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**KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS IN FEMINIST RESEARCH:
THE EXPERIENCE OF CONDUCTING RESEARCH ON WORK-RELATED
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN WORKING AS STREET PROSTITUTES**

BY

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**A Practicum Report
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

**Faculty of Social Work
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK**

Ena Leanne Cusitar

1997 (c)

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ABSTRACT

This report describes a practicum which was designed to increase knowledge of issues related to prostitution and work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes, as well as to increase knowledge and skills in doing feminist research. In order to do this, a research project was conducted to investigate the issue of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes.

The following activities were completed: 1) a review of the literature on prostitution and violence against women working as prostitutes; 2) a review of the literature on the feminist alternative-end paradigm research approaches as well as an examination of the similarities and differences between research conducted at different points on the paradigm continuum between the dominant end and the alternative end, and the evaluation of the appropriateness of a feminist alternative-end research approach to research in the area of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes; 3) involvement in all aspects of the research project itself, from research design, selection of methods, preparation of the cross-sectional survey, conducting cross-sectional interviews, semi-structured audio-taped interviews, analysis of the results and recommendations; 4) use of a diary throughout the research process to increase the likelihood that the acquisition and integration of knowledge and skills in feminist research was done more consciously.

In this practicum, the goal of increasing the researcher's knowledge and skill in the area of feminist research was met. This practicum also makes a valuable contribution to the existing literature on the barriers which can arise for feminist researchers or researchers in general, and new researchers in particular. The practicum points to

potentially useful new areas of research on more conscious and systematic examination of the process by which individuals learn to do research. Doing so would allow researchers to more objectively examine why problems arise in the course of the research and to plan future research projects so it is less likely the same problems will arise. Finally, the information obtained from the research project itself fills a gap in the literature on work-related violence and prostitution, by examining the issue within the context of a feminist alternative-end paradigm research approach.

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To Diane and Caroline. You know what you mean to me.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report describes a practicum which was designed to increase my knowledge of issues related to prostitution and work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes, and to increase my knowledge and skills in doing feminist research. In order to do this, a research project was conducted to investigate the issue of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The practicum was completed over a period of five years, from June 1992 to June 1997. Primary periods of activity on the practicum were from 1992 to 1994, when the cross-sectional surveys and audio-taped interviews were conducted, and 1996 to 1997, when the results were analysed and interpreted, the action plan formulated and the final practicum report written. The activities associated with the research project done in order to gain skills and knowledge in feminist research was done within the context of Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates (CHRA), a private research and consulting firm which has had extensive experience in the research field. It was also completed in collaboration with Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights (POWER) and the women using POWER's services.

The following activities were completed:

- 1) A review of the literature on prostitution and violence against women working as prostitutes.
- 2) a review of the literature on the feminist alternative-end paradigm research approaches as well as an examination of the similarities and differences between

research conducted at different points on the paradigm continuum between the dominant end and the alternative end, and the evaluation of the appropriateness of a feminist alternative-end research approach to research in the area of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes.

- 3) Involvement in all aspects of the research project itself, from research design, selection of methods, preparation of the cross-sectional survey, conducting cross-sectional interviews, semi-structured audio-taped interviews, analysis of the results and recommendations.
- 4) Use of a diary throughout the research process to ensure the acquisition and integration of knowledge and skills in feminist research was done more consciously.

The practicum report is outlined in detail in the next four sections. After these introductory comments, the second section contains the literature reviews on feminist alternative-end paradigm research and dominant- and alternative-end paradigm research approaches, as well as on prostitution and violence, and an overview of the reasons why feminist alternative-end paradigm research is appropriate for research on this topic and with this community. The application of the feminist alternative-end paradigm research approach is summarized in the third section. It is divided into two sub-sections, a description of the practicum context and the practicum activities. The final and fourth section provides an overview of the practicum evaluation and conclusions, including the evaluation of the learning experience and student performance.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEWS

2.1 FEMINIST ALTERNATIVE-END AND DOMINANT-END PARADIGM RESEARCH

2.1.1 Introduction

This section of the practicum report defines and examines dominant and alternative paradigms, or world views, as they relate to the research process and how they differ (Code, 1991; Collins, 1989, 1991; Fee, 1986; Harding, 1986; Lather, 1986, 1991; Magger, 1987; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). The primary differences between the two paradigms are outlined, based on three primary aspects of their ways of viewing knowledge and the world: a) preservation of the status quo versus revolutionary change; b) commonality and consistency versus diversity and contradictions; and, c) things as they are versus things as they could be. How research is conducted differently, depending on where the researcher is located on the continuum between the dominant and the alternative paradigms is also provided. This issue is examined by reviewing three fundamental differences between the forms of research: a) objectivity, rationality and researcher distance versus subjectivity, emotion and researcher collaboration; b) universality and generalizability versus difference and uniqueness: methodological implications and c) researcher neutrality and social control versus political solidarity and social action. Finally, an overview of issues related to feminist alternative paradigm

research is provided. This overview examines the different epistemological stances held by feminists researchers. It also provides a discussion of how feminist research is different from other alternative paradigm research, and has been demonstrated to be more suitable for research completed in areas relevant to women, such as prostitution and violence.

2.1.2 Feminist Alternative-End Paradigm Research

The social change movement known as feminism arose in response to the historically unequal distribution of power in society, based on whether a person was born a man or a woman. Feminism critiques the socio-political and historical structures which have instituted and enforced structural inequities based on sex, and seeks to document, understand and change them (Code, Ford, Martindale, Sherwin & Shogan, 1991). It also focuses on areas of social life which have been ignored and undervalued by both male-dominated society and the research done within it. Topics addressed include, for example, violence against women (Bass & Davis, 1988; Herman, 1992; Russell, 1986; Yllo & Bograd, 1988), housework (Berheide, 1984) and notions of family (Ferree, 1990; Glenn, 1987). How feminists intended to change the situation of women in society depended on where they were situated on the continuum between the dominant and alternative paradigms.

This section of the practicum report outlines the three primary feminist epistemologies, or world views, and provides a brief overview of the pros and cons of each based on the aspects of the dominant and alternative paradigms they have within

them and how this affects research done by their advocates. This review reflects, in a minor way, the debate within the feminist research community as to what kind of research is truly 'feminist', a debate which has touched upon epistemological issues (Allen & Baber, 1992; Code, 1991; Harding, 1987a, 1987b; Hartsock, 1987; Hawkesworth, 1989; Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Stanley & Wise, 1990), methodology (Cancian, 1992, Mies, 1991; Peplau & Conrad, 1989; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Stanley & Wise, 1983) and methods (Cancian; Harding, 1987b, 1987c; Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991; Peplau & Conrad, 1989; Reinhartz, 1983, 1992, 1993; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Epistemological Issues and Research

Feminists place great importance on ensuring that their theory and practice be consistent with their basic principles, or ethical standards. These principles arise from epistemologies, which determine one's understanding of the nature of truth and knowledge, and which are situated on the continuum between the dominant and alternative paradigms (Allen & Baber, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). These epistemologies can be grouped into three categories: feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint theory and feminist postmodernism, which constitute the three dominant epistemologies of feminism (Allen & Baber, 1992; Harding, 1986, 1987b; Hawkesworth, 1989; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Feminist Empiricism

This epistemology was described by Stanley and Wise (1990) as "the main feminist response to the biases and problems of traditional disciplines" (p. 26). As such, it supports

the belief that researchers can maintain objectivity, in order to discover a 'truth' which exists independent of the knower (Allen & Baber, 1992; Hawkesworth, 1989). Where it differs from non-feminist dominant paradigm approaches is in its challenge of the traditional androcentrism of research and its emphasis on the importance of acknowledging the context within which research occurs in at least a limited fashion. Theorists in this tradition argue that feminist researchers produce research that is less androcentric, and therefore more objective, than non-feminist research. It also considers qualities related to the researcher as being capable of biasing the research, while an approach closer to the dominant end of the research continuum would not (Allen & Baber, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996)

While this approach does mark a move away from claims of detached, value-free standards of 'good' research, it also paradoxically reinforces the idea that an objective reality, independent of the knower, does exist. The difference is that advocates of this model consider their approach to be more able to provide objective knowledge than non-feminist dominant-end paradigm research approaches (Code, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). It tends to be less revolutionary in its understanding of social change, and does not tend to see empowerment as a goal, as befits a world view more on the dominant end of the paradigm continuum (Code, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). It does not focus itself as explicitly on empowerment as a goal. This runs counter to Westkott's (1979) statement that feminist research should do more than simply document women's lives, experiences and perceptions, but should assist them in their struggle to overcome political barriers in society.

Feminist Standpoint Theory

This approach is rooted in the Marxian notion that your social position (e.g. race, class, gender) determines your consciousness or understanding of truth and reality (Hartsock, 1987; Hawkesworth, 1989). The more oppressed a group, the more potentially complete, real, or ethical this understanding will be, as a result of this oppression (Hartsock, 1984; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). This occurs because members of oppressed groups not only have come to understand their own reality, but that of their oppressors, in order to survive (Hartsock, 1987; Westcott, 1979). This would mean that women have the potential to generate a more comprehensive and ethical understanding of reality than do men, due to their experience of oppression based on their sex (Hartsock, 1987; Swigonski, 1993). This would be true even if the research done by men had emancipatory goals (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Note however, that this is only a potentially fuller understanding--for it to actually be achieved requires intellectual and political analysis and struggle against the oppressive force. Examples include gender inequality (Harding, 1987b) and race (Collins, 1989). As Ristock and Pennell (1996) noted, standpoint approaches, however, locate themselves in a manner which is more consistent with the idea of empowerment and social change than do feminist empiricist approaches. This is reflected "In their concerns for praxis (joining theory with practice), reflexivity (awareness of what one is doing and why), and critique (examining power relations within a gender analysis)" (Ristock & Pennell, 1996, 5-6). In their opinion, the drawback of this epistemology is that it still incorporates the more dominant-end idea that there exists a single truth, or reality, which exists external to the knower and can be discovered. The

difference in this model is that it may be a political activist who discovers it, rather than the non-activist scientist of feminist empiricism (Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Hawkesworth (1989) considered the risk in this approach to be the uncritical acceptance of understandings of reality which arose within the context of historical oppression. Qualities and understanding which have more to do with reactions to the oppression experienced by the group may be championed without sufficient analysis (Allen & Baber, 1992). Feminist postmodernist theorists have critiqued this model for appearing to assume that all women's experiences can be reduced to a single standpoint. They note that diversity exists within the women's community based on other aspects of their identity (e.g. disability, sexuality, race) and experience (e.g. immigration, abuse, parenting status). In their opinion, these differences can not and should not be subsumed within the single category of sex (Code, 1991; hooks, 1989; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). This was referred to by Ristock and Pennell (1996) as a "homogenizing of empowerment" (p. 3) approach, which creates "a fixed category that specifies the essential properties or characteristics of all women" (p.3). The problem with such an essentialist approach is that it reduces the realities of the women for whom some aspect of their person or identity does not fit with this category to nothing more than a deviation from the 'norm', and as such define them as irrelevant. The possibility of developing a single standpoint capable of incorporating the experiences of all women seems remote. There also exists a risk in this model that all standpoints will be seen as equally valid, resulting in chaos, or that there will be a competition between which standpoint is the result of a more oppressive experience, and is therefore more 'true'.

Feminist Postmodernism

This approach goes a step beyond standpoint theory to questioning the very existence of a single standpoint, human consciousness or truth (Hawkesworth, 1989). Rather, it commits itself to examining the plurality of differences which exist in women's lives and the ways these structure their understandings of reality in a way which has not always occurred, either within the feminist movement itself or the theories generated within it (Allen & Baber, 1989, Ristock & Pennell, 1996). This commitment to plurality, rather than focusing exclusively or primarily on gender as the determinant of women's reality, helps prevent the concealment of differences among women such as race, class, sexuality, disability, age and life experience (Allen & Baber, 1992). The expression of oppression is a complex dialectic, not a hierarchy. Each individual in our society has multiple sources of oppression and privilege, based on their membership in different communities based on, for example class, sex, race, ethnicity, immigration status, disability, age, sexuality, or educational level. These work together in a complex dialectic, just as these same factors make up the complex dialectic of power relations in our society today (Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Saying that sex is a more important category to address than are other differences is a serious error which excludes and silences whole communities of women, or encourages them to consider the forms of oppression they experience as being more important to address than those experienced by others (Acker, Barry & Esseveld, 1983; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Ignoring the importance of difference within the category of 'woman' has resulted in many divisions and conflicts based on these differences, for

example: race (e.g. Brewer, 1993; hooks, 1989, 1990; Lugones & Spelman, 1983; Pence, 1982; Watt & Cook, 1991), sexuality (e.g. Zimmerman, 1984) and disability (e.g. Roeher Institute, 1990; Status of Disabled Persons Secretariat, 1988). The result of this essentialist approach is that the different experiences of oppression and privilege experienced by women are driven underground and a different form of oppression emerges (Allen & Baber, 1992; hooks 1989, 1990; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Scott, 1990). This colludes with colonization and increases isolation and violence (hooks, 1989, 1990; Lorde, 1984). This can occur in many ways: for example, Ristock and Pennell (1996) observed that Native Canadian women lost their entitlement to their ancestral lands because of their membership in the category of 'woman' (Bear with Tobique Women's Group, 1991).

The goal of postmodern feminism is to deconstruct what is commonly accepted as 'normal', or 'natural', including feminists conceptions of commonality based on sex, in order to expose the underlying structures and inequities which lie beneath them (Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1988; Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Scott, 1990). For example, some feminist postmodern theorists have deconstructed the more dominant paradigm view of the family (Ferree, 1990; Glenn, 1987). Glenn (1987) noted that deconstruction of the idea of family involves the analysis of 'truths' about the family such as roles or notions of family harmony, so as to examine the experiences of women in families apart from the accepted notion of 'family' itself. This, in turn, allows the reconstruction of the concept of family from the experience of women. The important point is that here the idea of family is broken down and reconstructed within the reality of

women; male-centred ideas of family are not just modified to be more inclusive of the experiences of women (Glenn, 1987).

In this model, reality is ever-shifting and changing as individuals create their realities through their interaction with one another and their social world (Allen & Baber, 1992). All knowledge, as well as power and social structures, are created through these interactions (Flax, 1987; Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1988). This approach attempts to respond to critiques of feminism as being dominated by middle class, white, liberal heterosexual bias (Allen & Baber, 1992).

The risk in this approach is of focusing on differences between women to the exclusion of acknowledging the commonality of experience for women as women. When taken to the extreme, postmodernism would have each women's experience forming its own epistemology (Allen & Baber, 1992). The challenge is to balance the emphasis on diversity with commonality, with neither taking over (Allen & Baber, 1992; Bordo, 1990). Lather (1991) summarized the arguments of some post-modern theorists, who, while they did not support the permanent replacement of androcentric with gynocentric epistemologies, did feel it was necessary to do so in the short term in order to successfully deconstruct the hierarchical structure of dominant paradigm knowledge building (Denida, cited in Lather, 1991; Meese, cited in Lather, 1991). The ultimate "goal is difference without opposition...(a) decentring of fundamental categories" (Lather, 1991, p. 84). Code (1991) disagrees, advocating the immediate adoption of what is viewed by Lather (1991) as an endpoint. She argues that while feminist should be concerned with actually analysing dominant epistemologies, they should do so for the purpose of entering into dialogue

about difference with one another. If this does not happen, she considers it a risk that they will only create another objective reality, albeit one different from those in other paradigms, which would still require assumptions to be made about the nature of both women and knowledge that would parallel those made in other epistemologies. This would produce a knowledge base which, by aiming at universality, runs the risk of ignoring differences amongst women and be exclusive rather than inclusive (Code, 1991).

Code (1991) advocates taking a middle ground from which to see interconnections and patterns within and between seemingly unrelated approaches. This would involve what Stenstad (1988) referred to as "questioning, working and playing with ambiguities, being alert for the presence of the strange within the familiar, and allowing for concealment or unclarity in the midst of discourse" (p. 88). The aim would be to develop an "explanatory-diagnostic analysis of women's (epistemic) oppression across history, cultures and societies" (Benhabib, cited in Code, 1991, p. 323). From this middle ground, researchers would create their own approach for establishing and validating knowledge, which could draw on or be different from dominant and alternative and feminist epistemological approaches. Informed by dialogue, feminists and those who debate with them would be challenged to enter into an ongoing self-sustaining process of critically examining, deconstructing and revising theory from all of the available paradigms, epistemologies, methodologies and methods, and within the various anti-oppression struggles. This seems more consistent with the concern Reinharz (1992) had with over-emphasizing fixed definitions. She stated that "such definitions mask diversity and downplay the fact that feminist researchers deal with dilemmas that have no absolute solutions...Rather than there

being a "woman's way of knowing" or a "feminist way of doing research" there are women's *ways of knowing*" (pp. 3-4). Lorde (1986) stated:

Advocating the mere tolerance of difference between women is...a total denial of the creative function of difference in our lives. Difference must not be merely tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic. Only then does the necessity for interdependency become unthreatening. Only within that interdependency of different strengths, acknowledged and equal, can the power to seek new ways of being in the world generate, as well as the courage and sustenance to act where there are no charters (p. 111).

This fits with the approach taken by Ristock and Pennell (1996) who advocated a move toward an understanding of empowerment and power which acknowledged differences in power both between men and women as well as those between women themselves. In their opinion, such an approach would allow women to connect across difference without suppressing or silencing their sources of difference. This perspective moves us away from theories that universalize and generalize towards an analysis of the shifting power relations in any social context. Relations are not fixed as either 'power over' and 'power with'; rather, they form and re-form in various combinations (Ristock & Pennell, 1996, p. 4).

So it is clear there are as many forms of feminist research as there are types of feminism. A wide variety of research projects have been done which define themselves as being feminist, but are situated at various points along the continuum between dominant

and alternative paradigm research approaches (Harding, 1987b; Peplau & Conrad, 1989). Those feminist research projects which operate on the alternative end of the continuum between paradigms may look very like Freirean popular educational workers, the only difference is where Freire addressed issues of classism through literacy education feminism addresses sexism (Freire, 1990). Kirby and McKenna (1989) noted that both challenge the monopoly elite groups hold over knowledge production. In fact, they define research as a form of literacy. Where Freire's popular education does not challenge the context within which it is provided, it will only reinforce societal inequities and keep individuals passive within the system, rather than empowering them to change the status quo. In the same way, "research that does not reflect on and analyse the social context from which it springs serves only the status quo and does not enable us to interact with and change society" (Kirby & McKenna, p. 16).

2.1.3 The Paradigm Continuum: From Dominant to Alternative

The paradigm or world view held by someone affects everything they do, including how they do research. Paradigms provide a framework, or a way to make sense of the world, to make the complex and seemingly chaotic into something more understandable (Maguire, 1987). Kuhn (1970) defined a paradigm as the "entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (p. 175). Maguire (1987) stated that the paradigm held by someone determines their understanding of why the world is the way it is, what the best way is to understand or change it, and how

it would be best to evaluate this change. All of the paradigms (including the feminist paradigms examined in Section 2.1.1) which exist in our society fall on some point on a continuum between two extremes, which have been referred to as dominant and alternative (Maguire, 1987). For the sake of better underlining the differences between these two ends of the continuum, researchers such as Maguire (1987) and Chesler (1991) chose to discuss the full range of paradigms as though they fell into two discrete categories, dominant or alternative, so as to better underline the differences between them, while acknowledging that in reality, actual world views fall somewhere between the two extremes, as does the research done within them. I have chosen not to take the same approach. Instead I have chosen to discuss paradigms, and the research done within them, as being located on a continuum, so as to avoid falling into a more dualist approach. In this section of the practicum, I examine the assumptions and priorities of paradigms that are dominant-end (nearer the dominant end of the paradigm continuum) versus those that are more alternative-end (nearer the alternative end of the paradigm continuum). The next section of the practicum report examines how research is understood and conducted, based on where the researcher is located on the paradigm continuum.

The following are the primary assumptions and priorities of paradigms. What beliefs are held depends on where the paradigm is located on the paradigm continuum:

Preservation of the Status Quo versus Revolutionary Change

Paradigms that are more dominant-end tend to be interested in preserving unquestioned society's structures and power relations. Change is likely to be considered

only when it would make existing societal structures more efficient at what they are already doing—not when it would fundamentally change the structures themselves (Maguire, 1987). Paradigms that are more alternative-end focus on analysing society's structures and power relations, so as to create more equitable systems to replace them (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987).

Commonality and Consistency versus Diversity and Contradictions

Dominant-end paradigms seek integration and harmony between social groups through seeking consensus or solidarity (Maguire, 1987). This focus reflects the dominant-end paradigm belief that there are 'natural laws of behaviour' for individuals and social groups which will make them act in consistent ways in similar situations, and that these can be discovered and predicted. What is different from the dominant group is considered deviant, and may constitute a threat to harmony. This has led to social policy 'solutions' such as assimilation, which aim at eliminating difference, or at least at pretending it does not or should not exist (Collins, 1991). Moving down the continuum to the alternative end, there is an increasing focus on the contradictions between stated social ideals of 'solidarity' and 'harmony' and the reality of structural inequities and discrimination based on aspects of difference (Collins, 1991; Maguire, 1987). As you find paradigms located closer and closer to the alternative end of the continuum, you are more and more likely to see emancipation being sought through the dismantling of systems of domination and the creation of societal structures more able to incorporate a diversity of realities and truths (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Things As They Are versus As Things as They Could Be

Dominant-end paradigm advocates believe the goals of both individuals and societal groups can be met within existing societal structures, and as a result, tend to focus on things as they currently are. This fits with the higher emphasis, at the dominant end of the paradigm continuum, on the preservation of the status quo and enforcing societal 'harmony' (Maguire, 1987). Maguire (1987) noted that dominant-end paradigm values are so entrenched in our society that many people are unaware that they hold a 'paradigm', or world view, at all. This is because this way of seeing the world is considered to be so much of a reflection of nature, of what is right, that it becomes difficult to even conceive of an alternative way of understanding reality. Many never question the assumptions of the dominant-end paradigms, particularly if they are members of one or more of the dominant groups in society, as dominant-end paradigms generally enforce the 'rightness' and 'naturalness' of their privileged societal positions. This absolves them of any responsibility to either feel concerned at benefiting from this reality or to feel obligated to change it (Maguire, 1987).

Advocates of paradigms located along the paradigm continuum in positions closer to the alternative tend more and more to not believe the current system can meet all human needs and, as we have seen by their more social change orientation, challenge the notion that societal power inequities reflect a natural order. These paradigms are more questioning and open ended paradigms, wherein reality is more fluid. Advocates of the paradigms focus on how to deconstruct and rebuild societal structures so they will serve

the needs of all groups, rather than focusing primarily on the needs of societally-dominant groups (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987). As such, they are more focused on what could be than on preserving what is (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987).

Paradigms located closer to the dominant end of the continuum have held more influence in Western society for many years. Ritzer (1975) noted that they have been dominant for as long as they have because they serve the needs of groups currently holding more power in society (e.g. people who are white, male, middle to upper class, heterosexual, non-disabled) by maintaining social and power structures as they currently exist. Chomsky (1981) and MacLean (1981) have documented the fact that power is often not taken or kept by force in these paradigms; rather it is done by controlling the flow of information in society through controlling the media, so as to determine which groups will be allowed to express their ideas and world views and which will not. The same is true of other institutions besides the media, for example, religious and educational institutions, as well as within disciplines such as medicine; psychology and sociology. As a result, the values and world views expressed by these institutions, as being the 'norm', or what is 'right' tend to also largely reflect world views more on the dominant than the alternative end of the paradigm continuum (Maguire, 1987).

The world view expressed through these institutions normalizes existing power imbalances in society by presenting the unequal treatment and opportunities available to non-dominant groups as having arisen not through choice by certain groups but as a result of natural inferiority on the part of the non-dominant groups (Collins, 1991; Taylor, 1992). This normalizes the unequal distribution of power and privilege in our society

which results in structural anti-Semitism, racism, heterosexism, sexism, ableism, classism, ethnocentrism and other 'isms'. In this model, such phenomena are not biases to be relearned or social inequities to be changed, but are reflections of a natural order, or status quo, that is better left as it is--in this model, it only reflects the difference between what is normal and therefore superior (dominant group members) and what is deviant and therefore inferior (non-dominant group members) (Collins, 1991).

2.1.4 A Comparison of Dominant-End and Alternative-End Paradigm Research

For the researcher, the location of the paradigm they hold on the continuum between dominant and alternative will affect how problems are defined, methods are chosen and used, data is interpreted and whether research will be considered to be successful (Lather, 1986, 1991; Popkewitz, cited in Maguire, 1987). It is possible to judge from the choices made in the research itself where the researcher who conducted it is situated on the continuum between dominant-end and alternative-end paradigms (Chesler, 1991; Maguire, 1987).

Paradigm researchers along the continuum also operate within a broad range of political frameworks which also affect their research. These frameworks often reflect the form of societal inequity they consider most important to address. Some more alternative-end researchers have had a particular focus on race (e.g. Collins, 1991), class (e.g. Freire, 1990), disability (e.g. Roeher Institute, 1990; Status of Disabled Persons Secretariat) and sex (e.g. DuBois, 1983; Sherif, 1987). Each type of research has

emancipatory potential for their participants, due to their more alternative-end goal of transforming oppressive societal structures. Fee (1986) and Harding (1986) have both commented that critiques of dominant-end paradigms within these different bodies of research are remarkably similar, despite the fact they have operated primarily in isolation from one another. As a result, this section of the practicum report uses citations and examples from different bodies of work done within the alternative paradigm, but with a particular focus on feminist alternative-end research, the model chosen for use in this practicum. Again, I will be looking at the differences in research done at different points on the continuum between the more dominant and more alternative end paradigms in terms of how the strength of the values associated with these paradigms affect all aspects of the research process.

Objectivity, Rationality and Researcher Distance versus Subjectivity, Emotion and Researcher Collaboration

As the research being done is located more toward the dominant end of the paradigm continuum, it will place more and more value on 'objectivity', the belief that truth, and resulting universal laws of behaviour, exists external to its knowers, and therefore can be accessed through observational methods (Acker, Barry & Esseveld, 1991; Patton, 1980; Maguire, 1987). The key is for researchers to remain 'objective' -- that is, detached, rational and impersonal. In these models, doing so would ensure that individual 'subjectivity', or values and biases, would not affect the research results. To be personally involved with the research topic, or to develop relationships with those they are

researching, would cause the knowledge obtained to be less objective, or pure, and therefore less true and less 'scientific' (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Unger, 1983). Alternatively, as research is conducted further toward the alternative end paradigm of the paradigm continuum, reality is considered to be a social construction which arises within the context of the world as it currently exists at that time (Maguire, 1987). Alternative-end paradigm researchers tend to critique more dominant-end paradigm research for having what they refer to as a 'fact-value dichotomy', which denies that observation is inevitably influenced by theory, and theory by the values of the observer (Lather, 1986, 1991). For these researchers, reality is interpreted, and cannot be 'objectively' assessed by anyone (Chesler, 1991; Hughes, 1980; Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). They emphasize the importance of subjectivity in accessing truth, and are therefore more interested in discovering knowledge by having researchers collaborate with those being researched than are researchers located closer to the dominant end of the paradigm continuum (Freire, 1990, Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

One feminist alternative-end paradigm researcher considered it both impossible and unethical for researchers to try to be completely unemotional and objective when they are asking research participants to disclose personal experiences and are often being asked by these participants to do the same (Oakley, 1981). Such a research stance can result in the alienation of research participants, who have reported feeling personally evaluated by researchers and as a result provided less accurate and complete information (Sherif, 1987). This demonstrates that more dominant-end paradigm approaches that over-emphasize objectivity can impose a hierarchical and controlling relationship between the researcher

and the researched which can affect both the experience of research participants and the quality and validity of the knowledge gained (Arditti, 1980; Keller, 1978; Kirby & McKenna, 1989).

Attempts to be completely objective can also be detrimental to researchers themselves. Yllo and Bograd (1988) found that regardless of whether or not researchers want to be objective about their research topic, this may not always be possible. In their research on wife abuse researchers were confronted both with the reality of oppressive societal structures and with their own past experiences of relationship abuse, which resulted in a variety of personal responses and emotions. Code (1991), an alternative-end feminist theorist, argued that, in such a situation, rather than dismissing emotion and subjectivity as being uncontrollable and unpredictable, and therefore better kept out of the research process, as more dominant-end researchers tend to do, an other approach would better. In it, the researcher can acknowledge emotion as an often rational response, and perhaps to even examine it in the research itself, not to attempt to deny or suppress it. Doing so only runs the risk that it will still affect the research itself, compromising the validity of the results and potentially adversely affecting research participants and the researcher as well. The pressure on researchers to be objective, rational and impersonal has been described as a process of dehumanization and alienation, both from themselves and from the possibility of obtaining a more conscious understanding of how their personal values may relate to and with the research (Irigaray, 1987; Lather, 1986, 1991). The ultimate result of this could be to force researchers to deny the impact the research has on them, which could compromise both the validity of research findings and the well-

being of research participants (Acker, Barry & Esseveld, 1991; Yllo & Bograd, 1988). By embracing subjectivity, emotion and researcher collaboration with the researched, a richer truth can emerge, as biases are dealt with by researchers openly and honestly as part of the research process, rather than being suppressed or ignored, only to emerge in various ways to affect the researchers, research participants and the research results themselves.

Universality and Generalizability versus Difference and Uniqueness: Methodological Implications

As we have seen, research approaches located more at the dominant end of the paradigm continuum use 'objectivity' to access truth. In this model, the more generalizable a truth, or research finding is, across such differences as race, sex and culture, the closer it is to being a reflection of a universal law of human behaviour (Patton, 1980). The problem is that the focus on generalizability in more dominant-end paradigm approaches has led to a view wherein members of dominant groups in society have been considered the 'norm' by which all other groups are measured. This has resulted in some researchers assuming that they only need to include members of dominant groups as participants in their studies to be able to access truth (Tavris, 1992). In such a model, including 'abnormal' (non-dominant) groups is not considered necessary if universal laws can be accessed through 'normal' (dominant) groups and then the knowledge gained generalized to other groups (Peplau & Conrad, 1989).

One example of this phenomenon can be observed in the fact that many dominant-end paradigm research projects have only used men as subjects (Holmes & Jorgensen,

1971; Lorber, cited in Millman & Kanter, 1987; Lykes & Stewart, 1986). Women have not been included in clinical trials of drugs and treatments, despite the fact that they have been demonstrated to experience such conditions as rheumatoid arthritis (Latman, 1983), depression (McGrath et. al, 1990) and heart disease (Gurwitz, Nananda & Avorn, 1992) differently than men do. One study on breast cancer used only male subjects (Tavris, 1992)! Researchers have justified their decision to not include women by citing concerns related to potential fetal damage (and corresponding litigation) and the differences found on behavioural and biological tests as a result of their menstrual cycles (Eichler, Reisman & Borins, 1992; Oberman, 1994; Smith, 1992). This defies logic, since the very fact women have different hormonal cycles suggests that drugs and treatments will work differently in their systems, and these differences should be assessed before they are approved for use with them (Oberman, 1994).

When women are included, those selected often don't reflect true levels of diversity within their community (e.g. race, disability, sexuality, age), regardless of whether the research is clinical trials (Achilles, 1987; Gurwitz, Nananda and Avorn, 1992; Society for the Advancement of Women's Health Research, 1991) or psychological research (Fine, 1985; McKenna & Kessler, 1977; Parlee, 1981). Until women are included, in all their diversity, in well-constructed clinical trials, physicians will know the least about the group they work with and prescribe for most often -- women (Achilles, 1987; Hamilton & Parry, 1983; Tavris, 1992). A related problem is that women and men are recruited differently depending on the research topic; for example, men are more likely to be recruited for aggression research and women for social influence research, demonstrating the impact of

sex role stereotypes on research processes (McHugh, Koeske & Frieze, 1986; Grady, 1989; McKenna & Kessler, 1977).

In contrast, as research is conducted further along the continuum toward the alternative end, researchers focus more and more on the value of difference and uniqueness as a variable for inclusion in research and in the construction of theories of knowledge. What is 'true' in these approaches is a collective social construction arising from a specific socio-historical context and structure of power relations (Maguire, 1987). As such, researchers in these paradigms tend to be suspicious of the dominant paradigms claim to be able to access universal laws of behaviour and from that define what is 'normal' and what is 'deviant'. Ignoring the importance of difference has resulted in biased knowledge being used to generate biased theories, with each stage excluding the contribution which could have been gained had members of non-dominant groups been included in the process (Collins, 1991). Lather (1986, 1991), a postmodern feminist alternative-end theorist stated that in order for theory and knowledge to be truly based in the actual experiences of the participants, there must be a reciprocal relationship both between the researcher and the researched and between the data and theory. The construction of meaning is as mutual as possible and power relations kept as equal and conscious as possible.

The resulting 'knowledge' in alternative-end paradigm approaches which are also postmodern is a fusion of that held by both the researcher and the researched, and is greater than that held by either alone, prior to achieving critical consciousness (Lather, 1986, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Involving research participants in the construction

of meaning helps avoid false consciousness, or the inability to see how our accustomed way of understanding the world is full of meanings that are disempowering (Lather, 1991). What is considered 'normal' is questioned and events placed in their socio-historical context, to help uncover inherent contradictions in assumptions about the world held by both the researcher and the research participants. Focusing on these contradictions, rather than ignoring them as more often the case in dominant paradigm research, makes it more likely that the research will discover where theory as it currently exists cannot account for the realities of the research participants (Lather, 1986, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). The resulting process of proposing and rejecting a series of tentative theories might result in the construction of a theory which better explains reality from their perspective. Ideally participants feel free to reject theories proposed by other participants or the researcher, making it less likely researchers will impose theories on the process that are inappropriate to the realities of research participants (Lather, 1991). The focus is on difference, not as an indication of deviance requiring assimilation, but as a unique indicator of a potentially different interpretation of reality which should therefore be included in any research (Collins, 1991).

It is possible to see how 'validity' is viewed differently based on where researchers are located on the paradigm continuum. Traditionally, and therefore in the viewpoint of researchers located more on the dominant end, validity is understood in terms of its relationship to methodology. It represents the extent to which the research being done is getting results which provide an accurate portrayal of reality (Morawski, 1994). Doing so allows it to be generalized to persons not included in the original research, because it has

accessed universal laws of behaviour (Patton, 1990). More alternative-end paradigm researchers are either unconcerned about whether or not they can generalize their findings to other groups (Mies, 1983) or add to this conception of validity another way of understanding it which reflects the alternative-end focus on the value of difference and uniqueness and how this difference taps into different 'realities'. As a result, there is a need for the results of the research to reflect the reality of the people who participated in the research in order to be considered valid. As such, Ristock and Pennell (1996) defined validity as follows: "the integrity and value of research; achieved through accountability both to the participants and to those who will be affected by the outcome" (p. 50).

Lather (1991) defined three types of validity:

Construct validity is the awareness and analysis of the theoretical tradition within which the research operates, and the willingness of researchers to challenge and change them in their research. This requires them to be flexible in their approach to research designs so that it can be adapted throughout the research as becomes necessary based on knowledge gained either from the data, research participants or the researchers' reflections on the process (Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Face validity refers to whether or not your work makes sense to others reading it. It can be obtained through careful attention to double-checking all analyses, descriptions and conclusions made by researchers with at least some of the research participants to ensure it reflects their reality accurately (Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Catalytic validity has been achieved when research participants and those in the community who are affected by the research are in some way changed or empowered by

their research. This reflects the value of the research in changing old ways of viewing or doing reality (Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Based on their different understanding of how best to access truth, as well as how to define it, it is possible to identify both the kinds of knowledge more dominant-end and more alternative-end paradigm researchers will prefer and the forms of inquiry and methodologies they will be more likely to use to access these forms of knowledge. There are three main types of knowledge sought by researchers, each arising out of a different form of inquiry. These were summarized by Maguire (1987):

Technical knowledge is made up of laws or theories of social behaviour which are designed to assist in its prediction and control. It is obtained through empirical-analytic inquiry, and is associated with objectivity and positivism. Positivism "assumes that the social world exists as a system of distinct, observable variables, independent of the knower" (Maguire, p. 13). This form of inquiry tends to use experimental and quantitative methods. Researchers more on the dominant end of the paradigm continuum tend to see technical knowledge as the most valuable form of knowledge, and focus on using empiric-analytical inquiry (or quantitative) methods. This reflects their distrust of any knowledge that is likely to be affected by emotion (Code, 1991) and their wish to use the most objective methods available. Knowledge based on these methods is also considered the most generalizable to the rest of society, because it is based on universal truths about human behaviour. This focus on generalizability reflects the dominant paradigm emphasis on sameness and the suppression or assimilation of difference (Collins, 1991).

Interpretive knowledge represents the meaning given to the social world by those within it; how this results in social laws and how these affect behaviour. It arises out of hermeneutic inquiry and aims to produce useful knowledge and an increased level of understanding and consensus between social groups. Dominant-end paradigm researchers may use hermeneutic inquiry methods to obtain interpretive knowledge, but rarely for emancipatory purposes, and the knowledge obtained tends to be considered less legitimate than technical knowledge (Code, 1991; Maguire, 1987).

Critical knowledge is a combination of self- and social analysis, which is grounded in a historical and political analysis of oppressive structures. Produced by emancipatory inquiry, it has as its goal the exposure of societal contradictions and tensions and, through a combination of self reflection, analysis and action, the production of critical knowledge and collective action to challenge and restructure unequal social circumstances. Qualitative methodologies associated with this form of inquiry incorporate a specific focus on non-hierarchical methods of research to achieve critical consciousness (Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Lather, 1986, 1991; Ristock & Pennell 1996).

Alternative-end paradigm researchers, including some feminists, have critiqued the use of experimental methods on the grounds that they study behaviours out of their social context, which in their opinion means they will not access a full understanding of the behaviour, since so much of meaning arises from the socio-historical context of the behaviour (Parlee, 1979). For example, Unger (1981) demonstrated that some sex differences were easier to observe in natural settings than in the laboratory, so that purely experimental approaches would not detect them. Experimental methods have also been

critiqued for setting up a hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the researched, wherein the omniscient researcher is an expert, all-powerful observer of the passive research participant (Peplau & Conrad, 1989). Some more radical alternative-end paradigm researchers, such as Mies (1983), a feminist, went so far as to recommend that experimental methods never be used.

Other feminist alternative-end paradigm researchers disagree, arguing that the use of experimental methods can be completely consistent with emancipatory goals, depending on the intentions of the research project itself, and are as legitimate for use by alternative-end paradigm researchers as are non-experimental methods (DuBois, 1983; Fine, 1985; Unger, 1981). In the same way that use of non-experimental methods does not ensure the research will reflect the emancipatory goals of more alternative-end paradigms, there is no guarantee either that it will automatically meet the feminist goal of dismantling sexist societal structures (Harding, 1987b, 1987c; Nielsen, 1990; Peplau & Conrad, 1989).

A similar debate has occurred in relation to the use of quantitative versus qualitative data-gathering methods. Quantitative research has been more associated with statistics (and objective approaches) and qualitative with more subjective methodologies (Peplau & Conrad, 1989). Methodologies which provide quantitative data are more inflexible, with narrow pre-set categories which were identified as being important variables to be assessed at the beginning of the research process, and which stay the same throughout it (Jayaratne, 1983). The tendency is to focus on overt behaviours rather than the meanings placed by individuals on those behaviours, leaving the meanings attached to those behaviours unassessed. As a result, quantitative methods are less likely to be able to

encompass the various subjective meanings attached to the variables being measured than qualitative methods, and are therefore less likely to accurately portray 'real-life' experience. This is because they are not as likely to be sensitive to, and flexible enough to incorporate and record the multiple realities and perceptions of, the research participants in relation to the research topic (Fischer, 1984; Peplau & Conrad, 1989).

As a result, the same suspicion of quantitative methods as had arisen about experimental methods arose for many more alternative-end paradigm researchers. Some considered qualitative methods to provide knowledge that was of more value than quantitative methods (McHugh, Koeske & Frieze, 1986; Wallston, 1981), while others felt quantitative methods should never be used (Mies, 1983). Peplau & Conrad (1989) cautioned against abandoning quantitative methods entirely, or labelling them as automatically incorporating more dominant-end paradigm values (or automatically being non-feminist) and being incapable of achieving emancipatory goals. Siefert and Martin (1988) used quantitative methods to document that maternal death rates in Chicago were not only higher for black women than for white women, they were higher than those for black women in many third world countries. Based on this study, government organizations responded with programs specifically designed to address barriers preventing black women from accessing prenatal care (Wolinsky, 1986; Wolinsky & Franchine, 1986). Similarly, there is nothing about qualitative methods that renders them intrinsically free from influence by researcher bias. Peplau & Conrad (1989) noted that values can and do affect interpretations of observations and interviews just as easily as they can skew statistical methods which produce quantitative data.

Some more alternative-end theorists argue that the choice of method should be dependent on the issue being researched (Peplau & Conrad, 1989; Wallston, 1981). For example, early stages of research in a particular area, or in an area where previous research done is potentially skewed by bias, is more likely to require the use of qualitative data-gathering methodologies. These are more able to generate the in-depth, complex information about the issue that will be required to begin generating theories about the research issue. As this process continues, and enough information is gathered to develop a number of hypotheses, it becomes more relevant to begin using quantitative methods, as the research begins to test these hypotheses. Some researchers use multiple methods, also known as 'triangulation', to access different types of information around the same issue (DuBois, 1993; Peplau & Conrad, 1989; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Ristock and Pennell (1996) provided this definition of triangulation:

using multiple methods in order to attain more thorough coverage of a subject by viewing it from different angles. This can be achieved in two ways: by using different methods for different questions about the same topic, or by using different methods to explore the same set of questions (p. 51).

Using triangulation can increase the validity of the knowledge accessed, given that when the same knowledge is accessed by different methodologies it tends to be richer, and it is more likely to reliably reflect reality as it is experienced by the research participants, rather than being a methodological artifact (Lather, 1986, 1991; Parlett & Hamilton, 1977; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; White & Farmer, 1992). Using both qualitative and quantitative methods in the same research also ensures you access more than one form of knowledge,

as what one method may not be as able to detect may be more detectable by another (White & Farmer, 1992). Jayaratne and Steward (1991) and Maguire (1987) were of the opinion that researchers on the more alternative end of the paradigm continuum were more likely to use all three forms of inquiry to access knowledge, addressing both subjective and objective elements, and were less likely to view either interpretive or critical knowledge as less valuable than technical knowledge.

Researcher Neutrality and Social Control versus Political Solidarity and Social Action

Conducting research is about more than what kind of knowledge the researcher is looking for, or the type of inquiry they use to access this knowledge. It is about why they seek knowledge in the first place. Dominant-end paradigm research, as has already been discussed, tends to focus on the preservation of the social world as it already is or, at most, implementing small, incremental changes which will not radically affect the social distribution of power (Maguire, 1987). It can be used by policy makers and politicians (who, along with many researchers, tend to be primarily members of dominant societal groups) to justify their decisions and directions. The idea that this research is value-neutral is important politically to them as a group because it means they are not required to either apologize for or attempt to change inequities in the system. These inequities exist, in this model, because they reflect 'natural' differences (Collins, 1991; Maguire, 1987). Economic, political and social structures are considered unrelated 'givens', an approach which takes people and their lives out of context and makes it impossible to interpret the

meaning of their words and deeds accurately (Sampson, 1978). More alternative-end paradigm researchers critique this understanding for not requiring researchers to face the reality that inequity exists because it is in the best interests of those holding power in society.

Feminist researchers more on the alternative end of the paradigm do not attempt to be neutral -- instead they seek to develop critical knowledge, which has as its goal the exposure and direct challenge of oppressive societal structures, and those who would pretend this oppression is not there (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). So where researchers more on the dominant end of the paradigm continuum believe there is only one 'truth', more on the alternative end of the continuum, particularly postmodern feminists, believe there are multiple 'truths', or 'realities', depending on the standpoint and context of the knower. Truth is not thought to be simple, or easily categorized, or problems easily defined, and as a result solutions are often more complex rather than simple (Code, 1991; Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

In order to account for the intersection of these multiple realities, and to track how they may influence or suppress one another, research located nearer the alternative end of the paradigm continuum tends to be designed to explicitly equalize and make conscious power differentials, from problem identification, theory development, methodological choices to analysis and interpretation of results. Attention is more often paid to making the research a collaborative process with the participants, with power throughout this process becoming explicitly part of what is researched (Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Lather, 1991;

Ristock & Pennell, 1996). The intent of this is to make it less likely that the power held by the researcher and other dominant groups in society will skew the process or results of the research; when their influence is being felt this can be used to increase critical consciousness on the part of both the researcher and participants, and be incorporated into theory and methodology as appropriate (Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). What tends to be more unconscious in dominant-end paradigm research becomes more conscious in alternative-end paradigm research.

Maguire (1987), Lather (1991), Kirby and McKenna (1989) and Code (1991) are only a few of the many feminist alternative-end theorists who have critiqued the emphasis in more dominant-end research on the importance of researchers remaining politically neutral in relation to the research issue and participants. Doing so makes it less likely the researcher will seek any kind of social change or action as a result of the research. Whyte (1986) stated that dominant-end paradigm "social scientists have refrained from linking research directly with action. We have been afraid that our involvement in action will contaminate the scientific basis of our research" (p. 566). This reflects the belief of researchers on the dominant end of the paradigm continuum that to allow oneself to become subjective in relation to the research topic, or to allow that subjectivity to be expressed, is to lose the ability to access 'truth'. Namenwirth (cited in Lather, 1986) commented that dominant paradigm researchers "firmly believe that as long as they are not *conscious* of any bias or political agenda, they are neutral and objective, when in fact they are only unconscious" (p. 437). This also allows researchers to absolve themselves of responsibility for what biased 'truths' their research may be used to reinforce. They can tell

themselves they are only impartial observers of objective reality, not agents of change. Reason and Rowan (1981) disagreed with this, insisting that "Research can never be neutral. It is always supporting or questioning social forces, both by its content and by its method. It has effects and side-effects, and these benefit or harm people" (p. 489). So to become an alternative-end paradigm researcher is to adopt the approach taken by Maguire (1987), who believed "there is a political nature to all we do; all of our work has implications for the distribution of power in society" (p. 31).

The approach of alternative-end paradigm researchers is to expose power relationships, favouring participatory methods which work to place power in the hands of the researched throughout, from problem identification to interpretation of the results. An important part of this process is for researchers to be willing to abandon the illusory safety of impartiality and objectivity, so as to examine and challenge their own values and interests and how they affect the power relations of the research by making them an explicit part of the research process, so they will not interfere with the larger goal of social change (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Reason and Rowan, 1981; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). To achieve this requires 'transparency' (Klein, cited in Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Stanley, 1993) and 'reflexivity' on the part of researchers (Fonow & Cook, 1991; Gouldner, 1971; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Stanley, 1990). Transparency occurs when researchers reveal who they are and how this affects the research they are doing (Klein, cited in Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Reflexivity is when researchers include themselves in the research as part of what is being researched so as to establish a non-exploitive relationship with research participants (Hammersley & Atkinson,

1983; Reinharz, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Implementing these two things as part of a research project allows researcher to assess how both they and those participating in the research are affecting the dynamics of power (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). This requires researchers to maintain a relationship throughout the research process with those being researched, so that research participants can have the power to act as a 'reality check' on both the process and product of research, so that it respects and better incorporates and reflects their reality (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Incorporating reflexivity makes it more likely that areas of tension between the researcher and research participants will be addressed openly rather than being ignored in the research process. If left unexamined, these tensions can disrupt the research in a variety of ways. For example, Rockhill (1987) discussed how she discovered, in reviewing transcripts from a literacy project she did with immigrant Hispanic women, that she had downplayed her research results in terms of the levels of violence the women were experiencing. She realized she did this both because she did not consider the violence relevant to the issue of literacy and because she did not want to contribute to already-existing stereotypes about violence in the Hispanic community. This, as was pointed out by Ristock and Pennell (1996), points to the power of the researcher, even in participatory projects, to control what is important enough to get reported fully in the results of the research. A more reflexive process, which would be closer to the alternative end of the paradigm continuum, could make it less likely that such a situation would occur, as the researcher would become both the knower and the discoverer (Gouldner, 1971; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Postmodernist alternative-end approaches to reflexivity, as noted by Wasserfall (1993), for researchers, "implies a

distance and unity at once, and because of that, can make one aware of oneself as subject and object as well as of the process that creates the consciousness of both “(p. 27). In more alternative-end research, then, knowledge is more likely to be discovered in collaboration with research participants, with critical consciousness (also known as conscientization or praxis) being developed on the part of both the researcher and the research participants (Freire, 1990; Lather, 1986; 1991). The ultimate goal is finding ways to dismantle societal structures which teach members of oppressed groups they are inferior and of less value, based on some aspect of them that is different from that of the dominant groups in society, and to create a more just social order—and to do so via means identified by those having less power (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Reason & Rowan, 1981).

The fact that, in a more alternative paradigm approach, the means by which change will be made are determined by those affected most by the research topic, the participants, who become agents of change rather than ‘objects of research’, as is more likely within research conducted by a project more on the dominant end of the paradigm continuum (Lather, 1991). They become active decision-makers in their own lives, rather than remaining passive within their circumstances. In collaboration with the researcher, they change their lives, rather than passively providing information to researchers so they may be controlled and ‘fixed’ by external forces (Lather, 1991; Maguire, 1987; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Collins' (1991) critique of dominant paradigm research focused on the way it reflects and is used to further entrench existing conceptions of 'natural' power inequities and therefore the unequal treatment of non-dominant groups in society. She noted that

research has been constructed in ways designed to reinforce the idea that non-dominant groups should be assimilated, wherever possible, into dominant groups. Those that can or will not be assimilated are labelled as deviant.

Many feminist alternative-end researchers have demonstrated the power of research to reinforce existing sex biases in society. For example, research has been used to reinforce sexist myths about women's mathematical ability, with one research project resulting in national headlines in the USA media which announced the 'natural' inferiority of females at math (Benbow & Stanley, 1980, 1983). Later reports of problems with this research were not as well reported. Jacobs and Eccles (1985), in a review of the impact of this media coverage, demonstrated how research, even when it is later proven to be biased, can result in changes in societal beliefs about what is 'normal'. They noted that where prior to the media reporting males and females were considered by parents to be equally talented at math, after it there was a level of social acceptability associated with their believing or stating that females were 'naturally' worse at math than males were. This, in turn, can become a self-fulfilling process, as young women and men learn to base their self-expectations on those communicated to them. Such examples of sexism in research result in feminist theorists such as Rich (1979) concluding that in our male-dominated world, objectivity is nothing more than male subjectivity made truth.

Millman (cited in Millman & Kanter, 1987) examined how some dominant-end paradigm research on 'deviance' and social control has focused only on isolated incidents occurring between those labelled 'deviant' and official agents of social control. This reflects the dominant paradigm focus on preserving and increasing the efficiency of the

status quo through decreasing 'deviance', or difference. Alternative paradigm research would be more likely to examine the equally relevant issue of how people adjust and react to being labelled deviant and relate to others in their lives besides official agents of social control such as family or friends, as well as how these isolated incidents of 'deviance' against social control agents could reflect underlying problems with the way the current system is working. There is more of a likelihood within an alternative paradigm to analyse the system itself and recommend a more equitable structure to replace it (Lather, 1986, 1991; Maguire, 1987).

Criticism has, however, been levelled against some researchers located on the alternative end of the paradigm continuum by others located in the same end, for focusing on one aspect of difference or source of oppression to the exclusion of others. This can result in the 'knowledge' they generate being incomplete or biased (Allen & Baber, 1989; Collins, 1991). Maguire (1987) noted that not all research done within the alternative paradigm has incorporated an awareness of the impact of sex bias on the researcher and therefore on the research process. She cited numerous participatory research projects which were sensitive to class issues but missed the influence of such variables as gender, subsuming women into generic categories such as 'the people' or 'the oppressed'. Similarly, feminism, and the research done within it, despite the focus on the empowerment and emancipation of women, had not always accounted for, or incorporated the reality of the multiple differences within the diversity of women in the world (Collins, 1996; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 1994).

This demonstrates that the goals of more alternative-end paradigm research are difficult to attain, particularly given the reality that many researchers have not only been raised in Western society, they have been trained to do research, and to view the world, through more dominant-end paradigm values, and have to re-learn these values in order to use those of more alternative-end paradigm approaches. This becomes even more difficult when researchers are also members of dominant groups in society, as their experience of privilege makes it less likely they will have noticed societal inequities in the same way as members of non-dominant groups have (Hartsock, 1987; Westkott, 1979).

It is possible for researchers, in terms of their overt politics and theories, to support an alternative-end paradigm, while in terms of their practice be working within dominant-end paradigm assumptions or values without being consciously aware they are doing so. This speaks to the pervasively 'normal' nature of dominant-end paradigm values in Western society. One anthropological researcher described her move from a dominant-end paradigm to an alternative-end, feminist approach as reflecting her gradual realization that what was required was a more critical research approach which incorporated a sense of social responsibility and an awareness of the political nature of research. She noted that this was a painful process for her, given that she had to acknowledge that for some time her dominant-end paradigm values and assumptions had made her part of the problem, rather than part of the solution, for her research participants (Hale, 1991).

Reason and Rowan (1981) described their experience of completing the editing of their collection of new (alternative-end) paradigm research only to have pointed out to them the androcentric bias of their work. They used male pronouns throughout and only

devoted one of forty chapters to feminist research, despite making reference throughout the book to the idea that new paradigm research was a more 'female' approach to inquiry and dominant research was a more 'male' approach. They described this as an example of how easily ostensibly alternative-end paradigm researchers can fall back into dominant-end paradigm thinking, with the result being that their work ends up preserving or reflecting the status quo of power relations. They stated "That is what concerns us: we just didn't think about it...we just didn't look hard enough" (p. xxii).

There are many factors which can make it difficult to attain 'ideal' alternative-end paradigm research. All of these are important for researchers to keep in mind when they set out to do an alternative paradigm research project. First, oppression does not arise overnight, and it is not possible to change it in a hurry. All sources of oppression (e.g. racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, anti-Semitism) are ingrained in the very structures of society and in the minds of persons living in society (hooks, 1989). Alternative-end paradigms, and research performed within them, tend to be about valuing and examining the interlocking nature of difference, in order to understand how it relates to ourselves, both as individuals and as researchers, rather than discovering individual truths or laws (Code, 1991; Maguire, 1989). Rich (1979) put it well when she said "truth is not one thing, or even a system. It is an increasing complexity" (p. 187). For alternative-end researchers, the goal is to accurately portray this complexity, from the perspective of, and in collaboration with, participants in their research projects.

A feminist research project located at the alternative end of the paradigm continuum, such as postmodern approach, would focus on empowerment and social change,

encouraging critical reflection and increased understanding for research participants, while contributing to knowledge in a more theoretical sense. In the process, voices which may not normally or otherwise be heard in larger society are given a chance to be heard and participants may become more aware of the complexity of their own situations, as will researchers (Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

The research approach in this practicum was postmodern, feminist and alternative-end. It focused on emancipation and social change, goals of all three traditions. This approach had the potential to remain sensitive and open to competing realities based on race, class, culture and other differences which might arise in a research project in this area and on this topic. Ristock and Pennell (1996) demonstrated the utility of such an approach in the area of violence against women and children, because of the need in such research to analyse power dynamics in ways that take into account not just issues related to the topic of violence itself but the research process itself. In this practicum, power issues related to both violence and prostitution were considered, in addition to those intrinsic to the research process. The intent was to appreciate the 'links and interruptions' of research; the links opening the research to input from many sources, the interruptions preventing rigidity in the researcher's thinking (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Phelan (1993), stated:

we have to stand where we are, acknowledging the links and contradictions between ourselves and other citizens of the world, resisting the temptations to cloak crucial differences with the cloak of universality and to deny generalities for fear of essentialism. Only in this way will we be free from the domination that lives both within and around us (p. 786).

2.1.5 Summary

This section of the practicum report examined feminist research and the paradigms that have arisen within this ideological approach and how research is done differently within them. The reality that how research is conducted is ultimately determined by where the researcher's paradigm, or world view, falls on the continuum between alternative and dominant paradigm approaches, was described. Close attention was paid to delineating the differences between dominant- and alternative-end research approaches. Finally, the appropriateness of a feminist alternative-end research approach to doing research in the area of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes was discussed.

2.2 PROSTITUTION AND VIOLENCE

2.2.1 Introduction

Simply to be a woman in Canada is to be a target of violence, which crosses social, economic and racial boundaries. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that there are few women living in Canada today who have not, in one form or another, been touched by the issue of violence, either toward themselves or someone they know. It was this reality that was commented on by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (cited in Greene, June 1991), who stated:

Violence against women is a multifaceted problem which encompasses physical, psychological and economic violations of women which is integrally linked to the social/economic/political structures, values and policies that silence women in our society, support gender-based discrimination and maintain women's inequality.

Specific groups of women may be at greater risk than the general female population of experiencing violence in their everyday lives. Violence is a serious occupational hazard for women working as street prostitutes. Sources of violence include clients, pimps or other street-involved people, the general public and police. Violence may be sexual, financial, physical or emotional; episodic or ongoing. For women working as street prostitutes in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, dealing with violence, and its threat, is an intrinsic part of their work (Fraser Committee, 1985; Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, November, 1991).

This section of the practicum will address how, and why, this reality evolved for women working as street prostitutes in Winnipeg. It will look at the breadth and origin of this violence, and how society, its institutions, and women working as prostitutes respond to it. Finally, it will examine gaps in the relevant literature, why they are there, and strategies to address them in future research project.

To understand why violence has become a serious occupational hazard for women working as street prostitutes first requires a multi-level, historically contextualized, understanding of prostitution. This paper will examine how through history, societal understandings of, and causal models for entry into, prostitution, and the values underlying

these ideologies, resulted in changes in legislation which have increasingly criminalized activities related to it, despite the fact that prostitution has never been illegal in Canada. Legislation in the area is, as a result, intrinsically contradictory, essentially punishing persons for practising a legal profession (Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991). It has also been discriminatory in its writing, with some sections targeting women prostitutes while ignoring men, others only criminalizing those working as prostitutes, not those buying their services (Fraser, 1985; Lowman, 1990; Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991).

Even when laws were written sanctioning the purchase of services, charges against clients never equalled those against women (Lowman, 1990). In the late 1800s, what sanctions existed against prostitution were not intended to eradicate it, but to regulate it. During this time they were accepted parts of the working class, and enjoyed friendly, collaborative relationships with social institutions such as police, municipal governments and much of the citizenry. Police regularly assisted women experiencing violence during their work and in return women helped them locate wanted criminals (Gray, 1971).

Over time, the influence of the causal models of prostitution held by Christian reformers and some early feminists led to a push for both active enforcement of existing prostitution related laws and more sanctions in the area. Christian reformers tended to adopt a model viewing these women as personally pathological, and therefore susceptible to immoral influences. Once prostitutes, they were a danger to society and needed to be controlled through law (Gray, 1971; Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991). Early feminists saw women working as prostitutes as the innocent, helpless victims of uncontrollable male sexuality. Laws against prostitution were required to save these

women from their unimaginable fates (DuBois & Gordon, 1985; Vance, 1985). Over time, these ideologies affected how prostitution, and those engaged in it, were viewed. Enforcement of prostitution laws punishes women working as prostitutes more often and more severely than their clients (Lowman, 1990). The relationship of police and other societal institutions with women working in the field deteriorated. Barriers of stigma and criminalization were placed in the way of women wishing to leave the profession, because they were divorced from the rest of the working class and had been labelled as personally deviant' members of a criminal class (Dominelli, 1986; Highcrest, June, 1992; Larsen, 1992).

The Fraser Committee (1985) noted there has always been a double standard evident in the attitudes of society toward prostitution, which consider it acceptable, or even image-enhancing for men to buy sex, but deviant for women to sell it. As women working as prostitutes became more identified as deviant, or 'other', they came to be considered of less value than 'good girls', or women not employed as prostitutes. More laws were required to protect society from the influence of their deviance. Where men were only acting on their natures, women working as prostitutes were acting pathologically. This affected social attitudes so that these women became considered more acceptable targets for violence than are 'normal' women, either because they were thought to feel the impact of this violence less than other women, or because their feelings were of less value than those of their attackers (Dominelli, 1986). This myth was reinforced by the reality that violence against prostitutes is less likely to result in consequences for attackers (Lowman, 1990). Society and its institutions don't consider it as a serious issue, their reactions

ranging from indifference, ignoring the violence, blaming women for it, or pitying them. As a result, women are extremely unlikely to report the violence anywhere, and are re-victimized by systems which should be helping them. This is a denial of their civil and human rights under the law (Dominelli, 1986; Highcrest, June, 1992; Larsen, 1992).

2.2.2 Causal Models of Prostitution

What legislative response is taken to prostitution to a large extent is dependent on the understanding held about why it occurs. There are a number of theories in existence as to why women enter prostitution.

Susceptibility and Exposure Model

This model is the oldest causal model in existence, and has wielded considerable influence over society and its lawmakers. It has proved a powerful influence on both moral reform approaches to prostitution and tends to result in support for either criminalization or highly controlling forms of regulation. In it, women who enter prostitution are susceptible due to feelings of low self-esteem and worthlessness, alienation, a need for 'self-abasement', or a history of sexual assault or abuse or physical abuse (Baizerman, Thompson & Stafford-White, 1979; Bess & Janus, 1976; Brown, 1979; Bullough, 1965; Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1984; James, 1976; James, Boyer, Withers & Haft, 1980; Silbert & Pines, 1981, 1983; Vitaliano, James & Boyer, 1981). Exposure consists of contact with persons familiar with prostitution, involving both a

receptiveness by the individual to someone working as a prostitute and an effective inducement from these people for them to work. Entering into prostitution is these women's external demonstration of their internal pathology. Essentially, pathological, deviant women become prostitutes, 'normal' women don't (Bryan, 1965; Davis, 1971; Hirschi, 1972).

Ultimately, this model is too simplistic to account for women's entry into prostitution. A pathology-based model, it looks for the causes of prostitution within women themselves, ignoring external factors. Studies including non-prostitute control groups generally don't support this model (Badgeley, 1984; Brannigan & Fleischman, 1989; Exner, Wylie, Leura & Parrill, 1977; Fraser Commission, 1985; Gray, 1973; Polonsky, 1974; Potterat, Phillips, Rothenberg & Darrow, 1985). For example, both the Fraser Commission and Badgeley (1984) Reports found that the number of women working as prostitutes who were sexually abused as children was consistent with rates of abuse in the general population. Mathews (1988) commented that if we supported the idea that sexual abuse inevitably leads to prostitution we would have hundreds of thousands of women working as prostitutes in Canada.

This pathological explanation for prostitution, and the punitive laws it leads to, have only further pathologized women and increased the barriers they face in trying to connect with the rest of society. By locating the source of the problem in personal pathology, workers respond in simplistic or rigid ways which don't take into account the societal and economic context within which women choose to become prostitutes. It is not surprising

that neither criminal sanctions and social services arising from this model have had no impact on numbers of women working (Mathews, 1988).

Feminist Models

Historically, the women's movement has a contradictory track record in its dealings with, and understanding of, women working in the sex trade. To fully understand why that is, it is necessary to look at the ways feminism has understood and responded to women's sexual situation through history. Feminist theorists have disagreed since the 1800s on how to better women's sexual situation, what women want sexually and what is 'appropriate' sexual behaviour. Some theorists focused on the need for women to be protected from the danger of 'natural' male aggression and lust, viewing women's sexuality as being either less aggressive or powerful than men's, or unable to become so until they are safe from men. In the late 1800s, this opposition to sexual oppression was primarily expressed in demanding the prohibition of prostitution. Prostitutes were always considered helpless innocents exploited by men. To these women, resisting prostitution meant opposing what was for them the ultimate male sexual danger of the time. Ultimately this led to the notion of the good girl and bad girl. Regardless of whether or not this division is blamed on men, it is a dangerous one to make, and has class implications as well. There were some problems with how feminists understood prostitution. First, they considered all women who had sex outside marriage prostitutes, even if they weren't paid. Second, women were always considered to have been forced into prostitution by men. They could not account for women who chose prostitution as a career. It was considered so degrading this was

inconceivable. Once a prostitute, women lost all respectability, and became fair game for all men's lust. Unfortunately, because this ideology was shared by moral reformers of the time, they found themselves both arguing for the same goals. Similar patterns occurred in the area of pornography and censorship. Yet by only being able to see a woman who was sexual (be it through prostitution or casual sex) as anything but a victim, feminists of the time missed an opportunity to avoid dividing women into good and bad based on their sexual choices (Califa, 1994; DuBois & Gordon, 1985; Strossen, 1995; Vance, 1985).

Other theorists, sometimes referred to as 'pro-sex' feminists, considered women to have the same potential as men for aggression and lust, but that whether or not they acted on this potential was dependent on their socio-economic freedom and autonomy to do so with the least possible retaliation from men. With its focus on increased sexual autonomy and expression for women, this approach is made more complex by the reality that women feel understandably vulnerable to reprisals from men for their sexual actions. Women have been trained within the first, dominant model to consider male aggression an uncontrollable biological impulse which is triggered by women's autonomous sexual activity, or by being bad girls. Anything outside the realm of good girl activity (sex within marriage) invites and justifies violation, including lesbianism, promiscuity, non-traditional heterosexuality, pornography, SM and prostitution. (Califa, 1994; DuBois & Gordon, 1985; Strossen, 1995; Vance, 1985).

This oppositional positioning of pleasure and danger, is such a powerful and insidious ideology that even women who strongly believe in autonomous sexual expression can find themselves weighing the costs and benefits of their actions. They may understand all too

well that their actions will be used by men and society to excuse men's behaviour. When society in general, and its institutions, support male sexual violence, whether or not men really lose control because of women's actions or only think that they do is in the end something of a moot point (Vance, 1985).

The danger of focusing on the protection of women from uncontrollable male lust is that the focus remains on expressions of male sexuality, not female sexuality. There was no discussion of the forms women's sexuality takes, of individual differences in, and possible expressions of, women's sexuality. This ideology brings women to understand sex as always being potentially shameful, out of control or dangerous. Most intimidatingly, pro-sex women were met with censure from other women, and were told they had been 'brainwashed' by patriarchy. Many of these women found it hard to feel empowered and unashamed of their sexual impulses in the way more pro-sex feminists were, and impossible to understand where they were coming from and why. Women who enjoyed working in prostitution or pornography were silenced within the feminist community. Feminist theory about female sexuality became divorced from reality, because women in the mainstream feminist community soon learned to not talk to one another about sex. So was that, in contradiction of the original intentions of feminism, in the arena of sex and sexuality the personal experience of pro-sex feminists was not allowed to be political, to be part of mainstream feminist theory (Califia, 1994; Strossen, 1995; Vance, 1985).

This process was described by Echols (1985) as a gradual change from wanting women to be safe from exploitation to 'prescriptivism', wherein broad general principles are turned into rigid standards. 'Good' feminists were expected to conform to these

standards. This type of good girl/bad girl (read virgin/whore) dichotomizing has occurred in the feminist movement in other areas related to sex and sexuality: Lesbians have been silenced by heterosexual feminists, butch/femme and Sado-Masochist (SM) lesbians silenced by mainstream lesbians, bisexuals silenced by both heterosexuals and lesbians, and prostitutes silenced by non-prostitutes (Califia, 1994; Stein, 1993; Strossen, 1995). Feminism is guilty of that which it most criticized traditional male scholarship for -- doing their analysis from a narrow view and falling into dichotomous thinking. 'Normal' became white, middle-/upper-class, non-disabled, heterosexual and moderately youthful. This substitutes one part of women's experience for the whole, ignoring the rich pattern of experience and diversity within and between women. The only way to understand this diversity is to create a dialogue where we listen to and learn from one another (Califia, 1994; Collins, 1991; hooks, 1989, 1990; Vance, 1985).

This is particularly dangerous when it allies the feminist movement with societal conservative forces which also decry lesbians, bisexuals, SM practitioners or sex trade workers. This is what occurred when the feminist opposition to prostitution inadvertently helped fuel the Christian moral reform movement in the past (Pivar, cited in Musheno & Seeley, 1986; Rosen, 1982). It can also be seen in how feminist anti-pornography crusaders of this century have returned to a focus on women as helpless victims of male sexual danger, and have assisted in the development of laws which support censorship (Dworkin, 1987, 1988; MacKinnon, 1987, 1993). The power of their theory was evident in 1992, when the Canadian government adopted the definition of pornography generated by such pro-censorship feminists as MacKinnon (1987, 1993) and Dworkin (1987, 1988)

in *Butler v. the Queen*, 1 S.C.R. 452 (1992) Canada. Authorities have used this ruling to suppress many lesbian and gay publications and consistently stop publications destined for lesbian, gay and women's bookstores (Strossen, 1995). Some feminists have gone so far as to state sex trade work is a form of slavery within male supremacy, a profession which can no more be freely chosen than can sexual assault (Cole, 1987; Dworkin, 1987, 1988; MacKinnon, 1987, 1993; Overall, 1992; Wynter, 1987). Women in these approaches continue to be passive victims of uncontrollable male lust, and in need of protection. There are also dangers, however, with the pro-sex ideology as well, when it is taken to an extreme. It runs the risk of falling into the same prescriptivism as those it reacts to -- only decrying women who are not sexually aggressive and experimental enough (Stein, 1993). Such divisions within the feminist movement around issues related to sexuality are an example of a movement being so busy arguing among themselves they don't address the real enemy, patriarchy (Strossen, 1995; Overall, 1992).

Arrington (1987) noted that there are as many different opinions about prostitution within the sex trade as there are about feminism in the Women's Liberation Movement. Some prostitutes agree with the idea of prostitute as victim (e.g. the organization WHISPER). Yet whether or not women like the work, or wish to continue doing it, this type of analysis judges the work they do, and insults their intelligence for having chosen to do it (Mathews, 1987). Many women are sick of the common assumption that they are victims. They defend their right and ability to freely choose their profession, arguing there exists value, dignity and liberty in sex work. The Second World Whore's Congress (1986),

for example, “reject(s) support that requires them to leave prostitution; they object to being treated as symbols of oppression and demand recognition as workers” (p. 307).

Many sex trade workers appear to be feminist in all ways except their identification as such (a situation not that dissimilar from that of many women in our society who uphold feminist ideas and values but do not like to call themselves feminists). The Second World Whore's Congress (cited in Overall, 1992) stated that :

Due to feminist hesitation or refusal to accept prostitution as legitimate work and to accept prostitutes as working women, the majority of prostitutes have not identified as feminists; nonetheless, many prostitutes identify with feminist values such as independence, financial autonomy, sexual self-determination, personal strength and female bonding (p. 707).

Social Effects Model

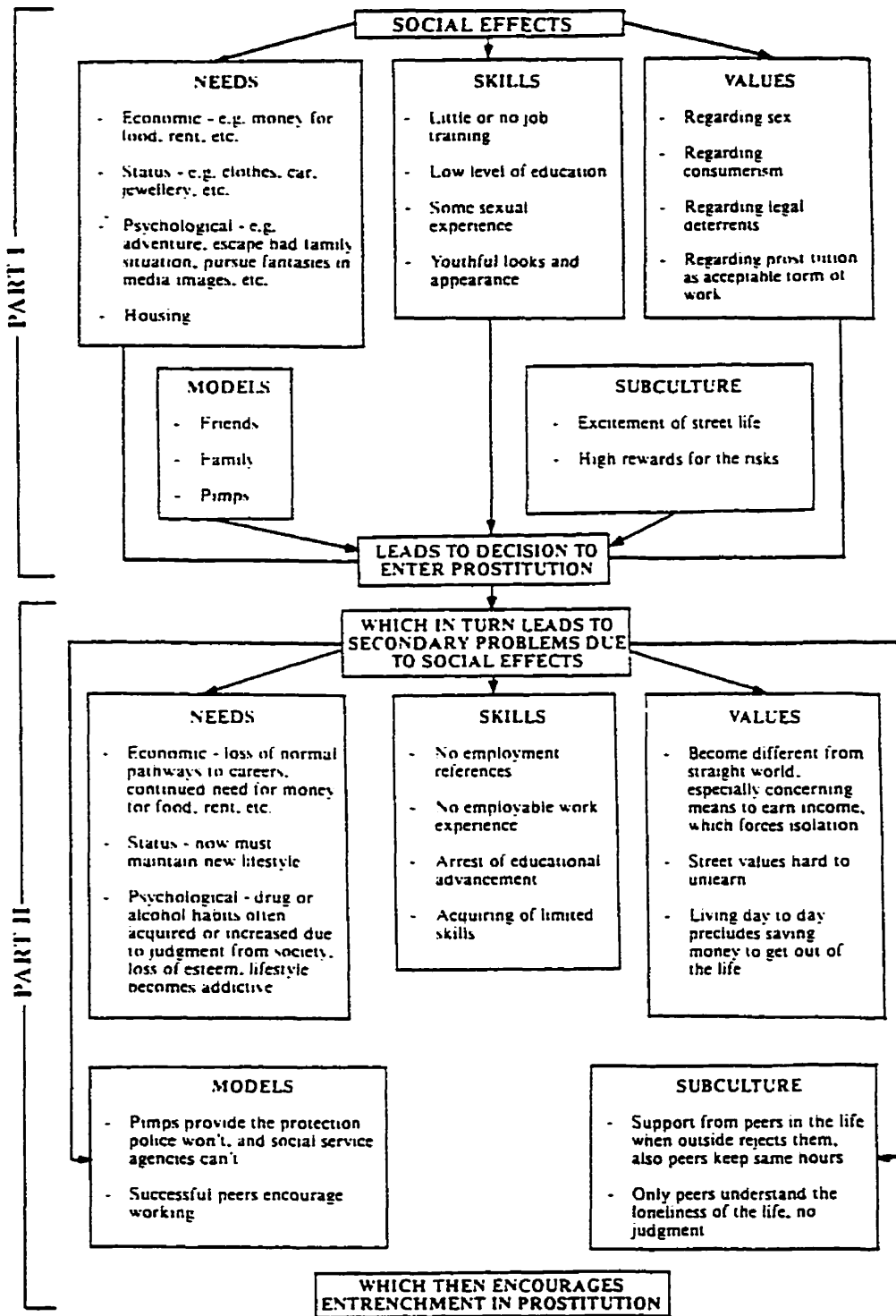
The Susceptibility and Exposure model was too narrow and causal in nature for use in this practicum, as it didn't examine the full range of social factors which enter into womens' choice to work as prostitutes. Pro-censorship feminists tended to see women sex trade workers as helpless, exploited victims, while pro-sex feminists viewed them as empowered, liberated, assertive women engaging in free sexual choice and expression. In reality, just as there are numerous reasons why women begin working, there are many different kinds of women working as prostitutes, each with their own individual personal and contextual characteristics which led them to this work. There has always existed a strong and consistent market for sexual services in our society. This provides a tempting

alternative to women in grave need of money, particularly when they have few alternatives. What is missing from these models is an analysis of the other factors which affect entry into, and continued work in, the field of prostitution.

The Social Affects Model, which is more of a 'systems' model meets this need by considering entrance to prostitution along four dimensions: employment needs, material needs, personal resources and social power issues. As can be seen in Figure One, this model examines the elements affecting entrance into prostitution along five categories within these four dimensions: needs, skills, values, models and subculture. It takes the decision to work as a prostitute out of the realm of personal pathology and into the one of social effects on career choices. Social effects in this model are defined as societal factors influencing an individual's process of entrance into, and continuance in, the work of prostitution. This could include the need to make enough money to survive, the assessment of personal skills on the job market versus where there exists a demand for workers, cultural and media images of prostitution and sexuality, the ineffectiveness of laws limiting prostitution-related behaviour and the image of money as proof of a successful life. This would also include more negative aspects of the work, which arise as a result of the judgement of workers by society. This would include isolation from supports, loss of networks leading to more traditional forms of upward mobility, lack of skills or education to do other forms of work, loss of the right to protection from violence and harassment due to the illegal nature of the work, criminalization due to charges and loss of self-esteem due to societal censure.

Insert Figure One here

Figure 1



Social Effects Model © Copyright Frederick Mathews, 1986. Used by permission.

There is extensive support for the proposal that one of the primary reasons women begin working is economic (Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women; 1984; Overall, 1992). Women are disadvantaged in our labour market, being more likely than men to be unemployed, underemployed and underpaid. The feminization of poverty is on the rise, particularly for single mothers. Wealth, power and privilege are unequally distributed, and becoming more so (Greene, June, 1991). Inadequate government programs or initiatives exist to address this, and may in fact worsen it (Boyle & Noonan, 1987).

Women trapped in this cycle of poverty and discrimination may consider becoming a prostitute an act of resistance or, given the socio-economic context of their lives, a solution to their problems (Mathews, 1987; McLeod, 1982). The vast majority of women who choose to do this work see it a temporary solution to economic difficulties (Elizabeth Fry Society, 1985). In the words of one prostitute, "they are all out there because they need the money. It is a matter of economics, it is not glamour. And it is not fast, easy money like some people try to say" (pp. 495-496, Shaver, 1985). A 1991 Winnipeg study found that 40% of women working as prostitutes had no more than grade 8 education, no job skills, and had never been employed (Donovan, 1992). A Winnipeg study found many worked 70 or 80 hours a week, with the average time for part- and full-time workers being 50 hours a week (Elizabeth Fry Society).

Another important factor is the reality that most women start working as prostitutes at an early age. Badgeley (1984) found that three quarters of runaway youth become prostitutes. Of these youth, half were from broken homes, two thirds had less than one

year of high school and most no work experience. Their socio-economic background was consistent with the rest of the population. One quarter were frequent to heavy drinkers, one third heavy drug users, one third received no routine medical attention and most had at least one sexually transmitted disease (STD). Half had done their first trick at age 15 or younger because they needed the money. A 1991 Winnipeg study found that the average age of entry into prostitution was 14 years (Donovan, 1992). Michaud (September, 1989) found that 34% of runaway Winnipeg youth had engaged in prostitution and 20% had exchanged sex for a place to sleep.

To a teen on the run, prostitution is often the only alternative for survival. That it is 'attractive' to them, or that they 'choose' it, needs to be placed into the context of reality, where the demands of life for a runaway on the street, with no job skills, a fear of being returned home, and a distrust of authorities (Michaud, September, 1989). Life on the street demands they adopt a moment-to-moment 'survival mentality', where they experience desperation, hyper-vigilance and a liking for immediate short-term gratification. Forty percent of prostitutes surveyed in a 1991 Winnipeg study were homeless (Donovan, 1992). Pimps and prostitution may provide what social services seem unable to -- money, security, food, employment and a peer group, seemingly with no strings attached (Fraser Committee, 1985; Mathews, 1986, 1987). Yet as Jane Runner, a POWER staff member put it, "it shouldn't (have to) be an option for women and kids to go out into the street and basically spread their legs in order to get money to feed themselves and survive" (Donovan, p. 6).

Conclusion

The Social Effects Model offers a comprehensive overview of many of the social and economic factors which women's entry into, and continuance in, work as prostitutes. It points out that women choosing this line of work do so for as wide a variety of reasons as any of us choose the work we do. This suggests that, despite the great attention in the literature to why women choose to work, perhaps a better topic of discussion is what the conditions and realities of the work are. Women are doing this work now, often in bleak and dangerous conditions. There are relatively few articles in the literature about either the levels of violence women experience on the job or on what the impact of working under such conditions is on them. The Feminist Model is extremely useful as well, in terms of its analysis of the sexual politics related to the issue of women working as prostitutes, as well as violence against women. Care must be taken, however, not to fall into dichotomous thinking about the issue of prostitution, as has occurred in the larger movement, as seen by the development of the opposing pro-sex and pro-censorship factions. Ultimately, taking a position at either extreme inevitably means that your model will be unable to incorporate the realities of all women who are working in the prostitution industry. Women prostitutes are no more always helpless victims being exploited than they are always empowered and liberated by it. By maintaining a more flexible, balanced understanding of the issue of prostitution, and incorporating it with the sound economic and social analysis of the Social Effects Model, it is possible to generate a more holistic model, particularly when the researcher also incorporates more of an analysis of the politics of race in the area of prostitution work.

2.2.3 History of Prostitution in Winnipeg

In 1874, Winnipeg was incorporated as the first Prairie city, with 2000 residents and a long history of police and public acceptance of brothel-based prostitution. Months passed between arrests, which generally only occurred if women were involved in other illegal activities, and generally only resulted in fines. Police had a good relationship with the women, who provided them with information in return for assistance with harassment from customers or pimps. Gray (1971) noted that there existed a "nearly universal acceptance by constituted authority that prostitution was something that had to be tolerated because it could not be eradicated" (p. 17).

This began to change with the arrival of many Christian settlers, who began placing pressure on police to address prostitution. As we saw earlier, pressure also came from some sectors of the feminist movement. This did result in an increase in token police raids and fines, but women viewed them as the equivalent of licensing fees and simply pled guilty, paid their fines, and went about their business. Police didn't want to raise fines for fear women would plead not guilty, requiring them to find both evidence for conviction and jail space (neither one an easy task). Continued pressure, however, eventually caused some of the brothels to be moved twice, once to the outskirts and then later outside city limits, despite the fact there was little evidence the general population cared much where they were located. Brothel popularity, in fact, was high due to an explosion in the population of Winnipeg -- which by 1890 was 42,000 (Gray, 1971).

In 1892, Section 175(1)(c) of the Criminal Code defined a prostitute seeking a customer as a female vagrant, who: “being a common prostitute or nightwalker is found in a public place and does not, when required, give a good account of herself.” The essentially sexist nature of this section is evident in its unabashed discrimination against women—under it, only women could be prostitutes, and no mention is made of customers. Women were addressed based on their status, rather than their overt actions (more generally the basis of criminal liability). It also required women to give a good account of themselves, despite that fact this conflicted with both their right not to incriminate themselves and with the later Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960. Despite this, the ‘vag c’ section remained unchanged until 1972 — a significant comment on the lack of concern in the law for these women's human rights (Lowman, 1990; Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991). It is also noteworthy that it doesn't sanction brothels, which employed most women working at the time (Gray, 1971).

In 1903, moral reformers and established authorities clashed again over the brothels, which now fell within city limits. With the population increasing by 1000 people per month, and an explosion in other crimes, police considered brothels the least of their worries. They thought closure would only destroy their relationship with the women and make it more difficult for them to keep track of who was working and where, by scattering women throughout the city to work wherever they chose. They, along with the Mayor, city councillors, and many citizens, continued to support their historical policy of regulated prostitution, and favoured establishing a red light district. The issue became so explosive in that year's civic election the Mayor withdrew from the race and City Hall was

taken over by moral reformers. Police were ordered to close down the brothels, while protesters lined up ten deep around the police station. The good relationship between police and the women was evident in their posting of guards in brothels to prevent looting. Despite this, the women felt understandably betrayed and, as predicted, many began working on downtown streets. They stopped pleading guilty to charges, requiring police to establish a fund to tempt customers to testify against them, and complaints about their presence on the street, as a 'public nuisance', increased (Gray, 1971).

By 1909, the failure of the brothel closures to eradicate prostitution was evident, and police were allowed to designate the legal red light district they originally wanted. The resulting explosion in the number of brothels, public drunkenness and noise in the area resulted in an outcry by area residents. Not long after, police were told to repeal their permission for brothels to operate. Regulations were instituted requiring bi-weekly medical exams, production of medical certificates on demand, and no walking or shopping without prior notification of police and obtaining of a police escort. As in the past, tighter intervention by police did nothing to lessen the amount of prostitution occurring, but did infuriate brothel owners, who had paid exorbitant amounts for their houses on the understanding they would operate without interference (Gray, 1971).

A 1910 Royal Commission found no evidence of police corruption, and recommended they focus on reducing public nuisance aspects of prostitution, and as police focused their energies in this area, not on stopping prostitution from occurring. When police did just that (which was in fact their preference) the number of brothels decreased and stabilized. Business continued without incident until the Depression of the 1930s sparked a decline

which culminated in the closure of brothels during the Second World War, independent of state sanctions. The end of the war saw business increase, but the former good relationship with police was now destroyed and women never again worked so openly. What the business of prostitution looked like during the 1950s is difficult to say, as little information is available on record (Gray, 1971). The 1960s and 1970s saw prostitutes begin forming international, national and local organizations to speak out on the ever-increasing rights violations and repression they were experiencing from the state. Some advocated the decriminalization of prostitution, with the support of many feminists.

In 1972, pressure related to the inherently sexist and discriminatory nature of the 'vagrancy' statute of the Criminal Code resulted in its repeal and replacement by Section 195.1, which stated that "every person who solicits any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution is guilty of an offense punishable by summary conviction." The new 'soliciting law' could be applied to prostitutes of either sex, no longer required they account for their actions, and still addressed the 'public nuisance' aspect of prostitution. There remained, however, a number of problems with it. Its wording didn't define solicitation (which only occurred with the Hutt decision of the Supreme Court of Canada). This left the interpretation of the law to police and the courts. There was considerable inter-provincial variation on whether or not clients were charged with solicitation, or were convicted if charged. Overall, however, the vast majority of those charged continued to be women prostitutes. Where convictions of women working as prostitutes added to or started their criminal records, clients of prostitutes tended to be given judgements which would not result in a record (Lowman, 1990). This reflects the societal bias that men

seeking sexual services are acting on their natural biological impulses, where women selling them are deviant and deserve to be punished (Dominelli, 1986). Additionally, despite the gender-neutral wording of the statute, it was interpreted to primarily apply to women. The latter problem was addressed by a 1983 amendment so prostitute referred to someone of either sex engaged in prostitution (Fraser, 1985; Lowman, 1990; Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991). Critics noted that this law only moved the location of prostitution to more dangerous areas of the city. It ignored off-street prostitution (the majority of prostitution) contradicting the supposed moral concern for the well-being of women in the life. The women targeted by this section were those already most vulnerable to abuse and harassment, because of their visibility on the street (Highcrest, June, 1992; Larsen, 1992; Shaver, 1985).

Section 210 sanctioned owning, keeping, living in, being found in, or allowing the use of one's home for the purposes of "a common bawdy house". Section 197 further defined a bawdy house as "a place kept or occupied or resorted to by one or more persons for the purpose of acts of prostitution or indecency." This section has been interpreted by the courts to require that the house be habitually and regularly used for prostitution, and can include a woman's own apartment. Simply participating in the activities of a bawdy house did not result in convictions unless there was a degree of control over the management of the premises. Section 211 makes it illegal to "take, transport or direct", or offer to do so, anybody to a bawdy house (Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991).

Critics had two primary concerns with sanctions on bawdy houses. First, they forced women to work on the street, or in client's homes or hotels, rather than in their homes,

because penalties for keeping a bawdy house were far more severe than for solicitation. This meant the law forced women into dangerous situations, as women working on the street are at greater risk of violence, and in more need of pimps for protection. They have less time on the street than in their homes to assess and screen tricks before closing a deal. The illegality of street solicitation exacerbates this situation, requiring women to close deals quickly, so as to not draw police attention. Yet it is the time during which women first make contact with a potential date, and negotiate prices, that is crucial for women assessing potential client violence. Second, more women on the street meant an increase in the very kind of prostitution most objected to by the general public (Barnard, 1993; Highcrest, June, 1992; Larsen, 1992).

Section 212(1) outlaws activities related to procuring, pimping and living on the avails of prostitution, while Section 212(3) states that someone who "lives with or is habitually in the company of a prostitute or lives in a common bawdy house" is likely to be living on the avails of prostitution, "in the absence of evidence to the contrary". Critics have commented that this section negatively affects women in a variety of ways. First, it makes it difficult for women to have supportive, loving relationships when their partners could be charged with living on the avails. Even if women's partners are abusive, and force them to work, this section is inconsistent with the reality that abusive partners of women employed in other fields are not charged with living on the avails when they are dependent on her money. Essentially, this law punishes persons for falling in love with someone working as a prostitute. Second, critics deny the notion that removing this section would constitute condoning violent pimps. In their opinion, if legal authorities treated women with respect

when they reported violence by their pimps, more women would be reporting. There is no need for additional laws -- laws already exist related to sexual and physical assault, theft, extortion, forcible confinement and attempted murder. Third, by making it illegal for women to cooperate with one another (e.g. referring clients), it discourages supportive connecting and mentoring, thus depriving women new to the work valuable on the job training and increasing the risk of violence. Finally, it makes it hard for women to have friends who are not street-involved, as associating with a prostitute could constitute proof of living on the avails. This plays into the myth that women who work as prostitutes are wicked, sinful, and only associate with criminals. It is also inconsistent with the law in other areas -- why is nobody charged with living on the avails for associating with murderers or thieves? Overall, these laws only further stigmatize women, criminalizes their relationships and friendships and makes it all the more difficult for them to lead normal lives (Highcrest, June, 1992; Larsen, 1992).

The Hutt decision increased pressure on the government to expand the definition of soliciting for the purpose of prostitution. As in the past, pressure for change came from Christian moral reformers, economic concerns, and the belief prostitution attracts other forms of criminal activity. Municipal governments across Canada enacted a variety of civil bylaws addressing these concerns, with the usual amount of regional inconsistency. A law that was upheld by one provincial Supreme Court would be struck down by another. Others were found invalid by the Supreme Court of Canada (Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991). Pimping decreased after the Hutt decision, when many women turned violent pimps in.

Badgeley (1984) investigated sexual offenses against youth in Canada, including juvenile prostitution and pornography. The report recommended that juvenile prostitution be made a summary conviction, so when children were charged they could be placed in appropriate support programs. It also proposed the Criminal Code be amended to prevent tricks from defending the purchase of sex from juveniles based on a belief they were of age. Some felt Badgeley (1984) had such a narrow mandate in doing research for his report that he was unable to assess the full range of opinion on prostitution in Canada, thereby limiting his recommendations (Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991).

The Fraser Committee (1985) examined both pornography and prostitution by conducting public hearings across Canada to assess public opinion. Prostitution was widespread, particularly in cities, and economic distress was considered the primary motivation for women to do this work. During this period, anywhere from 300 to 500 women were working full-time as prostitutes in Winnipeg. About half of them worked the streets, although this would be a far higher number if part-time workers were included as well (Elizabeth Fry Society, 1985; Fraser Committee, 1985). Street prostitutes tended to have pimps, though the Committee found no evidence of organized crime. They tended to work in downtown business areas, near bars and hotels. The number of Aboriginal women working was disproportionately high (about 40% of all women) compared to the overall population of Aboriginal people living in Winnipeg, and may reflect higher levels of poverty in that community (Brannigan, Knafla & Levy, 1987; Campbell & Heinrich Research Associates, 1992; Elizabeth Fry Society, 1985). A study done through Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights (POWER) found most (65%) women were

18 to 27 years old, though a significant minority (22%) were minors (Campbell & Heinrich Research Associates, 1992). The Fraser Committee (1985) found that the only time the community became concerned about prostitution was when crackdowns forced women into residential areas, decreasing property values and increasing public nuisance factors.

The Fraser Committee (1985) considered economic and social reform a necessary part of any effective response to the problem of prostitution. Governments needed a stronger moral and financial commitment to the removal of social inequality between women and men, to create supportive social services, and fund groups serving current and former prostitutes. Laws sanctioning prostitution-related activity were described as impossible to enforce, narrowly moralistic and unsupported by public opinion. As the primary source of public nuisance, street prostitution was the only area where tougher sanctions were recommended, through the proposal of a new offense for interfering or attempting to interfere, more than once, with pedestrian/vehicular traffic for the purpose of selling or buying sex. The offer or acceptance was not the offense -- rather that the behaviour constituted a disturbance of some sort (Fraser Committee, 1985). Sanctions on bawdy houses would be revised to only prevent more than two persons using the same place for prostitution. This would decrease street prostitution by allowing women to use their residences for work, therefore reducing public nuisance factors. Places of prostitution would be licensed through regulations no different from those for other businesses. Finally, procuring and living on the avails of prostitution statutes were to be replaced by sections prohibiting them **only** when they were accompanied by force, threats or coercion. Unlike Badgeley's (1984) report, making juvenile prostitution a summary offense was not

recommended, on the grounds this would further criminalize these youth. They did recommend juveniles be subject to the same laws as adults and that the child welfare system be used to place them in appropriate social service programs. Like Badgeley (1984), they recommended that it become an offense for clients to use mistaken age as a defence for the purchase of sexual services from juveniles (Fraser Committee, 1985).

Bill C-49 (Section 195.1), the 'communication law', made it illegal to, in a public place, or one open to public view (e.g. a vehicle); and for the purposes of selling or buying sex,

- a) stops or attempts to stop any motor vehicle,
- b) impedes the free flow of pedestrian or vehicular traffic or ingress to or egress from premises adjacent to that place, or
- c) Stops or attempts to stop any person or in any manner communicates or attempts to communicate with any person.

For the first time, both prostitutes and clients were explicitly included in the law, with the stated intention being to address them as equally responsible for the 'problem' of prostitution. Unlike the 'solicitation law' it replaced, there was no room for interpretation by police and courts as to whether the law applied to clients or not. Controversy ensued over both the content of the law and the legal crackdown on street prostitution it triggered. Some considered it a worthy piece of legislation (residential groups, civic governments, police) (Lowman, 1990; Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991). Others argued this further criminalization of prostitution, and the resulting legal crackdown, as had occurred in the past, placed women working as street prostitutes at more risk of violence by giving authorities too much power. Women were forced to move to more

dangerous areas to work. Their ability to choose different ways to make contact with, and the time available to assess safety with potential clients became even more limited. In Larsen's (1992) opinion, the communication law contributed to an increase in the murder and assault of women working as prostitutes. They were forced to depend more on pimps, both for protection and to arrange bail and child care when their arrests increased. Charging clients decreased their numbers, forcing women in need of money to take clients they would previously have rejected out of safety concerns. Those clients who continued to come despite their increased risk of arrest potentially had fewer concerns about breaking the law, increasing the likelihood they would be violent with the women. As Highcrest (June, 1992) noted, "the more you criminalize an activity, the more you make the activity the exclusive realm of the criminal" (p. 4).

In 1987 provincial courts disagreed whether or not the communicating law was constitutional. In 1990 the Supreme Court decided (with two female justices dissenting) that while the section did infringe on the right to freedom of expression, this was a reasonable limit on a protected right (Pilon and Robertson, November 1991). Brannigan, Knafla & Levy's (1989) report concluded that while this statute did affect to some extent where prostitution took place, it had no effect on the amount of street prostitution which occurred.

Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991), described the response to a 1990 report which recommended that the government fund community-based programs accessible to prostitutes wishing to stop working, that legislation be amended to allow fingerprinting and photographing of prostitutes and clients, and judges be allowed to ban convicted

clients from driving vehicles for up to three months. All three recommendations were rejected, the first because it only addressed those wishing to leave street work, and not those continuing to work, or juvenile prostitutes, while consultation with other levels of government, agencies and prostitutes themselves was deemed necessary before services could be provided. The second was rejected because increased penalties increase criminalization and economic hardship, which are inconsistent with the objective of assisting prostitutes to leave street work. The third was rejected both because a vehicle is not required for street soliciting and because such measures are already available to judges via conditions of probation (Pilon & Robertson, November, 1991).

2.2.4 Options for Addressing Prostitution

Society's responses to prostitution have fallen into three categories: criminalization, legalization or regulation and decriminalization. Criminalization has been the approach of choice in Canada, its fundamental assumption being that tougher sanctions will evoke fear and prevent continued work in prostitution, while deterring potential workers from entering the trade. It assumes women became involved in prostitution in the past because tough enough sanctions did not exist. This implies prostitution is a legal issue, which can be adequately addressed by a legal response. None of the laws, or their enforcement, have resulted in any significant changes in the number of women working. Most women consider being charged as the cost of working the street (Donovan, 1992; Larsen, 1992; Mathews, 1987; Shaver, 1985). From 1985 to 1990, the number of prostitution-related

charges and convictions in Toronto increased 34 times, and the amount of prostitution occurring was unaffected (Highcrest, November, 1991).

Despite the inability of criminalization to eradicate prostitution, many authorities want more laws, not less. In the past, sanctions have only served to segregate women working as prostitutes from the rest of the working class community, facilitating the transformation of prostitution as a trade from a female to a male-controlled activity, characterized by more violence directed toward women working in the field. It also resulted in the development of an extensive bureaucracy to enforce laws and 'rehabilitate' the women, costing society a great deal of money in the process. Society was reinforced for condemning and abusing women working as prostitutes, and services were structured in ways which are inaccessible to them. Once-friendly relations with authorities deteriorated to become full of distrust and fear. Women are left on their own to protect themselves from assault, robbery and breach of contract, often by getting a pimp. Their fear of the police deprives them of their constitutional right to protection by, and recourse through, the legal system. With increased criminalization, these things would only continue and worsen (Badgeley, 1983; Donovan, 1992; Fraser, n.d.; Gray, 1971; Mathews, 1987; Rosen, 1982; Scambler, Peswani, Renton & Scambler, 1990; Shaver, 1985; Symanski, 1981; Walkowitz, 1980). Maggie's (August, 1992), a Toronto prostitutes' rights organization, noted that the fact that all prostitution related activities are illegal creates a context which implicitly condones and promotes "Whore-bashing", or "hate related violence...an act of extreme prejudice fueled by social stigma" (p. 1). Dominelli (1986) observed that the deviance label attached to prostitution, due to criminalization, leads to

women working as prostitutes being perceived by society as less than human, and anything done to them, therefore, as being less offensive and more permissible than something done to a non-prostitute.

There exists a fundamental contradiction in making illegal all things related to a legal activity, essentially making it illegal to practice a legal occupation. If the goal of criminalization is to eradicate prostitution, why is prostitution still legal? In fact, though Canada's **official** policy has been criminalization, with the goal of eradicating prostitution, their **unofficial** policy, in terms of how the law has been enforced, and what its effect has been, has been a form of regulation -- all it has affected is where, and how prostitution occurs, not whether it occurs (Larsen, 1992).

Regulation, or legalization, approaches don't aim to eradicate prostitution, but to regulate where and how it will occur. Laws related to prostitution are taken off the books. The most common argument in favour of legalization is that it will decrease the public nuisance factor of prostitution by moving it indoors, while providing women with a safe and legal working environment (Peat Marwick & Partners, October 22, 1984).

Implementation varies a great deal in terms of the control exercised over the profession and the women working within it, which can be seen as operating along a continuum. On one end of the continuum, many restrictions are placed on the hows and wheres of prostitution, so that despite its 'legality', it is set apart from other businesses. Unfortunately for women working in the field, when legalization approaches have been adopted around the world, they have been of this sort. Women have been confined to red light districts, been given little input into working conditions and been prohibited from

providing certain services or having pimps. They have been required to get licenses, often from police, had their movements restricted, and been forced to undergo mandatory STD testing. Licenses have been denied to known prostitutes, to ensure a new supply of 'fresh faces'. In Nevada, women have been refused social assistance because they refused to take available jobs in brothels (Barry, 1979; Fraser, n.d.; Scambler, Peswani, Renton & Scambler, 1990; Symanski, 1981). 'Eros Centers' in West Germany are well-known for oppressive and degrading conditions, resulting in increased marginalization of the women working in them (Jaget, cited in Shaver, 1985; Sion, cited in Shaver, 1985; West, 1987; Yandorf, 1979). Internationally, restrictions on women have been even greater. Rarely is this approach accompanied by strategies to address the root causes of prostitution, and the social stigma attached to it. For example, while juveniles may be denied licenses, the problem of how street kids will obtain money to survive goes unaddressed. As a result, juvenile prostitutes are further criminalized and driven underground, making it difficult for services to reach them and for them to leave the profession. The Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes (CORP) described legalized prostitution as slavery (CORP, cited in Shaver, 1984). In this form of regulation the state becomes a pimp and women continue to be marginalized, stigmatized and at risk of violence.

At the other end of the regulation continuum, prostitution is subject to the same licensing, health and safety codes and labour legislation as are other small service business (e.g. word processing, pet grooming, massage), and becomes virtually indistinguishable from decriminalization (Fraser, n.d.; Shaver, 1985).

Decriminalization would remove prostitution-related laws from the Criminal Code. As these laws largely targeted women (and to a lesser extent their male clients, in the application of the law if not in the law itself) this would restore to them the full rights accorded to them as citizens of Canada. Unlike legalization/regulation, no new laws would be made to control women's movements. Women working as prostitutes would be subject to those laws relevant to anyone operating a business. When this approach is accompanied by the non-sexist enforcement of existing criminal law and adaptation of standard business codes, it can result in women controlling their own working conditions, independent of **unwanted** third parties. Women could work from their homes or a place of business instead of on the street, a prospect likely to appeal to their clients as well. They would be better able to assess safety factors prior to agreeing on services with clients, and could cooperate and work together, sharing information on good and bad customers, safety tips and fostering supportive relationships or partnerships. More women working inside would decrease the public nuisance aspects of street work, as would existing municipal by-laws. Supportive partners and friends would no longer be in danger of being charged, decreasing the stigma attached to the profession. Over time, a more collaborative and trusting relationship with police and the legal system would evolve. Women would be more likely to use existing violence-related laws if they knew they would not be charged with a prostitution-related offence when they reported an assault. Women would be more likely to use health and social services in general, and after violence, and these services would eventually begin to respond in appropriate, non-blaming ways (Barnard, 1993; Highcrest, June, 1992; Maggie's, August, 1992).

Decriminalization paves the way to the desegregation of the profession from the rest of the working class, potentially leading to unions or self-regulatory organizations. Women working in the field would have fewer barriers in the way of their being considered respected members of their communities rather than deviants. If they wanted to leave the profession, it would be easier for them to do so, without concern about long criminal records and less concern about social censure when applying for jobs in other professions. Of course, decriminalization would need to be accompanied by broader social reform and education to combat myths and stereotypes about prostitution, but it has been seen as one of the more sensible and attractive options by many. Unlike criminalization or legalization/regulation approaches, it takes into account the welfare and best interests of both the general public and women working as prostitutes, attempting to meet the needs of both, rather than just the needs of the public (Barnard, 1993; Highcrest, June, 1992; Maggie's, August, 1992; Scambler, Peswani, Renton & Scambler, 1990; Shaver, 1985). This alternative is advocated by many feminists and prostitutes' rights organizations (Fraser, n.d.; Highcrest; Maggie's; Shaver, 1985).

2.2.5 Sources of Work-Related Violence

Street prostitutes live with the day-to-day danger of being assaulted by clients, pimps or other street-involved people, members of the general public and police. This can involve physical, sexual, psychological and financial abuse (Fraser Committee, 1985; Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, November, 1991).

One study found that up to 70% of prostitutes had been raped by clients, on average 8 to 10 times per year. Only 7% sought any kind of support, while only 4% reported to police (Silbert, cited in Alexander, 1987). A Winnipeg study found that 78% of women interviewed had been physically or sexually assaulted since they began working, 64% having experienced both physical and sexual assault (Elizabeth Fry Society, 1985). Since Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights (POWER) reopened in 1992, they have been regularly distributing a bad date sheet to women. Murder is a real risk, and serial killers targeting women working as prostitutes are less intensively investigated by both police and the media, with action only speeding up when a non-prostitute is murdered (e.g. Green River Killer in Seattle; Hillside Strangler and South Side Slayer in Los Angeles). Some pimps use violence or its threat to control and/or punish women. Not all of those legally definable as pimps, however, fit this stereotype, instead being viewed by women as loving, non-exploitative partners (Fraser Committee, 1985). Women have also been beaten or robbed by other women or street-involved people.

Members of the general public yell abuse at women, throw rocks, bottles and pennies from passing cars and physically threaten them if they don't leave the area. Perpetrators may be community vigilantes wanting to 'clean up' the streets or young men out 'whore-bashing' (West, 1987). Police have been violent with prostitutes, both physically and sexually in general and while arresting them, using unnecessary force and verbal humiliation. Rarely do women make complaints to police about this, for fear of retaliation (Alexander, 1987; Maggie's, August 1992).

2.2.6 Impact of Violence

Individual

The impact of violence on the emotional, physical and sexual health of women has been well-documented. Emotional effects can include sleeping difficulties, self-mutilation, suicidality, relationship problems, low self-esteem, shame and anger. Physical effects may include stress reactions, migraines, ulcers, clinical depression, difficulties eating, sexually transmitted diseases and any damage due to the assault itself (Bass & Davis, 1988; Miller, 1990; Miller, 1989; Sandford, 1990). Women working as prostitutes experience all of these effects, which are exacerbated by the victim-blaming responses they often encounter from individuals and organizations because of their work (Barnard, 1993).

Societal

The violence expressed against individual women in our society, including prostitutes is only a symptom of a larger problem. Ultimately all violence arises from socio-historical structural sources such as the unequal distribution of power between groups, be they men and women, classes, races, etc. It is these same structural sources that result in the causal models adopted by society to explain prostitution and how best to address it. For example, the criminalization laws which arose out to address prostitution, reflect the influence of such both sexism and classism. This can help create a context where rapists justify the violence they commit because the woman they assaulted did something to 'deserve' it, or ask for it -- she was a 'bad girl' (Hamner & Maynard, 1987; Scully, 1990). Some rapists

feel a woman who is a prostitute "cannot be raped because of the work they do. In consequence male sexual violence against prostitute women can be condoned" (Barnard, 1993, p. 686). Because this only reflects the values of the society at large, when violence occurs, it only reinforces the structure, particularly when the violence is not challenged in any effective way. The fact that all women working as prostitutes are dealing with the daily reality of violence and its threat tells us that there are structural features of prostitution itself, and our society, which foster, maintain and condone this violence.

2.2.7 Responses to Violence

Women

Women who work the streets are well aware of the risk posed to them by their clients. One woman stated "I have no illusions that they really care about me...In a society where women are an expendable resource, any girl who poses a threat will be eliminated. Not much effort would be made to find the exterminator, either" ('A', 1991, 3).

To deal with this reality, they adopt a variety of strategies designed to increase their safety while working, starting with their attitude toward their work and their clients. As one woman put it, "when you start ho'ing you realize that in order not to be used I have to be the user...You have to make sure you are the boss at all times, you make the rules" (Bell, November, 1989, 6). Women working as prostitutes act powerful, and are powerful, "because they have to (be), we don't have a choice...either you are powerful or you get hurt and stepped on" (Bell, November, 1989, 7). The idea is to consciously try to establish

and maintain control over their clients and their actions throughout. This is considered critical in both ensuring payment and limiting the potential for violence. This is a defensive manoeuvre, designed to set a tone of power relations which hopefully the client will not later try to subvert (Barnard, 1993).

The Fraser Committee (1985) found that many women work in pairs, with one noting license numbers down and descriptions of tricks for the other, in case they turned out to be bad dates. When women found themselves in dangerous situations, many relied on 'psychology' to get to safety. This could have included sympathizing with clients, giving free service or convincing them they cared about them. The priority is to keep injury as minimal as possible, by whatever means necessary. As one woman said "It is only because a good hooker can bring out the gentler side in her clients that many rapes of prostitutes are avoided" ("A", 1991, 1).

Police and the Legal System

Complaints of violence that are made were not often taken seriously by police, resulting in women being re-victimized.

* Lyn, a prostitute, was raped and wanted her assailant charged, only to be told by police that if she worked as a prostitute it was impossible for her to be raped (ASP, cited in Shaver, 1985).

* In Winnipeg, a young woman was murdered in 1991 while working the streets. One police officer's response was "It looks like she might have turned one trick too many..." (Social Planning Council, 1991).

In Toronto, similar incidents have occurred (Maggie's, August, 1992). For example,

"* a street prostitute was beaten, choked with a rope and left unconscious in an alley. she had severe bruising on her neck and face the next day when she approached two female police officers to report the incident. They asked her what she expected in her line of work and refused to take a report.

* a homeless street prostitute was beaten and raped so badly that she ended up in hospital for several days and several months later still required surgery. The hospital called police. The officer who responded to the call had arrested the woman in the past and during the arrest was violent toward her. He told her, in front of hospital staff, that she had it coming and left" (p. 3).

This kind of blame-the-victim response only further alienates women from police, making it even less likely they will turn to them for aid or justice when they experience violence. They are also afraid, if they report, that they may actually end up being charged with a prostitution-related offense, or if they have outstanding warrants, due to the criminalization of their profession, that they will be picked up for them (Maggie's, August, 1992).

When it is police themselves who are the source of violence, Maggie's (August, 1992) noted that "it is known on the street that any attempt to report a police officer will result in retaliation" (p. 6). The beliefs held by police need to change for women to receive the support and protection that is their legal right. One woman stated that "to be a prostitute is to have no rights, no protection under the law...the justice system refuses to take seriously any or most reports filed by prostitutes" (ASP, cited in Shaver, 1985).

* Sava Pinney, whose throat was slit by a customer, was denied financial assistance by the Ontario Criminal Injuries Compensation Board because she was considered to have knowingly entered into a dangerous profession (Shaver, 1985).

Often assault charges never make it to court, or are treated more leniently by the courts when the woman assaulted was a prostitute, who is perceived to be less 'credible' than a woman who is not a prostitute (Frohmann, 1991).

Health and Social Services

Highly structured agencies are inappropriate to, and unable to meet the needs of, women working as prostitutes who experience violence. They may be labelled 'difficult clients' because they miss appointments, have no identification, fixed address or social assistance (Fraser Commission, 1985). Agencies tend to be open during times when prostitutes are sleeping, and their physical atmosphere may be highly formal and intimidating, with no posters or literature on display which reflect the reality of these women's lives. Pre-service interviews asking personal questions unrelated to women's immediate needs are embarrassing and tedious, and are something few women will subject themselves to more than once. Often workers adopt the values of the larger society, assuming women somehow asked for or deserved the violence because they work as prostitutes. Most women don't rely on social services, preferring to go without rather than be subject to judgement and discrimination. When the woman who has been assaulted is a minor, often they are running for the very services there to 'help' them (Mathews, 1987).

Services should have input from women using their services at all levels, including design, implementation, and evaluation of policies and programs (Mathews, 1987). If services worked to also address their internal systemic biases against women working as prostitutes, they would be far more likely to use their services (Shaver, 1985).

Society

The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (November, 1991) conducted an urban safety review which endorsed three basic values related to the issue of violence against street prostitutes:

- a. All women, youth and children have an unconditional right to safety;
- b. As long as women, youth and children are working as prostitutes, they have the right to be safe from violence; and
- c. The ultimate goal is to provide alternatives to this lifestyle. (p.70).

The recommendations made by Greene (June, 1991) in her report The War Against Women would certainly also apply to women working as prostitutes:

- a. Violence against women is a crime and is punishable by law;
- b. Women are entitled to live in a safe environment;
- c. Offenders must be held accountable for their behaviour;
- d. The elimination of violence requires prevention, public education and law enforcement;
- e. Every citizen of Canada has a responsibility to help those who are affected by violence, and to work together toward a violence-free society. (pp. 89)

Despite these fine words, these recommendations are far from becoming a reality for women working the streets in Winnipeg. Under current laws and patterns of enforcement, and within current social and health services, this kind of reaction to an episode of violence is not what they generally encounter. To truly change societal attitudes requires comprehensive change, including such things as decriminalization of prostitution-related activities and broader social reform (Mathews, 1987).

2.2.8 Summary

Rarely have studies on prostitution been from the point of view of women working as prostitutes, or been conducted by former or current prostitutes. They have not given women the opportunity to examine and address issues relevant to them, such as the work-related violence they experience, and to communicate to the dominant society the knowledge they possess that many of us do not. When research does not acknowledge and explore the meanings and value placed by individuals on their lives, inevitably it loses its ability to fully reflect the meaning of these lives in its results. It also sends a clear message to women that their understanding of their own lives is not worthy of inclusion or respect, or is less valid than the researcher's. Research which involves the women in all stages affirms their viewpoints, can lead to a sense of individual empowerment, collective community and action (Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Maguire, 1987).

Violence research has tended to use survey questionnaires rather than narrative interviews. This can mean that the priorities and language of the researcher set the

structure and tone for information-gathering rather than the thoughts, perceptions and priorities of the women being researched. Few studies allowed women to speak about their lives in their own ways, with their own voices, possibly missing valuable information as a result. For example, I noticed many women at POWER made important points by describing their experiences. Using an interview approach allows them to share meaning in this manner, where a survey approach does not (Reinharz, 1992).

It is interesting that little to no research has focused on men who are violent with women working as prostitutes. Given that they are the true cause of violence, more work could be done in this area if the prevention of violence is truly the goal (Barnard, 1993). When studies have looked at risk and prostitution, they have tended to focus on the risk posed by prostitute to society, rather than the risks faced by prostitutes themselves (much as the laws have been focused). For example, they have been stereotyped as vectors of transmission for the HIV virus, though there is no evidence this is a real risk--women at POWER were more at risk due to unprotected sex with boyfriends who shared needles. It is harder to find research examining the risks women working as prostitutes face, in terms of the health and safety hazards they face on the job. Much of the research on violence view women working as prostitutes as passive victims of violence. Again, women are objects which have something done to them, are passive rather than active. The implicit message is they do nothing to prevent or decrease violence because nothing can be done. They are helpless. Like punching bags, their function is to be receptacles of violence.

Yet casual conversation with women working as prostitutes at POWER, and some studies (Barnard, 1993), demonstrate that women do many things to address the issue of

violence in their workplaces. Ultimately it is they who are in the best position to identify the origins of, and existing and potential responses to the work-related violence they experience. They are also most able to describe what is currently being done to address it, and to challenge the dominant mythology and 'scientific evidence' that women working as prostitutes are passive victims of violence. When women are not involved in the planning, implementation and interpretation of research, or the policy and services planning that comes out of this research, inevitably neither meet their needs or address root issues (Larsen, 1992). Ultimately, no clear understanding of prostitution, or violence experienced within this profession, will be gained by those outside 'the life' until we listen to the thoughts and feelings of the women themselves about their work (Mathews, 1987).

2.3 CONCLUSIONS OF THE LITERATURE REVIEWS

A feminist postmodern alternative-end paradigm research approach, which incorporated elements of the Social Effects Model of entry into prostitution was considered most appropriate for this particular community and topic area for a number of reasons. Power imbalances exist in society which operate to place women working as prostitutes in a less-valued position, resulting in their being considered 'deviant' and the violence they experience of less concern to society (Barnard, 1993). Social effects such as access to alternative work or means of survival on the street, increased criminalization of those engaging in prostitution, and the glamorization of the work all affect womens' decisions to begin working as prostitutes. This is a decision that is often made when

women are teen-age runaways with few options (Matthews, 1989). The Social Effects Model analyses these issues, the feminist model is appropriate for the analysis of issues of importance to women such as prostitution and violence, and alternative-end paradigm research is designed to analyse and change these types of unequal power structures (Barnard, 1993; Mathews, 1989; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Russell, 1986; Yllo & Bograd, 1988).

The focus in more alternative-end paradigms on mutuality between the researcher and the researched, with shared power as the goal marks a more explicitly non-expert and potentially emancipatory approach (Lather, 1986, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). This approach was considered necessary to make it more likely that the information gathered by the research will accurately reflect women's lives and priorities. Research where the researcher takes an expert approach can run the risk of alienating research participants, who may be less likely to relate to, or work well with, the researcher. It might also result in participants feeling less committed to any action taking place as a result of the research.

The review of the literature on research demonstrated that dominant societal groups control the production of knowledge, or truth, in our society. Knowledge held by members of marginalized communities is considered less valuable. Knowledge held by prostitutes may be considered of less value for a number of reasons: they are women, they don't conform to traditional sex role stereotypes, they are often members of other groups experiencing oppression in our society (e.g. poor, women of colour, less well-educated, single mothers) and they are working in an illegal and stigmatized profession. A feminist postmodern alternative-end paradigm research approach considers research participants to

be the true experts on their own lives, and considers each aspect of their realities as important for expression in the research. As a result, this research approach would be more likely to facilitate the process of women working as street prostitutes in communicating to the dominant society the knowledge they possess that society would otherwise be unable to access. The focus in alternative-end paradigm research on collaborative processes makes it more likely that the women's knowledge will actually be accessed, where a more dominant-end paradigm approach, with its distance and objectivity, might not, due to the likelihood it would alienate the women participating in the research, or be so focused on identifying numerical levels of violence that assessing the meanings given by women to that violence would be overlooked (e.g. such a focus on quantitative methods that qualitative are not used). Affirming the knowledge and meanings given by prostitutes to their experiences and situations sends them a message that their reality is valid and worthy of consideration and respect. As Fisher (1984) noted, use of qualitative methods also makes it easier to understand what a situation is like as it is experienced by the research participants themselves, in a more immediate way which is less possible through more quantitative methods, which while they are derived from individual realities are more divorced from them due to their more categorized, numerical nature. The acceptability of using all available methods in alternative paradigm research can increase the validity of the results obtained, because the results of one method can be compared to those of the other. It also allows the research to access different forms of knowledge--what one method cannot detect will be detectable by another (Carey & Smith, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; White & Farmer, 1992).

The emphasis in alternative paradigm research is on the ability of individuals to know valid things about their lives and situations, it also emphasizes the importance of taking action to change them (individual as agent), rather than assuming they are unable to do so (individual as passive victim). As a result, this form of research can be individually empowering and can lead to an increased sense of community power and social action. The researcher only facilitates this process, slowly transferring out of the process as over time research participants take over. The goals of this model of research are to:

empower the people who are normally just the objects of research, to develop their capacity to research their own situations and evolve their own solutions.

It should embody a relationship where 'expertise' is a resource available to all rather than a form of power for a few (Connell et al, 1982).

Mies (1983) noted that

research, which so far has been largely the instrument of dominance and legitimization of power elites, must be brought to serve the interests of dominated, exploited and oppressed groups (p. 123).

The intent of using this approach for this project was to attempt to achieve just these goals.

Feminist alternative-end research approaches to the issue of violence have been demonstrated in other research projects to be appropriate for the study of issues related to violence against women (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Similarly, such approaches have been found to be useful in the study of the issue of violence against women working as street prostitutes (Barnard, 1993). A feminist alternative-end paradigm research approach

focuses on equalizing and acknowledging the power dynamics which exist between the researcher and research participants and on collaborating with women working as prostitutes throughout the process of research (Lather, 1991; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). This could occur in terms of defining topic areas, drafting questions to be asked, and interpreting results and drafting action plans. This approach is intended to empower marginalized groups which otherwise would not have access to research as a way of generating truth about their lives. A feminist understanding of the issue of prostitution, as discussed in the literature review on prostitution and violence, can also be an empowering one, for its analysis of the relevance of gender in both the area of violence and prostitution (Barnard, 1993; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Postmodern approaches within feminism are particularly attractive because of their emphasis on inclusivity in terms of other aspects of difference besides gender, which paralleled the emphasis of the Social Effects Model on the multiple social factors affecting women's entry into prostitution (Mathews, 1989; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

3.0 APPLICATION OF A FEMINIST ALTERNATIVE-END PARADIGM RESEARCH APPROACH

3.1 PRACTICUM CONTEXT

This section of the practicum report provides an overview of my practicum context. Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights (POWER) was the site for the research project I worked on within Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates (CHRA), which was the organization within which I completed my practicum placement.

3.1.1 Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights (POWER)¹

Introduction

The Integrated Service Delivery Project of Mount Carmel Clinic (referred to as Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights, or POWER in this practicum report) first received funding in 1991 from the Health Services Development Fund of Manitoba Health as a 34-month demonstration project. Other sources of funding in the first year included the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative and the Manitoba Community Services Council, which also committed funds for 1993.

Goals

POWER was designed to provide health and social services to women currently working as prostitutes or who were at risk of becoming prostitutes. Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates (1994) outlined three of the organization's primary goals:

1. to develop and implement inter-departmental linkages between POWER and other organizations specializing in particular problem areas as a means of providing better service to women working as street prostitutes. This goal was met through the establishment of service contracts with a number of other organizations;
2. to reduce the short- and long-term health risks associated with prostitution and other high risk behaviours. This goal was worked toward through most of the services offered by POWER, particularly the POWER house, outreach services, health services and some of the service contracts; and
3. to reduce the number of women and girls who turn to prostitution for economic survival. This goal was worked toward through most of the services at POWER, particularly the POWER house, outreach services, service contracts and community education and advocacy.

These goals were met through the implementation of a variety of services, which are outlined in greater detail in the next section.

Overview of Services

The POWER House

Many of the services used by women operated out of the POWER house, located at 50 Argyle Street. It was open Monday to Friday afternoons and two evenings a week. It served as a drop-in center where women could access a range of services from POWER staff and service contract workers. General health care information as well as health assessment and treatment could be obtained. Basic needs such as hot meals and laundry facilities were available, while food supplied by Winnipeg Harvest could be taken home. Social and educational activities such as crafts, movie nights and sessions on such topics as parenting, self-esteem and self-defence all offered opportunities for women to come together in a non-work atmosphere and offered opportunities for connecting with POWER staff and service contract workers.

Outreach Services

Street outreach services were provided in the core area of Winnipeg at regularly scheduled times, and were done either on foot or by car. Outreach services were provided in conjunction with drop in services and extended to 11:00 p.m. three nights per week. Some late night outreach was also provided on weekends. Services were provided by staff and volunteer teams and primarily occurred in the three areas where women tended to work, referred to by them as 'low track' (Higgins and Main area), 'Jarvis/Sutherland' (Jarvis and Sutherland area), and 'high track' (Albert and Bannatyne area). These three areas also reflected basic class divisions. Jarvis/Sutherland was the lowest class area, with more underage women, native women and women who were 'sniffers' (solvent abusers)

working there. Low track was more middle class, with a mix of native and white women working, and high track tended to be the highest class, with mostly white women working there. Teams also went into local bars and restaurants to make contact with women who were on breaks. Whenever possible, outreach teams worked the same areas, so as to provide greater consistency in outreach and increase the likelihood of connecting with women over time. Services provided included free distribution of condoms, water-based lubricant and foam, bad date sheets, general health education and where necessary, support and referral to services available at POWER or through other agencies (including those which had services contracts with POWER).

Health Services

The goal of POWER health services was to provide care which was considered by women working as prostitutes to be both accessible and acceptable. Women were able to obtain basic health information, physical examinations and referrals to health care facilities as necessary. Areas where women could use more information were identified and several pamphlets and information packages were developed and distributed, as was the newsletter "Street Health News". This newsletter was developed in conjunction with Street Station, another Mount Carmel project which provided condoms and needle exchange services in the Winnipeg core area. Clients were also able to access health education on a variety of topics, including substance use, STDs, AIDS and pregnancy. The POWER Nurse/Health Coordinator obtained clinical consultation services from a Mount Carmel Physician who acted as Medical Advisor to POWER.

The Volunteer Program

The volunteer program allowed many services to be offered that otherwise would not have been possible. All volunteers had the opportunity to complete a 16-hour orientation to program goals, services and procedures and to issues related to prostitution and street life. Generally there were about 30 or 40 volunteers at POWER at any one given time, with approximately 400 to 500 hours per month being provided to the program. It also served as a service to women in that many volunteers had been or were also clients of POWER, which made it more likely that programs would reflect their perspective and incorporated elements of self-help and ownership of POWER services. When reference is made in this practicum report to services provided by POWER staff, no distinction has been made between volunteers and staff unless specifically noted as such, given that volunteers participate in all aspects of service delivery.

Service Contracts

Service contracts are one of the more creative ways in which POWER responded to the needs of women working as street prostitutes, many of whom had experienced difficulty in accessing services in the past due to either perceived or actual structural barriers to service. POWER set up service contracts, or formal service agreements, with a number of organizations which had them provide services on-site at the POWER house. Examples of participating organizations included Legal Aid, City Social Services, Child and Family Services, and counselling services. Forming these contracts responded to the reality that many POWER clients were experiencing multiple problems which required a variety of service responses which are impossible to provide by one agency alone. Having

workers from the relevant organizations come on-site at pre-set times was intended to make it easier for women to access these services. It also allowed the workers from these organizations to provide more intensive specialized services to these women than might have been possible if women accessed them in another way.

Community Education and Advocacy

POWER was instrumental in working with a number of students, schools, agencies, professionals and community groups seeking information or training in areas related to prostitution and street life. Advocacy focused on improving services in general for prostitutes. Staff were also involved in working with the police department on improving attitudes of police officers toward prostitutes. In general, POWER served as a strong voice for prostitute's rights in Winnipeg.

Organizational Structure and Staffing

POWER, as a project of Mount Carmel Clinic, is ultimately accountable to their Board of Directors through the Mount Carmel Executive Director. Staff at POWER included a Coordinator (Programming), a Coordinator (Government and Community Liaison), a Nurse/Health Coordinator, two Outreach Workers, and numerous volunteers. There was also an Advisory Board attached to the POWER project. A Mount Carmel physician acted as Medical Advisor to the Nurse/Health Coordinator. The organizational structure of POWER was under review while the cross-sectional survey was being conducted, and was later reorganized in a more hierarchical manner in the summer of 1993. The new organizational structure arising out of this is displayed in Figure Two.

Insert Figure Two here

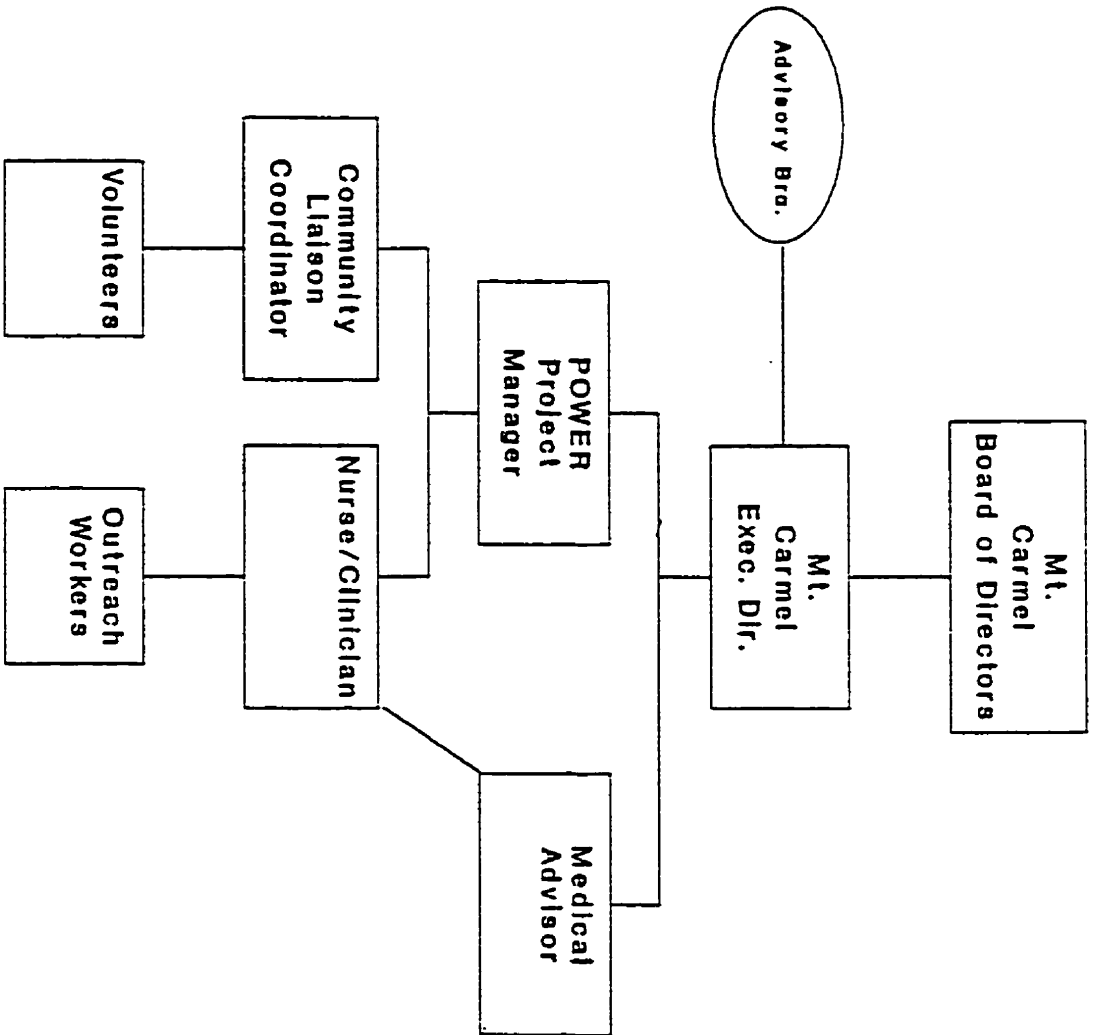
3.1.2 Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates (CHRA)

Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates (CHRA), an independent research group located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, was the organization within which I completed my practicum placement. It was considered a suitable placement for a number of reasons. First, my practicum advisor was a partner in the research group, which enabled her to monitor my progress in skills development closely throughout the actual research project. Second, CHRA is familiar with conducting research from within a feminist model, which made it a good site for me to learn to incorporate feminist values into research practice. Third, CHRA had recently begun working on an evaluation of a program which served a community which I was interested in doing research with: women working as street prostitutes.

CHRA initiated an evaluation of POWER in January 1992, using an evaluation research design which incorporated both qualitative and quantitative elements. It included such elements as analysis of program records, review of the frequency and nature of client contacts, a client files audit, observation, staff interviews, target population surveys, student attitude surveys, service contract provider questionnaires, interviews and forms, workshop evaluation forms, and case studies. The cross-sectional survey questions for this practicum were administered as part of a target population evaluation survey conducted by CHRA. I was able to develop a component of this survey that was not part of the funded

Figure 2

POWER Organizational Chart



survey, but built on issues being explored in the overall evaluation by focusing on work-related violence in greater detail. This gave me the opportunity to gain skills and knowledge in doing quantitative research from a feminist perspective with this community and on this issue.

The decision to add the questions for the practicum research to a component of an ongoing program evaluation research study was a potentially controversial one, and was only made after careful considerations of the pros and cons.

On the positive side, administering the questions as part of the CHRA survey meant I could obtain the interviews I wanted while still being able to meet certain criteria I felt were important in doing research. I felt it was very important to compensate the women I interviewed for the time it took to do the interview. It was important to me to pay women to indicate to them that their time and information was valuable and deserved compensation. Paying for the interviews would also help equalize power differentials between the researcher and the researched, by treating them as consultants providing a service for a fee. Finally, it might have made it possible for some women to participate at all. This could be either because the money helped them meet a quota that had been set for them to meet that night by their pimp (if they had one) or may have made it less likely their pimp (if they had one) would object to their spending their time on the survey. CHRA had included in their evaluation budget a certain amount of money to pay for their interview, which became even higher with my participation as an unpaid student -- the money which would otherwise have been spent on a second interviewer went into the fund to pay

women for their time. This would have been financially impossible for me had I done an independent research project. This was a strong incentive for me.

Working within CHRA also meant I obtained a partner for conducting my survey, an important safety consideration. With a few exceptions, all interviews were completed out on the street, either in a car or a restaurant near the track. This would have been a dangerous situation to enter into as a woman alone, and as someone unable to pay for a co-interviewer, it would have been difficult for me to find someone both qualified and able to accompany me for the interview for free. By working with CHRA's evaluation, one interviewer administered the interview while the other kept watch for any potential problems which might arise.

Finally, the numbers targeted for interviewing in the practicum research were, for this community, quite high. Without funding to pay for interviewers, and another interviewer to split the work, it would have been difficult to access the same numbers of women.

On the more negative side, there are clearly implications of attaching a component of a feminist alternative-end paradigm research project such as the one done for this practicum to a sponsored program evaluation. Program evaluations are explicitly political in nature, and are ultimately accountable to their funder. There was always the risk that women who were particularly pleased or displeased with POWER as an organization would respond to the questions differently, as a result of this, than they would have if the questions for the practicum research had been administered independently

A decision was made to go ahead with the plan to incorporate the questions for the cross-sectional into the CHRA survey, with careful attention being paid to ensuring

women understood that the two surveys were separate, though related in content. It would have been difficult to have accessed the number of women I did in the research had this not been the decision made. Feedback from the women involved in the research itself, and from staff at POWER who had also discussed the research with the women, was that most women understood the distinction or were less concerned with the politics related to the program evaluation than they were with making some extra money from doing the interview.

3.2 PRACTICUM ACTIVITIES

The purpose of the practicum was to increase my knowledge of issues related to work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes and to increase my knowledge and skill in doing feminist research. In order to do this, a research project was completed in the area of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

To achieve the above aims, I engaged in the following activities: 1) two literature reviews, one on prostitution and violence against women working as prostitutes and the other on dominant and alternative paradigm research approaches, with a focus on feminist alternative paradigm research options; 2) volunteer work at POWER to familiarize me with the setting and to gain credibility with both the women themselves and with POWER staff members; 3) a cross-sectional survey interview of 51 women, to be administered as a component of an evaluation survey already being done by CHRA. Questions used in the

survey were developed in collaboration with women either currently working or who used to work as prostitutes, as well as with POWER staff. The questions on the survey were designed to obtain specific information on the nature, source and extent of work-related violence being experienced by the women; 4) open-ended, semi-structured audio-taped interviews with five women working as prostitutes. These interviews were intended to acknowledge and explore in greater detail the meanings and values placed by the women on their experiences of violence; 5) application to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) for funding which would allow a woman who was either a current or former street prostitute to become a co-investigator in the research project. It would also reimburse me for the time I would spend on the project; 5) the interpretation of results and generation of an action plan was to be done by the myself and the SSHRC-funded co-investigator, in collaboration with women working as prostitutes both individually and in a focus group setting and 6) information on the research results and the action plan resulting from the research was to be provided to POWER and women using its services, as well as to other prostitutes' rights groups across Canada. I also maintained a personal diary/log during this process to record my reflections, observations, and increasing knowledge, both about the topic of violence against women working as street prostitutes and in applying my knowledge of feminist research in practice in this topic area and with this community.

These activities are briefly described below:

1) Literature Reviews

The purpose of the literature reviews was to ensure that I developed a comprehensive understanding in the relevant literature and was able to apply this knowledge to choosing a research design which was both appropriate for and relevant to the topic area and community.

2) Volunteer Work

The purposes of volunteering at POWER were myriad. Doing so familiarized me generally with POWER and the ways staff there worked with their clients. It also gave me the opportunity to gain credibility with both the women themselves and with POWER staff members. It also gave me the opportunity to better understand the perspectives and daily lives of women working as street prostitutes, as well as to further define my understanding of the issue of violence against women working as prostitutes, from their perspective. This was a valuable addition to the information I was obtaining in my literature reviews in the area. It also gave me the opportunity to work with the women I saw while on my volunteer shifts to develop the questions for the cross-sectional survey in collaboration with the women and staff at POWER.

I began volunteering at POWER in July of 1992 and continued until January of 1993, donating an average of six to twelve hours per week. I worked in the drop-in and outreach programs, as well as donating time to the volunteer training program in the area of crisis assessment and intervention. When the cross-sectional survey was being conducted, from January to April of 1993, my volunteer hours decreased, only to increase to former levels

when the survey was complete. I continued volunteering with POWER until July of 1993, when I resigned in preparation for a move to another province in August of that year.

3) Cross-Sectional Survey

Developing and administering my section of the cross-sectional survey provided me with experience in examining the issue of violence against women working as street prostitutes from within a feminist model and using a quantitative methodology. The survey was designed to access numerical data related to the experience of violence from a larger number of women. These numbers would help establish that violence against women working as street prostitutes was both prevalent and serious. The use of an alternative paradigm approach meant that I had the opportunity to gain skills in the process of developing the survey questions in collaboration with women working as prostitutes, former prostitutes and POWER staff. They were also reviewed by women in the process of leaving their work as prostitutes. Their input was invaluable in ensuring questions were respectful, relevant, non-blaming, used appropriate language and didn't miss any important issues. This, in turn, arguably made the results more relevant, as it was more likely the questions being asked were both relevant to and appropriate for the women being surveyed. Use of this method also gave me experience in the logistics of planning a more large-scale survey with a relatively diverse group of women which has traditionally been difficult to gain access to in order to conduct research. It also gave me an opportunity to increase my skills at interviewing in this topic area and with this community.

A total of 51 women completed the survey, 48 biological females and three biological males who were transvestites/transgenderists (and who are referred to as women

throughout this report, in deference to their wishes). A copy of the specific questions asked for this research project is provided in Appendix A. Interviews were conducted between February and April of 1993. All participants were recruited through information distributed by POWER outreach teams and announcements in the POWER bad date sheet and Street Link's newsletter. Women were told times and locations where the interviewing team could be found looking for participants, the purpose of the research, and how much they would be paid for their time. An interview car and selected restaurants were used for street interviews. Other interviews were conducted at POWER during drop-in hours. Half of the interviews done were by myself, and half by a CHRA interviewer. Women who participated in the study were currently working as prostitutes and reported having some contact with POWER in the past, if only with street outreach teams. This stipulation was due to the fact this survey was done in collaboration with the CHRA evaluation of POWER services. Women were interviewed in the order in which they presented themselves, on a voluntary basis. This approach to sampling was deemed adequate given that too little is known about this community group to take a more organized approach to sampling.

Prior to beginning the survey, and to ensure that women who were not literate in English understood the information, preambles were read to the women which clarified that the CHRA survey of POWER service users and the workplace violence study were separate, yet connected (See Appendix B). All participants were made aware of how long it would take to complete the interview, the purpose and content of the interview, how the information would be used, the voluntary nature of their participation and the anonymity

of their responses. All signed releases before they beginning the interview (See Appendix B). If women expressed concerns regarding the amount of time that would be taken, they were informed that combining the two surveys had meant they would be paid more for their time, as the practicum researcher was working for free. It was anticipated that this would respond to this concern adequately for some of the women. The data collected from the survey interviews is presented in Appendix C.

4) Open-Ended, Semi-Structured, Audio-Taped Interviews

Use of this form of interview was considered important for a variety of reasons. It provided me with an opportunity to gain experience in examining this issue from within a feminist approach by using a qualitative method which incorporates interaction, reciprocity and more opportunity for engagement between the interviewer and the interviewee. In terms of the goals of the research project itself, this form of interview was valuable because it was more likely to access women's thoughts, beliefs and perceptions related to their experiences of work-related violence in their own words and in their own style of presenting information, rather than within categories set up by myself which might be inappropriate (Fischer, 1984; Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Reinharz, 1992; White & Farmer, 1992). This type of interview was considered particularly important for use with this community, as there are few studies in the literature on violence which provided women working as prostitutes with the opportunity to speak about their experiences in their own way and with their own voice. It also allowed women to use their preferred form of information-sharing, in a way that a structured survey cannot--for example, by telling stories (Fischer; Reinharz). Audio-taping the interview made it more likely the data would

truly reflect their meaning, where if I were writing their responses down there was a risk the data would be altered by my perceptions and values (Maguire, 1987).

Interviews were semi-structured in nature, focusing on a number of general questions related to work-related violence: 1) How would they define violence on the job, who was being violent, and what was the impact of this violence and 2) Where did they go for support following an experience of violence, how supported did they feel they were, and what would they recommend be done differently (if the support source was an organization). Interviews ranged from one and a half to three hours in length. While the above questions were addressed in each interview, whenever possible this was done in a very unstructured manner. Ideally, women raised the issues themselves in the course of the discussion, rather than having them be raised by myself. As much as possible, discussion was led by the women. This made it more likely that if there were any areas I had missed in planning what I would like to cover in the interviews, that this would show up in what was brought up by women on their own during our conversation.

A total of five interviews, the original number targeted for interviewing, were completed, all with biological women. Participants were recruited through information distributed by POWER outreach teams and announcements in the POWER bad date sheet and Street Link's newsletter. They were told times and locations where the interviews would be conducted, the purpose of the research and how much they would be paid for their time. Women were interviewed by myself in the order in which they presented themselves and on a voluntary basis. While it was not a requirement for participation in the interview, all five of them had taken part in the cross-sectional survey the previous spring.

This approach to sampling was deemed adequate given that too little is known about this community group to take a more organized approach to sampling.

Prior to beginning the interview, to ensure women would understand the information even if they were not literate in English, each woman was read a preamble which explained the purpose and focus of the interview, the reasons for the audio-taping, how the information would be used, the voluntary nature of their participation and the anonymity of their responses (See Appendix D). All women signed a release prior to beginning the interview (See Appendix D). The interviews were transcribed and the data analysed by myself. Results are presented in Appendix C of this practicum report.

I considered the use of multiple methods to collect data in this research project to be important for many of the reasons already described in the literature review on research. In terms of meeting my practicum goals, using multiple methods gave me the opportunity to plan and implement a feminist alternative paradigm research project which approached a particular topic within a particular community by using both qualitative and quantitative methods. This increased the range of learning opportunities available to me in this practicum. In terms of the goals of the research project, using multiple methods also made the research more flexible and responsive, with each methodology providing more or different information about the issue being researched. Patterns discovered by one method might be evident in the results of the other, and would thus be internally validated. Finally, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies would allow complex issues to be measured in a more detailed manner than if either was used alone.

Due to the nature of the research topic, a number of steps were taken to ensure women would have access to further support if they needed it. Interviewers were trained in crisis intervention techniques in case women began experiencing any undue distress during the interview, or in the event that a crisis situation should develop independent of the content of the interview. It was made clear to women they could stop the interview at any time if they became distressed or uncomfortable with the content, and that they could refuse to answer specific questions if they so wished. All respondents were provided with the telephone number of a crisis line and POWER's phone number should they wish further support or information regarding available resources. These steps were taken for both the cross-sectional surveys and the audio-taped interviews.

5) Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Grant Application

My participation in the development and submission of this grant provided me with the opportunity to gain experience in the process of applying for research funds, an important and relevant research skill. In terms of the goals of the research project itself, the grant proposal was designed to allow a woman who was either a current or former street prostitute to become a co-investigator in the research project. This would have emphasized the importance of the individual and collective empowerment of the women themselves, hopefully facilitating an increased sense of community power and collective action. I would act as a facilitator of this process, gradually pulling away from a leadership role as more and more power and leadership was taken by the women themselves. The funding would also have made it possible to compensate me for time spent on the project, which would in turn have eased time and financial constraints of the research process.

6) Interpretation of Results and Generation of Action Plans

The data from the cross-sectional survey and the interviews was to be interpreted in collaboration with women working as prostitutes. This would be done with women both individually and in a focus group setting facilitated by myself and the SSHRC-funded co-investigator. In terms of practicum learning opportunities, this would provide me with a chance to learn how to participate in such a collaborative process, both with individual women and while facilitating a focus group, all in collaboration with a co-investigator from the community. This would assist me in honing my skills in applying the non-expert alternative paradigm model in practice, as women worked to interpret the results and generate an action plan, both individually and as a group, that reflected their realities and priorities. In terms of the goals of the research, the purpose of working collaboratively with women was to ensure that results weren't interpreted inappropriately but were grounded in and representative of the realities of these women's lives. An additional purpose was to generate an action plan to address the reality of work-related violence in a way which made sense to the women. Using a focus group as well as individual contacts would allow knowledge to be generated by the women both individually and as a group. It would also facilitate the process of community-building amongst the women which would make implementing the action plan easier.

7) Dissemination of Results and Action Plan

The literature review on prostitution, research results and action plan resulting from the research were to be shared with POWER and women working as street prostitutes, in both written and audio-taped format. The same information would be distributed to prostitutes' rights groups across Canada. This would ensure that women who were low-literacy in English would be able to access the information in the report. I anticipated the information in the report would be useful for POWER and the women using its services when planning future policy, programming, and as the basis for future funding applications for services or advocacy initiatives related to work-related violence and the action plan recommended by the women. In addition, the research results and action plan were to be included in an appendix of the practicum report, to provide an overview of the outcomes of the research conducted (See Appendix C).

The practicum activities described above can be conceptualized as a series of steps, which in their entirety constitute a feminist research process. In order to structure my review of the specific steps I completed in the course of my practicum, I used the information obtained in my literature review to supplement steps defined in Brown and Braskamp's (1980) *Utilization Enhancement Checklist*. These have been described in detail in the following sub-sections. An evaluation of the extent to which I performed these steps effectively is provided in Section 4.0.

3.2.1 Determining the Researcher's Role

Incorporating the notion of reflexivity and determining my level of personal interest in conducting research in this area and with this community.

Kirby and McKenna (1989) discussed the importance of researchers situating themselves in relation to the research question and process. The term they used for this process was reviewing 'conceptual baggage'. The goal is to have researchers account for their personal experiences and assumptions related to the general research topic, as well as related to the process of the research. They recommended a process of reviewing conceptual baggage throughout the entire research project, so as to assist researchers with making their values and assumptions more conscious, so they are able to more directly assess them for bias and challenge them. Doing so makes it less likely they will influence the research process without the researcher being aware of it.

I chose to track my conceptual baggage in a computer 'diary', or log. In it I recorded my reflections on the activities engaged in related to the research completed for my practicum. Diary entries focused on a range of issues. For example, quotations from women related to the research topic, reflections on these comments in light of the literature reviews I was conducting. The purpose of the diary entries were as follows: 1) they provided me with a place to make sense of the day to day experience of learning how to do feminist research. In them I strove to synthesize the information I was obtaining from my literature reviews with the realities I was encountering in my work at POWER; 2) they served as a means of keeping my values and assumptions explicit rather than implicit,

making it less likely they would affect the research process; 3) They would be useful when the time came to write my practicum report, as a record of the process by which I gained skills and knowledge in doing feminist research.

Unfortunately, I was unable to use most of the entries in the writing of this report. My computer became infected with a virus in 1996, causing my hard drive to crash and destroying many files in the process. Fortunately, I had a paper copy of a relatively recent version of my practicum report. I did not have copies of my computer diary entries, and I did not have any back up disks of the entries. Back up disks had been made while I was still living in Winnipeg, but these were somehow lost in an inter-provincial move in 1993 and I had never got around to re-doing them. This required me to rely on some notes which I had happened to make on paper at certain points in the process, rather than entering them into the computer, and on my memory of events which occurred at various points during the research.

The following is an overview of some of the issues which arose in my ongoing conceptual baggage review at different stages of the research process:

Prior to Beginning the Research

Prior to beginning the actual research project, I spent some time examining my conceptual baggage and my personal interest in this research. I wanted to ensure that I incorporated the notion of reflexivity into the research itself, and doing so required this kind of analysis. My practicum placement at Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates provided me with the opportunity to develop a more in-depth component of the cross-sectional survey they would be completing as part of their evaluation of POWER. I knew I

wanted to look more closely at the issue of violence against women working as prostitutes, using a feminist alternative paradigm research approach. My notes indicate these interests arose out of my past work as a sexual assault counsellor. As part of my work, I had been called out occasionally when women working as prostitutes had been sexually assaulted while on the job. It was my observation that many of these women were met with victim-blaming responses from both health care professionals and police officers. Many seemed to feel either that the women somehow had asked to be assaulted by doing this kind of work in the first place, or should not be expected to be traumatized by an assault, since selling sex was part of their job.

Such responses reflect a number of societal myths, about both prostitutes and violence and assault in general. As I noted in Section 2.2.6 of this practicum report, survivors of violence against women are often met with victim-blaming responses from both individuals and organizations they come in contact with. Often this is represented in attitudes which imply that a woman who has been assaulted had to have done something to deserve it (Hamner & Maynard, 1987). Similarly, Barnard (1993) noted that some people do not believe prostitutes can be raped because they sell sex for a living.

I also noted the reactions of women to these responses, with some women responding angrily and defending their rights, and others accepting them quietly, or responding by withdrawal and a refusal to continue with the reporting process. Most were distant with sexual assault counsellors, preferring the support of a friend or co-worker to that of a stranger. These observations, in conjunction with discussions I had with a friend who used

to work as a prostitute about her experiences of violence on the job, started me thinking about examining the issue of prostitution and work related violence more closely.

The knowledge I already had in the area of violence against women had made me well aware of the empowering effect of being able to define your own experience, particularly in relation to traumatic experiences such as assault. This is also well-documented in the literature (Bass & Davis, 1988; Hamner & Maynard, 1987; Sanford, 1990). To that point, I had done very little reading of the literature which addressed the issue of violence against women working as prostitutes.

I was at a point in my life where I had been working in the feminist movement for about four years. This was long enough for me to begin questioning much of what I had once unquestioningly accepted as 'truth', and to begin comparing and contrasting different theories of feminism to find one which corresponded with my values. I was intrigued by the ambivalent, extreme and volatile responses many feminists I knew had to the issue of sex trade work, and to the notion that some women might choose to work in these professions. I was aware of the lack of analysis I had in the area, and knew that my understanding of it was incomplete. I felt drawn to investigate this issue in more detail, as part of my process of growth as a feminist.

I was also very motivated to learn more about feminist research. I had been involved in research projects in the past, as a research assistant, including completing a fourth-year honours Psychology thesis. The prospect of overseeing an entire research project, particularly one completed within a feminist approach, was very attractive. It was the logical next step for me in my process of skills development. My personal life was also

well-suited to the type of commitment such an in-depth research study would require. I had been making my academic studies my priority for the past six years, and was working at two part-time jobs to fund my studies. At that time I saw no reason why this situation would change.

My review of conceptual baggage related to the content area of the research did reveal a number of biases related both to the issue of violence against women and to women working as prostitutes. Those related to violence were ones I was more aware of through my work as a sexual assault counsellor, and I had already developed means of ensuring that I was able to consciously track their influence on my work. Examples of these included age-old myths such as the idea women somehow brought on the violence they experienced by the way they were dressed or had behaved, that men possessed an uncontrollable sexual impulse that caused them to sexually assault women, and that rape was even about sexual assault, and that if you were really careful you could be sure you would never be assaulted. These myths were ones which I had been raised believing, and had 'unlearned' when I became a feminist activist and counsellor in the area of violence against women. However, because they had been with me for so long, and were such an integral part of the society I lived in, I found that it was wise to always be aware of when they were being triggered by a situation I found myself in. I was very aware that just because I had consciously resolved these myths so that I no longer believed in them, it was sometimes more difficult to remain certain they were not operating on a more unconscious level. As such, I tended to keep track of them overtly, rather than expecting them to simply not be an issue in the research. This would incorporate the need for reflexivity into

the research process, and would help ensure the research would remain flexible enough to accurately access the realities of women working as street prostitutes (Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

The myths I possessed related to prostitution were less conscious, and had to this point only been challenged by my friend who had formerly worked as a prostitute. Her willingness to confront my prejudices and assumptions about women working as prostitutes was invaluable. It not only made me aware of the fact that I held a number of biases and assumptions around the issue, it also helped me see how many feminist analyses of sex trade workers encouraged some of the biases I held. For example, one of the myths I held was that women working as prostitutes were helpless, exploited victims who need rescuing, and I had fallen into the same way of thinking about this type of work. My friend took great pleasure in debunking this particular myth, naming it for the patronizing assumption that it was, both on my part and on the part of the feminist theory which expressed the same sentiments. Another myth I had was that women working as prostitutes had no lives outside of their work. For example, that they did not have lovers (who didn't act as their pimps), children, families or school/work lives outside do their work as prostitutes. Some of the myths I held contradicted one another. For example, while a part of me held the myth of the prostitute as helpless victim, another part thought women working as prostitutes were in complete control of their lives and were extremely empowered and liberated women. It excited me to think that conducting this research project, particularly from within a feminist approach, would challenge me in terms of my values and attitudes, skills and knowledge in research, ability to define and apply feminist

theory and to understand the issue of violence against women working as street prostitutes, as well as to explore in a very personal way the question of whether someone who was not a member of the group being researched (prostitutes) and who had not experienced the subject of the research (work-related violence) could conduct a research project with that community and in that area.

Entry into the Community and Research Design

As was discussed in Section 3.2 above, I spent six months volunteering at POWER in the drop-in and street outreach programs. During this time, I continued to review my conceptual baggage in my computer diary as I worked on the research for both my literature reviews and at getting to know the women and staff at POWER and to have them get to know me. As time went by, and I developed good working relationships with many of the women, I also focused on developing questions for the cross-sectional survey. Being on regular POWER drop-in and outreach shifts allowed me to get a lot of input and feedback from the women themselves, as well as the staff, on the content of the survey. It also gave me a lot of opportunities to discuss the information I was getting from my reading on prostitution and violence and research approaches with them. These discussions, along with the computer diary, assisted me in incorporating the knowledge I was developing around these issues in a manner which was consistent with the needs and priorities of the women but which made my values and biases explicit. They also helped me challenge and debunk some of the myths I had about women working as prostitutes and how violence they experienced could best be understood. My goal was to develop a research approach which incorporated the best of academic theory and writing in my two

literature reviews with the actual day-to-day experiences and priorities of the women themselves.

Cross-Sectional Survey

I continued to use my computer diary throughout the time when the cross-sectional surveys were completed. A total of 51 interviews were completed over a period of about two and one-half months, so the pace was often extremely hectic. Some shifts we would be doing multiple interviews, with women waiting for their turn, and others we would have nobody to interview at all. This often depended on the number of clients out, as women would often do a date before doing an interview, as they would make more money that way.

I found that doing the interviews had more of an emotional impact on me than I had anticipated, as did the Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates staff member who did the interviews with me. This occurred for a couple of reasons. First, I was hearing a lot more about the reality of women's lives as a result of doing the survey than I had heard while volunteering at POWER. This might imply that the way the questions were phrased in the research was effective in accessing the information I wanted to access. Second, as someone who had never lived on the streets, there were some situations I had simply never encountered prior to doing the cross-sectional surveys, despite the many hours I had volunteered at POWER to that point.

One evening stands out in particular, when we were doing interviews in the low track area. It was in this area that the youngest women tended to work, along with women who were 'sniffed out' (i.e. high on glue or other substances). One of the women who came to

be interviewed that evening was either so high at that time, or had incurred so much damage from sniffing in the past (or a combination of the two) that it was impossible to actually do the interview. While the preamble to the survey was read to her, she was unable to confirm to me that she understood what it meant, and she could not sign the consent form, not even with an 'x' . When asked her name and age, all she was able to do was hand me her driver's license. She was completely dishevelled, smelled strongly of solvent and body odour, had difficulty walking and talking and drooled continually while I attempted to talk to her. She was eighteen. In the end, I gave her the money without doing the interview at all. She refused all referral numbers and attempts to suggest potential sources of support. While this was by no means the norm in terms of what the women I did interviews with were like, it did have an emotional impact on me.

Another common theme was the internal feelings of helplessness and negativity which both myself and my co-interviewer often felt when hearing about the multiple problems that many of the women had in their lives. This secondary, or vicarious trauma was very real and was similar to responses that I had experienced as a sexual assault counsellor. Often my co-interviewer and I would debrief the shift when it was over, and it was during those times that I would do more of the reflecting and sense-making about what I had seen and done that night than when I got home to my computer. I was often so tired by that point that it was all I could do to quickly note down some relevant points and observations before falling asleep.

Application for a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Grant

As discussed in Section 3.2, I participated in the submission of an SSHRC grant which would have allowed us to hire a woman who was either a former or current prostitute to be a co-investigator in the project, and to reimburse me for the time I would spend on the project. This was a real learning process for me, demonstrating that applying for such grants is not as difficult a process as one would expect it to be. When notice was given that the project was not funded, I was disappointed as I had hoped to use the funds to allow me to focus more exclusively on the research. This played a role, along with a variety of personal reasons unrelated to the research, in my decision to move in August of 1993. This decision ended up affecting the my personal commitment to the research process in ways I did not predict at the time. I had expected the research to continue as planned, albeit at perhaps a slightly slower pace. I would return to Winnipeg at regular intervals, as my work commitments allowed, to complete the final stages of the research.

Semi-Structured Audio-Taped Interviews

In January of 1994, I returned to Winnipeg for a week to conduct the audio-taped interviews. I continued to use the computer diary system during that time period. In comparison to when I was doing the cross-sectional interviews, I was more consistent in making diary entries this time, for a number of reasons. First, I did not have a partner working on the interviews to debrief them with. This meant that, in light of confidentiality constraints, my primary means of making sense of the interviews, and the feelings they evoked, was through writing in the diary. Second, when I did the interviews I had come to Winnipeg specifically for that purpose. This meant that I had more time to devote to the

diaries without being constrained by having to go to work. Third, the time frame for the interviews was fairly short, as I only did five interviews, over a course of four days. It was easier to keep up with the diary entries over a shorter period of time such as this than it was during the cross-sectional survey process.

Similar issues arose during the interviews as during the cross-sectional interviews, in terms of my emotional response to the content of the interviews I was conducting. For example, one of the women I interviewed was in an extremely abusive relationship, and had experienced, and continued to experience, numerous forms of violence throughout her career as a prostitute. Interestingly enough, while it was difficult to hear about her experiences in the course of the interview, I had spent enough time ensuring I was clear about my role that I did not deviate from it while speaking with her. What was more difficult was the emotional after-effects, where I felt overwhelmed by her life situation, and helpless. I remember spending some time reviewing these emotions in my diary after that interview, to try to put my reactions in perspective. .

Transcription of Audio Tapes, Data Analysis and Interpretation of the Results

There was a large gap between when I completed the last of my audio-taped interviews and when I began working with the data again. Unfortunately, with the pressures of adjusting to life in a new province and to working full-time and doing school part-time, I had for the first time in a long while placed my academic pursuits on the back burner. This meant that over the two years between January of 1994 and late summer in 1996 the only work I completed on the project was to complete one of the literature

reviews and to transcribe the audio-taped interviews. Data analysis of the cross-sectional interview was completed when the survey was finished in 1993.

It was during this time period that I saw my commitment to the research project begin to wane. My lifestyle had changed with my move to another city, and I had increased personal and work pressures which had not existed while I was living in Winnipeg. In the first year after my move, the work I was doing was extremely stressful, leaving me with little motivation to work on my practicum during the evenings and on weekends. When I got another, permanent position, I was no longer working in the field of violence against women, and found my interest in the area was on the decrease. In some ways, it was as though psychologically I felt as though I had completed the project and left it behind, even though this was not the case. When I did obtain a permanent position in September of 1994, which would have given me more time and money to be able to return to working on the practicum, the POWER demonstration project had ended and Mount Carmel was taking steps to merge the program with another of their programs, Street Station. In the next year a number of the staff members who had been with the agency during data collection for the research project left for other work. It is true that enough of the women who had participated in the original project would probably have still been using the services of the new agency that I would have accessed many of the same women had I returned to them to interpret the results and generate action plans. The barrier for me was the prospect of transcribing the audio-taped interviews, a huge job. I did not have the financial resources to hire somebody to do it, and procrastinated on starting it myself until I was so close to the end of the allotted time to complete my practicum that I applied for

an extension of one year in May of 1995, which was granted. I did complete one of my literature reviews in the fall of 1995, but procrastinated about the transcription until the summer of 1996, when I finally completed it and began the analysis of the data from the research project.

I experienced a lot of mixed emotions when I transcribed the tapes. I experienced again the same feelings of helplessness and trauma that I had felt when I did the original interviews. I felt overwhelmed at the thought of all the work that remained on the project, and at the prospect of having to complete it while working full time. The fact that I had lost so much of the data from my diaries had also demoralized me, as it signified the loss of a great deal of very situation-specific detail that would have assisted me tremendously in the final write-up of my practicum experience, as well as in providing an additional perspective on the data from the research itself. I was excited at the richness of the data in the interviews, the quality of the women's lives that this form of research was able to access, in contrast to the more objective and neutral information accessed by the cross-sectional interviews.

Finally, I felt guilty that I had not completed the project as originally planned, that the results would be interpreted and action plans generated by myself, rather than in collaboration with women working as street prostitutes. I knew this meant that the design I was using would be less of an alternative paradigm model and the quality of the results could well suffer as a result. I felt angry at my privilege, at how easily I had walked away from the project and gone on in my life, while the women I spoke to in the research could very well be in the same situations as when I had spoken to them some years before.

Ensuring skills, time, finances and personnel were adequate.

The best indicator that I possessed the skills required to do the research was the completion of the tasks and activities related to the research. These included researching the topic areas of violence against women working as prostitutes and research approaches (particularly feminist research), gaining entry to the community with which I wanted to do the research, and instituting and completing a feminist alternative paradigm research project which incorporated the participation of the women at all stages of the research, from methodology choices, to generating questions for the surveys, providing input into the pros and cons of doing audio-taped semi-structured interviews, interpreting the results, generating action plans and implementing these plans.

At the time the research project was initiated, it appeared that there would be sufficient time, finances and personnel available to conduct this type of research project. The only exception to this would be the fact that if we did not receive the SSHRC grant it would not be possible to hire a woman who either was currently or who had once worked as a prostitute to co-facilitate the results interpretation and action plan generation stages of the project. It would also mean I would not be compensated for time spent on the project. At the time I thought the remaining stages of the research could be completed without the assistance of a co-facilitator. As has already been described, my decision to move to another province decreased the time and money I had available to give to the research project in ways I had not predicted. The project ended up falling far behind schedule as a result, and the original plan to collaboratively interpret the results and generate an action plan was revised.

Determining the appropriate roles to take in relation to the women and staff at POWER.

In planning for the research, I thought it was important that I spend time thinking about the roles I would take in relation to the women and staff at POWER, so I could better communicate this understanding to them. In addition, I thought the clearer I was about my roles and why I was taking them on, prior to actually entering the POWER setting, the easier it would be for me to know if 1) I was expected to take on another role; 2) I was challenged with regard to the appropriateness of the roles I had taken or 3) I decided to change my roles in the course of the research.

I anticipated holding a variety of roles throughout the process of completing my practicum. I expected them to include the simultaneous combination of the roles of student, educator, volunteer, researcher, collaborator, non-expert, sympathetic listener and friendly stranger. The feminist alternative paradigm research model I had chosen meant I wanted to incorporate the subjective into the knowledge building process, by having it be as participatory, or collaborative as possible. I expected this to be a careful process of balancing, particularly in terms of the need to be very clear, both with myself and with the women and staff at POWER, about the limitations of my role. For example, I was clear that I was not there to make friends with them and that I could not guarantee I would remain at POWER as a volunteer once the research was over. This was not to say that I would not be friendly, or a committed volunteer during the time of the research. Rather, I felt it was important not to create false expectations regarding my role in the future of

either POWER itself or the women who used its services. There was a very real risk, to my thinking, that if women operated under these assumptions, when they did not occur they might feel used or exploited by me.

I primarily located myself in my role at POWER as a 'friendly stranger' someone who had certain goals to achieve and things to offer during my time at POWER. I wanted to complete my research project in order to graduate, to better understand and represent the realities of women working as street prostitutes who experienced work-related violence, to learn how to collaborate with research participants in general, and the women at POWER in particular, in order to meet these goals. I was clear that I could offer the women at POWER certain things: 1) A chance to give me feedback on the relevance and appropriateness of the information I was obtaining from my literature review on prostitution and violence, and of the research methods I was considering using in the research, 2) The opportunity to have input into the choice of the questions to include within such instruments as the cross-sectional survey; 3) The chance to participate in the cross-sectional survey and/or the audio-taped interview, which would both give them a chance to make some money and to have their say about the violence they have experienced while working and 4) The opportunity to assist in interpreting the results and developing an action plan that directly reflected their perceptions and priorities.

I was also clear about the fact that I could offer the staff at POWER certain things as well: 1) my time and efforts as a volunteer at POWER over the course of the research; 2) The satisfaction of seeing somebody working with the women to document the violence which was occurring for them, given that they considered it a serious occupational and

health hazard for them and 3) The knowledge that they would receive a copy of the action plan which was developed out of the research, which would be useful for them in program planning and applications for funding.

Gaining access to and establishing credibility with groups relevant to the research. Ensuring those involved in the research had a clear understanding of the purpose of the research and my role within it.

I intended to gain access to the community in two ways. First, I would volunteer at POWER. This would allow me to familiarize myself with both POWER staff and programs and with the women using POWER's services. It also would give me an opportunity to establish with both groups an understanding of the purpose of the research and my role within it. When I began volunteering, I spoke openly about my interest in doing research on the violence the women experienced in their work, and that I had chosen to volunteer at POWER to give them a chance to get to know me before I actually started asking questions for the research. I was clear that I wanted to do the research in a way that was consistent with, and incorporated the perspectives, priorities and definitions of, the women themselves. At the same time, I wanted to retain an explicitly feminist perspective. I was clear that part of why I was there was to discuss with them how this could best be achieved. I was continuing work on the literature reviews on prostitution and violence and traditional and feminist alternative paradigm research approaches, and beginning to make choices regarding methodologies to be used and questions to be included in them. My openness about this process, and willingness to discuss it with

women who were interested, in plain language, was intended to both de-mystify the process of research for them and to allow them to suggest areas where they thought I was on the wrong track.

Second, as a student on a placement with CHRA, I had access both to POWER and a different form of credibility, as a researcher/student. While I considered it important that women and staff at POWER be aware why I was at POWER, I was also aware of the risk this role would be perceived differently than how I perceived it. I viewed it as an opportunity to learn how to collaborate with this community on research on this topic. My understanding of the situation was that, given that the research topic and the community were not parts of my own life history or reality, that I had as much to learn from them about these issues as I had to share, in terms of my skills and knowledge about research. Ultimately, they were the only ones who truly understood the reality of the research topic. Without their participation, and the sharing of this information, the research would not be possible.

One of the risks, therefore, in relation to the clarity of my role, was that women or staff at POWER would expect me to consider myself some sort of expert on their lives. In fact, a couple of times during the course of the research this did in fact occur. My strategy in those situations was to simply restate my understanding of my role, and to try to understand what it was that I had done or said that may have made them see me differently. I was aware that it was entirely possible that, out of my privilege, I could do or say something that indicated I did feel I knew more than they about a given issue. I felt it was important that I be prepared for this eventuality and accept such challenges as valid

when they occurred. I was aware that I held a position of privilege in many ways in relation to the women, in terms of such factors as class, education, race, life history. I considered it important to acknowledge my awareness of the sources of my privilege directly to them, so they would be more comfortable with saying something to me if I expressed this privilege unconsciously. Also, having this awareness made it more likely I would be conscious of using my privilege and could acknowledge it myself or change my behaviour without their having to point it out to me. This was designed to ensure that as much as possible, I remained responsible for my own privilege and for addressing any biases or myths that arose from it.

As I noted in Section 3.2, to ensure women had a clear understanding of the purpose of the research and my role within it, informational inserts were placed in the POWER bad date sheet and the Street Links newsletter prior to the survey and the audio-taped interviews. These clearly outlined the purpose of the interviews, the approximate time they would take to complete, the amount that would be paid and the confidential nature of their responses. As mentioned previously, preambles were read to the women and releases were signed before the actual interview was begun. In the preamble, specific attention was paid to ensuring women understood that the CHRA evaluation of POWER and the questions being asked regarding violence for my practicum were separate yet connected research projects (See Appendix B). This addressed the possibility that any politics surrounding the evaluation could affect responses made to practicum questions. Women were informed before they started of the amount of time it was likely to take. If they expressed concern

about it being too long, we explained the decision to combine the two interviews had meant being able to pay more money for the interview than had they been done separately.

3.2.2 Planning and Implementing the Research

Developing an understanding of the issue of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes that reflected the realities of the women themselves.

I worked to meet my practicum goal of gaining an increased understanding of prostitution in general, and violence against them in particular, in a few different ways: 1) I completed a comprehensive literature review on the issue, focusing both on academic and non-academic sources; 2) I spent a lot of time talking with the women and staff at POWER about the issue of violence as it played out for them in their daily lives. When they were interested, I also discussed issues/perspectives I was finding in the literature search I was doing to get their opinions on them; 3) I spoke to women who had once worked as prostitutes, and were now out of the business. The last two strategies were intended to assist me in assessing how well the literature on violence against women working as prostitutes actually reflected their perceptions and experiences and 4) I completed the research project itself, which was specifically designed to access information in this area.

Determining the most appropriate research approach for use with this community and research topic. Applying this approach correctly throughout the research process and adapting it to meet changing needs and priorities as they arose

Completion of the literature review on traditional and alternative paradigm research, particularly feminist alternative paradigm research, was extremely useful in progressing toward my practicum goal of increasing my knowledge and skill in the areas of feminist alternative paradigm research. The time I spent at POWER discussing my research approach with the women and staff provided me with the day to day reality of attempting to put theory into practice.

The research plan was for a feminist alternative paradigm research project which would examine the issue of violence against women working as street prostitutes. I chose to use a combination of quantitative survey methods and qualitative audio-taped interviews so as to meet two gaps that had been identified in the literature in the area. One was that little attempt had been made to assess levels of violence being experienced by women. When this had been done, the women themselves had not been involved in the planning of the questions to be asked in the survey. The involvement of the women in this stage of the process would make it more likely that the questions asked regarding violence were ones which made sense to the women being interviewed. The other gap in the literature the research was intended to address was the lack of research into the felt experience of violence for these women, by allowing them to speak about the issue in their own words, in a less structured way than is possible in a survey.

The first two stages of the research process, planning the research questions and designing the questionnaires, and conducting the survey interviews and semi-structured audio-taped interviews went as was originally planned. The first stage, of planning the research questions and designing the questionnaires, was crucial. If the issue focused on, work-related violence, was not considered by the women to be important and relevant, they would not be likely to be interested in actively participating in the research process and in working for change related to it, as is the goal in alternative paradigm research. As the research went on, I applied for funding from SSHRC to hire one of the women to assist in the interpreting of the results and action plan generation. Focusing on the importance of an action plan arising from the research were consistent with the focus in research conducted more on the alternative end of the paradigm continuum that research have a social change orientation, and work explicitly to share power with research participants.

The final stages of the research, interpretation of the results and action plan generation, did not go as planned and were completed by the researcher alone rather than in collaboration with women working as street prostitutes. It would be going too far to say that this meant the project no longer qualified as a feminist alternative paradigm research project, but it is true that the original research design was more alternative than what ended up being done. Despite the change in process, however, the information collected remains a valuable contribution to the body of literature in the area. The focus on disseminating the results of the research and the action plan to prostitutes rights

groups across Canada also maintains the focus on social change that is so important in an alternative paradigm research project.

3.2.3 Analysing the Data, Interpreting the Results and Dissemination

Ensuring that data analysis and interpretation of the results was done within the context of the relevant literature and in a manner consistent with feminist alternative paradigm research

I anticipated the analysis of the data from the cross-sectional survey would be straightforward, given its quantitative nature. My plan for the audio-taped interviews was to keep the analysis of them very simple, given that doing this kind of interview on this topic, and with this community, was so new, and therefore needed to remain exploratory in nature. My plan was to do limited categorizing of the women's responses, based on themes which arose from the interviews themselves. Within these basic categories, my primary goal was to provide an opportunity for women's voices to be heard, their perceptions and opinions aired in their own words.

Thinking about the political implications of possible research findings

It seemed likely from my discussions with women prior to doing the research that there was a chance that the research results would demonstrate that many women did not trust the police and legal system, or the hospital system, to support them when they had experienced violence. This was particularly disturbing given that, under the law, they had

as much right to access these systems as any other group when they were assaulted. I anticipated that if this was in fact what was learned from the surveys, that good progress could be made in the interpretation of the results/action plan generation and implementation stages in terms of more concretely identifying ways to address the barriers women experience in accessing the system. There was a lot of potential for using the data as a basis for future program proposals by POWER intended to increase the accessibility of the system. The results could also form the basis for policy recommendations to the government with regard to the safety of women working as prostitutes on the street, in terms of such things as legal changes (e.g. decriminalization).

A decision was made to disseminate the research results to prostitutes' rights groups across Canada, to ensure they have access to information which would be politically useful for them in their activism around violence and prostitution. They are arguably less likely to access reports published in the academic literature that will also be completed.

Determining a dissemination plan and preparing different reports for different audiences

A number of groups were identified as potential audiences for the results of the research. These included my practicum committee, POWER, the women working as street prostitutes who use POWER's services, other prostitutes' rights groups and their members across Canada, the academic world, and members of society in general.

A number of reports were to be written in order to reach these different audiences. The practicum report fulfilled my requirements for graduation. The audience for it is my

practicum committee and upon graduation, those having access to published practicum reports. Another report was to be done for POWER, who would not want the full practicum report. It will consist of copies of the two literature reviews and the information found in Appendix C of this practicum report. An audio-tape version of this report will be made for POWER as well, so as to ensure that women who were low-literacy in English could still access the information. This could not be completed prior to the writing of this practicum report, due to time constraints, and will be completed in 1998.

The same information as will be sent to POWER will be forwarded to prostitutes' rights groups across Canada (in the same audio-tape and written format) to ensure they and women working as prostitutes have access to this information in their work and for program planning. Too often publishing is only done in the academic literature, where it is arguably less likely to be accessed by street-level activists or front-line workers. This will be done at the same time as the information is sent to POWER, in 1998.

The results of the research will be revised for submission to various academic journals, to begin filling the gaps observed around violence research with this community. Less academic articles will be written for inclusion in other media, for example feminist magazines such as HERIZONS, or MS. magazine.

3.3 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This section outlined in more detail the activities I completed, and how I structured them, so as to ensure that the research completed for this practicum constituted a feminist

research process. Here I have focused on describing how I planned for and implemented each step in this process, so as to ensure the entire project was completed appropriately. I also outlined where the original research plan was revised, and the reasons for this. The next section will provide an evaluation of the extent to which the decisions I made to operationalism the steps outlined in this section worked, and will discuss how the outcome of each step can be related to the literature on research, particularly feminist alternative paradigm research.

4.0 PRACTICUM EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1 EVALUATION OF THE LEARNING EXPERIENCE AND STUDENT PERFORMANCE

4.1.1 Determining the Researcher's Role

Did I incorporate the notion of reflexivity and determine my level of personal interest in conducting research in this area and with this community?

I chose to track my conceptual baggage and determine my level of personal interest in conducting research in this area and with this community through the use of a computer diary. This also helped me ensure that reflexivity was maintained throughout the research process. Tracking the experiential process of research, be it through transparency, reflexivity or tracking conceptual baggage has a lot of precedence in the literature on feminist research (e.g. Fonow & Cook, 1991; Gouldner, 1971; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Kirby & McKenna; 1989 Lather, 1991; Maguire, 1989; Reinhartz, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Shields & Dervin, 1993; Stanley, 1993). The first purpose of the diaries was for them to provide me with a forum within which to make sense of the day-to-day experience of learning how to do feminist research, to help me synthesize the information obtained from my literature reviews with the actual experiences of the women and staff at POWER. The second was to keep my values and assumptions explicit rather than implicit, so they would be less likely to affect the research process. Both of these things, would, in

turn, and did, feed back into the research process itself, keeping it on track as different issues resulted in the research content or methodology being adapted accordingly. The third was to assist me in my practicum and research report writing. Unfortunately the last was not possible, as most of the data collected in this manner was later lost in a computer hard drive crash (the result of a computer virus). In many ways, I found the diaries useful in meeting the first two goals, with some exceptions.

While the information I obtained from my literature review on prostitution and violence was helpful, the process of integrating the perspectives and experiences of the women at POWER and evaluate them in my diary at the end of the day, both when they agreed with the information I was uncovering and when they didn't was invaluable. Without it I would have found it more difficult to make such explicit links between my literature reviews and my practicum experiences, and to identify as quickly where what I was seeing and hearing at POWER differed from the literature. For example, when I first started volunteering at POWER, and was working on my literature on prostitution and violence, I was primarily finding studies which portrayed women working as prostitutes as passive victims of violence. Studies talked about levels of violence, sources of violence and frequency. Rarely did they portray women working as prostitutes as actively addressing the risk of violence in their work, whether that be in terms of trying to prevent it, manage it, or take action after it after it had occurred.

In contrast to this, what I saw at POWER when I began volunteering there, was a group of women who were very aware of the danger they were in, and who implemented a number of strategies designed to increase their personal safety while on the job. This

prompted me to search the literature more extensively for research in this area, and underlined more clearly the interesting reality that little had actually been done in this area, with the exception of a few studies and reports, many of them done by prostitutes' rights groups or activists and some by government commissions (Barnard, 1993; Bell, 1989; Fraser Committee, 1985; Shaver, 1995; Silbert, cited in Alexander, 1987). This helped me reframe my own perceptions of women working as prostitutes, so that I saw them as capable, intelligent women working to stay safe on the job, much like many women in professions which placed them in danger, instead of more passive objects of violence as a result of their involvement in a dangerous, deviant profession.

It was useful for me to work through the baggage I had around images of women working as prostitutes in the diaries, and how it reflected and was reinforced by societal myths in general and as they were reflected in the literature, so that it didn't interfere with my ability to relate to and collaborate with them in the research. This process, along with the information I was obtaining from my literature review on paradigms and research approaches, also assisted me in addressing what I discovered was my automatic tendency to gravitate toward a more dominant paradigm approach. Even though I wanted to adopt an alternative paradigm approach, this process demonstrated to me how ingrained I was already in dominant paradigm thinking. This makes sense, of course, given the pervasiveness of the paradigm in our society, which was discussed in the research literature review. I recall being somewhat shocked at times, when I was reviewing my experiences in my computer diary, to realize that I had been approaching an issue from a more dominant perspective, for example automatically viewing potential solutions to the

issue of violence as being individual rather than structural, even though in an intellectual argument I would argued for social change. Such struggles have been discussed by other researchers (Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Hale, 1991; Maguire, 1989; Morgen, 1983; Walkerdine, 1990) and the utility of a reflexive (diary) process was that it helped me to keep this struggle explicit and conscious, where I could work against my automatic responses and prevent them from affecting the research. In many ways, I consider the incorporation of reflexivity, via the diaries, to have been instrumental in assisting me to manage the practicum process in the initial stages of the research, so I could develop a flexible research approach which incorporated the best of academic theory and literature in the two literature reviews with the actual day-to-day experiences and priorities of the women themselves.

The diaries were useful as a place to process feelings which arose during the practicum research so that I could link them with the available literature, where relevant, and not allow them to interfere with my work as a student researcher. I was aware that issues could arise related to my choice of roles and the need to stay clear about them. I found that using the diaries during the semi-structured audio-taped interviews helped me ensure that I stayed on track in this area. The diary entries were a place to evaluate the interviews, in terms of my emotional and actual responses to the information I had received. In this way, I could both deal with any secondary trauma I was experiencing as a result of them, so as to prevent it from skewing my responses in future interviews (for example, unconsciously avoiding explicit descriptions of violence out of an inability to cope with them). The diaries also allowed me to evaluate my responses to determine

whether or not I had responded in a manner consistent with my chosen role, regardless of my instinctual, more emotional responses to what I was hearing from women. They also allowed me to see where the research process could be revised to be more likely to access the information we were looking for, based on what women were telling us over time. For example, from talking to the women over time, and looking at the notes I had made, it became clear that accessing women who were willing to do the interviews had a lot to do with the time of day the interview was done and how cold it was out. If it was at a slow time of the day for clients, or it was really cold out, we always did more interviews. This use of a reflexivity process allowed us to time our interviewing schedules to times more convenient for the women themselves.

Where I found the use of a diary less useful was during periods when I was very busy, for example during the time the cross-sectional interviews were being done. I found I was too tired to write a lot after doing a number of interviews. Also, because I was able to talk about them with the other interviewer, I found I did more processing with her, and didn't need to write about what I was thinking and what links I was making with the research as much. This was when, however, in many ways it was most useful to incorporate reflexivity explicitly in the research process. The availability of the other interviewer was useful in that regard, as we were able to discuss many issues of importance to the research that we were learning, but none of it was recorded in the diaries for further reflection and analysis beyond this.

It was interesting how the emotions I experienced at hearing the womens' stories of violence in their work, both when the original interviews were done and when I did the

transcribing of the audio-taped interviews, affected me personally. When I first did the interviews, the fact that I could debrief with the other interviewer, and use my diaries for the audio-taped interviews, allowed me to ensure that my own vulnerability did not unduly affect the research itself. This, in turn, helped ensure that the validity of the research was not unduly affected by my reactions. It was when I had stopped using the diaries, and was doing the transcriptions of the tapes, that in retrospect I can see how useful such a reflexivity-oriented process would have been.

An area of the research which at the time was far less clear to me than it is now, in retrospect, is the revision of the final stages to be less collaborative. The diary process did not help me make this decision-making process more explicit, since I didn't address decisions which I thought at the time would not affect the research, such as my move to another province and beginning full-time employment, in them. This was a kind of dichotomous thinking slipping in, as I did not really see how my personal life would affect my work life that much that it should be included as an aspect of the issues I was tracking as I worked to incorporate reflexivity into the process. As a result, I was not as consciously aware as I might have been about the fact that my level of personal commitment to the research began to decrease when I heard that we did not get the SSHRC grant, and became even lower after I moved and began working full-time, moving out of a student life role. I can see now how very much I was depending on receiving the money from the SSHRC grant to allow me to finish the research quickly. With it, the project could have been completed and the practicum written up within a year. When it was not granted, I made a decision to go on with my life plans by moving to another

province and entering the work force full time, without a clear understanding of how difficult this would make it for me to complete the research as planned. This demonstrated to me the importance of carefully and realistically assessing the feasibility of conducting research projects before they are started. While I did do this for the research conducted for this practicum report, I see now that my understanding of the amount of time and energy required for the research, and the likelihood of my commitment to it remaining strong, was not realistic. Additionally, I realize that it was unrealistic of me to invest such high hopes into obtaining the SSHRC funding, as these grants are extremely difficult to get. Additionally, masters-level research projects should be designed so that they can be completed without requiring external funding.

When I moved to another province, I experienced a lifestyle change from being a student who also worked to being an employee who was also a student. The implications of this were not at all clear to me at the time. While I knew I would have less time to work on the practicum, I didn't see it as a large barrier at the time, although in retrospect I think this change was instrumental in the huge slow-down in pace on the practicum process. I did not realize just how difficult it was to work full time and be a student part time, as I had never done it before. I think the adjustment was particularly difficult because I was also living in a new province, with all the attendant adjustments to a new city.

The move showed me how very much the personal life of a researcher can affect their commitment to their research, regardless of the paradigm approach they wish to adopt, or the manner in which they had planned to implement this research. For a couple of years, it was as though I was no longer a student at all, I was so caught up in my 'new life'. When

I did turn my attention back to my practicum, it was due to the fact that I was nearing the end of my allotted time to complete it, and even when I applied for and received an extension of one year, I found it difficult to settle to completing the requirements of the research. What had once been an all-consuming enterprise to me, the conducting of this research project, had become a somewhat onerous task to be completed, so as to continue on with my new life. This change in my understanding of the role of the practicum and the research within it in my life, and my personal commitment to doing research in this area and in this community, was something there is precedent in the literature for. Maguire (1989) noted that doing this kind of research is difficult for many of the reasons it became difficult for me: finances, time pressures and commitment and that this can result in changes to the research which limit its emancipatory outcomes.

I did not use the diaries at this time. The research plan had been revised so that interpretation of the results and action planning would be done by myself, rather than in collaboration with the women, so the diary keeping stopped as well. The change in who would be involved in the final stages of the research marked a move on the paradigm continuum to a model which was less alternative than that which was originally planned, although the project continued to meet the criteria of feminist alternative paradigm research. At the time, I was consciously unaware that this was even occurring. I realize now that keeping on writing in the diaries might have been useful in a number of ways. They might have helped me understand the shift on the paradigm continuum of my research more consciously. They might also have helped me process the conflicting emotions I felt over how blithely I had moved on in life, forgetting the women I had

collaborated with initially on the research, as well as my personal sense of failure at having not completed the research in as alternative a way as initially planned. I can see now how in many ways these feelings added to my paralysis about completing my practicum report. It was almost as though I did not feel as though it was fair for me to graduate, when I had not completed the research in the way I had originally intended. The use of the diaries might have helped me confront and to some extent deal with this more directly, by assisting me in understanding that the research was, in fact, still being conducted on the alternative end of the paradigm continuum, and within a feminist model, it was just less alternative than was originally planned. This point of the process was where the idea of incorporating reflexivity in a very conscious way broke down. I was not maintaining regular contact with women who had participated in the research and was not, therefore, incorporating their perceptions, understanding and realities into the work I was doing. I was not keeping my diaries as originally intended, and so missed out on a chance to see where some of the original pieces in this area were being lost, and possibly could be added back in. As it was, I struggled with these emotions throughout the process of writing up this report, and found it difficult to concentrate on simply finishing it because of them. Of course, by the time I became more conscious of what was happening, time constraints were such that there was no time to spare for diary keeping. Only now, as the final revisions are being made on the document, has this process become more clear to me.

Maguire (1989) noted that “conducting the “ideal” participatory research project may be overwhelming, if not nearly paralyzing”. (p. 47). This was certainly the case for me, and the end result was consistent with what she found in her review of other research where

time constraints and other barriers resulted in changes to the original plan: that the interpretation of the results, analysis and vision for action became less collaborative and emancipatory in nature. It is clear to me now just how little I truly understood, when beginning the practicum process, just what a time and energy commitment I was making in designing the research the way I did, even though my practicum advisor did discuss this with me at the time. I think I was beginning to realize the impact the work was having on me more at the time the application for the SSHRC grant was submitted, and I had begun counting on receiving the money from it to allow the research to move forward within as short a time as possible, so I could continue on with other pressing issues in my life. It was as though the grant would allow me to deal with the increasing sense of responsibility I was feeling in relation to the research commitment I had made, and my increasing understanding of how much was involved.

I am in no way suggesting that in moving to another province I decided that I would not complete the research as planned. I honestly thought that I would. Rather, in moving I decided I would both complete it and get on with the rest of my life. What I discovered was that doing both would require a high intensity of commitment to both the roles of employee and student, in addition to the time and energy needed for my personal life. This in fact, as I now understand in a more personal way than I ever did previously, reflects the conditions under which most researchers do their work. Perhaps understandably, given that I was living in another province, out of the academic environment, and no longer surrounded by friends who were also students, the role of student decreased in priority for some time. When I became more conscious of this fact, time constraints and my existing

level of personal commitment was such that I made the decision to revise the final stages of the research so they were less collaborative and alternative in nature. This would allow me to meet the requirements of my practicum without compromising my other work and personal life role commitments any more than necessary. Yet it is impossible to deny that ultimately, the fact that as the researcher I had the power to make this decision, without consulting the women I 'collaborated' with at POWER that is the demonstration of my privileged role in relation to them, a power dynamic which has been noted by other researchers in relation to a variety of aspects of 'collaborative' feminist emancipatory research (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). The research process that I discussed with them while at POWER, in terms of the collaborative interpretation of the results and action plan generation, did not occur, and will not. This is an example of the risk of more alternative-end research to the research participants that was outlined by Cotterill (1992) -- that it will not end up being completed as planned, due to decisions made by the researcher, and that the participants might feel exploited or betrayed as a result. It is possible that some of the women and staff at POWER felt this way when they did not participate in the final stages of the research. Of course, not all the women would, as many did not have that kind of investment in the research, but some certainly might have. This might be a situation where my expectations of myself as a researcher was higher than those of many of the women. This situation demonstrates how I discovered that regardless of how I tried to equalize power, I still held more, as the researcher, than did the research participants. It reflects the same reality discovered by Ristock and Pennell (1996), when they stated:

research as empowerment may shift, analyse and even change power differences, but it does not remove them...This discovery ran counter to our original premise that research as empowerment must entail either eliminating power or re-distributing it equally among researchers and research participants (p. 10).

Did I ensure that skills, time, finances and personnel were adequate?

It would appear that my skills were sufficient to meet many of the demands of the research project, including facilitating the collaborative process of constructing the surveys, doing the survey interviews, and completing the audio-taped semi-structured interviews. Each of these early stages went as planned.

Time, finances and personnel available was something that did change over the course of the research project, as was discussed in the previous section. The result was that the final phases of the research were not conducted in collaboration with the women, as was originally planned. In the initial phases of the project I lived in Winnipeg and my financial and life circumstances were such that I was able to devote a good portion of time to the project, by working two jobs while doing the research. It was up to the SSHRC whether or not they would fund the project, and having been turned down for funding was by no means a reflection on the quality of the research project or on my skills. In fact, the quality of the proposal was assessed by the independent reviewers as very good. It did mean it was not possible to hire one of the women to co-facilitate the results interpretation and action plan generation stages. It also meant I could not be compensated for the time I had

spent on the initial phases of the project. Despite my feelings that the move to another province would not affect the pace of the research in any significant manner, the reality was that it did. I was living in a city with a far higher cost of living, with far higher demands placed upon my time related to work and personal commitments. For the first time in my life, I was not structuring my life so that my scholastic work was central and the rest of my life secondary. This, plus the psychological impact of moving more into a career phase of life, including a lot of personal life changes, meant that the practicum was not given anywhere near the time commitment I had given it while living in Winnipeg. Discussions with other Masters students has demonstrated to me that this reality is the norm for many of them, and carries real implications for their work on their practicum or thesis requirements.

This practicum process has given me renewed respect for how large a commitment is required to conduct an alternative paradigm research project on the scale of the one proposed in the research I did. It also demonstrated to me why such research is done so rarely--it is just so hard to complete, takes so long, and requires such a huge investment of time, energy and personal resources. .

Did I determine the appropriate roles to take in relation to the women and staff at POWER?

I found Cotteril's (1992) article on power and control issues in relationships between researchers and the researched useful when I evaluated how to define and enact my roles throughout the research. I felt supported in my decision to be clear with the women and

staff at POWER that my role was not that of a friend, or and that I would remain a POWER volunteer when the research was completed. Not all feminist alternative-end researchers would agree with my decision to not be a potential friend to the women in my research. Some consider this a viable goal (Oakley, 1981). I agreed with Cotterill (1992), who thought a non-hierarchical, non-manipulative research relationship with participants was hard to achieve for a variety of reasons. The potential for damage to research participants if friendship is presented as an option and then the researcher disappears is high. In addition, many researchers have stated there are too many differences between women (e.g. race, class, disability, status) for it to be assumed that a shared sex and good intentions are enough to achieve equality (Cotterill, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1989).

I also found it useful that I had thought about the limitations of my support ahead of time given that women were often experiencing multiple problems in their lives, not all of them due to violence. It would have been very easy to fall into a friend or counsellor role, particularly as I have been a counsellor for many years. The fact that I had prepared for this eventuality by preparing the numbers of places the women could call for these types of support assisted me in not falling into the role of counsellor in any great depth. Again, since it was not something I could follow through on, it was better to not give women false expectations. Emotionally, however, this was difficult for me at times, particularly given the enormous amount of violence some of the women were experiencing in their lives. Some of them had potentially never spoken to anyone about their experiences, and the conflict between my wish to give them counselling support around this, rather than referring them to someone, particularly when they were expressing a wish to receive

support from me in this area, and my need to stay clear in my role in the research, was difficult at times. This has precedent in the literature, as the roles taken on by researchers are often contradictory at times, and may not include aspects of the researchers' identity that might, in another situation, be appropriate to include (Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Where I am concerned about my clarity about my role is related to the reality that I did not end up conducting all phases of the research as I had originally planned to. Given that the women were aware of my intentions at the beginning of the research project, this could have resulted in feelings of betrayal on their part. At the beginning of the project, however, I had no idea that I would not complete the research as planned, and it never occurred to me to think in advance about how I would deal with this if it occurred.

I was also not clear when I began the research just how much conflict and tension would arise in the later stages of the research project between the role I held as an academic who needed to finish a practicum report, a researcher who needed to finish a research project, a social worker/counsellor with a full-time, demanding job, and a person with a life. This has precedent, again, in the literature (Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Did I gain access to the community and establish credibility with groups relevant to the research? Did I ensure those involved in the research had a clear understanding of the purpose of the research and my role within it?

My first strategy, volunteering at POWER prior to beginning the actual research, did appear successful in establishing my credibility with the women and staff at POWER. It also appeared to help increase their understanding of the purpose of the research and my

(and their) roles within it. The acceptance of me as being 'okay' by one POWER staff member who had formerly worked as a prostitute, and by others who had gained the respect of the women, appeared to go a long way toward establishing my legitimacy with the women, and seemed to result in some women being more willing to talk to me about the research topic.

I was well-known to women who used the drop-in center on a regular basis, and began to be recognized on sight by some of the women who I saw on street outreach. Many women became more and more identified with the process of the research as time went by. I was able to form relationships with many women while still maintaining the delicate role dialectic of friendly stranger that I had chosen, the combination of researcher, collaborator, sympathetic listener, student and teacher. It was not unusual for these women, or women they mentioned me to while out working, to seek me out on my volunteer shift to offer me suggestions for the research, or to share a story of violence and how they dealt with it. Numerous discussions were held around the kitchen table at the POWER drop-in, both individually or in (often) boisterous groups, which were useful in ensuring my decision to do a cross-sectional survey and some qualitative interviews made sense to them. Decision-making about what questions to include in the survey was greatly helped by the women sharing their stories with me, brainstorming questions, and giving feedback on their wording and length. Women were particularly interested in having recorded in the interviews who was being violent toward them, particularly police, as many had experienced violence from officers and wanted this recorded and society made aware that this occurred.

This was a time of great learning for me. Having never worked as a prostitute or been street-involved, I was not personally familiar with the realities of the daily life of women working as street prostitutes. In addition, what I knew intellectually as a researcher did not automatically translate into practice. Just because I was clear on paper that I considered these women to be experts on their own lives, with the capacity to form their own solutions, didn't mean I was able to consistently react this way in practice, or to react to confrontation without being defensive. My notes from the time refer to days where I would make blunders related to this. For example, on one occasion we were having a free-floating discussion around the kitchen table about possible ways of helping women be safer on the job. I had heard many women talk about there being a number of things women could do to be safer while working. I suggested that one idea might be to print up a card of 'Safety Tips' for women working, particularly for women new to the street who didn't yet know the ropes. One of the women reacted negatively to the idea, stating flatly and aggressively that it would not work. "Women learn how to be safe by getting hurt", she said. "Giving them a piece of paper isn't going to change that". At the time, I reacted defensively and began citing all the reasons why I thought my idea was valid, rather than hearing the point she was making, which was that most women learn how to stay safe the hard way, and that even if the card did assist some women, it would not keep them safe. If I had begun by acknowledging this reality, as well as the fact that some people do need to learn the hard way, a more productive conversation might have developed.

Keeping notes while I was doing shifts did prove to be effective in meeting my goal of keeping such incidents in perspective, so I could plan how I would respond in similar

situations in the future so as to continue the relationship-building process. Some women never really connected with me, regardless of the time spent at POWER to build relationships. This speaks to the reality that just because a researcher is well-meaning and genuine doesn't mean she will be trusted by all members of the community she is working with, and often for reasons that are extremely legitimate when viewed from their perspective. Researchers such as Cruikshank (1990), in her study of community development workers, noted that in similar situations where these workers were attempting to gain entry into a community, they encountered similar issues, barriers and stresses as those that arose for me. Stress arose for workers in her research from the need for them to build positive relationships and develop a level of trust and acceptance with community members in order to achieve their goals. They found similar approaches worked for them as did for me in my research, for example, appearing non-judgmental, accepting and even embracing one's role as an outsider, or stranger, freeing myself from the pressure to be 'doing' or producing something, but being comfortable with just spending casual time with the women, so they had a chance to really check me out over a period of time. Cruikshank (1990) also found participants in her study echoed my concerns about the potential drawbacks of trying to appear as though I 'belonged' to the community. Just as I had concluded that this would not be a goal, given that I have never worked as a street prostitute, much less encountered violence in the process, some of the workers in her study noted that the formation of close relationships with members of the community they worked with did not mean they became a part of do the community—they retained their marginal status as an outsider. Those workers who mistakenly considered

themselves members of the community based on the relationships they were able to form, ran the risk of ignoring their marginality, and their privilege, which led some of them to ignore the ways in which their 'difference' could both be a hindrance and a help in their work. Acknowledging it openly allows it to be addressed, either by yourself or by community members, when it is acting in a situation in either way. Ignoring it only pushes these processes underground, it doesn't prevent them from occurring

This period was very exciting for me, and my notes from that time are filled with my excitement at linking information I had learned from the research I was doing for my literature reviews with what I was seeing at POWER and with the discussions I was having there with the women and staff. It was also clear to me that there was no way that I could expect to form relationships with all of the women I encountered. This was particularly true of women I only saw while on outreach, who never used the drop-in centre. They did not know me as well personally, since they saw me less often. I found that they were less likely to either agree to do the cross-sectional interview or, if they did it, to give me very much information on it. One thing which helped me connect with these women more was that one of the woman who worked at POWER who used to work as a former prostitute would sometimes accompany us when we did interviews. Sometimes the women would also see me with her on outreach. If they knew she considered me to be 'okay', they were more likely to talk honestly with me about the issue of violence. This speaks to the importance of not only creating good relationships with members of the community you are researching, but with those people who have good relationships with them, in this case a staff member at POWER.

Another issue that became clear to me that I could not have obtained in any way except from the women themselves was how aware they were about the way they are viewed by persons outside 'the life'. They were very clear they did not feel that those in dominant society were concerned about their safety at all, including many social, health and legal services (and this, particularly when I first started volunteering, included me!). There was a general sense that they had learned to rely upon themselves and their social networks, and some selected agencies (e.g. POWER) for support related to violence. It was also clear that many were sceptical of any research being able to make any difference in this area. My willingness to be challenged by them, and to discuss the issue openly and honestly, acknowledging the truth of their opinions, opened the door with many of the women to discuss the situation further, discussing where past attempts to deal with violence by members of dominant society went wrong. This was a situation where I took the role of the student, and this was a role I communicated to the women very clearly. I did not pretend to know anything about their lives other than what I knew from friends who used to work, my research and from talking to them and staff at POWER. I framed the situation as one where I had a certain amount of knowledge from this, but that I was aware that it was really lacking in terms of having arisen from any personal experience in the area. I also noted that as a student at the university, I had the skills and time to do some research in that area to try to address this, but could only do so in collaboration with them, as they held the knowledge that so far rarely made it into the research studies. While some women remained sceptical of the likelihood of change occurring as a result of the research, at least any change that would affect their working lives, many were at least

willing to accept me as being there for legitimate reasons, and as deserving their honesty (and being able to accept their feedback when they felt I was not aware of the realities of their lives). There was more interest in being involved when they realized that the research I was interested in doing would have in its final stage the generation of action plans based on their recommendations.

As discussed in an earlier subsection, it is impossible to deny the fact that the credibility I established with the women, and the trust that some of them placed in me and my research plans, could have resulted in feelings of betrayal or exploitation when the results were not interpreted and action plans generated collaboratively, as was originally planned. Again, there was no way for me to have predicted this would occur, as even when I moved to another province I had every intention of completing the project as it was originally planned, but the harsh reality is that this did not end up happening. This could affect their relationships with other outsiders who may come to them in the future and seek their collaboration on future projects. Overall, therefore, while I did succeed in gaining access to the community and gaining credibility with many of the women at POWER, this credibility was very likely damaged by the fact that the final stages of research were not conducted as originally planned. On the other hand, the dissemination plan will ensure that the results of the project and action plans will be given directly to the organization which POWER is now a part of, as well as prostitutes' rights groups across Canada.

4.1.2 Planning and Implementing the Research

Did I develop an understanding of the issue of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes that reflected the realities of the women themselves?

Overall, I think I succeeded in achieving this goal. My first strategy to increase my knowledge in this area, completing a literature review on prostitution and violence against women working as prostitutes, was successful. This research provided me with comprehensive overview of the issue of prostitution and violence against women working as prostitutes, insofar as it was addressed in the academic and non-academic literature. I was also able to come to some conclusions about existing gaps in the available literature that were relevant for the planning of the practicum research project. These included the fact that very little research on work-related violence against women working as prostitutes had been done at all. When such research was available, it tended to portray the women as passive victims of violence, rather than as actively seeking to do something about it. It was also rarely done by the women themselves, or from their perspective. Equally rare was to see an alternative paradigm research approach, which would be more likely to involve women working as prostitutes in the research process. This could include such things as their collaborating in defining the questions asked, assisting in the interpretation of results, and generating and implementing action plans based on the findings.

While I learned a great deal from the literature review, ultimately the confirmation (or revision) of my preliminary assumptions and choice of a combination of the Social Effects

Model and Feminist Models came from the women themselves. My second and third strategies, talking to women working as street prostitutes, staff at POWER and women who used to work as prostitutes confirmed my suspicion that portraying women working as prostitutes (or women at all, for that matter) as passive recipients, as 'victims', of violence was not only erroneous, but unbelievably disempowering. The women I spoke to reported implementing a wide range of strategies to decrease the likelihood they would encounter violence, or to manage it so as to decrease its severity. Many had clear opinions as to the 'best ways to prevent violence, and were more than willing to share these with me. Many possessed a clear critique of existing violence-related services, including recommendations for changes or new services. For a detailed overview of the data and a discussion of the results, see Appendix C.

My final strategy, the completion of the research itself, provided me with the most valuable component of my overall learning process. The time I spent in direct contact with the women at POWER gave me an opportunity to understand their lives and the context within which the violence they experienced occurred in a way I would never have gotten from simply reviewing the literature. One example of this is how it prepared me for what I later came to perceive as the 'normality' of violence for many of the women. Incidents which would have been defined as assaultive by many other women (including me) were for many of these women dismissed as 'not a big deal', or 'part of the territory'. Examples of such incidents would be near-rapes where the woman escaped without actual physical harm.

My role as a student of their experience in this context allowed me to ask them why they responded this way, given that I, and some of the other women, would have responded differently. This allowed me to clarify that many of the women were aware that the incidents had an effect on them, but that they found it easier to cope with this effect by forcing themselves to move on. One woman described her attitude as common sense: “No point in crying over what’s done”, she said. She considered it best to forget about things you couldn’t control or change, or that were over. In her words, “you re just gonna get another one just like him any minute, and you gotta be ready for that, not cryin over the last one”. Another woman could not think too much about her danger or she would not be able to continue working. As a single mom with many financial responsibilities, not working was not an option. This survival, get-on-with-it attitude was useful for these women within the context of their lives. It did not mean the violence affected them less than it did other women, rather that their lives did not afford them the luxury of dealing with this effect immediately. It also demonstrated that what might at first appear to be a passive acceptance of violence was an active and useful coping strategy.

Did I determine the most appropriate research approach for use with this community and research topic? Did I apply this approach correctly throughout the research process and adapt it to meet changing needs and priorities as they arose?

The initial stages of research were conducted as planned, and required little revision. When the SSHRC grant was not received, a decision was made to continue with the original research plan, even though I would not be able to hire one of the women to co-

facilitate this process. After I moved to another city, the research process slowed down slightly, as was expected, but initially seemed to be keeping primarily on track, with the audio-taped interviews being done only a couple of months later than originally planned. After this point, however, my personal and work commitments resulted in the research being put on hold for a couple of years. By the time I began working on the project again, the original POWER agency had ceased to exist, having been merged with another Mount Carmel Project, Street Links (a needle exchange), and many of the original staff, and likely many of the women as well, were no longer connected to the agency.

As a result, where the original research plan had included an explicitly collaborative process of interpreting the results and generating action plans, in the end these stages were done by the research in isolation. This was unfortunate, as the original approach would have generated information which would be far more likely to be grounded firmly in the reality of women working as street prostitutes. It is very possible that I missed valid points being made by women or connections within the data as I interpreted its meaning. Similarly, the action plans I generated might not reflect those which women might have preferred. The originally planned collaborative process would have potentially resulted in a greater depth of analysis than would be possible by a researcher working in isolation, as women collectively discussed and strategised around the information. This would make the results and action plans even more useful in practice than they would otherwise be. Despite the change in process, however, the information collected remains a valuable contribution to the body of literature in the area, and the research process, even in its revised form, would still be considered a feminist alternative paradigm research project,

albeit one which is not as far down the continuum to the alternative end than was originally proposed. Numerous feminist researchers, for example Shields & Dervin (1993) and Reinharz (1992), state that in order for research to be considered feminist it does not have to be highly collaborative.

In terms of the validity of the research, I feel that some conclusions can be made about how valid the research results are, using the three types of validity defined by Lather (1991):

Construct Validity. I challenged many of the notions I had originally held which were derived from my own myths and perceptions or which were the result of my literature review, replacing them with more complex and flexible understandings of the issue which reflected the realities of the women themselves. Most particularly, both the image of women working as prostitutes being helpless victims and of being empowered actors in their lives were challenged, and a more complex, reality-based image emerged. This occurred because I took care to use a reflexive process of research which encouraged the challenging of traditional concepts related to the research topic.

Face Validity. This was achieved by having the women give feedback on, and participate in the development of, the research questions themselves. It would have been increased even further had they participated in the analysis of results and action planning, but nonetheless, this form of validity did exist in this project.

Catalytic Validity. This will be considered to exist if the former POWER and other prostitutes' rights groups use the research results to further their own activist, lobbying, research or service goals.

Finally, in more traditional terms, the validity of the research was demonstrated insofar as levels of violence assessed by the research were consistent with research done that was more alternative-end with other communities, demonstrating that to some extent the experiences of the women interviewed for the practicum research was consistent with what is reported elsewhere in the literature.

4.1.3 Analysing the Data, Interpreting the Results and Dissemination

Did I ensure that data analysis and interpretation of results was done within the context of the relevant literature and in a manner consistent with feminist alternative paradigm research?

The analysis of the data from both the cross-sectional and the audio-taped interviews went as planned. A number of consistent themes arose from the audio-taped interviews, which allowed me to group the womens' responses into categories related to the topic of work-related violence they were experiencing. As planned, beyond basically summarizing areas where there was consistency in responses, I focused on presenting their statements verbatim, so their perceptions and opinions were relayed by the research as they voiced them to me. This use of qualitative findings to supplement those of quantitative methods has precedent in the literature, particularly in areas which are less well-documented in the literature (Carey & Smith, 1992; Reinhartz, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Shields & Dervin, 1993). The findings of my study were consistent with the few other reports in the

literature which qualitatively assessed women's experiences with violence (Barnard, 1993; Bell, 1989; Shaver, 1985).

The fact that interpretation of the results and the generation of action plans was not done in collaboration with the women themselves, while disappointing in terms of having the research be completed as originally planned, does not mean the research done was not feminist alternative paradigm research. It may have been less alternative than originally planned, but the process remained an emancipatory, social-change oriented one. There is precedent in the literature for a collaborative process of data gathering to be followed by the results interpretation process to be done independently by the researcher (Cotterill, 1992; Reinhartz, 1983; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Shields & Dervin, 1993)

Did I think about the political implications of possible research findings?

One of my priorities in this area was to ensure that the findings were easily translated in to action to directly address the problem of work-related violence for women working as street prostitutes. The research findings, even though the goal of collaboratively interpreting the results and generating action plans was not met, remain useful and relevant in terms of their political implications for use by prostitutes' rights groups for emancipatory purposes. POWER, which is now merged with another street outreach program, can still use the research results as a basis for their programming within the new organization they are a part of. This could be done by staff directly translating the results of the research and the action plans generated into their current programming, or by taking the time to collaboratively examine the results obtained with the women, generating their

own action plans, and implementing them. The latter would be more consistent with an alternative-end emancipatory feminist approach to the issue. There would arguably be less of a direct link between the experiences reflected in the research results and the women who would be involved with POWER now, given that they may not have participated in the original project, due to the time gap since the research was conducted, but the issues are likely to remain pertinent. They can also use these findings as a basis for policy recommendations to the government, and to lobby for structural or legal change, which again meets the criteria for social change of a more alternative-end research project.. Finally, they could be used in the education of, and as the basis for recommendations for change for, violence-related health, legal and social services which are currently not meeting the needs of women in this area, again, a sign of a research project located more on the alternative end of the paradigm continuum.

Did I determine a dissemination plan and write different reports for different audiences?

To date, the only planned report on the research that has been done by myself is this practicum report. Results of the cross-sectional interviews were included in the Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates (1994) report, which summarized the results of their evaluation of POWER. This was important in terms of providing access by POWER and the women there to the results of the research, since the practicum process became so much more lengthy than was originally planned.

One report was written that was not anticipated in the original practicum proposal. A chapter on feminist approaches to program evaluation which focused on the POWER evaluation and the research done for this practicum was written for publication in a book on feminist approaches to program evaluation in 1993. It was co-authored by Linda Campbell of Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates and myself, but the book ended up not being published. This chapter will be revised in the future by Ms. Campbell and myself for submission elsewhere for publication.

The audio-taped and written versions of the research will be provided to the new POWER organization as planned, as well as to prostitutes' rights groups across Canada. This will be done when the practicum reporting process has been completed. The primary additions to the information in the final report done by Campbell and Heinrich (1994) will be the two literature reviews, the results of the qualitative interviews, the discussion of the results and the recommended action plans. For these to be provided to POWER so long after the data was collected is clearly not ideal, but the information will still be useful for future projects. The plan to disseminate results in this fashion does fit with alternative-end paradigm approaches insofar as the results are being directed back to the community from wherein they came, as well as being targeted to social activist groups which are most likely to be able to use them for emancipatory purposes – prostitutes' rights groups.

I intend to write articles on both the process of doing this practicum, and the difficulties I encountered (and the ethical implications of the decisions I made), as well as on the results of the research itself, for submission to the appropriate journals. This would ensure that the greatest variety of persons actually doing research would have access to

information on the issue of violence against women working as street prostitutes that was collected using a feminist alternative research approach which was extremely collaborative in terms of the collection of the information, and which used both qualitative and quantitative methods. This would begin to provide information in an area traditionally less well documented. It would also add to another part of the literature which is less well developed--research on the difficulties encountered in doing research, and the best ways to prepare for, manage and address these as they arise. It is interesting, to say the least, that despite the focus in feminist research theory on the importance of researchers acknowledging their own vulnerability and biases in the process of doing research, and adopting practices such as reflexivity and multiple methods to address and track these, that there is not more written on what the personal issues are that are encountered by feminist researchers, be they new or experienced.

4.2 PRACTICUM FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This section of the practicum report will summarize the goals of the practicum and summarize the findings of evaluation of how well I was able to meet these goals. The practicum was designed to: a) increase my knowledge of issues related to prostitution and work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes and b) to increase my knowledge and skill in doing feminist research. In order to do this, a research project was conducted in the area of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes.

The practicum took place over a period of approximately five years, from June 1992 to June 1997. Primary periods of activity on the practicum occurred in 1992 to 1994, when the cross-sectional surveys and audio-taped interviews were conducted, and 1996 to 1997, when the results were analysed and interpreted, the action plan formulated and the final practicum report written. The practicum site was Campbell and Heinrich Research Associates (CHRA) a research and consulting firm, and activities associated with the research project were completed through the cooperation of CHRA, Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights (POWER), and the women using POWER's services.

The following tasks were completed: 1) a review of the literature on prostitution and violence against women working as prostitutes; 2) a review of the literature on the feminist alternative-end paradigm research approaches as well as an examination of the similarities and differences between research conducted at different points on the paradigm continuum between the dominant end and the alternative end, and the evaluation of the appropriateness of a feminist alternative-end research approach to research in the area of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes; 3) involvement in all aspects of the research project itself, from research design, selection of methods, preparation of the cross-sectional survey, conducting cross-sectional interviews, semi-structured audio-taped interviews, analysis of the results and recommendations; 4) use of a diary throughout the research process to ensure the acquisition and integration of knowledge and skills in feminist research was done more consciously.

During the course of the practicum, personal and life changes occurred for me, including a move to another province, which interrupted project content and time lines.

During this time, the agency POWER merged with another organization. Both of these changes resulted in the research design being revised so that results were interpreted and action plans generated by the researcher alone, rather than in collaboration with the women who participated in the research. This did mean the research project became less alternative-end than originally planned, as it became less collaborative in the final stages. It did, however, still meet the criteria for a feminist alternative-end paradigm research project, just one which was less collaborative, or alternative, than was originally planned. The change also meant I did not have the chance to further develop my skills in collaboration, as would have occurred in the original design.

An evaluation of my abilities as a graduate student working on a practicum would focus on two things: 1) my performance and demonstrated ability to perform the tasks associated with the practicum and 2) the degree to which my learning goals were achieved. Both need to be satisfied to ensure I have satisfactorily increased both skill and knowledge in the topic area of the practicum.

Overall, I believe I have demonstrated the ability to perform the tasks associated with the practicum. In relation to the research activities, I completed extensive literature reviews in the two identified topic areas. Information obtained from the process of doing these literature reviews was successfully applied to practice in the development of a feminist alternative paradigm research approach which was appropriate for both the community and topic area selected for the practicum research project. I successfully gained entry and a measure of acceptance within the community to be researched: women working as street prostitutes. This allowed me to begin the highly collaborative process of

refining the research design, increasing my knowledge in the topic area of the research and working with the women at POWER to finalize the focus, content and wording of questions to for the cross-sectional survey. I completed regular shifts at POWER, both in the drop-in and outreach programs, until July of 1993. This ensured I was accessible to and familiar with women who didn't use the POWER drop-in as well as those who did. It also helped me to develop good working relationships with POWER staff.

My knowledge and understanding of the issues and factors related to the choice to enter the field of prostitution, and the complexity of issues surrounding violence as it is experienced by women working as prostitutes was profoundly increased by the work done on this practicum. When I first began the research, I did not choose any one causal models, be it related to why women enter prostitution or experience violence. I found it interesting to see how this played out in the process of the research itself. Despite the intentions of alternative-end theory, it requires constant attention to reflexivity to ensure that the researcher does not fall back into more dominant-end paradigm thinking, which tends to be more causal and dichotomous in nature. I found that it was at times where I was using the diaries less, and had not replaced them with some other reflective process (for example discussion with the other interviewer during the cross-sectional interviews), that I was more likely to lost track of the emancipatory goals of the research. I also have found my appreciation of the complexity of factors are relevant to the issue of violence against women working as prostitutes has increased a great deal in practice, as well as in theory. While prior to the research I had an intellectual understanding of this, only by participating in such a long, collaborative, reflexive process with the women themselves

did I more fully grasp this reality. This has confirmed my original decision to reject more linear causal theories, such as the Susceptibility Exposure model, and more dichotomous expressions of the Feminist Model, for a combination of the Social Effects Model and a balanced version of the Feminist Model. While I did work to incorporate an analysis of race into the work I did, insofar as I understood the area of the politics of race, in retrospect this was an area which was not as well served. This arose because at the time I did not have a good understanding of issues related to race, ethnicity and discrimination, and while I was sensitive to the issue insofar as I knew not to fall into overtly racist stereotypes or behaviours, I did not incorporate or develop much of an analysis related to it in this research, or see it as a big priority. I acknowledge this as a deficit so that in research I engage in otherwise I will make a particular effort to ensure that the far better analysis I now have with regard to difference, particularly race, is incorporated into any research I do.

I was involved in the writing of a grant application to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) which, while it was not awarded, was quite favourably reviewed. This provided me an opportunity to gain further experience in processes related to research such as identification of potential funding sources and the intricacies of applications to them. I was second author on a chapter for a book on the research being done at POWER, which gave me the opportunity to gain experience in writing for publication in the academic literature. I also completed a written report of the research findings (see Appendix C), for distribution in written and audio-taped form to

POWER and prostitutes' rights groups across Canada. All articles collected for the research will be donated to a prostitutes' rights group in the city where I now live.

I was able to coordinate the process required to complete the five audio-taped, semi-structured interviews despite the fact that I lived in another province at the time. There was a good response to this call for interviewees, with many of the women remembering both myself and the research I was conducting. Transcription of the audio-tapes, an arduous process at the best of times, and analysis of the results, was completed. It is unfortunate that the results and action plans were not done collaboratively with women working as prostitutes, as was originally planned. Despite this, the conclusions constitute valuable contributions to the available literature, coming as they do out of research done collaboratively in its preparation and data-gathering phases.

An important component of my learning process was engaging in a collaborative process with the women. I believe my performance in this area was strengthened by my past experience as a counsellor, my experience in working as an educator with a wide variety of audiences and the additional time I invested as a volunteer at POWER in the drop-in, outreach and volunteer training programs. Informal feedback from women and staff regarding this area of my involvement in the research was generally positive, particularly in relation to the ease and predictability with which they could establish contact with me when necessary. Additionally, they noted that my willingness to spend this extra time indicated to them my commitment to the issue. My activities in this area certainly fostered a greater comfort with the research process among both the women and staff, particularly since they occurred right from the beginning. Even after I had moved to

another province, and no longer had the presence at POWER I once had, when I went back to do the audio-taped interviews many of the women remembered my research and myself easily and with positive memories.

A broad range of skills were developed in this practicum. The process of collaborating with the women to develop the research design and draft the questions for the interviews provided invaluable experience for me as a researcher. A second area of skill development was in my ability to conduct both the cross-sectional survey interviews, and the audio-taped interviews, and in the analysis and interpretation of the results from these, in the context of the available literature and the overall research project experience. The final skill development area was associated with the writing which has been, and will be, completed in relation to the practicum. This included the SSHRC grant application, the book chapter, and the final report on the research results and the dissemination plan. This last was intended to ensure information from the research would go directly to women working as street prostitutes. Writing yet to be completed includes journal articles on both the challenges of feminist alternative-end research and work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes.

There is no doubt that my skill development in the area of collaborative processes would have been further developed, had the interpretation of the results and the generation of action plans been done collaboratively. Despite this, the skills required for feminist alternative paradigm research were learned and demonstrated in this practicum. In many ways, the fact that things did not go as originally planned ended up teaching me a great deal about the realities of conducting research, and the kinds of decisions researchers need

to make in such situations. The two reviews of the literature provided a good foundation from which to integrate theory and practice throughout the research process, both for the purpose of the research itself and for the purpose of my own knowledge and skill development as a feminist researcher.

4.3 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The experience of completing a Masters-level practicum on feminist alternative paradigm research in the area of work-related violence against women working as street prostitutes has excited, inspired, terrified, challenged, and exhausted me, sometimes all at once. The practicum experience was successful in meeting my goals of conducting a feminist alternative-end paradigm research project and increasing my understanding of the issue of work-related violence against prostitutes. The research project completed was not implemented as originally planned, for a variety of reasons. While this was by no means ideal, it did provide me with an opportunity to experience the obstacles faced by many alternative-end researchers. I learned how to make difficult choices, so as to revise the research plan in a manner which still retained the original intents and goals of the research, but was able to account for researcher constraints. I learned a great deal from this process. The fact that the research process was revised was the most disappointing aspect of my practicum experience, since I did not complete the research in the way I told the women I would in the initial stages of the research.

My experiences in completing this practicum also point to the dearth of existing literature on the barriers which can arise for feminist researchers or researchers in general, and new researchers in particular. While there is some literature in the area, it tends to be very limited and descriptive in nature. In my opinion, my experiences in this practicum demonstrate the potential utility of research which assesses more consciously and systematically both the process by which individuals learn to do research, and the ways they deal with the complex dialectic of tensions which arise between their work, research and personal lives. Understanding this process better could assist researchers in understanding better and more objectively, and even predicting, why some problems may arise in the course of the research. It would also assist in planning research so it is less likely the same problems will arise. In addition, examining this area more closely might lead to the development of processes researchers could use while doing research to assist them in consciously working through the complexities of doing research, for example a more sophisticated version of the computer diary used in this practicum.

The research done for this practicum also makes an important contribution by helping fill the gap in the literature on work-related violence and prostitution, by examining the issue within the context of a feminist alternative paradigm research approach. The results will be of use to other researchers in the area, prostitutes' rights organizations, policy makers and, last but by no means least, to women working as street prostitutes, by assisting in the process of making work safer for them.

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APPENDIX A

CROSS SECTIONAL SURVEY QUESTIONS

G. Violence and Abusive Relationships (Prostitutes only)

G1. How would you define violence on the job?

G2. Have you ever experienced any violence while working?

Yes 1 No 2

G3. If yes, how many times has this occurred in the past month?

In the next few questions, we would like to ask you about some different kinds of violence...

G4. While working, have you ever experienced violence from the following individuals?

Yes (1) No (2)

Date
Pimp
Partner
Another Prostitute
Police Officer
General Public
Other

G5 - G32. While working, how often have you experienced different kinds of violence from each of these individuals:

	verb/emot hassled/ harassed	physical beaten/ hit	sexual raped/ forced	financial robbed exploit
G5 - G8 date	—	—	—	—
G9 - G12 pimp	—	—	—	—
G13 - G16 partner	—	—	—	—
G17 - G20 other pros.	—	—	—	—
G21 - G24 police	—	—	—	—
G25 - G28 public (who _____)	—	—	—	—
G29 - G32 other (who _____)	—	—	—	—

(For the above question, use a scale for each type of violence which measures the frequency of each incident)

- 1 often
- 2 sometimes
- 3 rarely
- 4 never
- 8 not applicable

G33. Who causes you the most problems on the job?

G34. Who causes you the most pain?

G35. P.O.W.E.R. has been re-opened since February of last year. Have the levels of work related violence on the street changed since then?

- Decreased a great deal 1
- Decreased somewhat 2
- The same 3
- Increased somewhat 4
- Increased a great deal 5

G36. If a change is indicated, why do you think this change has happened?

G37. I'd like to talk about what you do when you experience violence on the job.

G38. When something like this happens do you tell someone:

- Never 1
- Rarely 2
- Depends 3
- Sometimes 4
- Always 5

Never/rarely: Why do you never/rarely tell someone?

Depends: What does it depend on?

Sometimes/Always: Why do you sometimes/always tell someone?

G39 - G47. Who do you usually tell? (open-ended)

- | | Yes (1) | No (2) |
|------------------------|---------|--------|
| No one | | |
| Friend | | |
| Another prostitute | | |
| Family member | | |
| Partner | | |
| Pimp | | |
| Police | | |
| Professional (specify) | | |
| Other (specify) | | |

G48 - G56 Have you ever told (read choices not selected)

Yes (1) No (2)

No one
Friend
Another prostitute
Family member
Partner
Pimp
Police
Professional (specify)
Other (specify)

G57 - G65. Who do you usually turn to for support when you have experienced violence? (open-ended)

Yes (1) No (2)

No one
Friend
Another prostitute
Family member
Partner
Pimp
Police
Professional (specify)
Other (specify)

G66 - G74. Have you ever turned to (read choices not selected)

Yes (1) No (2)

No one
Friend
Another prostitute
Family member
Partner
Pimp
Police
Professional (specify)
Other (specify)

G75. Have you ever reported an incident of violence to the police?

Yes 1 No 2

G76. If you reported an incident of violence to the police, did you find them:

Very helpful	1
Somewhat helpful	2
Neutral	3
Not very helpful	4
Not at all helpful	5

G77. Have you ever had any other contact with the police?

Yes 1 No 2

G78. Have you generally found these contacts to be:

Very satisfactory	1
Somewhat satisfactory	2
Neutral	3
Somewhat unsatisfactory	4
Very unsatisfactory	5

Why: _____

G79. If you have ever made a formal report to the police about any violence you have experienced, did P.O.W.E.R. assist you in making this report?

Yes 1 No 2 N/A 8

G80. Were P.O.W.E.R. staff and/or volunteers:

Very helpful	1
Somewhat helpful	2
Neutral	3
Not very helpful	4
Not at all helpful	5
N/A	8

G81. Were charges laid?

Yes 1 No 2 N/A 8

G82. Did the matter go to court?

Yes 1 No 2 N/A 8

G83. How satisfied were you with the outcome at court?

Very satisfied	1
Somewhat satisfied	2
Neutral	3
Somewhat unsatisfied	4
Very unsatisfied	5

G84 - G102. What kinds of things have you done in the past 6 months to try to make yourself safer while working?

Use: Yes (1) No (1)

G84. I don't do anything to make myself safe

G85. Worked with someone else

G86. Had someone record the license number of date

G87. Refused a date

G88. Only do dates that are alone

G89. Limited where I will do a date (how: _____)

G90. Changed the area I work in (how _____)

G91. Worn different clothing or shoes (describe _____)

G92. Carried a weapon ___ knife ___ fake gun ___ real gun ___ keys ___ pipe

G93. Only gone with a certain type of date ___ race ___ age ___ type of car
___ sober/straight ___ other

G94. Changed the days or times I work (how _____)

G95. Got a pimp to protect me

G96. Read a bad date sheet: ___ P.O.W.E.R. ___ Street Links ___ Other
(_____)

G97. Reported a bad date for bad date sheet ___ POWER ___ Street
Links
___ Other (name _____)

G98. Only done regulars

G99. Reported violence to police (___ formally ___ informally ___
anonymously)

G100. Had someone who hurt you/threatened to hurt you beaten up, threatened

G101. Learned self-defense

G102. Other _____

G103. How much safer do you feel because you do these things?

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| Much more safe | 1 |
| A bit more safe | 2 |
| The same | 3 |
| A bit less safe | 4 |
| Much less safe | 5 |
| Depends | 6 (specify) |

G104. Would any of the following make your working conditions more safe?

- | | Yes (1) | No (2) |
|-----------------------|---------|--------|
| More street lights | | |
| More phones | | |
| More working phones | | |
| More open businesses | | |
| More police | | |
| More outreach workers | | |
| Other | | |

G105. Is it possible to work as a prostitute and be safe while doing so?

Yes 1 No 2 Depends 3

G106. Do you feel you have the right to be safe on the job?

Yes 1 No 2 Depends 3

G107. Has P.O.W.E.R. in any way affected your safety while working?

Yes 1 No 2 Depends 3

APPENDIX B
CROSS-SECTIONAL SURVEY
PREAMBLE AND RELEASE FORM

NOTE TO USERS

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APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Appendix C

Research Results and Discussion

1.0 Introduction

This appendix provides a summary of the information obtained from the research project on violence against women working as street prostitutes which was completed to meet the requirements of this practicum.

The appendix is divided into three sections:

- 1) **Results:** the information collected from the 51 women interviewed in the cross-sectional survey and the five women who participated in the semi-structured, audio-taped interviews. The focus in the section on the audio-taped interviews is on providing quotes from the women interviewed, in order to illustrate the overall themes which arose out of the interviews completed;
- 2) **Discussion:** Examines in a more integrated manner the information collected in the research, with a focus making links with the available literature; and
- 3) **Action Plan:** Provides an overview of recommendations for action based on the information collected in the research, in a number of areas.

2.0 Results

This section of the appendix provides an overview of information obtained from those who took part in both the cross-sectional surveys and the semi-structured, audio-taped interviews which were completed to meet the requirements of this practicum.

2.1 Cross-Sectional Survey

This section of the appendix provides responses given by women on the levels of work-related violence experienced by them in the year prior to the interview. Fifty women gave information related to their work as prostitutes. Included in this section is information from the women interviewed which was collected by Campbell & Heinrich Research Associates (CHRA) as part of their ongoing evaluation of POWER. It provides valuable contextual information about women's lives in general, as well as specific information related to their work as prostitutes.

2.1.1 Demographic Information

As can be seen by Table One, 10% of those surveyed were minors, 34% between 18 and 22 years, 40% between 23 and 27, and 16% 28 or over. The mean age was 24.02 ± 6.41 (median = 23, mode = 18) and the range was 16 to 47. Most participants were women (94%) and were born in Canada (94%). Slightly more than half were Aboriginal, 43% were white, and 4% another race. Only 8% of those surveyed had completed high school (2% having some post-secondary education). Slightly more than half had quit school after completing grade nine or less. Despite the fact that about two-thirds of the women were parents, only about one-third of them had their children living with them when they were interviewed. See

Table 1 for exact numbers and percentages.

Table 1
Demographic Information

Characteristic		Frequency N = 51	% of Total
Age	Mean	24.02	
	Standard Deviation	6.41	
	Range	16-47	
	< 18	5	10
	18 - 22	17	34
	23 - 27	20	40
	28 - 32	2	4
	33 +	6	12
Gender	Female	48	94
	Tranny	3	6
Born in Canada		48	94
Ethnicity	Aboriginal	27	53
	Caucasian	22	43
	Other	2	4
Education	Grade 1 - 6	3	6
	Grade 7 - 9	23	45
	Grade 10 - 11	21	41
	Grade 12	3	6
	Post High School	1	2
Parenting	Have Children	31	61
	Living with Children	10	32

2.1.2 Primary Source of Income

As can be seen from Table 2, the primary source of income for 71% of the women interviewed was prostitution; for 20% it was municipal or provincial welfare. Other primary sources of income mentioned by women included Training and Employment Resources for Females (TERF) a program of Children's Home of Winnipeg, their spouse or family, or Other.

Table 2**Primary Source of Income**

Primary Source of Income	Frequency N = 51	% of Total
Prostitution	36	71
City Welfare	6	12
Provincial Welfare	4	8
Spouse/Family	1	2
TERF	2	4
Other	2	4

2.1.3 Location of Work

Of those who reported working as prostitutes, almost half worked mainly on low track, about one-third in the Jarvis/Sutherland area, and 20% on high track. See Table 3 for exact numbers and percentages.

Table 3**Location of Work**

Location of Work	Frequency N = 51	% of Total
Low Track	24	49
Jarvis & Sutherland	15	31
High Track	10	20

2.1.4 Length of Time Worked

On average, women had been working as prostitutes for seven years, with the shortest time being three months and the longest 25 years. Most (64%) had been working

for five years or more. Table 4 breaks down the length of time worked in more detail.

Table 4
Length of Time Worked

Length of Time Worked	Number of Women (%)
< 1 year	3 (6%)
1 < 2 years	1 (2%)
2 < 3 years	9 (18%)
3 < 4 years	3 (6%)
4 < 5 years	2 (4%)
5 + years	32(64%)
Total	50 (100%)

2.1.5 Weekly Income from Prostitution and Ability to Meet Basic Needs

When women were asked about the amount of money they made from their work as prostitutes per week, responses varied from \$30 to \$3000.00, with a median of \$700.00 (mean = \$1035 ± \$871; mode = \$1000). When the amount made was viewed in the context of the area the women worked in, it appeared that women with the lowest incomes worked in the Jarvis/Sutherland area. Women working on low track reported weekly incomes which were a lot more variable. Despite the money they made from prostitution, or they received from other sources, many women still reported having problems meeting basic needs, with 88% reporting having problems with money, all of them being officially unemployed and over one-third stating they did not always have enough food to eat.

2.1.6 Risk Factors Related to STDs and HIV

Many of the women interviewed were at risk of getting STDs, including HIV, as a result of a number of risk behaviors. Most of them worked as prostitutes, which is arguably a risk factor, as even if the the women did always use condoms with their clients, a greater number of sex partners means there is a greater chance that a condom might fail during a sexual encounter, carrying with this a risk of infection. Additionally, 4% of the women interviewed stated they did not always use condoms with their regular clients and 6% did not always use them with their casual clients. This demonstrates the risk taken by some of the women both in terms of contracting an STD, including HIV, from their clients and of passing one on to another client.

Over three-quarters of the women interviewed reported that they did not use condoms with boyfriends or regular sexual partners (not clients), a disturbingly high number. In terms of risk related to needle use, one-third of the women reported having sexual partners who may be injection drug users, and may therefore have shared needles with others. Of the women interviewed who were injection drug users themselves, 20% had injected drugs with a needle used by someone else, and 13% had passed a needle used by them on to someone else. This demonstrates the women's risk of both contracting such blood-borne infections as HIV and Hepatitis C and of passing them on to others if they were already infected. See Table 5 for a more detailed breakdown of these behaviors.

Table 5
Risk Factors Related to STDs and HIV

Characteristic	% of Total
Have worked as prostitutes	94%
Injection drug user who has injected with a used needle	20%
Injection drug user who has passed a used needle on to someone else	13%
Has a sexual partner who may also be an injection drug user	33%
Doesn't always use condoms with boyfriends or regular sexual partners (not clients)	76%
Doesn't always use condoms with regular clients	4%
Doesn't always use condoms with casual clients	6%

2.1.7 Substance Use

Use of substances was common among the women surveyed, with over three-quarters reporting having used drugs and almost one-third having injected drugs in the past six months. Three-quarters of the women interviewed were currently using alcohol. Many of the women saw their use of substances as a potential problem, with 64% reporting they have worried about having a drug problem, 44% about having an alcohol problem and more than one third having received drug or alcohol treatment in the past. See Table 6 for a detailed breakdown of these behaviors.

Table 6
Substance Use

Characteristic	% of Total
Currently uses drugs	78%
Injected drugs in past 6 months	29%
Currently uses alcohol	75%
Have worried about having a drug problem	64%
Have worried about having an alcohol problem	44%
Received drug or alcohol treatment in the past	35%

2.1.8 Work-Related Violence

In the subsection of the survey addressing violence, the were asked whether they had ever experienced violence while working, from whom, and whether they reported this violence to the police. Of those interviewed, 86% reported they had experienced work-related violence. Overall, 54% reported violence from clients, 40% from partners, 30% from pimps and 19% from police. Of those women who had experienced work-related violence, 63% had reported at least one incident of violence to police.

A number of other questions were asked regarding violence-related issues, but due to circumstances beyond the control of this researcher, this data was not available at the time of practicum publication. For a breakdown of the other questions, see Appendix A. Results may be obtained by contacting the researcher directly.

2.1.9 Awareness of Educational, Training and Employment Opportunities

Women responded to five variables designed to assess their familiarity with educational training and employment opportunities and their interest in stopping work as prostitutes. Over half (53%) stated they knew of educational programs to help them in the school system, and 68% knew how to find out about different training programs which were available to them. Almost three-quarters (73%) knew where to get help to find a job. Over half (59%) said they would like to get off the street, and 2/3 of these women wanted help in doing so. However, the remaining 41% were either not sure or did not want to leave the streets.

2.1.10 Service Utilization at POWER

Many (85%) of the women interviewed used POWER services fairly regularly or often, for a variety of reasons. Over half (55%) had received health care there and almost one-quarter (24%) assistance in accessing substance use treatment. Three-quarters said they felt better about themselves because of POWER, while 60% had received help about a personal problem. Of women who had experienced violence on the job, 7% had received help from POWER in reporting it to police. Many had gotten assistance in linking up to society in general, with 36% getting help in staying in or attending school, 22% in getting a job and 37% receiving help to get off the street. Almost half (47%) used at least one service contract agency, but of these, 54% used one, 25% two and 21% three separate services. See Table 7 for a detailed breakdown of numbers related to service utilization.

Table 7
Service Utilization at POWER

Service Utilization at POWER	Total Possible Cases (N)	# of Clients	% of Sample
Use POWER at least fairly regularly	46	39	84.8%
Received health care from POWER	51	28	54.9%
Received help to get alcohol/drug treatment	34	8	23.5%
Received help reporting violence	30	2	6.7%
Received help about a personal problem	50	30	60.0 %
Received help to stay in or attend school	50	18	36.0%
Received help to get a job	51	11	21.6%
Felt better about myself because of POWER	51	38	74.5%
Received help to get off the street	49	18	36.7%
Used at least one service contract agency	51	24	47.1%

2.1.11 Summary

The women surveyed were young (on average about 24 years old) with low levels of education. The average length of time they had worked was seven years, but 64% had worked for five years or longer, indicating that many women work as prostitutes for long periods of time. Over half were Aboriginal. Most were parents, but few had their children living with them when they were interviewed. Substance use was common for many women, with many seeing this as a potential problem.

Most women had experienced at least one violent incident, from a variety of sources, including clients, partners, pimps and police. Of these women, many had reported at least one incident to the police. Only 7% had received help from POWER in doing so.

2.2 Semi-Structured Audio-Taped Interviews

In total, five biological women were interviewed, all of whom had taken part in the previous cross-sectional interview. These women's responses have been grouped into categories which arose from our discussions, within the parameters of the general questions defined related to work-related violence in collaboration with the women using POWER's services. In this section, I note the number of women responding each way in the brackets following each response, in descending order of frequency.

2.2.1 Definitions of Violence

When describing incidents which occurred for them while working that they defined as violence, the women interviewed women talked about having people from the general public yell insults and throw objects, such as pennies or bottles at them (4), being robbed (4), stabbed or slashed (4), beaten up (3), sexually assaulted (3) and being hassled by pimps to either work for them or to work in a different location (3). Women also defined the following experiences as being violent: being threatened with a gun (2), being killed (2), and having their phone numbers given to date's friends and being harassed and humiliated by these men (2).

One woman spoke eloquently about her experience of assault by a date:

Or when they grab your head and they just push it down, and like you're eeeuuugh, your eyes start watering, you have to swallow, you have to, you have all this saliva in your mouth and its building up, and you can't swallow, you're drooling, it's terrible, and I've, oh, that's especially when you feel like you're choking and he keeps on going, and won't let go of your head, and his arms are so strong and you can't go back up because he's pushing you down...and they say, well go down harder, suck harder you bitch, like the verbal abuse they put a girl through they start calling you a slut and a whore and everything.

Women mentioned the following once each: being dumped off in the middle of nowhere, being thrown out of a moving car, chased by a car, burnt, given an STD, ridiculed while being raped, and being sold or moved around by pimps.

One woman described an early experience of violence:

I had my arm broken the first week I started, I was 18, I took a guy to the hotel and he broke my arm after we had done business. I think he just got a kick out of it.

2.2.2 Sources and Levels of Violence

When asked who the primary sources of violence on the street for them were, the women interviewed talked about the violence which perpetrated by their dates (5) members of the general public (5) and pimps who were also the women's boyfriends (5). One woman reported having 10 bad dates (where she was physically injured; she did not consider being robbed as much of an issue) in the 13 years she had been working as a prostitute. The same woman stated:

So many of my friends have gotten beat up out there, a lot have died out there, from tricks, and I'm one of the lucky ones that hasn't gotten killed...

Other sources of violence reported included the other women working as prostitutes (4), pimps who weren't the women's boyfriends (3) and police officers (2). One woman spoke of the abuse her pimp/boyfriend would subject her to:

I remember there was, like he wouldn't hit me in the face or the body but he'd always get me on the back of the head or the shoulders, where, I always wear those spandex things and it always covers my back...or he'd kick me in the foot or something, he wouldn't do it wear it showed to the dates...a lot of it was verbal abuse with him too.

Another woman spoke about the harassment she often experienced from members of the general public while she was working, and what happened once when she talked back to them about their treatment of her:

One time I mouthed off to them...they all jumped out of the car and like there was nobody else around and I was way in back, and I just, 'oh no, I shouldn't have said nothing', I was just trying to get this cab driver to stop for me and I guess there was too many guys around for him to even bother getting into it, he just parked up the street and watched, and the first thing I was thinking was oh no they're going to throw me in the car and take me somewhere else and...gang-bang or get beaten up or whatever.

Another talked about violence she experienced from two police officers:

Their attitude was harassing, on every corner and everywhere I worked, scaring the tricks away, they said 'well we'll leave you alone on one condition'...this really bothered me because no cop has ever done this before...he grabbed my hand and put it on his penis, and then I just like moved...he grabbed my hand and put it on the billy club...I'm wanted by the cops and I couldn't do nothing because they would want my name and address and so like I can't do nothing and it just really bothered me, like I actually cried when that happened. What am I supposed to do? They're not going to take my word over their word. What happens if they were charged and they came back and do it to me again and this time it could be worse?...Whose word are they going to believe?...I don't trust them anymore. What happens if I have a bad date, if I phone the cops are they going to do that to me?

One woman described her experience with a bad date:

He'd already stabbed 2, three girls, but he didn't stab me, it was actually my jacket that saved me cause he had the knife pointing at my neck and my jacket had the collar up, and when he was first getting me to do what he wanted me to do, I was kinda pushing myself away, trying to see if...maybe I didn't shut the door right and I'd be able to hop out...I had to do what I had to do and then when he, when we were finished...I just happened to jump out and run down the street...the guy's doing 14 years now for it.

Most (4) of the women considered the amount of violence being experienced on the street to be increasing, both in amount and severity. One woman commented:

Before it was just ripping girls off, or punching them in the head, now girls are getting their throats slashed, are getting cut up, weapons are being used, guns are being pulled, more girls are dying than ever before.

2.2.3 Effects of Violence

The effects of violence were felt by women in many areas, particularly in a fear of returning to work and being hurt again (3). Here are the words of two of the women interviewed on this problem:

It gets worse and worse each time, it keeps eating away at me, that's why I...look for somebody that I know (a regular)...I'm a single parent, if I go with this person and this happens that means I'm not going home.

They know where to find you, its easy, and you never know what's going to happen if somebody's driving by, they could either throw something at you or maybe even shoot you...you can't tell what's in peoples' head.

The women reported receiving little sympathy from other women working as prostitutes when they had experienced work-related violence. Interestingly, they often did not spare sympathy for others either, even though they acknowledged the difficulty of the experience. One of the women summed up the often harsh attitude of women working the streets, stating:

Some (girls) just don't come out. After they've had a bad date they just don't come out...If you've got balls, you come back out.

Other responses mentioned once by the women included nightmares, feelings of betrayal, disbelief/denial, isolation, helplessness and lowered self-esteem. One woman said "the violence to me is not the physical, its the emotional, that goes really deep in my brain".

Another related an early experience of violence and the effect it had on her:

There was this guy who took me out behind a garage and pulled out a carpet cutter and raped me, and he gave me something, like an STD and he came around track a couple of days later and I threw a rock through his window...I was only 15, I flipped out, I was just yelling. (I had) nightmares for a long time...it's really hard on me to this day (13 years later).

Another talked about the feelings she had after being assaulted by two police officers:

They're supposed to be out there to protect you, not abuse you, and its an emotional impact...a betrayal, I couldn't believe it...I was scared of the badge you know...I just don't like being screwed around...I'm getting sick and tired of being hurt, I'm getting tired of being abused...it's still eating at me.

One woman, who was being abused by her boyfriend/pimp, spoke of complexity of her feelings toward him:

He'll say a lot of derogatory remarks about hookers and stuff and I'll say, wait a minute, that's what I am. He's like, well, its different. I remember we were in (a hotel) on time and some guy turned around and called me a slut and he smashed his face against the telephone and I said, you've said worse to me and he said, that's different, that's us. I'm like, no it's not different it hurts more coming from you than it does from some dumb trick in a bar...I wish he'd do it in private, he says it to other people ... it doesn't mean as much to me when he says it to other people as if he would just say it to me.

One of the other woman, whose pimp/boyfriend was also abusive with her and was incarcerated at the time of the interview, talked about her feelings of helplessness related to ending their relationship, and the contradictory nature of her feelings toward him:

I've got this friend, she always gets beaten up by her boyfriend, and he sends her out to work, and I always say why do you put up with that and then I look at myself and say, well, why do I put up with that? ...I am still with ___ and he's in jail...but I'm in his trap, like, he's got me...and when I don't talk to him when we're arguing I'm crying for him. And when I'm talking to him and visiting him I'm still crying for him. Or crying that he'll let go of me and I'll let go of him, but neither of us can let go. He's in there for murdering a woman, and all my friends tell me I better get out of that picture really soon, before he gets out because he has so much anger and so much dislike toward me.

She continued, saying:

My heart is just so more towards him, we've been together so long, I just can't get up and leave him. I cry when I don't talk to him, I think about him constantly...and someday I will be hurt bad.

Women reported coping with these feelings in different ways, with each of the following being mentioned once: using drugs and alcohol, both to cope with the pain and to be able to work, retaliating against the offender and self-mutilation.

One woman stated:

When I do get a bad trick I take it out on myself a lot...I get depressed when that happens...so I start taking it out on myself and I start slashing...it's anger, I get really angry...I can feel it working up, I'll be violent toward myself. Nobody will be violent toward me but I'll do it myself.

2.2.4 Causes of Violence

Women's perceptions of the reasons why the violence occurred fell into four broad categories. One of these focused on violence caused by other women, and three on violence by dates. They saw violence against women working as prostitutes by women also working as prostitutes being primarily caused by the women experiencing violence having undercut the accepted prices for sex (3). That other women would punish undercutting by violence was considered reasonable and expectable by these, who felt they had brought it on themselves by undercutting. Other reasons for women hurting one another included desperation to make the quota their pimp had set (1) or the general hassling of newer, younger women (1) which occurs because they take away the business of women who have been around longer.

Their perceptions of the primary causes for violence by dates included their perceptions of the dates themselves. Some thought dates who were violence got off on violence (3), possibly couldn't afford to pay for sex and so raped instead (2), targeted women working as prostitutes because they knew the police would be less likely to help them (3). Others thought some of the dates were retaliating because they'd been ripped off by another woman (2) or just didn't like women at all (1).

Most (4) of the women felt that ultimately violence occurred because of societal myths about prostitutes, which made men who were being violent look down on them as 'just whores' and therefore appropriate targets of violence. One woman stated:

These guys are having trouble at home and they pick someone who is least likely to be able to hurt them back to take it out on - prostitutes.

Another agreed, saying:

They just think all the prostitutes are nobodies and if they beat up on one it isn't really gonna matter because the rest of the world looks down on it.

Most of the women viewed those experiencing violence as having gotten hurt because they were 'stupid' and didn't know what they were doing (4). One noted that the lower the track you worked on the less you were paid, and the more 'disposable' tricks thought you were. Another noted that when she was desperate for money to buy drugs she would go with people she didn't think were safe:

These two guys picked me up and I wanted to do a shot so I got in and they went in to pick up a bag and then they took me out to (town), they raped me, they made me crawl on my knees, and they made me walk back and they also had a gun in the car...I've gotten raped out there more times, its very, there are so many crazies out there and all I can say is they take advantage, too much advantage of the working girls, because like some girls are hard up for money for a shot, and they'd do anything, cause I know I used to do anything for a shot, and that's why I went with those two guys and look what happened to me.

2.2.5 Actions Taken to Prevent Violence from Dates

When women spoke in the interviews about the actions they took to prevent violence, they focused on those taken in relation to violence from dates. As such, all information collected in relation to preventing or managing violence is in relation to dates.

A) General Strategies

All spoke of the importance of working in pairs, so that each woman could write down the license numbers of the other woman's dates (3). Women also emphasized the importance of letting dates know they could be identified, or that someone knew where they were, for example by telling them their license number had been written down (2), making a phone call when you got to their place to the 'baby-sitter' and telling them the address (1). This 'safety in numbers' notion was also emphasized in the recommendation that women never go in a car where there was more than one man unless another women went too (3).

Other strategies mentioned by women included only doing regulars (clients they see often) (2), getting the money up front (2) and trusting your instinct by rejecting 'suspicious' potential dates (2). Women had strong opinions with regard to the importance of trusting their instincts about dates:

I just spend a little time talking to them before we go anywhere...if he seems okay I usually go by my feeling, and if I feel like he's going to be a threat then I don't go.

Usually you get a feeling too, I don't know if it's that age-old women's intuition but you kinda pick up a sense when you're out there long enough, you start to get feelings and you learn to trust those feelings because they are usually right.

Actions that were mentioned once each included observing what other women did to learn how to be safe, carrying a weapon and listening to other women if they warn you someone is dangerous. At least one woman each also noted the importance of never getting into cars with automatic door locks, checking vehicles for objects lying around which could be used as weapons against them (e.g. screwdrivers) and never getting in the back seat of a two-door car.

In the end, however, three of the women felt that ultimately there was nothing they could do to prevent violence from occurring, although they could do some things to make it less likely. One woman stated :

There's no way to really safeguard yourself on the street, there's only ways to keep you safer, but you can't ever be safe, cause every time you step in a car you never know for sure.

Another put it more succinctly, stating "if you want to be safe stay off the street".

B) Client-Related Danger Signs

While discussing actions taken to protect themselves from violence from dates, the women interviewed also mentioned a number of criteria they used in assessing a potential date for signs of violence. Most agreed that doing a car date increased the chance violence occurred (4), although all still did them. Other danger signs included the date deviating from anything previously negotiated (3), including going off the agreed-upon route in the car (3). Women recommended never going to a date's home (3), instead preferring to use their own home or a hotel, where they considered it more likely someone would hear them if they needed help (3).

Men who were demanding or controlling (2), or who wanted to park in isolated areas (2), were considered to be potential problems, as were men who wouldn't use a condom (1), younger men (1) and Asian men (1). Other danger signs mentioned once each by the women interviewed included men who talked obsessively about topics which upset them, men who only wanted to date very small women who were easily overpowered, and men who didn't know the rules of the game (e.g. how much sex cost, how the process of negotiation worked, or who wouldn't state what they wanted). Two of the women interviewed felt the dates they had during the day tended to be less violent than those they had at night.

C) Personal Attitudes and Behaviors

A number of the women interviewed spoke about the personal attitudes and behaviors they adopted which they felt either decreased the likelihood they would encounter violence or helped them manage a date who was becoming violent. It was considered important to be professional and to separate work from pleasure (3). This meant not getting too friendly with dates, for example, by giving them personal information or your home phone number (2). Other important strategies used by the women included making sure they stayed in control throughout the entire process of the date (3), never showing fear or any other emotion to the date (2), and adapting their persona to match the date's personality (3). Two of the women interviewed recommended having the date show the woman their penis, or grabbing their penis before doing the date. This was considered a useful way to identify both men who weren't there for sex and men who might be police officers.

The importance of an attitude that was 'put on' while working which emphasized the importance of being emotionless, tough and professional was summed up by many of the women interviewed:

It's like an overcoat, you have to put it on, and then when you go home you can take it off. You have to be cold, you have to be...cause there's some really fucking perverted people out there, you know (laughs). You have to, you've gotta like just put everything out of your mind, you know it goes in one ear and out the other...I just sit there and I tune everything out...and it just feels like I don't care what this person says afterwards, I don't care what this person does before they pick me up as long as they pick me up an they bring me back safely that's all I care about.

Another commented:

This is what you are paying for, you're not getting any more...this is a business, bottom line, it's not romance, I'm not in love with you, I'll never be in love with you.

The importance of the aspect of maintaining control was emphasized. One woman stated:

You have to be in charge right from the beginning, from right when you say hello you have to show self confidence, show you're the one in charge, you're the one setting the prices, you're the one saying where you're going to go, you're the one. If you let him start making decisions he takes the control away from you.

Another stated:

I wanta be the one in control...I'm the one that's doing it so if you don't like my rules you can go find someone who's different.

The need to act a certain way while working, in order to ensure safety, could either cause divisions amongst or prevent connections between the women at times. One woman stated:

If I see someone being really emotional on track I won't hang around them. I don't like it. I like to be hard and cold when I'm out there. I'm not doing it for pleasure...it's just a business that's all it is. (For some girls) it goes over from business to pleasure, that's not the way you do business. If you wanta be a ho be a ho, if you wanta be a slut go to the bar.

Two other women had this to add: "I don't talk to many girls, I keep to myself...I just leave most of them alone", and "the basic code is mind your own business, do your job and go home, what someone else does that's their business."

Another women commented:

You have to be able to stand up to anybody, not just the dates, the other girls, and they are going to give you respect...I don't like to fight but over the past few years, I've learned how to stand up for myself and not take shit from anybody.

When men started becoming violent, all of the women interviewed recommended being physically violent back. As one woman said "I try to calm them down, I say I'll do that just don't hurt me, but if they keep on going I'll trip on them". This same woman noted that in order to be capable she had to work drunk or stoned, stating:

People have different ways of doing what they need to, but my way is to become, if I'm drunk or whatever, and they become violent with me, they better watch it cause I'll do the same...I've been out there for a long time and put up with all this shit and I'm getting sick of it...and it is usually directed to them but I'm also thinking of everything that's happened to me, how many men have done this to me.

One woman talked about how different she was at home than when at work:

When I'm at home I don't have that whole attitude...I'm not the same person, I try not to be...I'm really caring when I'm at home...but on the street you can't do that.

Other suggestions included carrying a weapon (3), talking to the date calmly (2) or threatening the date (1). One woman used a combination of her intuition, adapting her persona to that of the dates and making threats, depending on the situation:

If I feel a bad vibe then I'll start acting more tougher and say you better not fuck with me...you sort of respond with whatever you get from them.

Other strategies fell under the general category of disabling or distracting the date so as to get away, for example by breaking his glasses (1), turning off the vehicle ignition (1) or throwing the car keys out the window (1).

The one exception to the otherwise uniform trend of focusing on strategies to deal with violence from dates occurred when one woman spoke of how she dealt with threats of violence from other women who were working:

When I first started working...these girls came up to me and started saying all this shit to me, and I just told them straight out, if they wanted a piece of me I had a BIC lighter and... a squirt bottle full of gas and I told them I'd make her a walking bomb so they all turned around and left, they never bothered me again.

2.2.6 Supports Used Following Violence

When women were asked about the supports they used following an experience of violence, their responses fell into three general categories, agencies, police and friends and co-workers.

A) Agencies

All of the women interviewed named POWER as an agency they would turn to for support, with one woman stating it was the only place she would go after an experience of violence. In the words of one of the women:

If it weren't for this place I don't know what...I've seen girls come in and out of here that have been bruised, and crying and everything...and if it wasn't for this place where would she go...there are so many things you can talk to people here about, especially the hurts that women are keeping inside.

Other agencies named included Mount Carmel (3), Street Station, a needle exchange program (3), and Children's Home (RAP: 1 and Terf: 2). Mentioned once each were emergency rooms for medical care only, the Health Sciences Centre emergency room, the Aboriginal AIDS Task Force and one woman's psychiatrist. One woman stated that who she would turn to following an experience of violence had less to do with what agency it was than what the worker was like.

B) Police

Perceptions of police as a potential source of support after an experience of violence were primarily negative. Two women reported having experienced violence from police themselves. Women felt police would blame them for the violence because they were working as prostitutes (3) and would take the date's word over theirs (1). Two women stated they had attempted to talk to police after having an experience of violence only to have police refuse to take a formal report, while another woman stated police were reluctant to take a report even though she was visibly injured. She stated:

When I had my bad date it was like the cops had no clue, one of them said...'is there any reason to be filling out a police report?' And I'm covered in blood, and I'm like, 'gee I wouldn't be sitting in the back of this fucking car if I didn't want to press charges'...that really pissed me off and made me not trust them at all for a while, I still don't really trust them that much.

Two women stated they considered police more likely to act on their behalf if the assault was exceptionally violent or if more than one woman had been assaulted by the same man.

The result of these experiences was that one woman stated she had very little trust in the police, while two stated they would never report violence to the police at all. Two women noted they had a limited relationship with police insofar as they would provide

them with information they needed in relation to bad dates, and in return police warned them of impending street arrests. One of these women would still never report violence to the cops though, because when the chips are down she didn't feel she would be helped. She felt very few girls who experienced violence on the street reported because "cops won't really do anything for us...they won't help, they're not willing to do anything for us, for prostitutes anyways". Another woman felt that relations with police might improve if the same police worked all the time in the area women worked in, so they could both get to know one another as people instead of just within their roles.

C) Friends and Co-Workers

Only two women mentioned friends as a potential source of support following an experience of violence. One woman specifically stated that sometimes it was better to talk to someone in an agency than a co-worker on the street because women working were more likely to blame her for the violence:

If you were to talk to another on the street and say you know what happened to me, this guy did this and this guy did that, they would turn around and say, well why didn't you just stab him back or slap him back, when that's just asking for more trouble, so you come in and talk to them (in an agency) and they tell you something that's not going to get you in more trouble.

This may be partially the result of the tough, emotionless persona required of women on the street.

2.2.7 Recommendations for the Improvement of Support Services

Women spoke of a number of things support services could do to make themselves more accessible to women working as prostitutes who have experienced violence on the job.

Suggestions included becoming more aware of street issues (3), being supportive and non-judgmental (3), and expanding their hours so they are open evenings and on weekends(3).

Other helpful changes recommended included becoming less formal, with fewer rules (2), and to provide services rather than simply taking their kids away (1). Women mentioned certain services they felt were missing, including homemakers (1), child care (1) and some sort of program to help women deal with violent pimps (1). One woman recommended POWER create a linkage with the police so an officer could come into POWER once a week so women could get to know her/him and to increase the chances they would report violence when it occurred.

2.2.8 Stereotypes Regarding Women Working as Prostitutes

Although this was not an area identified prior to the interviews to ask about, three of the women interviewed focused on the stereotypes they saw in existence about women working as prostitutes. Of these three women, all had noted that women working as prostitutes were viewed by society as using drugs and alcohol, while two each mentioned perceptions related to their sex lives, including the assumption that they did this work because they liked sex (or were 'sluts') and had sex without condoms. Other assumptions mentioned twice each included the idea that they were bad housekeepers and were never mothers. One woman stated that if they were seen as mothers the assumption was that they were bad at it. Other myths mentioned once each included the notion that they were

homeless, stupid or uneducated, evil, spread HIV or other STDs, rich, violent, non-religious, or were helpless victims to be pitied or rescued.

One woman, in commenting on the belief that women working as prostitutes don't use condoms, had this to say:

We are so meticulous with using condoms with our dates, where we get sloppy is in our personal lives, but that doesn't put us at any higher risk than anybody else.

About the stereotypes held in society about prostitutes in general, women had plenty to say regarding the relationship they have to the violence they experience while working.

One woman observed:

If it was not so bad to everybody then maybe all the guys that do go out there that are just kinda sick in the head and...pound on a girl every once in a while, or rape them or whatever, probably wouldn't do it so much...she's doing something illegal anyway, what chance does she have of getting any (help).

Another woman spoke of how the stereotypes made her feel about herself:

All the people look down on it, and I don't think that's right, you know, some people really degrade you, like, put you down below the earth and you're like, you're a fucking parasite or something, and it doesn't really help boost your self esteem.

Another woman said:

You start believing what society tells you and so you figure you're not good enough to get a mainstream job anymore, you know, I'm now a tramp, I'm not part of society anymore, ...and when you first start working, your self esteem just goes, well, I felt really dirty, ...and when you start to believe that its harder to get back, and you procrastinate, and you get further down, and the harder it is, and then it is too late...nobody will hire me, you have no work record.

One woman noted the stigma of prostitution made women working easy victims because many don't care about their safety, saying "Our lives aren't worth too much".

When they talked about how these stereotypes affected them, two of the women noted they made them feel dirty or bad, and one said they made it harder to get other work than prostitution. One woman stated these stereotypes did not hurt her emotionally at all -- she simply distanced herself from them. All three, however, felt the best way to stop violence was through public education regarding these stereotypes, both to increase the sensitivity of service response, change attitudes in potentially violent dates and make them less of an 'easy' target of violence.

2.2.9 Legal Issues

Women did not really come to any consensus about what should be done about laws related to prostitution, in terms of whether it should be legalized or decriminalized. Many of the women did not understand the difference between decriminalization and legalization and the potential implications of each for their work lives. There was, however, general consensus that laws needed to be changed in certain areas. Two women felt they should be able to work out of their homes, which was considered by them to be safer. Many of the women did not feel legal changes would necessarily decrease the amount of violence which was occurring for them (3), but did think it might change attitudes toward them and about the violence, in particularly in relation to police and violence-related services (3).

One woman commented on the unfairness of the laws as they currently exist:

Even though I have never been charged, I'm a known prostitute on the computers. No other crime, not even a rapist is a known rapist without a conviction...they are even wondering whether convicted child molesters can be named yet we can be...twenty years afterward we could be somebody's grandmother and we're still labeled as a known prostitute.

2.2.10 Why Women Started Working, Why They Continue to Work

Four of the women interviewed talked about why they began working and why they continued to work now, even though this wasn't an area previously identified as being important for the research. All four began working because they needed the money, one for drugs, the others because they were runaways or single mothers. When they spoke about why they continued to work, all four stated it was for the money they made from it. Two of the women also talked about the addictive nature of the work, which drew them back whenever they tried to quit. One woman stated she was forced to work by her pimp.

2.2.11 Summary

The five women interviewed provided a great deal of valuable information related to their experiences of work-related violence. They provided a definition of violence which included physical, emotional, sexual and financial abuse or exploitation. They reported experiencing violence from a variety of sources, particularly the general public, dates, and pimps who were also boyfriends. Other sources were co-workers, pimps and police. When they spoke about the effects of violence, they focused on the emotional impact it had, particularly in terms of their fear of returning to work in case they were hurt again.

In terms of the causes of violence by dates, women stated they considered it to be the result of societal stereotyping of women working as prostitutes. They also tended to focus on women who experienced violence as having 'brought it on', either by being too inexperienced to correctly assess or address danger or by undercutting the prices for sex and 'causing' other women to become violent with them. The cause of individual dates being violent was perceived as either being due to the effects of societal stereotypes or to

the dates wish to retaliate for having been robbed by another prostitute. Women spoke about a number of strategies they implemented to prevent or manage violence from dates. These fell into three categories: more general strategies, date-related danger signals, and the importance of adopting particular attitudes and behaviors with dates.

In relation to the issue of supports used following an experience of violence, women discussed three different support sources: agencies, police and friends and co-workers. Overall, POWER was considered a very good source of support, and police were viewed with distrust. The women also provided some general recommendations as to how agencies and police could improve services to women working as prostitutes.

Finally, some of the women discussed societal stereotypes regarding women working as prostitutes and the relationship of these to the violence women experience while working. Some of the women also spoke about legal issues related to prostitution and how these affect violence and about why they first began, and now continue to work as prostitutes.

3.0 Discussion

This section examines the results of the cross-sectional survey and semi-structured, audio-taped interviews within the context of the relevant literature. Particular attention will be paid to the findings on the cross-sectional survey that are directly relevant to women's experiences of work-related violence, and to how the words of women interviewed in the audio taped interviews and as reflected in the literature compare to the results of this research. Findings from the CHRA questions on the cross-sectional survey will only be discussed insofar as they are relevant to work-related violence.

It is clear from the results of the research that work-related violence is a serious concern for the women working as street prostitutes that were interviewed for this research. The cross-sectional survey results demonstrated that most of the women interviewed, 86%, had experienced violence while working. This finding was confirmed by the experiences reported by the women later interviewed on audio-tape. This is consistent with the high levels of violence reported elsewhere in the literature. For example, Silbert (cited in Alexander, 1987) found that 70% of women surveyed had been raped by clients, while the Elizabeth Fry Society of Winnipeg (1985) found that 78% of women interviewed had been either physically or sexually assaulted on the job, 64% having experienced both forms of assault. The types of violence reported in this research, physical, sexual, emotional and financial, also correspond with other studies, both those cited above and those conducted by the Fraser Committee (1985) and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (November, 1991).

Sources of violence for the women interviewed in this research project were also consistent with the available literature. Women who took part in the cross-sectional survey

reported experiencing violence from clients (54%), partners (40%), pimps (30%) and police (19%). Women who were interviewed on tape reported experiencing violence from the same sources, as well as from other women and the general public. This is consistent with studies by the Fraser Committee (1985), which found that some women experienced violence from their pimps. It also corresponds with studies which found that police were physically and sexually violent with women working as prostitutes, both in general and while arresting them, where they used unnecessary force and humiliation tactics (Alexander, 1987; Maggie's, August, 1992). Members of the general public have been reported to be violent with women while they were working in a number of previous studies (Fraser Committee, 1985; Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, November, 1991; West, 1987).

The strategies adopted by women in this study to prevent or manage violence from dates have been reported by other women in previous studies, including the tendency to work in pairs and note down license numbers for one another (Fraser Committee, 1985). Other strategies women used, such as not getting in the back of a two door car or into a car alone with two men were also reported by Barnard (1993), in her qualitative research study with women working as street prostitutes. Other common strategies between the women interviewed by Barnard and those spoken to in this study included the belief that it was a good idea to take clients home where someone would hear if there was any trouble, that only seeing regular clients was safer, it was a good idea to carry a weapon, and one good strategy to get away was breaking a date's glasses. Danger signs of dates they agreed with as well included the importance of being cautious of men who did not't know 'the rules' of the game, who deviated from agreed upon car routes, who did not't want to

wear condoms, and who wanted them to go to their homes.

The importance of establishing the women's control over the entire process of negotiation and delivery of a service, and of being very professional in manner has also been noted in the literature. Bell (November, 1989, p. 6) stated "when you start ho'ing you realize that in order not to be used I have to be the user... You have to make sure you are the boss at all times, you make the rules." Women working as prostitutes act powerful, and are powerful, "because they have to (be), we don't have a choice,...either you are powerful or you get hurt and stepped on" (p. 7). Other researchers have noted this approach as well (Delacoste & Alexander, 1988; Shedlin, 1990). Barnard (1993) found the women she interviewed took a similar approach with their clients, as a defensive maneuver designed to set a tone of power relations which was critical in both ensuring payment and limiting the potential for violence. The women in her research had the following things to say about the importance of this type of approach:

If you're not in control of what you're doing then there's nae point doing it...you've got to feel in control to a certain extent. (p. 690)

I've got to put it across to them that I'm the one that's in charge and that's it... You get a lot of them that try (to take control), like they'll say 'wait a minute I'm paying this money so I'll say what I want' sort of thing, but as long as you say to them, 'look you're fucking paying' for ma time you're no paying' for nothin' else' that's what I say. (pp. 690-691)

The women interviewed by Barnard (1993) also agreed that using their intuition about the risk a date posed was an important part of assessing danger. One of the women interviewed, Karla, stated "It's the only thing you've got to go on is how you feel and if you don't feel safe there's nae point in going any further" (p. 692). Delacoste and Alexander (1988) similarly noted that for women working as prostitutes the decision of

whether or not to go with a client was simply whether or not they liked the 'look' of him.

The reality that women who are in need of a drug fix may be less likely to follow their own advice about safety, as demonstrated by the experiences of one of the women interviewed for this research, has been commented upon in past research as well. Barnard (1993) observed a woman in a similar state, who was desperate to make some money to buy drugs. She noted "all night long she was chasing business, stopping any man who happened to be walking by and almost flinging herself into passing cars" (p. 695). So it is that despite the importance attached by many women on establishing control of the situation to help decrease the chance of violence, in cases of extreme drug dependency this may be impossible for women to do, out of their need for money to purchase drugs. The cross-sectional survey found that over three-quarters of the women interviewed had used drugs, with almost one-third having injected drugs in the past six months. Sixty per cent reported they have worried about having a drug problem. Other health risks related to drug use aside, their need for money to purchase drugs might also lead these women to compromise their safety in their work.

It is a positive sign that POWER appeared to be an influential service for the women interviewed. For example, almost one-quarter of women interviewed in the cross-sectional survey reported that they had received help from POWER to get alcohol or drug treatment. With relation to violence, however, it is disturbing that so few had obtained assistance from POWER in reporting an incident of violence. It is difficult to determine exactly why this was the case, although women's extreme distrust of police may have had something to do with it. The idea suggested by one woman who completed a taped interview, that a linkage between the police and POWER be formed wherein a police

officer could come to POWER one day a week might be worth further exploration. Other infrastructure links created at POWER were successful, and the opportunity for women and police both to get to know one another better, and build trust, might result in both increased reporting of violence by women and a better reception for them from police.

The situations of women interviewed for this study demonstrate the inappropriateness of approaches which focus on simply getting them 'off the streets'. Women interviewed in this study had fewer marketable skills, in terms of level of education, should they wish to leave prostitution. Many relied on welfare or prostitution as their primary source of income, two sources of income which would be unlikely to render their resume attractive to potential employers. The same would be true with regard to a criminal record for prostitution-related offenses. While about half wanted to get off the streets, the reality is the other half of the women were either not sure or didn't want to. Some of the women who don't wish to leave their work might simply be satisfied with the work they are doing, but might prefer that the conditions under which they work be improved, be that through increased and improved services, changes in legislation, and improved responses to violence by police. Others may be unable to leave because of economic dependency, abuse by pimps, low self-esteem, chemical dependencies, lack of programs to help transition them off, or other factors which are more complex in nature. They require services which acknowledge their complex reality and facilitate their access to the services they need. Women who do wish to leave the streets, but are facing the same types of barriers, require the same complexity of services. The high use of POWER by women in the cross-sectional survey indicate that a service such as this one may be well-suited to responding to the complexity of these women's lives, particularly insofar as

one of their program priorities is facilitating linkages for women to services they require which have otherwise been difficult for them to access for a variety of reasons. If services to women working as prostitutes don't address and acknowledge the myriad of personal, economic and social factors which led to their beginning this work in the first place, they are unlikely to result in any real change for them.

Ultimately, a respectful response to women working as prostitutes would respect their right to choose whether or not they want to work as prostitutes or not, and attempt to provide them with those services they consider important for their own safety or well-being. In a non-coercive atmosphere where the right for each woman to choose the best option for her, from a variety of possibilities, women are more likely to be empowered to choose healthier options for themselves, whether that be to access substance use treatment so they will not compromise their safety at work to get money for drugs, or to seek job training and leave the streets.

4.0 Action Plan

In reviewing the results obtained in this research study within the context of the relevant research, a number of areas where constructive action can be taken to address the issue of violence against women working as prostitutes can be highlighted. These are discussed in this section of the appendix.

Service agencies might wish to review their programming in light of the information provided by women in this research. Particular attention could be paid to ensuring the staff are educated about street issues and myths related to prostitution. Aboriginal issues and anti-racism should also be addressed, given the over-representation of Aboriginal women working as street prostitutes in Winnipeg. This would make it more likely that staff would respond to women who have experienced violence and would like to access service at their organization in a supportive, non-judgmental manner. Attention could also be paid to decreasing the formality of service provision, as well as expanding service hours to include some evenings and weekends, in order to be providing services to women when they need it, and in a style with which they are more comfortable.

It needs to be acknowledged that hours of operation are sometimes difficult to change, and while education of staff can occur relatively inexpensively, particularly if agencies use the public education services provided by POWER, it might be more difficult to change their hours of service. This points to another possibility for them, which is to create infrastructure linkages with POWER to provide services on-site. Many of the women are already comfortable with POWER, and have built up a certain amount of trust with them. This could be used to the advantage of agencies which have traditionally been distrusted by the women who want to create a better relationship with them, if they enter

into such a service agreement. This would not, of course, make it any less important that they continue to educate the staff back at the agency larger about issues of importance to working as street prostitutes, as many of the women might be accessing services directly from the agency, rather than going through POWER to do so.

Police have similar work to do to increase their services to women working as street prostitutes. Most women in the cross-sectional survey had experienced violence, and more than half had reported at least once to police. Problems in the relationship between women arise related to the illegal nature of the women's work (they may have outstanding warrants) and to the fact that a good percentage have experienced violence from police in the past, and don't trust them to respond well. Police could implement many of the same changes as service agencies, including investigating the possibility of an infrastructure linkage, to increase the likelihood that women working as prostitutes who experience work-related violence will have access to the same legal right to report as anyone else.

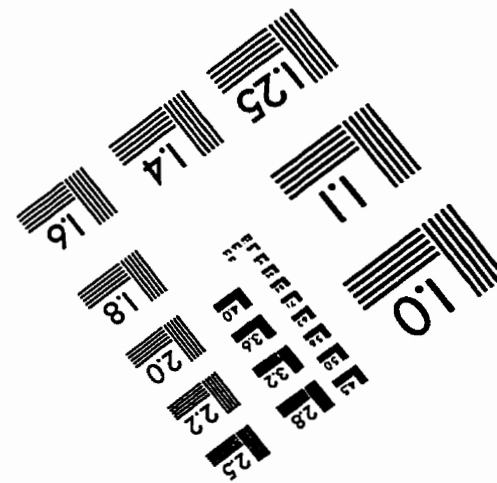
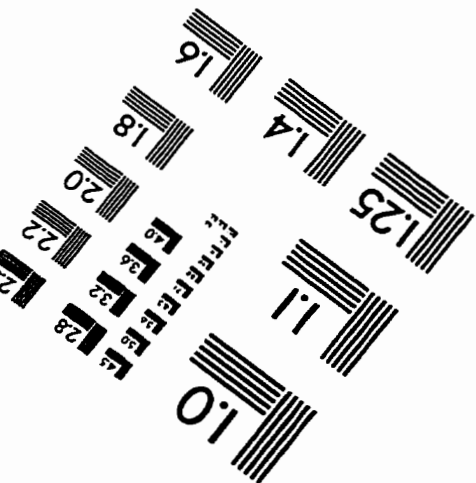
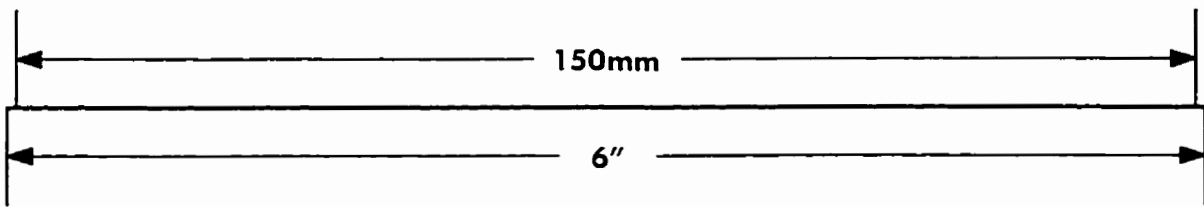
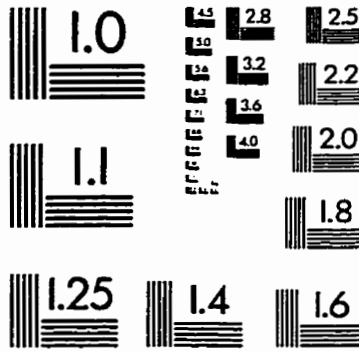
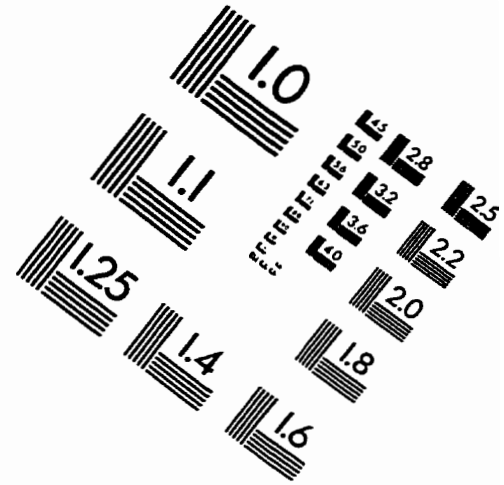
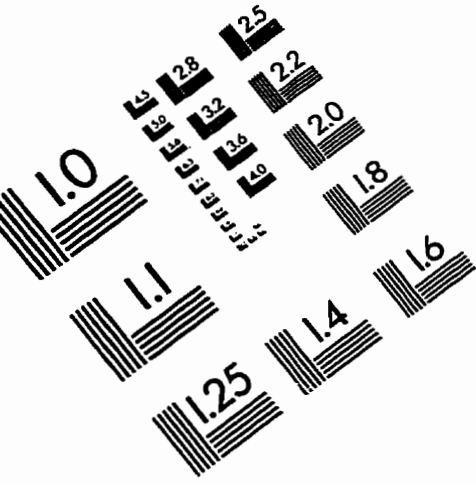
POWER itself could take action in a number of areas as a result of this research. They already have the trust of many of the women, yet do not play a large role in facilitating the process of reporting for women who have experienced violence while working. Why this is remains unclear. This could be investigated further by them, perhaps in a series of forums or a street survey, to find out what women would like to see POWER do to assist them in addressing the violence they experience. This could include reaching out to police to create an infrastructure linkage, taking anonymous reports of violence from women and passing them on to police, educating women about legislative options and their implications for women's safety (i.e. decriminalization and legalization) and

determining what they see as their best options, and then lobbying city council and other legislative bodies to achieve these changes. POWER could also lobby their funders for more money in order to further increase the hours they are able to stay open, and perhaps to allow them to have beds for women to stay in overnight if necessary. They could also seek to educate women working as prostitutes who use their services about national and international prostitutes rights movements, to see if women in Winnipeg were interested in doing something similar themselves.

Another area of action would be for POWER to use the media to their advantage, wherever possible, with regard to the realities of violence for women working as street prostitutes. The results of this study could be used as the basis for a press conference by Mount Carmel, as the parent agency, on the whole issue. This could create more public sympathy for women working as prostitutes, which in turn helps combat societal stereotypes.

POWER has already shown a commitment to addressing the complexity of women's lives, rather than simply trying to get them 'off the street', in their adoption of a structure which focused on creating infrastructure linkages with agencies the women they worked with traditionally have had difficulty accessing or have distrusted. This trend should be continued, with a particular focus on incorporating direct feedback from the women they serve into their regular planning and evaluation cycles, as has been done in the first three years of operation. It is the involvement of the women themselves, in both the planning and provision of services, which will help ensure that the services are accessible and appropriate for women working as street prostitutes.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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