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**THE ROLE CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE CAN PLAY IN
GIRLS' INVOLVEMENT IN PROSTITUTION**

BY

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DEDICATED TO:

My Family

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TITLE : The role child sexual abuse can play in girls' involvement in prostitution

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SUMMARY

The role that child sexual abuse can play in girls' involvement in prostitution, was explored in this study.

Freud's Psycho Analytical Theory, Hirschi's Social Learning Theory and Lemert's Labelling Theory were encompassed to formulate a model. This model is known as **The Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** and was designed by researcher as a theoretical framework to direct the research and serve as a basis for the interpretation of findings. This model postulates that the stage of psychosexual development wherein the abused finds herself may influence the effects the abuse has on the victim. These effects may be initial in nature or long term, and may play a contributory role in the victim entering into prostitution. The presence of social bonds namely: attachment, involvement, commitment and belief, expressed by significant others or through institutions, towards the victim, can help prevent the manifestation of negative effects within the abused. This in turn may play a conducive role in the individual withdrawing from prostitution. Once the victim of the child sexual abuse has entered into prostitution, the choice to withdraw may be influenced by the individuals' reaction to labels bestowed upon them by significant individuals, society or institutions. If the abused responds negatively to the labelling, then an internalisation of these negative concepts may prevail and the prostitute accepts this label and remains within prostitution. However, should the labelling be experienced as positive by the prostitute then the withdrawal from prostitution may become a possibility. Thus, the withdrawal from prostitution as well as the initial entrance into prostitution is determined by

the aforementioned factors all playing a contributory role through their presence in the sexually abused child's life.

From the interpretation of the data accumulated, it appeared that each respondent subjected to child sexual abuse, irrespective of the psychosexual developmental stage wherein the abuse occurred, exhibited initial as well as long term effects. The absence of significant institutions and individuals in attempting to prevent the entrance into prostitution as well as the role played by labelling could all account for the victims' choice to enter into and remain within prostitution.

These findings made it possible to advance practical recommendations with regard to preventing child sexual abuse. A heightening in awareness of the initial and long term effects child sexual abuse carries as well as the education required within the community could help combat this type of abuse. Professionals, professional institutions, parents and victims could also assist to prevent this crime. In addition the findings furthermore highlight subjects, which pose as possibilities for further victimological research.

Key words: child, child abuse, sexual abuse, prostitution, effects of abuse, initial effects, long-term effects, causes of prostitution, victim, childhood sexual abuse.

TITEL : Die rol wat kindermolestering kan speel in meisies se
betrokkenheid by prostitusie

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OPSOMMING

Die rol wat kindermolestering kan speel in meisies se betrokkenheid in prostitusie is in hierdie ondersoek verken.

Freud se Psigoanalitiese Teorie, Hirschi se Sosiale Leerteorie en Lemert se Etiketteringsteorie is saamgevat om 'n model te formuleer. Hierdie model staan bekend as **Die Kindermolestering Teenwerkzaam Model** en is as 'n teoretiese raamwerk ontwerp om die navorsing te rig en die bevindinge te interpreteer. Hierdie model postuleer dat die stadium van psigoseksuele ontwikkeling waarbinne die gemolesteerde haarself bevind, die uitwerking van die molestering kan beïnvloed. Hierdie uitwerking kan aanvanklik in aard wees of langtermyn, en kan 'n bydraende rol in die slagoffer se betrokkenheid by prostitusie wees. Die teenwoordigheid van sosiale verwantskappe naamlik: verbondenheid, betrokkenheid, gebondenheid en geloof wat deur betekenisvolle ander en deur instellings teenoor die slagoffer weerspeel word kan daartoe lei dat negatiewe gevolge nie by die slagoffer manifesteer nie. Dit speel dan 'n leidende rol in die individue se onttrekking uit prostitusie. Sodra die slagoffer van molestering by prostitusie betrokke raak, kan die keuse om te onttrek word deur die individue se reaksie op etikettering wat deur betekenisvolle ander, die gemeenskap of instansies aan hulle toegeken word. Indien die slagoffer negatief op die

etikettering reageer, kan internalisering van hierdie negatiewe konsep na vore kom en die prostituut sal hierdie etiket aanvaar en by prostitusie bly. As die etikettering egter as positief beleef word, kan dit daartoe lei dat die prostituut moontlik uit prostitusie sal onttrek. Dus die onttrekking uit prostitusie sowel as die aanvanklike toegang in prostitusie word deur vorige faktore bepaal en dit speel 'n bydraende rol in die gemolesteerde kind se lewe.

Chapter 1

Uit die onderhawige studie het dit geblyk dat elke respondent wat gemolesteer was, ongeag van die psigoseksuele ontwikkelings stadium waarin die molestering plaasgevind het, aanvanklike asook langdurende nuwe effekte getoon het. Die afwesigheid van betekenisvolle ander en instansies wat pogings kan aanwend om toegang tot prostitusie te verhoed, sowel as die bydrae van etikettering kan die besluit om prostitusie te betree en daar binne te bly, beïnvloed.

Hierdie bevindinge het dit moontlik gemaak om praktiese voorstelle met betrekking tot die voorkoming van kindermolestering te maak. 'n Verhoogte bewuswording van die aanvanklike sowel as langdurende gevolge wat molestasie hou, sowel as die opvoeding wat binne die gemeenskap benodig word, kan help om hierdie tipe misbruik teen te werk. Professionele persone, en instansies, ouers en slagoffers kan almal saam werk om 'n gekombineerde poging aan te wend om hierdie misdaad verskynsel te voorkom.

Sleutel woorde: kind, kindermolestering, seksuele teistering, prostitusie, gevolge van molestering, korttermyn gevolge, langtermyn gevolge, oorsake van prostitusie, slagoffer, seksuele kindermolestering.

Chapter 1

Introduction and general orientation

1.1 Introduction

The perception of childhood as a time of protected innocence, carries notable weight within the South African society. Headlines that read "SA's shame: children in the sex industry" (Altenroxel, 1997:34) and "Paedophiles' cellar of shame" (Morgan, 1997:38), give contradicting evidence to this viewpoint, accentuating a crime that strikes at the very core of our civilisation (Van der Mey & Neff, 1986:1). Cole (1994:29) supports this viewpoint by stating that sexual violence against children is becoming a common phenomenon in South Africa and researchers such as Bartollas (1985:247), Goldstein (1987:61) and Bagley and King (1990:10), are of the opinion that the increase in juvenile crimes such as prostitution, may be attributed to sexual abuse during childhood.

The 1996 National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) identified crimes against children as one of its priority crimes. On this premise a study was conducted by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) (Meek, 1999:9) to determine whether crimes against children were increasing. This research showed that an increase of 28 percent in crimes against children had occurred annually between 1993 and 1995, and that the crime they were most likely to become a victim of would be one of a sexual nature. In 1997, girls 17 years of age and younger, constituted 40 percent of all reported rapes, and of which 42 percent of these were

reported in the Gauteng Province, which is a higher percentage than the national average.

Child sexual abuse and the influence it can have on the individual's involvement in prostitution is thus a valid theme for criminological research especially within the changing socio-political and economical status of South Africa, where the nature of child prostitution is also changing. It is thus important to determine its character now in order to enable future policy recommendations and preventative measures to be made and instituted.

1.2 The necessity of this study

The necessity of this study will be motivated by means of a summary of the aspects pertaining to sexual child abuse as well as the role it plays in the individuals choice regarding the involvement in prostitution.

1.2.1 Child sexual abuse as a problem relevant to society

1.2.1.1 Historical background

The sexual abuse of children is not a new phenomenon (Theron, 1988:169). The earliest records of child sexual abuse date back as far as 2000 B.C. to the Mesopotamian River Valley. Here, priests engaged in sex with whom ever they chose to, in order to promote fertility within the community (Bartollas & Dinitz, 1989:326). During the Greek and Roman times of 700 B.C. sexual practices involving both girls and boys, were seen as an accepted form of amusement. In Athens, boy slaves were frequently abused by their owners for homosexual purposes. Child marriages where the bride would be as young as eight years of age were also a frequent occurrence (Csapo, 1989:427). With the coming of the Calvinistic era in the 1500's, children still possessed no social standing and were treated as possessions. Furthermore Van der Mey et al., (1986:19) explains that children were viewed as "imps of darkness" and any display of power over them was considered acceptable.

With a history of secrecy and misunderstanding surrounding child abuse, it was Freud, whose theories of childhood sexuality, provided new insight into the subject. Prior to this insight it was believed that child sexual abuse was a serious, but rare form of family pathology occurring primarily in socially isolated families. The change in perception and rise in public awareness was reflected by the distinctive increase in reporting of crimes against children (Straus, 1990:83-84). Given these changes in awareness and an increase in cases of crimes against children being reported, the South African Police Services (SAPS) formed a Child Protection Unit (CPU). Comprising of special training with respect to interviews, investigative skills, court procedures for children and psychological aspects of child development, this unit commenced its activities in 1988 (Meek, 1999:12). Its primary aim was to initiate a greater awareness of crimes against children in South Africa and offer an accessible route for reporting them (Robertson, 1989:1). The media, through newspaper and magazine headlines that read : "Nurse (26) seduces 12 year old boy" (Burke, 1996:10), "Drop in most crimes but rape still on the climb" (Lessing, 1997:5) and "Lenient treatment for child abuse offenders" (Altenroxel, 1997:7) however reflect that cases of child sexual abuse still persist and may steadily be increasing.

Historically, due to the diversity of sub-cultures within the South African society, there has been persistent problems, with regards to sexuality. Pre-adult and especially child sexuality is a sensitive subject filled with emotion. Myths that sexual abusers are usually strangers and thus easily identified, is contradicted by the fact that between 80 percent and 90 percent of offenders are known to the victim (Gallmeier, 1998:14). Research conducted by Meek (1999:11) indicates that most children are victimized by someone they know, either a family member, a friend of the family or acquaintance and in many cases occurs in the child's family home or that of a known offender. Many people simply prefer to ignore what goes on in the lives of children and the dire effects that those experiences carry (Kilpatrick, 1992:15).

1.2.1.2 Statistics and dark figures

Scientific studies of the prevalence of sexual abuse are rare, but there is a general consensus that the actual rate is underestimated by official reports (Csapo, 1989:428).

Thus a study conducted by Schurink (1998:10) in the HSRC Ivory Park pilot study, to reveal the discrepancies between statistics and unreported crimes bears witness to this, in that Schurink's findings on the general abuse of children was 17,3 percent higher than those reflected in SAPS statistics. Rape of a minor was 3 percent higher and child sexual abuse 5 percent higher than incidents reported to the police.

Possible explanations for the differences in Schurink's findings compared with SAPS statistics may be attributed to police ineffectiveness, reluctance to implicate family members or acquaintances or even a fear of revenge.

The table below is indicative of the sexual offenses which the child protection unit and other specialised individuals have dealt with over the period from 1993 to February 1997.

Crimes against children under 18 years of age	1993 Jan-Dec	1994 Jan-Dec	1995 Jan-Dec	1996 Jan-Dec	1997 Jan-Dec
Rape	4736	7559	10037	13859	25450
Incest	146	156	221	253	407
Indecent assault	3493	3904	4044	4168	701
Act 23 of 1957	1034	1094	1121	1160	173

Table 1.1 Sexual offenses committed against children, under 18 years of age, between January 1993 and February 1997.

Source: SAPS (Crime Information and Analysis center (CIAC), 1997).

According to the statistics from the above table, an increase of 46,2 percent in reported rapes in the time period 1993 to 1996 is apparent. If a constant increase were to occur in the reporting of this crime in 1997, then an expected 15 270 cases could be recorded. Reports of incest have risen 24.17 percent between 1993 and 1996 and indecent assault has risen 8.56 percent. Schurink (1998:11) found that only 20.4 percent of offenders in South Africa were found guilty and punished and this may be attributed as a reason as to why the sexual abuse statistics show no drop in percentage. Act 23 of 1957 refers to other offenses not classified as rape, sodomy, incest or indecent assault but which are sexual in nature and within this category, from 1993 to 1995 there was a 4.13 percent increase.

The HSRC's 1997 Crime and Victim survey showed that figures for unreported crimes committed against women and children were the highest, ranging between 30 percent and 41 percent of all unreported crimes (Schurink,1998:10). Meek (1999: 9) reported that nationally between 1996 and 1997, girls under the age of 18 constituted 40 percent of reported rapes. Altenroxel (1997:7) supports this and found that 61 percent of child abuse cases were of a sexual nature and rape was the most commonly reported offense.

Clearly visible within the South African society is the overall increase in the percentage of crimes being committed against children. This increase in crimes against children may however also be attributed to an increase in the awareness with respect to children's rights and thus a greater percentage of individuals are conscious of any transgressions and may report them. Another contributory factor to the increase in reporting could be the fact that 83.5 percent of victims of child abuse know the perpetrator as they are often family members, friends, baby-sitters or neighbours, thus making the identification of transgressors easier (Altenroxel, 1997:7).

The problem arising from child abuse statistics, is however that no central data bank or report system exists in South Africa. Of all the crimes against children,

sexual abuse is reflected highest amongst statistics, yet those reported form only a part of the actual incidence (Lazenby, 1996:34). With a history of secrecy and unreported cases which may be attributed to an ignorance of the rights of children, fear of the perpetrator or even feelings of guilt and shame, the magnitude of child sexual abuse has remained disguised for many years (Straus, 1990:84). Although the above mentioned data reflect numerous cases reported, the fact that victims may be unwilling to report the abuse poses a problem (Robertson, 1989:20). This leads to dark figures (hidden criminality), despite a heightened public awareness (Kratcoski & Kratcoski, 1986:177). The contributory factors behind these dark figures initiates a situation wherein a child may be forced into silence and secrecy. Dark figures indicate inhibiting factors in the reporting of child sexual abuse. These factors may inter alia be attributed to the following:

- **Secrecy**

Fear of the perpetrator could ensure that the child will keep the secret despite any pressure to tell. If it appears that, should the victim be reluctant to keep the secret, the abuser may resort to either bribery such as the offering of sweets, money and gifts or alternatively threats (Harrilal, 1990:4). During the initial phases of abuse the child is constantly warned not to reveal what is occurring or else she or a loved one will come to harm. The abuser may go as far as threatening the child that should she tell the police, the child herself may be arrested (Russell, 1991:65).

- **Helplessness**

The child is left with a feeling of helplessness as nothing can be done to stop the abuse (Lazenby, 1996:34). This may partly be attributed to the rule that society teaches children: "Listen to grown ups, because if you do not then you are bad," or that grown ups are always right (Robertson 1989:22). These rules are important with respect to discipline, but when they are misused by an individual in power, it can have detrimental consequences (Bartol, 1995:227). Accompanied by the fact that

children internalise norms and values conferred upon them by adults, it may lead to confusion and a child may have difficulty differentiating between adult behaviour that is right or wrong.

- **Entrapment and accommodation**

Due to the two previously mentioned factors - secrecy and helplessness, the child can be left with a feeling of entrapment and ambivalence. Thus, unable to flee, the abuse can continue (Maher, 1989:122). Accommodation is when the child allows the abuse to occur as she feels that there is no escape. Often children pretend that the abuse is in fact not all that bad and this rationalizing attributes to the extended period of time over which the abuse can occur (Straus, 1990:87-88).

- **Delayed and conflicting disclosure**

Delayed and conflicting disclosure, refers to the fact that children rarely report their abuse immediately. Confessions usually occur when threats are momentarily forgotten or anger overwhelms the victim, for example during a family dispute or argument (Robertson, 1989:23). It is during these periods that disclosures may be made. Once this information has been disclosed, the child may then however be confronted with an attitude from those individuals, to whom she has disclosed the abuse, as holding a grudge or of being a liar (Csapo, 1989:446).

- **Breaking up the family**

The child may allow the incest to occur, in order to prevent a family break-up (Steyn, 1995:64). Outsiders, still involved in the family may even ignore the indications of incest, although they have knowledge of it, because of their fear of breaking up the family (Robertson, 1989:24). This is often seen in a family where the mother has not disclosed her

husband's incestuous behaviour in order to maintain the family unity (Okami, 1992:124).

Crimes against children, particularly those of a sexual nature have increased. Child sexual abuse is a reality within South African society and under-reporting of this crime can lead to dark figures and a skewed reflection of the diversity of the problem. The consequences of child sexual abuse are far reaching. Without instilling within society a greater need to prevent and report crimes of a sexual nature, aid in the reduction of this crime and the safe custody of children remains futile.

1.2.2 Prostitution as a problem relevant to society

1.2.2.1 Statistics and dark figures

In a study done by James (in Bartol, 1991:320) in the United States of America (USA) involving 136 prostitutes, he found that 41 percent had reported incestuous experiences. A further 47 percent of the respondents gave accounts of having been raped and 17 percent had been raped more than once before reaching the age of 16 years. In a similar study Silverman interviewed 200 juvenile prostitutes and documented that 61 percent had been sexually molested as children (Bartol, 1991:321).

Prostitution is a consensual crime. The word consensual denotes an agreement - thus both parties are in favour of the act taking place and it is seen as being victimless (Vetter & Silverman, 1986:180). The consensual nature of these crimes leaves an absence of complainant participants and thus the majority of transgressions go unpunished which can be a contributing factor in the dark figure prevalent in the statistics.

Inspector Glen Smith, former member of the South African Child Protection Unit expressed concern regarding the situation pertaining to children involved in prostitution in South Africa during 1996 (Robertson, 1989:1). One of the problems

facing the police lies in the obtaining of enough evidence to bring the case to court. For this reason statistics pertaining to adult sex workers are non-existent as the police no longer view their actions as criminal and seldom make arrests (Thamm, 1996:37).

Statistics pertaining to the children who are arrested for soliciting are classified as, and appear in the South African Annual Crimes against Children Report (SAPS, 1997) under rape. These statistics do, however not make a clear distinction between those children who willingly solicited and those who were sexually abused. A contributory factor to the dark figure lies within the South African law where according to *Section 14 of the Sexual Offenses Act of 1957*, the perpetrator may enter a plea of defense which means that he was deceived into believing that the girl in question was over 16 years of age (Thamm, 1996:33). He may thus possess sufficient defense to any charge brought against him and may therefore not be found guilty and will not be reflected in the statistics. For these reasons the prevalence of child prostitution seems poorly represented in statistics, thus not exposing the true extent of this problem. Due to pressure from the perpetrator or from the victim's family, or fear of negative personal consequences, the victim may recant any statements made and thereby prevent the findings from being reflected in national statistics ("Family violence", 1997:14). With more girls under the age of 18 becoming involved in prostitution, factors underlying their choices and entrance into this profession need to be explored and analysed.

1.2.2.2 South African legislation on prostitution

The Sexual Offenses Act, No. 23 of 1957 prohibits the institution of a brothel as well as the procurement of, or by any individual for reward ("Jutas Statutes", 1996:621). Decriminalisation occurs when the transgression of a law, for example the one prohibiting prostitution, no longer leads to prosecution or a criminal record (de Bruyn, 1996:39). Thus the behaviour is no longer seen as being criminal, but the community still views it as being undesirable. Decriminalisation is often advanced as a possible solution for combating crime (Lotter, 1994:130). The decriminalisation of prostitution can have many advantages for South Africa. This

could involve amendments to the Statutes which can intervene to the extent necessary for the protection of children against prostitution. These amendments will include the omission of section 20 of the act, whereby pimping, soliciting and the institution of a brothel as well as procuration that occurs at such an establishment, will however remain crimes as well as living off the income of a prostitute. This could protect society from being confronted in public by prostitutes. Escort agencies can then be legalised whereupon a trade license in order to operate will be granted. Lotter (1994:131) suggests that the following conditions be met:

- In order to protect society and especially children a restricted area can be demarcated where escort agencies may operate. This can in turn help with the control of under age prostitutes as policing will be made easier.
- An imposition of regular medical check-ups, which will serve to protect society against sexually transmitted diseases as well as AIDS.
- No children under the age of 18 will be allowed to be employed as escorts or be allowed to be admitted as clients.
- No escort agencies should be allowed to operate in the vicinities of schools or suburbs.

Prostitution is thus illegal in South Africa and may according to Bartol (1991:319) be indicative of decreases in neighbourhood property values, increases in violent crimes as well as drug abuse and a general deterioration of the family system (Bartol, 1991:319). Should the escort agencies adhere to the conditions set and imposed upon them with the decriminalisation of prostitution, then policing the problem of under age prostitutes and other crimes that can be associated with it may become possible.

1.2.3 Theoretical statement of the problem

There seems to be a clear dividing line between a social problem - a situation recognised by some, but not necessarily a large part of the population - and a public issue - one recognized by a large section of society, including policy makers (Finkelhor, 1979:7). The sexual abuse of children and its consequences seem to hold an intermediate status when it comes to social problems and public issues (van der Mey & Neff, 1986:7). Although world renowned scholars, such as Kinsey, Freud and Ellis (Finkelhor, 1979:7), have devoted attention to child sexual abuse, all have failed in expressing the actual alarm reaction that should follow this subject. This lack of expression may be attributed to Victorian moral heritage where sexual topics were not openly discussed. The secret is kept along with the shame and guilt feelings, which makes it difficult to document the problem (Glaser & Frosh, 1991:17).

Despite the increase over the last decade in research, information from a criminological perspective still remains scarce (Bischoff, 1995:157). When analysing research done on sexual abuse against children in South Africa, it becomes clear that mainly disciplines such as psychology, medicine and social work have had an input (Cole, 1994:26). Because of the need for criminological research and the dark figures surrounding child victims of sexual abuse, a study such as the one undertaken here is a necessity.

Renewed social and political concern over the problem of sexual victimisation is becoming evident. Children who are being sexually victimised by adults can pose as a serious social problem and any effort to raise public consciousness, is deemed a good one (Finkelhor, 1979:18).

1.2.3.1 Limited theory

Curiosity has always formed part of society's humanness and through research, humans can develop upon this need for further knowledge (Grobbelaar, 1994:80). In the past research implied the studying of facts through observation. This

method was simple and all attained knowledge led to greater challenges. The subject worthy of research was identified and the researcher possessed full reign on how to detect the "truth" behind the problem. Theory in turn, helps formulate the research into a human activity, aimed at consciously and deliberately understanding a specific phenomenon (Grobbelaar, 1994:82).

When research focuses on the experiences of a human being and the effects of these experiences, a phenomenological approach is evident (Grobbelaar, 1994:83). The causes of these experiences range from being biological in nature to external environmental influences (Williams & McShane, 1994:61). However, it is the theories which explain the effects of the experiences in question, that are of importance. Personality theories such as Freud's Psycho Analytical Theory (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1993:12) as well as social theories, are often used as one explanation of the effects of trauma in sexual abuse. However, there is no generally accepted theory explaining negative adult-child interaction, where the adult is the cause of the negative experience and the child, the recipient and enactment of the effects. This limitation of theory constitutes a void in the explanation and understanding of the child's subsequent response to the abuse.

A theory which reflects adult behaviour in varying degrees of morality, where deviant behaviour needs no motivation, and the result thereof being a decidedly negative one, would be best suited for this study.

Over the past 150 years, possible explanations for the women's entry into prostitution have become evident (Potterat, 1988:239). Prostitution and the causes thereof, have received attention mostly from social scientists, and consequently numerous theoretical expositions have been provided by criminologists, psychologists and sociologists. For this intention, use was previously virtually exclusively made of a Freudian *Psycho Analytical Theory*. According to Freudian views, the giving of sex for money, was an action stemming from the individuals hate for their father. This is called the *Electra Complex* or father fixation. The

individuals inability to receive sexual gratification from men, may stem from this complex (Schurink & Levinthal, 1983:154).

Other psychological theories place the emphasis on early emotional trauma (Williams & McShane, 1994:39), or the ubiquitous impact of a broken home or parental rejection as contributory factors. This accent placed on dire and adverse milieus may also be encountered in some criminological social control theories such as *Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory* which supports this presumption in that it accentuates four important elements which help in the formation of the child's social bond. These four elements are **attachment, involvement, commitment** and **belief**. The strength of the bond of attachment between the child and the significant other can serve as a buffer against involvement in deviant behaviour. Thus if the bond is weak, no inhibition will be displayed with regard to involvement in deviant behaviour. The child's commitment to uphold that which is right and that which will safeguard the rest of society against deviance is also influenced by the bond shared between the child and the significant other (Williams & McShane, 1994:181-190).

The children who are directly exposed to sexual abuse may perceive themselves as being worthless and vulnerable and thereby acquire these perceptions as a label. This concept of labelling, namely master status, may lead the child to view prostitution and the enactment thereof as an acceptable form of behaviour (Williams & McShane, 1994:139). Each of the aforementioned theories reflects on only a part of the concise problem surrounding the reasons behind an abused child's involvement in prostitution. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, researcher will incorporate the three deterministic theories, the Psycho Analytical Theory, the Social Control Theory and the Labelling Theory, and design a model, which will formulate a theoretical framework from which to work. This model will be known as **The Child Sexual Abuse Counter Active Model**.

1.2.4 The relevance of the study to research methodology

According to Meek (1999:9), there is little evidence of research done regarding sexual violence against children in South Africa. This may be attributed to the controversy surrounding a topic such as child sexual abuse as well as the sensitive nature of this research which in turn attributes to dark figures arising. A victimological study such as this will thus inevitably be marked by problems particular to any victimological study. These can include the resistance of the victims to openly discuss their experiences as this may turn out to be a re-enactment of a previous experienced trauma. This view is supported by Russell (1990:58) who states that topics of a sexual nature are still regarded as a taboo in society which should not be discussed openly. Researcher, however commenced with personal interviews, thus gaining the respondents trust and willingness to participate.

Due to the absence of a universally accepted definition for child sexual abuse, problems may arise with the forming of an operational definition, which in turn may influence the classification of victims as South Africa is a country comprising of various different and diverse cultures. Therefore, the absence of an accepted definition may lead to a culture knowing that their participation in a sexual act is abuse while others may remain unaware of the fact that these actions are in fact unlawful. This absence of a universally accepted definition may also in turn be accountable for the dark figure which is prevalent in the reporting of child sexual abuse to the authorities. For the purpose of this study, the above mentioned problem will be addressed by means of the construction of a comprehensive definition in an effort to cover all the different aspects related to child sexual abuse.

With respect to this research, an interview schedule was used in order to retrieve the necessary information. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic under discussion, victims were interviewed by using both close-ended questions and open-ended questions. Alternatively the inaccessibility of child victims also posed a methodological problem for this study. This may be attributed to the emotional

trauma experienced or a general inability to trace child abuse victims due to the sensitive nature, along with the secrecy and dark figures surrounding victimological studies. Thus the researcher selected fewer respondents and spent longer, more qualitative time with each respondent in order to build up a relationship of trust. Thus the possibility of whether a respondent may be untruthful and unreliable could become evident. The use of open-ended questions made provision for the respondent to divulge information she felt comfortable with sharing and close-ended questions were posed to cover sensitive issues not previously dealt with (see par. 3.4.4.2).

According to Grobbelaar (1994:81) a distinction between research and scientific knowledge must be made in order for valid evidence to be collected. Clarity about the nature of the particular problem must be evident along with the assumptions relating to it. The information must be collected in a scientific, meaningful and systematic way and only then may a conclusion be drawn. With this in mind the following steps were taken by the researcher in order to investigate the terrain surrounding child sexual abuse:

- A literature study was undertaken, and the problems relating to the scarcity in information relaying private and sensitive matters associated with child sexual abuse was overcome by means of including international literature as well as including interviews with academics, professionals and welfare personnel within the related field.

- An interview schedule was constructed wherein, the expectations of the researcher could be tested and which would in turn expose relevant insightful examples using both open-ended as well as closed questions.

1.3 Aims of the investigation

The aims of this investigation arise from the relevance of child sexual abuse as well as prostitution as a social problem, the relevance of this investigation to research methodology as well as the theoretical implications thereof. In order to make a significant contribution with respect to the above, the following aims were envisaged:

1.3.1 Aims related to the role child sexual abuse can play in girls' involvement in prostitution as a problem relevant to society:

- 1.3.1.1 To identify the psychosexual stage of development during which the commencement of the abuse occurred in order to determine the role it can play in the involvement in prostitution.
- 1.3.1.2 To highlight the effects child abuse holds for the victim, with particular focus on the role it can play in the decision to become involved in prostitution.
- 1.3.1.3 To determine the extent to which the effects of child sexual abuse are influenced by the identity of the abuser, the frequency of the abuse and the environment wherein the abuse takes place.
- 1.3.1.4 To determine to what extent social bonds can counter act the entrance into prostitution.
- 1.3.1.5 The effect labelling has on the choice to enter into and remain within prostitution.

1.3.2 Aims related to the role child sexual abuse plays in girls' involvement in prostitution as a theoretical problem

- 1.3.2.1 To analyse Freud's Personality Theory, the Labelling Theory and the Social Bonding Theory, in order to direct this investigation and explain the results achieved by means of constructing a theoretical model, known as the Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model.
- 1.3.3 Aims related to the role child sexual abuse plays in girls' involvement in prostitution as a methodological problem**
- 1.3.3.1 To construct an operational definition for prostitution as well as one for child sexual abuse which would provide a basis for understanding the phenomenon by means of a comprehensive term analysis.
- 1.3.3.2 To construct an interview schedule which would be used to gather data about the role that child sexual abuse can play in a girls' involvement in prostitution.
- 1.3.3.3 To analyse and evaluate the data and provide an explanatory study of the role that child sexual abuse can play in girls' involvement in prostitution in order to form a basis for further research and a better understanding of the phenomenon.
- 1.3.4 Aims related to the prevention of child sexual abuse and future research into this phenomenon and its effects.**
- 1.3.4.1 To address the problem of sexual child abuse and highlight the effects in order to increase awareness as well as to make recommendations for the judicial, educational and social processes involved.
- 1.3.4.2 To identify possible areas for future research within this field of study.

1.4 Definition of concepts

Due to a lack of standardised terminology and in order to communicate accurately, the following concepts: **child, child sexual abuse, victim and prostitution**, were critically defined for the purpose of this study:

1.4.1 Child

Louw and van Heerden (1978:38), define a child as any individual under 18 years of age, however in this definition they include someone up to 21 years of age if she is placed under the supervision and control of an individual or institute. However, a man over the age of 14 and a woman 16 years of age or older may legally engage in sexual activity (Louw et al., 1978:86). Thus although age-wise still legally defined as a child, should the individual engage in sexual activity, she is not committing a crime. In order to explain this, Robertson (1989:3) distinguishes between a child and a young child, who is someone under the age of ten. Walsh and Pool (1983:33) also refer to these particular age differences and explain them as a necessity as a child under the age of ten cannot be held criminally accountable or responsible for her actions. For the purpose of this study, criminal responsibility will not be taken into account as the experience of sexual abuse of the victim will be taken into consideration and not whether the perpetrator was a child or not.

A problem surrounding the definition of a child poses itself within the cut-off age. Stevens and Cloete (1989:16) divide the growth and developmental stages of humans into seven phases namely: **infancy** (0-2 years), **toddler** (2-5 years), **childhood** (6-12 years), **puberty** (13-16 years), **adolescence** (17-21 years), **adulthood** (22-60 years) and **old age** (60 +). When referring to adolescents, this stage is described as "a change to maturity, where responsibility, commitment and a gradual absorption into adulthood takes place" (Stevens et al., 1989:18). Researchers such as Bagley and McDonald (1984:23) restrict their definitions of a child to pre-adolescent children. This is because 16 years of age is viewed as the

legal age of consent for women, however a study undertaken by Wyatt and Peters (in Collings, 1995: 323) used 16 years of age as a cut off age for the definition of a child and research showed that a further possible 14 percent of child sexual abuse victims that could have been included in their study to make it more representative, had been excluded. This age discrimination is however not consequential to researcher as the researcher views child sexual abuse as an unwanted act, and these consensual, legal acts, between pre-adolescents will not be included in the study.

The definition of the word child may be found within many different disciplines. The definition of a child as it stands within the Statutes of the South African Law, the *Child Care Act 74 of 1983*, defines a child as any person under the age of 18, unless national laws recognize the age of maturity earlier (Robertson, 1989:3). Thus it can be deduced that according to South African law, an individual 18 years and older is developmentally mature and responsible within the eyes of the law, and may be seen as criminally responsible. It is therefore not necessary to include individuals 18 years and older, in this study as they will be regarded as adults. Should the law however recognize the age of maturity earlier, thus viewing the individual as mature enough to be classed as an adult, researcher will define the individual as that too.

For the sole purpose of this research, a child shall refer to:

any person under 18 years of age, inclusive of all phases of development within this time frame as well as an individual who is over the age of 18 but who has been placed under the control of an individual or institute in accordance with the national laws. Likewise should these laws recognise the age of maturity earlier, then these individuals will not be defined as being children.

1.4.2 Child sexual abuse

Child sexual abuse is a broad term which includes a variety of sexual acts which may be perpetrated against a child (Collings, 1995:323). According to Gallmeier (1998:14) the exploitation of a child for sexual gratification of the other person can include activities such as intercourse, verbal stimulation, exhibitionism, voyeurism and fondling, to which Kenward (1987:120) adds sodomy, oral-genital stimulation, involving a child in prostitution or the production of pornography.

Kenward (in Maher, 1987:120) places greater emphasis on the child's mental state and defines child sexual abuse as the involvement of a developmentally immature child or adolescent in sexual activities they do not fully comprehend or to which they are unable to give informed consent or that violates the social taboos of family roles. Kenward, furthermore places emphasis on the nature of the abuse, classifying the sexual activity as being of an assaultive or non-assaultive nature. Low (1978:34) also includes the nature of the abuse in his definition and describes sexual abuse as any sexually unwanted intrusion, whether exhibiting aggression or not. Collings (1995:324-325) adds that an element of coercion must be present and that the abuse must be unwanted, thereby having a possible implication of negative consequences for the victim. Thus the specific type of abuse is of less relevance than the fact that it must be coercive in nature and unwanted.

Csapo (1989:428) defines sexual abuse as the sexual exploitation of a child, who is not yet developmentally capable of understanding and resisting the contact. Developmental capability of understanding is a subjective description pertaining not only to children, but also to adults. Therefore any individual under the age of 18, as stated by the law, will be viewed as being not yet developmentally capable of understanding or resisting sexual contact. Csapo (1989:429) furthermore describes the abuser as a person who may be in a position of trust and authority or an individual who is a stranger. To which Robertson (1989:4) makes mention of the individuals who are abusing, and divides them into two categories: firstly there

is abuse which takes place between family members and is referred to as incest. This abuse occurs between direct family members and can include the extended family. The second category of sexual abuse involves a perpetrator, outside the family unit (Robertson, 1989:3).

South Africa's *Sexual Offenses Act No 2 of 1988*, undertakes to protect a child from all forms of defilement, which encompasses sexual abuse. This includes the procuring or attempt to have unlawful carnal intercourse or to commit an indecent or immoral act with a child. Sub-section 9(b) further prohibits the receipt of any form of consideration for the prostitution of a child ("Jutas Statutes", 1997:615). The following can be included and are regarded as sexual offenses :

- **Rape**

According to the South African Statutes of Law (1997:615) rape may be defined as sexual intercourse with another person without consent and against her will. The term rape is derived from the Latin word *rapere* which means to steal or take away from (van den Berg, 1998:30). Thus an important element of rape is the lack of consent.

According to Reid (1991:273) child rape may be defined as the unlawful intercourse with a female who is under the age of consent. This definition poses a problem as within the South African legal system, intercourse between an adult and individual, under 16 years of age whether consensual or not, constitutes a crime and is seen as statutory rape and within Reid's definition no reference is made to a willingness to participate in the act.

Fowler (1983: 1020) defines rape as the act of sexual intercourse between a male person and a female person, against her will. Milton (1996:9-11) also refers to rape as the intentional, unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman against her will, however, South Africa's *Immorality Amendment Act No. 2 of 1988*, extends the provisions

relating to sexual offenses by a male with youths so that it shall also apply to a female. Therefore an individual may now be found guilty of the offense rape, irrespective of the gender of the youth upon whom the procuring of the defilement is directed ("Jutas Statutes", 1997:663).

- **Statutory rape**

Statutory rape is when sexual intercourse between adults and children under the age of 16 years occurs. A man who has sexual intercourse with a girl under 16 years of age, is thus guilty of such an offense. *The Immorality Amendment Act, No. 2 of 1988* extended the prohibition to include, any male who has or attempts to have carnal intercourse with a boy under the age of sixteen. Other forms of unwanted sexual practices are not defined within rape as it solely refers to sexual intercourse, however these practices are defined as indecent assault (Robertson, 1989:5).

- **Indecent assault**

Lazenby (1996:36) describes indecent assault as any sexual contact with a person against her will. Included in this contact is fondling, masturbation, touching of the buttocks, kissing which involves the tongue and any other sexual acts not defined as rape. South African Law defines indecent assault as the unlawful and willful assault of another with the intention to commit an indecent act. An indecent act within this definition includes willful touching or the attempted touching of the sexual organs of the victim, and contact, or attempted contact between the aggressors sexual organs and the victim's, or any assault of an indecent nature (Middleton, 1995:135). This definition poses a problem for researcher as it implies that an act of assault must occur, however according to Gallmeier (1998:14) assault within this context merely refers to unlawful touching or approaching of another's body parts.

- **Crimen injuria**

Crimen injuria is one of the minor common laws that can be transgressed. Crimen injuria occurs when the honour or dignity of an individual is impaired (Robertson, 1989:5). Dignity refers to an individual's self-respect, propriety and honour and within the context of child sexual abuse the dignity of a child is undermined when in accordance with Article 14 of the Sexual Offences Act, anyone who performs an act sexual in nature with a girl under the age of 16, or a boy under the age of 19 ("Juta's Statutes", 1995:2-82). Thus even if the child is willing to participate it is still a crime, indicative of sexual abuse (Pienaar, 1989:46). Crimen injuria does thus not only refer to the actual touching of the victim's private parts, but also the persuasion of the victim to comply in activities directed at transgressing the law.

Du Toit (1996:46) is of the opinion that many children are unaware of what acceptable sexual behaviour is and may be coerced into partaking in such behaviour as they are unable to distinguish between right and wrong. The experience may even be of a pleasant nature and the child's limited understanding may have the implications that such offenses will not be reported and may thus carry negative consequences for the abused.

1.4.2.1 Penalties

According to South African law any person who is convicted of the offense of having unlawful intercourse, or committing an indecent act with any other person for reward can possibly face imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years with or without a fine not exceeding R6000 in addition to such imprisonment. In the case of a transgression of an offense where a parent or guardian is found guilty of procuring the defilement of a child, then imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years is given, however if the boy is under 14 years of age or the girl is under 12 years of age then life imprisonment is prescribed by the State. The conspiracy

to defile a child to have unlawful intercourse carries the penalty of a prison term not exceeding five years and a fine.

Any individual found guilty of procuring or attempting to procure any female to have unlawful intercourse with any person other than the procurer may face imprisonment not exceeding seven years. With respect to the sexual offenses procured against a youth, imprisonment for a period not exceeding six years and a fine not exceeding R12 000 in addition to such punishment may be given ("Jutas Statutes", 1997:623).

For the purpose of this research sexual abuse will refer to :

any activity, sexual in nature between a child, or anyone of an inappropriate age as set down by law, and an adult. This activity may be with or without consent of the victim, of which the perpetrator may be either known to the victim or a complete stranger and of which the activity will have negative initial as well as long term consequences and adversely affect the dignity of the individual.

1.4.3 Victim

The word victim is derived from the Latin word *victima*. *Victima* has two meanings namely:

To offer a man, animal or any object to a godly being, or to make an offering during a religious ceremony or
a person who suffers, is harmed and or destroyed as a result of another's actions (Drapkin & Viano, 1974:13).

The Greek word *logos* denotes the scientific study of a victim, thus the second definition of a victim would be applicable for defining within the criminological field of study.

Barkas (1978:7) defines a victim as one who has directly or indirectly suffered as a result of a specific illegal action, to which Fattah (1992:58) adds that the violation must be intentional in nature. Verwey (1994:19) is of the opinion that the term victim applies not only to injured parties, but also to those not injured and who suffer no deprivation. A victim is therefore determined by referring to the offender's view point and is the person whom the offender wishes to damage, thinks he is damaging or actually does damage to. Pretorius (1982:11-12) furthermore develops a criteria for defining a victim from the following points of departure :

- From a **legal** point of view one can only be defined as a victim if a crime has occurred. This however excludes, anti-social behaviour which is also studied within the field of Criminology.
- The **experience of victimisation** is evaluated and only if one experiences consequences pertaining to the act can one be called a victim.

Quinney (1972:520) however states that a definition and definite criteria for defining a concept can be adapted to suit the interest group defining this, and with this in mind the victim will be viewed primarily from a criminological point of view. Van der Walt (1997:34) distinguishes between two types of victims, namely the active victim who contributed to the victimisation and the passive victim who in no way consciously or unconsciously facilitated in the furthering of the crime. Furthermore he categorises these victims into types, being either directly affected by the crime, indirectly affected by the crime or as being a latent victim, one who has the potential to become a victim.

For the purpose of this study a victim will be defined as:

an individual, irrespective of the role played in the victimisation, who has been disadvantaged through the actions of child sexual abuse.

1.4.4 Prostitution

The term prostitution is derived from the Latin term *prostituere* which means to stand in front of. Prostitution involves the delivery of sexual stimulation and gratification for profit (Bartollas & Dinitz, 1989:325). According to Cronjé and van der Walt (1978:50) prostitution is characterized by three major traits namely: pecuniary (gain), indifference or frigidity, and a non-selectiveness with respect to a client. Schurink (1983:155) however distinguishes between the different types of prostitutes, of which exclusivity which stands in direct contrast with non-selectiveness, forms a characteristic of certain prostitutes. Schurink distinguishes between the following four types of prostitutes:

- The non-exclusive, independent prostitute which includes prostitutes who walk the streets and can be found in bars and hotels and accept any paying customer, thus concurring with Cronjé's description of prostitution.

- Exclusive, independent prostitutes, also referred to as call girls, who limit their services to a small exclusive clientele.

The third type is the non-exclusive, organisationally affiliated prostitutes who are those who work in massage parlours and model in photo studios.

- Finally the exclusive, organisationally affiliated prostitutes comprises those who are the least common and are found in high status brothels.

It is thus evident from Schurink's typology that non-selectiveness with respect to clients is not an essential characteristic of prostitution.

According to Armstrong (1981:91) prostitution can be divided into **four** separate categories. These categories include prostitution as an occupation; an act of selling; a sexual exchange and a promiscuous and emotionally indifferent activity. The definition of prostitution as a profession is supported by Schurink (1991:35), who views prostitution as a social world made up of a variety of work roles and

Finally the exclusive, organisationally affiliated prostitutes comprises those who are the least common and are found in high status brothels.

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From the above definitions, the emphasis does not fall on the exchange of a sexual deed, but rather the motivation behind it, namely monetary gain or any other form of remuneration, absent of any emotional involvement. In addition to this Caukins (1976:188) includes a limited time period for the transaction to take place in order to exclude women who marry for monetary reasons and have no emotional involvement and thereby comply with all other definitions of an act of prostitution. These women will thus be excluded from this study.

For the purpose of this research, prostitution will be defined as:

the granting of any act sexual in nature, devoid of emotional involvement for the purpose of remuneration monetary or other wise, characterising barter, for a limited period of time.

1.5 Delimitation of the field of investigation

1.5.1 Geographical delimitation

For the purpose of this study, only one Province namely Gauteng was focused upon, in particular the Pretoria and Centurion areas. Due to the fact that enough respondents could be found in this specific province and due to practical and feasible reasons, it was decided not to include neighbouring provinces. These interviews were conducted during November and December 2000.

1.5.2 Choice of victims for this study

Socio-economic status of the participants played no role in their selection. No discrimination was either evident with respect to race or status of the victim, however as researcher planned to determine the role child sexual abuse plays in the lives of girls, only the female gender was included in the sample. Respondents were approached irrespective of their current age, however only represented in the findings of this study if the sexual abuse experienced occurred when they were children. Only English and Afrikaans speaking respondents were included as researcher personally conducted interviews and these are the only two languages linguistically proficient with researcher, however no bias was apparent with respect to the respondents home language.

1.5.3 Choice of sampling

For the purpose of this study, 20 victims of child sexual abuse were included. They were selected using the snowball method and as a qualitative approach was followed and 20 respondents were viewed as adequate as the researcher personally conducted the interviews, ensuring a thorough, individualised interview.

1.6 Research programme

Chapter 2 outlines the theories as well as critique which was used in order to explain the phenomenon of child sexual abuse and the role it plays in girls' involvement in prostitution.

Chapter 3 elaborates upon the methodology, procedures and techniques which were followed for the collection and analysis of data for this study.

Chapter 4 focused on the analysis of data with respect to the research expectations with reference being made to other studies.

The final chapter delineates the conclusions and interpretations of this research and outlines and identifies possible areas for future research.

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

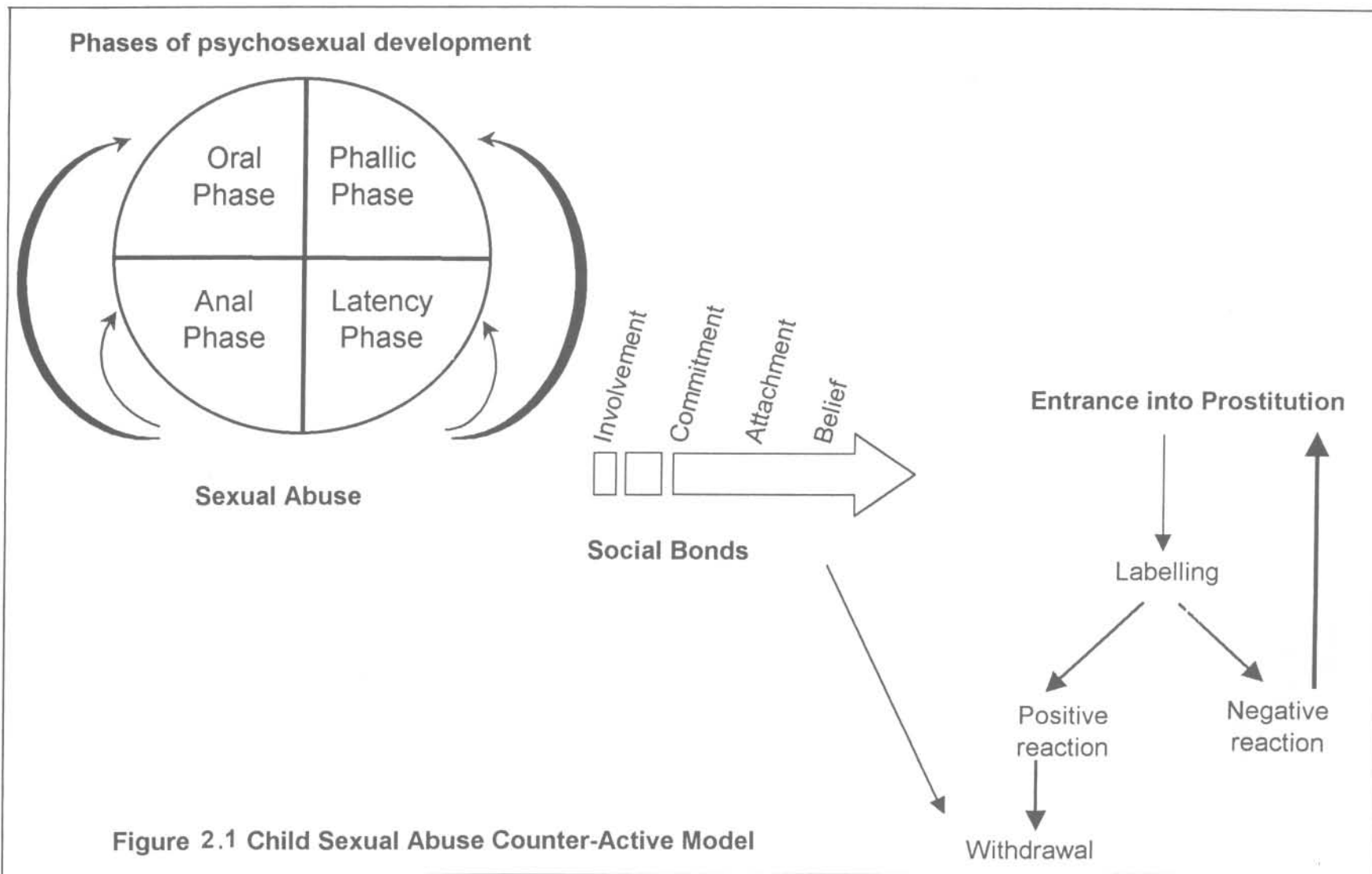


Figure 2.1 Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model

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.

Chapter 3

Methodological procedures and techniques

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an exposition of the methodological procedures and techniques used in the research pertaining to the role that child sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution, is discussed. A description of the procedures used in the gathering of the respondent's information as well as the techniques used for the analysis of the pertaining data, will also be over viewed.

3.2 Methodological accountability

According to Hagan (1982:10), methodology encompasses the collection of accurate data and facts pertaining to criminal actions. While theory postulates as to why the occurrence has happened, methodology in turn is concerned with what is. Thus, a reasonable certainty of the result can be achieved through a systematic mastery of the facts, principles and laws pertaining to the phenomenon. Precision of measurement, control and the prediction of the outcomes direct the research. By following the traditional scientific methods of defining the problem, gathering the data and presenting the findings, researcher was able to explain the phenomenon at hand while inquiring into the cause and effect relationship, in order to interpret the unknown and predict future trends and outcomes (Johnson, 1981:1-2).

The **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) was designed to diagrammatically represent the relationship between child sexual abuse and the role it plays in the involvement in prostitution. According to van der Westhuizen (1982:203) a model should be simplistic in nature yet reflective of the realistic world, in order to explain a complex phenomena. The **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model**, indeed postulates a representation conducive to this view in that the experience of the respondent, as well as the role played in either the furthering or prevention of the sexual abuse by significant institutions, and the societal reaction to the victim's response to the aforementioned factors, is represented in a manner reflective to the explanation of the phenomenon.

According to Huysamen (1993:23), research within the social and behavioural sciences is seldom dependent upon only one variable which can be attributed to as the causative factor of any given human action. Thus one such cause may have stipulated effects on some individuals while on others no such effect may be apparent. The results, therefore may be viewed as derivatives from interaction between various causes. In order to attain a better understanding of the role that child sexual abuse can play in the involvement in prostitution, a qualitative approach was thus followed, as the presence or absence of the above mentioned variables in question is seen as conducive to explaining the phenomenon (van der Westhuizen, 1982:31).

Bailey (1987:45), is of the opinion that a qualitative approach is particularly appropriate for studies that are explanatory in nature as the emphasis is placed on the acquisition of insight and an improvement in the understanding of the relevant phenomenon. Hagan (1982:9) further postulates that the qualitative approach can be seen as an observational approach, emphasising an understanding of the reality under investigation, thereby allowing for an encompassing immersion by the researcher into the subject matter, whereby sensitising concepts can be investigated, which in turn will enhance a better understanding and explanation of the subject at hand.

Mouton and Marais (1990:254) emphasise the use of interviews in qualitative research in order to ascribe meaning to the respondent's experiences. Huysamen (1993:255) furthermore explains that this method of data collecting gives the researcher the opportunity to probe the intensity of an individual's feelings regarding a given phenomenon while determining the intricacies of the interpretation of the definition and how it relates to other aspects of the respondent's social being. Researcher thus made use of in-depth interviews in order to formulate findings based on the personal experiences of respondents, pertaining to child sexual abuse and the relevant causality of them becoming prostitutes.

3.3 Procedures

Procedures, refer to the steps followed when conducting the research process. According to Johnson (1981:18-19) a selection of more than one procedure of data collection can reduce research error and assist the researcher with respect to precision and sophistication of the data gathered. Researcher has therefore made use of literature studies, historical methods as well as observation and interviewing procedures; herewith each one is discussed.

3.3.1 Literature study

Unobtrusive measures, or non-reactive methods of gathering data, refers to those methods whereby information is obtained without direct contact with an individual, but through contact with existing data pertaining to them (Hagan, 1982:138). Lofland (1971:91) postulates that existing research is of importance to a researcher as all information relevant to a study should be critically evaluated in order to ensure a comprehensive explanation of the phenomenon at hand. A literature study, thus allows for a search on all available data pertaining to a hypothesis and thereby concedes to an integration between theory and reality.

With respect to this view, the work of Finkelhor (1979) played an invaluable role explaining the effects child sexual abuse holds for the victim. Finkelhor's extensive research ranges from nursery school children to adolescents, thus covering the diverse spectrum of ages, not represented as extensively in South African literature. Robertson (1989) however contributed a valuable overview of child sexual abuse within the South African context, diversifying from definitions of relevant concepts to the types of abusers, initial and long term effects of child sexual abuse as well as possible preventative measures to restrict future sexual abuse from occurring. Numerous authors diversified, giving specific attention to the dynamics involved in child sexual abuse. Lazenby (1996) extensively researched the reasons behind the dark figures surrounding sexual abuse, while a South African, Schurink (1998), piloted studies such as the one commenced in Ivory Park in order to attain a better understanding of the possible causes of sexual abuse and thus identify possible preventative strategies which played a contributory role towards this researchers study.

Researcher, studied the following theories as possible contributors to the explanation of the role that child sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution: Freud's Psycho Analytical Theory (see paragraph 2.4.1), Hirschi's Social Bond Theory (see paragraph 2.4.2) and Lemert's Labelling Theory (see paragraph 2.4.3). After extensive research into numerous literature pieces pertaining to Freud, especially Hjelle and Ziegler (1976), Conklin (1981), Curran and Renzetti (1994) and Kaplan, Sadock and Grebb (1994), researcher concluded that the Electra Complex in particular would serve as a basis for explaining how child sexual abuse during this developmental stage could influence the girl's choice to become involved in prostitution. Likewise Conklin (1981) and Curran and Renzetti (1994) were instrumental in explaining the interaction between individuals as well as groups, which often leads to primary or even secondary labelling once abused. To further explain how this abuse could be perceptualised, Hirschi's book *Causes of Delinquency* (1969) served as a source book for explaining the role social bonds have in preventing the abuse from becoming a causative factor in the choice to enter into prostitution.

Contributory to the methodological structure of the research were the works of Huysamen (1993), Hagan (1982) and Johnson (1981). The setting out of, and explanations pertaining to the research procedures and techniques were deemed as invaluable contributions made by each researcher. References and explanations pertaining in particular to the sampling procedures and the setting up of an interview schedule as set out by Huysamen proved to be beneficial and vital in ensuring reliability.

3.3.2 The Historical Procedure.

Comprehensive usage is made of the historical procedure (see Chapter 2). Prostitution is not only a modern occurrence but has its roots deeply seated in man's earliest history. The historical procedure is therefore of importance in highlighting the control and regulation, as well as the religious and ideological shifts surrounding this profession. Possible causes of the entrance into prostitution can thus be highlighted through a comprehensive study of the history, thus incorporating within this procedure a descriptive aspect which makes allowance for an in depth study.

The oldest written recollection of prostitution appears within the Old Testament of the Bible. The Life Application Bible's New International version was thus of integral importance as a source book in order to comprehensively explore the attitudes of society towards prostitution as well as the possible causes attributed to the individuals choice to enter into it.

Bullough's (1964) source book served to be invaluable in the exposition of the Greek's attitude and conceptions regarding prostitution. Likewise, Sanger's (1913) viewpoints on the Roman's moralistic attitude towards this trade served to give a supplementary viewpoint. Within the South African context only in 1868 was an attempt made to regulate prostitution. De Bruyn (1996) documents the

development of the legislation stretching from the Colonial rule into the early 1990's, thus being viewed as a vital source by researcher.

3.3.3 Interviewing Procedure

Use was made of the interviewing procedure in the under mentioned study. According to Bailey (1987:174) the use of interviews is an important method of data collection, especially within qualitative studies as it correlates directly with the study of experiences and emotions from within an inter-subjective frame of reference.

Huysamen (1993:151) accredits this procedure of data accumulation with the following advantages:

- The most apparent advantage is that the interviewer maintains complete control over the interview situation. It is thus ensured that all questions are answered, misunderstandings are cleared up and corrected and any misconceptions are clarified. Should the respondent appear apprehensive, the interviewer can win over their trust by building up a rapport thus ensuring high quality responses.

- Spontaneous reactions and non-verbal behaviour can be observed which Huysamen (1993) describes as an important source of information.

- Sensitive questions of a personal nature can be set in a tactful manner and thus obliterate any offensiveness which respondents may experience.

Through the use of an interview schedule a diverse amount of information can be accumulated with greater uniformity of data analysis thereby ensuring validity and reliability of information.

Bailey (1987:175) points out the following disadvantages, however researcher is of the opinion that these disadvantages can be solved as follows:

Bailey (1987:175) is of the opinion that interviewing is an expensive method of data accumulation as there are often costs associated with the training of interviewers and the high fees they request as payment before research can commence. Researcher addressed this problem by not making use of field workers and by personally conducting all the interviews.

The costs involved in travel were cut, by arranging more than one interview that was in the same vicinity on the same day, thus limiting unnecessary journeys.

According to Bailey (1987:176) personal interviews cannot always guarantee anonymity as compared to a postal survey. Researcher overcame this problem by explaining the importance of this study to respondents and ensuring them of the fact that all the information gathered would solely be used for research purposes.

To prevent respondents from delivering what they would deem an appropriate response to a question, they were informed that no answers were viewed as being correct or incorrect and that it was their personal opinions and experiences that were of importance.

3.3.4 Observation

According to Huysamen (1993:144) observation, the method whereby data is accumulated by studying the behaviour of others, is still viewed as a primary procedure for measuring non-verbal behaviour. An advantage of this procedure is that data can be collected whilst at the same time the accompanying behaviour can be evaluated. This is of importance as the answering of the questionnaire is viewed as a secondary source of information collection, as the researcher can be misled by falsified answers. Pretorius (1984:93) agrees that observation of non-verbal behaviour is a means of accumulating first hand information as there are no restrictions between the observer and the respondent after a rapport has been established.

In this study, it became evident during the pilot study, that certain respondents felt uncomfortable regarding questions pertaining to sensitive issues, especially those questions pertaining to the experiences of child sexual abuse (see Annexure A). This unease became apparent through observing the respondents' body language, when certain questions were posed. Researcher thus had to build up a rapport with the respondents before asking these questions. The observation of non-verbal behaviour can be apparent in several different forms such as facial expressions, posture and voice tone. Huysamen (1993:177) however points out that the researcher's observations must be documented, speedily and accurately, a requirement to which this research did comply.

3.4 Techniques

Techniques are instruments or aids that are used in the production of the research process. According to Johnson (1981:2), techniques thus refer to those methods that enable the researcher to define a problem, gather data pertaining to it, test the hypotheses and finally present the findings. The following techniques were used in the research: the interview schedule, sampling, pilot study and techniques for analysing, calculating and interpreting data.

3.4.1 The interview schedule

In this study use was made of an interview schedule to obtain data. Huysamen (1993:132) states that this technique is especially appropriate for attaining research information about respondent's opinions, perceptions and beliefs. This measuring instrument is used when personal interviews are conducted with the respondents. The interviewer first establishes validity by reading the questions to a pilot study and noting all the responses. This in turn results in the necessary adjustments being then made by the researcher. In contrast, respondents could fill in the questionnaires themselves, however this was not an option as researcher took into consideration the diversity evident in biographical features amongst the respondents, in particular home language and level of education (Bailey, 1987:106). The choice to personally conduct the interviews would allow for researcher to surpass any misconceptions relating to the questionnaire as they could personally be clarified and explained by the researcher, thus not prejudicing possible respondents based on language proficiency.

3.4.1.1 Relevance of the interview schedule

Bailey (1987:108) accentuates the importance of respondents experiencing the interview schedule as fair and justified. According to researcher, relevance, is thus a key element in the construction of the interview schedule and should thus fulfill certain prerequisites.

Firstly, the interview schedule should be relevant with respect to the aims as set out by the study. The main aim of this study was to determine the role that child sexual abuse plays in a girl's choice to become involved in prostitution. With this in the fore, the value of such a finding with reference to creating a greater awareness towards the negative effects of child sexual abuse and thus a possibility of diminishing the vulnerability of girls who have been abused to enter into prostitution, was posed to respondents and it was thus not a problem to acquire their co-operation as they believed their contributions would be of value.

Secondly, the questions posed must be relevant so as to ensure that all aims could be reached. It was thus necessary to persuade all respondents that every question, especially those of a sensitive nature were essential in order to realise the aims of the study. According to Hagan (1982:83) discretion should be cast by the researcher and sensitive questions should be posed at a later stage once the respondents have developed trust towards the interviewer. In this study, a question of such sensitivity was experienced when respondents were asked if they had ever been sexually abused (see Question 22 in Annexure A). The relevance of this question can be directly linked to whether this respondent experienced any negatives effects which could be directly attributed to the abuse and whether it influenced their choice to enter into prostitution.

The pilot study (see par.3.4.3) played a contributory role in this respect as researcher was made aware, by observing the body language of the respondent, that those who had been sexually abused reacted by showing uneasiness when questioned regarding the nature of the abuse. Researcher thus rectified this feeling of uneasiness by placing questions pertaining to child sexual abuse later in the interview schedule.

Thirdly, of importance is the relevance of the interview schedule with regard to individual respondents such as the aim directed at evaluating individual's experiences of child sexual abuse with respect to initial and long term effects it may have had on them. Thus Questions 32-55 (see Annexure A) was posed in such a manner that child sexual abuse victims could answer to the possible effects experienced even if they had been previously unaware that a reaction was as a result of the abuse. In this manner, the questions were made relevant to all child sexual abuse victims whether they were aware of all the possible effects or not. Huysamen (1993:134) also points out that the level of language proficiency of the respondents must be taken into consideration at all times as their levels of comprehension may differ and thus the avoidance of too many multiple word choices and technical terms can contribute to respondents better understanding the questions.

3.4.1.2 Divisions within the research schedule

The research schedule was divided into the following, culminating in the fulfillment of the following aims:

To acquire **personal biographical information** such as age, home language, race, marital status and educational qualifications, pertaining to the respondents, in order to devise a profile reflective of the constituted sample.

To test the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) as a theoretical basis for the study. Thus the questions were directed at the experiences of child sexual abuse and the role it plays in the involvement in prostitution as well as the role of significant institutions in contributing or counter-acting the choice to become involved in prostitution. Lastly the effects that labelling has on the choice of becoming involved in prostitution were also tested.

Thus, with the aforementioned in mind, the interview schedule was devised as follows:

- **Biographical background information**, pertaining to the respondent (Questions 1-5).
- **Prostitution** (Questions 6-13). These questions pertain to the prostitutes association, if any, with the criminal justice system. Questions pertaining to the role played by components of the justice system as well as others in applying a label to the respondent, and the respondent's reaction to these labels was also examined.
- **Sexual abuse** (Questions 14-23). These questions focussed firstly on the abuser and the onset of the sexual abuse. The extent to which the abuse affected the victim was investigated through a sequence of possible reactions, either initial and/or long term, in nature. The role played by significant institutions in prohibiting the abuse from continuing is also explored, as well as the reasons behind the lack of disclosure of the abuse.

3.4.1.3 Question construction

A variety of both open-ended as well as close-ended questions were used in order to acquire data pertaining to the role child sexual abuse can play in the involvement in prostitution. According to Huysamen (1994:129), open-ended questions have the following advantages :

- Open-ended questions allow the respondents to express themselves without restriction being placed on possible pre-determined answers. Thus the formulation of their opinions is not restricted to a few alternatives.
- A qualitative approach is ensured in that each respondent is given the opportunity to express her own opinion related to the subject at hand.

However, disadvantageous to the open-ended line of questioning is that respondents require a better ability to express themselves as open-ended questions require a higher level of education on the part of respondents. Once responses are obtained, it is more difficult to compare respondents answers than would be the case in closed-ended questions.

According to Bailey (1994 :120), close-ended questioning hold the following advantages :

- It facilitates the comparison that needs to be made between final statistics.
- It is time effective, in that answers can be immediately coded and analysed directly from the questionnaire.
- Questions require responses which are not set at the higher order of understanding, thus making them easier to answer than open-ended questions.
- Although, not as thorough as open-ended questions, closed-ended questioning ensures a restriction in the gathering of irrelevant information.

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- Although, not as thorough as open-ended questions, closed-ended questioning ensures a restriction in the gathering of irrelevant information.

Close-ended questions are easier to answer, thus relevant to the posing of sensitive questions where merely a choice needs to be made by the respondent.

Disadvantageous to close-ended questioning, is the superficiality with which they function as the choices given may not always reflect the opinion of the respondent (Huysamen, 1995:129).

With reference to both the advantages as well as the disadvantages that each type of question holds, researcher decided to make use of both, posing sensitive questions and those that offer too much diversity as close-ended questions and those justifying core issues for the researcher, as open-ended questions.

3.4.1.4 Reliability of information

The validity of the study is dependent on the effectiveness with which the answers are responded to, thus if there is indeed a relationship between the variables present in the research hypothesis, the research and statistical methods used, should reflect this relationship, in other words statistically valid conclusions can be made (Huysamen, 1995:31). To ensure reliability in responses, control questions were built into the questionnaire.

The following questions can be seen as representative of the aforementioned method : Questions 6-8 refer to the individuals involvement with the institutes concerned with the Criminal justice system. Should a yes response be given to any of these questions an explanation is warranted and should a no response be forthcoming Questions 9 and 10 seek to determine other's reactions to the respondent's choices as well as the effect these responses have on the individual.

With reference to the reliability of the respondent's reaction to child sexual abuse, Question 14, initially only required a response as to whether the respondent had ever been sexually abused. Question 19 questioned "which of the following initial effects did you experience?" While question 20 required an answer as to "Which

of the following were experienced a year after the initial abuse?" thus ensuring that corresponding data was captured.

3.4.2 Sampling procedure

Sampling refers to the process whereby data is obtained from a smaller, representative sample of the population in order to better explain the phenomenon at hand (Huysamen, 1995:37). Van der Westhuizen (1982:42-43) analytically defines a sample as encompassing the following two prerequisites:

- the numerical diminishing of the sample must be representative of the universum
- the sample must be a justifiable representative part of the universum as a whole.

Thus, instead of directly studying entire populations, surveys make provision for the collection of necessary evidence pertaining to the study, which is made up out of a sample of people selected from the population. The intention is thereby to infer that the findings drawn from the sample will be reflective of the population as a whole (Jupp, 1989 :37)

This research sample consisted of 20 respondents. According to Lofland (1971:91) when making use of in depth interviews, 20-50 respondents is typically viewed as being sufficient. As researcher decided to follow a qualitative approach, the choice to use 20 respondents was justified. Researcher made use of snowball sampling, which is comparable to a rolling snowball that grows larger. Individuals who are approached to participate in the study, act as informants and identify other members from the same population for inclusion in the sample. The latter then initiates further contact by identifying further relevant individuals and so the effect of a rolling snowball growing in magnitude, leads to the identification of new respondents (Hagan, 1982:62).

As no predetermined list of possible respondents exists, a known prostitute was identified through a colleague of the researcher and served as the first respondent, whereby then acted as an informer for a further respondent.

3.4.3 Pilot study

Hagan (1982:72) defines a pilot study, or pretest as a reconnaissance operation or exploratory test, involving respondents similar to the group that will be studied, whilst testing the instruments that are to be used. Johnson (1981:128) includes the ability of the pretest to indicate any errors that may affect the main study and thus procure improvements before the final sampling occurs. Thus, the pilot study enables the researcher to objectively test the research methods, against the researcher's research hypothesis. Huysamen (1994:197) further points out the necessity of a pilot study in that subjects are not always readily available or even willing to participate. The feasibility of the proposed project can thereby be determined through the use of a pilot study as possible flaws in the measurement procedures and the operationalisation of the variables can be detected.

An interview schedule was expedited during the period 1 November 2000 to 7 November 2000 where interviews were conducted with three street walker prostitutes, identified using snowball sampling and which constituted 15 percent of the final sample. These interviews as well as others were conducted in a predetermined, fully equipped office area that offered security, whilst the environment confidentiality of the respondent and a private, quiet workspace. Researcher decided to incorporate these three respondents in the final sample as they complied with all the prerequisites pertaining to maintaining the reliability and validity of the sample, and delivered valuable contributions with respect to reaching the aims set by the researcher.

The interviews offered the researcher the opportunity to test her theoretical model, whilst critically analysing the interview schedule. From the pilot study, the following valuable information surmounted:

3.4.3.1 Section A: Biographical information of respondents

With reference to questions pertaining to the biographical background information of the respondents (see Questions 1-6 in Annexure A) the following problems were highlighted:

- The question pertaining to the respondents current marital status (see Question 5 in Annexure A) initially gave the choice of: married, unmarried, divorced or widowed. During the pilot study the interviewer realized that unmarried people could be living together and that unmarried people, though still legally married were no longer living together or even seeing each other and could thus be described as being estranged. Researcher thus added these two possible alternatives.

3.4.3.2 Section B: Prostitution

This section, dealing with the prostitutes extent of involvement in the justice system as well as the effects that significant institutions and individuals play on their choice to remain within prostitution, brought about the following alterations:

- Initially Questions 7-12 were posed as single questions requiring a response as to whether the respondent had ever been convicted for prostitution. During the pretest, respondents elaborated that they had been arrested and set free, and even appeared in court but the case had been withdrawn, and were thus not convicted of a crime. In order to better understand the extent of the respondents involvement with the justice system, questions were posed directed at arrest, court appearances and guilt, each as a separate entity.

3.4.3.3 Section C: Sexual abuse

The following changes were made in this section:

- Researcher realized that open-ended questions pertaining to the initial and long term effects of child sexual abuse posed to be too diverse and due to the possibility of a lapse in time since the last incidence of abuse answers such as "I do not know" prevailed. With reference to Questions 32-55 (see Annexure A), it was thus decided to pose this question as a close ended option. Setting definite options allowed for the respondents to answer the questions more meaningfully. As the possibility arose that respondents would not fully recall the effects of the child sexual abuse, the change to a close ended question made the answering of this section easier.

During the pilot study, researcher came to the conclusion that prostitutes who had been victims of child sexual abuse showed a need to express themselves regarding their experiences via the interview. Their open expressions regarding their sexual abuse during their childhood years proved to supply valuable information for the research project.

3.4.5 Techniques for analysis and interpreting data

Coding the data, involves the assignment of numerical values to responses. Information gathered by the research instrument, must be followed up by the analysis and interpretation of the prevalent data. Analysis, according to Jupp (1989:58) refers to the investigation of the research whereby the hypotheses are tested and systematic and deliberate comparisons and differences between variants are made apparent. This is known as data analysis, and the method which the researcher made use of.

Interpretation, refers to the orderly organisation of the data, in an implicit and persuasive manner in order to better understand and explain the phenomenon at hand (Hagan, 1982 :306). As researcher made use of 20 in depth interviews, which were conducted personally, duly after completion the questionnaire was sent for coding. After the data was analysed percentages were used to indicate propensity. Graphs and diagrammatic representations were made of these

tendencies as, according to van der Westhuizen (1982:160-161) these representations serve not only as a clear indication of current trends, but also serve as guidelines for further studies.

The interview schedules, once completed, were sent for computer coding. This statistical analysis of the data pertaining to the study, was undertaken by a statistician from the Department of Statistics at the University of Pretoria. Use was made of graphic representations of the analysed data, as according to Huysamen (1993:216) it not only gives the opportunity to visually represent the results achieved, but also simultaneously sums up the findings in an organized and precise manner.

A variety of statistical software packages pertaining to the analysis of research in the Social Sciences are available. These include the Bio-medical Data Processing System (BMDP) and the Statistical Analysis System (SAS). For the purpose of this study the SAS was used as it was viewed as the most appropriate in lieu of the nature of the data accumulated and as it is highly reliable with respect to the results delivered. The regular analysis procedures that were used in the SAS were the composition of frequency tables for representation of all the categorical variables and information. The tables indicated the frequency as well as the percentages of respondents pertaining to that variable. Cumulative frequency and cumulative percentages were also available when required.

Correspondence data, was also used, which shows how factors interact with each other by making use of a graphical display. This graphical display groups together the factors which have an effect on each other. In each of the correspondence analyses the percentage of the raw data retained in the graphical display are given. This could also be viewed as an indicator as to how good the analysis of the available data is. With respect to the analysis completed, the percentage was higher than 80 percent, thus indicating that the analysis could be regarded as a valid representation of the real situation.

3.5 The profile of the research subjects

The biographical characteristics of the respondents are schematically illustrated below using pie diagrams, wherein all numerical values have been rounded off to the closest whole number. As a rationale of how the data was interpreted the following served as a guideline:

Data reflected as being representative of 40 percent or below, of the variable in question, was viewed by researcher as **not being supporting** in nature. Findings between 40 and 60 percent were interpreted as being **in support** of the supposition that was made, whilst findings above 60 percent, were viewed as **fully supporting** in the interpretation pertaining to the data .

Thus dependent upon the percentage reflected, the findings were interpreted as being either fully supporting, supporting or not supporting, with respect to the interpretation of the data as pertaining to this study.

3.5.1 Age of the respondents

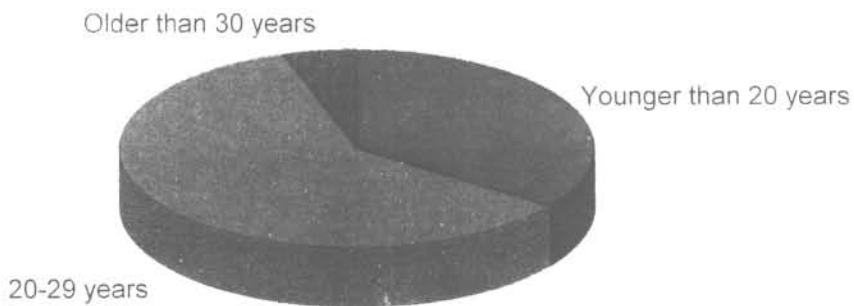


Figure 3.1 Age distribution

It is apparent from Figure 3.1 that the majority of respondents 12, (60 percent) fall within the 20-29 years of age category, while the average age of the respondents was 22 years of age. The age of the respondents were also analysed by different language and race groups in order to get an average age of each specific race and language group. These are represented in the table below.

Race	White	Black	Coloured	Asian
Mean age	23	21	25	20

Table 3.1 Average age of respondents sorted by race

3.5.2 Home language of the respondents

Nine respondents (45 percent) were English mother-tongue speakers, while four (20 percent) spoke Afrikaans as a home language. The other seven respondents (35 percent) indicated other languages as their home language, namely Xhosa and Sotho. Two respondents (10 percent) spoke Xhosa and five respondents (25 percent) indicated Sotho. As researcher is fluent in both English and Afrikaans, the majority of the respondents, 13 (65 percent), spoke these two languages as a primary language, however all respondents could converse in the above two languages, despite them not being a home language.

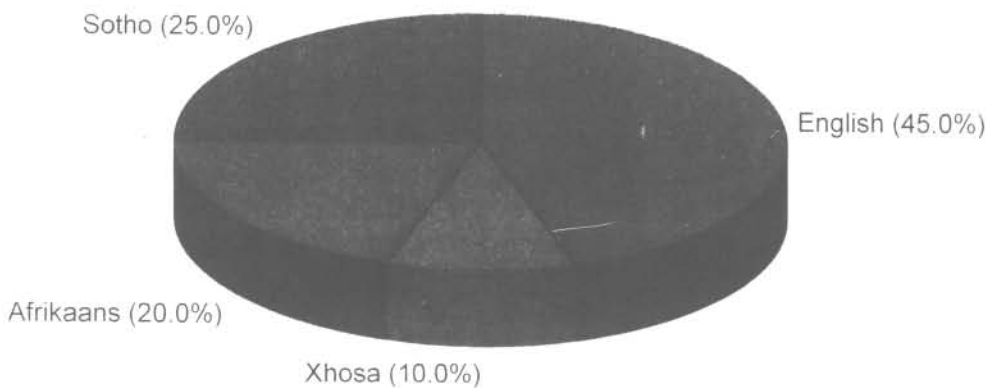


Figure 3.2 Home language of respondents

3.5.3 Respondents' race

Of the 20 respondents interviewed, 11 were black, constituting 55 percent of the sample, while seven were white (35 percent) and one (5 percent) was coloured and one (5 percent) was Asian.

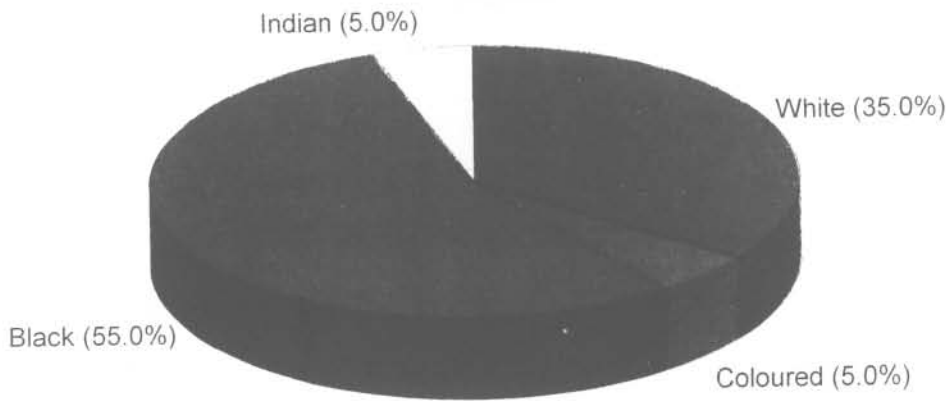


Figure 3.3 Respondents' race

3.5.4 Current marital status

Eleven (55 percent) of the respondents reported not being currently married. Of the five presently married only two (10 percent) were living with their partners while three (15 percent) were estranged from their respective spouses. Only one respondent was divorced, while another one respondent was widowed and the remaining two (10 percent) were cohabiting with their respective partners.

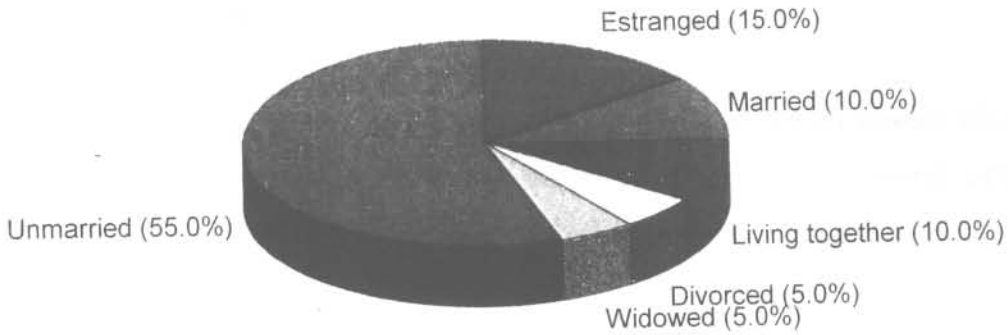
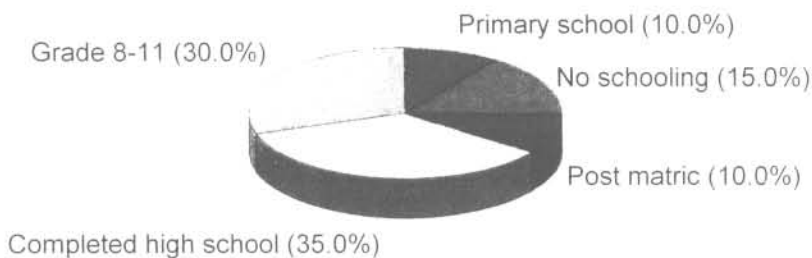


Figure 3.4 Current marital status

3.5.5 Highest Educational Qualifications

Of the respondents interviewed, three (15 percent) had no formal schooling, not even primary school. Two (10 percent) had curtailed their education in the primary school reaching Grade 5 and Grade 6 respectively. A further six respondents (30 percent) failed to complete high school dropping out in Grade 8 (one respondent), Grade 9 (two respondents), and Grade 10 (three respondents) respectively. The remaining respondents who constitute 45 percent of the research group completed Grade 12 of which two (10 percent) completed a post matric diploma.

Figure 3.5 Highest educational qualification



3.5.6 Childhood Sexual Abuse

Researcher wishes to make a correlation between child sexual abuse and the entrance into prostitution. Thus it was important to determine whether those respondents currently involved in prostitution had ever been sexually abused. Of the 20 respondents interviewed 12 (60 percent) reported being sexually abused whilst still a child, while one (5 percent) reported being sexually abused as adults. The remaining seven (35 percent) reported no unwanted sexual activity ever having occurred.

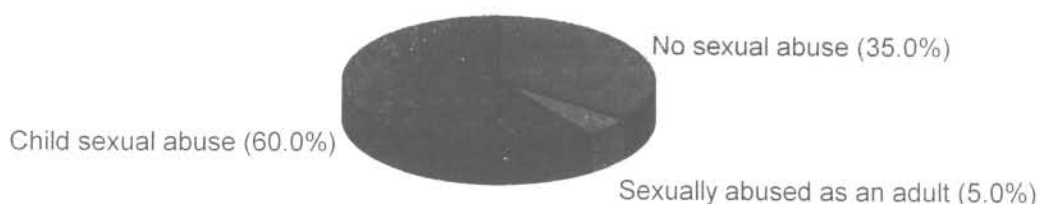


Figure 3.6 Reports of sexual abuse

3.6 Conclusion

Research procedures as well as the profile of the respondents were discussed in Chapter 3. Here with follows the representation, analysis and interpretation of the data gathered as pertaining to the role child sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution.

Chapter 4

Analysis and interpretation of data

4.1 Introduction

The Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model (see Figure 2.1) was used as a basis for the analysis of the data collected. In the study, attention was directed at the experience of the victim of child sexual abuse and the role it played in the involvement in prostitution. According to Silbert and Pines (1982:486) the motivation behind the entrance into prostitution when ascribed to child sexual abuse is dependent upon not only the experience of the abuse, but also the presence or absence of social support systems in the dealing with of the trauma. These social support systems assume positions wherein conventional behaviour is reinforced, yet where deficient ties to the social order can lead to criminal elements. Thus the attachment to, commitment to, involvement in and belief in these institutions proposes a responsibility for the individual's choices and should culminate in conformity (Brown, 1996:309). The impact of significant institutions among the respondents could also be viewed from their perspective with reference to their experience of labelling, either from social support systems or through their involvement with the administrators of justice. Researcher thereby sought to gain respondent's experiences with the law as well as any impact it may have had on their choices. In order to acquire the greatest possible degree of objectivity, data was coded and analysed by computer whilst working according to the framework as set out by the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1). The results were evaluated in accordance with the research expectations (see

paragraph 2.4.7) and interpreted according to the model as follows:

- The impact of child sexual abuse on the respondent (see paragraphs 2.4.7.1.1 to 2.4.7.1.3)
- The roles played by significant institutions and social bonds in counter-acting the effects of child sexual abuse (see paragraph 2.4.7.2)
- The effect labelling had on the decision to remain within prostitution (see paragraphs 2.4.7.3.1 to 2.4.7.3.2).

4.2 The impact of child sexual abuse on the respondent

Different factors were taken into consideration when determining the impact child sexual abuse had on the respondent. Factors such as the age of onset were taken into account in order to categorise the abuse within certain phases of development, as in accordance with the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model**. Secondly attention was accorded to the situation wherein the abuse occurred, with particular reference to the abuser and the frequency of the abuse. Finally the impact of this abuse upon the respondents was measured in conformance with initial and long-term effects as experienced by the victim. Herewith follows an explanation, of the aforementioned in concurrence with the interpretation of the questionnaires and interviews.

4.2.1 Phases of development

In order to determine whether the phase of development wherein the child sexual abuse occurred in any way contributed to the effects and the entrance into prostitution, various questions were included in the interview schedule in order to grant the researcher the opportunity to determine the impact of child sexual abuse within these phases of development.

In order to determine the phase of development wherein the sexual abuse

occurred, Question 18 of the interview schedule required a response from the respondent as to the age at which the abuse commenced as well as an age at which it ceased (see Question 30 in Annexure A). Renzetti (1994:100-101) delineated the four stages of psychosexual development according to Freud and in concurrence with the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** as being: the oral stage (birth to one year of age), the anal stage (age one to one and a half), the phallic phase (age two to five) and the latency phase (age five to age 12). According to the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** sexual abuse within any of the aforementioned phases can be detrimental to the victim. In particular, the phallic stage where sexual abuse can motivate the girl's penis envy, which develops upon first sight of the male genitalia, to culminate not only in a sense of incompleteness and disdain as she realises she does not possess one, but in a realisation that through intercourse she can acquire power over the penis and control it as this may be what she experienced when she was abused.

Of the 20 prostitutes interviewed, 13 (65 percent) reported having been sexually abused. Figure 4.1 (page 96) gives a schematic representation of the age of commencement as well as cessation of the sexual abuse as pertaining to these 13 (65 percent) respondents who had reported having been sexually abused.

According to the phases of psychosexual development, no respondents were abused prior to three years of age, which constitutes the oral and anal phases of development. However, of the 13 respondents who reported being sexually abused eight respondents (62 percent) were abused during the phallic stage (between the ages of two to five). A further four respondents, constituting 31 percent of the sample, reported sexual abuse first occurring within the latency stage (ages five to 12) of psychosexual development. Only one respondent (7 percent) reported sexual abuse commencing after the age of 12.

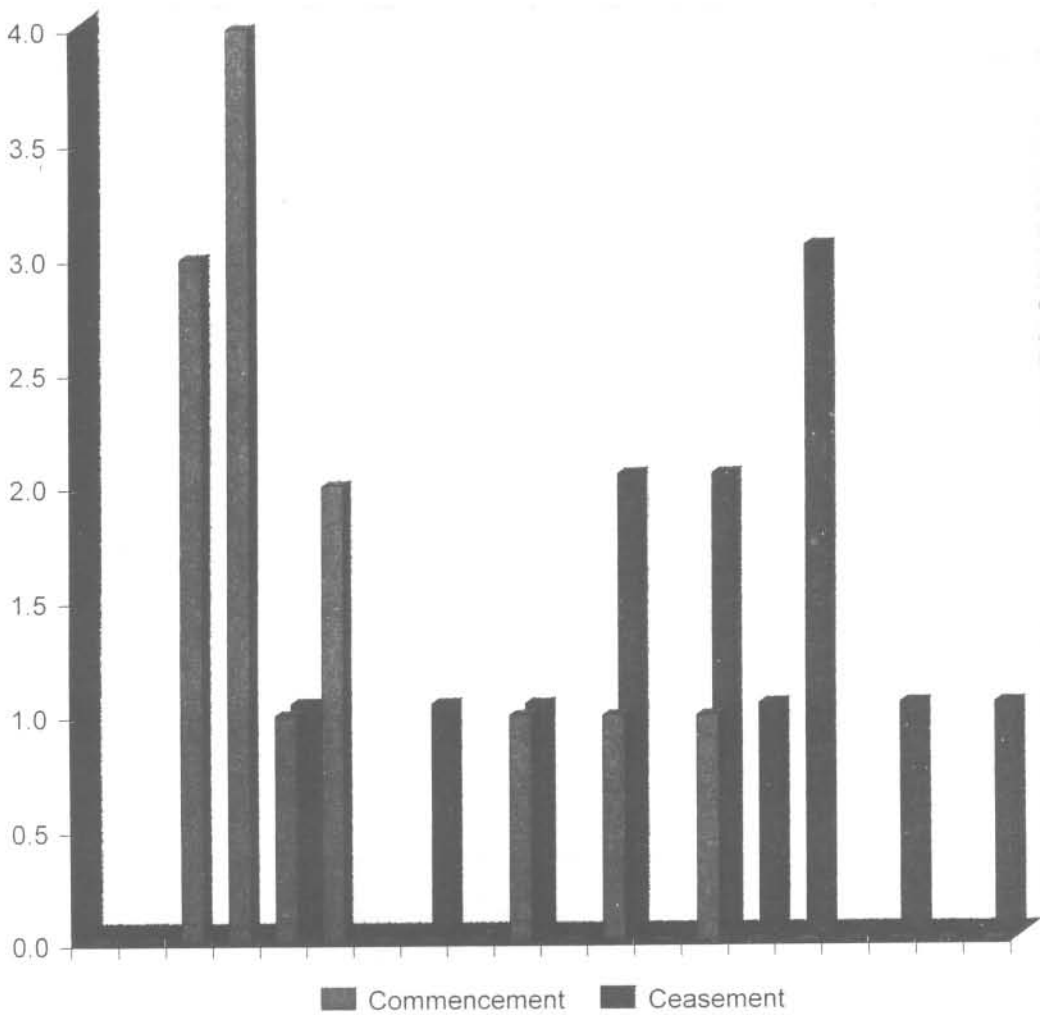


Figure 4.1 Age of respondents during time of sexual abuse

Renzetti (1994:102) is of the opinion that any form of trauma during any one of the stages mentioned, can manifest itself as a problem in adulthood. Thus these conflicts which occur in early childhood are of the greatest importance, as one's personality is established by the age of six and undergoes little change thereafter.

Should the respondent thus report any effects culminating from this abuse it could manifest within the individual's personality and thus be a contributing factor to the choice to enter into prostitution. Ten of the aforementioned respondents, culminating in 77 percent of the sample were abused during the time period wherein their personality formation was still to undergo changes and the sexual abuse could be attributed as a possible cause to their entrance into prostitution. In order to make a correlation between one age and the corresponding psychosexual development phase, Figure 4.2 diagrammatically represents the age of onset of the sexual abuse, in accordance with the relevant phase of psychosexual development.

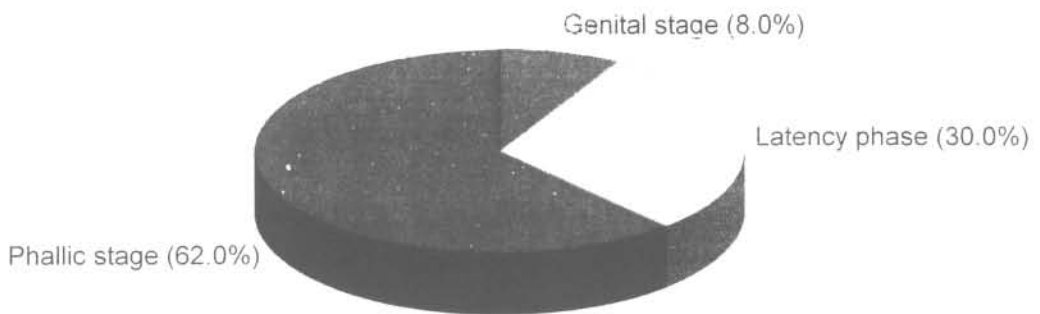


Figure 4.2 Phases of psychosexual development wherein sexual abuse commenced

4.2.2 Situation surrounding the child sexual abuse

The impact child sexual abuse holds for the victim is pre-determined by the situation wherein the child finds herself (Esterhuizen, 1990:40). Thus the final outcome of the abuse, the possible entrance into prostitution, can be assessed in accordance with certain factors contributing to this choice. Therefore the effect child sexual abuse has on the victim can be ascribed to those situations surrounding the abuse namely the frequency of the abuse, the identity of the abuser and the place where the abuse took place (see Questions 23-25, in Annexure A). Of the 13 respondents who reported having been sexually abused, two (15 percent) had been abused on only one occasion. Likewise, a further two, (15 percent) reported being abused on two occasions, while the remaining nine respondents (70 percent) reported being sexually abused on three or more instances. Of this 70 percent, 60 percent described the abuse as being a regular occurrence. Figure 4.3 serves to diagrammatically represent these findings.

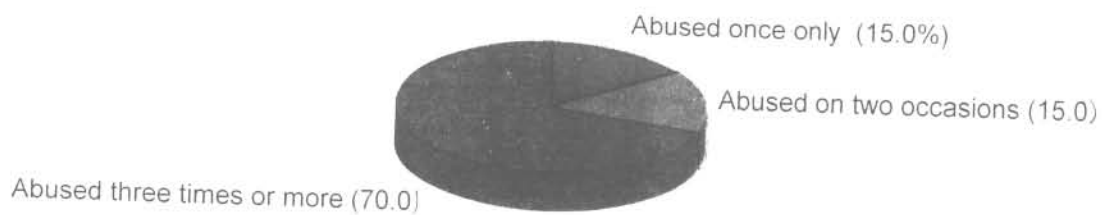


Figure 4.3 Frequency of abuse

In accordance with the number of times the victims were sexually abused, the relationship between that of the victim and the individual responsible for the sexual abuse can be inferred.

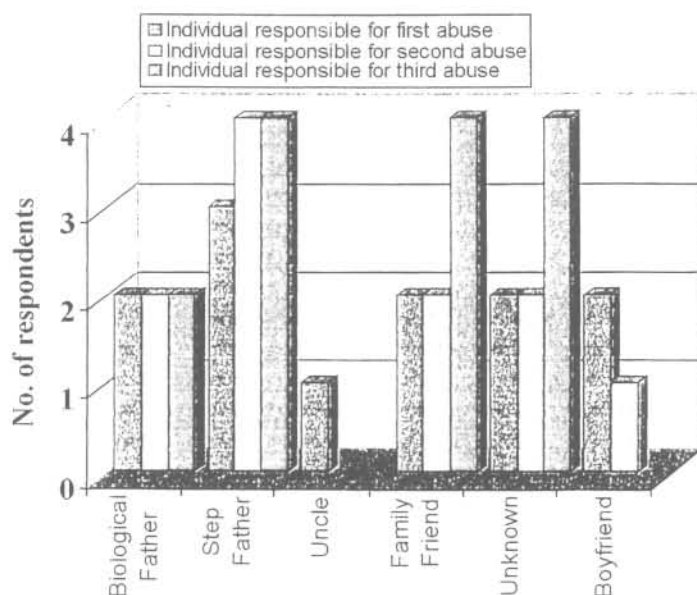


Figure 4.4 Relationship of victim to individual responsible for the abuse

From Figure 4.4, it can be deduced that from the 37 separate instances of child sexual abuse reported during the interview, 29 assailants were known to the victims while eight were abused by unknown aggressors. Of the 29 known assailants, 18 (62 percent) were family members.

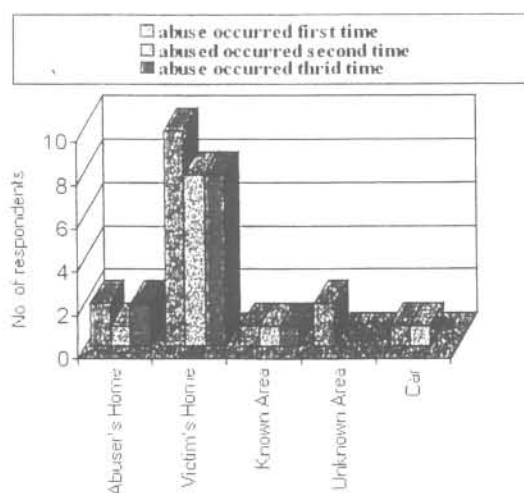


Figure 4.5 Place where abuse occurred

Figure 4.5 represents the place where the abuse occurred, thus indicating the victim's home as a primary area for child sexual abuse to occur. Should the abuser and the victim live in the same home, the abuse is ascribed to being in the victim's home, thus the five reports (14 percent) of sexual abuse occurring in the abuser's home did not occur between the victim and an abuser who lived in the same place.

4.2.3 The effects of child sexual abuse

In order to establish the extent of the effects of child sexual abuse, a yes, no response was incited from respondents with regards to initial effects experienced as well as effects still experienced after one year after the abuse. The initial effects were divided into emotional effects (see Questions 31-40 in Annexure A), physical effects (see Questions 41-46 in Annexure A) and the impact on social functioning (see Questions 47-49 in Annexure A). Further emotional effects as well as social effects culminated in the experiences still present a year after the initial abuse (see Questions 50-54).

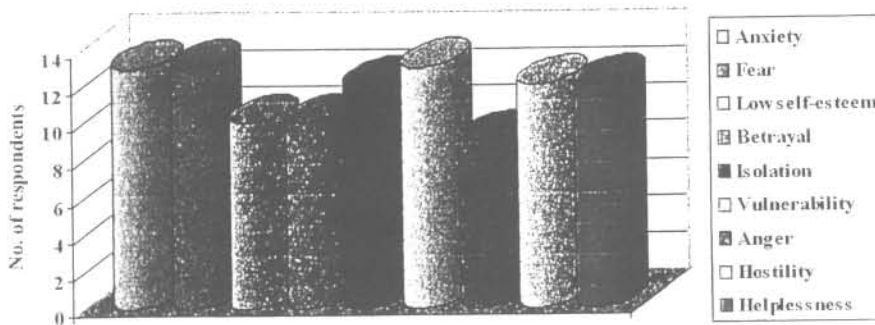


Figure 4.6 Initial Emotional Effects

Figure 4.6 schematically represents the total number of respondents who respectively experienced each initial emotional effect as attributed to child sexual abuse. According to Guggenbühl-Craig (1995:63), any kind of sexual experience between a child and an adult can be viewed as being damaging. To this viewpoint Burchard, (1985:122) adds that the physical, emotional and social impairment experienced due to this abuse can be directly associated with the individual's later adaptation in life. Thus all 13 respondents who reported experiencing child sexual abuse, recorded having endured anxiety, fear, a feeling

helplessness, hostility and vulnerability were experienced by 12 (92 percent) of respondents, while ten (77 percent) endured feelings of detachment and a low self-esteem. A feeling of isolation was experienced by nine respondents culminating in 69 percent of the sample. Physical effects were less reported amongst the respondents with 12 (92 percent) having experienced sleeping problems as well as injury to their genitalia, while only three (23 percent) reported injury to other parts of their body. Falling pregnant due to the abuse, catching a sexually transmitted disease and developing an eating disorder were reported as being an initial physical effect of child sexual abuse by two (15 percent) victims respectively.

With respect to social functioning, 13 respondents (100 percent) who reported child sexual abuse described themselves as promiscuous. Twelve (92 percent) experienced mood disturbances while ten (77 percent) withdrew from social contact and functioning as attributed to the sexual abuse. Emotional and social effects experienced a year after the initial abuse were extensively reported by respondents with 13 (100 percent), experiencing depression and a feeling of stigmatisation, while ten respondents (77 percent) reported emotional withdrawal, social discomfort and as having attempted some form of self damaging behaviour.

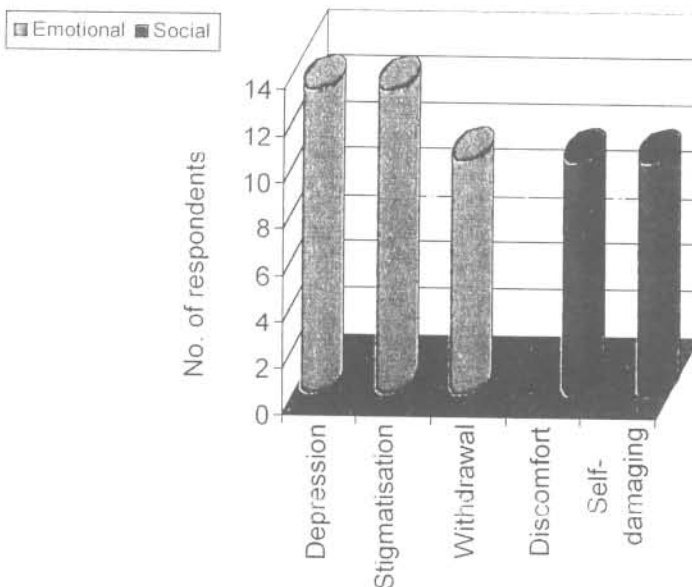


Figure 4.7 Effects a year after initial abuse

Respondents were then asked whether any negative effects that they could directly attribute to their experience of child sexual abuse (see Question 55 in Annexure A) were still experienced, of which eleven (85 percent) respondents reported yes. Thus, although a time of span of an average of 192 months (16 years) had passed since the initial abuse of these respondents, negative effects were still evident. To postulate as to whether these respondents negative effects experienced in any way contributed to the respondents entrance into prostitution, Question 56 (see Annexure A) directly posed the question as to whether a correlation existed between the abuse and the entrance into prostitution as per respondents personal opinion. Furthermore an explanation was requested as to why this opinion was forthcoming, of which the findings are tabulated below in Figure 4.8. Thus Figure 4.8 represents the reasons given by prostitutes who had experiences child sexual abuse, as to why they had entered into prostitution.

Number of respondents	Attributing Reasons		
	Sex is viewed as being meaningless	See prostitution as a form of revenge	See self as worthless
			1
10			
		2	

Table 4.1 Reasons attributed to the entrance into prostitution

Of the respondents who were prompted or given by interviewer, however only the tabulated three responses were given as reasons for the entrance into prostitution by the respondents. According to the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) sexual abuse in particular within the phallic stage of psychosexual development may lead the girl to view the penis with not only envy (penis envy), attributed to the awareness of her deprivation of having one, but also to see it as having power over her as it is the instrument used in the employment of the unwanted sexual attention. Therefore in order to gain a sense of power over the penis, the individual may in turn enter into prostitution, thereby receiving compensation, in the form of money for sexual favours, whereby she can now view herself as being control as she views the exchange of money for the sexual favour as her being in a position of dominance. This is reflected in Figure 4.8 where two respondents (15 percent) view prostitution as a form of revenge. In accordance with the interview schedule both these respondents were initially sexually abused within the phallic stage of psychosexual development. Likewise, the abused may develop an overview of the sexual experience as being meaningless, which could be attributed to the lack of social a bonds as all ten respondents who reported sex as holding no meaning for them were abused by family members on at least one occasion (see paragraph 4.2.2). The one respondent (8 percent) who attributed the entrance into prostitution due to viewing herself as being worthless, furthermore attributed this view to her being made felt insignificant during the period of the sexual abuse by the abuser. The abuse for this particular respondent commenced within the phallic stage of psychosexual development and the entrance into prostitution, according to the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** can be attributed to the penis envy, as experienced by the victim, culminating in a feeling of being submissive and worthless which was in turn culminated in the verbal acknowledgment of these sentiments by the abuser.

4.2.4 Conclusion

The research findings of this study indicate that the circumstances surrounding the child sexual abuse, namely the phase of psychosexual development wherein the sexual abuse occurred as well as the situation wherein the abuse occurs contributes to the entrance into prostitution. In accordance with the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) those respondents abused within the four phases of psychosexual development reported the effects thereof as having a contributory role in their choice to enter into prostitution, likewise the frequency, relationship between the abuser and the victim, as well as the environment in which it took place proved to play a determining role in the initial as well as long-term effects as attributed to child sexual abuse.

Herewith follows a discussion pertaining to Research Expectation 2.4.1 which deals with the circumstances surrounding the child sexual abuse, namely :

- Research Expectation 2.4.1.1 postulates that sexual abuse within any stage of the child's psychosexual development may lead to the entrance into prostitution. This is verified by 13 (65 percent) of the respondents who acknowledged having been sexually abused before entering into prostitution. This finding thus fully supports the supposition that the child sexual abuse plays a role in the involvement in prostitution. According to the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) the phase wherein the abuse occurs, especially the phallic phase plays a contributory role in the choice to become involved in prostitution. Of the respondents interviewed, eight (62 percent) reported being initially abused during this psychosexual phase of development and the remaining five respondents, (38 percent) during the succeeding phases. According to Mrazek and Mrazek (1981:39), normal child development is hampered by sexual abuse

and the moulding of developmental issues and thinking skills can be directly ascribed to this abuse. Thus sexual abuse during the child's formative psychosexual development has been proven to play a role in the entrance into prostitution.

- Research Expectation 2.4.7.1.2 proposes that the effect of child sexual abuse is influenced by the identity of the abuser the frequency of the abuse as well as the environment in which it took place. All 13 respondents (100 percent), according to Questions 31-54, reported experiencing initial effects as well as negative effects a year after the initial abuse. Of these respondents nine (70 percent) had been abused on three or more occasions and two were abused on two occasions and the remaining two were abused only once. Thus a correlation can be drawn in the effect the abuse had on the victim and the times the abuse occurred in that the majority namely nine respondents (69 percent) experienced child sexual abuse on three or more occasions. According to Questions 31-54 (see Annexure A) of the nine respondents abused three times or more the "yes" response was noted a minimum of 80 percent in all these instances to an indication of a particular effect being experienced by the victim. Likewise of the 37 instances of child sexual abuse reported by the respondents, 29 were known to the victim of which 62 percent of these were family members. According to Everstine and Everstine (1993:25) this may lead the victim to assume self blame as the absence of a social bond is imminent, in that the abuser is in a position of trust and authority. Questions 55-57 (see Annexure A) required a yes or no response in order to rate the abuses effect dependent on the identity of the abuser. All 13 respondents (100 percent) reported that the sexual abuse by a family member either was or would have held the most detrimental effects for the victim. In accordance with Questions 58-59 (see Annexure A) the interviewer requested the victim to indicate whether an area known or unknown to them would influence the effects of child sexual abuse detrimentally, to which 92 percent responded that a known area would.

Thus research expectation 2.4.7.1.2 was completely supported by the research findings.

- Research Expectation 2.4.7.1.3 sought to determine whether any initial effects in emotional, physical or social functioning could be ascribed to child sexual abuse as well as other emotional and social effects after one year of the initial abuse. This research expectation was completely supported by the 13 respondents who experienced child sexual abuse in that all 13 (100 percent) reported initial effects as well as effects a year after the initial abuse, attributed directly to the sexual abuse. Questions 58-59 (see Annexure A) furthermore sought a response from the respondent as to whether in their opinion, an area known or unknown to them would influence the effects of child sexual abuse detrimentally, to which 92 percent responded that a known area would. Thus research expectation 2.4.7.1.3 was fully supported by research findings.

4.3 Roles played by significant institutions

According to McCaghy and Hou (1994:251), family disaffiliation, the need to dissociate oneself from your family, from the victim's perspective, attributed to negative sexual experiences and plays a contingent role in the entrance into prostitution. In order to infer the role played by significant institutions in preventing the entrance into prostitution, respondents were asked to identify any persons or institutions to whom the abuse was disclosed, as well as the action taken by each respectively (see Questions 55-58, Annexure A). Researcher then, by postulating a yes, no response furthermore inquired as to why the abuse had not been disclosed (see Questions 59-65, Annexure A) should this be appurtenant to the respondent. Of the 13 respondents who reported having been sexually abused as a child only one (8 percent) reported the abuse. The abuse was reported to the respondent's biological mother, of whom the abuser was her third husband. The respondent reported no further action being taken as the mother was reluctant to believe the victim. This respondent furthermore, added that future

reporting did not occur and that she resented disclosing the abuse in the first place.

Thus, of importance to researcher is the reasons attributed to the choice to not disclose the abuse.

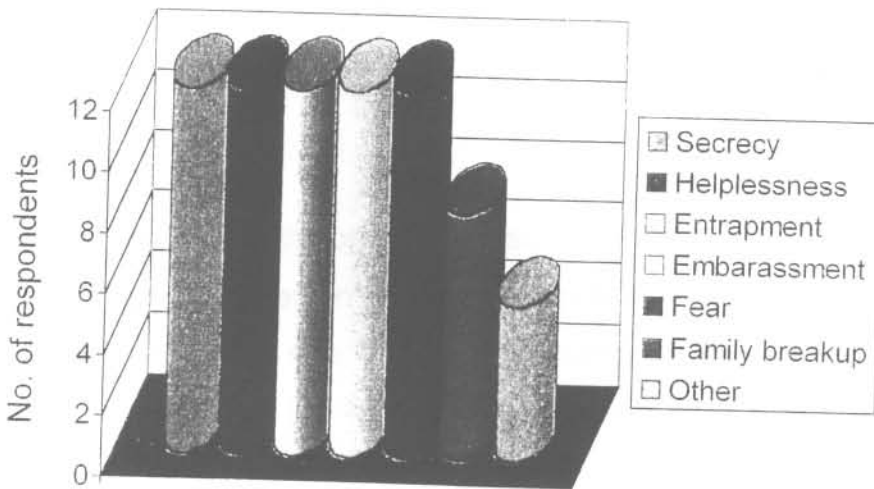


Figure 4.8 Reasons why abuse was not disclosed

Of the 12 respondents who reported a failure to disclose the abuse or seek help from an institution, 12 (100 percent) attributed this to a general fear of the perpetrator, by being made to feel helpless, embarrassed or trapped or for being sworn to secrecy. Eight of the respondents, (67 percent) feared a disintegration of their family structure should the abuse be reported. Five (42 percent) respondents furthermore attributed their reluctance to disclose the abuse under "other" reasons namely: a fear of retribution, a fear of physical harm, being told they were the cause of the abuse and a fear of the abuser killing them.

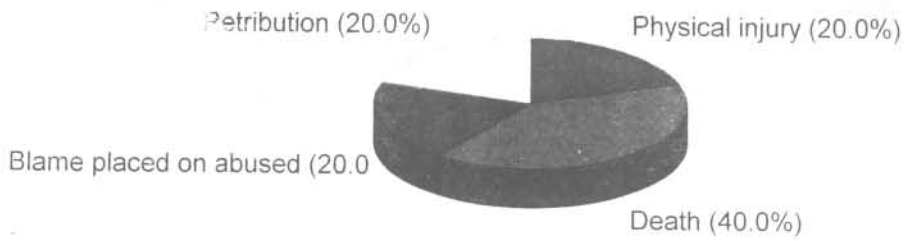


Figure 4.8 Other reasons for not disclosing abuse

4.3.1 Conclusion

The analysed data pertaining to the presence of social bonds and the feelings of attachment, commitment, involvement and belief instilled within the victim was interpreted to determine their role in the prevention of the entrance into prostitution as in accordance with the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model**. (see Figure 2.1). Individuals and institutions to whom the abuse was disclosed were identified as well as the actions taken by them were analysed. In accordance with Figure 2.1 the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** proposes that action taken by a significant individual or institution could play a positive role in counter-acting the effects of child sexual abuse and ultimately the choice to enter into prostitution.

Herewith follows an explanation of the research findings as pertaining to Research Expectation 2.4.7.2 which deals with the influence social bonds have on the prevention of the entrance into prostitution, namely:

- Research Expectation 2.4.7.1 proposes that the presence of social bonds instills in the child a feeling of attachment, commitment, involvement and belief and may thus prevent the entrance into prostitution. This proposition was fully supported by the research, in that counter-actively, should significant others not play a contributory role in preventing the child sexual abuse from occurring the entrance into prostitution is inevitable. Of the 13 respondents who reported having been sexually abused as children, only

one (8 percent) had reported the abuse. This particular respondent received no help after the report and was not believed to be telling the truth thus the significant individual to whom the abuse was reported did not play a part in counter-acting the entrance into prostitution as set out in the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1). Thus should significant others or institutions have knowledge of the abuse and action is taken on behalf of the victim, against the perpetrator, then the entrance into prostitution could possibly have been prevented. Therefore as the majority of respondents either did not make significant individuals or institutions aware of the abuse, or in the case where the abuse was reported but no acknowledgment or help was forthcoming, the conclusion can be drawn that the possibility that significant individuals and institutions hold to counter-act the effects of child sexual abuse and prevent the entrance into prostitution were not present amongst these respondents.

4.4 The role played by labelling in the choice to enter into and remain in prostitution

In order to determine the effect labelling had on the respondents choice to remain a prostitute, questions regarding both formal as well as informal labelling were posed. Formal labelling, by institutions in a position of power, was determined by asking the respondents whether they had ever been arrested, tried in a court or been found guilty of prostitution (see Questions 7-12, Annexure A). Informal labelling, constituting any other individual or institution labelling, was ascertained by asking the respondent whether anyone had negatively reacted to either their choice of career or to their being arrested (see Questions 13 -16, Annexure A) as well as how these reactions affected the respondent (see Question 17, Annexure A). Of the prostitutes interviewed four (20 percent) had been arrested on at least one occasion while two (ten percent) had been arrested twice. Of these six respondents only one (17 percent) had been tried in a court of law, but none (0 percent) had ever been convicted for prostitution. However, informal labelling directed at the choice of prostitution as a career occurred in 16 (80 percent) of the

respondents. The remaining four (20 percent) respondents attributed their not being labelled, to the fact that no family members or friends were aware of what they did as none of them had previously been arrested. Respondents were furthermore requested to identify those individuals or institutions responsible for the informal labelling and this is set out in Figure 4.10.

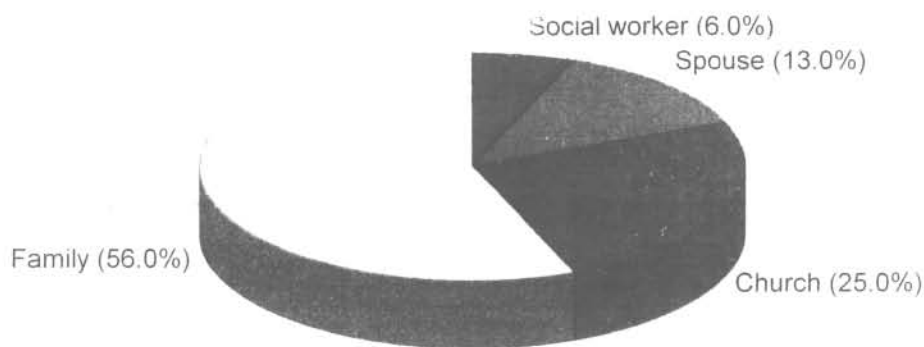


Figure 4.10 Informal labelling

Of the four (25 percent) respondents identifying the church as playing a role in labelling, it is of importance to note that this 25 percent of respondents were interviewed in the same area, thus it was pointed out by respondents that one individual had approached all four of these respondents, thus prostitutes interviewed in other areas had not been exposed to this particular type of labelling.

In both occasions where the spouse had been identified as the individual informally, yet negatively labelling the respondent, the marriage had ended in a divorce. Only one respondent (six percent) had been approached by a social worker, however this could be attributed to the fact that the respondent in question had been given a suspended sentence, not related to prostitution and visits by a social worker were court appointed. The majority, eight (56 percent) of the respondents reported family members, other than their spouses as having a negative reaction to their choice of career. The remaining six respondents who

reported receiving no negative reaction could be attributed to five of them purposively keeping it a secret and one attributing it to the fact that no one knows her as she is working in an area where she is a stranger to everyone.

Of the six respondents (30 percent) who had been arrested two (33 percent) had been labelled after their arrests, one by a spouse and the other by a court official however the remaining four respondents (67 percent) had managed to keep their arrests a secret, thus no significant institutions were aware of it. In order to determine whether the aforementioned labels had any effect on the respondents, inquiry was made into the specific reactions experienced by each respondent with respect to Questions 13-16 (see Annexure A). Of the 16 respondents (80 percent) who indicated that a negative reaction had been present either directed at their choice of career or at their being arrested, only four (25 percent) reported that the negative reactions had no effect on them. Of the remaining twelve (75 percent) of respondents who did affirm that the negative reactions had affected them, none, despite other reactions, were prepared to leave prostitution. Of these twelve respondents (60 percent), the negative affect the reactions had on them could be attributed to those elements as set out in Fig. 4.11.



Figure 4.11 Reasons attributed to others' negative reactions affecting respondents

Two respondents (17 percent), due to others' negative reactions, were affected by means of their awareness of the dangers of AIDS being heightened. A further three (25 percent) respondents reported others' negative reactions as culminating in guilt feelings, however the remaining seven respondents (58 percent) reported that others had labelled them as being motivated by monetary gain, however the respondents attributed their need for money as a necessity for their survival.

4.4.1 Conclusion

The research findings of this study indicated that the role played by labelling is indeed a contributory factor in the choice to either enter into and to remain in prostitution. Research Expectation 2.4.7.3 refers to the influence labelling has on this choice, namely:

- Research Expectation 2.4.7.3.1 proposes that labelling by a formal institution, one responsible for the administration of justice, if responded to positively could lead to the withdrawal from prostitution. Six respondents,

constituting 30 percent of the sample had been arrested and thus labelled by a formal institution. Thus the majority of the respondents had never been arrested, tried in a court of law or been found guilty of prostitution. Of those respondents who had come into contact with the administrators of justice, not one respondent felt that these institutions had played a positive role and they were therefore not prepared to leave prostitution. Thus an absence of positive counteractive steps on the part of these institutions was present and this Research Expectation was fully supported.

- Research Expectation 2.4.7.3.2 postulates that labelling by an informal institution or individual, if negatively responded to, may lead to secondary labelling and to the individual remaining within prostitution. This research expectation was fully supported in that 16 (80 percent) of the respondents reported having been exposed to informal labelling by others. All these respondents experienced the labelling as being condescending in nature and a negative response was culminated. The remaining four (20 percent) who had not been labelled, attributed this to the fact that their choice of career had been kept secret and that no one knew what their occupation was, thus labelling could not take place. Of the 16 respondents (80 percent) who reported informal labelling 12 (60 percent), reported that the negative labelling had had an effect on them either making them felt guilty, fearing AIDS or that they were made to appear as if they were money hungry, however none felt that these labels contributed to rehabilitating them and they were not prepared to leave their profession.

4.5 Conclusion

The data collected during the study was analysed and interpreted with reference to the research expectations as postulated in Chapter 2. The research findings thus confirm the practicality as well as the applicableness of the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) in explaining the role child sexual abuse plays in the involvement in prostitution.

From the aforementioned discussion and interpretation of the data accumulated, it appears clear that each respondent subjected to child sexual abuse, irrespective of the psychosexual developmental phase they may have found themselves in, exhibited initial as well as long term effects. Although each respondent manifests different responses, the effects of child sexual abuse are evidently harmful. The absence of significant institutions and individuals in attempting to prevent the entrance into prostitution was apparent in the study. This culminated in respondents developing poor social attachments, commitments, involvements and beliefs in any social institution and thus facilitating the choice to enter into prostitution. Once involved in prostitution, formal labelling by institutions such as the Criminal justice system, as well as informal labelling done by the community at large, may lead to the individual becoming aware of the negative label placed upon them. This in turn may lead to an internalization of this label, and may culminate in the individual remaining within the field of prostitution as a show of acceptance towards this label. Thus an interaction between child sexual abuse, the absence of significant institutions and the process of labelling could account for the influence on an individual to become involved in prostitution.

These research findings thus extend the possibility of drawing conclusions and recommendations with respect to this study.

Chapter 5

Closing statement and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

The study undertaken by researcher was investigative in nature directed at explaining the role child sexual abuse plays in prostitution. In the theoretical statement of the problem (see paragraph 1.2.3) it was noted that information from a criminal perspective relating to the role played by child sexual abuse in the involvement in prostitution, was scarce, and that in South Africa no such study has been undertaken. It was thus the purpose of this study, to fulfill this deficit. The fact that child sexual abuse and prostitution had only previously been studied as separate entities, led to an absence of an integrated theory for the explanation of the role that child sexual abuse can play in the entrance into prostitution.

For this purpose the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) was developed and was used as a basis for the interpretation and analysis of the accumulated data. With reference to these research findings, this chapter indicates to what extent the expectations of this study were met. Recommendations pertaining to the role child sexual abuse can play in the involvement in prostitution will also be made.

5.2 Conclusion

5.2.1.1 Conclusions pertaining to the circumstances surrounding child sexual abuse

Aim 1.3.1 was to determine the role child sexual abuse can play in the involvement in prostitution as a problem relevant to society. From the research it appeared that child sexual abuse did indeed play a role in the respondent's choice to become involved in prostitution, thus researcher succeeded in reaching this aim. The following conclusions can be drawn with respect to the sub-aims:

Aim 1.3.1.1 supposes that the psychosexual stage of development during the commencement of the abuse plays a role in the choice to become involved in prostitution. According to the research findings of this study all respondents except one who had been sexually abused as a child, the abuse had occurred within one of the psychosexual developmental phases as per the **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1), thus researcher is of the opinion that this aim was met as there is a correlation with the research findings.

Aim 1.3.1.2 highlights the effects child sexual abuse holds for the victim and the extent to which it influences the decision to become involved in prostitution. Both initial and long term effects, still present a year after the commencement of the abuse, were sought from respondents. With the majority of both initial as well as long term effects being present and having been identified by respondents as having played a negative effect in the victim's perceptions researcher was able to draw a correlation between child sexual abuse and the entrance into prostitution. Researcher could thereby conclude that this aim was successfully reached.

Aim 1.3.1.3 attempts to determine the extent to which the effects of child sexual abuse are influenced by the identity of the abuser, the frequency of the abuse as well as the environment in which the abuse occurred. After identification of the actual abuser, an indication to the frequency of the abuse and the environment in which the abuse occurred, by each sexual abused respondent, researcher was

able to conclude that each entity viewed as being detrimental in nature by the respondent influenced the individual to become involved in prostitution, thus successfully reaching the expectations as set out by this aim.

Aim 1.3.1.4 sets out to determine to what extent positive social bonds can counteract the entrance into prostitution. A complete absence of social bonds, which if present could play an enriching and positive effect on the victim of sexual abuse, was not apparent. Thus the absence of such bonds supports the entrance into prostitution and Aim 1.3.1.4 was conclusively reached in determining that the absence of bonds would thus not be able to counteract the entrance into prostitution.

Aim 1.3.1.5 evaluates the effects labelling has on the choice to enter into and remain within prostitution. Of the victims who reported having been sexually abused, a conclusive number of respondents had been labeled, either through a formal institution or informally, and of which all labels were negative in nature, thus not playing a positive role in the respondent's outlook and thereby contributing negatively to the victim's self esteem. This in turn may be viewed as contributory to the choice to enter or remain in prostitution.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations pertaining to child sexual abuse and the role it can play in the entrance into prostitution.

A need clearly identified by respondents during this study was for the victims of child sexual abuse to be able to readily access help. This, as viewed within the South African context and in conjunction with the effects child sexual abuse holds for the victim, ascertain for practical recommendation to be made by researcher, namely:

5.3.1.1 Professionals and Professional Institutions

Researcher is of the opinion that particular professionals such as medical professionals, clerics and educationalists, as well as institutions can play a potentially vital role in the identification and subsequent help for abused children. According to the Child Care Act 74 of 1983 particular professionals are compelled to report suspected incidences of child abuse to the Regional Director of Health Services and Welfare. Of the aforementioned professionals, teachers are not included. As more than a third of a child's day is spent in the care of a teacher, their role in detecting any abuse as well as playing a contributory role in helping the child seems to be understated. The legal liability which a teacher may face from parents who stand accused of sexually abusing their child would thus prevent the reporting of possible abuse to authorities. Nonetheless, it rests within the integrity of those professionals within the field of education to create an opportunity for disclosure as well as the necessary support throughout the process. A medical practitioner is however bound by the aforementioned law and it thus rests upon each individual doctor, dentist or nursing staff member to ensure that they are up to date with the latest findings in order to correctly diagnose child sexual abuse and make recommendations for the appropriate action to be taken.

A religious upbringing may facilitate the child to seek advice and help from a religious institution. Confidentiality between the victim and a religious adviser may pose a problem, however the necessity for legal action to be taken must be considered or as an alternative the abuse may continue. It is also of importance for the religious adviser to be aware of the signs and symptoms of child sexual abuse so as to ultimately benefit both the victim as well as the community at large.

Treatment of the victim as well as the possibility of the victim becoming a future offender should be prevented, as well as the possibility of the victim becoming a future abuser. The psychologist and the other mental health professionals thus play a contributory role in addressing these problems, and necessary and appropriate action in the best interest of the child, needs to be identified and executed. Voluntary organizations such as Rape Crisis, Life Line and Child Line

also offer extensive resource facilities manned by trained individuals who offer references and advice not only to the victim but also to other interested individuals who seek support and guidance. Crisis Service workers are however trained to give support and not therapy and a further reference is needed either to a social worker or to a psychologist.

5.3.1.2 Parents and victims

Researcher is of the opinion that a greater awareness on the part of parents as well as the child victims of sexual abuse, can play a contributory role in preventing any future such abuse from occurring. It is the opinion of researcher that the following guidelines can help prevent the abuse.

- Children must be made aware of the dangers of sexual abuse and be given information on how to combat it.
- In order to prevent child sexual abuse suspicious individuals as well as incidences of sexual abuse must be reported.
- Education regarding child sexual abuse, the prevention as well as the effects thereof are of utmost importance.
- Children must be taught that they can and must disclose abuse to a trusted adult. Likewise, when the abuse is reported the child must be believed and something must be done to report it to the necessary professionals where help can be acquired.

5.3.1.3 Recommendations with respect to further victimological studies

It became apparent through the under-mentioned study that the role child sexual abuse plays in the entrance into prostitution is a complex phenomenon which cannot be comprehensively explained or grasped by means of a single study. Researcher is thus of the opinion that the following subjects pose as possibilities for further victimological research:

- A comparative study into the nature of each of the phases of psychosexual development and their individual effects and influences on the victim of

child sexual abuse.

- To analyse each of Hirschi's social bonds, independently, namely: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief, as separate entities in determining the effects of child sexual abuse.
- A comparative study into the effects of formal labelling on prostitutes who had been arrested, tried in a court of law and been found guilty as opposed to prostitutes who had been arrested, tried in a court and been found not guilty and those that had only been arrested and then released.
- To investigate the role of significant others, in a particular family, in labelling, and the effects thereof on the victim of child sexual abuse.
- To evaluate the possibility of a support group for the victims of child sexual abuse.
- Further research into the different cultures within South Africa, with respect to their perceptions regarding child sexual abuse and the entrance into prostitution.

5.4 Conclusion

The study highlighted the role that child sexual abuse can play in the involvement in prostitution. The aim of this study was to determine the role played by child sexual abuse within specific psychosexual developmental phases. Secondly, the counteractive role played by the presence of social bonds was investigated and lastly the role that labelling played in the choice to enter into and remain within prostitution was evaluated. The aforementioned were all examined whilst pertaining to the **Child Sexual abuse Counter-Active Model**. From the study it became evident the child sexual abuse, within any phase of psychosexual development carried negative effects for the victim which in turn played a contributory role in the entrance into prostitution. This in turn highlighted a need for interventionary action in order to counter-act the detrimental effects that child sexual abuse holds for the victim. The study also confirmed the need for further related studies within the South African context, in order to play a contributory role in combatting child sexual abuse and the negative consequences it carries.

Thus the role played by social bonds and the impact of labelling cannot be studied in isolation, but should rather be seen in interaction, playing a role in the choice to enter into and remain within prostitution. The **Child Sexual Abuse Counter-Active Model** (see Figure 2.1) was developed to explain the interaction between all these influences.

In closing researcher quotes from Robertson (1989:2) who gives an appellation of the necessity for the change needed within the South African context to combat child sexual abuse and thus prevent its maleficent effects:

"Nearly every single newspaper carries the bad news. Television also carries the bad news. Radio stations also regularly give the listeners updates. The public reaction is unprecedented. Over 750 calls flood into police stations countrywide daily, Life Line and Welfare organizations are overwhelmed. (However) avoid panic and instead educate every one so that child sexual abuse can be stamped out."

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ANNEXURE A

QUESTIONNAIRE

	RESPONDENT NUMBER	Q1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	1-2
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BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION : RESPONDENT

1	AGE	Q2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	3-4
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2	RACE	WHITE 1	BLACK 2	COLOURED 3	ASIAN 4	Q3	<input type="text"/>	5
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3	HOME LANGUAGE	ENGLISH 1	AFRIKAANS 2	OTHER 3	Q4	<input type="text"/>	6
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4	CURRENT MARITAL STATUS	Q5	<input type="text"/>	7
	Married 1 Unmarried 2 Divorced 3 Widowed 4 Living together 5 Estranged 6			

5	HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION	Q6	<input type="text"/>	8
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PROSTITUTION

6	HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED FOR PROSTITUTION.....	Q7	<input type="text"/>	9	
 YES 1 NO 2	Q8	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	10-11

7	HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TRIED IN COURT FOR PROSTITUTION.....	Q9	<input type="text"/>	12	
 YES 1 NO 2	Q10	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	13-14

8	HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CONVICTED OF PROSTITUTION	Q11	<input type="text"/>	15	
 YES 1 NO 2	Q12	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	16-17

9	WAS THERE A NEGATIVE REACTION TO :	Q13	<input type="text"/>	18	
	Your choice of career YES 1 NO 2	Q14	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	19-20
	If so by who(m).....				

	Your being arrested	YES 1	NO 2	Q15	<input type="text"/>	21
	If so by who(m).....	Q16	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	22-23	

10	DID THESE NEGATIVE REACTIONS AFFECT YOU IN ANY WAY.....	Q17	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	24-25
				

11	HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A PROSTITUTE ?	Q18	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	26-27
 MONTHS				

12	IS IT YOUR CHOICE TO REMAIN A PROSTITUTE ?		
	YES	1	NO 2

Q19 28

13	DID ANYONE CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR CHOICE TO BECOME A PROSTITUTE		
	YES	1	NO 2
IF YES, EXPLAIN.....			
.....			

Q20 29

Q21 30-31

SEXUAL ABUSE

14	HAVE YOU EVER BEEN SEXUALLY ABUSED ?		
	YES	1	NO 2

Q22 32-33

15	HOW MANY TIMES HAS THE ABUSED OCCURRED ?		
	Once	Twice	Three times /more
	1	2	3

Q23 34

16	IN EACH INSTANCE, WHO WAS THE ABUSER ?		
	1.....		
	2.....		
	3.....		

Q24 35-36

Q25 37-38

Q26 39-40

17	IN EACH INSTANCE, WHERE DID THE ABUSE TAKE PLACE ?		
	1.....		
	2.....		
	3.....		

Q27 41-42

Q28 43-44

Q29 45-46

18	AT WHAT AGE DID THE ABUSE COMMENCE ?.....
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Q30 47-48

19	FROM WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ABUSERS WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE ABUSE AS HAVING A MORE NEGATIVE EFFECT UPON YOU?		
	A family member	A known assailant	An unknown assailant
	1	2	3

Q31 49

20	WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING INITIAL EFFECTS DID YOU EXPERIENCE ?		
	EMOTIONAL		
	Anxiety	YES 1	NO 2
	Fear	YES 1	NO 2
	Low self-esteem	YES 1	NO 2
	Detachment	YES 1	NO 2
	Betrayal	YES 1	NO 2

Q32 50

Q33 51

Q34 52

Q35 53

Q36 54

	Vulnerability	YES	1	NO	2	Q37	<input type="text"/>	55
	Isolation	YES	1	NO	2	Q38	<input type="text"/>	56
	Anger	YES	1	NO	2	Q39	<input type="text"/>	57
	Hostility	YES	1	NO	2	Q40	<input type="text"/>	58
	Helplessness	YES	1	NO	2	Q41	<input type="text"/>	59

PHYSICAL								
	Injury to genitalia	YES	1	NO	2	Q42	<input type="text"/>	60
	Sexually transmitted disease	YES	1	NO	2	Q43	<input type="text"/>	61
	Pregnancy	YES	1	NO	2	Q44	<input type="text"/>	62
	Injury to rest of body	YES	1	NO	2	Q45	<input type="text"/>	63
	Sleeping disorders	YES	1	NO	2	Q46	<input type="text"/>	64
	Eating disorder	YES	1	NO	2	Q47	<input type="text"/>	65

SOCIAL FUNCTIONING								
	Mood disturbances	YES	1	NO	2	Q48	<input type="text"/>	66
	Promiscuity	YES	1	NO	2	Q49	<input type="text"/>	67
	Withdrawal from social functioning	YES	1	NO	2	Q50	<input type="text"/>	68

21	WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WERE EXPERIENCE A YEAR AFTER THE INITIAL ABUSE ?							
	EMOTIONAL							
	Depression	YES	1	NO	2	Q51	<input type="text"/>	69
	Stigmatisation	YES	1	NO	2	Q52	<input type="text"/>	70
	Emotional withdrawal	YES	1	NO	2	Q53	<input type="text"/>	71

SOCIAL								
	Social discomfort	YES	1	NO	2	Q54	<input type="text"/>	72
	Self damaging behaviour	YES	1	NO	2	Q55	<input type="text"/>	73

22	DO YOU STILL EXPERIENCE ANY NEGATIVE EFFECTS WHICH COULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE?							
		YES	1	NO	2	Q56	<input type="text"/>	74

23	DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR EXPERIENCE OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE TO BE CONTRIBUTORY TO YOUR CHOICE TO BE INVOLVED IN PROSTITUTION?								
		YES	1	NO	2	Q57	<input type="text"/>	75	
	IF YES, EXPLAIN HOW.....							Q58	<input type="text"/>
								76-77
								

24	WHO OF THE FOLLOWING WAS THE ABUSE DISCLOSED TO ?								
	significant other.....							Q59	<input type="text"/>
	significant institute.....							Q60	<input type="text"/>
									78-79
									80-81

25	WHAT ACTION WAS TAKEN BY
	significant other..... significant institute.....

Q61			82-83
Q62			84-85

26	IF YOU DID NOT DISCLOSE THE ABUSE WHAT COULD THAT CHOICE BE ATTRIBUTED TO :		
	Secrecy	YES 1	NO 2
	Helplessness	YES 1	NO 2
	Entrapment	YES 1	NO 2
	Embarrassment	YES 1	NO 2
	Fear	YES 1	NO 2
	Breaking up the family	YES 1	NO 2
	Other	YES 1	NO 2

Q63		86
Q64		87
Q65		88
Q66		89
Q67		90
Q68		91
Q69		92-93