, I'm still a big part of her life. Like, I can go and see her every day. ... My CAS worker, that's one of the reasons she was involved with me because when I was pregnant she was afraid that I would go back out and work the street. And she understands that why I won't 'cause I told her that even if I do have trouble budgeting, I'm going to go to CAS before I think of prostitution again 'cause its not good (Sarah, Transcript J22S7-31).

Another example is evident when the young women described their running away.

They were often running from services that have been developed "to help" them.

The services have thus been based on what the powerholders understanding of what constitutes the young women's needs -- she is a young sexual deviant that has been undersocialized (Conventional/Pathological Model); or she is involved in prostitution primarily for the money (Economic Opportunity Model). The services have often been based on white, male, middle-class values which aim at preserving the family and sending her home or placing her in a group home. On the other hand, her familial ties may be non-existent or she may in fact be safer on the street than in her home. The young woman prostitute lives on the margins. The relations of ruling's services aim to further control what the young woman has already been denied -- choice and safety.

It's [experience with CAS] not that great. But you know like they gotta' do their jobs. But like, they just want to control you, you know. Like CAS has helped out a friend of mine but I find like they don't understand. They just want to control you, you know. Like they want to know your business and shit. ...Well like they want you to go back home or shit, you know. Or like they want to put you in a group home or, I don't know, but like that's why you're running you know. 'Cause you don't want to be there (Mandy, Transcript J26M6-21).

Almost all of the police were pricks and pigs. They really are. Very. ...They didn't understand but a lot of them when they'd pick you up they would start making these rude comments, which weren't very nice. They're very rude. ...Well, my very first time I was picked up this one cop says to me, "If you weren't under 18", and he says "if I wasn't working, I'd take you out myself as one of your customers". A little rude. And that's the type of thing that happens quite a bit. ...I was also picked up another time and I didn't like the attitude that some of them had. Like, they were arresting me and also my best friend and they hog-tied my best friend. They beat the crap out of her which was not too pleasant (Sarah, Transcript J22S8-17).

Yeah. Well automatically the first thing I find that cops think when they pick up a hooker that, you know, no matter what you tell a cop, If you're saying to him, "Listen, I'm just doing it 'cause I need to eat

or my baby needs to eat", they're going to say "Bull shit, we know the truth. Look at you. Look at the way you're dressed. You're just looking for your next fix" (Jane, Transcript J19J4-9).

She continuously mediates between what she does for a living and why, with being blamed and judged, despite the great demand for her work and the services she provides.

People who put [hookers] down [makes me angry], man. I mean there's a lot of guys at the Salvation Army, as you noticed. And, I get along with all of them, for most part. They tend to put down women like that. You know, "What a ho" or "What a slut" and this and that. Its like so stupid because they don't understand anything. "Look at you, you're a fucking drunk.". Seriously, you know, they don't have a clue about what they're talking about. If I want to say, "Hookers are all cunts" I can 'cause I've been through it, you know. But "You man, you haven't done it so don't give me that bull shit, you know." That makes me angry, you know. Or people, they look at my scars now and they go "Oh My God!", you know. That's the other thing that makes me angry. Its like, "Don't put down my cutting, man. You're a fucking drunk. You do fucking drugs. You're addicted to sex, you know. So I cut, you know. That's how I deal with pain right now, you know. You don't know my life, you know (Angela, Transcript J22A15-16).

Ah. Police were often a bunch of pricks. Like maybe not all if them but fuck they like to harass you, you know. Like some of them, you know, like they've got a real attitude, man. They're just there to harass you. It like they blame you or something (Mandy, Transcript J26M6-29). ... People who put down hookers and people who like want to judge you without knowing you, you know [makes me angry]. Like I get so fucking mad when I hear that shit. They don't know. They haven't been there. And even people who are there to help you, man. Like some of them are really good but some of them just look down on you. And that really pisses me off. Until you've done it, you don't know what it's like. I mean its like so stupid because they don't know anything (Mandy, Transcript J26M8-36).

The young women described their relationship with outreach workers with some ambiguity. Angela indicated that then she kept away from them because she did not trust anyone.

Well, I was under 16 so I avoided them like the plague. You know, I was so paranoid that I'd get picked up, you know. ...Now I do but then, I didn't trust anybody. I have the utmost respect for outreach workers, you know. They do good things. But then, I didn't trust anybody (Angela, Transcript J22A8-13).

She mediated between what she identified as them doing "good things" but not being able to trust anyone for fear of being "caught". She did not know if she could trust them. Mandy described her relationship with outreach workers as follows:

They were okay. Like some of them didn't understand, you know but like I guess it was okay. Some of them were cool. They do some pretty good work, you know (Mandy, Transcript J26M6-15).

Again, Mandy notes them doing "good work". Quite similar to Mandy, Sarah responded that "some of [the outreach workers] really disagreed but a lot of them respected my choice".

The young women I spoke with who were prostitutes all had recently quit hooking. They had been off the street anywhere from 6 months to 1 year. In these women's views they did not see themselves staying in the business forever.

I don't know. Not long. It was a means to an end for me, man. Even like if I wouldn't have gotten into trouble and shit, you know. I probably would have quit soon anyway. 'Cause I was gettin' fed up. It was gettin' to me. And I knew it. I don't know (Mandy, Transcript J26M7-33).

No. It just wasn't my league. ...It was good like when I needed the money right there on the spot but no, I wouldn't do it for a long time. No, it's not one of these long time things (Sarah, Transcript J22S9-33).

I never thought it would be forever. When I was under age, it was just 'til I was 16 and legal to work. And I did stop when I was sixteen. I ended up going back for a period of time, like three months, but it wasn't like street hooking. I was just helping out my Dad. That's how it was. Just until I was legal (Angela, Transcript J22A13-7).

These young women were "lucky". They were able to get out. Interestingly enough, it was usually someone who was in the system -- within the relations of ruling -- that aided them in getting off. This is not to suggest that the relations of ruling (e.g., police officer, CAS worker, welfare worker, probation officer) were totally responsible but rather, it was almost like there is another level of the discourse to go through to get out after the young woman has made her own conscious decision to leave the business. Those who make it off the street do so because they want to. The system, however, will be the first to take the credit for getting them off. Like entry, the young women's departure is usually triggered by her own breaking point and conscious decision to leave.

I remember the day I decided to get out. I was in Toronto. I had spent about three months inside of Warrendale which is this semi-secure facility. I had been transferred to a group home in Scarborough and one of my workers was taking me to Sick Kids to see some shrink. I hadn't lived at home since I was 11. I hadn't seen my parents since then, you know. I had nothing to be home sick for but I was homesick. We got there and I went to see this shrink and I told her that she didn't have to wait for me, you know. I wasn't a baby. And she gave me that bull shit line, "I'm trusting you". Anyway I left. ...I walked down University Ave. and I was crying. I just didn't want to do this any more. Like I knew if I went back he was just going to get pissed at me because I had been gone for three months. You know, and there was just nothing in it for me, you know. That day, I just started thinking, like I don't have to do this, you know. I never liked what happened at home so why in the hell am I doing this, type of thing. And that was the day. I knew. 'Cause if I was going to continue I'd really get into the drugs, I knew it (Angela Transcript J22A13-21).

Mandy's breaking point was some kind of "trouble" she got into. Sarah's breaking point was getting pregnant. Their departure was a difficult decision and continues to be an adjustment.

Like, I haven't done drugs since Mar ...it's been about a year since I've touched any alcohol or drugs. ...As soon as I found out I was pregnant I quit everything. ...Talk about fun. It was really hard on me. Not only me but the people around me too 'cause I was such a grouch. You'd say the wrong thing and I'd just blow (Sarah, Transcript J22S10-16). ...It[getting out] wasn't [easy]. There's even times when I really want to do it [prostitution] but I know I can't so I just don't (Sarah, Transcript J22S12-28).

I don't know [if I'll go back] it's hard you know. I miss my friends and shit. And it wasn't all bad, you know. I don't think so. I'm tryin', you know. Like I think of the danger and shit, cause like every night's a risk, you know. And I don't miss that but it's hard (Mandy, Transcript J26M8-6).

The young women I spoke with explained quite clearly that not everyone has the social network or the ability to depart quite as easily as the young women I spoke with. As both Angela and Mandy noted earlier, the system tells the young women that prostitution is bad, they do it and then the system blames you for it.

Sarah notes that it is not so easy for some of her friends who work the business. She compares "the life" to the "mob":

'Cause like I know four different girls who in the last week and all of them want to get out of it but they're all involved with pimps. And to get out of it, it's just like being involved with the mob. You get out -- you're dead. There's this one girl, she quit and her pimp is like on her. Her ex-pimp is haunting her. He follows her everywhere she goes. He's threatened her. He's left messages for her on her telephone. He's got her telephone linked. He's threatened her family. You name it and I think this guy has done it. He's really weird (Sarah, Transcript J22S12-10).

Change was reflected in one of the final questions that I asked the young women. They were asked to describe how the system could change to better serve them. Two of the young women identified the need for a service to help young women get off

the street: a service that understood their experiences; did not pass judgment on them and provided the young women with the necessary protection.

Actually there is one thing I would like to say. A lot of the judges when they sentence prostitutes, they only sentence them for like 15 days, 3 months probations or something like that. I think the judge should put a program together. They could send them into it. Because if they sent them in there they usually just come back out what they were. Let it consist of, I don't know, a group of women getting together who are prostitutes and just talk about their experience and maybe the experience that they're talking about will get them to start thinking. I know it's the oldest profession and the easiest, but still. ...I'd like to see those girls that want to quit have some sort of protection against them (Sarah, Transcript J22S11-31).

Ah. I guess I'd like to see something there to help the ones that want to get off the street get off, you know. Like something that doesn't pass judgment on you. Something that understands. Like not just a place to drop in but a place that will like, I don't know, like where you can talk about the ...your experiences with other people who have like same ones and like I don't know maybe you can help each other or something, you know (Mandy, Transcript J26S9-14).

Angela was concerned with the arbitrary lines drawn by, technically, provincial legislation that designates to many youth services that assumes at 16 years you should be dealing with your problems and by 18 your problems can no longer be an excuse, despite whether you have begun dealing with them or not.

Ah. My biggest complaint is this. When you're under 16, they've got places for you, they do. You're allowed to feel and get angry and you're allowed to have problems, you know. You're allowed to act out and have emotional problems. Once you hit 16, it's like you're not allowed any more. There is no place. Here, they're really flexible for me. Sometimes I really have bad days. Basically when you're 16 and you still have, like me I didn't start dealing with any of this until six months ago. If you act out or something, they can kick you out. They can throw you on the street. At CAS they can terminate your wardship and throw you out onto the street, you know. When you're under 16 they have to keep you. But once you turn 16 if you don't follow their rules and you don't do what they want you to do, then they'll just get

rid of you. And if you don't start dealing with any of this until you're 18, you know they expect you to be pretty much in control. You should be in control but people have episodes and YSB they're pretty much anti-that. Like YSB will take you up until you're, I don't know 24 or so, but they expect you to have a job and that. Well, not everyone can do that right now. If you don't start dealing with things until you're over 16, you have a real harder time. You've got to control your feelings and stuff so they don't kick you out. If you're under 16 they can. When you're under 16 they have to help. When you're over 16 they can say, "Fuck you!". (Angela, Transcript J22A15-36).

When responding to what makes them happy, the young women described being off the street. Their responses reflected their current life situations after getting out of prostitution.

What makes me happy? Um, having the freedom to make choices now. That's what makes me happy because I really didn't feel like I had any choice, like when I was under age, under 16. I mean now I can choose. Like when I fell back into it with my dad, I really didn't have a choice there but now I have like no contact with any of them and now it's like I can choose and I choose not to (Angela Transcript J22A14-30).

What makes me happy? I guess that I'm out of it. Like I'm really trying you know, but like I said sometimes it's really hard. I'm just starting to deal with a lot of things that happened to me you know. It's hard (Mandy Transcript J26M8-26).

What makes me happy? -- I'm out of that now. I'm almost done, well, I'm happy in a way but I'm almost done my probation -- I'm done on October 29 -- I'm finished my probation (Sarah, Transcript J22S11-7).

For Angela, Mandy and Sarah, they made it out of prostitution by playing by the "rules". They are the first to note that some of their friends have not been so "lucky".

The young women I spoke with socially constructed their own knowledge. Their lives were filled with contradictions and problematics. Their daily local interactions with each other, the police, social services etc. form the basis of their

knowledge about how their lives are organized. They each experience their own worlds differently. They each have different experiences, therefore, they have different and varying knowledges. They each, however, continued to mediate and thus rationalize between how they experienced their world and what was legitimized as real. They continuously mediated between where they were located (i.e., powerless) outside the margins and the boundaries determined by the relations of ruling -- the young female prostitute lives outside the boundaries of power.

Chapter 5: Implications of the Analysis: Mediating the Problematics of Female Youth Prostitution

This chapter establishes the linkages between Smith's approach and the voices of Jane, Mandy, Sarah and Angela. The first sections deals the way in which these young women make sense of their "problematics". The second section applies Smith's notion of institutional ethnography to the women by examining two examples: the young prostitute's relationship to her pimp and a local politician's response to prostitution. The chapter concludes with a discussion on action for change.

5.1 The Everyday World of the Female Youth Prostitute as Problematic

The "problematic structuring inquiry", based in the standpoint of young women involved in prostitution, begins with of the social organization of their everyday world. One of the first battles between their local and individual experience and the relations of ruling involves the practice of their work. Prostitution (by adults) is not illegal in Canada although many of the transactions that involve prostitution (i.e., communicating for the purposes of prostitution) are deemed unlawful. Adolescent prostitution, however, is in fact an illegal activity. Until recently, adolescent prostitution was considered to be an extension of the general sets of issues concerning legal prostitution. However, recent social concern about child sexual abuse resulted in a federal government review of child sexual abuse legislation (Badgley, 1984) and the reconsideration of prostitution laws (Fraser, 1985). As previously discussed, the Badgley Report produced one of the most extensive Canadian projects of research on adolescent prostitution. Thus, one of the most

comprehensive pieces of research was compiled by one of the largest facets of relations of ruling: the federal government. The Badgley research, like other forms of traditional research, has not considered or addressed the problematics that surround the everyday world of female adolescent prostitution. Rather, traditional analysis has emphasized the entry and involvement stages of the discourse. Thus, the outcome of both the Badgley and Fraser research was to "fix" the problem of youth prostitution by changing the legislation to address only those issues.

As previously discussed, the Badgley Report (1984) and the Fraser Report (1985) recommendations to change the legislation did not alter the availability nor the demand for young female sex. Nor did the activity of adolescent prostitution cease. Young women continued to supply a demand for their service either on the street, in a house or by escorting -- all of which are illegal. The criminalization sets the context for the bifurcated consciousness of the young female prostitutes who mediate between where they can work to fulfil the demand for their service with the least amount of hassle from authorities. The powerholders reinforce adolescent prostitution as "wrong" by placing the onus and blame on the young female prostitute rather than the males requesting her youthful sexual services.

A second problematic feature can be seen in the language traditionally used in public discourse to describe the behaviour of prostitutes. Although non-gender specific, it has a sexual connotation of "woman". It also assumes an underlying element of guilt and shame as it blames the young woman for working in an illegal sex trade.

This stigmatization can be contrasted with the way in which respect was seen to be accorded in interviews with the four young women. Respect was a term often used to discuss or describe an understanding or a notion of reciprocity by the young women prostitutes. This exemplifies how the young prostitute is a part of the "double ghetto" that finds her service important enough to be used by men -- usually older married men -- but is not part of the established discourse. The notion of respect was not unique to only the young women I spoke with. For example, the concept of respect was also discussed in Webber (1991):

"You hear a lot about respect in the street. Provided she's working for a "qualified player", not for some two-bit "popcorn" pimp whose behaviour may violate established norms, a hooker earns her pimp's respect through faithful service...She wins respect if she sells her body upward of twelve hours a day, gives her pimp all her earnings, never leaves the stroll without his permission, and never, never "signs" [presses charges] on him or any pimp. If, however, she does anything considered disloyal, she may suffer serious, disfiguring reprisals" (Patsy, aged 15; Webber, 1991: 108-9).

Patsy's depiction involves transposing lineaments of behaviour into unconventional normative statements. The term luck was also used by the young women I spoke with to describe not getting "caught" in an unwanted situation (i.e., by the police or getting a bad trick). This is also a mainstream term used to describe similarly not getting "caught" or "good fortune". It would probably not be a term used by the mainstream to describe a young prostitute who was fortunate enough to get a good trick. The line of fault finds the young prostitutes using particular words to describe their particular experiences in order to understand and explain their individual social and economical issues affecting them.

These two examples support the importance of identifying the constitutive work arising from the practical reasoning that arises from the young women make sense of what they do. Where the young woman works is a locally conscious organization. The traditional analysis misses how this local decision is articulated to social relations (i.e., action that implicates others who knowingly or not participate). There are social relations that are not evident by the setting in which the young woman works but they nonetheless enter in and organize how she participates in her job. For example, where she works affects whether she could be beaten up by older hookers protecting their work area. Therefore, the young woman respects the older women's workplace by conducting her services elsewhere. It has an implicit organization tying each particular local setting to a larger generalized complex set of social relations. As a result, these social relations distinguish adolescent prostitution from adult female prostitution. The young women who spoke with me clearly identified either having "no relationship" or tensions between themselves and the older hookers. They mediate this by identifying their youth as a premium commodity that makes them in greater demand, with more customers, thus more money. As a result, tensions are created and those in adult prostitution want them off the street or restrict where they can work. This is even reflected in the formal voice of prostitutes who have organized internationally to resist repressive prostitution laws. These women take a strong stand on not having youth involved in prostitution and by having the rights of youth protected by families, communities and the state (Pheterson, 1989: 151-154). However, as Angela noted the reality is such that "there

are a lot of men out there who like little girls". This was echoed in Mathews (1989) research:

"There are situations where kids can't live at home until they've got this wonderful career. There will always be a market for young people. Pornography pushes that" (Mathews, 1989: 18).

In addition, as Mandy previously noted, the response of state's child welfare agencies are often what the young women are running from. The "solutions" provided within the relations of ruling usually have not been an acceptable alternative. Therefore, the adolescent prostitute finds herself seeking alternatives outside her family and the state-funded housing facilities or avenues of control to survive. This is the crux of her everyday world which is problematic.

5.2 Ideology and Work in the Experience of the Adolescent Prostitute

The work performed by the adolescent prostitute must be viewed in relation to the organizational variation among different forms of prostitution -- the street, a house or service. Either way, however, youth prostitution has been socially organized to have a high financial value placed upon it. The value is the young prostitute's attraction to men who want to have sexual relations with a young female. Angela described and mediated between her job and her customers desire to have daughter-related fantasies:

When I was between 11 and 13 and I was escorting, it was all regulars and they were older. They had daughters of their own. You know, they had these sick fantasies. In stead of taking it home, they played it out with me (Angela Transcript J22A5-9).

This was also echoed in Webber's (1991) research:

Many [johns] want you to be their little daughters. They'll say, "How old are you, sweetheart?" and I'll say how old do you want me to be, honey?" Most of these bums will answer "ten" or "twelve". Basically, they want...their daughters. I've got a regular who brings along kiddy gear for me to prance around the hotel room" (Patsy, Webber, 1991: 84).

As in all labour markets, there are other opportunities available to prospective workers, and each worker weighs her opportunities against her reservation wage (i.e., the lowest wage that one would accept to take a job). The reservation wage associated with a job is a measurement of a worker's alternative wages (opportunity costs) and willingness to engage in that activity (Reynolds, 1986: 12). In one sense, it is true that she seeks to maximize her earnings and general well-being within legal and other constraints of the market. Rosenbaum's (1982: 132-133) study of prostitutes substantiates that it is predominantly "financial gain, rather than social, sexual or other motivations" that is the overriding rationale for getting into prostitution. The young prostitute generally chooses to enter prostitution because the pay is better than other job choices she faces (Sheehy, 1971: 223). Therefore, socio-economic factors are a primary reason why young women become involved in adolescent prostitution. This was also evident in Mathews (1989) research:

"I made a lot more money hooking than in straight jobs. Prostitution pays better. A lot better" (Sara, 18 years; Mathews, 1989: 18).

"Down at home it's all surrounding little towns, it's all farms. It's the same boring thing every day. I've always been interested in knowing about it (prostitution), you know I'd get into reading stuff about it and seeing movies and stuff and learning stuff and that. I was curious. I needed the money" (Kim, 17 years; Mathews, 1989: 17).

Mathews (1989: 15) has identified that the need for money becomes

intensified because often the family ties have become severed, resulting in a loss of financial support. Some young women may receive welfare, but as Jane stated earlier, often it is not enough if you're also raising children. Therefore, it may become necessary to supplement one's income. The need for financial support in a capitalist society requires the selling of one's labour. In the relations of ruling, prostitution is not deemed an acceptable labour alternative.

The conventional normative analysis misses how this local course of action, the socially valued notion of youth, is articulated within social relations at many levels. It overlooks the idea of how youth is celebrated commercially or why men want to buy sexual youth-oriented fantasies. The extra-local levels are interconnected sequences or courses of action that implicate more than the adolescent prostitute. She provides a service within the relations of ruling but not necessarily to people known to her or to one another (Smith, 1987: 155). These social relations are organized by and within this setting. For the young prostitute, work organization is thus located within yet around the relations of ruling. Where she works is dictated by the least amount of hassle. For example, the street may have greater self-autonomy but with autonomy runs the increased risks of bad tricks or increased police harassment. On the other hand, bawdy houses or escort services may be more private and safe but the young woman may have to work harder, risk raids, be recognized or have increased quotas and no control over the number of tricks she takes.

These factors have reference to and depend upon the organization of the state

at various levels. For example, local by-laws and zoning laws determine the "real estate" character of the neighbourhood, reflected by the expression of home ownership in local practices that maintain the value of the property. This has been particularly evident in the recent legislation to deal with the "nuisance" aspect of prostitution in Bill C-49 (1985). Its underlying purpose was to deal with the communicating aspects of street prostitution. It did not, however, get prostitution off the streets.

State organization and intervention is also manifested in other ways. For example, the young women continuously interact with police or social service agencies. Police and social services are a part of their everyday worlds and contribute to the "stress" of "the life". Adolescent prostitution is thus characterized by the tying of each particular local setting to a large set of social relations.

The language of the everyday world as it is incorporated into the example of adolescent prostitution is rooted in social relations beyond it and expresses relations not peculiar to the setting it describes. The meaning of such terms as "the street" and "houses" or "escorting", for example, reside in social relations organizing local settings not fully present in them. They represent a social organizational hierarchy that finds the "street prostitute" on one end of the continuum and the "call girl" at the other. However, terms used to describe the prostitute or sex trade worker such as "slut", "ho" or "whore" focus particularly on the young woman's sexuality. They are ordinary descriptions, ordinary talk and include with them a property of meaning in the extended social relations they name as phenomena. They are also terms used to

describe women who are not involved in sex trade work but who behave in a manner that is not morally sanctioned by the relations of ruling (i.e., promiscuous women).

One cannot assume that all adolescents involved in prostitution have the same experiences that echo Jane, Mandy, Sarah and Angela. Nor do all of the young women involved in prostitution work the streets or all work for someone else. Mathews (1989:11) has already noted that these youth are not a homogenous group. Thus, different types of sex trade workers experience their everyday worlds quite differently. This has been problematic for sociological ethnographies, however fascinating, because they cannot stand as general typical statements about society and social relations (Smith, 1987: 157). Smith goes further to say:

They [sociological ethnographies] have been seen in themselves as only a way station to the development of systematic research procedures that would establish the level of generality or typicality of what has been observed of such-and-such categories of persons. Or they may be read as instances of a general sociological principle. This procedure has been turned on its head in an ingenious fashion in "grounded" theory which proposes a method of distilling generalizing concepts from the social organization of the local setting observed whereupon the latter becomes an instance of the general principles distilled from it.

Therefore it is not enough to gather ethnographies without situating them within the social context in which they occur. In traditional sociology, a single case has no significance unless it can be extrapolated to a larger general statement about larger society. By beginning with the everyday world as problematic, however, one bypasses the generalizability by viewing the relation of extrapolation as a property of social organization which is in itself problematic (Smith, 1987). The generalized experience, as represented in traditional sociology/criminology, becomes so vague

that it no longer represents the specific. For example, the particular case of adolescent prostitution is not specific in the aspects that are of concern to the inquirer. It is rather where the adolescent prostitute's point of entry, as a local experiencing subject, within generalized and abstract forms of social relations, finds her among an organized division of labour in society which is not qualified as both a legitimate work or activity, on a whole. For her, however, part of this illegitimate division of labour is predetermined by her sexuality.

For example, the actual work that the young prostitute does in its particular forms -- sex for money -- enters into relations in which the particular character of the young prostitute's work becomes invisible. She produces a service for exchange in a market in which numerous others become involved in relations that abstract from these local actualities (e.g., a pimp, other prostitutes, police, lawyer, judge, social workers, parents, her children). In these relations, the value of her service, purified of its particular uses, becomes its value in exchange against other services. Money is the usual form in which exchange value is expressed. Whatever the form, money is thus the generalizer enabling quite different services to be evaluated against each other and exchanged for one another. The social relations of capitalism have the special character of translating the particular and concrete into abstracted generalized forms (Smith, 1987: 158). The high exchange value of youth makes the adolescent prostitute distinguishable from her adult counterpart. The very concept of "adolescent prostitute" is an operator of language within the relations of ruling. Her experience as "whore" participates in the generalized and generalizing relations

of an institutional process that has defined all women in terms of their sexuality. Historians have long noted the dichotomy of the conception of women into categories of Madonna/Whore (Davis and Stasz, 1990:218). The whore label is attached to anyone who works or has worked in the sex industry. The whore as prostitute or sex worker is the prototype of the stigmatized woman or feminized man. Ironically, rather than dissociating from the whore label, contributors to an international movement for prostitutes rights identify with all branded persons, and demand rights as whores. They have taken a mainstream concept that has been used for stigmatising them and flipping it back on the relations of ruling as a term representing empowerment (Pheterson, 1989: 4). Therefore, language that has been reserved for "bad women" within the complex of relations expounding prostitution to the specialized functions of the ruling apparatus has in fact been used as an empowering source of strength for those women involved in the sex trade.

The experience of adolescent prostitution as it is situated in actual settings, enables several mini-dramas to occur which involve various actors -- the young woman; her best friends who are also prostitutes; her pimp (if she has one); her customers (many who are regulars); the street/room she works; her parents; her children; the police; official crime statistics; social workers. In these, there are no experiences of being a young prostitute, per se, but the relationships and settings do provide the definition. Each dictate a particular relationship sometimes in and of themselves, sometimes with each other. The notion "adolescent prostitute" does not serve to analyze its work organization and its disjuncture. It does, however, organize

the young prostitute for her relation to the various "systems" within the relations of ruling.

As previously noted, it is particularly problematic that the young prostitute's livelihood has been determined to be illegal within the relations of ruling. Her involvement in prostitution and the criminal justice system is made accountable in terms of the concept of prostitution. Thus it collects procedures entering prostitute, police, lawyers, judges and others into a course of action specialized to deal with this category of adolescent prostitution as "problem". This concept becomes a basis on which the work of prostitution is organized and interpreted in relation to the criminal justice system. It does this not just by providing a criminal justice staff to analyze and describe how the adolescent prostitute is a problem. Or not just by reinforcing how that problem ties to her fragmented family life and all of the other pathological variables the relations of ruling have reinforced. It also provides the young prostitute herself with a procedure for analyzing how these socially defined "defects" lead her into prostitution and inevitable results in involvement with the criminal justice system and adding to her own blame. As Mandy noted:

Like everybody tells you [prostitution is not right] -- like the workers and shit. And you do it so then you sometimes feel like shit, you know. Like you try to not let it bother you but it does, you know, sometimes (Mandy, Transcript J26M2-33).

The force of this effect is enhanced by the relations of ruling in how the interpretive practices rendering prostitution accountable do not identify it as legitimate. The relations of ruling have morally presupposed prostitution as an activity that bad girls and women become involved in when they deviate from

traditional societal roles and expectations. Prostitutes need not be sexually perverted women who hate themselves or men or both, in order to explain why they would enter prostitution.

To begin to recover the character of the work of adolescent prostitution is only the first step. The next step is to explore how adolescent prostitution is embedded in the social relations of the extended social and economic process. This involves sketching a design. The design differs somewhat from the discourse of female youth prostitution outlined in Figure 4.1. That figure attempted to place the voice of the young women I spoke with into a particular pattern in order for the organization of female youth prostitution to become more concrete. Figure 5.1 organizes female youth prostitution within the larger macro social structure.

Figure 5.1 describes the relations implicated in and organizing the everyday world as analyzing adolescent prostitution as a work process in the expanded social relations in which adolescent prostitution is embedded. The figure suggests how the work of prostitution is a complex set of relations that are organized with a particular social and material context. The figure reproduces the focused character of the alternative framework which begins from the particular standpoint of the female adolescent prostitute and structures the representation of other relations from this perspective. The figure, "adolescent prostitute" is a constituent of a discourse,

Figure 5.1 Sketching the Design of the Adolescent Prostitute

identifying it as a particular social and economic niche that has been further criminalized within the work organization of prostitution generally.

Such actual work processes need to be situated in their material conditions. This directs one to differences in the way in which prostitution works and how it has been denied legitimacy as a form of work in the social organization of the relations of ruling. This is also exemplified in Webber's research. Patsy, a young prostitute, illustrates the way in which criminal sanctions against prostitution serve to deny prostitutes both human rights and legal recourse following abuse.

"Sometimes I think the tricks are a cakewalk compared to the cops. Some of them like beating up on street kids; they get off on it. I'm a juvey, right? You'd think they'd go a little easier on me, or try to help me get off the street. The only street they want to help me get off is theirs ... Cops here won't even take charges from hookers on bad tricks, Only on pimps. You want to charge a pimp with living off the avails and they're all ears; you want to charge a trick with attempted homicide and they dummy up, tell you it's the price of doing business and basically what you deserve anyway! After all, you're just a worthless whore!" --Patsy, 15 years (Webber, 1991; 84).

This finding was also supported by the young women I spoke with. Because of what you do, you are afforded fewer rights and blamed if you're beaten by a trick. As a result, you become even more endangered and at risk of further violence. Mandy quite plainly stated, "you can't [go to the cops] when you're underage and doin' something that's illegal"

The intervention, or lack of intervention, of the state at different levels through legislation, policing, denial of social services and sexist and moralistic research agendas, sustains and maintains the social relations that reproduce inequality through prostitution. The articulation of the work process of prostitution has not been viewed as ideologically "female" by the relations of ruling. Rather, "female" has been defined through the gendered subtext of traditional roles of monogamous heterosexual wife, mother and daughter. The young prostitute rejects these ideologies while she is working in the sex trade, however, so to have the "regular married" male customers.

The differences described by a young woman in Mathew's (1989) research articulates the rejection within the relations of ruling.

"...I feel the media exploits. The cops do too. All that stuff they had

in the paper for a while there, it just brought so much heat on us. A lot of the articles said 'whores are everywhere', and there's a difference. My work and my personal life, as far as sex is concerned are completely separate" (Sara, 18 years; Mathews, 1989: 20).

The state is implicated in her rejection of the interpretation of the status quo through media, laws and regulation. Adolescent prostitutes experience multi-levels of state intervention. Prostitution, in general, may be tolerated by society. The adolescent prostitute, however, "offends social values and morals". This results in the further criminalization of the young woman's behaviours but not enough to deter older men wanting to buy young sex.

Exploring the everyday work experience of adolescent prostitution enables one to identify in a preliminary way a social relation articulating what constitutes the work process. Prostitution is seen to enter into a more general set of relations of legitimacy and state. The investigation of this enables one to display the determinations of the actual everyday world implicated in the process. It is a method of analysis that enables one to discover the effects of economic conditions. It also allows one to begin to understand the shifting bases of relations to see where concealed bases of common interest and concern exist among women (Smith, 1987: 175).

One example of how Smith's (1987) framework goes beyond the traditional approaches to female adolescent prostitution may be exemplified in analyzing the role of pimps. Traditional sociology and criminology have focused on pimps in a particular generalized manner. The pimp has been viewed as "parasitic" exploiter (Badgley, 1984), protector (Davis, 1971) and father figure (Campagna and

Poffenberger, 1988). In "reality" this perception is problematic. Within the relationship between pimps and young female prostitutes is a mixture of many features that finds the young woman as both victim and actor. It is an interactive relationship that may find the young female prostitute obtaining benefits over and above traditional instrumental (i.e., protection etc.) interests. There is a tension that surrounds the role of the pimp. The young woman may in fact feel in control of her sexuality by sleeping with someone and feeling "protected" by her "man". Using Smith's methodology enables one to unmask or unravel women's sexuality while preserving or in terms of maintaining her subjectivity. What the young prostitute does is socially reinforced as "bad" and, as a result, she internalizes that it is also a "bad" thing. Using Smith to make sense of the young woman's relationship with her pimp acknowledges that the young female prostitute experiences both constraint and agency. This is exemplified in the voice of the young women I spoke with. Their voice illustrates the problematics that exist.

My, um, well I wouldn't call him my pimp, but my boss, he ran an escort agency. It's still in the papers. He would get phone calls. He would come get me and pick me up and take me to the hotel rooms - - visit the hotel room. You'd do your thing and he waits for you, you know and that's basically that. So I don't know as much about Ottawa. I know through other girls but that's not my experience. In Toronto, I just hooked up with people. They knew the players and I got to know, you know. And, there's a lot of, you know, their morals are really fucked but there's a lot of respect, I guess (Angela Transcript J22A4-3).

[My pimp] was okay. He wasn't all that bad, you know. Like, he didn't like hurt us or anything. As long as we did our business, like he was pretty cool (Mandy Transcript J26M1-30).

Angela discusses her relationship with her "boss" as the one who takes care of everything. He makes the arrangements; he picks her up; he waits for her and is there for her should anything go "wrong". There is an emotional connection to the pimp that comes through the language as Angela speaks. Yet, on the other hand she talks about people in the business morals being "fucked". She is mediating for me and perhaps herself that their activities could be judged. Mandy, again, mediates between speaking with emotional commitment to the fact that her "pimp" never hurt her but qualifies this by saying "he wasn't all that bad".

The role of the pimp, therefore, is such that he performs instrumental tasks such as those described by Angela, on one hand, but simultaneously he also provides symbolic needs for the young woman. She is therefore not strictly a victim. Their relationship is more than the pimp exploiting the young women. The pimp/young prostitute relationship, as described by Angela and Mandy, exemplifies the bifurcated consciousness that controls women's sexuality by men on one hand and how that is completely contradicted by being involved in a "traditional" heterosexual relationship that involves male controlled sexuality on the other. As a result, the young women mediate anti-social sex in a socially correct way. They do this by telling me that "his morals are fucked" but his process is correct. That is, he is their protector and decisionmaker -- a bad thing but the "right" way. She recognizes this and tells me "in code" because she is looking at it from within.

The young women also discussed the tensions and double standard about experiencing freedom, excitement and hating the work, on one hand, as they

challenge the control of women's sexuality, but find themselves completely oppressed because they are involved in illegitimate sexual activities on the other. This is despite the fact that the gendered subtext of the service they provide is socially constructed (i.e., men perceive themselves as "needing" sex within the relations of ruling). How the young women make sense of their profession, however, is structured strictly along lines of control (e.g., keeping the family intact). They are caught but free in a constrained way. The relations of ruling remain intact by rationalizing the individual. Adolescent prostitution is an all oppressive institution that is rationalized through myths of male sexual needs and traditional values of family. Prostitution is a gendered and hierarchial institution that values youth and beauty. The relations of ruling ensure that it remains intact. For example, a young woman involved in prostitution is breaking the "good girl" rules set by the relations of ruling. She enters a profession that services anyone who will pay her. She has crossed the line but finds her clients treating her like a "whore" or "ho".

The rules change as the young women become more entrenched. Whoredom is not a separate kingdom from the straight heterosexual world. It is gendered and hierarchal and a part of a whole social system. It is controlled and structured. It is a myth that whoredom is liberating. On one hand there is a sense of individual freedom but it is a regulated hierarchy. On the other hand, within the straight world, there is a preconceived notion of freedom but it is sexually controlled by men -- "sickos" vs. normalized sexual "needs". The young women continuously mediate between these two worlds. For example, when describing their customers, Mandy,

Angela and Sarah depicted them as "pervs", psychos and normals. Who is left?

The young women's consciousness become bifurcated because their lived experiences do not match the social explanations of what their lives should be. Their bifurcated consciousness points out the contradictions between their "reality" and the social construction of that reality. To make sense of these contradictions, the young women mediate between mainstream "beliefs" and actual experiences. Traditional researchers when looking at people's deviant behaviours, mediate not by questioning the mainstream but by objectifying these people. The system is defining that the people are "deviant" and then pathologize or attempt to explain their deviant behaviour. Bifurcated consciousness thus occurs on two levels. First, the gendered subtext explanations of female deviance are male. Therefore, women mediate between their lived experiences and men's interpretation of that experience. This may explain why women who are raped, for example, blame themselves rather than coping with the violation. The second is that sociological/criminological explanations of women have less room to manoeuvre. It has depicted prostitutes as eternal victims. These are questionable interpretations of women's experiences because they are much more complex. The young prostitute is both victim and actor. Her constraint may involve victimization, but the gendered hierarchy that affects how she makes sense of this is unique to women and their sexuality. Therefore, Smith's approach legitimizes the complex process that people work out to make sense of the many contradictions that they are facing. Through the example of pimps, we can see how Smith enables us to unmask and unravel the contradictions and problematics

that acknowledges both constraint and agency within the young woman prostitute.

Another way of approaching this is through the question, "Why do men buy sex?" How do we unpack the social avenues that have viewed women as targets of sexual release as a learned behaviour? Related to this is the commercial interest in adolescent prostitution. It is apparent that in a capitalist society, driven by commodities and profit, the adolescent prostitute is a commodity in demand. In fact, her youth is her premium asset. Perhaps one can think of this in a way which is not dichotomous. Morality appears to derive from the economy and not the other way around. Adolescent prostitution flourishes because of sexism which is a by-product of a capitalist society founded on private property. The power it accords is primarily male-serving. It is a flex of power in the form of superiority over women and "youth".

Turning to a second example, sexism in economic, political and social life are continuously exemplified in several ways. One particular local example is evident in a recent episode between a politician and his attempt to publicize "the life". Appendix III is a newspaper article that recently appeared in The Ottawa Citizen on July 30, 1993. A male politician, with assembled reporters and television camera crew outside a dwelling rumoured to be the home of prostitutes and drug-users, attempted to exploit the people who lived there. When a young woman left the apartment under seige, he automatically questioned what she did for a living, assuming her to be a prostitute. The young woman was not a hooker and was infuriated that, "just because we live here, he assumes we're all hookers". He apologized but then replied that "the thought of what she does for a living crosses

everyone's mind everyday in Lowertown". He claimed he did not do it for the publicity but rather "there's a real problem", revealing the blatant sexism. The individual was female, young and coming out of a place rumoured to be an "unchaste" residence, therefore, he concluded that she was a hooker. He was a male politician, with a camera crew in tow, judging how this young woman makes a living based on where she lives in a particular part of town. No one questions what he was doing there. No one questions what he does for a living. No one questions where he lives.

Sexism is deeply convoluted in prostitution. Put simply, the argument is that women exchange sex in marriage for security and that prostitution is somehow a perverse extension of women's traditional female role. Thus, assumptions about women's behaviour influences assumptions about the crimes they commit. Despite the fact that prostitution has typically been defined as a "female crime", it is a behaviour that requires minimally two persons, usually one man and one woman. Combined with the fact that the female prostitute services more than one male client, and that there is an increased number of males getting involved in prostitution as prostitutes (Weisberg, 1985; Mathews, 1989; Youth Services Bureau, 1991), one could easily claim that more men than women are involved in prostitution. Thus, if quantity were what mattered it would be a male crime. But the emphasis is hardly ever pitched in terms that question, "Why do men buy sex from little girls?"

The inter-connected complex matrixes in the relations of ruling constitute and reinforce a distorted perspective in many ways. Customers and pimps of adolescent

prostitutes are rarely arrested (Hornick and Bolitho, 1992); whereas prostitutes commonly face charges (Statistics Canada, 1993). Customers are hardly ever harassed but the young women are harassed and blamed every night they work. The Department of Justice (1989) evaluation on Bill C-49 confirms that prostitutes, mostly women, are sentenced more severely than their customers. The state has not been consistent in its treatment of prostitution. It is filled with contradictions and problematics. For example, as some prostitutes' voices suggest:

"...In Belgium my profession is banned, but it is also accepted. We prostitutes in Belgium have to pay high taxes...about two million Belgium francs over a period of five years. We say that if we've got to pay all these taxes, then we ought to be free to practice our profession properly. But our mayor wants to close all the brothels so we are asking what we ought to do. We want to work but...we have to pay such high taxes and not be allowed to work properly...The police come to a brothel and say, "We are shutting the shop and you can't work" (Linda, Belgium prostitute; Pheterson, 1989: 95-6).

"...in Austria and France they [the government] estimate the earnings of a woman [prostitute] and, if she does report her income, they [the government] doesn't believe what she says [and tax her what they think she should pay]" (Margo St. James, prostitute; Pheterson, 1989: 96).

"...French prostitutes...are so discouraged, so harassed by daily fines which are higher every day, that they [prostitutes] have been totally demoralized. They [prostitutes] are fed up. They almost no longer believe that the situation can improve and yet ...absolutely determined to go as far as the Court of Justice, to the World Court in The Hague, to get our rights honoured from the point of view of simple human respect. They are determined to tell the injustices which they are subjected to to win recognition of the fact that a prostitute is a mother like any other mother, a worker like any other worker, a woman who does harm to no one, a woman with rights who is perfectly normal from a human point of view" (Griselidis, French prostitute; Pheterson, 1989: 66).

These examples exemplify the everyday contradictions and paradoxes that

constitutes the everyday world as problematic for prostitutes. To be a prostitute is not illegal and even when it is legal, there are still lineaments of oppression. This is particularly so for the young female prostitute who participates illegally in prostitution but who is in great demand and highly valued by her customers.

5.3 Action for Change

Women's major political discovery as women has been expressed in the phrase "the personal is political". This phrase locates an invasion of the most intimate relationships, the immediate particularities of women's lives, and the power relations between persons. We have seen how personal experiences of oppression are founded and sustained by a patriarchal organization of ruling (Smith 1987: 211).

The method of thinking and writing sociology in a manner like Smith (1987) has articulated, is a systematic development of a consciousness that traces relations from the standpoint of "she who stands at the beginning of her acts of consciousness". As discussed in Chapter 4, in addition to reflecting on the experience of female youth prostitution, it is necessary for young female prostitutes to also be a part of action for change. This was reflected in one of the final questions that was put forward to the young women I spoke with. They were asked to describe how the system could change to better serve them. As discussed in Chapter 4, Sarah and Mandy identified the need for a service to help young women who want to get off the street but more than the types of services that are currently available. Rather, they described a service that understood their experiences; one that did not pass judgment or blame

them; and a service that also provided them with the necessary protection to get out. Angela, on the other hand, was concerned with the arbitrary lines drawn by, technically, provincial legislation that designates to many youth services that assumes at 16 years you should be dealing with your problems, and by 18 your problems can no longer be an excuse, despite whether you have begun the healing process or not. These are methods that involve the experience of those who the services are aimed to help but often do not include them. Services for prostitutes have been identified as a social need. However, more importantly, is the fact that both Sarah and Mandy identified the need for involvement of people who understood their experiences to be a part of the program, where prostitutes could talk to other prostitutes. There is a consciousness directed toward change that involves the very people it aims to protect.

This same consciousness is evident in a collective international movement of prostitutes. It is a movement seeking full recognition for women's demands for human rights. The women's point of entry is the fact that they are all sex trade workers. It is problematic for them that everyday they mediate between their livelihoods and fighting for legitimacy. This movement is organized by prostitutes for prostitutes. Traditionally, it has been almost unprecedented for prostitutes to speak on their own behalf. Many professionals have instead spoken for them, whether it be the doctors and politicians who fought for state regulation or feminists and religious leaders who fought for the abolition of prostitution. Activists have historically worked to protect, supervise, reform and/or condemn those who sell sex

(Pheterson, 1989: 3). Prostitutes have seldom been legitimized as spokespersons or self-determining agents -- not by those who defend their actions and not by those who depend upon their services.

There is a strong, self-organized international network that began in the United States in 1973. Margo St. James was the first contemporary prostitute to organize and speak out for the rights of sex workers. She founded the organization COYOTE. The name was chosen to symbolize the animal which is forced by persecuting ranchers to migrate and which, despite having a promiscuous reputation, mates for life. It is also an acronym for Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics. The purpose of St. James's efforts was to increase national awareness about state and police abuse of prostitutes and to effect changes in laws and attitudes. For example, in 1974, St. James successfully organized a strategy to eradicate the quarantine of prostitutes forced to reside in San Francisco jails for results of involuntary gonorrhoea tests. Other organizations have since formed internationally; for example, Toronto's CORP (Canadian Organization of the Rights for Prostitutes) and Vancouver's POWER (Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights) have organized and lobbied on behalf of prostitutes in Canada. In general, prostitutes have explained the law and other institutions that feed into it as institutionalized attempts to isolate and silence them. (Pheterson 1989: 4-8).

International networking between prostitutes, feminists, journalists, and lawyers allowed for the organization of two international conferences for prostitutes. The purposes of these congresses were to discuss laws, human rights, working

conditions, health, social services, taxes and public education issues that affect prostitutes' everyday worlds. The International Committee for Prostitutes' Rights recognizes prostitution as adult work. Children are thought to have the right to support from families, communities and the state. Despite this grassroots movement, however, the young female prostitute has not been included. Retrospectively, the older prostitutes have argued for services for children in severed or abusive families and services for homeless or runaway children have been deemed social priorities for every society. The young female prostitute remains on the margins.

Using a sociology for women which preserves the female adolescent prostitute as subject, enables one to go beyond the traditional descriptive research. The methodology explores some of the difficult underlying issues that surrounds the organization of female adolescent prostitution that has not been visible in the current research.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As outlined in the introduction, the thesis is grounded in the assumption that the inability to remove adolescent prostitution from its historical sexist and moralistic social conceptualization is related to preserving the female criminal as sexual deviant. The thesis discusses how this approach has affected the research on female youth prostitution. In addition, it proposes and utilizes an alternative feminist framework that aims at maintaining the young female prostitute as the subject of study, beginning with her everyday world as problematic as her entry point into the knowledge on female youth prostitution.

Chapter 2 is a description of the literatures reviewed in the thesis: feminist frameworks; several traditional sociological or criminological theories on female deviance; and the literature on adolescent prostitution. The literature is reviewed and discussed in terms of the invisibility of women or simplistically theorized. In particular, however, it has been argued that traditionally women have been defined predominantly according to their sexuality. As a result, how women have been depicted affects how the phenomenon of female adolescent prostitution has been discussed, researched and controlled. Chapter 3 discusses a feminist alternative framework as supported by Dorothy Smith. Chapter 4 is a discussion on the implementation of this framework. Chapter 5 is a discussion of the findings and its impact on our understanding of female youth prostitution.

The proposed alternative framework utilized in the thesis comes from the underside in an understanding of patriarchal organization from the standpoint of

those who have been marginalized by its social order, i.e., women subjects. It is during the encounter between the local and particular experiences of women and the extra-local, universalizing discourses of professional expertise, as the location of women's entry point. Smith (1987) proposes an alternative sociology that transgresses established boundaries of sociology and criminology to provide a sociology that utilizes the voice of women from the perspective of where they enter their everyday worlds as problematic. It exemplifies how women mediate to legitimize the many contradictions that they occur on a daily basis.

This thesis involved two analytical processes. The first concentrated on the phenomenon of sociological/criminological theorizing on female deviance and how women's experience have been silenced or misrepresented within these disciplines. The second was a discussion of how traditional sociology/criminology has interpreted the phenomenon of adolescent prostitution. Jane, Sarah, Angela and Mandy shared their experiences as the understated from their point of entry into their everyday worlds of female adolescent prostitution. Their experience and voice were obtained and utilized as the subject rather than the object of study. Their voice reinforced the many problematics they experience daily. These young women continuously mediated to make sense of their everyday lives as young women prostitutes. As they reflected and consulted on the research design, the anger, frustration and desperation that fills many of these young women's lives as they understand them emerged as did their attempts to mediate contradictions to "make sense" of them.

The method of institutional ethnographies, as supported by Smith (1987),

indicated that institutional interests infuse firstly, the language of established disciplines, but more importantly, the everyday life in a taken-for-granted manner. Thus, for example, the term "adolescent prostitute" is a description of a woman who defies the traditional roles that are perpetuated through the relations of ruling. These rules identify such women as "abnormal" and seeks an explanation of her behaviour by seeking "abnormal patterns". A position which is routinely invoked by police, social workers and policymakers, for example, to account for the "problem" of adolescent prostitutes. Sociological/criminological research has been utilized to reinforce these ideals of the relations of ruling. Established sociology, criminology and psychology, and the state, as well define adolescent prostitution on the basis of sexuality. They gloss over courses of her sense of being a subject.

Using a feminist alternative, the "problematic" of her everyday world finds the young prostitute being logically organized by practices that are not just part of the local setting, but rather the extra-local setting of the state. These immediately affect her everyday. They shape the restrictions placed on her. She must mediate invisible decisions (e.g., where, when and how she can or cannot work) or mediate the blame and judgments that affect not only how she perceives herself but what she does.

A feminist sociology according to Smith (1987) is not a sociology about women but rather a knowledge of the social world from women's epistemological standpoint (Smith, 1987:8). Jane, Sarah, Mandy and Angela provide a particular knowledge on the everyday world of female youth prostitution. Smith argues that women do occupy a distinctive position, not because they all share common experiences or a feminine

culture that is affected by class, race and poverty, but because women all participate in a special form of women's work. Through a bifurcated consciousness, women mediate between their lived world of practical experience and transformative work and the world of abstract conceptual form which does not adequately reflect their world but claims that it does (Smith, 1987:86). This justifies a commonality for women as they struggle to reconcile their lived reality with the abstract descriptions that do not accurately reflect this reality.

One central part of women's lived experience is work and the impact of the organization of work on women's lives. Chapter 3 addresses the how the concept of "work" has been organized according to Smith (1987). Gender is central to work organization and women are often divided into social categories on the basis of performing sexual labour and/or sexual identity. Within the sex industry, the prostitute's work is most explicitly organised by legal and social sanctions. Also among self-defined prostitutes, a hierarchy exists with street workers on the bottom and call girls on the top involving both young and older women. But more general gendered relations of ruling are also key in shaping women's work experiences. For example, women's efforts to distance oneself from explicit sex work reinforces prejudice against prostitutes and reinforce sexual shame among women. Outside the sex trade, women are likewise divided by status, history, identity and appearance. Non-prostitutes are frequently pressured to deliver sexual services in the form of sex, smiles, style of dress or affection; those services are rarely compensated with pay and may even diminish female status. In general, the Madonna-Whore dichotomy is

imposed upon all women wherein those who are sexually assertive are considered whores and those who are sexually passive are considered Madonnas. Thus, women in the sex trade are not as "abnormal" compared to other women in the sexual nature of work.

Viewing sex trade work as "work" is a concept that sex trade workers, at least, have recognized. At the 1984 First World Whore's Congress, prostitutes insisted on the recognition of prostitution as a legitimate work decision, be it a decision based on choice or necessity (Pheterson, 1989: 34). Sex trade workers face many contradictions and problematics though most women workers are expected to often lose status offering some type of sexual favours in their work, sex trade workers are punished for using sex explicitly and to their clear benefits. In order to comprehend where the young prostitute is when entering her everyday world, one must also identify the contradiction and problematics that all prostitutes are affected by.

The criminal justice system places a key role in shaping the contradictions and problematics of prostitution. It has historically defined prostitution as a victimless crime that involves females. Yet prostitutes have very often borne the brunt of punishment by the police and the law and by social ridicule. Prostitutes continue to be socially "victimized" on a daily basis. The law's subtext appears to be neutral and universal acting against both prostitute and client. However, if any "victims" exist in the relationship between the adolescent prostitute and her customer, it's her customer whose identity has been protected by the relations of ruling while she is publicly prosecuted. The young prostitutes become the moral and sexually defined

criminals, whereas the johns appear to be little more than a public nuisance at best.

These contradictions and problematics of the prostitutes world are shaped by patriarchal relations. Prostitutes in traditional patriarchal societies transgress the fundamental associations between female sexuality being affectivity and linked to maternity. They replace these with the association of female sexuality as it relates to commerce. Patriarchal ideology sustains both sets of associations and provides their common basis; that is, the definition of the woman in terms of her sexual function. Prostitution helps maintain the traditional sexual morality which is in force by limiting the definition of sex to the relation of penetration between a man and a woman; by confirming that the sexuality of men is different restricted to not affective relations and paternity, but an instinct which it is necessary to satisfy, by the way in which the research agenda has been designed and reinforced and also by providing the woman with a negative model which is not to be imitated (Andrieu-Sanz and Vasquez-Anton; 1989: 76). Thus, prostitutes recognize that women are defined by their sexuality and men's access to it. But as they attempt to take control over their sexuality they "unmask" women's sexual subjection to men. Women may not control their sexuality -- that is the right of fathers and husbands. By depicting prostitutes as being deviants, as "bad" girls, women controlling their sexuality is reinforced as deviant. Though the current rhetoric asserts that women should have "control" over their sexuality, the women who tries to take control (for whatever reason) is punished. This raises questions about the role of pimps. Where as is legitimate in the straight world, women's sexuality is "controlled" by a man. Thus pimps can be

seen as more than exploiters. They are also providing the women with a proper sexual behaviour model -- her sexuality is "controlled" and she has a legitimate male protector.

The adolescent prostitute is somewhat unique given that she is both a female and young. Many have difficulty with this second aspect. This is even problematic for the prostitution movement which does not want to see children involved in the sex trade. If prostitution were to be extended to the definition of work, child labour laws have been argued as a means of protecting youths from becoming involved. Given the historical interest in youth as a commodity, it is difficult to assess whether or not this would be the case. The contradictions that emerge as a result of being young centre around the ability of young people to make informed adult choices. Such choices are labelled 'adult' when they conform and "immature or "bad" when they deviate. The creation of adolescence as a social category, its "constructed" nature, opens it up to review in ways similar to gender -- suggesting contradictions and power relations creating a version of adolescent "reality" that is not linked to lived experience.

It has been argued that the female adolescent prostitute is both victim and actor. Therefore, one needs to be careful not to objectify prostitutes by referring to them as eternal victims. As previously indicated, abolitionists have replied to prostitutes claim of sexual self-determination as self-defense. They add that freedom and consciousness are exceptions within prostitution and that the majority of prostitutes are victimized women and children, thus denying the prostitute any form

of self-determination under current conditions and with legal or social reform. Feminists throughout the world have not been immune to social, legal and ideological distortions of the lives of prostitutes. Many are isolated from women in the sex industry. A common misconception among feminists may be the belief that women are protected by efforts to abolish prostitution (e.g., reformation of prostitutes and punishment of customers). These are solutions found within the boundaries of the ruling apparatus. They are "solutions" that are interwoven through the relations of ruling and can only further oppress prostitutes in the end.

Our existing knowledge of prostitution has produced a view of this work that see women as victims or as deviants or both. How can we understand this "knowledge"? The construction of knowledge is a political process. Universities and research institutes are still largely the domain of white, middle and upper class males. These demographic features suggest bias and this is important. What is often less obvious is how the choice of research areas, research "rules of the road", and the control of research methodology and funding help to construct and legitimate male power and maintain current relations (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 27). The methods of the relations of ruling has, in effect, controlled the creation of certain kinds of knowledge. This control may be challenged by demystifying the process. Thus, it is important for research to be more inclusive and reflexive and non-interventionist. Research needs to include the persons of study as the subject of inquiry and experts on their everyday worlds. A feminist sociology as defined by Dorothy Smith enables different feminisms to utilize its framework which can be sociologically powerful and

politically emancipatory. Epistemological quality only becomes an issue when either sociologist or subject is privileged over the other. Sociologists and subjects need not to view themselves as owners of differently valued canons but rather as co-subjects in a jointly created world (Smith, 1987:141). The understanding of women and crime, i.e., female adolescent prostitution, needs to be broadened to include the general position of women within a given social context including an examination of the social and economic factors that are apart of women's everyday worlds.

The purpose of the described feminist framework is to go beyond what has already been researched and theorized by established disciplines, but to take it one step further and put it into a perspective that begins with how the female adolescent prostitute enters her everyday world; and legitimize that her world is filled with contradictory problematics and paradoxes that have their origin in the extra-local levels of patriarchy. A strategy of this kind can contribute tremendously to the literature aimed at understanding the phenomenon of female adolescent prostitution by building on what is already there. Research needs to go beyond the conventional pathological and economic opportunity models and extending the descriptives factors that lead to involvement. A feminist framework allows these findings to be put into a perspective that gives voice to the object of study as the subject of shared knowledge and information to explain how she makes sense of her life in "the life". In addition, if change is to evolve then it needs to includes the very people it will effect.

The explanation of the phenomenon of adolescent prostitution is to be sought

in the varying definitions of woman, in terms of her sexual function, provided by patriarchal ideology and resistances to it. The concrete forms that this ideology belongs to are related to the social structure of the environing society and change along with it, as do the forms and manifestations of prostitution itself, forever the dark side of ideal woman (Andrieu-Sanz and Vasquez-Anton; 1989: 79). The type of power women have had is easily summarized in the voice of one young prostitute:

"It's sad, eh, when the only power a girl's got in this world is between her legs"..."Don't let the girls fool you. Even if we've figured out a way to live with what we're doing, deep down we all hate it. We got no choices it's that simple".

In conclusion, a feminist sociology is more than a critique of the everyday life and more than the linking of these to macro-micro understanding. It is also a means of building in the modern condition of powerlessness. Faced with the need to interpret and develop a policy for the phenomenon of female youth prostitution, it is necessary to address and consider the economic and cultural changes that underlies these young women and the different ideological elements imposed by society that directly affects how the young prostitute is involved but not clearly visible within it. Female youth involved in prostitution is problematic but so too are the alternatives offered to them. There is a need for theories of crime to account for both males and females behaviour in order to understand why they become involved in particular behaviours as well. Whether a particular theory or method contributes to the understanding of female criminality better, is of fundamental, not marginal significance for sociology and criminology (Morris, 1987: 2).

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APPENDIX I: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

- * Begin by asking the young women to describe their involvement in prostitution.**
- 1. Prostitution means different things to different people. How would you define prostitution? What does it mean to you?**
- 2. Why did you become involved in prostitution? Do you think its the same for other young women who are involved?**
- 3. What is/was the extent of your involvement? (Full-time, Part-time, just when you needed money)**
- 4. In your own words, how would you describe your everyday life? What is/was a typical day for you while you are working?**
- 5. Based on your experience, how is female youth street prostitution organized? Who are the players involved? What are their relationships to each other?**
- 6. Have you only worked the street or have you also worked for a service/house? Do you think its better to work the street? Why?**
- 7. Would you describe what you do/did as a job? Why?**
- 8. How would you describe your customers? (old, young, married, regulars) How were you usually treated by them?**
- 9. Why do you think men buy sex?**
- 10. How would you describe your living arrangements?**
- 11. The media would have us believe that pimps are major players. Is this an accurate perception? [How would you describe your relationship with your pimp? (if alluded to)]**
- 12. How would you describe your relationship with the older women hookers (18 or so)? Aside from age, is there any other differences between the young workers and the older ones?**
- 13. Who are your friends? How would you describe your relationship with your friends? How about other young female workers?**
- 14. How would you describe your relationship with your family?**

15. Most women take precautions to protect themselves. What measures do/did you take to protect yourself while you were working?
16. How would you describe your worst experience on the street?
17. What is/was your relationship with the outreach workers? Do/did you feel they respect you?
18. Have/where you ever been involved with social services in any way? (welfare, children's aid) If yes, how would you describe your experience with them?
19. How would you describe your relationship with police?
20. Have you ever been to court as a witness or accused? If yes, how were you treated by the lawyers and judges?
21. The media would have us believe that drugs are a significant part of the "life". Is this an accurate perception, in your opinion? Why?
22. Could you describe who you would contact if/when you needed help? (short of money, needed a place to stay) Why?
23. If you are/were in trouble, who would you contact? Why?
24. How long do/did you see yourself working the business?
25. What are some of the positive aspects about the business?
26. What do/did you dislike the most about it? [Is that why you got out of it?]
27. What makes you happy?
28. What makes you sad? What makes you angry?
29. What do you see yourself doing in the future?
30. How do you think the system could change to better serve you?
31. Did you have any problems with the questions I asked you?
32. Is there anything more that you would like to tell me about yourself?

APPENDIX II: Transcripts

TRANSCRIPT

Jane [pseudonym] Pretest Guided Conversation: Jane is an 18 year old woman who lived on the street since she was 15 years old. She has an extreme wealth of knowledge about life on the street and who the players are. She is currently holding down a full-time job in a local restaurant. She would like to some day be a social worker.

July 19, 1993

2:00 p.m

McNabb Community Centre Park

Topic: Female Youth Prostitution

L: Before we begin, I want to ensure your anonymity. If you want, I will use a different name. You will appear in the thesis as my pretest. I will use a pseudonym so that you will be able to identify your own words but that nobody else will. I can use your initials if you prefer.

J: I doesn't matter.

L: This is my first one so I may be a little nervous.

J: O.K. [ha ha]

L: My first question is that prostitution means different things to different people. How would you define prostitution?

J: Define it, you mean like ah, how do I look at prostitution?

L: Yeah. What does prostitution mean to you?

J: Where a girl stands on the street corner and sells their bodies.

L: Does it also apply to women who are doing it but not necessarily only for money like a place to stay. Can it be something other than just for money?

J: No. Money.

L: Why do you think young women become involved in prostitution?

J: Well some of them to support lets say they have kids -- to support their kids. Others are to support their drug habits.

L: So you feel drugs is a large component of why young women do it. That was a question I had for later. The media would certainly have us believe that there is a connection between the two.

J: There is.

L: How would you describe your everyday life while you were on the street. What would be a typical day for you?

J: Hum. It was pretty boring. Just walking around the market. Just hanging out.

L: What time would you get up?

J: I would get up around 1:00 p.m. and just go out and walk around Rideau Street and the Market. Just hang out.

L: Before I go on, could you clarify for me the language that is used to describe young women involved in prostitution. Do they call them juveniles, young girls?

J: What do they call them on the street? Hookers

L: Is there any distinction between the younger ones and the older hookers?

J: No hookers. The only distinction is by where you work.

L: How is that organized?

J: Older women usually work Dalhousie and the younger ones work Cumberland and St. Patrick.

L: The older ones are often visible on Clarence on Murray. Is that also where they work?

J: Oh yeah.

L: Are there other forms of prostitution such as perhaps a room or flophouse where men may be brought to?

J: I don't know about that.

L: Would you describe what the hookers do as a job?

J: Yeah.

L: Most of us have jobs to make ends meet. Is it the same in your mind for hookers?

J: Well, not exactly. Like I said before, for some of them it might be to make ends meet but for a lot of them it's just so they can get their next fix.

L: The young ones, too?

J: Yeah.

L: That's interesting because you know where the park is on the corner at St. Patrick and Cumberland. Well, during my observations I've noticed that there is a lot of activity going on in there. I assumed that it was mostly tricks but is some of that activity drug-related?

J: I'm not sure.

L: Why do you think men buy sex? -- This is my favourite question.

J: I don't know. I guess they can't get it anywhere else. Or maybe they're rich men who don't want a relationship but still want to have sex -- no ties. Or an old married man who just wants a fling.

L: That's interesting because some of the stuff I have recently read indicates that most of the johns are married men. You would think it would be the dogs but it's the established ones.

J: Yeah I know.

L: Do you know what the living arrangements are for the young hookers?

J: In prostitution? Most of them live in rooming houses around the market area.

L: That's pretty common?

J: Oh yeah.

L: For the young women working Cumberland are they tied to pimps?

J: A lot of the hookers that I know downtown don't even have pimps. They're doing it on their own free will. You know they're going out, especially the younger ones, they're going out -- cause I know a couple of them that just had a baby and they're not getting enough money from Welfare so they're going out and selling their body.

L: I guess you get stuck. You need to be able feed your kid.

J: Yeah and they get caught and CAS [Children's Aid Society] comes and takes the kid away because you're selling your body on the street.

L: Is the assumption that she's not a good mother? Is that it?

J: I know. It happened to friend of mine 'cause she was selling her body and working down on Cumberland and St. Patrick trying to make ends meet so that her baby Kate¹ could have food. And she got picked up by the Youth Task Force and CAS was in before she could say "boo" and her kid was gone for a year.

L: Is there an automatic assumption that she's not a good mother because she's trying to make ends meet to feed her kid?

J: Yeah. Well automatically the first thing I find that cops think when they pick up a hooker that, you know, no matter what you tell a cop; if you're saying to him, "Listen, I'm just doing it 'cause I need to eat or my baby needs to eat", they're going to say, "Bullshit, we know the truth. Look at you. Look at the way you're dressed. You're just looking for your next fix". You know, and while they're searching you they'll sit there and say, "If I get stabbed by a needle you know you're going to get a beating". It's like you don't have anything on you and it's like "Wake Up!"

L: So there's a real "attitude" out there between cops and hookers. That's interesting because the media coverage would have us believe that there is a real sincerity out there and that they [cops] really care.

J: Well I think they're stupid because the cops that they put out on the market area, right. They're the ones who bust the ones on Rideau Street. And they're the ones who go and bust the hookers. I think they should have different cops for that because I know the cops that bust people on Rideau Street. They're total pricks. I mean I could be sitting there waiting for a bus and they'd come up to me and tell me to empty my pockets. Minding my own business. I wouldn't be even sitting with the drug dealers or anything, right? Just minding my own business and they'll ride up to me on their bikes and ... "Want to empty your pockets for us." "Why?" "We have reason to believe you're trafficking drugs." I empty my pockets and there you go. "Are you happy know?" It's like total harassment down on Rideau Street.

L: Hum. And the same cops that do the drugs do the hookers? And so they give them the same hard time?

¹ This is a pseudonym for the child so neither the young woman I am speaking with nor the woman whom she is speaking about can be identified.

J: Yeah.

L: Is there a connection that the cops are making between selling drugs and hooking?

J: I have no idea.

L: I sort of touched on this before but I want to make sure I got it. In your experience, aside from age and where they work, there is no real difference between the older hookers and the younger ones.

J: No.

L: Is there a close network then between the hookers?

J: No.

L: No?

J: No. There's, okay, the young girls. Their area is St. Patrick and Cumberland, right. You go up to, let's say, St. Patrick and Dalhousie. If you're a young girl you're asking to get your head kicked in by the older hookers. 'Cause that's their area.

L: Even if no one is working there?

J: Even if no one's working there. One of the hookers that's sharing a corner or something up the street will come and kick you off. 'Cause I used to drink in the back at the Byward Market Cafe. I mean the Byward Cafe. And it's like hookers go in and out of there and you know it. There would be young hookers that I know and they'd be talking to me and they'd see this older hooker come in and she'd say, "Jane hide me. She's gonna' kick my ass for being down in her area." And it's like, "Don't worry. She won't touch you. You're not out on the street. You're in here. Don't worry about it." And they'd walk in and shoot her a look. And I'd be like, "You want to leave her alone, all right?." And they're like, "Oh, you better watch your mouth." One time, I got jumped by two hookers for wearing a mini-skirt and a shirt -- me and my friend Elizabeth². Because me and Elizabeth, we were just coming back from Hull -- pissed out of our minds. It's like 4:00 in the morning. Hookers are out full force, right. This big black hooker and a big white hooker come up to us. She looks at me and says, "Stealing my business, Chicky-poo?". I turned around and went, "Excuse me?". The next thing I know I had her high heel

² This is a pseudonym for Jane's friend so neither Jane nor the woman whom she is speaking about can be identified.

shoes being thrown at my head. We're out in the parking lot scrapping it out. She doesn't get arrested 'cause her pimp comes and takes her off. I get picked up by the police for disturbing the peace. I'm like, "Excuse me. I was jumped first."

L: Wow. That's wild. There is a real concern then over territory and control that even though they're not working it, they want control over the area.

J: Yeah. I won't walk on Dalhousie Street late at night any more with a tight skirt on or something. God knows, next time maybe five will jump me, right. [laughter] It's like, frig, "Are you jealous? Do I look better than you?"

L: That's probably what they're worried about. You are also young and attractive. That may be a real intimidating factor for the older ones.

J: I ran into this hooker about three weeks later. She was working a different area. She called me over. And I was thinking, "Great, she's gonna try and punch me out again, right". So I walked over and said, "What do you want?" And she goes, "I want to say sorry to you for the other night." And I was like, "Wow. Okay. Why?". And she goes, "Well I was all juiced up". She goes, "I should have known that you weren't a prostitute 'cause I've never seen you around." And I said like "You really insulted me, man. Because of you I spent the night in fucking jail, you know."

L: So then, she would be a local as opposed to one who travels.

J: Yeah.

L: Is there a lot of travelling hookers?

J: I don't think so because you know if you ever walk around in the market a lot, you see the same women all the time. And the only new ones you see are the ones on St. Patrick because that's where the new ones go 'cause it's the only safe place for them to go. Or now they're even moving down to Bank Street, you know. Or even Gladstone too.

L: Yeah I've seen lately some women hitch-hooking on Gladstone.

J: I don't like the ones on Bank Street.

L: Why?

J: 'Cause I feel your area is the Market. You have that so don't try and take over the whole city now, okay?

L: Why do you think they've moved?

J: I don't know.

L: Do you think that they feel it may be safer for them to work there?

J: Maybe they think they won't get busted on Bank Street as quickly as they would down on the Market. You never know.

L: There is a lot of action on Bank Street where the Strip Clubs are so maybe there are a lot of male traffic there.

J: Well they always say, don't they, that men are the horniest when they walk out of a strip joint. And that's the area that they are always in. I remember when I first noticed hookers on Bank Street I was walking out of Donair Donair, you know on Bank Street.

L: Yeah. Really good donairs there, eh?

J: Yeah, the best. I was with my boyfriend, Mike³ and this girl was wearing what I call "Fuck Me" boots. You know those suede boots up to here [She points to her mid thigh.] with spikes on them this long [approx. 4-5 in.]. And I look at her and say to Mike, "How can she walk in those things," right. She looked Mike up and down from the tip of his toes to the top of his head. And I looked at her and said, "Don't you fucking look at my boyfriend, you Whore!" I walk by her now whenever I'm with Mike. He'd look at her and smile and she would turn her head. And like "Yeah, that's better." 'Cause like you know Bank Street is sort of like my territory. I'm not a hooker or anything. That's where I hang out.

L: Was she new then?

J: Yeah.

L: There used to be a few women who used to work Bank Street but I haven't seen them lately.

J: Yeah it's a lot of the older women too that are selling their bodies on Bank Street.

L: I saw my first Aboriginal hooker in Ottawa on Somerset, not to long ago. Actually it was just last Thursday.

J: I haven't seen her. A lot of the women that work, the older women I know that

³ This is a pseudonym for Jane's friend so neither Jane nor her boyfriend can be identified.

work, on Bank Street work outside "The Lockmaster" and once they pull a trick you see them walking into "The Lockmaster" and back out again. 'Cause I used to drink in "The Lockmaster with Randy"⁴ a lot, right. You notice these things. Randy and I used to sit right in the window, right. Watching right. And I'd go, "See that ol' lady. She's trying to get a trick." Randy would be like, "No way. Maybe I'll go out and get her" It was so funny. [laughter]

L: Yeah, it's not hard to notice. All you have to do is watch for a length of time to get a feel for it. There's a lot of things happening on Bank Street.

J: I remember once I was hanging outside the Byward Cafe just waiting for Randy to come and meet me. And this same car must have circled around. He'd slow down every time he'd pass me and then the fifth time I gave him the finger just to let him know that I'm not working.

L: It's funny you should say that. I was in Montreal not to long ago and when I go to a city I always walk where the hookers are to get a feel for the women and their customers. And I was walking along St. Catherine Street -- and like I was just walking. It wasn't like I was dressed for the occasion. I had a pair of cowboy boots on and a pair of jeans and this guy comes running up beside me and starts to proposition me. He took me so much by surprise and my first reaction was "Sorry, buddy. I'm not working today". [laughter] He says okay and went back looking for someone else. It's funny because in Montreal, I find their dress is much more obvious then the hookers here in Ottawa. Like here they will have spikes and mini-skirts but not the outrageous or flamboyant make-up and stuff.

J: In Toronto, the prostitutes, they wear whatever they want. I know this one prostitute in Toronto, she'd go out and work the street in a pair of jogging pants and get picked up, no problem. And I'd see her and I use to laugh at her and I'd say how are you going to catch a trick like that and she'd say "No problem. Just watch me."

L: Well maybe it was a regular who wouldn't care if she had a potato sack on.

J: Yeah. It's strange too. Like the Salvation Army I remember I was hanging around this hooker that was staying there. Really nice girl, you know. She was like a major blow head but she was a really nice girl. Even when she was fucked up she would come and talk to me. She'd say "Jane, I want to talk to you." But then she'd be so high she'd be sitting there goin' "Sh! Shh!" I used to get a kick out of it. But I was hanging around with her a lot. Rumours started to fly at the Salvation Army that I was a hooker. And my friend who worked the front desk. He was like my big

⁴ This is a pseudonym for Jane's friend so neither Jane nor her friend can be identified.

3 of/de 3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

brother. He took me aside one day and goes "Jane, not to offend you or any thing but rumour has it around with the staff and everyone that you're prostituting." And I was like, "What? Just because I'm hanging around with a hooker I'm doing the very same thing as her." It's like come on give me a break.

L: What you're saying is that they're very quick to judge and associate.

J: It's like judgement. Bang. It's like, "Jane's hanging out with a hooker so we'll see her on York Street", you know. It's not surprising but it made me really mad though, you know. It's like come on. It put's my friend down and it puts me down at the same time.

L: Yeah. It's like judgment is being passed on both of you.

J: Yeah. And it makes you think about what they're saying behind my friend's back, you know. Bein' all sweet to her to her face and what do they say when the door's are closed, you know? It's like, "Kick her out, she's nothing but a whore, or something, you know." She got kicked out something like every second day. Every second day. Well we got kicked out together. Right. I'd go out and get drunk. She'd go out and get high. And we'd come back all fucked up. And it'd be like the next morning they'd wake us up, "You guys have to leave for 24 hrs. See ya!

L: What is the relationship like between the hookers and the outreach workers? Is it a good relationship?

J: I think it is 'cause like a the Youth Services Bureau "Drop In" on Murray. 91 Murray it's called. Between 10 and 11 five days a week it's women's hour. It's for hookers to go in and sit there and have a coffee, eat donuts and they have condoms everywhere, and everything for them. They go out and the hookers know all the street workers and they'll run up to them and say "Give me some condoms. I need some condoms".

L: That's good.

J: And they have the "Sitemobile", too, its good where they go around and exchange needles.

L: Is that the YSB that does that?

J: Ah, they're involved in it.

L: I didn't realize that they had an outreach vehicle. What was it called again, the Sitemobile?"

J: Yeah. The Sitemobile. It's like if you want a clean needle, you've got to give them your old one, you know and you exchange. And they'll give you needle cleaning stuff, condoms, everything.

L: That's encouraging.

J: Yeah.

L: Well. How long do you think the women stay involved in the business?

J: Well I don't know. The hookers I know have been involved for years except for the young ones that are just getting into it. My friend who I was telling you about. She's been in it since she's been 13 years old and she's 24 now. And she's now doing it in Toronto, you know and making a killing in Toronto.

L: Does she work on her own?

J: Yeah. She never had a pimp, never. She always spends her own money. She always spends it and puts it in her arm, right.

' Easy come easy go.

J: Yeah.

L: Do the older women here have pimps?

J: I don't know. I know that there are a lot of pimps in the Market. Quite a few of them are in jail right now. Because my boyfriend is in jail right now and he was sent up to "Maximum" for getting into a fight and he went up there into what they call the "Jungle Range". The cops put him into the Jungle Range and he was the only white person. And I mean all these black pimps were in there for living off the avails. And Mike was like, "Excuse me. Can you put me in another wing, you know?"

L: Was that a power trip placing him in there?

J: Yeah. It was because he got into a fight with a black guy. Teach him a lesson, right. "We'll throw him into the Jungle Range. We'll see if he gets his head kicked in".

L: Do you think there is anything positive about the business?

J: I don't know. What's so good about selling your body? Or putting your life in danger everytime you go and do it, right.

L: Fair enough.

J: I really can't find too much good about it.

L: I guess I am the eternal optimist who looks for good in everything. What do you think would be the most negative things about prostitution?

J: What do I think?

L: Yeah. Is it the judgment?

J: No, half of them don't care about the judgment. Cause if you don't like it you don't have to look at it. That's their attitude, right. Cause that's my attitude. I don't know... negative... I guess when they go to sell their bodies to buy drugs with it. Cause it's like they're the ones you want to get off the street. Cause you know they're just going out and selling their ass for a hit. You know, they get a hundred bucks. They get a gram, right. And then they do that and they're right back out there again, right, going for more.

L: It appears to be quite a circle. On the side, if you want to go off the record you can. You don't have to answer this if you don't want to, but what kept you from working the street?

J: I always thought in my head that I have too much self-respect. I could never do it.

L: Self-respect is important.

J: Yeah 'cause like when you've watched them there on the street and the kind of self-respect they have for themselves. You wonder. But then there is always the other side that they often have a good reason for doing it. I never got into the "crack", right. And if I couldn't live off my \$236/mth. welfare, Oh well I'd go broke or my Dad was always there for \$20.00 'til the end of the month. So I never really had to worry about it.

L: You were lucky. It's hard for many of them though isn't it?

J: Yeah and there was Randy, too. I met Randy when I moved to Ottawa. He helped me a lot, too.

L: Randy's a good person. He has a very good heart.

How would you describe your worst experience on the street?

J: My worst experience on the street. Me and my bestfriend Tara [pseudonym] had

about 20 Skinhead girls chase us. It was our first year, both of us being on the street and downtown. And these Chelseas they surrounded us around the fountain downtown. And the only way we had out 'cause like they surrounded us. There was a garbage pail on Tara's side and a garbage pail on my side. We looked at each other. We grabbed the garbage pails and smashed them into these chick's knees and we started to run. We got chased through the fountain all the way to Parliament Hill. Just going like tomorrow. I look back on it now and I laugh, right. But it was scary at the time. We'd look behind us and these bald chicks would be chasing us for all they were worth. Like, "what do we do?".

L: Why were they chasing you?

J: I don't know. They came up to us and said, "What are your beliefs." And we said, "What do you mean "our beliefs"?" And that's when they got mad. "We're gonna' kick your fucking heads in". And we're like, "not if we can fucking help it", right.

L: Are there a lot of white supremacists or skinheads on the street?

J: Not so many now but that year there was a big gathering from Montreal and everywhere to go to this farm in Kingston for a big skinhead reunion.

L: Heritage Front?

J: No, Heritage Front wasn't around then. Downtown on Canada Day four years ago was just swamped with skinheads. And it was like, wow. We were on acid that day to top it all off. So the for the rest of our Canada Day, every girl we looked at had a Chelsea. We had to go home. We were like to high. Lets go home. [laughter]

L: Well those are all the questions I have to ask you. Is there anything else you would like to tell me that maybe I have not asked about or missed?

J: Not that I can think of right now.

L: Okay, I will just turn this off.

July 24, 1993

I contacted Jane because I forgot to ask her one question.

L: What would you like to do in the future?

J: I would like to be a social worker?

L: That's interesting. Why?

J: Because I've met a lot of good ones and some not so good.

L: Would you like to be an outreach worker or one that works in the system?

J: I am not sure yet.

T R A N S C R I P T

Sarah [pseudonym] Guided Conversation: Sarah is an 18 year old mother who began prostituting when she was 16. She hasn't been hooking for one year. She stopped when she became pregnant. Sarah has an incredible amount of self-discipline. She has an extreme wealth of knowledge about female youth involved in prostitution. Sarah would like to one day be a veterinary assistant.

July 22, 1993

4:00 p.m

Sarah's Apartment

Topic: Female Youth Prostitution

L: I just want to ensure for you again, your anonymity in the thesis. What I will do is give you a pseudonym so that you will know when you see that name that those are your words.

S: Why is this going to be in the paper?

L: Oh no. Its for my thesis. It won't be in the newspaper. I want to ensure your privacy and I do not want to exploit you. It will appear in my school document. The only way a reporter could use it is if they were tenacious and tracked it down in the university.

S: They've probably never been to university.

[“Can I have this? I want to stir my coffee, please.”] (Sarah's six month old daughter, Jaime [pseudonym], joined us for most of our conversation. Some of Sarah's voice includes conversation with Jaime. This will appear in square brackets throughout the transcript.)

L: Okay. At any time if you want to go off the record we can turn the tape off. I will fully respect your decision. Or if you don't feel comfortable answering a question just let me know. My first question is that prostitution means different things to different people. How would you define prostitution? What does it mean to you?

S: Working on the street for money.

L: Why did you become involved in prostitution?

S: [Are you okay?] Um. It all happened so quickly -- it's just easy money. Whenever I wanted money all I had to do was just go stand on the street corner and I got it, you know. It would take me like 20 minutes, you know. And I would have

like \$60 or \$70.

L: Do you think it's the same for other young women involved?

S: No. Everybody is different.

L: What would some of these differences involve?

S: Well, some of them would like take 20 minutes. Others would take 2 hours. [Hey, Miss Busybody come here].

L: Am I correct to assume that you are not working any more and haven't been for awhile, right?

S: I haven't been since ah July...it will be a year on the 31st -- Saturday, next Saturday.

L: How old were you when you started?

S: 16

L: So you were involved for about a couple of years. You're 18 now?

S: Yeah. Going on 19.

L: What was the extent of your involvement? Did you work full-time, part-time, only when you needed money?

S: Most times. Mostly when I needed the money.

L: How would you describe your everyday life while you were working on the street. What would be a typical day for you?

S: Hectic. 'Cause there'd be that odd day when you wouldn't see many and then there would be the days when you'd see half a dozen. And that's one of the things I'd worry about ...is what kind of person I would get. Am I gonna' get some guy whose a murderer. But most days it was really good except that I kind of worried about the police.

L: What time would you get up and how would your day progress from there? [Whoops]

S: [I'm getting it for you. Okay, here you go.] I'd get up around 2:00 and hang out with some friends until 6:00 or 7:00 and then if I wanted money I would go get it.

L: Prime time is about 3:00 a.m. . That's a long shift. Would you work the whole time?

S: No. It all depends like there were times when I'd start at 7:00 and wouldn't quit work until around 4:00 in the morning. And then there'd be times when I would already make about \$200.00 by 9:00.

L: Based on your experience, how is female youth prostitution organized? -- Who are the players involved and what are their relationships?

S: It usually starts like what I've seen -- like what I've seen is a 10 or 12 year old out there. And she -- oh that was really... And all that happened is that her and her parents got into a fight. She left her parents and she went down to the Rideau Centre and she met up with a pimp and the next night she was out there working. It's just that quick. And so that's how it happens. They just get into a fight with their parents. They go down to the Rideau Centre and they get mixed up with one or two of the bad or wrong people.

L: Is that similar to your story, too?

S: Yeah.

L: I guess it doesn't take much. What you're saying is that it's really easy to get involved? Okay. You alluded to pimps. Are they big players?

S: Well, they don't really go after the people that are over 16. They go for those 12 to 16 and that age group 'cause they're one of the easiest to con because they're always looking for money. They're young plus their bodies are just starting to develop.

L: So then in your experience there is a link to pimps and the younger hookers?

S: Yeah. And a lot of the pimps, they're in their late twenties. Like, there's one pimp down there and he's 43 and he's pimping a 12, 13 and 14 year old which I don't really like.

L: Why?

S: That's a little young.

L: Yeah, you're right, that's a little young. Have you only worked the street or have you also worked for a service or a house?

S: No, just a prostitute.

L: Like only a street prostitute?

S: Yeah.

L: Okay. Do you know other young women who work for a service or a house?

S: Um hum. A 17 year old and I don't like it. 'C. . . when you're working a service you don't get to pick who you want. They're given to you. They're given to you and you're told if you're going with them. And if you're working as a prostitute, if you don't feel like you want to go with that person you don't. But if you're working in a service -- escort service or if you're working a ...I hate that word, whorehouse, you don't have a choice. You just go.

L: So you feel you have a lot more control on the street, I guess?

S: Yeah. I could pick who I want.

L: Would you describe what you did as a job?

S: Um Hum.

L: What makes you say, yes.?

S: Because it's just what I did all the time. It was a job for me.

L: How would you describe your customers? -- young, old, married?

S: Most of them were married -- most of them. The wife couldn't give them what they wanted so they go to us prostitutes. We understand.

L: How were you usually treated by them?

S: Very nice, surprisingly. I was lucky. I never got any psychopathic weirdos but...

L: Why do you think men buy sex?

S: Everybody thinks this is weird but they're not happy with whatever their wives are doing.

L: So most of them [customers] from your experience were married?

S: Yeah, almost all of them. Most of them were in their thirties -- middle age, I

guess.

L: Did you get the sense that most of them were pretty much settled in their lives?

S: Yeah.

L: How would you describe your living arrangements while you were working? -- did you live in a rented room, with other young hookers.

S: No, I lived in an apartment building for a while. I lived in a hotel room. And after awhile we just did it in a car. [Can I have this, thank-you]

L: You sort of touched on this and if you don't want to answer that's fine but the media would have us believe that pimps are major players. Is this an accurate perception?

S: Um. Yeah (hesitantly).

L: Are there a lot of young women who just work for themselves?

S: I did. That way when I was done I didn't have to turn my money over to any body. I could do what I want with it. I could go where I wanted.

L: Was that a problem for you with the others who had pimps?

S: Yeah. Well no, not really. They just kinda' thought I was a little weird 'cause they would never see me with any guys or anything, just my customers.

L: They didn't mind that your money was your own and you didn't have to give any one any at the end of the night?

S: No, 'cause there was two of us who worked.

L: You worked with someone else then. Did you share your earnings or did you just work together?

S: Just worked together for support.

L: Like for protection?

S: Yeah.

L: Okay. How would you describe your relationship with the older hookers?

S: I don't know, um. We didn't really talk to them.

L: Aside from your age, was there any other differences between the young workers and the older women?

S: Older ones were more experienced.

L: How would you describe your relationship between you and your friends? -- Did they understand what you did?

S: A lot of them ...I don't know.

L: Did they respect your choice?

S: Yeah. [That's what she wanted -- (I picked Jaime up and placed her on my knee)]

L: [You can't play with that. I have to ask Mommy some questions on there]. Okay. How about the other female workers, were you friends with them?

S: Some of them.

L: How would you describe your relationship with your family?

S: Now?

L: Whenever -- now, then?

S: Well, then, you mean as my parents?

L: Whoever you want to define as family.

S: Okay, my parents never agreed with it. They argued with me from day one about it. It was my choice. There was nothing they could say that would change my mind. They gave up. My boyfriend, well, at first he was a little against it. He knew that I wasn't going to quit for him and then as soon as I got pregnant that's when I quit.

L: With Jaime?

S: Yeah. I found out I was pregnant in March and I quit in July. Because I didn't want to be in labour and that.

L: Most women take precautions to protect themselves at night, what measures did you take to protect yourself?

S: Condoms.

L: In terms of your safety, would you always work with someone?

S: Sometimes. Sometimes I did.

L: So was there a pattern to your safety measure? -- like would you take down licence plates or something?

S: Yeah usually if I'm working with somebody else I always take the license plate of the person she went with and she would do the same for me. [Do you want to go see Daddy? -- Nick [pseudonym] you want to come here. You want to go see that man. Bye Bye]

L: How would you describe your worst experience on the street?

S: My worst experience? There were so many of them. I don't know which one was the worst. There was one. My best friend and this black guy getting into a fight. And he pulled out a gun and he shot my friend. That was bad. There was a whole bunch of us together and ... [Is that for you or for Jaime? -- Nick: She has her bottle]

L: [Jaime's taken care of. Here have another donut (to Nick)]

S: ...And we all jumped on the black guy.

L: Was he her pimp?

S: No, just this guy that decided to pick a fight with the wrong crowd.

L: What would be another one?

S: I went to this party once. This guy, I don't know, was .. I don't know anyhow somebody said something wrong and he threw them down the stairs and that was about it ... When I was working there were just so many people getting hurt. It was either gun shot wounds or stabs.

L: So weapons are a big part of the game?

S: Like a lot of people I know on the street don't walk around with nothing less than a 7 in. blade. That's their means of protection. And if they're not carrying a knife, they're carrying a gun. It's just one of the two.

L: The young women workers also?

S: Yeah. A lot of them carry knives. 'Cause like you often have all your money on you and you don't want to give it up.

L: To who? Your customers?

S: Yeah. I've never had one but my friends have. Quite a few have.

L: How would you describe your relationship between the outreach workers? Did you feel they respected you?

S: Some of them. Some of them really disagreed but a lot of them respected my choice.

L: Were you ever involved with social services? -- welfare, CAS?

S: Yeah. I'm involved with CAS now. And I'm also on welfare.

L: How would you describe your experience with them?

S: Well, CAS right now is like, I don't like them but they're really good when I need them. Like, I'm starting to get a little frustrated with Jaime and for the next 30 days Jaime's going into foster care but even though she's going into care, I'm still a big part of her life. Like, I can go and see her every day. My welfare worker, I'm just being transferred now, but she played a really big role in my life. Like, she was really good to me. And I'm also on probation and my probation officer's played a really big part of my life.

L: In terms of their support, did they always understand?

S: Um hum. My CAS worker, that's one of the reasons she was involved with me because when I was pregnant she was afraid that I would go back out and work the street. And she understands that why I won't 'cause I told her that even if I do have trouble budgeting, I'm going to go to CAS before I think of prostitution again 'cause it's not good.

L: How would you describe your relationship with police?

S: Hectic. Almost all ...

L: Oh sorry, I think the tape clicked. Sorry for interrupting you. You were saying, "Almost all..."

S: That's all right. Almost all of the police were pricks and pigs. They really are. Very.

L: They didn't understand?

S: Oh. No. They didn't understand but a lot of them when they'd pick you up they would start making these rude comments, which weren't very nice. They're very rude.

L: Can you give me an example?

S: Well, my very first time I was picked up this one cop says to me, "If you weren't under 18", and he says "if I wasn't working, I'd take you out myself as one of your customers". A little rude. And that's the type of thing that happens quite a bit.

L: Do you have another example?

S: I was also picked up another time and I didn't like the attitude that some of them had. Like, they were arresting me and also my bestfriend and they hog-tied my best friend. They beat the crap out of her which was not too pleasant.

L: Have you ever been to court as a witness or accused?

S: Accused, yes.

L: How were you treated by the lawyers and judges?

S: Well I have my own lawyer. He's really eh happy that I quit but the judge, he could of sentenced me to either a year in jail or 15 months probation and he sentenced me to 15 months probation because he didn't want me to have my baby inside. And he wanted to see me and says that. "You'll do good on your own and I sentence you to probation."

L: That seemed fair. Was that one of your better experiences with judges?

S: Actually all my experiences with judges have been pretty good.

L: The media would also have us believe that drugs are a significant part of the life. Is this accurate?

S: Um hum. That's what I did with a lot of my money. A lot of them buy drugs -- a lot of them.

L: What percentage of your earnings? -- based on an average night.

S: An average night I'd make about \$200.00 and about \$150.00 on drugs. About \$50.00 would go towards cigarettes and food and that's it.

L: Is this the same for other young women involved?

S: I know a girl whose working for an escort service. She makes about \$700.00 per night -- \$200.00 goes to her bosses and the rest goes to cocaine. She weighs a total of 125 lbs. and she's about 5'11"-- not a pretty sight.

L: Could you describe who you would contact if you needed help. Like, if you were short of cash or needed a place to stay?

S: I would probably turn to the Sal [Salvation Army].

L: Why?

S: 'Cause they're right in the area where I'd work.

L: If you were in trouble, who would you contact?

S: My lawyer.

L: Is it usually legal trouble you're in?

S: Oh yeah. Usually when I'm in trouble it's legal trouble.

L: When you were working did you see yourself working the business a long time?

S: No. It just wasn't my league.

L: What do you mean?

S: It was good like when I needed the money right there on the spot but no, I wouldn't do it for a long time. No, it's not one of these long time things.

L: Were there some positive aspects about it?

S: Oh yeah, sure. It was easy money. Ah, you could get what you wanted faster then having a job.

L: What sorts of things?

S: Clothing; if you wanted cigarettes; if you wanted beer; you wanted alcohol; drugs. All you had to do was do about an hour's work and got whatever you want.

L: Now you've left that behind and it's going to take you longer to get those same things. Is that a problem?

S: No, not really. I don't know if it has anything to do with AIDs, but now I don't really care whether if I have that stuff. I can live without it. Like, I haven't done drugs since Mar ...it's been about a year since I've touched any alcohol or drugs.

L: Good for you. I'm sure that hasn't been easy.

S: No. As soon as I found out I was pregnant I quit everything.

L: Wow. That takes a lot of strength.

S: Talk about fun. It was really hard on me. Not only me but the people around me too 'cause I was such a grouch. You'd say the wrong thing and I'd just blow.

L: You must've had a lot of supportive people on your side.

S: Um, hum.

L: What do you dislike the most about the business?

S: Some people's attitudes. They had the worst attitudes.

L: How so?

S: Their attitudes stink. Like if you didn't do what they wanted, how they wanted, when they wanted you would get blown up at. But you got to tell them to ...out them on the line right away. That's what I had to do quite a bit of the time.

L: So you took control?

S: Yeah.

L: Would they rough you up if you didn't?

S: No. Most of it was hot air and then they say "Oh, okay". I think a lot of them just want to push you to see how far they can go before you snap back.

L: What makes you happy?

S: What makes me happy? -- I'm out of that now. I'm almost done, well, I'm happy in a way but I'm almost done my probation -- I'm done on October 29 -- I'm finished my probation. I'm not too happy about that 'cause I'm gonna' miss my probation officer because we've become very attached. After my probation I'm sending her some flowers and a little note to say thank-you.

L: That's very thoughtful.

S: 'Cause I'm going to miss her. But I'm not going to go get back into trouble just to see her.

L: Well, maybe you can still call her up the odd time just to let her know how you're doing. What makes you sad?

S: Um I'm a little bit upset now 'cause I'll be putting Jaime in foster care 'cause she's getting a little out of control.

L: I can certainly appreciate that. What do you see yourself doing in the future?

S: Going back to school. Becoming a veterinary assistant.

L: Do you love animals?

S: Yeah. I have two cats.

L: Is there anything else you would like to tell me about yourself? Any other issues you think I didn't ask about?

S: No.

L: Did you have any trouble with the questions I asked? Did you find them offensive in any way?

S: No. Actually there is one thing I would like to say. A lot of the judges when they sentence prostitutes, they only sentence them for like 15 days, 3 months probations or something like that. I think the judge should put a program together. They could send them into it. Because if they sent them in there they usually just come back out what they were.

L: What would you like to see the program consist of?

S: Let it consist of, I don't know, a group of women getting together who are prostitutes and just talk about their experience and maybe the experience that they're talking about will get them to start thinking. I know it's the oldest profession and the easiest but still.

L: That's great. It's interesting in terms of your ideas for a program, given your experience.

S: 'Cause like I know four different girls who in the last week and all of them want

to get out of it but they're all involved with pimps. And to get out of it, it's just like being involved with the mob. You get out -- you're dead. There's this one girl, she quit and her pimp is like on her. Her ex-pimp is haunting her. He follows her everywhere she goes. He's threatened her. He's left messages for her on her telephone. He's got her telephone linked. He's threatened her family. You name it and I think this guy has done it. He's really weird.

L: So the services you'd like to see would involve protection for...

S: Yeah. I'd like to see those girls that want to quit have some sort of protection against them.

L: Something to help them.

S: Yeah. 'Cause there are so many girls out there who want to quit, but..

L: Yeah. It must be really hard. Well, good for you that you had a strong sense of determination. I'm sure it was not easy for you.

S: It wasn't. There's even times when I really want to do it but I know I can't so I just don't.

L: Well those are all the questions I have to ask you. I'll just turn this off. Thank-you.

T R A N S C R I P T

Mandy [pseudonym] Guided Conversation: Mandy is 16 years old and will soon be 17. She began prostituting when she was 15. She has not been hooking for six months. Mandy is a very bright young woman. She is going through some difficult times. She is very familiar with how street prostitution is organized. Mandy would like to one day finish high school.

July 26, 1993

7:00 p.m

Park at the Museum of Nature -- corner of Argyle and O'Connor

Topic: Female Youth Prostitution

L: I would just like to begin by ensuring you anonymity in the document. I will not use your name. I will use a pseudonym and it will be identified to you in the transcript of our conversation. You will be able to identify your words according to that name through out the document. I will send you a copy of our conversation and if you have any problems with it, like maybe I didn't quite get the meaning right, or whatever. Okay.

M: Yeah, sure.

L: Maybe you could begin by describing your involvement in prostitution.

M: Okay. Um. I became involved in prostitution after I turned 15. Things just weren't going well for me. Like I wasn't doing well at home. I hated school. Nothing seemed to be going right for me. I ran away, you know. [pause] Um. I had a friend who was like doin' it and she like said at first it was hard but like after a while you got used to it, you know. She introduced me to this guy. She was doin' it and like said it wasn't all that bad so I started workin' shortly after I ran away.

L: Were you working for the same guy as your friend?

M: Yeah. He was okay. He wasn't all that bad, you know. Like, he didn't like hurt us or anything. As long as we did our business, like he was pretty cool.

L: Okay. Prostitution means different things to different people. How would you define prostitution? What does it mean to you?

M: Well. Prostitution is what you do for money. You know, you sell your ass to survive. Like, I ran away from home, right. Like, I was too young to get a job or anything and I needed the money, you know.

L: Why did you become involved in prostitution?

M: Like I said, I had this friend and she was doin' it. I don't know. Its like, when you're, I don't know, it's not like you have a lot of choices out there, you know. I had to get out and when I ran I went to my friend and like next thing you know you're doin' it. It wasn't like I didn't know what to do, you know. It wasn't new to me or anything.

L: Do you think it's the same for other young women involved?

M: I don't know. I guess it's different for some girls, you know. But like for my friends, they usually knew somebody or knew of somebody. And like most of us knew what we were doing. You know, experienced, like.

L: What was the extent of your involvement? Did you work full-time, part-time, only when you needed money?

M: Um, I don't know. I guess I worked like full-time. Like, I'd work almost everyday. Unless something happened.

L: Like what?

M: I don't know, something would come up. Like maybe I couldn't work. If I had a bad trick or john, you know. It happens.

L: Did it happen often?

M: No not that often, surprisingly. But you just never knew.

L: Other young women I've spoken to have described the life as an addiction. Do you see it the same way?

M: Oh yeah, fuck. It's like incredible, you know. You just get so involved and shit. It's like a lot of different things that are new and stuff. And it's really exciting. But then you get sick of it man. It just gets to you after awhile. And then you hate it. 'Cause you know it's not right and shit. But still you do it, you know.

L: Why do you say it's not right?

M: [laughter] What do you mean? Like everybody tells you it's not, like the workers and shit. And you do it so then you sometimes feel like shit, you know. Like you try to not let it bother you but it does, you know, sometimes.

L: Okay. How would you describe your everyday life while you were working on the

street. What would be a typical day for you?

M: I don't know. A lot of partying I guess.

L: What time did you get up and what would you do before you started working ?

M: Well I got up around 2:00 or so. Hang out and stuff. Talk to my friends. Walk around. Maybe go shopping and stuff. Then we'd get ready and go out around 8:00 or 9:00. We'd work til, you know, about 3:00 or 4:00 a.m. Sometimes, though we'd go to Hull and stuff. It all depends.

L: Did you have a bank account that you would put your cash into?

M: No, fuck I didn't have anything.

L: What would you do with all your money?

M: I'd spend it. Like on drugs and smokes, booze and shit, you know, stuff.

L: Based on your experience, how is female youth prostitution organized? -- Who are the players involved and what are their relationships?

M: I don't get it. What do you mean?

L: Like do certain people work certain areas? Do most people work for someone el ...

M: Oh. Okay. Well, Like some girls they work for themselves. But some of us we worked for someone. And he'd like take care of us, you know. 'Cause like in Ottawa you just can't work anywhere, you know. Like it's safe on Cumberland, you know, by St. Patrick.

L: Why is that?

M: Oh 'cause like everybody has their place. Like the older hos they work on Dalhousie so like you can't work there. And like you have to respect that.

L: I keep hearing that word.

M: [laughter] Respect? Yeah. You know, that's what it's all about. It's hard to explain it. Like, everybody's got to do their business, you know. So you just gotta' respect that, I guess.

L: There could be a little bit of a turf war then?

M: Oh yeah.

L: You indicated that you worked on the street. Have you ever worked for a service or a house?

M: No. I just worked the street. You know., 'cause I like my freedom. Like, I knew some girls who worked for an escort service, you know. And like they had no control or nothing, you know. Like I could choose.

L: Did you screen your customers?

M: Oh yeah. Like a lot of them were regulars and like if I didn't like how some guy looked, I wouldn't go with him, you know.

L: Would you describe what you did as a job? -- Was it a job to you in your mind?

M: Well, yeah. I guess so.

L: Why?

M: Well, like I did a job and like I got paid for it, you know.

L: How would you describe your customers? -- young, old, married?

M: Mostly older but like I said I had a lot of regulars. Most of them were married, had families and stuff. You know, they had jobs and shit and just needed a quick fix. Or some of them couldn't get what they wanted at home so they'd come and see the ho, you know.

L: How were you usually treated by them?

M: Oh, most of them, they weren't too bad. But you know ...they treat you like a ho. Like they don't care, you know. You just get used to it.

L: Why do you think men buy sex?

M: I don't know. I think it's cause they can't get it at home and stuff. Or they want to be with someone different, you know. Some of them are real pervs, you know. Like they want you to do stuff but most of them are not that bad.

L: How would you describe your living arrangements while you were working? -- did you live in a rented room, with other young hookers.

M: Oh it changed. I lived with other girls for awhile and then I lived in a room, you

know, like a rooming house. For a while I lived in a hotel.

L: Is that common?

M: Oh yeah, pretty common.

L: Okay. How would you describe your relationship with the older hookers -- the ones over 18 or so?

M: Well, like we really didn't have a relationship. Like we just kept out of their way, you know. 'Cause like they worked their part and we worked ours, you know. But it could be pretty like stressful 'cause they know you're young and stuff, right. And, I don't know, you got the feeling they didn't like you and stuff. Probably 'cause we got more customers, you know.

L: Aside from your age, was there any other differences between the young workers and the older women?

M: Well, not really except that they had been doin' it longer.

L: Who were your friends?

M: My friends were mostly other prostitutes. Yeah, they were my friends.

L: How would you describe your relationship with them?

M: Oh pretty good, you know. 'Cause like we kind of understood each other, you know. We all had problems but that was okay.

L: How would you describe your relationship with your family?

M: Ah not that good. I guess it's better now. Like I've been in contact since I quit, you know about six months ago. But it's really hard. Like they don't understand, you know. I don't know. They didn't understand why I ran and they can't believe I was hooking. I don't really like to talk about it.

L: Fair enough. Most women take precautions to protect themselves at night, what measures did you take to protect yourself?

M: Condoms.

L: What about when you were working the streets, did you use any physical measures?

M: Oh yeah I carried a blade and you always have your shoes, too, you know.

L: Did you work in partners?

M: Sometimes. Sometimes my friend and I would like, you know, watch out for each other and stuff.

L: How would you describe your worst experience on the street?

M: Hum. Wow. There were a few of them. I don't know, I guess the worst one was like, we were at this party, like my bestfriend and I. And this guy, like I think he took her for someone else, you know. And like he came up to her and said, "you fuckin' whore" and he stabbed her, right there. Oh. Like she didn't even know him or anything, fuck. She was okay and everything but like I was pretty scared. Like everything happened so fast, you know.

L: Are weapons a big part of the game?

M: Oh yeah. Almost everybody carries either a blade or gun, you know.

L: How would you describe your relationship with the outreach workers?

M: They were okay. Like some of them didn't understand, you know but like I guess it was okay. Some of them were cool. They do some pretty good work, you know.

L: Were you ever involved with social services? -- welfare, CAS?

M: Oh yeah. I'm involved with CAS right now.

L: How would you describe your experience with them?

M: Oh I don't know. It's not that great. But you know like they gotta' do their jobs. But like, they just want to control you, you know. Like CAS has helped out a friend of mine but I find like they don't understand. They just want to control you, you know. Like they want to know your business and shit.

L: What do you mean by that?

M: Well, like they want you to go back home or shit, you know. Or like they want to put you in a group home or, I don't know, but like that's why you're running you know. 'Cause you don't want to be there. But I have to admit my worker was like a big factor for me to get off the street. She found out ...well, like I got myself into some trouble and she really helped me out, you know. I got off but I, I don't know,

it's probably just as well. She's worried I'll go back. And like it's hard you know. I've always got people harassing me.

L: How would you describe your relationship with police?

M: Ah. Police were often a bunch of pricks. Like maybe not all of them but fuck they like to harass you, you know. Like some of them, you know, like they've got a real attitude, man. They're just there to harass you. It like they blame you or something.

L: Have you ever been to court as a witness or accused?

M: No. I've been pretty lucky. Like you always gotta' watch out for cops you know. It can be pretty stressful. Some of my friends have been. But I was lucky, you know.

L: The media would also have us believe that drugs are a significant part of the life. Is this accurate in your opinion?

M: Yeah. It's pretty accurate. Like when you first get involved it's apart of the excitement, you know. But after awhile you get to a point where you know it's like too much, you know. But a lot of the older ones, man, they do it for the drugs, you know. No question.

L: Who would you contact if you needed help. -- Like, if you were short of cash or needed a place to stay?

M: Um. Well, I guess I'd go to the 'Sal. You know, they're always there for you and they're in the neighbourhood, you know.

L: So if you were in trouble, who would you contact?

M: I don't know, it depends on what kind of trouble. I wouldn't go to the cops 'cause they'd like call CAS and shit. I guess I'd contact other friends. It depends on the degree of trouble.

L: What about if you're robbed, would you call the police?

M: No. I would never call the police.

L: Why not?

M: 'Cause they'd say it was my own fault and then they'd pick me up and charge me or call CAS and shit. I didn't need the hassle, you know.

L: I appreciate what you're saying but if someone who wasn't a hooker stood on a street corner and was robbed, their first instinct would be to call the police. You wouldn't call the cops?

M: You can't when you're underage and doin' something that's illegal, you know what I mean?.

L: How long did you see yourself working the business?

M: I don't know. Not long. It was a means to an end for me, man. Even like if I wouldn't have gotten into trouble and shit, you know. I probably would have quit soon anyway. 'Cause I was gettin' fed up. It was gettin' to me. And I knew it. I don't know.

L: Do you think you'll go back?

M: I don't know it's hard you know. I miss my friends and shit. And it wasn't all bad, you know. I don't think so. I'm tryin', you know. Like I think of the danger and shit, cause like every night's a risk, you know. And I don't miss that but it's hard.

L: What did you like the most about the business?

M: I don't know. I never thought about it. When I was working I guess I was in control, you know. I was making my own decisions.

L: What did you dislike the most about the business?

M: It was pretty hectic. Like you were always worried about whether some lunatic was gonna pick you up you know. Or some psycho would do a number on you. When you think about it it's scary. But Well, for me it was just...it was just like one big party sometimes. I just got tired of it. But sometimes I felt like I had no choice.

L: Is that why you got out of it?

M: Yeah. Like I said, my worker helped a lot. I always knew that I wanted to, but I had to get out and I had to make some money.

L: What makes you happy?

M: What makes me happy? I guess that I'm out of it. Like I'm really trying you know, but like I said sometimes it's really hard. I'm just starting to deal with a lot of things that happened to me you know. It's hard.

L: Good for you. What makes you sad?

M: I guess when I think about the other girls that are still in it, you know. Like we all have our problems but I wish there was like something for you, you know. To like to help you get off, you know. I think a lot of them want to but it's hard, you know.

L: What makes you angry?

M: People who put down hookers and people who like want to judge you without knowing you, you know. Like I get so fucking mad when I hear that shit. They don't know. They haven't been there. And even people who are there to help you, man. Like some of them are really good but some of them just look down on you. And that really pisses me off. Until you've done it, you don't know what it's like. I mean it's like so stupid because they don't know anything.

L: What do you see yourself doing in the future?

M: I don't know. I'm just trying to put back some of the pieces, you know. Like I want to finish high school and like go on or something. I think I'd like to be a social worker you know. Cause like they're are some good ones, man but a lot of them, they don't have a clue, you know.

L: How do you think the system could change to better serve you?

M: Ah I guess I'd like to see something there to help the ones that want to get off the street get off you know. Like something that doesn't pass judgment on you. Something that understands. Like not just a place to drop in but a place that will like, I don't know, like where you can talk about the ...your experiences which other people who have like the same ones and like, I don't know, maybe you can help each other or something, you know. Like you know, you're allowed to have problems and shit.

L: I think you have something here. That sounds like a really good idea for a service. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about yourself? Any other issues you think I didn't ask about?

M: No. I don't think so.

L: Did you have any trouble with the questions I asked? Did you find them offensive in any way?

M: No. Some of them were quite interesting, actually.

L: Well those are all the questions I have to ask you. I'll just turn this off. Thank-you.

TRANSCRIPT

Angela [pseudonym] Guided Conversation: Angela is 18 years old. She began prostituting when she was 11. She has not been hooking for approximately one year. Angela just completed her high school diploma. Angela is a very bright young woman. She has an extreme wealth of knowledge about female youth involved in both street prostitution and escort services. Angela would like to one day attend university.

July 22, 1993

7:00 p.m

Burger King -- corner of George and Dalhousie

Topic: Female Youth Prostitution

L: Maybe you could just begin by describing your involvement in prostitution.

A: Well, I guess I started when I left home. When I left home I was 11 and then in three days I was hooked up with a man -- I would rather leave names out, if that's okay.

L: Sure, no problem. I'm not interested in names.

A: Okay. Yeah. I met him in ...in McDonald's. I was sitting there. I had no money. I really don't remember what I was doing. He came down and bought me a hamburger. We started talking. And within three days I was escorting for him. Because I was so young, he couldn't put me on a street corner 'cause I'd get picked up by the cops like that, you know. And then I escorted for about three years -- yeah, until I was about 13 -- and ah ...'cause I ran away just right after my birthday and I turned 11. And then on and off between that I got picked up by CAS thrown in group homes, ran away back to this guy. And he was really good to me. I have nothing against him. You know, um, I mean his morals some people might say are a little fucked, you know. As far as pimps go he didn't hurt me in any way, you know, and he respected me. But um, he got, I mean CAS got wind of him by another girl they had who was working for him and he got arrested and thrown in jail and he was gone. So then I ran away again. When I was 14 I ran away to Toronto and I started street prostitution. I met up with another pimp who I stayed with for about three and a half years on and off in between getting thrown in jail, detentions and CAS, you know. And ah, and then he got thrown in jail, because some girls signed on him. So they threw him in jail. And then I guess I was 15, about a month shy of my 16th birthday, I was still on the run in Toronto and they had thrown this guy in jail and I really didn't know what I was going to do so I ended up going home. I went home for three months. And then that didn't work out so I moved into YSB and I stayed off for about a year. And then I lived in YSB for a little over a year

and a half. And then I got my own apartment about two years ago. And well, you know, I just fell right back into it and I started, um, I started working for, well escorting, for my father and his business clients. That went on for about four months 'til I got busted and thrown in jail. I moved in the 'Sal and I have'nt done it since. And I lived with the Sal for about a year and a half so that's about it.

L: Okay. Prostitution means different things to different people. How would you define prostitution? What does it mean to you?

A: Oh, for me, well its just a way to survive. Now when you're under 16 and you're on the run, you know you can't get a job,. You can't turn yourself in or they're gonna' throw you in detention, you know. And you know there are a lot of men out there who like little girls so you make good money. And after awhile it becomes, I guess it just doesn't bother you. It's business. You do it. You got your cash. You know, it's just a way to survive. For some older women, you know, I think you get to a point where you, you know, you turn to the drugs to forget about it. And then it becomes away to get drug money. But for me, personally, I had nothing else to do, you know.

L: Why did you become involved in prostitution?

A: 'Cause, well I guess to sum it up, I already knew how to make men happy. It was nothing new to me.

L: Do you think it's the same for other young women involved?

A: Oh yeah. I think so. Well, you know, my circle of friends they had, you know, been having sexual relationships with whoever -- like be it boyfriends, father, brother, whatever, you know, before or like since they were about 9 or 10, you know.

L: What was the extent of your involvement? Did you work full-time, part-time, only when you needed money?

A: It was full-time when I was on the run. I'd work every day, you know. Every night -- actually I would take Mondays off -- I don't know why. It was just my day. I wouldn't work on Mondays. But ...it's an addiction.

L: What do you mean by that?

A: I don't know. I mean. It's like living on the edge, you know. And you know. Like my bestfriend was murdered, you know. And she was a hooker. She was murdered and she was 16, you know. And that's what it is. You're living right on the edge and you don't really care what happens 'cause your life sucks any way, you know. So if they kill you, they kill you. And if not, well you've got cash. That's the

way it was for me. It's just a feeling. Unless you've been out there... you just can't know. It was a high.

L: Okay. How would you describe your everyday life while you were working on the street. What would be a typical day for you?

A: Well it depends. When I was street prostituting, it was different than when I was escorting. When I was street prostituting, a typical day would be... I was living in Regent's Park. My pimp had gotten an apartment for us, a bunch of girls. And I'd go into Regent's Park and we'd ah .. a typical day ... Well we'd sleep 'til about 1:00, watch Much Music, go shopping, you know, just hang out. Go to Harvey's or a fast food restaurant joint. And then at about 9:00 or 8:00 at night I'd get ready to go to work, you know. We had no responsibilities. We'd work til, you know, about 3:00 a.m., go to some of the clubs, run out of a cab, go home about 7:00 or 8:00, go to sleep.

L: Did you have a bank account that you would put your cash into?

A: No, I didn't. I did, well, not when I was under 16 I didn't but when I got back into it around 17, I did. I had a bank account, yeah.

L: Based on your experience, how is female youth prostitution organized? -- Who are the players involved and what are their relationships?

A: Oh. um. Well, from my experience, I guess it's just, maybe you could explain that a little more.

L: Sure, like do certain people work certain areas, do ..

A: Oh yeah. Okay. Well, it depends on the city sometimes, too. In Toronto, it's quite advisable to hook up with someone. Okay. Because, there are just so many out there, just so many. In Toronto, when I was street hooking in Toronto, there was an area that ran off Jarvis -- Jarvis, Isabella, Church, all those streets there. They're for the younger ones, you know. If they want a young girl they go down there. Older hookers hang out on Yonge Street. The older ones and the junkies hang out there on Yonge Street. And then there's "Boy'sTown" which is where all the male hookers all hang out down there. If, I guess, it's just you get hooked up through other girls, you know. You meet someone, you know. It's through the people you know. And they go, "Do you like my man?" or "You're gonna' like my man." and "He's good to me" and "He's this and this", you know. In Toronto, you choose, you know. You go meet her man and if you like him you go, "Yeah, I choose you", you know. And you go, you know, "I'll give you my cash". He'll take care of you and if the cops are really bad, he'll ship you off to Montreal or Ottawa or something.

L: How different is it in other cities?

A: Well, see, I escorted in Ottawa so it's a different situation, you know. I never did the street thing. My, um, well I wouldn't call him my pimp, but my boss, he ran an escort agency. It's still in the papers. He would get phone calls. He would come get me and pick me up and take me to the hotel rooms -- visit the hotel room. You'd do your thing and he waits for you, you know and that's basically that. So I don't know as much about Ottawa. I know through other girls but that's not my experience. In Toronto, I just hooked up with people. They knew the players and I got to know, you know. And, there's a lot of, you know, their morals are really fucked but there's a lot of respect, I guess.

L: I keep hearing that word.

A: [laughter] You know, I don't know how to explain it. It's really weird, you know. It's just, they see you as their property -- "She's my girl so don't fuck with her." "She's gonna stand on this corner. Don't fuck with her", you know. Introduce you around. Then they know that you work for "so and so". Okay we'll leave you alone. No problem, you know. And pimps -- the strong pimps they're scared of, pimps are scared of, you know. Basically there's a general respect there, you know. Like, just do your business. Don't fuck with me. Don't get in my way. Don't take my turf, you know. Don't stand on my corner. Don't put your girls on my corner, and we won't have a problem, you know. But, if you insist on putting your girls on my corner, they're gonna have to do something for being there.

L: There could be a little bit of a turf war then?

A: Yeah.

L: You indicated that you worked in both a service and a, and the street. Which was better for you and why?

A: Oh, escorting, I guess. When you're young, like I was only 11, you know, it's glamorous. And I was very "11". I had no body, you know. And they'd take you out. And some of my customers, you know would take me out to like restaurants. I never, I can honestly say, not once, did I have a bad trick. Their morals, I mean they're really perverted, when I think back. They knew what they wanted. I knew what they wanted. We did it. It was a business deal. They respected me. They didn't hurt me, you know. That was that. Like in Toronto, on the streets, it's different, you know. You get into fights with some of the other girls sometimes, you know. It's a little more stressful. Escorting, even when I went back to escorting. I was 17, you know, for my dad, you know. I never had a bad trick. When you do the street, you know, you always take that chance of having a bad trick. 'Cause you don't know those people.

L: Did the escort service screen your customers?

A: Oh yeah. Like a lot of them were regular clientele, you know.

L: Would you describe what you did as a job? -- Was it a job to you in your mind?

A: Yeah.

L: Why?

A: Well, I provided a service and I got paid.

L: How would you describe your customers? -- young, old, married?

A: I had a lot of regulars. When I was between 11 and 13 and I was escorting, it was all regulars and they were older. They had daughters of their own. You know, they had these sick fantasies. In stead of taking it home, they played it out with me.

L: Were they mostly daughter-related fantasies?

A: Yeah. You know, on the streets, well, I had my own pimp. Like I wouldn't go out with any man over 55, cause it was just like, "uch". And I wouldn't go out with Somalians. After about a month, I just had my regulars, you know.

L: How were you usually treated by them?

A: Oh, like a whore, you know. It was always there, you know. But I kind of built up a wall to that. It didn't bother me. Like I said, you know, you go to hotels for only like twenty minutes. After twenty minutes they come and say get out. So, you know, you only had to put up with it for that long. You're paid a hundred bucks and that's it.

L: Why do you think men buy sex?

A: Well, two things. Like I said, some of them have real perverted fantasies that they just can't take home, you know. They have jobs and they have reputations to uphold and families and stuff. Um, some are really, well, I had one john who brought his son to me because he never had sex before, you know. They're shy or something. They do it with the ho. You're never gonna' see her again, you know. They get their kicks. Some of them, you know, they just need a quick fix or quick blow and that's it. He's just horny.

L: Okay. You're the first person I've spoken with who has worked both the street and a service. Maybe you could describe both experiences. My question is how

would you describe your living arrangements while you were working? -- did you live in a rented room, with other young hookers?

A: When I was on the street, I lived in a pretty seedy apartment in Regent's Park. When I was escorting, I lived with the boss's wife. I lived with his family.

L: Is that common?

A: No I think he just took a liking to me. I think he thought I was too young. He had apartments around that other women lived in but he thought I was too young. He didn't want to take a chance with the apartment getting raided. 'Cause I was bringing in good money, you know. You make good money off of an eleven year old and if I lived in the apartment, there was always the chance that it was going to get raided. The cops could come.

L: Okay. How would you describe your relationship with the older hookers?

A: What do you mean by older?

L: Over 18 or so.

A: Well, I guess when I was escorting they sort of fussed over me. They thought I was cute and everything, you know. But when I was older and working, around 15 or 16, you know, it was stressful. 'Cause the older ones were past their peak. Once you hit about 18, you past your peak, man. And then you're just trying to look good. I think they have some kind of, this is just my opinion, but we make better money. We get more tricks, you know. We get more johns then they do, you know. And it's because we're younger. Maybe they're jealous, you know. But it was stressful.

L: Aside from your age, was there any other differences between the young workers and the older women?

A: A lot of the really older ones, like in Toronto, the one's that are around 30, you know, they're junkies. I mean they need a fix and they look old. You look at them and you wonder why any guy would want to sleep with her. And it's like the younger ones. I mean they, like I used drugs too but it wasn't like I was not prostituting to get money for my next fix. I did it because I wanted to go shopping, you know. It's like you get to a point. And I remember my point, exactly. Where you either stop or you keep going and you start doing it for the drugs. Because what you're doing sucks and you know it. Like when you're younger, you don't really know it. It just kind of happens. Like I had been on the run so much. I didn't have councillors telling me that you're better than that. It's just like I did it at home and can do it here and get paid, you know. it was just a habit for me, you know. The older ones, they don't like what they're doing. Like they really don't, if you get them alone. Like I talked to

some of them, like if you can get them when they're straight, they really don't like it, you know. It's an attitude.

L: How were your friends?

A: Who were my friends? Ah, other prostitutes. Yeah, they were my friends. I knew lots of people but the other hookers were my friends. We understood each other.

L: How would you describe your relationship with them?

A: Um, well my relationship was, I don't know, it was good. e could talk. Like we could talk about stuff at home, you know. We all knew why we were out there, you know. We all knew we were running and had to hide from the cops. We all had the same focus and we'd just try and keep hooking and make money.

L: How would you describe your relationship with your family?

A: Ah. It really sucks, man. I don't even talk to them.

L: Most women take precautions to protect themselves at night, what measures did you take to protect yourself?

A: Condoms.

L: What about when you were working the streets, did you use any physical measures?

A: Yeah I carried a blade, that's about it.

L: Did you work in partners?

A: When, well, sometimes. When I first started, you know, street prostituting we'd go on double dates, you know. 'Cause it's safer that way. And that's pretty common practice. At least it was with the people I knew, you know. It was like common when you first start you don't go out on your own. You go with someone who's more experienced. She looks out for you, shows you the ropes. You hang out, you know.

L: How would you describe your worst experience on the street? Maybe you could give me one on the street and one in the service.

A: In the escort service, I didn't really have any bad ones. But in the street, well, I got picked up I was on Church and Isabella, around that area. Actualiy I was right outside my Detention Home. I got picked up by this kind of Lebanese guy. And I

had seen him around before, you know. I was having a bad day. I was sick. I didn't look to good because I was sick and I knew I needed money 'cause, you know, you gotta' bring in a certain amount, right. And, this was when I was using, off and on, you know. I stopped using when I was around 14. I was 14 and he got me drunk and I don't know. I guess I passed out and I ended up in Brampton, fuck. You know. And I was like, oh, I was standin' there I had no money. He took my money. He took my purse. He took my shoes, you know. And I was, to this day I don't know where to hell he dropped me off. It was like some residential area, you know, in nylons. I had no money to my name. I just sat down and cried. You know, I was feeling so horrible, you know. I was sick. I had this cold. I just sat down and cried. And then some nice guy came and drove me back to Toronto. he took me for coffee and he bought me smokes.

L: How would you describe your relationship between the outreach workers?

A: Well, I was under 16 so I avoided them like the plague. You know, I was so paranoid that I'd get picked up, you know.

L: Was it common for outreach workers to tell the police you were working?

A: No. Now I don't but then, I didn't trust anybody. I have the utmost respect for outreach workers, you know. They do good things. But then, I didn't trust anybody.

L: Were you ever involved with social services? -- welfare, CAS?

A: Yeah.

L: How would you describe your experience with them?

A: Negative.

L: What do you mean by that?

A: Well, I was picked up and thrown in CAS all the time. I never understood. You know you go to a CAS house, you know. And a lot of the kids there, they know your past. Like they know you came from an abusive home, yet they continue the cycle. I mean, if you get angry, they'll throw you on the ground, you know. Then you struggle. Like I've been in restraints where the bruises were worse then what I've ever get at home, you know, and stuff like that. I mean I never committed a crime. My first arrest was the one before I ended up at the Sal. I had never committed a crime, okay. And, you know, I was thrown in Detention Centres because they didn't know what to do with me. I was put on psycho wards 'cause they said I was a danger to myself because I was hangin' out with a bad crowd, you know. And I was drugged up because I would get really mad at them, you know. And they'd drug you up.

Everything, like CAS is just into control and they're not into talking. You know, they just want to control. I mean they'd take me to the hospital all the time because I wouldn't sleep at night because I was in such a cycle that I'd be up all night and sleep in the day. They'd take me to a hospital and tell them to give me chlorohydrate, you know. Oh yeah, they'd drug me with sleeping pills, you know, so I'd sleep at night. I'm not saying they're all bad but CAS in Ottawa, I will say, sucks the big one. In Toronto, I give them some credit. I mean they have like Moberly House in Toronto and stuff. I think they know more. Like the first thing I noticed is that they put you in restraints. They put you in a restraint. In Ottawa, if you get into a restraint you have like two staff so you're like two bodies sitting on your back with your arms way behind your back up to your shoulder blades. In Toronto, if they're going to put any kid into a restraint, it takes four staff and all they do is each one will hold a limb. One will hold an arm stretched out so they're not hurting you, you know. So you're able to calm down 'cause they're not hurting you. And that was the first time, yeah you know. I have more respect for CAS in Toronto than CAS in Ottawa. I have no respect for Ottawa at all. But Metro, Metro is good. Ottawa it really sucked. But, my brother is a Crown Ward now and CAS has worked for him. So I guess for different people, you know

L: How would you describe your relationship with police?

A: It was actually pretty cool. In Ottawa, I'd runaway and I was never taken off of the Missing Persons report 'cause I was always on the run. I'd take off. I was in a group home down near Walkley Road and I'd take off and start walking toward Bank Street at 3:00 a.m. and sometimes I needed just to get out of there. I have a friend who is on the police force here in Ottawa. And I'd call them up and they'd pick me up and we'd go back to the police station and hang out. They'd buy donuts for me and pop, you know. We'd talk. There was a couple of them that I had a good relationship with and I'd stay there all night and in the morning they'd say that I had to go back but by that time I was over my fix and I'd go back. Sometimes when Ottawa police would pick me up, you know catch me on the run. It's a respect thing, man. You know, you respect them, they'll respect you. Personally I think Ottawa copes, like they knew I was prostituting and escorting at 11. They sort of thought oh this was cute, right. I was kind of like a little mascot, you know. It was like they would come and visit me at the group homes and take me out for Pizza and stuff. In Toronto, I had a lot of contact with the JTF in 52 Division and they are nice guys. At first they weren't sure if I was under age or not, 'cause I obviously let on that I was older than I was. And they were give me their pager numbers and tell me that if I ever had a problem with a bad trick or john to call them and they'd be there for me. I'd go visit them if I was sick or something and I needed an aspirin. I'd say, "Hey Zak, I'm feeling sick, you got an aspirin for me?". "Sure, sure!", you know. And then they found out I was under age and things were a little different. They'd pick me up and we'd go out for Pizza or whatever and talk. they'd usually end up taking me back from where I ran from but I was never thrown in a holding room. They

don't blame me for it. Toronto cops they have respect for hookers. They don't blame you and they don't hold it against you. Ottawa cops, [sigh] the regular Ottawa cop does. I've had experiences where I had a couple they were detectives, not cops, well they weren't blue, you know, they were nice guys. But you get those guys in blue, huh. These guys it was actually just here on Murray Street. I was with my friend and we weren't working, okay. And I hadn't been working for a while. It was right after I went back home. I was just out. We had been to Hull and we got stranded here because the buses had stopped running. And every car was stopping and asking us, you know. We said we're not available, we're not available. WE flagged down this police car 'cause there was this guy just sitting there. We ended up huddled in a phone booth in the freezing cold. There's this guy sitting and parked his car like right in front of the phone booth watching us. This cop car comes by and we said look this guys bothering us. We're not hookers. We're stranded out here. We're 16, you know. He told us to find our own way home. If we were going to get in the job then we better do the job. We were like, my friend was like almost crying. She used to be a hooker, too. She was like, I'll do it if you don't want to do it, you know. And it's like, fuck that. So we went and sat in Bagel Bagel until 5:30 and took a bus.

L: Have you ever been to court as a witness or accused?

A: I've been to court as an accused but not for prostituting. I got off pretty good.

L: How were you treated by the lawyers and judges?

A: My lawyer was great. She was the best. Actually the cop who arrested me was the nicest guy. Like when I was younger he used to pick me up all the time. He arrested me and I had to go down to the holding cells but he would come down to see me and bring me smokes every hour and ask, "How are you doing?". He picked my lawyer. He said she was really good 'cause he was aware of the things that were going on with my father. That wasn't why I was charged. It was another charge. I spent a night at Innes Road and that was an experience. I had never been in adult before. I had just turned 18. They were nice to me. Even the judge was cool. They ordered a psychiatric examination. I went to some shrink and told her my life. You know, she wrote this report and sent it to the court and when I went to court. Like I went to court at least four times for sentencing. And they kept remanding it because the cops that busted me and their staff sergeant said they didn't want to go up in front of this one judge because he'd give me a harsher sentence, you know. And they'd say, "We're going to remand it because this guys a real prick". That's what they'd keep saying. And I'd go down to there and I'd be all paranoid. And they'd say, "Look, we're gonna' remand it until we get this one judge in particular and he's not on until this date. So we remanded until we got the judge they wanted and the cops didn't even go in. The cops that busted me, they're like, "Everything is going to be cool and okay. You're gonna get off with a year probation or a conditional discharge. For the crime I did, I could have got jail time. I could have

got three years probation. AT first that's what my lawyer was thinking. We went to court and it was like over in five minutes. Like my lawyer said, "Well there is the psychiatric assessment". And the judge says, "Yeah, I read it". And the Crown sat there and said, Yeah I read it. My lawyer said, "Well would like a year's probation or a conditional discharge". And the judge said, "I agree" and the Crown said I concur, no problem. I was wow. That means that in three years I won't have a record as long as I don't commit a crime for three years which is no problem. I'm not a criminal. And my record's gone. Like the cops, my lawyer, like they all went out of their way. Like if I had gone up in front of this other judge, I mean I would of had three year's probation. No discharge or nothing. I would of had a record. They were really nice. As long as you don't fuck around with them and treat them with respect, they respect you, you know. They know you got problems, you know.

L: The media would also have us believe that drugs are a significant part of the life. Is this accurate in your opinion?

A: I think when you're younger, it's a lot of experimentation. It's a lot of new things. A lot of new stuff, you know prostituting. You know, the whole excitement is new. The Drugs are new. That's new. But then as you get older. I think when you're younger it's experimentation. Every once in a while, you know you may smoke a joint with some friends but like I said before, the older ones' there junkies. They're hooked. They couldn't get off and no one helped them out. And they'll die that way. They'll die of a heroin overdose or something.

L: Who you would contact if you needed help. -- Like, if you were short of cash or needed a place to stay?

A: Um. Well, if I needed cash, some of the other girls. If I needed a place to crash 'cause I was just feeling like shit, there's a couple of people, like when I was in Toronto who were like street moms. You could sleep there no problem. You just show up.

L: Were these women who were in the business before?

A: Not really. More women who know what street life is about and they got off. Usually they're on Welfare or something or social assistance, whatever. You go in there, you crash and, you know, you might help them clean the place. That's what I'd do , I 'd help the clean up. Go grocery shopping or something, you know. If I was assaulted or something, I'd call up some of my favourite cops at the 52. I'd call up their pager numbers.

L: So if you were in trouble, the police would be the first people you'd call?

A: No. If it was really bad, like I absolutely needed or had to go to the hospital, or

if, you know.

L: You'd be more inclined to go to police than your pimp?

A: It would depend on the degree of trouble. Like if I had a bad trick and ended up in Brampton or something, you know, I wouldn't go calling the cops. But if I had a bad trick and I ended up bein' beaten up I wouldn't go back to my pimp because he'd mind. He'd say, "you're stupid", slap, slap. He wasn't a bad, bad guy but he had a temper, you know, and couple of times I did call the cops, these specific cops. They'd come and get me. And I'd be off the street for a month in Detention. They'd put me in a group home and I'd run. Or it would be a time to collect myself. You couldn't work anyway if you had the bruises.

L: What about if you're robbed, would you call the police?

A: I would never call the police if I got robbed.

L: Why not?

A: 'Cause they'd say it was my own fault and then they'd pick me up anyway.

L: Why would they say it was your own fault?

A: Well, you just had to know these guys.

L: I appreciate what you're saying but if it was anybody else who wasn't a hooker standing on a street corner and was robbed, their first instinct would be to call the police. It's interesting for me that you would say you wouldn't call the cops.

A: You just had to know these guys, man. I mean, they were really nice cops these two cops, in particular. No, I wouldn't call them. Like, say I got robbed. So what. I go turn another trick and I'll get some more money, you know. But if I got beaten up, I can't work anyway. I needed a break. Like sometimes you know I wanted to get caught. Not consciously thinking I want to get caught, just subconsciously, you know. A place to sleep, three meals a day and just no stress. So sometimes, you know I'd put myself in situations where I would get caught. It was like oh well, you know.

L: How long did you see yourself working the business?

A: That's a good question. I always knew, okay, I always got along well with everyone. I never really had any problems. Like, yeah, I had my bad tricks or johns, like everyone does, you know. But I always knew, at least I always felt different than all the other girls. Like when I was like 15, especially in Toronto, man, you'd see all

the kids coming in from the suburbs to the Eaton Centre. You know, I'd say I could do that. Not so much that I want to go home. But just go to a nice group home and go to school and do this and that. I always felt different, always. I never thought it would be forever. When I was under age, it was just til I was 16 and legal to work. And I did stop when I was sixteen. I ended up going back for a period of time, like three months, but it wasn't like street hooking. I was just helping out my Dad. That's how it was. Just until I was legal.

L: What did you like the most about the business?

A: The freedom, man.

L: What did you dislike the most about the business?

A: Well, for me it was just...it was just like one big party sometimes. You do get tired of it. You need a break but you don't want to the group home 'cause you know you're going to get into shit. You feel like you have no choice.

L: Is that why you got out of it?

A: No. I remember the day I decided to get out. I was in Toronto. I had spent about three months inside of Warrendale which is this semi-secure facility. I had been transferred to a group home in Scarborough and one of my workers was taking me to Sick Kids to see some shrink. I hadn't lived at home since I was 11. I hadn't seen my parents since then, you know. I had nothing to be home sick for but I was homesick. We got there and I went to see this shrink and I told her that she didn't have to wait for me, you know. I wasn't a baby. And she gave me that bullshit line, "I'm trusting you". Anyway I left. It was raining. I didn't care. I looked like shit. I actually took my worker's jean jacket with me. I walked down University Ave. and I was crying. I just didn't want to do this anymore. Like I knew if I went back he was just going to get pissed at me because I had been gone for three months. You know, and there was just nothing in it for me, you know. That day, I just started thinking, like I don't have to do this, you know. I never liked what happened at home so why in the hell am I doing this, type of thing. And that was the day. I knew. 'Cause if I was going to continue I'd really get into the drugs, I knew it. And it was so funny 'cause I was walking down University Ave. and Zak, one of the cops on the task force pulled up behind me. He gets out of his undercover car and he just saw me walking and he gets out and he goes, "Angela"[pseudonym]. And it was like, I had been going by another name and I hadn't heard my name in about eight months, you know. I just started balling my eyes out, you know. I was a runaway from Ottawa CAS. They picked me up and put me in Metro CAS under the assumption that I was under age which their legal to do under the Family Services Act, which my lawyer showed me. I was just crying and crying. We got in the car and went back to the cop shop. We talked for the longest time. I said I want to go

home to my parents, you know. He said do you think that that's a good idea. And I was like yeah I want to call them. This was May and I was going to be 16 in June. And at 16 your legal to terminate your wardship. And he called up my social worker in Ottawa and I talked to her and said if they want to take me I want to go home. I told her that I wanted to be terminated, that was my decision. And so I called up my parents. And it was so weird like they were cryin'. My parents such shit, man. They're idiots but they were crying. And they were like we're coming down to get you right now. They thought I was dead. It was like eight months with no contact or anything. They had pictures in the paper and stuff, you know. The cops in Ottawa thought I was dead. Like they said if you haven't heard from her by now, she's 15 years old, you know. No one, I didn't keep in contact with my brother or anyone. They came down that night. They picked me up and took me home, you know. And so I lived at home for three months. It was all right. It wasn't bad like it was when I was little. and I hadn't been home and they were tryin' to put rules on me, you know. Actually, my mother didn't believe I was prostituting. Even the cops in Ottawa told her. "Oh no, not my daughter", you know. They took me home. And the rest is another story. That was the one day I decided I didn't want to do this. I was really home sick. I really was, like killer homesick, you know.

L: What makes you happy?

A: What makes me happy? Um, having the freedom to make choices now. That's what makes me happy because I really didn't feel like I had any choice, like when I was under age, under 16. I mean now I can choose. Like when I fell back into it with my dad, I really didn't have a choice there but now I have like no contact with any of them and now it's like I can choose and I choose not too. I'm not going to. I dress like a bum now. Not a bum but I would never ever dress like this, you know before. It's different for me since I've been at the Sal. I don't wear, I know I will at some point in my life, but for me I like to make sure that I don't get back into it, you know. I don't dress in mini-skirts, or tight clothes anymore. I don't wear make-up no more. I cut my hair, you know. It was all so radical cause I didn't want, I probably put on about 20 lbs. too, you know, it's just insurance that I'm not going to go back, you know. Well, I can't because I've got all these scars now. I started cutting and all this, you know. It's like, "I got scars now, man. I dress like this, you're not going back". That was like initially. Now it's been like 5 or 6 months I just choose not to do it, you know. Dressing, like I probably would wear skirts now but it's just that I don't have them, you know. The clothes I have at the Sal they're comfortable and that's what I wear. I just wear what I want. I don't have to attract men or anything. I don't hate men. I'm not an anti-men person, you know. The past six months like I can just choose.

L: Good for you. What makes you sad?

A: What makes me sad? Well, now that I've so much time on my hands you do a

lot of thinking. In the past six months, I guess I've started, like I have a councillor now to start to deal with it. Like I get flashbacks now. I cut. That's something I've never done before. I'm just starting to deal with everything that's ever happened before at home, on the streets. They were saying you know I wasn't good, you know prostitution. And then you feel bad. That's what makes me sad. And you know, sometimes it just hits you, too. Someone just says a word or someone's putting down hookers. You know it's like, fuck, I was one of them.

L: What makes you angry?

A: People who put them down, man. I mean there's a lot of guys at the Salvation Army, as you noticed. And , I get along with all of them, for most part. They tend to put down women like that. You know, "What a ho" or "What a slut" and this and that. It's like so stupid because they don't understand anything. "Look at you, you're a fucking drunk.". Seriously, you know, they don't have a clue about what they're talking about. If I want to say, "Hookers are all cunts" I can 'cause I've been through it, you know. But "You man, you haven't done it so don't give me that bullshit, you know." That makes me angry, you know. Or people, they look at my scars now and they go "Oh My God!", you know. That's the other thing that makes me angry. It's like, "Don't put down my cutting, man. You're a fucking drunk. You do fucking drugs. You're addicted to sex, you know. So I cut, you know. That's how I deal with pain right now, you know. You don't know my life, you know.

L: What do you see yourself doing in the future?

A: Well I graduated last year from highschool. I did well at school whenever I was in Detention. I don't know. I'll go off to university or college or something.

L: How do you think the system could change to better serve you?

A: Ah. My biggest complaint is this. When you're under 16, they've got places for you, they do. You're allowed to feel and get angry and you're allowed to have problems, you know. You're allowed to act out and have emotional problems. Once you hit 16, it's like you're not allowed anymore. There is no place. Here, they're really flexible for me. Sometimes I really have bad days. Basically when you're 16 and you still have, like me I didn't start dealing with any of this until six months ago. If you act out or something, they can kick you out. They can throw you on the street. At CAS they can terminate your wardship and throw you out onto the street, you know. When you're under 16 they have to keep you. But once you turn 16 if you don't follow their rules and you don't do what they want you to do, then they'll just get rid of you. And if you don't start dealing with any of this until you're 18, you know they expect you to be pretty much in control. You should be in control but people have episodes and YSB they're pretty much anti-that. Like YSB will take you up until you're, I don't know 24 or so, but they expect you to have a job and that. Well, not

everyone can do that right now.

L: Do you mean until you've started to deal with your pain?

A: If you don't start dealing with things until you're over 16, you have a real harder time. You've got to control your feelings and stuff so they don't kick you out. If you're under 16 they can. WHEN you're under 16 they have to help. When you're over 16 they can say fuck you.

L: Is there anything else you would like to tell me about yourself? Any other issues you think I didn't ask about?

A: I guess not.

L: Did you have any trouble with the questions I asked? Did you find them offensive in any way?

A: No. Actually I feel they were pretty good compared to some I've got.

L: Well those are all the questions I have to ask you. I'll just turn this off. Thank-you.

APPENDIX III: Newspaper Article

Crusading councillor mistakes teen for hooker

By Mark Richardson
Ottawa Star Staff Writer

An attempt to publicize the seamy side of life in Ottawa's downtown backfired Thursday on councillor Richard Canning. He assembled reporters and TV camera crews outside a Dalhousie Street rooming house that neighbors say is home to prostitutes and drug-dealers.

At one point Canning saw a young woman leave her basement apartment and questioned about what she did for a living, implying she was a prostitute.

Christine Shipman, 16, who learned of the allegation when Canning later apologized to her on camera, was furious.

"No, I am not a hooker, and no, I do not deal crack," said Shipman, who has lived in the apartment for two months. "If I was,

would I let you take my picture?

"Just because we live here, he assumes we're all hookers. I know this place is not a good place to live in . . . but there's no where else I can afford to live."

Shipman said she receives welfare cheques while she waits to return to high school next month. Canning said later he regretted the comment, but was not embarrassed by it.

"The thought of wondering what she does for a living causes everyone's minds every day in downtown Ottawa. The issue is much greater than this," he said.

Canning regrets gaffe

"I didn't do this lightly or for the publicity. There's a real problem."

A man in an apartment at the Dalhousie Street building was passed out, oblivious to reporters. Hypodermic needles lay in a drain to the side.

Neighbor Majan Kasta said her children pick up the needles. Strangers park their cars in her parking spot. Some neighbors talk of arming themselves.

The flamboyant councillor named two other rooming houses on King Edward Street, also in his ward, as crack dens and bases for hookers. Outside one, a man called Don checked the apartment he's lived in for the past year.

"Everybody has to make a living, some how," he said. "It's their morality against mine. I drink beer and smoke pot . . . so what?"

APPENDIX IV: Defence Delivery

Defence Delivery

I anticipate that over the course of this defence people's responses could actually become quite heated before we are through. I feel that this is primarily because the methodology that is proposed in this thesis challenges how we have all been taught to "do" sociology. It questions the very assumptions that many of us live by and reproduce in our research everyday.

This project has been quite a lengthy and often complicated process for me. Part of this is because, firstly, I wanted to enact upon my feminism; and secondly, I wanted to make a contribution to the research on female youth prostitution. Before I go in to a brief summary of the thesis, I believe it is important to locate for you how this particular project evolved for me.

It began in my final year as an undergraduate in law and criminology when I took a course with Susan Boyd on "Gender Equality and the Law". It was here that I was able to find legitimation for what I already felt at a gut level about the law and many of the theories I learned as a female undergrad in criminology -- a) that women were absent and that these were primarily theories about male deviance but assumed to apply to every "one"; and b) when females were included, they were often described according to sexual stereotypical images.

This course provided me with sources and introduced me to feminists working in criminology. It introduced me to Maureen Cain, Smart, Chesny-Lind, Gelsthorpe and Morris among others who corroborated my angst. However, while many of these feminist academics described the contradictions and limitations of traditional sociology and criminology, few provided me with an action plan on how to implement theoretical change utilizing a feminist alternative. All I knew was that according to Cain, the alternative needed to be transformative, reflective and deconstructive.

In 1991, I attended the Learned Societies Conference at Queen's University. It was here that I first heard Dorothy Smith speak at the plenary session. She spoke about the need for sociology from the standpoint of women. She spoke about the class, gendered and racial subtext within traditional sociology and how objectified modes of organizing the systematic consciousness of society are reproduced within the relations of ruling. Smith (1990) has described her personal consciousness as a feminist in sociology like Little Red Riding Hood wide eyed looking at the wolf described as grandma, and saying: "Grandma, what big words you use", and grandma replying, "All the better to rule you with, my dear".

Smith provided me with an action plan, albeit quite complex in and of itself. It was a grounded alternative to think differently about society and social relations; and how to think from the standpoint of women. This was not easy to do particularly because the way I had been trained in traditional sociology purported very different ways of

I was interested in young women and how they made sense of their lives based on the many gendered double standards that women encounter daily. Central to this double standard is patriarchy's attempts to control women's sexuality. Women who reject this control thus challenge the whole patriarchal structure, as they attempt to wrest control of their own sexuality. As a result, all women are affected by the "Madonna/Whore" or "good girl/bad girl" dichotomous approach that is key to the critique of traditional research. The research takes into consideration the force of cultural stereotypes that classify females as "good women" (Madonnas) or "bad women" (Whores) on the basis of a woman's conformity to societal roles or expectations. Female youth prostitutes are at the entry point of the continuum of the sex trade that rejects these roles.

The Framework of the Thesis

The thesis reviews three groups of literature:

- a) feminist frameworks,
- b) several traditional and historical sociological/criminological theoretical descriptions within the deviance literature, and
- c) the adolescent prostitution literature.

It was necessary to discuss all three bodies of literature to exemplify four features:

- a) a summary of the varying feminist perspectives, given that the thesis is advocating a feminist alternative;
- b) the invisibility of women in traditional theoretical deviance research;
- c) the perpetuation of stereotype - reinforcing images of women, when they have been included; and
- d) the effects that this type of research has had on the objectified perception of the phenomenon of adolescent prostitution.

From this discussion emerged the recognition that the boundaries of traditional sociological/criminological deviance theory have imposed certain restrictions and perpetuated biases toward female adolescent prostitution, thereby limiting one's ability to appreciate the phenomenon fully.

Public responses to prostitution have involved state intervention into women's lives. Women's activities are thus "ruled" by a set of beliefs, attitudes and procedures that penetrate every aspect of their lives. Smith argues (1990a: 14) that society is organized by the relations of ruling. This refers to the total complex of governing, and includes more than the general notion of government as political organization activities, and is differentiated into many spheres, by which our kind of society is ruled, managed, and administered, and are the institutions through which we are ruled and through which we participate in ruling. Government response about how

it should, will or can address prostitution has not truly changed over the years except for the terminology. Changing terms simply reflect new ways or limits on ruling but we continue to "rule" to intervene in the everyday life of these women. Academia (especially sociology /criminology), too, perpetuates these endeavours. It justifies and rationalizes the governing in abstract concepts and symbols. Sociology, in particular, transposes the actualities of people's lives and experience into the conceptual currency with which they can be governed (Smith, 1990a: 14) by turning subjects into "objects" of study and ultimately into "objects" of ruling.

This objectification is the key component in the search for knowledge. Social science views society and its governing processes as social entities outside of those persons who participate in and perform them. These entities are studied as formal organizations that are objectified structures with goals, activities, obligations etc. that are separate from those of the persons who work for them (Smith, 1987). "Objectivity", however, hinders traditional sociology's ability to explicate for women, indeed for anyone, the ways in which their lives are embedded and structured by complexes of powers and relations beyond the scope of their experience. Subjects have, through their lived experiences, knowledge about the ways in which power relations penetrate their lives. These insights go far beyond the knowledge external, objectifying agents bring to a study.

Thus, there is a disjunction between sociologists appreciation of how women experience the work and the concepts and theoretical schemes by which they inscribe social self-consciousness and knowledge. The objectified knowledge of social science does not connect up with the realities of people's experiences. The political, economic and social structures that works within the objectified forms of knowledge - the relations of ruling -- does little to change the problem of women's unconnectedness. Within the relations of ruling is a standard conceptual practice and method to produce knowledge about people for the institution of ruling, thus, reinforcing its own methods of exclusion. A sociology for women, indeed a sociology for people, would work in the opposite direction, developing strategies for knowing and disclosing it to people to make sense of how things happen to them as they do (Smith, 1992: 131). It means exploring what one already knows how to do and participate in, and thus finding methods of exploration that do not fall into the same traditional objectifying mode.

Smith (1987) calls into question the traditional objectified modes of knowing, characteristic of the relations of ruling. She seeks to expand our knowledge (without falling back into the same old methods) beyond conventional understanding.

This is done by:

- a) taking into account the site of experience,
- b) the presence of actual subjects, and
- c) the actualities of the world we live in (Smith; 1990a: 12).

It is grounded research, a framework that has not specifically been defined to aid in the general understanding of female adolescent prostitution. However, it is a framework that enables an alternative sociological inquiry from where women (i.e., young prostitutes) enter into her everyday world. It is a starting point. It is a methodological tool that uncovers and legitimizes that which has seldom qualified as contributing to the "knowledge-base" -- lived experiences. It is a tool that legitimizes the many disparities that affects the young female prostitute's everyday life.

The thesis aims to reflect the experience and concerns of female adolescent prostitutes who have traditionally been marginalized by the research process and omitted in what often gets quantified as knowledge. In addition, researching from the margins enables the young women to be consulted on what action needs to happen in order for change to occur. The margin is the context in which those who experience inequality and exploitation and injustice live their lives. For the purposes of this thesis, researching from the margins accepts that knowledge is socially constructed; social interactions form the basis of social knowledge; different people experience the world differently; because they have different experience people have different knowledge; knowledge changes over time; differences in power have resulted in the commodification of knowledge; and a monopoly on knowledge production (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 26).

The thesis examined how the young female prostitute mediates, that is, communicates between her lived experiences and what is legitimized as experience by the powerholders within the relations of ruling. Jane, Sarah, Angela and Mandy shared their experiences as the understated from their point of entry into their everyday worlds of female adolescent prostitution. Their experience and voice were obtained and utilized as the subject rather than the object of study. Their voice reinforced the many problematics they experience daily. These young women continuously mediated to make sense of their everyday lives. As they reflected and consulted on the research design, the anger, frustration and desperation that fills many of these young women's lives as they understand them emerged as did their attempts to mediate contradictions to "make sense" of them.

The method of institutional ethnographies, as supported by Smith (1987), indicated that institutional interests infuse the language of established disciplines, but more importantly, the everyday life in a taken-for-granted manner. "Institutional" does not refer to the means of social organization but rather the intersection and coordination of more than one inter-relational mode of the ruling apparatus. These institutions affect the professions and ideologies that have developed to provide the categories and concepts to express the relation of local courses of action to the institutional function. Smith introduces the notion of "ethnography" as the means of exploring, describing and analyzing the complex inter-relations not conceived in the abstract but that affect the everyday world of the individual (Smith, 1987: 160).

Thus, for example, the term "adolescent prostitute" is a description of a woman who defies the traditional roles that are perpetuated through the relations of ruling. These rules identify such women as "abnormal" and seeks an explanation of her behaviour by seeking "abnormal patterns". A position which is routinely invoked by police, social workers and policymakers, for example, to account for the "problem" of adolescent prostitutes. Sociological/criminological research has been utilized to reinforce these ideals of the relations of ruling. Established sociology, criminology and psychology, and the state, as well define adolescent prostitution on the basis of sexuality. They gloss over courses of her sense of being a subject.

Using a feminist alternative, the "problematic" of her everyday world finds the young prostitute being logically organized by practices that are not just part of the local setting, but rather the extra-local setting of the state. These immediately affect her everyday. They shape the restrictions placed on her. She must mediate invisible decisions (e.g., where, when and how she can or cannot work) or mediate the blame and judgments that affect not only how she perceives herself but what she does.

A feminist sociology according to Smith (1987) is not a sociology about women but rather a knowledge of the social world from women's epistemological standpoint (Smith, 1987:8). Smith argues that women do occupy a distinctive position, not because they all share common experiences or a feminine culture that is affected by class, race and poverty, but because women all participate in a special form of women's work. Through a bifurcated consciousness, women mediate between their lived world of practical experience and transformative work and the world of abstract conceptual form which does not adequately reflect their world but claims that it does (Smith, 1987:86). This justifies a commonality for women as they struggle to reconcile their lived reality with the abstract descriptions that do not accurately reflect this reality.

One central part of women's lived experience is work and the impact of the organization of work on women's lives. Gender is central to work organization and women are often divided into social categories on the basis of performing sexual labour and/or sexual identity. But more general gendered relations of ruling are also key in shaping women's work experiences. For example, women's efforts to distance oneself from explicit sex work reinforces prejudice against prostitutes and reinforce sexual shame among women. Outside the sex trade, women are likewise divided by status, history, identity and appearance. Non-prostitutes are frequently pressured to deliver sexual services in the form of sex, smiles, style of dress or affection; those services are rarely compensated with pay and may even diminish female status. In general, the Madonna-Whore dichotomy is imposed upon all women wherein those who are sexually assertive are considered whores and those who are sexually passive are considered Madonnas. Thus, women in the sex trade are not as "abnormal" compared to other women in the sexual nature of work.

These contradictions and problematics of the prostitutes world are shaped by patriarchal relations. Prostitutes in traditional patriarchal societies transgress the fundamental associations between female sexuality being affectivity and linked to maternity. They replace these with the association of female sexuality as it relates to commerce. Patriarchal ideology sustains both sets of associations and provides their common basis; that is, the definition of the woman in terms of her sexual function. Prostitution helps maintain the traditional sexual morality which is in force by limiting the definition of sex to the relation of penetration between a man and a woman; by confirming that the sexuality of men is different restricted to not affective relations and paternity, but an instinct which it is necessary to satisfy, by the way in which the research agenda has been designed and reinforced and also by providing the woman with a negative model which is not to be imitated (Andrieu-Sanz and Vasquez-Anton; 1989: 76).

Thus, prostitutes recognize that women are defined by their sexuality and men's access to it. But as they attempt to take control over their sexuality they "unmask" women's sexual subjection to men. Women may not control their sexuality -- that is the right of fathers and husbands. By depicting prostitutes as being deviants, as "bad" girls, women controlling their sexuality is reinforced as deviant. Though the current rhetoric asserts that women should have "control" over their sexuality, the women who tries to take control (for whatever reason) is punished. This raises questions about the role of pimps. Where as is legitimate in the straight world, women's sexuality is "controlled" by a man. Thus pimps can be seen as more than exploiters. They are also providing the women with a proper sexual behaviour model -- her sexuality is "controlled" and she has a legitimate male protector.

The adolescent prostitute is somewhat unique given that she is both a female and young. The contradictions that emerge as a result of being young centre around the ability of young people to make informed adult choices. Such choices are labelled 'adult' when they conform and "immature or "bad" when they deviate. The creation of adolescence as a social category, its "constructed" nature, opens it up to review in ways similar to gender -- suggesting contradictions and power relations creating a version of adolescent "reality" that is not linked to lived experience.

Our existing knowledge of prostitution has produced a view of this work that see women as victims or as deviants or both. How can we understand this "knowledge"? The construction of knowledge is a political process. Universities and research institutes are still largely the domain of white, middle and upper class males. These demographic features suggest bias and this is important. What is often less obvious is how the choice of research areas, research "rules of the road", and the control of research methodology and funding help to construct and legitimate male power and maintain current relations (Kirby and McKenna, 1989: 27). The understanding of women and crime, i.e., female adolescent prostitution, needs to be broadened to include the general position of women within a given social context including an

examination of the social and economic factors that are apart of women's everyday worlds.

The purpose of the described feminist framework is to go beyond what has already been researched and theorized by established disciplines, but to take it one step further and put it into a perspective that begins with how the female adolescent prostitute enters her everyday world; and legitimize that her world is filled with contradictory problematics and paradoxes that have their origin in the extra-local levels of patriarchy. A strategy of this kind can contribute tremendously to the literature aimed at understanding the phenomenon of female adolescent prostitution by building on what is already there. Research needs to go beyond the conventional pathological and economic opportunity models and extending the descriptives factors that lead to involvement. A feminist framework allows these findings to be put into a perspective that gives voice to the object of study as the subject of shared knowledge and information to explain how she makes sense of her life in "the life". Several assumptions emerge:

- 1.) Gender/sex is itself a variable or matter for analysis.
- 2.) Such an analysis requires showing or explicating how power and gender are co-implicated.
- 3.) That co-implication is such that power has led knowledge to be framed in "good" or "bad" terms.
- 4.) If this is the emphasis, then the implications for researchers are that women have a voice in the research.
- 5.) These are truly radical implications for the conventional approach in mainstream sociology/criminology.

In addition, if change is to occur then it needs to include the very people it will effect.

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