

Chapter 2

Historical and theoretical perspective: the role child sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is **firstly** to give a historical overview as well as a review of literature of the current standpoint of research with respect to child sexual abuse and the role it plays in the involvement in prostitution. It will also be indicated that no encompassing theory currently exists which could explain this phenomenon.

With the use of Hirschi's Social Learning Theory, Freud's Psycho Analytical Theory and Lemert's Labelling Theory a **second** objective will be to analyse the above mentioned theories in relation to child sexual abuse and the role it plays in the involvement in prostitution. **Firstly** attention will be given to Hirschi's (1969:5) Social Learning Theory and the role that the incorporation of learned behaviour may play in the involvement in prostitution once an individual has been sexually abused. **Secondly** the process involved in the rational choice to become inculpated in prostitution after sexual abuse will be explained with the help of Freud's Personality Theory (Meyer et al., 1993:125) with specific reference to the Electra complex. **Thirdly**, the Labeling Theory of Lemert (Williams & McShane, 1994:68) which explains the role that primary as well as secondary labelling can

play in influencing the sexually abused individual to become involved in prostitution, will be presented.

A **third** objective is to critically analyse the identified theories. As no one theory encompasses the motivation involved behind the commencement into prostitution or the role that sexual abuse plays in this choice, a model will be designed in order to offer a wider perspective. This model, which will incorporate certain elements of the aforementioned theories and which will form the basis for the empirical research will be known as the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model**.

2.2 Historical overview

Every society has a distinctive history of control and regulation regarding prostitution (Davis, 1993:10). As religious views, socio-political stances and ideologies shift, so does the governing of prostitution. Historically, much attention has been given to prostitution as a life of sin and degradation (Nield, 1973:2), however, contemporary societies are changing to an approach focusing on the prostitute's well-being and includes a wide variety of services, and education and awareness programmes.

2.2.1 Biblical Times

According to the Life Application Bible's New International version, within the context of the Old Testament, prostitution was a term connoting the activities and practices which involved an exchange of indiscriminate sexual relations in exchange for payment for which no binding relationship was formed and it was not primarily an action of sexual passion or desire. The Bible distinguishes between two types of prostitutes, namely the common harlot, who engages in sexual activity for mercenary reasons, and the sacred prostitute, who was attached to, and functioning on behalf of a shrine.

Israel's attitude towards prostitution was a negative one, and in Leviticus 21:7-14, legislation was passed to outlaw prostitution, however this was in contrast to Genesis 38:14-15 where the common harlot was accepted as part of the community without objection. The harlot would often perform tasks for her community as Rahab did in Joshua 2:4-16, where this Israelite would befriend Hebrew spies when they were in Jericho. Furthermore the control of prostitution was at times unrebuked as in the case of Rahab, and also in the case of Tamar, who openly posed as a prostitute in Genesis 38 and received no punishment for doing so. Even Samson who frequented a prostitute in Judges 16:1 received no moral judgement against him.

The control of prostitution was at times not reproved, as in the case of Rahab, but at other times it came under severe condemnation. Priests were not allowed to marry prostitutes, and the daughters of prostitutes were burned for plying this trade (Leviticus 21:7,9). Treating a girl as a prostitute was seen by her family as an offense against her family honour and as in Genesis 34:31, could result in the death of the offender. The prostitution of a person's wife was seen as a "horrible event" (Bullough, 1964:505) on par with the death of a child (Amos 7:17) or the death of a loved one. In Leviticus 20, execution was the sentence imposed on the man having intercourse with his daughter, his mother or any other woman of marital status. Devout Israelites thus viewed their God as highly intolerant of sexual relations outside of narrowly prescribed circumstances, of which, prostitution fell outside of these limitations. This is re-emphasised in Leviticus 29:19 where the Bible warns Israel against selling their daughters into prostitution as was the practice in Mesopotamia. If such a girl were to be found guilty of selling her body, she was to be stoned to death (Deuteronomy 22:21).

The sacred prostitute or cult prostitute, commonly used in the fertility cult was viewed in the Bible more harshly than common harlotry. The role of the sacred prostitute within the fertility cult was to project her understanding of her own sexuality, into sexual activities by means of sexual intercourse with devotees of the shrine through the use of magic (Bullough, 1964:932-933). It was believed that

only through these sexual relations could a man's herds and fields increase. The law of Deuteronomy (23:17) prohibits the practices of cultic prostitution by the daughters of Israel. This law reveals the non-Israelite origin of this institution and the Canaan and Babylonian fertility cult with which it is associated.

Data pertaining to the practice of cultic prostitution is meagre, however considerable material of a denunciatory nature is evident in the Bible (Bullough, 1964:510). In Old Testament commentaries and textbooks the terms "cultic-" or "sacred-" prostitute is frequently presented as a historical fact. As in 1 Samuel 2:22, Chronicles 15:16, Ezekiel 8:14 and Hosea 4:13, it is presumed that the cult members engaged in sexual intercourse to promote fertility. Within the context of the Bible, the cultic prostitute is referred to as a "vessel made for Baal" and in II Kings 23:3-9 their houses were to be broken down and they were to be chased like "wild ass" who could not "restrain their lust" for their behaviour called for them to "drink a cup of horror and desolation" .

The Bible makes use of harlotry in its language to depict Israel's spirit. Reference to "playing the harlot" referred to their faithlessness (Judges 2:13,17,18:27), while "harlotrous love" (Ezekiel 6:9) and "possessed by the spirit of harlotry" (Hosea 4:12) are also references made in the Bible depicting the sordid nature with which prostitution was viewed. This use of personification, where Israel and its neighbouring nations and their communities are referred to as harlots, emphasises the condemnation with which harlots were viewed. In Nahum 3:4-7, Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, is depicted as a whore who harms nations and leads them to their downfall, using seductions and love spells which were viewed as devious means by which a woman could exercise power over a man and which could lead to one's destruction. Finally in Revelations 17:5 Babylon, the mother of harlots is burned by fire.

2.2.2 Ancient societies

Of the ancient societies, Greece has always been viewed as the home of European civilization while Rome is associated with the upsurge of western civilization. It is thus through these two societies that the foundations of modern day existence was culminated. It was thus the choice of researcher to focus upon these two societies in particular due to their dynamics in contributing to and influencing modern day thinking.

2.2.2.1 The Greeks

Greek civilization was a man-centered culture where women were confined to the home and responsible for child rearing. Prostitution was however openly accepted and a tax was levied upon it (Bullough, 1964:31). The establishment of houses of prostitution in Athens is ascribed to the constitution-giver, Solon. He was the first to tax all proceeds accrued from prostitution. A hierarchy existed amongst the prostitutes, of which the lowest form was known as "pornoï" or whores and the higher class courtesan was referred to as "hetairid", meaning a companion, (Sanger, 1913:46). Above pornoï were streetwalkers who did not wait for their customers in brothels, but sought them out off the streets. These were often older women, ex-hetairae who were no longer viewed as desirable and for this reason were allowed to practice more deception on their customers than brothel regulated prostitutes (Bullough, 1964:33). Above streetwalkers were flute players and other entertainers. They dressed seductively, to encourage amorous advances as they sang phallic songs. Finally at the top of the ladder were the "hetairae". They enjoyed a position of power, as they were often in the company of the most distinguished men and almost every important male personality had contact with "hetairae" (Sanger, 1913:36). The city of Corinth gave the "hetairae" special celebrations in their honour, in particular the celebration of the goddess Aphrodite, because through their prayers to this goddess, it was believed that they helped to save Corinth from the Persians. They were also believed to be united in devout prayer to the heavenly Cyprian goddess Aphrodite.

2.2.2.2 The Romans

Within the Roman community the act of prostitution was not addressed from a religious perspective. Thus it was viewed as a trade, necessary and one that was under great demand. This act of prostitution was practiced by a prostitute and not by priestesses of love or by cultural leaders. The status of a prostitute was defined under law as a woman who earned a living with her body, thus the official word for a prostitute was a *meretrix* or an earner (de Young, 1982: 102). Prostitution was condoned as a necessary institution designed to protect and preserve marriages as within the Roman law, marriages were arranged by parents, thus duty and not love formed a basis for a matrimony. Girls were viewed as marriageable between 13 and 19 years of age, and there after seen as old maids, not viable for the older man (Sanger, 1913 :67).

Due to the fact that marriages were not based on love or sexual pleasure, these two elements were to be found outside of matrimony. The wife however had to remain faithful, so that all heirs were legitimate, however the man was permitted to seek outside sexual satisfaction. The Roman's thus sought out prostitutes not for conversation or intellectual stimulation, but purely for sexual gratification (Freedman, 1992:512).

A prostitute had to register with the State and could then work in a brothel or as a streetwalker. The brothels were situated by the wall of Rome, at the outskirts as they were noted for their bad smell. The prostitutes would often sit in front of the brothels in order to ply their trade, hence the Latin *prostituere* which means to stand in front of (Bartollas & Dinitz, 1989:325). Government officials visited brothels to ensure that everything was in order and to collect taxes and the prostitutes were required to wear toga-like garb so as to be distinguishable from other matrons.

The Greek's and Roman's view towards prostitution was much the same except that the Roman's had a more moralistic attitude towards it, however after the

second Punic war, Roman women could sue for divorce, thereby liberating the woman's position in society.

2.2.2.3 The Middle Ages

Within the Middle Ages prostitution was viewed as an act of immorality, however tolerated and attempts were made to regulate this practice by localising all prostitutes in brothels (Kadish, 1987:1311). Prostitutes had to pay licenses and this, to an extent controlled hygiene and moral sentiment, in that all prostitutes were identifiable and isolated. It was Lutheran, Calvinistic and Protestant reformers who insisted on laws prohibiting prostitution being passed.

The most important development within the Middle Ages pertaining to prostitution, was the codification of Roman Law. It was within these codes that the legal basis for prostitution was established (Bullough, 1964:107). By the time these laws were codified, Christianity was the official European religion and ambiguity towards prostitution was now clarified within these codes. Banishment was thus imposed upon prostitution in order to curtail it.

Within Western-Europe, Germanic tribes were taking over Roman remains, where women remained objects, counting little value and were always in the custody of some man. Before marriage a woman was controlled by her father and after matrimony under the authority of a husband and if he were to die the eldest son would then take control. Women were also not admitted to the family council, were not allowed to appear in courts and could not inherit. Women were not allowed to marry without their parent's consent and polygamy was widespread as was concubinage and prostitution (Sanger, 1913 :70).

Within Europe, the Franks, a dominant Germanic tribe under rule of Charlemagne (768-814 AD) instilled double standards for men and women, where men were permitted to visit houses of prostitution while women were expected to remain faithful. Louis, Charlemagne's son was more concerned with sexual morality and regulated prostitution by increasing the number of laws and statutes governing it,

but did not abolish it. During the first crusade prostitutes were much in evidence on large scale as pilgrimages saw women supporting themselves by selling their bodies (Sanger, 1913:69). Louis VI (1224-1225) passed a decree forbidding all individuals from making a living off prostitution and to be treated as outlaws and have all their personal goods taken into custody were they found guilty. Prostitutes were also forbidden to live in certain parts of Paris and were not allowed to wear certain jewellery or fine clothes and were placed under the supervision of a policing magistrate (Bullough, 1964:110). Louis IX (1226—1270) wanted to remove the "stain" of prostitution, as his greatest complaint against the trade was that the brothels served as centers for criminal activity, thus banning prostitution in his opinion would lead to general improvements with regards to the upliftment of societies standards.

In Bristol, England, prostitutes were classed with lepers and were not allowed to enter the city. To facilitate control over prostitution, the prostitute was subject to stringent regulations and to mark them and make them identifiable for their customers and distancing them from other women, they were to dress in a certain way and were compelled to live in certain quarters. This was also particularly visible in London, where prostitutes were forbidden to parade in certain areas.

Both secular Middle Age views and religious ideals wished to reclaim the prostitute into a life of goodness. The Medieval church showed a humane attitude towards the trade and maintained asylums for reformed women, whilst still classifying prostitution as a necessary evil (de Young, 1982:104).

2.2.3 Contemporary history

As the role that child sexual abuse plays in girls' involvement in prostitution pertains to the situation in South Africa with respect to this study, researcher has highlighted a need to place this phenomena within the historical context of this country. The development of views pertaining to prostitution and studies

undertaken which further explain the possible reasons attributed to the entrance there into, will be discussed.

2.2.3.1 Historical development within South Africa

In 1868 the Cape government made its first attempt to regulate prostitution by application of the law of "catchy sicknesses". This law made provision for the examination of prostitutes in the hope of preventing the transfer of sexual diseases. Only after 1882 another law was formulated namely, the law of "police transgressions", which in turn made provision for the punishment of the act of prostitution, and in 1893 a further law which was passed which forbade child prostitution (de Bruyn, 1996:41).

During 1897 and 1899 several new laws had to be passed as the gold and diamond rush to the Transvaal saw an influx of prostitutes and the establishment of brothels. The Colonial ruling over prostitution continued until 1957, when all relevant laws pertaining to prostitution were placed under the immorality clause. Thus all rulings, related to the acts of prostitution that were made before 1957 reflected solely the aspects of prostitution such as the possible spread of diseases, and prostitution itself was not juridically a crime. In South Africa during the 1970's an awareness of victims of crime and their plight came to the fore as feminist movements made known the traumatizing experiences of victims of rape and abuse (Schurink, 1992:12). According to De Bruyn (1996:39) scientific research involving victimisation, especially with respect to prostitution, was limited to but a few qualitative research efforts. Prostitution in South Africa had thus received limited deliberation. The reasons that could attribute to the entrance into prostitution, with particular reference to the role that child sexual abuse plays in this involvement, has been practically constrained with respect to research pertaining to it. By 1977 as far as could be determined only two studies related to prostitution had been undertaken in South Africa:

Freed's (1949) study centred around interviews conducted with prostitutes in the Johannesburg area.

- Crause and Botha (1977) made use of participant observation and on this basis formulated their research.

Only in 1988 was an amendment made to the 1957 law and legally, punishment could now be given for the act of sex for barter, thereby criminalising this behaviour. The main reasons for this action were :

- a general move towards crime prevention
- the prevention of public peace disruption
- the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases
- prostitution was viewed as an immoral act.

With the change in law and the rise of modern Criminology, which brought about Victimology as an independent field of study (Schneider, 1982:12) the possible reasons for women's entry into prostitution began to emerge. The explanations surrounding the phenomenon for this involvement contained two distinct concepts, namely :

- Susceptibility, which refers to psychological traits such as feeling worthless, fear (Bartek, 1993:67) and loneliness (Caplan, 1984:69) which in turn predisposes certain individuals to become involved in prostitution.
- Exposure which refers to the experience of contact with a personal crisis or a series of traumatic events such as incest, child sexual abuse or rape which in turn make some women particularly prone to prostitution (Potterat, 1990:329).

To date, few encompassing studies have been undertaken to determine specifically the role childhood sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution, thus explaining the limited accessibility to historical information pertaining to the use of children as prostitutes. It therefore appears as if each specific contributory factor and aspect leading to child abuse has not been comprehensively realised. Subsequently a literature study of the current research

pertinent to child sexual abuse and the role it plays in the involvement in prostitution, will be given.

2.3 Current viewpoints of research with respect to the effect of childhood sexual abuse

According to Finkelhor (1979:31) researchers were initially unable to reach consensus as to whether childhood sexual abuse was an attributing factor to the negative effects which the child experienced. Geiser (1979:87) supports this viewpoint by postulating that exposure to family violence or defective parenting could attribute to these negative effects. Robertson (1989: 40) however proposes that the child may or may not exhibit signs and symptoms of the sexual abuse, dependent on the nature of the abuse.

In opposition to the above point of view West (1987:199) is of the opinion that there is no longer any doubt that even relatively moderate sexual offending against a child can have both immediate as well as lasting negative psychological effects. According to Burgess and Holmstrom (in Geiser, 1979:26) the victim of child sexual abuse exhibits the same reactions to these acts as does the victim of rape, constituting an acute reaction phase and a long-term reaction phase. Finkelhor (1988:143) differs in his division of the phases and distinguishes between the initial phase of negative effects and long-term effects of child sexual abuse. This division is made because he is of the opinion that the initial phase constitutes reactions occurring within two years of the termination of the abuse and is called so, however referring to the effects of child sexual abuse as being short term, implies that the reactions to the sexual abuse are of a short duration and do not persist. For this reason researcher distinguished between an initial phase of reaction to child sexual abuse and long-term effects. Thus the nature of the sexual abuse, the context in which it occurs as well as the manner in which it comes to light, has important implications for the way in which the child responds to the experience.

2.3.1 Initial effects of child sexual abuse

The initial phase of the negative effects attributed to child sexual abuse are for the purpose of this study divided into emotional effects, physical effects and social functioning and will herewith be discussed:

2.3.1.1 Emotional effects

According to Draper (1996:40) child sexual abuse can impair the normal emotional growth and spiritual development of a child. The fact that the abuse is commonly committed by someone whom the child knows and trusts can also contribute to the diversity and depth of emotions that are manifested. A study undertaken by de Young (1982:9) consisting of a clinical sample of 80 sexually abused children, reflected that 60 of them were abused by a male family member. The most frequently mentioned effects of child sexual abuse are thus ones of an emotional nature, in particular the emotions of anxiety and fear (De Young, 1982:56). Kunzman (1990:70) attributes this emotional breakdown to the child's sense of being loved and protected, viewed as having been betrayed. Furthermore, Draper (1996:55-56) is of the opinion that children normally look to their parents for security, love and protection. Should this love include sexual activity or even the ability to not protect them from abuse, the child may unconsciously accept that all relationships should be this way. The child may thereby be unable to grow emotionally and follow a normal developmental pattern. The confusion experienced by the child may lead to stress, as a certain amount of guilt due to the uncertainty surrounding the abuse could be evident. The victims can also experience the abuse as humiliating and degrading, thereby forming a low self-esteem of themselves.

Thus when a child has been sexually abused, the victim's feeling of detachment, because of betrayal can evolve into isolation as the victim feels that the experience of abuse cannot be shared with anyone (Finkelhor, 1988:156). This in turn may lead to the victim becoming emotionally unattached towards significant others (O'Connell, 1991:24). These feelings of alienation and vulnerability could

culminate into emotional and social isolation. Withdrawn from significant others, the victim may acquire feelings of abandonment and a lack of self worth, which may result in the victim becoming vulnerable to further indiscriminate emotional attachments and therefore the possibility of further abuse (O'Connell, 1991:25).

Alternatively, the anger and hostility felt by the victim may be exhibited in the form of antisocial behaviour as the victim is unable to cope with the accompanying emotions such as fear, helplessness and anxiety (Walker, Bonner & Kaufman, 1988:114). The feeling of anger, at being used and deprived of a normal childhood is according to Draper (1996:53) often accompanied by fear. This feeling of fear may be attributed to further retribution on the abusers part should the victim resist or, due to the victim feeling unable to prohibit further actions, as she feels it may be out of her control. This may lead to an increase in intensity and pressure experienced by the victim and could on occasion lead to an outburst by the victim. Alternatively the emotions may remain repressed which could manifest itself as a sense of powerlessness and could even lead to depression (Kunzman, 1990:7-9).

Characteristic of depression is a low self-esteem. The victim's self-confidence could be undermined by the sexual abuse and a feeling of self loathing and of being "soiled" can develop (Draper 1996:46). This may lead the abused to despise her body, viewing herself as ugly, unintelligent and worthless, which like a vicious circle, culminates in a negative self-concept and low self-esteem.

2.3.1.2 Physical effects

According to Morgan (1992:51) the most evident effect of crime is usually one of a physical nature. This is also apparent in child sexual abuse as the victim of such abuse may also exhibit physical injuries, which cannot be attributed to another cause. Robertson (1989:41) postulates that the most common effect would be injury to the genitalia. Signs of genital injury may become apparent through semen stains or blood on the victim's clothing and the passing of blood when urinating can also be an indicative sign of sexual activity. Direct symptoms

pertaining to the genitalia itself would include the appearance of abrasions, lacerations, scarring, bleeding, swelling and tearing of these areas (Naude, 1991:44). Doyle (1994:117) is however of the opinion that genitalia and anal signs of sexual abuse disappear within three weeks of the last incident, thus early detection is essential for proof of abuse. Sexually transmitted diseases can also be possible physical signs of sexual abuse (Doyle, 1994:119) as well as pregnancy (Robertson, 1989:41). Other general body injuries serve to corroborate a victim's account of sexual abuse. These can include bruising or markings on the victim's hands, feet, wrists or throat, which could be indicative of the victim being tied up or strangled and may even include soreness around the mouth should the victim have been gagged.

According to Walker et al., (1988:85), any unusual marks on a child's body for which there is no adequate explanation, should lead to further inquiries. Doyle (1994:118) postulates that even fractures, burns and extensive body bruising may reflect the physical scarring of child sexual abuse. In a study undertaken by Anderson (in Finkelhor, 1989:143) physical symptoms for which no medical cause could be found were evident in the victims of child sexual abuse he interviewed. These physical symptoms were attributed to the anxiety and stress experienced by the victim and included 31 percent reporting sleeping disorders and 20 percent, eating disorders. Doyle (1994:121) is of the opinion that recurrent stomach aches, difficulty in swallowing (because of oral abuse) and hysterical paralysis could also be symptoms of child sexual abuse which manifest themselves as physical symptoms.

2.3.1.3 Social functioning

According to Naudé (1991:43), sexually abused children reflect their needs in their behaviour. Of the most prominent reflection, mood disturbances are in the fore and these refer to any behavioural change related to the victims personality. Hollin (1992:234) undertook a study at the university of Manitoba where 51 previously sexually abused women were being treated in a clinical research programme for a range of problems that appeared to be related to earlier victimisation. Using a

semi-structured interview he found that 92 percent of women suffered from a low self-esteem, 88 percent exhibited feelings of guilt and 70 percent had experienced depressive episodes. These mood disturbances may thus be attributed to certain self-blaming and self-denigratory beliefs associated with earlier abuse.

According to Draper (1996:68) a low self-esteem can therefore lead to personal identity problems which may result in the individual not realising her self worth and where she fits in within society's structure. The experience of social difficulties may in turn lead to a complete withdrawal from social contact culminating in a feeling of isolation and a sense of loneliness, emptiness and rejection (Briere 1991:23). Effective socialisation is therefore hampered.

According to Robertson (1989:41) inappropriate sexual behaviour can also impair social functioning. By referring to the term inappropriate sexual behaviour Finkelhor (1988:151) includes any sexual relations undertaken by or with the child, masturbation not within private confines or the exposure of genitals by the child. Hollin (1992:62) attributes inappropriate sexual behaviour to traumatic sexualisation. This is when the individual was exposed to premature sexual learning. The child could also have received a reward for any sexual activity and thereby could regard sex as a tool for manipulation. This may result in distorted ideas surrounding sexual morality and appropriate sexual conduct, thereby, enabling the child to behave in a sexual way incongruent to her level of development. The term abnormal sexual behaviour for a child does however pose a problem. To determine what normal sexual activities entail for a child, Waterman, Blunk and Wabrek (in Doyle, 1994:121) undertook two separate studies to distinguish between abnormal sexual behaviour which was indicative of sexual victimisation as opposed to normal sexual behaviour for children of the same ages. Both studies exhibited a problematic finding in that no conclusive findings could be made regarding common and unacceptable childhood sexual activity as what was recognized acceptable behaviour in one culture was seen as abnormal behaviour in another. Thus uncommon sexual behaviour proved not to be conclusive evidence of sexual victimisation, but rather serves as a possible

warning sign for further information to be gathered (Doyle, 1994:123). Compulsive masturbation and age inappropriate sexual knowledge as well as promiscuity and the involvement in prostitution can, according to Naudé (1991:44) also be seen as a hampering in the child's social functioning. Doyle (1994:123) distinguishes between excessive, compulsive masturbation as a regular, open act whereby the child will not stop despite warning from onlookers, as opposed to normal masturbation which would be an act of comfort, to relieve stress and to establish control over one's own body.

Promiscuity, which refers to young people who have less well defined sexual boundaries than those of their peers and who may therefore engage in consenting intercourse with a frequent change of partners, can also encumber social functioning. Promiscuity according to Walker, Bonner and Kaufman (1988:113), can be a result of sexual abuse as the individual believes that she can only be socially accepted on sexual terms. A lack of trust and a low self-esteem may make an intimate relationship unsustainable as the individual may constantly be seeking attention and affection by offering a sexual affiliation. The possibility of furthermore receiving money for sexual favours may even lead the individual into prostitution (Doyle, 1994 :125).

2.3.2 Long-term effects of child sexual abuse

While the initial effects of child sexual abuse refer to those symptoms manifesting themselves within the victim and occurring within two years of the termination of the abuse, long-term effects are those indications of sexual abuse which become apparent after the initial phase has elapsed. Although a substantial rate of child sexual abuse is reported from within the general population, a proportion of those children who are victimised experience problems perpetuating into adulthood or only surfacing then. These in turn appear to be related to the abuse and the circumstances it can cause (Hollin, 1992:234). These long-term effects can include emotional distress, problematic social and sexual functioning as well as self damaging behavior.

2.3.2.1 Emotional effects

According to Finkelhor (1988:152), the most common long-term emotional effect of child sexual abuse is depression. In a study undertaken by Bagley and Ramsay (in Finkelhor, 1988:153), in a community mental health study involving 387 women randomly sampled in Calgary, Canada, the difference in the rate between women experiencing depression who had been sexually abused as children and those who had not been sexually abused, was compared. The Center for Environmental Studies' Depression Scale was used and the study reflected that 17 percent of child sexual abuse victims within this study suffered from depression as opposed to 9 percent, who had never been sexually abused, but who suffered from depression,. Likewise Peters (in Finkelhor, 1988:154) found that within a random sampling of 119 women from Los Angeles, those who had been sexually abused as children showed a higher incidence of depressive episodes over time and were more likely to have been hospitalised as opposed to those who had not been sexually abused. According to Doyle (1994:216) depressive episodes may be caused by negative emotions such as guilt, anger, fear and shame which were generated by child sexual abuse, and which may culminate in a negative self-image. This emotional pain can lead to social and emotive withdrawal where the individual remains passive, taking the blame for the abuse and which in turn can lead to feelings of worthlessness and which may culminate in depression (Walker et al., 1988:113).

Stigmatisation, which refers to feelings of guilt and shame for having been abused, may lead to a self-image dominated by feelings of worthlessness (O'Connell, 1991: 23). These feelings may result in the victim experiencing a state of loss as the victim may feel that she has forfeited a happy childhood (Doyle, 1994:217). Anger, which is a feature of all loss, may be projected on to other people or situations such as society. The anger can evolve into disgust which can in turn be reflected back to the victim and change into self punishment or depression. This apprehensive uneasiness of these individuals emotional state may give rise to

anxiety and confusion and finally emulate in an impaired self-image (Draper, 1996:76-78).

2.3.2.2 Social functioning

Problems relating to the social functioning of the victim of child sexual abuse can manifest in numerous reactions (Finkelhor, 1989:157). According to Draper (1996:86) the most prominent social need of a sexually abused child would be the need for privacy. Due to combined feelings of intense fear and a low self-esteem, the victim of child sexual abuse may experience a high level of social discomfort and may thus avoid social interaction. Hollin (1992:239) attributes the social discomfort to limited social skills on the part of the victim, in areas such as communication and assertiveness, which can be attributed to previous stressful encounters such as sexual abuse. In a study undertaken by Briere and Runtz (in Hollin, 1992:238), 152 victims of childhood sexual abuse were interviewed while undergoing treatment in a clinical research programme at the university of Manitoba, Canada. Their findings reflected that 48 percent of the abused women interviewed experienced a feeling of insecurity and 90 percent had an intense fear of men, stemming from earlier feelings of betrayal and helplessness during their experiences of abuse. The victims expressed further feelings of being stigmatised and general feelings of vulnerability which in turn can result in an inability to trust. This can lead to isolation and loneliness (Doyle, 1994:223).

2.3.2.3 Sexual functioning

Childhood sexual abuse may result in a fear of closeness or emotional intimacy in adulthood, thus becoming a hurdle in any relationship (Draper, 1996:98). Nash and West (in Hollin, 1992:67) compared women who had experienced a sexually abusive incident in childhood with women who had not, and found that a higher proportion who had been sexually abused could be linked to frigidity or sexual inhibition (the choice to have sexual relations with a same gendered partner). Doyle (1994:221) ascribes these reactions to flashbacks, as the victim may feel that self disclosure of the incident is associated with weakness, which can be interpreted as a vulnerability and which can lead to further exploitation,

accompanied by hurt and pain. Thus the victim associates the arousal state leading to sexual activity with anxiety and tension (Draper, 1996:99). This may lead to the victim experiencing an inability to love, as love has never been previously experienced without the accompanying emotion of betrayal. This problem with physical touching can develop to form a barrier against any sexual activity or alternatively lead to sexual disinhibition, where dissociation from sexual intercourse occurs, and sexual activity may be used for personal gain (Hollin, 1992:67). To substantiate this view Meyerding (in Doyle, 1994:161) interviewed 136 prostitutes and reflected in his findings that 55 percent had been sexually abused as children and 65 percent of those who had been abused were abused as adolescents who were forced into sexual activity. Fields (in Doyle, 1994:162) found that 45 percent of the prostitutes interviewed in her sample were sexually abused as children and were differentiated from a comparison group of non-prostitutes who matched with respect to age, race and education, where 37 percent were abused.

2.3.2.4 Self-damaging behaviour

According to Doyle (1994:130) the most destructive behaviour is that which is self harming. Among 152 clients at a crisis centre at the University of Massachusetts (USA), 51 percent of previously sexually abused women had attempted to commit suicide (Hollin 1992:236). Walker et al., (1988:113) attribute the motives to the relief of stress, and an exercise of control or a show of self punishment for a bad, or unworthy person who does not deserve to live.

Another form of self harm is self mutilation (Doyle, 1994:130). De Young (1982:82) found that 58 percent of 45 incest victims, cut and burnt themselves on a repetitive basis, and that the mutilation started after the commencement of the abuse. The motives behind such behaviour can be rooted in an attempt to make the body unattractive thus trying to prevent the abuse or as demonstration of control and ownership over the body. Self mutilation is often viewed as symptomatic of relief from tension, and the rage is directed at the victim herself and not the offender (Hollin, 1992:237).

Peter (in Draper, 1996:161) undertook a controlled community study to examine the long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse. This author found that 17 percent of victims abused alcohol, and 27 percent abused at least one type of drug. In a study to examine the association between childhood sexual abuse and substance abuse Hollin (1992:238) found that 21 percent of 152 women clients in a crisis counselling center in San Francisco, USA, had a history of alcohol abuse. According to Walker et al., (1988:113) the use of drugs and alcohol can numb the pain and distress of abuse, enabling the victim to escape into a fantasy world.

Eating disorders such as anorexia nervosa, bulimia and obesity have been associated as a symptom of child abuse (Walker, 1988:113). In 1985, Oppenheimer (in Doyle, 1994:138) attempted to explain the association between eating disorders and childhood sexual abuse. Of the 78 individuals in his sample, 29 percent had either anorexia nervosa and, or bulimia. The association between these eating disorders and child sexual abuse are ascribed to a need to render the body sexually unattractive, to exercise control over the body, or as self punishment as an aversion to their own femininity and sexuality (Doyle,1994:130). Damage to the victim of child sexual abuses' personal identity thereby seems inevitable as confusion can surround their self concept and where they believe they fit in within society's structure (Draper, 1996:68). This may lead to the victim feeling hindered or bound (Kunzman, 1990:10). This can result in a hesitation to express opinions as they fear criticism, thus not having a realistic perception of their capabilities (Draper, 1996 :69).

Stigmatisation, which leads to feelings of guilt and shame, for having been abused may lead to a self image dominated by feelings of unworthiness (O'Connell, 1991:23). This self-punishment, of taking the blame and feeling guilty may result in the victim developing into a state of loss, as the victim may feel she has forfeited a happy childhood (Doyle, 1994:217-219).

2.3.3 Factors influencing the victim's experience of child sexual abuse

The effects of child sexual abuse cannot be simplistically related to merely the sexual nature of the abuse. The impact of this abuse upon the child can be markedly different, dependent on certain factors. The family setting in which sexual abuse occurs, the relationship between the victim and the offender as well as the type of abuse that is metered out can influence the child's perception and the effects which can be attributed to the sexual abuse.

2.3.3.1 The family environment as pre-cursor to sexual abuse

Classical theories of personality, endorse the view that normal child development requires a stable family environment. According to Freudian perspectives, the presence of two parents is a pre-requisite because offenders can use what they deem as a vulnerability such as a single parent family, to gain sexual access to, and maintain control over the child (Hollin, 1991:18).

In a study undertaken by Silbert and Pines (1982:478-481) to investigate the reasons behind the entrance into prostitution, 200 juvenile and adult street prostitutes were interviewed in the San Francisco, Bay Area (USA). Of the subjects only 8 percent reported no drug use by any of the nuclear family members, 75 percent reported family violence, 70 percent reported emotional abuse and 60 percent sexual and physical abuse within their family. Parental harassment, domestic disputes, alcohol abuse and economic problems were indicated as further serious domestic problems, which could in turn place the child at risk of becoming a sexual victim.

Social support systems within the family such as a positive or negative relationship between members can also play a contributory role in the impact of child sexual abuse. Stevens and Cloete (1996:43) are of the opinion that domestic tranquility, accompanied by consistent discipline and supervision serve as important preventative measures. Thus the impact of family interaction with reference to socialisation is considered a function of variations in parental affection as well as

discipline. Conversely, both the absence of affection and inadequate discipline may contribute to a poor familial environment and form a setting for criminal behaviour. In a study undertaken by Steyn, Grobbelaar and Snyman (1995:62-66) to define and explain the role of the step-father as a sexual abuser, particular attention was given to the circumstances surrounding the abuse as well as the extent of the abuse. During this qualitative research, unstructured interviews and documentary studies of eleven clients of the Christian Societal Board in Witbank, were undertaken. Through the research findings it became evident that the perpetrator exhibited poor social relations, such as parent-child relationships and marriage bonds. These were attributed to a breakdown in the family nucleus caused by divorce as well as a lack in ability to maintain long-term relationships. Poor interaction, a lack in communication and rigid boundaries were also indicated as contributing to the dysfunctionality of the abuser's family, functioning as a dysfunctional one.

Thus Mayes (1992:60) is of the opinion that parents are of primary importance in the position they hold within the family, in the avoidance of a potentially abusive situation. Children from families functioning as an educational-unit with open channels of communication accompanied by personal as well as social education, are less vulnerable to child sexual abuse and its effects. Although Finkelhor and Baron (in Hollin, 1992:18) are of the opinion that no one specific factor can place a child at greater risk than another, the capacity to identify children who may possibly be more vulnerable than others, is of preventative importance.

2.3.3.2 The relationship between the victim and the offender

According to Silbert and Pines (1982:495) a social support system can be described as an interpersonal tie to a group who can be relied upon to provide emotional assistance by sharing the same or similar standards and values. Should the social system's boundaries within the family nucleus be transgressed through the use of power and coercion a situation incestuous in nature may arise. Robertson (1989:11) describes incest as a crime occurring within the boundaries

of the family, where sexual intercourse is evident between members who by law are prohibited from marrying one another.

Furniss (1991:46-47) identifies two distinct family systems which form part of this family pathology as being:

- Conflict avoidance, where marital estrangement, especially that of a sexual nature threatens to break up the family and the inability of an individual to cope with such an event allows for the delegation of the daughter to take over the wife's sexual role, thus removing stress and binding the family.
- Conflict regulation where the family is described as being disturbed, disorganised and often marred by violence and confusion. It is within this setting that the daughter is sacrificed to deflect the father's aggression from the wife and an open incestuous relationship prevails. This relationship however is hidden from the outside world.

In a study undertaken by Finkelhor (1988:84) to determine specific predictors within sexual abuse, he reported that father-daughter incest was the most frequently reported abuse, and that it had received the widest research attention as well as being the most treated by doctors and psychologists. Bavolek (1985:109) is also of this opinion and adds that the relationship is one of a triad nature as the mother, daughter and father each play a role in the development and perpetration of the incest. The fear of the disintegration of the family due to fear of abandonment proposes this triad as an acceptable option.

Data pertaining to the accurate incidence of incest is however inhibited. This may be attributed to the reluctance of parents and family members to report such activities as they may fear social rejection or be unwilling to subject the child to embarrassing questions. Should the abuse not be incestuous the child may still be reluctant to report this abuse to parents as they may fear reprisal by the perpetrator or may even blame themselves and feel guilty (Bavolek, 1985:103).

Pressman (1984:89) is of the opinion that child sexual abuse is prevalent in all socio-economic strata. Only a small percentage of child sexual abuse victims report the abuse at the hands of strangers, while the majority experience the abuse at the hands of parents, parent substitutes and relatives. According to Macdonald (1995:4) between 96 percent and 98 percent of offenders are known to the victim. Although the abuse can occur at any age, as the child approaches six to nine years of age the susceptibility to fall prey to abuse is optimal, as a child who has reached sexual maturity poses a greater risk to the abuser as the likelihood of falling pregnant or even becoming aware of the abuse as an infringement on their rights places the abuser at greater risk of being caught. The abused is usually the eldest child and who has an average IQ. As the daughter emerges as the central female figure of the household, so, the perpetration and development of the incestuous relationship can commence. However when the eldest daughter becomes older or stands up against the abuser, she may even be replaced by a younger sibling. (Bavolek, 1985:12).

According to Doyle (1994:15) this imbalance in power and natural order in the parent child relationship, may be attributed to two possible reasons:

- paedophilia, where the child is primarily viewed as a sexual object, or
- promiscuity, where the child is viewed as merely another sexual partner.

Glaser (1991:44) however emphasises the fact that the outcome of the abuse is dependent on whether the abuser is in a position of intimate trust and whether the family dynamics supports or condemns the abuse.

2.4 Theoretical explanations for the victim of child abuse's entrance into prostitution

Positivism is a scientific method whereby the quantifying and measurability of behaviour and the social conditions associated with that behaviour can be determined. The main focus of positivism thus lies in the criminal conduct itself and that within this study of crime, neutrality is possible. Crime is thus viewed as a multi-dimensional concept (Walter, 1996:16). The positivistic approach is of value to the criminologist for, although the claim is made that the focus lies on the criminal behaviour itself and not on the criminal law, this approach implicitly does however support the legal system as it adopts the states' legal definition of crime. Furthermore the positivistic approach produces more reliable outcomes. This means that numerous researchers would come to the same finding using the same scientific methods, applied to the same data. Also taken into consideration in this approach is the influence of forces outside the control of the individual (Conklin, 1981:34). This could in turn account for the failure to explain why some individuals exposed to criminogenic conditions do not commit a single serious criminal act (Walter, 1990:13). Freud's Psycho Analytical Theort, Hirschi's Social Control Theory as well as the Labelling Theory will therefore be encompassed within the positivistic approach.

2.4.1 Freud's Psycho Analytical Theory

In an attempt to explain how the personality is organised Freud employed a typographical model, consisting of three levels of the human consciousness namely the conscious, preconscious and the unconscious. The conscious level can be described as an individual's awareness at a given moment. This can be attributed to selective screening processes, regulated by external cues. The preconscious refers to that level which is not conscious at the moment but can readily be summoned into awareness. The preconscious also forms a bridge between the conscious and the unconscious. Freud describes the unconscious as a reality and not a hypothetical abstraction. Freud furthermore postulates that human beings are shaped and directed by impulses and drives which are outside of their realm of awareness (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1976:24). In 1920, Freud devised the structural model of mental life which altered the stages of consciousness, thus conceiving the human personality to have three inter-related parts namely, the id, the ego and the superego. The id, inherited and present at birth can be described

as those human drives which are bestial, raw, unorganised, primitive and free from inhibitions. The id is entirely unconscious and is composed of forces or drives and instincts, of which the two most important are sex (Eros) and destruction or aggression (Thanatos). Thus the id seeks immediate discharge of psychic energy and may thus be regarded as hedonistic in nature. The ego which in contrast to the id, operates on the reality principle, expresses and gratifies the id's desire in accordance with the restrictions of outer reality as well as the superego, thus ensuring the individual's safety and self-preservation. The ego begins to develop when the individual is between six and eight months old and develops from experiences within the environment, as a realisation takes place that each individual is separate from other people. The ego is therefore the rational, problem solving aspect of one's personality. In order for an individual to function constructively within society, a system of values, morals and ethics, as well as an attitude compatible with societies' outlook must be acquired. The superego or conscience, fulfills this role by reflecting upon earlier learnt parental socialisation skills of moral and immoral behavior as well as what is viewed as good and what is viewed as being bad (Kaplan, Sadock & Grebb, 1994:237). Thus the varying demands as well as functions of these different aspects of the personality should work together in relative harmony, yet the inability to do so can result in criminal behaviour. With the parts of the psyche as a basis, Freud furthermore postulated that human development can be viewed from a psychosexual perspective. He based this on two premises, namely the genetic approach, where adult personality is shaped by early childhood experiences and secondly that a certain amount of sexual energy is present at birth and after which progression occurs through a series of psychosexual stages (Conklin, 1981:31-34). Freud thereby delineated four stages of psychosexual development to include:

The oral phase, which occurs within the first year of life, and is associated with the mouth which is most frequently affiliated with the reduction of biological drives. Here, the oral cavities (the lips, tongue and associated structures) become the basic interest and focus of activity for the infant. Frustration and conflict may arise when food is not

forthcoming when the baby demands it. Yet, this prime contact with the social and physical environment, captures most of the sexual energy and this phase comes to an end when the child is weaned, thus giving up the breast or bottle in order to comply with society's norms.

Following the oral phase is the **anal stage**, where the focus of libidinal energy is shifted from the mouth to the anal region. Within this stage, children become fascinated with excretion, and toilet training plays an important role as they realise they can exercise control over their direct environment. This is of significant importance for later life as all later forms of self control and mastery have their origin in the anal stage (Kadish, 1983:4).

Within the aforementioned phases, the mother is seen as the primary care-giver and need gratifier as well as the chief object of each child's emotions. Within the next stage, namely the **phallic stage**, which comes into being when the individual is about four years of age, libidinal interest shifts to the sex organs. A dominant conflict which represents every child's unconscious desire to possess the opposite-sexed parent and simultaneously dispose of the same-sexed parent. The process is not alike for boys and girls and is known as the **Oedipus complex** in boys and the **Electra complex** in girls. For boys the Oedipus complex is motivated by what Freud calls castration anxiety. The boy's initial object of love has been the mother as she has served as a prominent source of gratification since birth. However when the boy witnesses the female genitalia, he assumes that all women have been castrated and thus fears that a similar fate may befall him. Boys thereby perceive the power and size of their fathers and conclude that they are the castrators. The boy must thus emulate him and in a sense ensure his safety by not antagonising the father and thereby ensuring the safety of his penis. This identification with the aggressor provides the boy with a set of values, morals and attitudes regarding sexually-

related behaviour. The feminine version is known as the Electra complex. The girl's first object of love is also the mother, however after seeing a penis, she realises an inadequacy, which the mother also possesses. The girl develops penis envy and hostile behaviour directed at the mother ensues. This attitude can be ascribed to the daughter's hostility towards the mother for depriving her of a penis while simultaneously the girl wants to possess her father as he has the enviable organ. Due to the fact that she cannot possess this, she seeks sexual pleasures as penis substitutes to overcome her feelings of inadequacy and incompleteness (Curran & Renzetti, 1994:100-101).

Finally the **latency** period, stretching from six years into adolescence, sees the libido channelled into non-sexual activities such as intellectual interests, sports and peer relationships (Conklin, 1981:31-34). This dormant period is followed by the genital phase which continues throughout adulthood, but which is not of importance to this study as only child sexual abuse and its affects will be studied.

For Freud the most important conflicts occur within early childhood. He maintained that a person's personality is established by the age of six and undergoes little change thereafter. If the first three phases are therefore sublimated, then a normal adulthood will ensue, however should trauma such as neglect or abuse occur, personality problems may manifest in adulthood.

According to the Psycho Analytical Theory, crime can thus be the result of a malfunction between the ego and superego. An under developed superego caused by for example parental abuse, could lead to inadequate internalisation of societal norms which could culminate in delinquent or criminal behaviour. Conversely an overdeveloped superego, producing constant and intense feelings of guilt within the rigid individual, culminates in the person desiring punishment (Kadish, 1983:4). Crime can also be the result of an immature or underdeveloped ego. A lack of physical affection or over indulgent parents during the infancy stage

may lead to the child becoming fixated in a particular psychosexual stage of development. Thus the immature ego cannot satisfy or resolve conflicts pertaining to that stage (Curran & Renzetti, 1994:102). Within the Psycho Analytical Theory, of particular interest to researcher is the phallic stage, specifically the Electra Complex. The entrance into prostitution of a girl still within the phallic stage could be attributed to her inability to possess her father and thus she seeks out other sexual stimulation, brought on by penis envy. Should the entrance into prostitution occur after the phallic stage, then the inability of the superego to have socialised the individual during the phallic stage by instilling within the person a sense of what is right from wrong in accordance with societies expectations would be evident. This may lead to a continuation of this behaviour, as sexual limits have not been set.

2.4.2 Hirschi's Social Bond Theory

Travis Hirschi's Social Bond Theory perceptualises why people do not commit crime rather than why individuals perpetrate criminal acts. According to Hirschi, we should assume that all individuals in society are potential criminals and we need to explain why some people fail to commit deviant or criminal acts (Eitzen & Timmer, 1985:26). Hirschi proposes that the answer lies in the individual's social bonds, those ties the individual possesses to parents, peers and important social institutions. When these bonds are strong, individuals fear that criminal behaviour will threaten their relative position with the significant others while, conversely those who engage in delinquency are free of any intimate attachments, aspirations and moral beliefs that may bind them to a conventional way of life (Conklin, 1981:218). Individual social bonds are thus the source of the social control of the individual that prevents crime, and as rational beings, people make decisions according to the costs and benefits of conformity or nonconformity. Hirschi's book *Causes of Delinquency* (1969) consists largely of empirical research based on self report studies and official police records aimed at testing this theory. His self report study constitutes over 4000, 12-17 year old, Californian junior and senior high school students from Contra Costa county, USA. The research employed

school and police records as well as questionnaires that included self report studies about individual's involvement in delinquent behaviour. The self report studies used to measure the individual's involvement in delinquency asked about personal involvement in six specific delinquent acts, ranging from theft of property valued at less than two dollars, to battery. The number of acts each individual identified as relating to them then formed an index of delinquency (Tierney, 1996:205). Hirschi tried to measure support for the denial of responsibility technique, by asking students if criminals were to be blamed for their behaviour. Only 12 percent of the sample felt that criminals should not be held responsible for their actions. Hirschi found that those students who felt that they should not be held responsible for their actions, were the most likely to have committed a delinquent act. Likewise those who showed intermediate levels of agreement also showed intermediate levels of involvement in delinquency. Hirschi's data reflected that 63 percent of those who agreed with the statement, that they should only be viewed as being intermediately responsible for their actions had admitted to at least one delinquent act. While 25 percent of those who strongly disagreed with the lack of personal responsibility attributed to an individual who had committed a delinquent act, however also admitted to at least one delinquent act. These findings provided tentative support for the link between the denial of responsibility and juvenile delinquency (Conklin, 1981:224-226). Therefore, an individual may violate rules, if those rules have not been socially indoctrinated as part of a moral code, and weakened or broken social bonds can reduce a person's ability to conform. Hirschi specified four interrelated elements pertaining to these social bonds as being: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief.

Attachment is viewed as the most important element of the bond and refers to the individual's sensitivity to the opinions of others (Curran & Renzetti, 1994:199). If a person does not care about the wishes, opinions or expectations of others, then it can be presumed that the individual will not be bound by the prescribed norms and is free to deviate from the laws of society. Therefore attachment to others

facilitates the internalisation of the norms of society and the development of a conscience (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 1996:310) .

Hirschi refers to the second element of the bond, **commitment**, as being the rational contemplation of the consequences of one's actions before acting (Kadish, 1983:348). Conformity is thus encouraged by fear of losing what you have or what you expect to acquire. The more ambitious a person is, the less likely the individual will be to commit a criminal offense. Hirschi characterised commitment as "common sense" because an individual will realise that abiding by social rules helps to maintain and advance one's status in the society (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 1996:310). Thus time, energy, money and emotions will be invested in pursuing a specific activity and the consideration to become involved in crime will be evaluated by the risk of losing acquired prospects (Curran & Renzetti, 1994:200).

Involvement, is described as the opportunity element of the bond. This premise postulates that an individual engrossed in conventional activities will simply not have time to participate in criminal or deviant activities (Kadish, 1983:348).

The fourth bond, **belief** refers to the extent to which juveniles have a commitment to the moral values of conventional society (Tierney, 1996:206). Thus all individuals are socialised into a common set of beliefs and the stronger the person's belief in the conventional order, the less likely they are to offend (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 1996:311).

Hirschi's assumptions that evil impulses are controlled by social bonds or ties with others who are law abiding, manifests itself in links between the individual and the family, school and peers, thereby constituting the social bonds that are of prime importance. It is within these bonds that the adolescent finds that affection, conformity and involvement in conventional activities and normative beliefs, steer

the individual onto the path of conformity (Sykes & Cullen, 1992:308). The first institution of importance is the family, where Hirschi found that delinquents were less closely tied to their parents than non-delinquents. The critical factor is not whether the parents were physically present to supervise children's behaviour, but rather whether the parents are psychologically present when the child faces temptation to violate the law. Thus, if the parents are not present in the child's mind, then they are free to act without giving any thought to how their parents would react. The closer the relationship to one's parents, the better the communication and the more emphasis a child places on parental expectation (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 1996:312). The second institution which can contribute to non-delinquent or delinquent behaviour is the school. Attachment to the school and its teachers influences this likelihood and the expectation of significant others is also of importance in controlling criminal juvenile behaviour. Hirschi postulates that positive feelings towards controlling institutions and persons in authority are the first line of social control (Tierney, 1996:208). Therefore academic incompetence, which leads to poor school accomplishments, can lead to a negative attitude towards the school and a rejection of its authority and its teachers, which in turn is linked to delinquency. The final type of attachment Hirschi examines is the ties to peers. Hirschi is of the opinion that delinquents are more likely to have delinquent friends, than non-delinquent ones. Hirschi also postulates that adolescents who have poor family ties are more likely to also have poor relationships with their peers. Thus Hirschi describes the delinquents as individuals lacking strong attachments to parents, teachers or peers, and this state of indifference sets them free to deviate from societies norms (Conklin, 1981:228-229).

2.4.3 Lemert's Labelling Theory

Labelling theorists focus on the interaction between individuals or groups and those who label them as deviant (Tierney, 1996:138). Therefore an act becomes criminal or deviant only when it is defined as such by a group of observers. Social control can thus be viewed as a cause rather than an effect of deviation.

According to Lemert (in Muncie & Fitzgerald, 1990:417) it is not deviance which leads to social control, but social control which leads to deviance. A person whose behaviour is against the law and who is arrested by the police and tried in court is thought to have his opinion of himself altered so as to see himself as a criminal. This can lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy, and the individual may behave in a manner which is consistent with his altered self-concept. In other words, once an individual is labelled as a criminal he will continue to behave as a criminal (Conklin, 1986:267). An individual who has broken a rule, may do so for any number of reasons. These may be social, economical or political in nature and the impact of this labelling process on an individual's future behaviour was explored by Lemert who introduced the concepts **primary** and **secondary** deviation. Primary deviance, or the initial deviant act, is an act that fails to conform with society's expectations and the label of deviant is attached to this person (Conklin, 1981:331). Secondary deviation is deviation that results from the initial societal reaction. When the individual's reaction elicits a formal public reaction, the reaction process can lead to a total re-orientation of the individual's self-perception. The termination of legal opportunities and interaction as well as the destruction of one's character may leave the labelled individual with little choice but to seek out deviant associations or criminal opportunities (Curran & Renzetti, 1994:231). Lemert based the link between reaction and deviance on his research into stuttering Indian tribes in British Columbia. In some tribes stuttering seemed prevalent, yet in others completely absent. There seemed no physiological reason for this and contact with white people was also ruled out as a causative factor. Lemert however found that in tribes where stuttering prevailed, great emphasis was placed on oratory story telling. Children of these tribes were thus socialised into a set of norms that stressed a flawless performance, and the ridiculing of those who could not do so, led to vast pressure being placed on them. The institutionalisation of the social reaction, namely the ridiculing, of those who could not comply (deviants) led to the development of stuttering, that is the reaction of individuals within society created the deviance (Tierney, 1996:142). Society is however most likely to respond if the act is repeated by an individual who has high visibility within society, for example prostitutes, and this response is most likely in

turn, to become a causal element in the individual incorporating this response into her own self concept and assuming roles based on this premise (Conklin, 1981:331). A positive reaction to being labeled is to try and change one's behaviour, in order to avoid trauma and complications associated with the legal system. This is most likely to occur if the offender has a stake in conformity or is sensitive to the evaluation by the group or individual labeling, thus the social circumstances in which the individual finds herself can also play a role (Conklin, 1986:267-268). Curran and Renzetti (1994:233) are however of the opinion that secondary deviance remains to be empirically verified, as informal labels, imposed in earlier life have a great impact on individuals as well as the individuals personal impositions to resist such labels.

2.4.5 Conclusion

In retrospect to the aforementioned theories, researcher has come to the conclusion that within the social sciences, it is not always possible to find one single theory which incorporates all the necessary requirements for explaining a manifestation. The aforementioned theories should thus not be viewed individually, but as an eclectic contribution, in order to serve as a possible explanation for the role that child sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution. Researcher, is of the opinion that Freud's Psycho Analytical Theory will form a contributory element towards formulating a possible link between child sexual abuse and the role it plays in the involvement in prostitution. Freud postulated that within the psychosexual developmental phases (see paragraph 2.4.1), which all individuals pass through, abuse may lead to deviant behaviour. Thus should the course of each psychosexual phase not develop as expected or be interrupted, then normative sexual development is hampered. Of particular interest to researcher is the Phallic stage of psychosexual development, and as research is gender biased, the Electra Complex within this phase which relates to the girl's psychosexual development, will be of importance. Within this phase, should abuse occur, the girl becomes aware of the penis as an organ she does not possess. However, normative to this stage all girls would become aware of this deprivation and acquire penis envy. However researcher is of the opinion, that

sexual abuse could warrant not only an envy of the penis, as the girl will clearly realise she does not have one, but also a fear and homage to it, as it presents itself as an instrument able to exert power over her. The initial object of love and care-giving, the mother, will now play a secondary role, not only attributed to her lack of a penis and thus imminent power, but also as a powerless source in attempting to prevent or prohibit the abuse.

The fact that the abused may feel powerless against the penis, the inadequacy experienced can therefore be vented in the granting of sexual acts for monetary gain. The exchange of money is of importance as it allows the abused to gain a feeling of control over the enviable organ, the penis, as money is often associated with power. The impulses of the superego, which reflect upon earlier learnt parental socialisation skills of that behaviour, which are taught as being either moral in nature or as immoral, can also play a role in this choice. Thus the viewing of the entrance into prostitution as being immoral, can be hampered by sexual abuse. The superego or conscience may thus not develop to its potential and the id may prevail as the stronger force, curbing moralistic behaviour. The entrance into prostitution will thereby not be a moral, ethical decision based on values, but rather a bestial, primitive reaction lacking in the restrictions placed by society.

As the institutions, such as the family unit, who are viewed by the victim as being responsible for preventing such behaviour, were absent, so too is the individuals need to bond herself closely to them and follow their prescribed norms. This perceptualises Hirsch's elements of social bonding, in particular attachment. The lack of attachment the abused feels towards significant others, either because they are the abusers or because of their lack in being able to prevent the abuse, may manifest itself in the abused viewing it as a right to freely deviate from society's norms. The lack in attachment to significant others can in turn lead to a disregard to commitment on the part of the individual, to the extent in her choosing not to comply with the law. Involvement in criminal acts will therefore be seen as an opportunity as the belief in a strong moral code has been impaired. Thus after the abuse, the individual, not having a close tie to any significant institution, re-

evaluates her self-concept in a negative way. This self imposed labelling can lead to the individual feeling worthless and the entrance into prostitution can be viewed as a compensatory choice either as a form of own punishment or retribution on those significant others who have failed her. After primary labelling (self imposed labeling) has occurred and the individual chooses to enter into prostitution, so the law and society label her behaviour as being deviant. This secondary labelling inculcates itself in a choice to remain within prostitution, despite the labels, as the prostitute will not value society's negative labelling of her as the society that is doing the labelling, is the same society who failed the abused earlier by not protecting her.

As none of the aforementioned theories comprehensively explain the role that child sexual abuse plays in the entrance into prostitution, researcher has developed a model, namely the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see page 65). This model has been constructed from aspects pertaining to Freud's Psycho Analytical Theory, Hirschi's social Bond Theory and Lemert's Labelling Theory. According to Du Toit (1995:105) a model, which can be described as a partial exposition of an entity, must provide questions, pointers and direction for the inquiry at hand. Once pursued the model should lead to a better understanding of the phenomenon in question. It should thus correspond with what the researcher wishes to explain, disclosing particular variables and appearances while directing towards the specifics. The **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** incorporates those necessary aspects of the aforementioned theories in order to possess a better understanding of the role that child sexual abuse plays in the entrance into prostitution.

2.4.6 Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model

The **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) departs from the view point that child sexual abuse during any phase of human psychosexual development can lead to the entrance into prostitution. This choice is also influenced by the role that the absence of a significant institution and labelling play

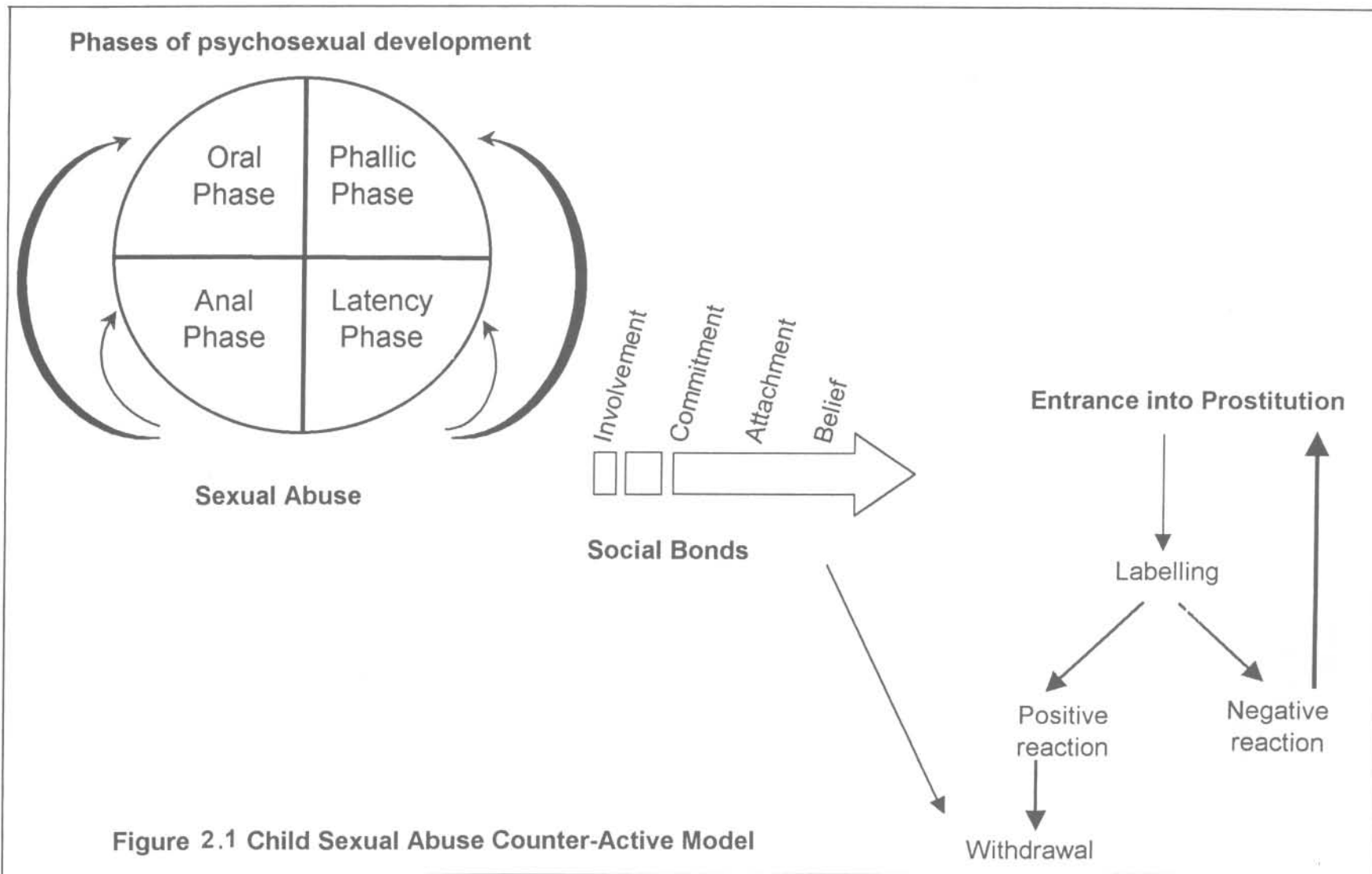


Figure 2.1 Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model

in this choice. **Firstly** every individual progresses through the different stages of psychosexual development. Should abuse occur within these phases, in particular

the Phallic stage, the entrance into prostitution becomes a possibility. **Secondly**, the role played by significant others as well as significant institutions, should they be present, can play a counter-active role in the choice to become involved in prostitution, however the entrance into prostitution and the remaining within this field is influenced by the labelling process placed upon this individual. The individual thus functions in a psychosexual realm, where each phase attributes to the development of the superego, and sexual abuse in turn counteracts normal development. Subsequently the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** will be discussed in detail.

The model itself, explains how Freud's psychosexual stages of development and the parts of the psyche which are shaped by early childhood experiences can lead an individual to enter into prostitution. During the oral phase, which occurs before the child is weaned, the oral cavity is associated with receiving pleasure and is the basic interest of the child. Sexual abuse during this phase will not play as an important role as during one of the other psychosexual developmental phases, as the child is very young and will most probably not remember much of what is occurring. However this phase does play an important role in perpetuating the mother as the primary care giver. Mastery of controlling anal movements in the Anal stage, sets the foreground for an individual who, once matured can be capable of controlling their environment. Of particular importance to researcher is the Phallic stage, in particular the Electra Complex. Sexual abuse within this phase emphasises an awareness of the male penis, however unlike the normal ensuing envy, of the incompleteness and inadequacy, an attitude of fear, due to the inability to hamper sexual abuse may develop. Hostility normally directed towards the mother, for the inadequacy, is embedded by her inability to prevent the abuse, thus accentuating her submissive position to the superior penis. In order to overcome feelings of inadequacy, sexual pleasures in the form of prostitution may be seen as an option. The exchange of sex for money, is seen as a choice, where money is seen to compensate for the pleasure principle related to normal sexual activity, which is absent in the abused life. This can be attributed to the abused associating sexual activity with negative feelings. This association may

manifest itself within the superego, thereby inculcating an attitude in the abused that pleasure is equated with power over the penis, and can be realised by requesting money for sexual favours.

The entrance into prostitution can be ascribed to the lack or limit of individual social bonds to significant others. The fact that no social control prohibits the choice to enter into prostitution, may be ascribed to the fact that the significant others may be the abusers. Thus **attachment** plays no role in prohibiting the entrance into prostitution as a social bond will not be present. Likewise **commitment** to social rules, which failed to protect the individual in the first place against the abuse seems to play a negligible role in now attempting to prescribe to the abused that her choice of sexual behaviour is unacceptable. Growing up in an environment where there is a presence of child sexual abuse, hampers the **belief** the individual may postulate in society's conventional order. Thus the presence of a social institution which may in any way be seen to contribute positively to the victim, can play a role in preventing the entrance into prostitution.

Once the entrance into prostitution is a choice, the labelling process whereby the victim is labelled as a criminal by society, further inculcates within the victim, the injustice of society's inability to prevent the abuse from occurring, yet to label the actions resulting from the abuse as being unacceptable. A positive reaction to the labelling could end the prostitution, however an embedded resentment towards the significant others who failed to prevent the abuse, yet now condemn and label the victim, which culminated in secondary labelling can lead the individual to remain within prostitution.

2.4.7 Research Expectations

Based on the aforementioned **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model**, certain research expectations are set in order to ensure structured research procedures. These research expectations were constructed in compliance with the

aforementioned model and are sequential as set out in Figure 2.1. The following propositions are thus posed:

Research Expectation 2.4.7.1

These research expectations apply to the nature of the child sexual abuse:

2.4.7.1.1 Sexual abuse within any of the psychosexual developmental stages of a child may lead to the entrance into prostitution.

2.4.7.1.1 The effect of child sexual abuse may be influenced by the identity of the abuser.

2.4.7.1.1 The effect of child sexual abuse upon the victim is determined by the frequency of the abuse.

2.4.7.1.1 The environment wherein the abuse occurs influences the effect child sexual abuse has on the victim.

2.4.7.1.1 The effects of child sexual abuse as experienced by the victim may be initial in nature.

2.4.7.1.1 The effects of child sexual abuse may be enduring in still being present one year after the initial abuse commenced.

Research Expectation 2.4.7.2

The following research expectations pertain to the role played by significant individuals as well as institutions in counter acting the entrance into prostitution:

2.4.7.2.1 The presence of social bonds instills in the child a feeling of attachment.

2.4.7.2.2 A feeling of commitment towards significant others and institutions may develop through social bonds.

2.4.7.2.3 A need for involvement may become evident if social bonds are present.

2.4.7.2.4 Instilling within the child a feeling of belief in the values and norms of society may prevent the entrance into prostitution.

Research expectation 2.4.7.3

These research expectations refer to the effect labelling has on the prostitutes choice to enter into and remain within the profession:

- 2.4.7.3.1 Labelling by a formal institution, one responsible for the administration of justice, if responded to positively may lead to the withdrawal from prostitution.
- 2.4.7.3.2 Labelling by an informal institution, if negatively responded to, may lead to secondary labeling.
- 2.4.7.3.3 Secondary labelling may culminate in the individual choosing to remain within prostitution.

2.8 SUMMARY

The historical as well as theoretical perspective pertaining to the role that child sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution, was discussed in this chapter. **The Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) was explained and the research expectations pertaining to this model were formulated.