

**ADOLESCENT GIRLS' EXPERIENCES OF UNWANTED INTERCOURSE AND
UNINTENTIONAL PREGNANCY: A RETROSPECTIVE STUDY**

by

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Abstract

In this study, unwanted intercourse refers to intercourse that took place with or without consent and in which a girl was neither physically harmed nor threatened with physical harm but which she engaged in due to social or interpersonal pressure, or substance use. Unwanted sexual experiences are linked to lower contraception use and higher rates of pregnancy as well as negative physical, psychological, and emotional consequences. Evidence suggests that experiencing unwanted sex in adolescence leads to a continuation of this pattern in adulthood.

In this sample, 16% of adult women had experienced unwanted intercourse often or always during their adolescence. Statistical and thematic analyses identify a number of relational and contextual factors that affect sexual compliance, providing the basis for further studies concerning relationships between gender ideologies and adolescent girls' sexual development. Frequency of unwanted intercourse is associated with experiences of childhood sexual abuse, low socioeconomic status, Aboriginal ethnicity, unintentional pregnancy, and with knowing, at the time, that the intercourse was unwanted.

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Glossary of Acronyms

CSA: Childhood sexual abuse.

FSI: First sexual intercourse.

LGB: Lesbian, gay, and bi-sexual.

IPV: Intimate partner violence.

SES: Sexual Experiences Survey.

USE: Unwanted sexual experience.

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I carried my dream of returning to school for such a long time that I eventually loosened my grip and let it go. A surprising series of events brought it back to me. Being reminded again and in another way where I am from and what is important to me has been such a privilege.

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Introduction

To say that women often engage in unwanted sex with men is paradoxically both to state the obvious and to speak the unspeakable. While this assertion will not come as a surprise to many women, it embodies a subjugated knowledge which usually remains private and hidden. Unwanted and coerced sex are thus an aspect of women's experiences of oppression which have remained to a large extent unrecognized, yet implicitly condoned, and even encouraged (Gavey, 1992, p. 325).

This is a study of unwanted sex; specifically, adolescent girls' experiences of unwanted heterosexual intercourse.¹ Built upon a foundation that merges radical feminist theory with Bourdieu's work on masculine domination, this study privileges adult women's retrospective vantage points in an effort to learn how, as adolescent girls, they came to have intercourse that they did not want as well as some of the ways such experiences impacted them. Nicola Gavey succinctly labels these the "technologies and effects of heterosexual coercion" (1992, p.325). When investigating the technologies of unwanted intercourse, this study not only considers demographic markers and contextual issues such as alcohol consumption and heterosexual discourses but, through a nuanced exploration of wantedness, argues that sexual wantedness, as distinct from consent, is an important but complicated factor in girls' sexual autonomy. Although previous research has shown that heterosexual coercion is associated with a variety of possible outcomes, including adverse health and social effects, this study focuses on unintentional adolescent pregnancy.

Teen pregnancy and parenting have stimulated discussions about adolescents' reproductive rights and provided the impetus for many studies aimed at identifying causation and evaluating outcomes (see, for example Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn & Morgan, 1987;

¹ Though less common and of a qualitatively different nature, females can and do sexually pressure males (Byers & O'Sullivan, 1998; Jackson, Cram, & Seymour, 2000; Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988; O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998; Patton & Mannison, 1995). However, for the purposes of this study, this phenomenon is not under consideration.

Lawson & Rhode, 1993; Vinovskis, 1988; Wong & Checkland, 1999). So far, there is no consensus as to either causes or outcomes. While some studies consider the role of social factors, such as class standing, in the probability of teenage pregnancy and the quality of the outcome, many studies focus on the characteristics and behaviours of individual girls. Important studies assessing, for example, girls' sexual experience and access to contraception and abortion generally neglect the role of male partners or the quality of the sexual experience. Feminist readings of Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' (see Chambers, 2005; McNay, 1999) led me to believe that this is an oversight. I question whether and how teenage girls are able to consider their fertility when they may not be planning to have intercourse or when they do not want to have the intercourse that they are having. This study shows that there are many constraints -- intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social -- on girls' heterosexual negotiations which are associated with a number of potentially long-term consequences for women.

In this chapter I outline recent work on sexual consent and coercion, particularly as it relates to adolescents' experiences of heterosexuality. I then place contemporary debates regarding adolescent pregnancy within the current North American social context. Next, I discuss the liberal and conservative positions on adolescent pregnancy and mothering as a social issue, arguing that the liberal 'choices' discourse effectively moralizes and stigmatizes adolescent sexuality, pregnancy, and mothering. I contend that pregnant adolescents are evaluated according to White, middle-class standards; that they have faced and continue to face structural challenges for which they are individually held responsible; and that there is a political need for girls and women to "speak the unspeakable" (Gavey, 1992, p. 325). I conclude with an overview of this research project, which attempts to answer the question, "What role, if any, does unwanted intercourse play in girls' lives generally, and specifically,

in their experiences of unintentional pregnancy?” As elaborated below, I argue that unwanted intercourse represents girls’ loss of choice and is, therefore, a form of gendered violence that both reflects and reinforces gender inequalities: unintended pregnancy merely exaggerates this dynamic.

Sexual Violence

Mary Koss’s ‘discovery’ of date rape in the 1980s (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Koss & Oros, 1982) inverted generally held views of both rape and ‘normal’ sexuality. Along with research by contemporaries like Diana Russell (1990), among others, Koss’s extremely influential work showed that “rape is much more prevalent than previously believed” (Koss et al. 1987, p. 170); that most incidents of sexual violence perpetrated on women are not committed by strangers, but by men who are known to the women, many of whom are in “at least potentially appropriate heterosexual relationships with the women they force sex on” (Gavey, 2005, p. 103); and that such incidents involve much less aggressive forms of violence than previously thought (Rappaport & Burkhart, 1984). This understanding precipitated the development of date rape education and prevention programs which were then delivered to students and to the public, often through women’s centres. Campaigns such as ‘No means No’ (Canadian Federation of Students, 1999) utilized plain language and sharp wit, asking for example, “What part of ‘no’ do you not understand?” and appear to have had some success in changing beliefs and attitudes regarding sexual rights and privilege (Gidycz et al., 2001; Lonsway, 1996; Lonsway et al., 1998; Winslett & Gross, 2008).

Unfortunately, behavioural change has lagged behind attitudinal change. In practice, ‘no’ is not as clear as the ‘no means no’ campaign suggests, and discussions concerning sexual consent are becoming more nuanced. For example, important academic debates are taking place questioning the logical contradiction embedded in the concept of ‘coerced

consent' (Beres, 2007, pp. 97-98). An alternate understanding of consent as 'freely given' (Beres, 2007; Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Humphreys, 2005) is appealing to feminists in that it emphasizes both partners' desire and pleasure. Nicola Gavey (2005) argues that social forces such as gender ideologies and inequality play important roles in consensual heterosexual negotiations. According to Melanie Beres, theorizing a nuanced view of sexual consent which considers interpersonal as well as social forces "opens space for a more complex understanding of sexual consent. ... creat[ing] spaces for sex that are neither consensual nor criminal or violent, although they may be socially problematic" (2007, p. 99).

Exploring the end of the sexual violence continuum closest to mutually consensual sex, that is sex that is not desired but which is agreed to or simply tolerated, however reluctantly, has at least two advantages: First, attention to unwanted, rather than non-consensual, sexual experiences requires careful attention to the nuances of a broad array of both social and interpersonal factors involved in sexual consent. Second, rather than imposing the researcher's definition of consent or coercion, privileging women's own assessment of their experiences is consistent with feminist pedagogy (Harding, 1987). In order to establish the framework for this study, I begin by discussing some complexities surrounding sexual wantedness and consent.

Sexual coercion: Wantedness and consent.

As I searched the literature, I learned of the different ways researchers employ terms like 'pressure', 'coercion', and even 'sex'. In some studies 'sex' refers to a wide range of sexual behaviour; in others, intercourse only. For researchers and respondents alike, the meaning of 'coercion' varies over time and geographic location, especially regarding socially acceptable amounts of pressure or force involved (Helliwell, 2000; Marston, 2005). Some researchers consider only legally defined rape as coercive; others consider any type of sexual

activity that occurs under duress. Erikson and Rapkin (1991), in their highly cited study, ask adolescents about ‘unwanted sexual experiences’. At first glance, this appears unproblematic: They define sexual experiences broadly, and as either wanted or unwanted. Closer reading reveals their assumption that unwanted experiences are also involuntary. They do not interrogate this assumption and, in their discussion concerning the different forms unwanted sex can take, blur the distinction between unwanted sex, non-consensual sex, and rape. But perhaps that is their point. O’Sullivan and Allgeier (1998) overtly challenge the assumption that unwanted or undesired sex is always non-consensual. They differentiate between freely given consent and consent granted under duress, affirming the possibility of “consent[ing] freely to ... sexual activity that is not desired or wanted” (O’Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998, p. 234). Indeed, based on their respondents’ journal entries, they found that 38% of female and male college students had consented to unwanted sexual activity over a two-week period. Thus, while Erikson and Rapkin (1991) appear to conflate unwantedness with non-consent, O’Sullivan and Allgeier’s (1998) position acknowledges that unwanted sex might also be consensual.

In general, legal, academic, and cultural definitions of assault and abuse lean heavily on evidence of consent (McGregor, 2005; Pateman, 1980), simultaneously reflecting and creating a ‘common sense’ understanding of sexual violence. Research shows that many women whose sexual experiences fit the definition of sexual abuse or assault as per Koss’s Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) do not label their experiences accordingly (see Koss, 1985 and Appendix A). Although women cite many reasons for this, for example, a mistake, miscommunication, or typical sexual relations, many women -- nearly 25% in Harned’s (2005) sample -- reference issues of consent; they feel that they either consented to the activity (often by acquiescing to their partner’s advances or by being in a state of

intoxication) or are not sure that they communicated their non-consent clearly or forcefully enough (Harned, 2005).

But what is consent? When asked about heterosexual consent, both women and men will often comment on whether or not the woman actually said 'no' (Harned, 2005). This references a limited concept of sexual consent whereby the absence of a 'no' constitutes consent. Kitzinger and Frith (1999) point out that non-consent is rarely straightforward in any context. Refusals are highly complex, finely nuanced interactional negotiations which, nevertheless, are competently navigated and understood by most members of any language group. When it comes to sexual negotiations, they argue that "the word 'no' is neither sufficient, nor necessary, for a refusal to be heard as such" (Kitzinger & Frith, 1999, p. 306).

Most often sexual encounters are negotiated non-verbally (Beres, 2009; Humphreys 2004). Partners indicate their willingness or lack of willingness through physical or behavioural cues such as moving closer or removing clothing, which in general are thought to be widely and mutually understood but which, in practice, can be ambiguous (Beres, 2009; Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Humphreys, 2004), particularly for sexually inexperienced young people (Livingston, Hequembourg, Testa, & VanZile-Tamsen, 2007). Clear, verbal indications of non-consent appear inconsistent with most individuals' experiences; whether in verbal or non-verbal non-consensual situations, sexual partners would not expect either to utter or hear the word 'no'. So we see that communicating consent, as currently practiced, may not always be easily understood. But perhaps this lack of clarity reflects partners' ambivalence. For example, scholars who advocate 'freely given' consent argue that consent without desire is consent under duress and, therefore, not consent at all. Embedded in their position is an acknowledgement that answers to questions concerning both sexual desire and consent might be more complicated than simply 'yes' or 'no'.

Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) extend this conversation, conceptualizing both consent and wantedness as non-dichotomous interrelated continuums. In other words, they suggest that it is possible to partially consent to a somewhat desired activity. Relying on legal definitions of sexual consent infers a narrow definition of sexual violence, indicating just how much power this culture grants the legal system to define women's lives (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Constructing concepts of consent and/or wantedness as non-dichotomous communicates the meaning that such experiences have for women, supports a broader definition of sexual violence, and, ultimately challenges societal norms. For example, we might construct consent as dichotomous and wantedness on a continuum (Amba, Driscoll, & Moore, 1998; Houts, 2005); or second, place consent on a continuum while considering wantedness to be dichotomous (Harned, 2005); or a third option, that both consent and wantedness fall on interrelated continuums (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). Whichever definition is utilized will influence the conclusions drawn.

Taking research in new directions concerning the meanings women assign to their sexual experiences will have important implications for research design and methodology as well as for sexual health, education, and violence prevention. Although both consent and desire are socially constructed to some degree, I suggest that sexual wantedness, being at least somewhat embodied, is more accessible to individual women's conscious consideration than the more heavily socially constructed issue of consent. Though I feel it critical to define what constitutes sexual consent and hope for a time when every sexual act is consensual, I understand this body of work regarding sexual wantedness and consent to suggest that we might begin by considering experiences of unwanted intercourse as a window into harm, enhancing understandings of sexual violence and consent as we proceed.

Sexual coercion: "Technologies".

While interviewing women about their experiences of sexual violence, Liz Kelly (1987) found it useful to conceptualize a 'continuum' of sexual violence. Kelly's continuum elucidates how different sexual experiences are related; from consensual sex to pressure, to coercion, to force, one blends into another, precluding clear definitions that unequivocally distinguish each of them. On this continuum, unwanted consensual sex falls close to mutually consensual sex; that is, sex that the woman does not desire but feels pressured to participate in, that does not involve threats of or direct force or violence, that she appears to consent to or, at least, does not obviously resist, and which tend to leave her feeling as though she has been abused (Gavey, 1992, p. 326; Kelly, 1987, pp. 55-58).

Gavey writes that women consent to unwanted heterosexual as a result of "'technologies of heterosexual coercion', which reproduce relations of power and dominance in the domain of heterosexual sex such that men's interests take precedence" (1993, p. 93). Consider, for example, how 'emphasized femininity,' a form of femininity that is defined by women's subordination to men "and is oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men" (Connell, 1987, p. 183), shapes sexual negotiations between women and men. Fine implicates 'internalized femininity' which, she argues, encourages girls and women to undervalue themselves and their sense of social and sexual entitlement (1996, pp. 396-398). Muehlenhard and Schrag (1991) reference women's universal lack of power relative to men's as a factor in their engaging in unwanted sex. And Rich coined the term 'compulsory heterosexuality' to refer to a system of "constraints and sanctions" (1980, p. 636) which compel girls and women towards heterosexual couplings and away from lesbian relationships, making "sexual orientation toward men... inevitable, even if unsatisfying or oppressive" (Rich, 1980, p. 640; see Saewyc, Poon, Homma, & Skay, 2008).

Hollway (1984b) outlines three predominant discourses that influence heterosexuality. The “male sexual drive” discourse positions men as always needing and ready for intercourse; the “have/hold” discourse positions women as primarily interested in securing committed, monogamous relationships with men. The “male sexual drive” discourse works in concert with the “have/hold” discourse; for men, the goal is sex and, for women, sex is the means by which to achieve their goal of a committed heterosexual relationship.

Hollway’s “permissive” discourse emerged in the late 1960s, denoting an uncoupling of sexuality from emotion and commitment. However, such liberatory effects appear to have predominantly translated to masculine -- not feminine -- sexual liberation (Hollway, 1984a, pp. 234-236). Of course interpersonal dynamics, such as economic dependence (Reynolds, 2004), intoxication, or overt threats of violence (Koss & Oros, 1982; Patton & Mannison, 1995), also influence sexual negotiations. Gender ideologies and inequality play out in myriad ways, socially and interpersonally (Finklehor & Yllo, 1983, cited in Hyde, Drennan, Howlett, & Brady, 2008, p.490), and are intensified in negotiations of heterosex.

Considering the interrelationships between social and interpersonal coercion and unwanted sexual experiences (USEs), Hyde, Drennan, Howlett, and Brady (2008) conceptualize social coercion, heterosexual norms, and discourses as indirect pressure; interpersonal coercion as direct pressure. They argue that sexual pressure influences girls much more than boys in heterosexual negotiations. They explain that because heterosexuality is built on masculine domination, any pressure that males encounter will be, primarily, indirect sexual pressure. On the other hand, girls’ socialization (indirect pressure) sets them up to capitulate to direct pressure. Because indirect pressure enforces gender inequality, girls experience direct pressure from males as much more compelling than when boys are

pressured by girls. In other words, girls' socialization undermines their resistance, especially to male pressure, even before they resist.

Consider emphasized femininity and internalized femininity: These theories predict that most girls' socialization results in, first, their belief that they have little social entitlement and, second, an orientation to meeting masculine needs. Now add compulsory heterosexuality: Within this system, girls of all sexual orientations are pushed in the direction of heterosexual couplings. To this potent mix, add the "male sexual drive" discourse which positions men as always ready and willing, if not in need of, sex. If a girl has not already capitulated to unwanted sex, we can see how direct pressure from a male -- an individual who holds more social power relative to females -- already has momentum, supported as it is within patriarchy by masculine domination and a complete narrowing of options regarding sexual expression. Of course, gender ideologies and heterosexual discourses also narrow boys' options. But since these social constructs are not based on an ideology of feminine domination, indirect sexual pressure does little to enhance females' direct pressure on their sexual partners. Direct and indirect forms of heterosexual pressure are mutually reinforcing and are, therefore, powerfully prescriptive for girls, challenging girls and researchers alike to distinguish between consent and mere lack of resistance to unwanted heterosexual advances.

Sexual Coercion: Effects.

Although there is now a large body of literature supporting a relationship between childhood sexual abuse (CSA) and older women's experiences of sexual coercion, including during adolescence (Basile, 2008; Boyer & Fine, 1992; Classen, Palesh, & Aggarwal, 2005; Erikson & Rapkin, 1991; Gershenson et al., 1989; Gidycz, Coble, Lanthan, & Layman, 1993; Gómez, 2010; Humphrey & White, 2000; Small & Kerns, 1993; Smith, White, & Holland, 2003), consequences of unwanted intercourse continue to be the subject of research. Broach

and Petrotic (2006) found that experiencing unwanted consensual sex has significant negative psychological and emotional repercussions, comparable to those associated with other sexual violations. In addition, girls and women who are experiencing heterosexual intercourse, whether they want to or not, are at risk for sexually transmitted infections as well as pregnancy (Silverman, Raj, Mucci, & Hathaway, 2001; Walker, 1997).

In one of the first studies concerned with adolescent women's experiences of unwanted sex, Gershenson et al. (1989) investigated the sexual histories of girls who became pregnant as teenagers. In an ethnically diverse sample of over 400 women, 61% had experienced some form of unwanted sexual experience; the mean age of the first such experience was 11.5 years. 39% of the women had never been sexually coerced. 23% had their first unwanted experience with a family member and almost 30% had been sexually abused by a family member at some time. More than 33% had their first unwanted experience with a non-family member and 48% had been coerced by a non-family member at some time. 23% of the women had become pregnant by the first perpetrator, most of whom (83%) she considered a friend or boyfriend. In addition, the vast majority of male partners in these chosen relationships were "not peers, but rather men who are at least five to ten years older than their early adolescent² girlfriends" (1989, p. 215). Gershenson et al. reveal a "very broad picture of abuse" (p. 215) involving complex relationships between CSA, adolescent sexual victimization, adolescent pregnancy, and power discrepancies associated with partners' age differences.

Citing the National Research Council (1987) and Trussell (1988), sociologist Mike Males contends that many, if not most, pregnancies experienced by teenage girls are caused by males who are significantly older than the girls and that, furthermore, the age discrepancy

² In general, these are girls who are under sixteen.

increases as the age of the girl decreases (Males, 1992; 1996). In 1987, approximately 30% of births to school-age mothers in the United States involved school-age fathers (Males, 1992, p. 531). In 60% of births to school-age mothers the fathers were over 20 years of age, and a quarter of these men were over 25 (Males, 1992, pp. 531-532). In California, between 1993 and 1995, over one quarter of first births to girls under the age of 15 were fathered by men who were, on average, 8.8 years older than the mothers (Taylor, Chavez, Adams, Chabra, & Shah, 1999).

These age differences have been found to be important in several ways. For example, in a retrospective study of first sexual experience involving over 3000 respondents Manlove, Terry-Humen and Ikramullah (2006) found that “the combination of young age at first sex and having had an older partner was associated with especially high odds of teenage birth” (p. 204). They report that, for sexual relations between girls under 16 and men over 20, one in four females reported that these sexual relationships were unwanted and that, furthermore, compared to desired sexual experiences these unwanted experiences were associated with lower use of contraceptives (Manlove, Terry-Humen, & Ikramullah, 2006, p. 205). In their study of African-American teenage mothers, DiClemente et al. found that an age difference of two years or more significantly reduced the young women’s ability to negotiate condom use and other related sexual health concerns. They suggest that there is a need for “more intensive, in-depth investigation[s] of relational dynamics between adolescent females and their older male partners” (2002, p. 24). As I have shown, feminist theorists argue that in heterosexual negotiations females are positioned to have less power than males. In the context of this gendered power imbalance, girls’ heterosexual negotiations with much older male partners, as compared to those who are closer in age, appear to further reduce females’

sexual autonomy, with important reproductive and sexual health consequences, including unwanted pregnancy.

Adolescent Pregnancy

In 2005, 24.6 per 1000 Canadian women under the age of 20 became pregnant (Statistics Canada, 2010). Between 1996 and 2006, the combined birth and abortion rate for Canadian women aged 15 to 19 declined each year from 44.2 to 27.9 per 1000 women; a decrease of 37%. Over the ten years, the average birth/abortion rate was 27.9 per 1000 with 13.7 births per 1000 women (McKay & Barrett, 2010).

Teenage pregnancy and parenting have always been part of the human experience but they have not always been perceived, as they often are now, as crises or even problems. In her discussion of adolescent sexuality, pregnancy, and abortion Petchesky writes, “getting pregnant... has no intrinsic social or political meaning; it receives its meaning from the historical and political context in which it occurs and the circumstances ... of the woman involved” (1990, p. 207). Reekie suggests that pregnant adolescents provoke consternation because the body of the pregnant teenager “function[s] as an emblem of sexual-cultural disorder ... the condensation point of our culture’s ambivalence about sex, age, race and reproduction” (1997, p. 77). Petchesky concurs, “For adolescents, sexuality, pregnancy, and abortion are densely mediated by agendas other than what they appear; they become the terrain for negotiating gender, child and adulthood, and gender-specific class and race” (1990, p. 207). Responses to adolescent pregnancy provide a unique window into historically- and culturally-specific social structures which, in turn, provide insight into gender ideologies.

For people concerned about changing family structures, gender relations, and sexual ‘permissiveness,’ teen mothers represent adolescent female sexuality out of control. For those worried about the breakdown of traditional lines of authority, teen mothers

represent rebellion against parents and other adults. For those anxious about global economic restructuring, teen mothers represent 'drop-outs' who refuse to compete yet expect the welfare system to support their 'poor choices.' For those distressed about poverty and child abuse, teen mothers represent both the cause and the consequence (Kelly, 1999, p. 52).

All of these concerns are positioned against unstated ideals of the 'good mother' and the 'good girl' and represent a political strategy (Reekie, 1997, p. 84) designed to "affirm adult authority and conventional family norms" (Lawson & Rhode, 1993, p. 4).

In Canada, the increasing availability of legal abortion since 1969 has changed pregnancy outcomes significantly. Since 1993, just over half of all teenage pregnancies in Canada have been aborted (Caragata, 1999, p. 99; Dryburgh, 2000), adoption rates have dropped to approximately three percent of live births (Sobol & Daly, 1992, cited in Caragata, 1999, p. 110), while increasing numbers of pregnant teenagers mother their children. Both currently and historically, responses to adolescent pregnancy have generally split along race and class lines, with Aboriginal and Black communities being more accepting and supportive of teenage mothers and their children than White communities,³ and working-class families being generally more supportive than wealthy families (Rhode, 1993, pp. 301-305).⁴

Although teenage girls have always had babies, the attendant moral panic waxes and wanes. While it is not immediately clear what causes increased public concern about teen pregnancy, it is clear that this phenomenon is unrelated to the numbers of adolescent pregnancies. The Canadian pregnancy rates for 15- to 19-year olds have declined steadily since at least 1974, dropping from 53.7 per 1,000 in 1974 to 27.9 per 1,000 in 2006, (Kelly, 1996, p. 422; McKay & Barrett, 2010). Despite these declining numbers, in 1992 ninety per cent of Canadians polled felt that "unwanted teenage pregnancy is a serious problem" (Kelly,

³ Kaplan (1996) disagrees that this is the case in African-American communities.

⁴ For a thorough discussion concerning the racialized politics of adoption in English Canada from the nineteenth century to the 1990s see Strong-Boag, 2006.

1999, p. 52). And in 1996, speaking about morality at a press conference, then U.S. president Clinton promoted the idea that “America’s social problems have their roots in the spread of unmarried parenthood” (Reekie, 1998, p. 1). So, as Kelly asserts, the social stigmatization of teenage mothers, while evolving, “is still quite prevalent” (1996, p. 422).

While she admits that she may be oversimplifying, Rhode (1993) writes that opposition to teen pregnancy falls into two ideological camps. Conservatives view teen pregnancy as a personal moral issue, which leads to the consideration of other moral issues, such as abortion and contraception, an attack on patriarchal family hierarchy, and, citing welfare costs, an issue of financial dependence on the state. The liberal position, which gained momentum in the 1970s, points to health and socioeconomic issues, arguing that teen pregnancy reduces the mother’s academic opportunities, and thus limits her financial independence and life choices. Conservatives believe that teenagers should not be having sex; liberals believe that teenagers should not be having babies.

Nevertheless, despite their different approaches, conservative and liberal discourses end up converging, centering on the issue of choice; their differences are simply reflected in the particular choice with which they are concerned. Conservatives consider sex outside of heterosexual marriage to be immoral; liberals, who tend to be more accepting of teenage sexual activity, still consider adolescent mothering unacceptable (Rhode, 1993, pp. 312-16). It appears that liberals are able to suspend judgments about individuals’ morality only to judge the outcomes of their behaviour. Both conservative and liberal discourses are evoked in the same breath when the ‘stupid slut’ label is applied to pregnant and mothering adolescents as it is currently, primarily by other adolescents. The ‘slut’ label is applied automatically because the young woman has had sex; she has transgressed the conservative moral code. But if it is discovered that she had sex without using contraception the ‘stupid’ qualifier is added

because she has apparently ignored the liberal admonition to make ‘healthy choices’ (Kelly, 2000, pp. 27-31).

But girls really are in a double bind. Using contraception can also result in the ‘slut’ label. A girl who plans to have sex is a ‘slut’; according to the romance narrative, sex is supposed to ‘just happen’ (Beres, 2009). Regardless of whether contraception is available, she could find herself in a situation where the choice is between consenting to sex or not consenting and experiencing some form of violence, sexual or otherwise (Gavey, 2005). The amount of power she will have in relation to her boyfriend will depend on their age, race, and class hierarchies as well as other factors, such as each partner’s perceived attractiveness and popularity. If the girl becomes pregnant she will likely be labelled a ‘stupid slut’ because of her ‘decision’ to have sex without using contraception (Kelly, 2000, pp. 25-31; Tolman, 2005).

According to Kelly, the latest stigma applied to adolescent mothers is that they are “people who make bad choices” (2000, p. 47). Teenagers’ alleged good and bad choices are implicitly framed in relation to Kathryn Pyne Addelson’s “Good-Girl Life Plan” (1999, p. 87. See Appendix B). Figure 1 represents the expectation for White, middle-class, North American girls; that they get an education before they commit to a relationship; that they marry a man before having sex; and that they have babies and grandchildren within a heterosexual, patriarchal family structure. Although the expectations that girls face might vary according to ethnicity and class, in the dominant culture, non-White and working-class girls’ lives tend to be evaluated by this standard. The good girl rules apply without exception: When encountering bus drivers and store clerks, social workers and health care providers, every pregnant and mothering adolescent is evaluated according to this standard. Whatever

privilege or status a girl might enjoy is compromised by her 'poor choices' or non-compliance with the plan (Davies, McKinnon, & Rains, 2001, p.97; Shaw, 2010).

Figure 2 represents the possible 'missteps' on the way to a proper future.⁵ The missteps are also, inevitably, decision points for adolescent girls. For example, if she becomes pregnant outside marriage, a girl can correct that misstep by having an abortion or by placing her child for adoption. In this way, she can return to school or courtship and carry out the life plan according to the cultural prescription.

But beyond impacting pregnant and mothering teenagers' daily interactions, the Good-Girl Life Plan is misleading. First of all, it negates girls' desires and plans for their lives. And secondly, any debate about choice assumes that young women have the agency required to make such choices. As Kelly makes clear, "The good choices discourse is particularly insidious because it works to obscure unequal power relations based on age, gender, class, and race" (2000, p. 61). The widely held assumption that all girls and women have meaningful choice in matters of sexuality and reproduction, for example, elides structural inequalities, holding them individually responsible for such things as access to contraception, abortion, decent housing, quality childcare, employment and education. The more marginalization she experiences by virtue of her ethnicity, class, age, or sexual orientation, for example, the less real choice she will be able to exercise, and the more stigma she will face. The Good-Girl Life Plan and the choices discourse support and reinforce each other, stigmatizing girls with the emphasis on individual responsibility (Addelson, 1999; Kelly, 2000; Shaw, 2010).

⁵ These charts were first published in 1994 but, with some slight changes, the general trajectory remains relevant. In particular, as the age at puberty slowly drops and the age at marriage continues to rise, there is no longer a widely held expectation that sex be contained within marriage although this varies by cultural background and class standing. The new cultural prescription requires that good girls only have sex within committed, loving, heterosexual relationships (Kelly, 2000; Tanenbaum, 1999; Tolman, 2005; cited in Shaw, 2010).

This commitment to an ideology of choice appears to be deeply embedded in media engagement with issues of sexuality. Literary texts, including media representations, are an important source of information about society not because they reveal the ‘truth’ about human nature but because they “provide examples of various discourses in circulation” (Gavey, 1996, p. 55). According to poststructuralist feminists, this has weighty implications for women’s lives because “female experience is never independent of social and linguistic processes and, in fact, is constituted by them” (Gavey, 1996, p. 61). While discourses are subject to contestation and change, our experiences and the meanings that we make of them are mediated by and filtered through the discourses most familiar to us, usually, though not always, the culturally dominant discourses. The mass media, a primary socializing institution, simultaneously reveal and perpetuate the dominant discourses, reflecting and shaping culture (Coltrane & Messineo, 2000, p. 364).

Three recent media events that provide some insight into current North American discourses concerning adolescent sexuality as well as pregnancy are the very popular movie *Juno*, released in 2007; the Gloucester High School ‘pregnancy pact’, which was reported in the news in June 2008 (deLuzuriaga, 2008); and the unmarried teenage pregnancy of Bristol Palin, daughter of American Republican vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin, also in 2008 (Cillizza, 2008). All of these representations of adolescent pregnancy implicitly reference consistently narrow views of girlhood and motherhood and focus almost exclusively on the girls: their morality, choices, and responsibilities. At first glance the stories of *Juno*, Bristol Palin, and the Gloucester High School students appear to conform to the dominant ‘choices’ discourse; each of the girls has apparently made some ‘bad’ choices and become pregnant. The consequences they faced, including adoption, educational challenges, and ostracism, serve as cautionary tales to other girls about the importance of making ‘good’ decisions.

Discourses are powerfully prescriptive; what does not fit within the discourse can easily be dismissed (Cohn, 1998). Studying the discourse and carefully reflecting on it can lead us to discover fissures therein. Perhaps stories which do not easily fit the dominant discourse merit close attention (Plummer, 1995). The gendered discourse of women's sexual and reproductive choice makes it difficult to see those spaces where women do not have choice or have only constrained choice. For example, in the scene where Juno 'chooses' to have intercourse with Paulie, they both acknowledge that he has wanted intercourse "for a long time". This scene presented Juno as a strong teenage girl in charge of, and making choices about, her sexuality. Yet it left me wondering whether she felt any pressure to comply with Paulie's desire for sex or any worry about what might happen if she did not. This scene also reinforces the dominant narrative that teenage pregnancy is the result of two teenagers 'fumbling around in the dark'. This is contradicted by the research discussed earlier which reveals that teenage girls are less likely to be impregnated by teenage boys than by boys and men who are often much older than they are.

While I acknowledge that some adolescent girls may choose to become pregnant and that, for some girls, this represents a legitimate choice (see Davies et al., 2001; Geronimus, 1991; Kelly, 1999; O'Reilly, 2006), it appears that over 80 percent of teenage pregnancies are not, in fact, planned (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006, p. 200). I also recognize that not all unplanned pregnancies are unwanted; though an abortion rate for teenagers over fifty percent suggests that many of these pregnancies are not desired (Caragata, 1999, p. 99; Dryburgh, 2000).

Conclusion

Adolescent pregnancy is an emotional issue; "Teen mothers remain highly politicized icons at a time of great social anxiety and gradual shift toward a more conservative,

individualistic model of what is owed to, and expected of, the North American citizen” (Kelly, 2000, p. 3). The gendered ‘choices’ discourse is particularly salient in contemporary North American assessments of both adolescent sexuality and pregnancy. The choices discourse and the Good-Girl Life Plan support and reinforce each other, eliding structural inequalities with their emphasis on individual responsibility.

But discourses are subject to contestation and change. The liberal “choices” discourse, which masqueraded as emancipatory in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, has been undressed. We now know that “it is neither just nor effective to condemn teenage mothers ... [for their] choices while ignoring the constraints on choices that are available” (Rhode, 1993, p. 324). And we also know that “the individual being condemned for having made bad choices is often female and poor, a member of a racialized ‘caste,’ or both, and that the standard of assessment reflects a White, middle class ideal” (Kelly, 2000, p. 62). Though the pregnant teenage body is a condensation symbol which challenges patriarchal family structure, gender roles, sexuality and class structure, I suggest that unintentional adolescent pregnancy is, at least in some instances, also a result of oppressive patriarchal structures. The relationship between social power and gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality determines who is likely to become pregnant and what the consequences will be for individual girls.

The liberal ideology of choice rests upon an assumption of equality. For most pregnant teenagers, this is where the logic breaks down. Girls rarely have equality of opportunity in sexual decision making (Checkland & Wong, 1999, pp. 180-181). Given the feminist commitment to reproductive freedom and in light of the foregoing discussion concerning the influence of gender ideologies and inequality on girls’ and women’s sexual autonomy, I wish to explore those factors which render teenage pregnancy less of a choice or,

perhaps, not a choice at all. In particular, I am interested in the first choice on Addelson's second trajectory; the choice to have sex.

In this study, I explore and challenge the dominant model of heterosex that set girls up to become pregnant against their wishes and the healthy choices discourse that then holds them responsible for that. The women who answered my questionnaire challenge this discourse with their accounts of both adolescent heterosex and unintentional pregnancy. Evaluating the concept of symbolic violence through the lens of women's experiences of unwanted intercourse expands theoretical knowledge concerning the gendered habitus: Considering adolescent sexuality and pregnancy in tandem, through the lens of symbolic violence, undermines liberal notions of choice while elucidating some of the specifically gendered complexities of girls' and women's unwanted sexual experiences.

An Overview

In order to learn about the role of unwanted sex in adolescence generally and adolescent pregnancy in particular, I conducted a retrospective survey of women's non-marital heterosexual experiences prior to their nineteenth birthdays, highlighting women's experiences of growing up in northern British Columbia. Adapting Koss and Oros's (1985) Sexual Experiences Survey (see Appendix A), I asked women about their adolescent experiences of heterosexual intercourse that fall on the sexual violence continuum between mutually consensual intercourse and classically defined rape. In doing so, I did not distinguish between consensual and non-consensual experiences. Defining and measuring sexual consent is extremely challenging; and though I have argued that establishing consent in sexual negotiations is critical, I have also shown that consent is highly socially constructed and is often used to hold women accountable for their own victimization. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, unwanted intercourse refers to intercourse that took place with or

without the girl's consent during which, although the girl may have experienced intense pressure, she was neither physically harmed nor threatened with physical harm: It is intercourse that the girl 'didn't really want' but which she engaged in due to social pressure, interpersonal pressure, or substance use.

I hypothesized that the respondents would report high rates of unwanted intercourse in adolescence. In anticipation of future research considering the reasons girls participate in intercourse that they do not desire, this survey was designed to delineate some of the factors associated with girls' compliance with unwanted intercourse. Through statistical analyses, I considered whether the frequency of unwanted intercourse was associated with the respondents' demographic characteristics and with whether they knew, at the time, that they did not want to engage in intercourse. Thematic analyses of open-ended, text data contextualized these findings. I also hypothesized that girls who became pregnant would report experiencing unwanted intercourse more frequently than girls who did not become pregnant. Statistical analyses support this hypothesis, again, enriched by thematic analyses.

Chapter One outlines my theoretical orientation to these questions. Specifically, I employ a radical feminist reading of Pierre Bourdieu, emphasizing his conceptualizations of 'symbolic violence', 'habitus', and 'field'. Chapter Two offers a review of the literature. As research concerning adolescent girls' experiences of unwanted intercourse has recently proliferated, this literature review is truncated. In Chapter Three, I outline my methodological perspective as well as the method I designed and utilized. I share qualitative and quantitative analyses and findings in Chapter Four. Chapter Five contains the discussion that flows from all of the previous chapters offering some conclusions from this project and suggestions for future research.

Chapter One

A Feminist Reading of Bourdieu

Introduction.

While interviewing women about their sexual experiences, Liz Kelly (1987) found it useful to think about a continuum of sexual violence with mutually consensual sex on one end of the continuum and rape on the other. The continuum illustrates how different sexual experiences are related; from consensual sex to pressure, to coercion, to force, one blends into another. This study is concerned with girls' experiences of sexual intercourse that fall between the two extremes.

In the literature, this terrain has many labels: non-agentic sex (Crown & Roberts, 2007), compliant sexual behaviour (Impett & Peplau, 2003), and “pressured and unwanted sex” (Powell, 2008, p. 170). Much of the literature refers to ‘unwanted consensual sex’. That is, intercourse that the girl does not desire but feels pressured to participate in, that does not involve either the threat of or direct force or violence, and that she appears to consent to or, at least, does not obviously resist (Gavey, 1992, p. 326; Kelly, 1987, pp. 55-58) and that takes place within a “potentially appropriate” heterosexual relationship; a relationship that a woman might choose to have with, for example, a boyfriend, lover, partner, husband, or date (Estrich, 1987, quoted in Gavey, 2005, p. 38). Though labelled ‘consensual’, unwanted consensual sex actually falls in the large grey area on the continuum between the two extremes of consent and non-consent, alerting us to the challenges we face regarding understandings and definitions of consent. Such difficulties lie at the heart of a feminist critique of heterosexuality.

In this chapter, I outline the feminist theoretical frameworks that I bring to this analysis of girls' experiences of unwanted heterosexual intercourse. First, radical feminists

such as Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon introduce important ideas that can help us make sense of the participants' experiences: specifically, the social construction of gender, the sexual objectification of women, and sexuality as the primary site of women's oppression. Informed by the women's consciousness-raising movement of the 1960s and 70s, their work hinges on the impossibility of women's true sexual consent within patriarchal societies and, arguably, remains foundational to any contemporary feminist critique of sexual violence (Mardorossian, 2002). Second, Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualizations of habitus, field, and symbolic violence enrich discussions of heterosexual consent and coercion by offering a conceptual framework that complements radical feminist theorizing, in particular, through a more formalized way of conceptualizing the many ways that women's sexual consent is constrained. I argue that merging both perspectives points to potentially disruptive sites for feminist action on behalf of girls' and women's equality in heterosexual negotiations.

Radical feminism.

Radical feminists state that the politics of women's situation can be learned through their personal and, especially, their sexual experiences (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 120). Through a methodological engagement with consciousness-raising, second wave radical feminists brought gendered violence onto the public agenda, breaking previously held taboos on speaking about child abuse, child sexual abuse, wife battering, pornography, prostitution, marital rape, and date rape (Gavey, 2005 and see, for example, Koss & Oros, 1982; Russell, 1990). Not only were women speaking of the fact of these experiences, that they do indeed happen and are violent to women, they revealed and interrogated the relationships among them. The ubiquity of male violence against women had been exposed, alerting feminists to the important role of sexuality in women's oppression. Feminists were challenged to explain

why women and children were overwhelmingly victims and men overwhelmingly perpetrators of violence. Noting that “women and men are equally different but not equally powerful” (MacKinnon, 2006a, p. 259), radical feminists rejected the idea that biological sex, by itself, could explain this power differential. They defined the problem as social rather than biological; not as ‘sexual inequality’ but as “unequal sexuality on the basis of gender” (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 135). That men can be dominant in this way, they argued, is not primarily the result of physical, economic, or social power, although these do play a role. That they can be dominant in this way is primarily the result of a social construction: gender.

Gender shapes us as social beings. Though gender is presented as difference, it actually functions to inscribe and signify relational dominance. In other words, sex differences would not be as important as they appear to be if they did not also confer social power. Gender is the social construction that sorts people arbitrarily, according to their genitalia, and places them in the sexual categories of dominant or submissive within the dominant sexual institution of heterosexuality. Those with more power are dominant and are called male; those with less power are submissive and are called female. This nuanced understanding of the relationship between sex and gender framed a new feminist question: ‘How is sexuality related to gender, and how is gender related to sexuality?’ (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 127).

As MacKinnon-writes, “...the molding, direction, and expression of sexuality organizes society into two sexes: women and men” (1989, p. 3). Gender allows, or rather encourages, boys and men to be dominant over girls and women in every area considered appropriately masculine, especially sexuality.⁶ So, gender determines power and gendered power forms sexuality, creating a feedback loop. But this system is not built on equality.

⁶ For a discussion of how this dynamic affects same-sex relationships, see MacKinnon, 1989.

Since women's sexuality is constructed by masculine dominance, sexuality is inherently oppressive to women (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 131).

Gendered social power is reinforced by social institutions, naturalized by biological difference, and, most importantly, reified in sexuality. Social institutions reflect and reinforce gender norms. The lessons of masculine domination and its corollary, feminine submission, are inscribed and reiterated by the major socio-cultural institutions of family, education, religion, law, and mass media. Sexuality under patriarchy eroticizes masculine domination and feminine submission (see hooks, 2006). Or, to put it another way, sexuality reinforces inequality because inequality is perceived as sexy. Masculine domination is expressed and enforced through sexuality, continually reinforcing a gendered power differential: sexuality is "defined by men, forced on women, and constitutive of the meaning of gender" (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 128). For example, rape in marriage, child sexual abuse, and pornography all express a male sense of sexual entitlement to their women, their children, and to women and children generally. Women's sexuality, an expression of gender, is constructed within and in response to this cultural milieu of overwhelming masculine dominance (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 131). Women's gender, which defines sexuality, is determined by the sexual objectification of women (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 113).

"To be sexually objectified means having a social meaning imposed on your being that defines you as to be sexually used, according to your desired uses, and using you that way" (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 140). What does this mean? First, let us consider the idea that women are for sex. Sexual objectification of women in media portrays women, with few exceptions, as always wanting and ready for sex (Jhally, 2002). This belief logically assumes women's consent and demands that, in order for women not to consent, they have to be seen to clearly stand apart from this position (of being always ready for sex), and say 'no'. In

addition to the expectation that women are sexually available to men, sexual objectification also sets up the expectation that women will make themselves sexually attractive to men. The acceptable parameters concerning attractiveness are rarely set by women themselves, are narrow indeed, and difficult to achieve (Bartky, 1990), but can be summarized in this way: Sexual objectification defines a woman as an “object of enjoyment” (Dworkin, 1987, p. 10) for men and refers to the idea that a woman’s identity is constructed around, and her worth evaluated by, her sexual parts and/or her sexual function.

Next, the caveat concerning ‘women’s desired uses’ points to an important consideration with regards to women’s heterosexual consent. For example, ‘desired uses’ would include whatever it is the woman has consented to. If we accept that women are typically given the choice to consent or not consent inside a system that demands women’s submission, the best option will often be to consent to the less objectionable option. Occasionally women may have an opportunity to consent to something attractive. But because masculine domination sets the terms for heterosexuality, that is, sexuality is perceived as something that only men actively pursue, women are still required to (passively) consent in response to men’s (active) requests. Importantly, women’s sexual consent is recast as sexual agency, placing sexual responsibility firmly on women: Men and women can deny men’s abuses of power, indeed that men have power at all, by defaulting to the refrain that “she said it was OK” or “she didn’t say ‘no’”. Thus, an ideal of women’s choice or consent functions as an effective cover for the sexual objectification of women. For women then, sexual objectification is gender, and gender is sexuality.

Emphasizing women’s submission and theorizing the impossibility of women’s sexual consent left feminists with a problem. In the political struggle to end women’s oppression, it was important to show that women were capable of acting as free agents on

their own behalf. It was also important, through evidence of women's victimization, to draw attention to the realities of patriarchal oppression. Theorizing sexual objectification captured many women's experiences of oppression. At the same time it risked undermining women's agency, begging the question of why women, as free agents, would choose to be complicit in their own domination: In other words, Are women victims, or are they in charge of their lives? It is assumed that these are mutually exclusive because of the 'common sense' belief that a capable person would not allow herself to be dominated. Radical feminist theorists were challenged to integrate the apparent contradiction that individual women can embody both sexual objectification and choice; that women can be both victims of sexual violence and sexual agents. Radical feminists resolved this contradiction, arguing that they can and do co-exist: Under patriarchy, women's sexual consent is always constrained within a small range of options. So while a woman may not have the power either to consent to or refuse sexual objectification, she may be able to set some of the terms under which she is perceived as a sexual object. Women can never freely consent to sex; their diminished status and power relative to men's constrains women's choice to the point that sexual consent is a theoretical impossibility.

Intercourse occurs in a context of a power relation that is pervasive and incontrovertible. The context in which the act takes place, whatever the meaning of the act in and of itself, is one in which men have social, economic, political, and physical power over women. Some men do not have all these kinds of power over all women; but all men have some kinds of power over all women; The power is predetermined by gender, by being male (Dworkin, 1987, pp. 125-126).

Radical feminists would argue that extremely few, if any, sexual experiences are mutually consensual and that what passes for consensual sex in our culture, pressured or coerced sex, is so pervasive that it goes unnoticed as such. Consider, for example, the constricted range of choices available to adolescent girls in heterosexual negotiations.

Radical feminists would argue that both partners will have grown up within a culture that valorizes and normalizes masculine dominance. Many girls, they would argue, have also been socialized, for example by the mass media and, possibly, through their experiences of childhood sexual abuse, to be sexually available to men. To a greater or lesser extent they will have become sexual objects, valued for their 'to-be-looked-at-ness', calculating their worth in those terms, and making sexual choices or consent decisions inside economic, physical, and social parameters wherein they wield very little real power. Such patriarchal norms set girls and women up for sexual violence in a perpetually reinforcing cycle. Radical feminist theory suggests that women do not often refuse unwanted sex because "[we] are taught that we exist for men" (MacKinnon, 2006c, p. 269), and sexual violence teaches women that we are to be violated. Rape can be seen as one tool in maintaining this system of sexual dominance: If a woman does not succumb to pressure or coercion, negotiations can escalate to rape. In other words, the pressure might intensify as needed to produce compliance. As Dworkin writes, "One does not make choices in freedom. Instead, one conforms in body type and behaviour and values to become an object of male sexual desire, which requires an abandonment of a wide-ranging capacity for choice" (1987, p. 139).

Bourdieu and masculine domination.

Increasingly feminist scholars, including those who are concerned with adolescent sexuality (Powell, 2008; 2010) are engaging with the work of Pierre Bourdieu (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Chambers, 2005; McNay, 1999; Moi, 1991; Powell, 2008; 2010), whose theorizing shares some important commonalities with radical feminism. In "Masculine Domination" (2001) Bourdieu draws on his ethnographic studies to answer the question of why masculine domination,

...the established order, with its relations of domination, its rights and prerogatives, privileges and injustices, ultimately perpetuates itself so easily, ..., and [why] the most intolerable conditions of existence can so easily be perceived as acceptable and even natural. (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 1)

Though his social theory concerning masculine domination stems from his work on class oppression and can be applied broadly, in arenas such as the home, school, and the market, his theory can be, and indeed has been, adapted to reflect on gender dynamics in heterosexual negotiations (Chambers, 2005; Powell, 2008; 2010). Like MacKinnon, Bourdieu views gender as overwhelmingly socially constructed and as limiting individual options through shaping preferences. His three key concepts of habitus, field, and symbolic violence provide a productive framework for conceptualizing heterosexual relations and explaining the constraints on women's sexual consent.

Bourdieu's concept of the field represents the specific social situations in which certain types of interactions take place, such as school or work, a tennis court or a court of law. Bourdieu's field "is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 17) where social agents come together and compete for capital; either literally, in terms of financial capital, or figuratively, in terms of cultural or emotional capital. By definition, the field also demarcates the types of relationships involved. In the field of work, for example, relationships are structured according to supervisory roles and assigned tasks.

Habitus refers to a set of bodily dispositions⁷ which are acquired without conscious awareness, and which both reinforce and are reinforced by discourses. In this case, gender is one form of habitus. Consistent with feminist theory (Beauvoir, 1989; Butler, 1990;

⁷ For example, Bourdieu (2001, p. 29) discusses women's and men's posture and deportment. In contrast to a man's striding gait, women tend to walk with small, quick steps even when they are not physically restricted by short skirts and high heels. When seated in a public situation, men are permitted to lean back and sprawl, even place their feet on chairs or desks; for women, this is generally unthinkable.

MacKinnon-1989; 2006a), Bourdieu views gender as a social construction that is inculcated by the institutions of family, church, education, and state, including the mass media, that supports masculine domination and that *appears natural* since gender is correlated with biological difference (2001, pp. 116-117). Regarding the gendered habitus and its relationship to masculine domination, Bourdieu suggests that women are socialized through a process “which tends to diminish and deny them” and “learn the negative virtues of self-denial, resignation, and silence”. Men, in turn, are socialized to fear, and thus exorcise, the feminine in themselves (2001, pp. 49-53). He emphasizes that the enactment of a gendered habitus occurs at a preconscious level; we are, for the most part, unaware of the myriad ways in which we are socialized to move in space, carry on conversations, or experience our sexuality in specifically gendered ways. Here, his work resembles that of Beauvoir, who wrote that a multiplicity of “social discriminations” so profoundly affect women’s capacities that they make her reduced situation appear natural (1989, p. xxxii).

Bourdieu writes about many forms of habitus: for example, the habitus associated with different roles related to employment or social expectations. Each person carries layers of habitus across fields reflecting, among other identities, gender, ethnicity, class, ability, age, and sexuality, with certain ones more salient depending on the situation and the relationship under consideration. Some habitus are fairly specific to certain fields. For example, the habitus one embodies while working as a chemical engineer has little, if any, meaning away from the job site. A chemical engineer is more likely to be successful when her habitus ‘fits’ the expectations of her work situation; when she both understands and plays by the rules of the field. Habitus develops in response to the field but social categories, such as ethnicity, class, and gender, are carried across fields.

Female and male habitus might have different ramifications in the engineers' lunch room than in a nightclub, though in both environments, gendered habitus would have similar implications for relationships of dominance. In other words, each of us embodies a gendered habitus whether we are working as chemical engineers, buying groceries, or attending a family gathering but, for Bourdieu, "women's compliance ... is always and already the organizing idea of consciousness" (Chambers, 2005, p.331). His understanding of gender as a system of repetitively practiced sexualized oppositions seems to suggest that male habitus will always dominate female habitus in every situation (McNay, 1999). Even so, one's options are never completely closed. Bourdieu

Do[es] not see how relations of domination ... could possibly operate without implying, activating resistance. *The dominated, in any social universe, can always exert a certain force*, inasmuch as belonging to a field means by definition that one is capable of producing effects in it. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 80, emphasis in original)

"Bourdieu claims that ... social inequalities are established ... through the subtle inculcation of power relations on the bodies and dispositions of individuals" (McNay, 1999, p. 99). It is this process of subtle inculcation that he calls 'symbolic violence': "a gentle violence" (2001, p. 1) or "violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167). Bourdieu considers masculine dominance to be paradigmatic of symbolic violence and, although he was referring to masculine domination generally, unwanted sex could be seen as one of the many forms that symbolic violence can take, especially if we were to think of girls' participation as complicit rather than consensual. According to Chambers, "symbolic violence echo[es] MacKinnon's account in terms of the eroticization of male dominance and female submission" (2005, p. 326).

Implicit in the concept of symbolic violence is the recognition that though some actions are preceded by consent and others by force one's impetus often falls somewhere

between the two (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 37): agency and victimhood are merged. Furthermore, and congruent with feminist theory, Bourdieu emphatically denies that the dominated enjoy or choose their oppression, noting that the decision-making calculus invoked anywhere between consent and force is difficult to access consciously (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 39-41). This is where *habitus* and field come together. Encountering the field, the gendered *habitus*, the body that has been socialized to the field, responds as it has been trained: through the endless repetition that renders masculine domination so durable, both men and women unconsciously know the rules of the game, perpetuating those same rules as they play. Thus, symbolic violence, like the eroticization of masculine domination, is “a form of power that is exerted on bodies ... without any physical constraint” (2001, p. 38).

Reflecting and reinforcing social institutions, discourses play a role in the formation of *habitus* and field, influencing the field primarily by articulating the ‘rules of the game’. For example the ‘male sexual drive’ discourse positions males as (naturally) always wanting sex and (naturally) being harmed if sexual contact does not lead to ejaculation. This discourse teaches girls and boys that males ‘need’ sex that includes intercourse and leads to orgasm. This has profound implications for the ways that men and women enact dominance and submission in heterosexual negotiations: it holds women responsible for men’s well-being and relieves men of their responsibility to respect women’s desires (Beres, 2009; Hollway, 1984a). In the field of heterosex someone who has a ‘feel for the game’ ‘knows’ that men are sexually aggressive and that women, as gatekeepers, are charged with the responsibility of considering the needs and desires of both partners. Her gendered *habitus* understands that, though her reputation may be at risk, she would do well to make his interests her own; his symbolic capital makes him useful to her in many ways, as it is through him that she gains access to benefits she might otherwise not be allowed. For example, she may gain social

status (Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991, p.119) or heterosexual privilege (Rich, 1980; Saewyc, Poon, et al., 2008) through her relationship with him. In addition, her gendered habitus presents those bodily emotions such as “self-denial, resignation, and silence” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 49) that encourage her submission.

Though he emphasizes the role of the unconscious in habitus, Bourdieu recognizes that, in some situations, conscious thought may influence behaviour. Consistent with Koss and Oros (1982) and Reynolds (2004), Bourdieu acknowledges that “[t]he lines of action suggested by habitus may very well be accompanied by a strategic calculation of costs and benefits, which tends to carry out at a conscious level the operations that habitus carries out in its own way” (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992, p. 131), that is, below the level of consciousness. So the habitus presents a limited set of options which the agent may strategically consider. The choice will be carried out, again, within the constraints associated with the habitus. Bourdieu writes of a “frontier between the dominant and the dominated ... through which the dominated, often unwittingly, sometimes unwillingly, contribute to their own domination by tacitly accepting the limits imposed...” (2001, p. 38). Using an example from this project, when faced with the prospect of needing to find shelter for the night if she does not comply with unwanted intercourse, a teenage girl might consciously conduct a cost-benefit analysis and, if she decides to exchange intercourse for shelter, is able to, and will, proceed according to the social expectations deeply embedded in her habitus. This might mean that such a situation becomes normalized; she may view herself as the dominant views her, accepting these limits on her freedom and perhaps not consciously considering the violence that this does to her body and spirit.

Though Bourdieu acknowledges the role of agency in consent, he very much privileges the role of habitus which is, by definition, unconscious. Because constraints on

women are imposed externally, he argues, change must also take place externally; the field, not women's consciousness, are responsible for the gendered habitus. Of the relationship between habitus and field, Bourdieu writes, "Habitus is creative... within the limits of its structures, which are the embodied sedimentation of the social structures which produced it" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19). For Bourdieu, social change occurs primarily when there is dissonance between the habitus and the field. But because habitus is produced by social structures, he places primacy on structural change, or a change in the field, or the 'rules of the game'. He rejects feminist consciousness-raising as a catalyst for social change (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 39-41). The effects of symbolic violence are deeply embedded in the body: "the habitus continues to work long after the objective conditions of its emergence have been dislodged" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 13, cited in McNay, 1999, p. 103). So, for Bourdieu, a change in consciousness does not affect the "enduring, reactive" (McNay, 1999, p. 103) dominant/submissive postures of the gendered habitus as expressed through gender identity. Thus gender inequality persists.

However, Bourdieu's exclusive focus on structural change is problematic for feminists seeking social change for four reasons: First, asking men to change their sexual behaviour has not been very productive (Gavey, 2009; also see Dworkin, 1993). Second, because the gendered habitus is carried across fields, all fields are implicated in the development of the gendered habitus and we would need to see change within many fields prior to substantial changes in the gendered habitus generally. Third, feminists assert that not all change "can be understood through binaries of domination and resistance" (McNay, 1999, p. 105), but can be seen as a complex process of negotiating and reinscribing the meaning inherent in "the tools and symbols of the dominant" (McNay, 1999, p. 104). Supporting a discourse of girls' sexual desire (Impett, Schooler, & Tolman, 2006; Impett & Tolman, 2006)

in addition to that of males, is one way that feminists seek to do just that. And finally, emphasizing structural change downplays women's power to affect the circumstances of their own lives.

Conclusion.

Both radical feminist and Bourdieusian theory posit masculine domination as paradigmatic of, and fundamental to, all other forms of oppression (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992, p. 134, n. 88). Radical feminists view sexuality as the organizing principle of gender and hence, patriarchal oppression, arguing that the eroticization of masculine domination shapes and limits sexual preferences that, in turn, reinforce gender inequality. They point to the pivotal role of sexual objectification of women in constructing feminine sexuality as submissive, thereby ruling out the possibility of women's freely given sexual consent. Bourdieu describes masculine domination as symbolic violence; that is, violence that is exercised with the complicity of its victims through limiting their options. He argues that gender role socialization is embodied in the form of habitus; and, although social agents are said to act out their gender-specific training largely unconsciously, he acknowledges individual agency asserting that habitus, though powerfully determinant of behaviour, is not immutable. Rather than discussing women's consent specifically, he refers to *amor fati* or 'love of one's fate' whereby the oppressed "make a virtue out of necessity" by, for example, "'choosing' the inevitable" (Powell, 2008, p. 173).

Many feminist scholars have criticized both Bourdieu and radical feminism for overemphasizing determinism, although both theoretical approaches clearly theorize change. As Sandra Lee Bartky (1990), reflecting on the feminist consciousness-raising movement, asks "Why isn't every woman a feminist?", so Bourdieu asks why, despite decades of feminist activism and theorizing, masculine domination prevails with such tenacity. Their

questions point to a common answer: women - and men - are subjected to a complex system of indoctrination which gives the illusion of masculine domination as *the natural order of things*, facilitating women's collusion in their own domination. Though both radical feminists and Bourdieu advocate socio/cultural change as a means to dismantle patriarchy, they disagree on the best approach. Radical feminists emphasize consciousness-raising as a way to individual and, therefore, institutional change. Bourdieu rejects this approach, prioritizing change at the institutional, and primarily educational, level.

Clare Chambers (2005) questions whether feminists have to choose between one approach and the other. Accepting that change requires disjunction between habitus and field, she suggests that the spheres of influence concerning gender inequality are multiple and fluid and argues that effective feminist social change work might benefit from the incorporation of consciousness-raising, educational efforts, and structural change. Chambers (2005) argues the merits of combining radical feminist theory with that of Bourdieu to gain insight into the persistence of gender roles and gender inequality. Anastasia Powell (2008) writes that, due to the subtle social and cultural pressures involved in such experiences, investigation of unwanted and pressured sex provides an important opportunity to further adapt Bourdieu's theories for feminist purposes. Furthermore, as both Bourdieu and MacKinnon alert feminists to the critical role of repetition in gendered violence, Powell alludes to the important role early experiences play in the formation of gendered habitus in the field of sexual relations.

The primary purpose of this study is to challenge the 'healthy choices' discourse as it is currently applied to adolescent girls' sexuality. Standing firmly on the foundation provided by radical feminism, that sexuality is the primary site of women's oppression, and engaging with Bourdieu's conceptualization of symbolic violence, this project aims to outline the narrow parameters and limited conditions within which girls must respond to their

heterosexual partners. Since unwanted intercourse, as defined for this study, falls somewhere between clear consent and clear non-consent, this terrain has potential for exploring ways that agency and victimhood might merge: for investigating the interplay of consciousness and habitus in girls' experiences of unwanted intercourse. As I have stated, Bourdieu's emphasis on the unconscious habitus is problematic for feminists. Radical feminists assert that consciousness-raising catalyzes social change. Questions remain concerning whether consciousness, or attitudinal change, leads to disruptive behavioural changes, whether disruptive behaviour results in systemic change, and, if so, which changes are effective under what conditions. This study may offer some insight into these questions. Specifically, I investigate whether women remember being conscious of not wanting intercourse at the time that it happened, how and when they came to view their experiences as unwanted, and the factors they identify in their compliance. By gathering narrative data from women of all ages concerning when and how they came to view their adolescent sexual experiences as 'unwanted', this project seeks to learn what they know about how social change might be facilitated.

Chapter Two

A Review of the Literature

Introduction.

In this chapter I review the literature on heterosexual coercion. As this research area is less than thirty years old, I outline the early development of the field before discussing key findings. The literature on sexual violence is roughly clustered into three areas of inquiry: incidence and prevalence;⁸ predictors and context; and outcomes associated with both victims and perpetrators. Since the field is vast I will focus, though not exclusively, on research most closely related to this project: Canadian adolescent girls' experiences of unwanted, pressured, but not physically forced, heterosexual intercourse and unintentional pregnancy, providing an overview of current knowledge concerning adolescent girls' experiences. I then sketch a picture of contemporary currents in research concerning adolescent pregnancy, commenting on some of the ways that understandings of heterosexual coercion have influenced and been integrated into contemporary thinking and research on adolescent pregnancy. Finally, I discuss recent developments in the field.

Foundational work.

In 1982 Koss and Oros published a paper that changed the landscape of feminist research on sexual violence. Prior to this time, researchers interested in sexual violence relied on official records, such as national crime statistics and police or medical records, or they recruited self-identified rape victims, for data (Amir, 1971; Selkin, 1978). Suspecting that such data captured few victims' experiences, Koss and Oros (1982) constructed a

⁸ For the purposes of this paper, and consistent with the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Oros, 1982), prevalence will refer to the percentage of girls or women who have experienced unwanted sexual experiences since the age of 14; incidence will refer to the percentage of girls or women who have experienced unwanted sexual experiences within a shorter, but stated, time frame.

questionnaire referencing behavioural indicators of sexual violence. Behavioural descriptors appear to offer a distinct advantage over asking victims to apply widely misunderstood labels to their very personal and often confusing experiences. Using specific, concrete behavioural language, the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES), gathered data on women's experiences of sexual victimization since the age of fourteen and men's perpetration of sexual violence. The SES was designed as a gradient measure. For example, questions about mutually consensual sex were followed by questions about verbal pressure to have sexual contact through to physical force resulting in intercourse. While this approach lent clarity, it was also assumed that items were organized in order of increasing violence as well as an increasingly detrimental impact on victims. Indeed, Koss (1985) and, later, Crown and Roberts (2007), found this to be the case. The first study utilizing the SES yielded startling results, confirming that crime statistics were grossly inadequate measures of rape and sexual violence.

In their sample of 2016 female university students, 38% had experienced a sexual experience that met the legal definition of rape or attempted rape in Ohio at that time (Koss, et al., 1987). Only 6% of the women responded affirmatively to the question, "Have you ever been raped?" (Koss & Oros, 1982, p. 456) and an even smaller 4% had reported their rapes to the police (Koss, 1985). These results led Koss to coin the term, 'hidden rape', describing "an incident that meets a legal definition of rape but is not reported to police" (Koss & Harvey, 1991, p. 6). A hidden rape victim is either 'acknowledged', meaning that she defines her experience as rape, or 'unacknowledged', meaning that, while she might be aware that it was a negative experience, she does not acknowledge, even to herself, that what had happened was indeed rape. And while hidden rape victims do sometimes seek support, Koss found that unacknowledged rape victims were unlikely to seek any help at all (Koss, 1985).

In addition, and contrary to widely held beliefs, Koss and her colleagues discovered that most female rape victims knew their rapists; they were usually either acquaintances or romantic partners. They found that the more intimate the relationship, and especially if had been of a sexual nature, the more likely the victims would be 'unacknowledged' (Koss, 1985). Koss's research discredited the common myth that women were responsible for their own victimization by virtue of their promiscuous or suggestive behaviour: She found that victimized women were not much different than nonvictimized women on any of the psychological or demographic variables she measured.

Koss's next study, in collaboration with "Ms." magazine, extended this work to a national sample of over 6,000 American undergraduate students and, importantly, resulted in the publication of the highly accessible and widely read book, "I Never Called It Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape" (Warshaw, 1988). The findings supported Koss's previous work: about one in four (28.5%) women had been the victim of either rape or attempted rape since the age of 14; more than half had experienced some form of sexual victimization. In contrast to the first study, they found that some demographic variables -- geographic location, religiosity, social class, and ethnicity -- did differentiate both victims and perpetrators. Although women's risk of sexual victimization was high overall, 40 per cent of Native American college women had been victims; a much higher rate than White, Black, Hispanic, or Asian women (Koss et al., 1987). Assessing emotional impact, rape by an acquaintance or a date appeared to be possibly even more traumatizing than rape by a stranger. Date rape victims were more likely to experience post-traumatic stress disorder, suicidal ideation, anxiety, and depression than women who had been raped by strangers (Warshaw, 1988). Koss and her colleagues were labelled alarmists by some, accused of employing faulty methodology and an inappropriately broad

definition of rape and, ultimately, of inflating the numbers of victims (for example Gilbert, 1992; Paglia, 1992; Roiphe, 1993a; 1993b). But their results had strong credibility with both the public and the academic community. It was generally accepted that 'date rape' was a pressing social issue.

The Sexual Experiences Survey underwent slight modifications until 1987 (Koss et al., 1987) and a complete revision in 2007 (Koss et al., 2007). It has been widely utilized and adapted since its debut, proving a consistent and valid measure of the continuum of sexual experiences, from mutual consent through pressure, coercion, and force (see Broach & Petritic, 2006; Cecil & Matson, 2006; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998; Gidycz et al., 1993; Harned, 2002; 2005; Humphrey & White, 2000; Lacasse & Mendelson, 2007; Livingston, Buddie, Testa, & VanZile-Tamsen, 2004; Livingston et al., 2007; Maxwell, Robinson & Post, 2003; Murray & Henjum, 1993; Osborne & Rhodes, 2001; Patton & Mannison, 1995; Poitras & Lavoie, 1995; Rickert, Wiemann, Vaughan, & White, 2004; Sears, Byers & Price, 2007; Shapiro & Schwarz, 1997; Testa, Hoffman & Livingston, 2010; VanZile-Tamsen, Testa & Livingston, 2005; Zweig, Crockett, Sayer, & Vicarry, 1999).

Though groundbreaking, Koss and Oros (1982) were not the first to investigate unwanted sexual experiences (USEs) in this way. A prior two-stage study involved administering a survey to two convenience samples of undergraduate women (Kanin, 1957; Kilpatrick & Kanin, 1957). Intrigued by case material suggesting that sexually victimized women might not seek either protection for themselves or punishment for their offenders, Kanin and his colleagues investigated possible reasons for this. They were concerned not with illegal acts, as were Koss and her colleagues, but rather with sexual acts that the respondents had experienced during the previous academic year that they labelled 'offensive', thereby acknowledging that a woman might feel differently about similar

behaviours depending, for example, whether she wanted them to happen or the context in which they took place. Kanin's follow-up study, conducted twenty years later, found that incidence had remained similar, with over 50% of the women reporting 'offensive male behaviour' at varying levels of sexual intimacy, but that such behaviour had moved from primarily occurring in committed relationships, such as 'steady' or 'pinned', to all relationship contexts; committed or casual (Kanin & Parcell, 1977). In other words, though the sexual revolution benefitted girls and women in many ways, it may have broadened the range of social situations in which girls and women face undesired sexual expectations.

Moving beyond crime statistics and self-identified rape victims, these early researchers gained access to a very large, previously unidentified sub-group of sexually victimized women, enabling challenges to many powerful victim-blaming rape myths and stereotypes. Arguably because of their work, it is hard to imagine that Selkin's finding, "... contrary to popular belief ..., rape victims do not want to be raped" (1978, p. 6) was ever considered print worthy. That the issue of heterosexual violence against women had come to the attention of researchers as early as the 1950s shows that this remains, over time, a part of girlhood for many. Perhaps most importantly, their work is notable for establishing the scope of sexual violence against women: By revealing the pervasiveness and seriousness of sexual violence against women, these front runners set the tone for the next stage of inquiry.

Expanding the knowledge.

The next phase of research can be characterized as prolific and almost exclusively concerned with the incidence, prevalence, predictors, context, and outcomes of heterosexual coercion. Although the majority of this research reflected the experiences of female undergraduate university students, I will concentrate on those rarer studies that focussed on adolescent girls' unwanted heterosexual experiences.

Incidence and prevalence.

The original SES measured prevalence very simply; whether the experience in question *had ever happened* since the respondent was 14 years old. With regards to hidden rape victims, once was enough. Koss's findings that, since the age of 14, 'one-in-four' female college students had experienced rape or attempted rape were shocking and, as I have stated, hotly contested by some scholars. It was important to know whether this information could be replicated and whether the experiences of female undergraduate students could be generalized to other groups of women, including adolescents. And for researchers who were interested in sexual experiences other than legally defined rape or attempted rape, other information had relevance: Important data concerning the numbers of victims were augmented by knowledge about, for example, frequency of occurrence and reciprocal violence. Although Koss and her colleagues initially investigated female victimization and male perpetration, other researchers began to measure both male and female heterosexual victimization and perpetration (Erikson & Rapkin, 1991; Jackson, Cram, & Seymour, 2000; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Murray & Henjum, 1993; O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998; Poitras & Lavoie, 1995).

One of the earliest studies concerning the prevalence of dating violence against female high school students utilized survey and interview data from 304 ethnically diverse secondary school students from four metropolitan Toronto schools (Mercer, 1988). Mercer did not report on ethnic differences. Overall, the respondents' self-reports indicated that 20% of the girls had experienced at least one form of abuse in a dating relationship, with sexual abuse being the most common at 20% and always co-occurring with at least one other form of abuse. Because Mercer's questions concerning physical, verbal, and sexual abuse were not behaviourally defined, we can expect this prevalence rate to be conservative (DeKeseredy &

Schwartz, 1998; Koss & Oros, 1982). Considering only the experiences of high school students, Patton and Mannison (1995) found that about 28% of females had experienced coerced sexual intercourse, and Silverman et al. (2001) report that approximately 20% of female high school students experienced physical or sexual violence in a dating relationship.

Murray and Henjum (1993) found much higher rates of sexual violence than did Mercer. Utilizing an adaptation of the SES in a retrospective study of 111 Canadian university students, age 19 to 34, they found that 35% of the women had experienced sexual coercion while still in high school with approximately one in four experiencing coerced intercourse. Though men were more likely to perpetrate sexual violence and women more likely to receive it, women and men were both victims and perpetrators of sexual coercion and there was a significant relationship between inflicting and sustaining sexual coercion in a dating relationship. Murray and Henjum found that female high school students were at higher risk for sexual victimization than female university students, noting “it is possible that most of the sexual activity that takes place between adolescents is forced on girls against their wills” (para. 35).

Administering a modified version of the SES to 476 15- to 18-year old high school students, Maxwell, Robinson, and Post (2003) found that 66% of the females had experienced some form of sexual aggression, with a larger percentage experiencing higher levels of aggression. 18% experienced “psychological (pressured) victimization” and 48% “criminal (rape or attempted rape) victimization” (p. 470) at least once. “Overall, the percentage of females experiencing any [type of sexual] victimization increases from 53% at age 15 to 74% by age 18” (p. 472). However, when they compared girls who planned to go to college with girls who had no college plans these rates shifted significantly: girls who had no college plans were 6 times more likely to report victimization. While it is possible that

experiencing unwanted sex influences girls to limit their educational plans, this relationship could reflect the effects of other parameters; for example, socioeconomic privilege. That is, girls who do not plan to attend college might be less privileged, socially and economically, and therefore possibly more likely to be victimized. Regardless, this finding has important implications for prevalence data, suggesting that the rate of sexual violence in the female undergraduate student population is an inadequate estimation of prevalence rates in the larger community.

Poitras and Lavoie (1995) also argue that incidence and prevalence measures must be interpreted cautiously. On an adaption of the SES, 644 French-speaking Quebecois high school students between the ages of 15 and 19 indicated that girls were as likely to initiate verbal coercion to engage their partner in unwanted intercourse as were boys. But when they considered whether the attempted coercion had been successful, girls were significantly more likely than boys to report that they had engaged in unwanted intercourse. In this sample, boys' verbal coercion was much more successful than girls' attempts at the same.

Erikson and Rapkin (1991) are also cautious in their interpretation of gender differences in adolescents' USEs. Their sample of 1197 middle-class youth reported lifetime prevalence of unwanted sexual experiences, including intercourse, at a rate of one-in-seven -- one of the lowest rates found. Girls (18%) were significantly more likely to experience unwanted sex than boys (12%); older students were more likely to endorse this item than younger students and, though many incidents occurred before the age of 13 and would therefore be considered childhood sexual abuse, the majority of incidents occurred between the ages of 13 and 16. Most perpetrators (69%) were friends, dates, 'girlfriends', or 'boyfriends'. When a same-sex unwanted sexual experience occurred, it was more likely to occur between males (7%) than females (2%). Unwanted sexual experiences involving drugs

or alcohol or nonphysical partner pressure accounted for 30% of girls' unwanted experiences and 32% of boys', though boys referenced peer pressure as a factor in their USEs four times more often than girls. Girls' USEs were generally more intrusive: of the one-in-seven youth who had experienced unwanted sexual contact, girls reported force, rape, and childhood sexual abuse at rates much higher than the boys; 58% versus 20%. Erikson and Rapkin's findings delineate an important gender difference regarding unwanted sexual experiences: girls are more likely to be forced; boys to experience social pressure (1991, p. 324). In other words, when compared to girls, boys are much more likely to be pressured to engage in USEs by their peers than by their sexual or romantic partners.

Focussing exclusively on girls' USEs, Small and Kerns (1993) found that, of 1149 seventh, ninth, and eleventh grade girls, 21% had experienced some form of unwanted sexual contact over the past year, from unwanted touch through forced intercourse. Of those girls, 36% reported forced intercourse. Though these numbers do not reflect lifetime experiences, the incidence of unwanted sexual contact remained fairly consistent from grades 7 to 11 while the rate of forced sexual intercourse doubled. These data indicate that rape risk may peak in late adolescence.

The largest and, possibly, most authoritative study of the prevalence of woman abuse in Canada was conducted by Walter DeKeseredy and his colleagues (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998). The Canadian National Survey gathered information from over 3000 female and male post-secondary students across the country and found that, since leaving high school, 45% of women had experienced sexual abuse within a dating relationship (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993). They identify an exhaustive list of risk factors for dating abuse victimization and perpetration, including gender ideologies, use of pornography, dating status, and alcohol use. Importantly, they surveyed smaller subsets of elementary and high

school students in heterosexual dating relationships, finding that 8% of female high school students reported being forced to engage in sexual activities by threats of physical violence; 14% were physically forced to engage in sexual activities; 50% reported being emotionally hurt; and 9% reported physical violence in their heterosexual dating relationships. Obviously, these are not discrete categories and verbal coercion or sexual pressure is not separated out, making incidence and prevalence claims difficult.

Predictors, context, and outcomes.

Thus far, most of the research on sexual experiences has employed cross-sectional designs. Therefore, identifying predictors and outcomes of unwanted sexual experiences is difficult if not impossible. And although some of the work concerning contextual issues offers a degree of certainty, context overlaps somewhat with predictors, or correlates, and outcomes of unwanted sexual experiences. Therefore, I will consider these in tandem.

Demographic characteristics.

Considering four categories; family relationships, psychological factors, peer-, and partner-related factors in a very large ($n > 10,000$) Canadian sample (excluding Nunavut), Boyce, Gallupe, and Fergus (2008) found that early age⁹ at first sexual intercourse (FSI) was significantly associated with sexual pressure. Their analyses suggest that, rather than a choice, for very young people FSI in particular may be the result of partner pressure to engage in unwanted sex. Maxwell et al. (2003) found that 15- to 18-year old girls who dated more frequently, who did not plan to attend college, and who identified their religious affiliation as other than Protestant experienced more sexual victimization. 40% of the perpetrators were boyfriends. Johnson, Morgan, and Sigler (2007) found that females are at highest risk for forced sexual intercourse during high school.

⁹ They define this as age 12 or younger for girls and 11 or younger for boys.

Teens living in rural areas were found to be more vulnerable to physical, but not sexual, dating violence (Spencer & Bryant, 2000). Skinner, Smith, Fenwick, Fyfe, & Hendriks (2008) argue that older age at first intercourse contributes to a greater degree of personal control and older girls, therefore, are less likely to be influenced by peer pressure or interpersonal coercion and are less likely to be intoxicated at first intercourse than younger girls. As a consequence, older girls have fewer negative outcomes, such as pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, associated with their first sexual intercourse. In the United States, African-American girls may be more vulnerable to sexual violence (Silverman et al., 2001) and in Canada “indigenous women ... face an extraordinarily high risk of violence” (Amnesty International, 2004). However, there is some evidence to suggest that stronger ethnic identity may protect racialized girls and women (Rickert et al., 2004). Furthermore, Harned’s (2002) survey of 1139 university students found that demographic characteristics, including age, minority status, and sexual orientation were not predictive of dating violence. However, she dichotomizes race into two categories: minority and nonminority/White women, erasing possible differences among racial and ethnic groups. In their extensive literature review concerning 12- to 24-year old women’s experiences of sexual violence perpetrated by romantic partners, Vézina and Hébert conclude that predictive values of race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status are weak or inconsistent (2007).

Other abusive experiences.

There was strong evidence, very early on, implicating childhood sexual abuse (CSA) as key to predicting women’s experiences of rape. Koss and Dinero (1989) found that women’s rape vulnerability was linked to having a higher number of sexual partners, holding liberal sexual attitudes, and higher than average alcohol use. But these factors were only predictive on either extreme of the sexual violence continuum (no violence or rape), for 10%

of the women, and *when co-occurring with a history of childhood sexual abuse*. Furthermore, when researchers considered sexual victimization in adolescence, they found a relationship between childhood sexual abuse and adolescent experiences of unwanted sex (Erikson & Rapkin 1991; Gidycz et al. 1993; Humphrey & White, 2000; Small & Kerns, 1993; Smith et al., 2003) and between adolescent experiences of unwanted intercourse and unwanted intercourse in marriage (Basile, 2008) or later in life (Classen et al., 2005; Gidycz et al., 1993). And though results are equivocal, it seems that adolescent sexual violation is a better predictor of adult women's USEs than is childhood sexual abuse, possibly mediating the relationship between CSA and adult victimization (Humphrey & White, 2000).

Complicating this picture is evidence that one type of violence, sexual, physical, or both, may predict another type. Sanders and Moore (1999) found that any type of child abuse that resulted in trauma predicted later experiences of date rape; Smith et al. (2003) found that physical and sexual dating violence tend to co-occur and that physical assault is predictive of sexual violence. Furthermore, negative outcomes of violence may be additive. Silverman, Raj, Mucci, and Hathaway (2001) found that health risks associated with sexual violence, such as substance use, unhealthy weight control, sexual risk behaviour, and pregnancy, were higher for adolescent girls who experienced both sexual and physical dating violence. Trauma symptoms may be both antecedent and consequence of sexual revictimization (Sanders & Moore, 1999).

Substance use.

Adolescent girls' drug and alcohol use appears to be another important correlate of USEs (Banyard & Cross, 2008; Cecil & Matson, 2006; Erikson & Rapkin, 1991; Jackson et al., 2000; LaCasse & Mendelson, 2007; Patton & Mannison, 1995; Poulin & Graham, 2001; Saewyc, Poon, et al., 2008; Silverman et al., 2001; Small & Kerns, 1993; Young & D'Arcy,

2005) and occur more frequently than Koss et al. (1987) reported (Patton & Mannison, 1995). This finding suggests an important differentiating factor between adolescents' and university undergraduates' USEs. Erikson and Rapkin (1991) found that, after force or rape and childhood sexual abuse, drug and alcohol use was the third most commonly reported context in which USEs occurred, "account[ing] for 26% of the experiences occurring during the adolescent years" (p. 321) and occurring equally for boys and girls. In a retrospective study based on the SES the influence of drugs and alcohol was most commonly cited as contributing to girls' experiences of unwanted intercourse in adolescence (Patton & Mannison, 1995).

The prevalence of data on substance use must be considered in light of the fact that the SES includes a question about drugs and alcohol. If the SES included questions about, for example, relationship intimacy or partners' age difference, research and intervention emphasis may be different. For example, Young and D'Arcy (2005) found that having an older boyfriend was associated with earlier intercourse and problem behaviours, such as drug and alcohol use, indicating that any relationship between substance use and USEs may be mediated by other factors, including the level of intimacy in the relationship.

Relationship intimacy.

In their longitudinal study Smith, White, and Holland (2003) found that, when attending high school, 50% of their sample of 18- and 19-year old female undergraduate students experienced sexual violence, 67% experienced physical violence, and 26% experienced both: Approximately half of the teenage girls who experienced sexual violence also experienced physical violence. In addition, "[f]rom adolescence through the fourth year of college, 88% of the young women experienced at least [one] incident of physical or sexual victimization, and 63.5% experienced both" (p. 1106). All perpetrators of physical violence

were romantic partners. Over time, violations became more serious and sexual offences became more likely to be perpetrated by a romantic partner.

Small and Kerns (1993) found that sexual coercion between peers “is most likely to occur at two critical periods in a dating relationship: during the first date, and after the relationship has developed to a point where the partners consider themselves to be ‘boyfriend’ and ‘girlfriend’” (p. 948). Patton and Mannison (1995) found that coercion to sex play was much more common than coercion to intercourse during the high school years, that the majority of coercion to intercourse experiences occurred in relationships where the partners were ‘seeing only this person’, and that both girls and boys experienced sexual coercion with increasing frequency as they aged (from 13 to 19) and as their relationships became more committed. Interestingly, Livingston, Buddie, Testa, and VanZile-Tamsen (2004) found that in a community sample of 15- to 30-year old women, prior experiences of unwanted intercourse predicted future experiences of unwanted intercourse with the same partner, possibly confounding the relationship between increased relationship intimacy and unwanted intercourse in adolescence.

Psycho-emotional measures.

Measuring psycho-emotional outcomes directly and indirectly, a large amount of primarily cross-sectional data support a relationship between sexual victimization and negative psychological outcomes including depression (Banyard & Cross, 2008; Cecil and Matson, 2006; Erikson & Rapkin, 1991; Gidycz et al., 1993; Osborne & Rhodes, 2001), anxiety (Gidycz et al., 1993; Osborne & Rhodes, 2001), suicidality (Erikson & Rapkin, 1991; Shrier, Pierce, Emans, & DuRant, 1998; Silverman et al., 2001), family conflict (Cecil & Matson, 2006; Erikson & Rapkin, 1991), decreased body image (Harned, 2004), and unhealthy weight control (Silverman et al., 2001). 11- to 19- year old pregnant and mothering

African-American and Latina girls who had been sexually victimized experienced more life stress, anxiety, and depression than those who had not and, importantly, those experiencing high levels of distress were less able to benefit from social support (Osborne & Rhodes, 2001). Based on a very large survey of sexually active high school students in Vermont, Shrier, Pierce, Emans, and DuRant (1998) found that 'being forced or pressured to have sexual intercourse' was associated with risky health behaviours, including unhealthy weight control in boys, fighting, especially for girls, and pregnancy involvement. Silverman et al. (2001) found that adolescent girls who had experienced intimate partner violence (IPV) were at higher risk for unhealthy weight control and suicidal thoughts or attempts.

When Erikson and Rapkin (1991) compared adolescents who had USEs with those who had experienced force, rape, or childhood sexual abuse they found that the latter group had less substance use and sexual activity but were more likely to perceive that they had health problems. Given the gender split for these forms of victimization, it is unclear whether these behaviours reflect differential impact of types of unwanted sex or gender differences in coping styles. Broach and Petritic (2006) found that verbal and emotional coercion to engage in intercourse has significant emotional and interpersonal impact on female university students similar to that of rape and higher than the impact of childhood sexual abuse. Importantly, this effect was intensified for women who had experienced both coerced intercourse since the age of 14 as well as childhood sexual abuse. Women who had experienced only childhood sexual abuse did not differ significantly from women who had experienced no sexual victimization. And while female and male high school students experienced the range of USEs fairly equally, girls experienced USEs as far more abusive than boys: Girls reported feeling 'dirty' and 'degraded' while boys tended to 'laugh it off' (Jackson et al., 2000).

Although Small and Kerns (1993) found no relationship between USEs and low self-esteem, subsequent research finds evidence for an association between the two variables (Cecil & Matson, 2006; Jezl, Molidor, & Wright, 1996; LaCasse & Mendelson, 2007). Turner, Finklehor, and Ormrod (2010) compared the effects of several types of violence and non-violent stress for a National U.S. sample of 1000 youth, aged 10 to 17. They found that sexual violence had “uniquely powerful effects on self-esteem that are not apparent from other types of victimization and stress” (abstract). Furthermore, their analysis suggests that self-esteem could be an important mediator between sexual violation and subsequent depression.

Considering positive psycho-emotional correlates, parental monitoring and authoritarian parenting styles, meaning that the parents involved the youth in important decisions about their lives, have both been found to be protective against USEs (Small & Kerns, 1993). Girls who talked more with their parents about sex were more likely to consistently refuse unwanted sex than those who talked less with parents about sex (Sionéan et al., 2002). Saewyc, Taylor, Homma, and Ogilvie (2008) found that youth who felt connected to parents and school experienced less sexual risk behaviours. And Banyard and Cross (2008) found that parental and neighbourhood social support was related to positive outcomes for teens who had experienced dating violence. It appears that psycho-emotional factors are multiple and varied and may be predictors, outcomes, or merely coincidental. Longitudinal and qualitative studies may offer more effective methods for identifying and, ultimately, responding to and preventing negative outcomes.

Sexual health.

In addition to negative psychological and emotional outcomes, USEs have been linked to risky sexual behaviour (Shrier et al., 1998; Silverman et al., 2001) including lower

age at first intercourse (Silverman et al., 2001), higher number of partners (Rickert et al., 2004; Silverman et al., 2001), lower condom and contraception use (Shrier et al., 1998), sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Sionéan et al., 2002), and pregnancy (Shrier et al., 1998; Silverman et al., 2001). Except for STIs and pregnancy, causal links have not been established though many types of sexually risky behaviours have been shown to be associated with normative heterosexual gender roles.

Gender ideologies.

While much of the feminist research and theorizing on heterosexual violence has interrogated the role of gender norms (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Hyde et al., 2008; Impett & Peplau, 2003; Impett et al., 2006; LaCasse & Mendelson, 2007; Maxwell et al., 2003; Miller et al., 2007; Mercer, 1988; Morgan & Zurbriggen, 2007), their relationship to adolescent girls' experiences of sexual victimization remains unclear. One study found that males who accepted rape myths were significantly more likely to perpetrate violence. But, counter-intuitively perhaps, girls who rejected rape myths were more likely to have experienced sexual violence, leading the researchers to wonder whether a personal experience of sexual violence leads to less victim blaming attitudes (Maxwell et al., 2003). In my view, there are other possible explanations for this finding. First, it might be that women who reject rape myths are more likely to be targets of heterosexual violence for any number of reasons: perhaps they violate gender norms, for example. Secondly, rape myths, by definition, hold women responsible for their own victimization. It follows logically that girls who reject rape myths may be less likely to accept responsibility for their USE and to, therefore, place their unwanted experience on the sexual violence continuum. Unfortunately, due to the cross-sectional research design we cannot know whether these girls had ever subscribed to rape myths and, if they had, when this changed.

LaCasse and Mendelson (2007) argue that sexual scripts played a role in sexual coercion, broadly defined, for Caucasian Quebecois students in grades 8 to 11. They found that female victims had lower self-esteem, were more likely to use drugs and alcohol and scored slightly higher, but not significantly so, on measures of sexist attitudes. Male perpetrators scored higher on measures of sexist attitudes and higher, but not significantly so, on drug and alcohol use. As this was a cross-sectional design, there is no way of knowing whether or not the statistically significant relationships are causative. Nevertheless, these findings suggest an interaction between gender roles, self-esteem, and alcohol use and, in particular, indicate that masculine gender ideologies may play a more important role in sexual violence than do feminine ideologies. As sexist attitudes are amenable to educational efforts, this relationship needs further exploration.

Summary.

In conclusion, evidence indicates that the incidence of sexual coercion is higher for adolescent girls and young women than for older women, peaks in late adolescence, and appears to be higher for community samples compared to college-bound girls. We cannot say definitively how many adolescent girls experience unwanted sex or, specifically, unwanted heterosexual intercourse. The prevalence rate of sexual violence could be as high as 50% (Smith et al., 2003) or 35% for girls experiencing sexual coercion and about 25% experiencing coerced intercourse (Murray & Henjum, 1993; Patton & Mannison, 1995). Of the literature reviewed, Erikson and Rapkin (1991) found the lowest lifetime prevalence rate, with 18% of adolescent girls in their sample experiencing some form of unwanted sexual contact. Nevertheless, whether contemplating the higher or lower incidence or prevalence estimates, these statistics are alarming. Establishing incidence and prevalence rates continues to be an important aspect of research into unwanted sexual experiences. With only a

smattering of studies measuring the incidence and prevalence of heterosexual violence among adolescents providing discrepant results, this area requires further investigation. Regardless of the actual incidence and prevalence rates, we can be fairly confident that “the development of gender relationship patterns which incorporate coercive sexuality begins at an early age [and moves along the sexual violence continuum] from unwanted sex play to unwanted intercourse with time and with increasing [intimacy] of the relationship” (Patton & Mannison, 1995, p. 456).

There is strong evidence linking childhood sexual abuse to sexual violence later in life, including adolescence. Whether some girls are more vulnerable to childhood sexual abuse than others is beyond the scope of this study. However, adolescent sexual violence appears to predict later violence: Experiencing only adolescent sexual violence or both childhood and adolescent sexual violence is related to adult experiences of sexual violence. Given the developmental stage at which it occurs and the reality that it occurs within ‘potentially appropriate’ relationships over which the girl has some choice, experiences of sexual violence during adolescence could be pivotal.

In addition, substance use is an important predictor of girls’ experiences of unwanted sexual contact, possibly mediating the relationship between earlier and later sexual victimization experiences (Testa et al., 2010) and shaping the nature of romantic relationships. Unwanted sexual experiences appear more likely as the relationship is forming or after it has been established as long-term. There is some evidence that race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status are predictive, with marginalized girls being more vulnerable. However, as Small and Kerns (1993) noted, although risk factors appear cumulative, some girls who had no risk factors experienced unwanted sexual contact and some girls who would be considered ‘at risk’ experienced no unwanted sex. It appears that all adolescent girls are

vulnerable to sexual violence, including unwanted intercourse. What was found to be true for adult rape victims appears to hold for adolescent girls: In the final analysis, “the vast majority of sexually victimized women could not be differentiated from nonvictims” (Koss & Harvey, 1991, p. 36).

Regardless, there appear to be many negative physical, psychological, and emotional outcomes associated with unwanted sexual contact in adolescence. There is strong evidence that USEs are associated with depression and anxiety, negative health outcomes, and risky sexual behaviour. Though not the only possible outcome of unwanted intercourse, unintentional pregnancy is one important potential consequence to which we shall now turn our attention.

Adolescent pregnancy.

Introduction.

Prior to Koss and Oros’s 1982 publication of the Sexual Experiences Survey the field of study concerning adolescent pregnancy was already well-established. However, much of the work was based on two potentially problematic assumptions: First that a teenage pregnancy was almost always an unplanned and, therefore, unwanted pregnancy (see SIECCAN, 2004), and second, that “most adolescent pregnancy is the result of nonabusive (albeit somewhat early) sexual relations that are part of normal heterosexual development” (Gershenson et al., 1989, p. 215). But with evidence of large age differences between pregnant girls and their partners emerging just slightly later than the sexual coercion literature (National Research Council, 1987; Trussell, 1988, cited in Males, 1992), the ramifications for teenage girls’ sexual and reproductive lives must have been obvious and questions about sexual coercion appear to have been integrated into the research immediately.

Correlates and context.

Demographic characteristics.

In 2003, 32 out of every 1000 Canadian girls between the ages of 15 and 19 became pregnant and 14.4 per 1000 gave birth (Canadian Federation for Sexual Health, 2007). Adolescent pregnancy rates vary by region (SIECCAN, 2004; Singh, Darroch, & Frost, 2001). Prince Edward Island had the lowest pregnancy rate at 20 per 1000; Nunavut reported the highest adolescent pregnancy rates at 98 per 1000 followed by Northwest Territories, Yukon, and Manitoba (SIECCAN, 2004). The latter have high populations of Aboriginal people (Graveline, personal communication), “one of the most disadvantaged groups in Canada” (Singh et al., 2001). Singh, Darroch, and Frost (2001) suggest that regional differences in pregnancy rates may implicate regional differences concerning, for example, socioeconomic status, race and ethnicity, limited abortion access, community and/or cultural support for adolescent child bearing, and a de-emphasis on educational goals. And while these may all play a role, overall, in their comparison of Great Britain, France, Sweden, Canada, and the United States, they found “consistent patterns of relationships between socioeconomic disadvantage and adolescent sexual behavior” (p. 257). In other words, adolescent birth is associated with poverty. However, as these were measured for 20 to 24 year old women and adolescent births had already occurred, it is possible that teenage pregnancy predicts lower socioeconomic status and educational achievement. Their study found that Canadian women, aged 20 to 24, who were attending school initiated sexual activity at a later age than those who were out of school and/or employed; non-White and foreign-born women were less likely to be sexually active before the age of 20; and age at sexual initiation was slightly lower for those in the lowest socioeconomic group although condom use was more consistent.

Paternal age and unwanted intercourse.

Millar and Wadhera (1997) found that, compared to older mothers, the difference between maternal and paternal age was much greater in births to adolescent mothers. Between 1992 and 1994, births to Canadian adolescent girls accounted for 6% of all births while births to teenage fathers accounted for 1.5% of all births. Though 39% of adolescent mothers did not report paternal age, births to 10- to 19-year old Canadian girls involved fathers who were, on average, 4.12 years older than the mothers. Paternal age within two years of the adolescent mother accounted for 39% of the births compared to 48% of mothers of all ages; fathers who were more than six years older than the mother accounted for 26% of the adolescent births compared to 19% of all mothers. Again, regional differences exist: Girls in Quebec, British Columbia, Yukon, and Northwest Territories had a larger proportion of partners six or more years older than the national average for this age group. Overall, the age difference was greater for the younger girls, with obvious implications for power differentials and sexual exploitation.

Darroch, Landry, and Oslak, (1999) confirm that the age difference between teenage girls and their male partners impacts pregnancy and birth rates. Though half of the 15- to 17-year olds in their study who became pregnant had male partners within two years of their age, 29% of sexually active girls under the age of 18 had a partner who was 3 or more years older, and 7% were involved with a man 6 or more years older. Risk of unintended pregnancy increased as the partners' age difference increased and girls whose partners were 6 or more years older were less likely to abort than girls whose partners were closer in age. Noting that 15- to 17- year old girls with partners 3 to 5 years older were significantly more likely to have been forced to have intercourse, they speculate that girls with older partners may be at a disadvantage in their sexual relations and negotiations compared to closer-aged partnerships.

In their study of 522 sexually active African-American adolescent girls, DiClemente et al. (2002) found that having a male partner two or more years older was associated with lower condom use and increased rates of unprotected vaginal sex. The young women cited “fear of negative reactions from partners” (p. 23) as a significant barrier to condom use. DiClemente et al. (2002) argue that an age gap of only two years creates a power imbalance sufficient to place girls in risky sexual health situations. Even so, they found no relationship between older male partners (2 or more years older) and pregnancy.

Utilizing U.S. national survey data from approximately 2000 unmarried males and females aged 18 to 24 who had had heterosexual intercourse prior to the age of 18, Manlove et al. (2006) concluded that neither age difference at first intercourse nor unwanted first sexual experiences were related to teenage births. The combination of young age (less than 16) at first intercourse and having an older partner is associated with increased odds of teenage birth for both boys and girls (Manlove et al., 2006). Considering that females were more likely to state that their experiences with an older partner were unwanted and non-voluntary, we can make a logical link between unwanted intercourse and adolescent pregnancy. These findings suggest that the relationship between older male partners and teenage births could be mediated by an increase in sexual coercion of the female. But, again, the evidence is contradictory: At least two studies have found that pregnant adolescents experienced lower rates of unwanted intercourse than never-pregnant girls (Baumgartner, Geary, Tucker, & Wedderburn, 2009; Osborne & Rhodes, 2001).

In order to learn about the social-emotional contexts of girls’ early sexual experiences, particularly those that the girls considered ‘unwanted’, one of the leading American researchers on adolescent pregnancy, Harold Gershenson, and his colleagues asked 445 women under the age of 26 who had become pregnant before the age of 20 about “any

sexual experience that you didn't want no matter how old you were" (Gershenson et al., 1989, p. 209). 61% of the respondents reported sexually coercive experiences, 33% had experienced unwanted intercourse, and girls whose partners were five or more years older were significantly more likely to become pregnant than partners who were closer in age.¹⁰ Despite some large age differences between the women and their partners, lines between 'wanted' and 'unwanted' and between consent and coercion were unclear. The researchers conclude that asking women about 'unwanted sexual experiences' facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between the partners' age differences and sexual coercion.

Other violence.

Silverman et al. (2001) utilized data from a large survey to learn about adolescent girls' health risks associated with physical and sexual violence perpetrated by intimate partners. Regarding sexual violence, female public high school students in Massachusetts were asked whether they had ever been "hurt sexually" or "forced into any sexual activity...by a date or someone they were going out with" (p. 574). Approximately 20% of the girls had experienced physical and/or sexual violence: 4% of girls had experienced sexual violence only, 10% physical violence only, and 5-6% had experienced both, indicating that physical violence occurs more often than sexual violence and that sexual violence most often co-occurs with physical violence. Their analysis shows that simply experiencing violence may be more important than the type of violence in predicting detrimental health impacts, including, for example, drug use, suicidality, unhealthy weight control, sexual risk behaviour, and pregnancy. Roberts, Auinger, and Klein (2005) concur. They found physical and verbal intimate partner violence to be associated with decreased condom use and adolescent pregnancy.

¹⁰ They did not ask whether the pregnancy was wanted, planned, or otherwise.

Saewyc, Poon, et al. (2008) also found a relationship between experiencing forced intercourse and adolescent pregnancy. In addition, their analysis of the 1992, 1998, and 2003 British Columbia Adolescent Health Surveys shows that lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) high school students are between two and seven times more likely to be involved in a teenage pregnancy than their heterosexual peers and that these rates may be rising. Because LGB youth report higher rates of sexual assault than their heterosexual peers (for a review, see Rothman, Exner, & Baughman, 2011) and since LGB youth who had been involved in a pregnancy were twice as likely to report homophobic discrimination than those who had not, the researchers theorize links among youths' experiences of sexual abuse, homophobic discrimination, peer sexual violence, and higher pregnancy rates. Saewyc, Poon, et al. (2008) argue that teen pregnancy may be a mechanism for LGB youth to deflect homophobic discrimination. In addition, sexual abuse and discrimination are related to risky sexual behaviour, including younger age at first intercourse, decreased condom use, and substance use, and these, in turn, are related to peer-to-peer sexual violence and pregnancy. In other words, rather than sexual orientation, the higher prevalence of sexual violence among LGB youth better explains the variance in risk behaviour and resultant pregnancies: Abuse is associated with coping behaviours which also place youth at risk for pregnancy (Saewyc, Poon, et al., 2008).

Pregnancy Coercion.

While intimate partner violence (IPV) has been fairly well established as a factor in adolescent pregnancy (Boyer & Fine, 1992; Gessner & Perham-Hester, 1998; Jacoby, Gorenflo, Black, Wunderlich, & Eyler, 1999; Roberts, Auinger, & Klein, 2005), researchers have recently turned their attention to the role of pregnancy coercion. Miller et al. (2007), in a qualitative study of 53 low income, 15- to 20-year old, self-identified heterosexual females

with a history of any combination of physical, sexual, and emotional IPV, 75% of whom were non-White, found that pregnancy coercion and contraception sabotage were associated with physical and sexual violence, including unwanted intercourse, and unintentional pregnancy. In this sample, about one-third of the young women had been pregnant; half of the pregnancies had been unwanted by the woman. Approximately one-quarter of the participants reported that their partners were “actively trying to get them pregnant” (p. 362) and the median age difference between the partners in this subsample was 4 years. Rather than an unfortunate ‘accident’, these findings suggest that adolescent pregnancy could be a purposeful exercise of male power, placing pregnancy coercion on the continuum of sexual violence.

Summary.

Though evidence is equivocal, it seems that having an older male partner may place girls at higher risk for unintentional pregnancy and that this risk increases with increasing age gap. The research concerning partners’ age has led to other important findings, establishing the predictive roles of childhood sexual abuse and early age at first intercourse in adolescent pregnancy. Indications that sexual orientation and socioeconomic status are related to adolescent pregnancy point to the intricacies of social forces in heterosex. For example, findings that lower educational achievement is associated with adolescent childbearing (Singh et al., 2001) run parallel with Maxwell et al.’s (2003) findings that college-bound women are less likely than those with no college plans to experience sexual violence, leading to speculation about whether sexual coercion mediates an association between the identified demographic characteristics, in particular socioeconomic status, and adolescent birth. While these findings could lead researchers in a number of directions, they offer preliminary support for interrogating the roles of gendered habitus and gendered power imbalance in

heterosexual negotiations and subsequent unintentional pregnancies. Maintaining a focus on gender roles and gendered habitus, I will now review the more recent and novel approaches to research concerning adolescent experiences of unwanted heterosexual.

New directions: Exploring nuances.

The current phase of research carries forward previous concerns about incidence and prevalence, predictors, and outcomes of heterosexual violence in adolescence. Building on earlier work, questions and conclusions are predictably more nuanced than previously. For example, while drug and alcohol use was identified very early on as a factor in unwanted intercourse, current research is finding that their individual effects may be unique.

Understandings of sexual consent and wantedness have become more complex and multi-dimensional and researchers are striking off in novel directions, including cross-cultural and international comparisons. Considerations of sexual violence may be more meaningful when considered as part of a constellation of violent experiences, including psychological and physical violence, and economic disparities. And although feminist analyses of IPV have always scrutinized gender roles, interview data have revealed some surprising insights into their influence. Contextual issues now include considerations of how and when women label their experiences abuse or assault as well as the nature of the relationship in which it occurs. Moving beyond asking women whether or not they wanted a sexual encounter to happen, researchers are now conceptualizing wantedness as a gradient measure.

Correlates and context.

Demographic characteristics and substance use.

Some factors significantly correlated with verbal sexual coercion are past verbal aggression, perpetrator marijuana but not alcohol use, pressure to use alcohol, being alone with the perpetrator, having had at least 6 past dates, and increasing age difference (Rickert et

al., 2004). Rickert, Wiemann, Vaughan, and White (2004) found that African-American and Dominican girls and women are at higher risk for rape and attempted rape than others. They also found that decreasing ethnic identity¹¹ was associated with higher rates of rape and attempted rape but was not associated with verbal coercion.

This same study found that the factors placing adolescent girls and young women at risk for rape were different from the risk factors associated with verbal sexual coercion. Past physical abuse is associated with moderate and severe forms of sexual violence. Perpetrators' use of alcohol or marijuana was associated with rape and attempted rape. Perpetrators of rape or attempted rape were likely to also pressure their partners to use marijuana or alcohol while experiencing verbal sexual coercion was associated with pressure to use alcohol only. Though victims tended to have a history of drug and alcohol use, the researchers found that the victims' use of alcohol at the time of the unwanted incident was not associated with either verbal coercion or rape (Rickert et al., 2004).

Novik, Howard, and Boekeloo (2011) found that when both victim and perpetrator are drinking, victims' motives for drinking differentially predict unwanted sexual advances. Though they did not ask about intercourse, they found that undergraduate females experienced more unwanted sexual advances than did males. Females who engaged in binge drinking, and who drank to maintain their social image and to manage distress were significantly more likely to experience unwanted sexual advances than women who were drinking for social ease or those who combined drinking with illicit drug use. The researchers did not have data on the drinking motives of the perpetrator and, given the unique social situations on college campuses, interactions between victim and perpetrator drinking motives

¹¹ Ethnic identity refers to "the extent to which subjects endorsed the importance and value of their ethnic heritage" (Rickert, Wiemann, Vaughan, & White, 2004, p. 1133).

could be fairly dynamic though also amenable to intervention. Because the relationship between substance use and unwanted intercourse is more problematic in adolescence (Livingston et al., 2007) more research in this area could be particularly fruitful.

Other violence.

Performing a multiple regression analysis, Harned (2002) found that only three of her 13 measures accounted for 22% of the variance in sexual victimization: an increased number of casual dating partners, perpetrating psychological aggression, and perpetrating physical aggression, implicating bidirectional dating violence as worthy of further investigation. Interestingly, she also found a relationship between an increased number of serious dating partners and risk of psychological violence, indicating that different types of dating relationships might be associated with different violent tactics.

Gender roles.

Harned's (2002) work shows that either partner's subscribing to patriarchal beliefs did not predict dating violence victimization. But in other work (Livingston et al., 2004), women's motivation for compliance with unwanted sexual relations was found to be both extrinsic and intrinsic, supporting a sexual script built largely upon male sexual privilege. Extrinsic reasons, reported more often, included wanting the man to stop his verbal behaviour, maintaining the relationship, and avoiding tactical escalations. Intrinsic reasons included feeling guilty, feeling obligated, or wanting to be nurturing toward the man. Enosh (2007) differentiates between active resistance, for example, saying 'no', and passive resistance, not responding. In his study of Israeli teenagers, he found that boys were more likely than girls to be both victims (following their own passive resistance) and perpetrators (following their partners' active and passive resistance), while girls are likely to be one or the other, victim or perpetrator, and not both. In accordance with Erikson and Rapkin (1991), he

concludes that boys' sexual behaviour seems to be heavily influenced by peer pressure. Enosh contrasts this to girls' actions which, he argues, tend to reflect their personal beliefs. These findings suggest that, with regard to gender ideologies, boys and girls experience different socialization processes. Interventions may need to be tailored to respond to these differences.

Tolman and her colleagues (Tolman, 2002; Impett & Tolman, 2006; Impett et al., 2006) assume a developmental sexual trajectory that "likely begins in adolescence" (Impett & Tolman, 2006, p. 640). Through contemporary patriarchal framing of heterosexual negotiations as females' merely accepting or declining males' advances girls, they argue, are in a 'no win' situation, forced to choose from two identity options: 'slut' or 'tempress'. Missing from mainstream contemporary ideas concerning heterosexuality is a discourse of girls' sexual desire which would permit or even encourage girls to pursue sexual experiences for their own pleasure. Tolman and her colleagues argue that acknowledging and legitimizing girls' sexual desire is related to improved sexual self-concept, more sexual experience, and increased sexual satisfaction, ultimately challenging sexist stereotypes and leading to a more egalitarian gendered power balance. Their research supports this: Grade 12 girls who actively sought sexual intercourse had higher sexual satisfaction. However, the researchers noted that these girls tended to be in long-term committed relationships, possibly implicating the role of the traditional sexual script and social support for girls' exploring their sexuality within monogamous relationships (Impett & Tolman, 2006).

Impett, Schooler, and Tolman (2006) took this research further, looking at two distinct aspects of femininity ideology: relationship inauthenticity¹² and body

¹² Relationship inauthenticity occurs when, within a relationship, thoughts, feelings, and behaviour are incongruous.

objectification.¹³ 116 girls, aged 16 to 19, completed measures of femininity ideology, sexual self-efficacy, sexual experiences, and protection behaviour. Overall, endorsing femininity ideology was related to lower sexual self-efficacy which predicted less sexual experience and less sexual protection. Interestingly, the two components of femininity ideology predicted different sexual health protection outcomes. Body objectification was associated with lower condom use while relationship inauthenticity was related to lower use of oral contraceptives.

Morgan and Zurbriggen (2007) interviewed 79 18- to 23-year old undergraduate students about their first significant dating relationship.¹⁴ “[A]most half the women reported [negative experiences of] sexual pressure” (p. 537). The researchers foreground the importance of both partners’ subscription to masculine ideologies over feminine ideologies in undermining adolescent girls’ sexual agency and suggest that early relationships are important in both enacting and learning sexual scripts including compulsory heterosexuality, gendered power imbalance, and sexual coercion.

Though they do not address unwanted intercourse specifically, Elmerstig, Wijma, and Berterö (2008) investigated why some young women who experience coital pain continue to engage in intercourse and the benefits they might gain by doing so. Interviewing 16 women, aged 14 to 20, they found that the women privileged their (male) partners’ pleasure over their own, subscribing to an image of ‘the ideal woman’ that was constructed upon self-sacrifice, resignation, feelings of guilt, and being willing and able to sexually satisfy a partner. But because their experiences of coital pain challenged their self-image as ‘ideal woman’ and were associated with a decrease in self-esteem, engaging in unwanted intercourse was also affirming. They did not desire intercourse, per se; they traded pain for

¹³ Body objectification separates girls from their bodily sensations, including sexual desire.

¹⁴ Most had begun in high school and many included intercourse.

physical closeness, relationship maintenance, and feminine identity. Elmerstig et al. (2008) query whether the image of the ideal woman plays a role in non-coital sex or coitus that is not also painful. Though any overlap between unwanted intercourse and intercourse despite pain has been neither confirmed nor quantified, this study implicates the role of gender norms in adolescent girls' sexual health.

Reporting on teenagers' experiences in Ireland, Hyde et al. found that of the 226 focus group participants, aged 15 to 19, 31% of girls and 8% of boys had experienced some kind of "pressure ... to have full sex" (2008, p. 484). They suggest that the social pressures of internalized heteronormativity and normative gender roles more strongly influenced boys' sexual behaviour than girls' and that this effect was more pronounced in less advantaged socioeconomic groups. Consistent with gender norms requiring girls to place higher priority on boys' desire and pleasure, interpersonal pressure was more influential than social pressure for girls. However, they discovered a unique aspect of social pressure faced by girls: sexual standards set by their partners' previous sexual partners. Also, girls felt sexually obligated when boys were aroused only when intercourse was requested; not when they requested masturbation or oral sex. Obviously, these findings are important with regards to sexual health and unintentional pregnancy, but they are also suggestive of important and potentially disruptive fissures in adolescent heterosexual discourse.

Powell (2008; 2010) acknowledges girls' sexual agency while also elucidating the "subtle level of social and cultural pressures" (2008, p. 170) which play a role in young peoples' heterosexual negotiations. Working explicitly within a Bourdieusian framework, she argues that gender norms are not usually accessible to consciousness and are, therefore, particularly determinative in the grey area of subtle pressure or unwanted but not coerced sex. Because these norms are embodied they typically remain unquestioned. The gendered

habitus, then, is the mechanism by which girls' experiences of unwanted heterosex, including intercourse, are perpetuated while at the same time remaining unquestioned and even, sometimes, unacknowledged.

Relationship intimacy.

Livingston et al. (2004) argue that the prevention of IPV requires knowledge of the different relationship contexts in which violence takes place. Focussing on positive ('sweet talk'), negative (threats), and neutral (nagging) verbally coerced sexual experiences, they found that persuasive tactics varied according to sexual precedence.¹⁵ In relationships with no sexual precedence, the perpetrator was more likely to use positive verbal coercion whereas sexual precedence predicted negative verbal coercion. Nagging was equally distributed.

Livingston, Hequembourg, Testa, and VanZile-Tamsen (2007) identify some of the factors that differentiate adolescent girls' experiences of sexual victimization from those of adult women. They found commonalities between girls' and women's experiences of unwanted sex but, because adolescent relationships tend to be of shorter duration than adult relationships, perpetrators of unwanted sexual experiences are more likely to rely on physical or substance tactics. Longer term relationships are more likely to be associated with verbal coercion. Older women are less likely to be victimized by authority figures; and though both age groups are vulnerable to victimization in the context of drug and alcohol use, adolescent substance use tends to be unsanctioned, placing adolescent girls in higher-risk situations when under the influence. Social and sexual experience also appears to be protective, partially explaining teenagers' vulnerability.

Labelling.

¹⁵ This is akin to 'raising the bar'. As the level of intimacy within a relationship increases precedence is set. Subsequently, one or both partners expect to be intimate at the highest level of intimacy that has, so far, been exchanged.

Harned (2005) found that labelling an unwanted sexual experience abuse or assault was a process that happened over time; only about a third of the women labelled immediately. Receiving social support appears to be the most common mediator between the incident and labelling. On the other hand, many women (79%) whose experience matched definitions of abuse or assault did not label. These women offered several 'reasons' for why their experiences did not qualify as abusive or assaultive. Many (about one-quarter) believed that their consent, even though coerced, negated the abusive nature of the experience. Harned's finding validates research designs that explore the complexities of sexual consent through a focus on unwanted, rather than non-consensual, sex.

Wantedness.

Abma, Driscoll, and Moore (1998) conducted the first analysis of women's wantedness of their first sexual intercourse. Utilizing a Likert-type scale, with 1 meaning that she "really didn't want it to happen" and 10 meaning that she "really wanted it to happen" (1998, p. 14), they collected 574 women's ratings of the wantedness of their first voluntary experience of heterosexual vaginal intercourse. 26% of the women aged 15 to 24 at the time of the survey rated the wantedness of their first voluntary intercourse between 1 and 4; a low level of wantedness. Accessing the same data, Houts (2005) corroborates these results, adding that the modal wantedness score was 5, indicating generally widespread ambivalence concerning the wantedness of women's first experience of heterosexual intercourse.

Those who rated their first intercourse as more wanted tended to be older at the time of the experience, in more committed relationships, and had mothers with higher levels of education. The degree of wantedness was not associated with race, ethnicity, religiosity, parents' marital status, or, notably, partners' age difference. Houts' (2005) findings that more women wanted their first intercourse experience, at least to some degree, than those who did

not is certainly positive in regards to women's health. However, as she acknowledges, her data did not address the timing of girls' labelling their first voluntary intercourse as unwanted, why they labelled as they did, and what, if any, benefits women gained from labelling.

Outcomes.

Trauma.

Crown and Roberts' (2007) questionnaire, based on the SES, gathers information about a range of sexual experiences, from kissing to intercourse, that occurred "against your will" (p. 389). 41% of their sample of 566 undergraduate women had experienced some form of 'nonagentic sexual experience' and 9% had experienced intercourse 'against her will'. These experiences were all weakly associated with an increase in intrusive thoughts, depression, self-blame, and life disruption. However, post hoc tests showed that intercourse was associated with "uniquely high scores" on these measures (p. 397). So while any level of nonagentic sexual experience may be harmful, nonagentic intercourse appears particularly negatively impactful. Their analysis supports the assumption underlying the design of the SES; that higher degrees of intrusion and more forceful tactics are more distressing to the victims. Livingston et al. (2004) found that engaging in unwanted sex negatively affects women emotionally and places strain on the couples' relationship.

Harned (2004) investigated whether psychological distress is associated with experiencing an unwanted sexual experience (USE), with self-identification as a victim, or both. Since she utilized the SES, which assesses only interpersonal coercion and not social coercion, she could be missing some women's USEs. However, 34% of her sample of undergraduate women in dating relationships had experienced a USE over four semesters, but only 5%, or 15% of all victims, considered themselves to be victims of sexual abuse or

assault. She found that USEs are associated with significant psychological and school-related distress regardless of whether or not the women self-identify as victims (Harned, 2005).

Minimizing and victim-blaming.

On the other hand, young peoples' perceptions sometimes contradict conclusions based on psychological measures. Oswald and Russell (2006) had undergraduate students rate a range of hypothetical sexually coercive scenarios. Though women's taking sexual initiative was seen as acceptable, "coercive strategies and the person who use[d] them [were] not viewed as particularly aggressive [and] the targets of the coercive strategy [were] not rated very highly as victimized" (p. 93).

Similarly, Chung (2007) found that the 14- to 18-year old Australian girls she interviewed minimized the impact of dating violence victimization, taking an individualistic rather than a systemic gender-based view of violence. When asked why violence occurs in relationships, "none of the young women explored the men's motivations, reasons, or consequences of using violence" (Chung, 2007, p. 1292). Her findings support earlier work by Frith and Kitzinger (1998), which shows that by minimizing masculine violence young women position themselves as strong and in control – the new, strong, equally powerful femininity. Rather than holding male partners responsible for the violence they perpetrate, the girls scrutinized the victim's behaviour, focussing on her ability to stop the violence and her "right to choose to stay or leave" (p. 1292), contributing to the on-going invisibility of men's violence against women.

Summary.

Recent work supports earlier evidence regarding the correlates and contexts of adolescent girls' experiences of unwanted intercourse including, among others, drug and alcohol use, ethnicity, and traditional gender role ideologies. But conclusions are more

nuanced than previously. The role of drugs and alcohol in sexual violence, for example, can no longer be thought to be simple. Girls' vulnerability is associated with which partner is using, the substance used, and motivations for use in the particular circumstance. In addition, it is now understood that social sanctions against teens' drug and alcohol use may place them at greater risk. In another example, evidence continues to show that girls who are marginalized due to their ethnicity are at higher risk for sexual violence and violence in general. However, this vulnerability may be mitigated by a strong identification with one's ethnicity. Similarly, feeling connected to parents and community also appears to be protective. Work on relationship dynamics has become more nuanced, investigating the different effects of, and interactions between, several types of IPV, including pregnancy coercion and sexual precedence. Questions of consent persist, but these are now accompanied by ideas about sexual wantedness. Both consent and wantedness are being explored as interacting, non-dichotomous measures.

Cross-cultural, interview and focus-group research all appear to be particularly productive: Rather than simply ticking a survey question, respondents are broadening the discussions and taking them in sometimes surprising directions. In addition to exploring cultural differences regarding, for example, definitions of sexual coercion, this research has recently contributed to increased awareness of the role of sexual precedence, relationship inauthenticity, body objectification, and gender ideologies in unwanted sex. Much of this work also, implicitly or explicitly, references the gendered habitus. And, finally, following on previous research showing that sexual violence tends to follow girls and women through their lives, there is now evidence that positive early sexual experiences set women up for a continuation of that pattern.

Conclusion.

Adolescence is a critical period for sexual development. The work on adolescent girls' unwanted sexual experiences is an area of study in its own right but does not stand alone. It comes from and continues to be supported by researchers and theorists working on either side, developmentally speaking, in the areas of adult sexual victimization and childhood sexual abuse. Just less than 30 years ago, Koss and Oros (1982) published their Sexual Experiences Survey, 'discovered' date rape, and set a brisk pace for research concerning girls' and women's heterosexual victimization. Their work revealed the astounding incidence and prevalence of rape and sexual assault experienced by undergraduate women. Koss and her colleagues showed that, contrary to the stereotypes of rape by a stranger, most sexual assaults are perpetrated by someone known to the women: most often a romantic partner or an acquaintance. In addition to challenging victim-blaming rape myths, they are credited with uncovering a 'hidden epidemic of rape'. Methodologically, the SES showed that the use of behavioural descriptors was very effective in gathering accurate data on women's experiences of sexual violence. Subsequent research followed their approach focussing primarily on establishing the incidence and prevalence of sexual violence against girls and women as well as identifying important predictors, correlates, and consequences.

This next phase identified important patterns in women's sexual lives. Although it was now known that all women were at risk for experiencing sexual violence, it seemed that demographic factors offered some predictive value: socially disadvantaged women appeared to be at higher risk of sexual victimization. And, along with drug and alcohol use, traditional gender role ideologies were implicated as contributing factors in sexual violence. This phase is marked by a concern with women's psycho-social responses to sexual victimization. Evidence of negative psycho-social consequences and sexual risk-taking behaviours, though

important for all women, seemed uniquely relevant to the lives of pregnant and mothering adolescents. During this period, scholars investigated how different women's experiences of sexual violence were similar, different, and related. For example, childhood sexual abuse was identified as an important predictor of sexual abuse in both adolescence and adulthood; but it was understood that experiencing abuse in any of these three phases of life would be qualitatively different, leading to different outcomes. In addition, evidence showed that generalizing research results gained from undergraduate university students was inappropriate, underestimating rates of sexual violence in the larger communities. All of this work provided a generalized view of heterosexual violence, albeit with pockets of detailed understandings. With such a large body of knowledge established, the field could now support more specific research questions.

Research focussing on adolescent girls' sexual victimization appears to be breaking off into clearly demarcated subfields. Especially interesting to me are the topics of healthy sexual development and inquiries into the non-dichotomous nature of sexual wantedness. Additionally, along with a feminist engagement with Bourdieu in general, his concepts of symbolic violence, gendered habitus, and the field are being applied to this research. Powell (2008; 2010) specifically discusses habitus, but many researchers are touching on this concept in different ways (Elmerstig, Wijma, & Berterö, 2008; Impett et al., 2006; Morgan & Zurbriggen, 2007). Morgan and Zurbriggen (2007) emphasize adherence to masculine ideologies; Elmerstig et al. (2008) and Impett et al. (2006) emphasize the role of feminine ideologies; Powell (2008; 2010) considers their interplay. Although other methods remain useful, researchers continue to utilize the Sexual Experiences Survey in its adapted and original forms. Some are exploring other ways of accessing information regarding unwanted sexual experiences by asking about, for example, meaning, labelling, or specific situations

like continuing with intercourse despite pain. Together, their work acknowledges that supporting girls' sexual autonomy, power, and desire may prove to be a powerful antidote to restrictive gender roles and unwanted sexual experiences.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Method

Feminist methodology.

Sandra Harding (1987) states that, although distinctively feminist methodology and epistemology exist, there is no research method that is uniquely feminist. Feminist researchers utilize all of the same methods as non-feminist researchers but, through the application of feminist methodology, their analyses are transformed. According to Harding, feminist methodology includes three key analytic components. First, women's experiences are fundamental. Women's experiences are the reason for and the focus of feminist research: Hypotheses and results are tested against women's experiences. Second, feminist research is conducted for women. Rather than serving the interests of psychiatry, the legal system, or other potentially and historically oppressive institutions, feminist research responds to women's needs for research-based explanations. Third, feminist methodology rejects positivism, which aims for "neutrality and objectivity" on the part of the researcher (Smith, 1999, p. 56) but, instead, requires a careful accounting of the complexities of the researchers' subjectivities.

Feminism, by definition, is committed to power re-distribution and therefore must critique the power imbalance inherent in social research, including feminist research, and adapt the research accordingly (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p. 157). But power positions are held in place by sturdy systems of structural inequality that often render the power imbalance invisible to those who hold more. And while we may be able to identify some of these, we may not be able to assuage their effects. In addition, a privileged power position is accompanied by the responsibility to use that power to work against the imbalance. Code (1991) argues that all knowledge, even 'objective' knowledge, is socially constructed and,

therefore, subjective (quoted in Kirby, Greaves, & Reid, 2006, pp. 16-17). Acknowledging that the personal is “absolutely present in each and every attempt to ‘do research’” (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p. 157), “[f]eminist methodologists have refused to choose between subjectivity and analytic rigor” (DeVault, 1999, p. 38), arguing that subjectivity, rather than an impediment, is critical to good research (Narayan, 2003).

Feminist methodologists assert that oppressed groups possess “epistemic advantage”, or “double vision” (Hartsock, 2003; Narayan, 2003, p. 315). That is, in order to survive, members of an oppressed group must understand the ways of the oppressor group in addition to their own while the oppressor group needs only a minimal understanding of the oppressed group. Feminist research “studies up” (Harding, 1987). By drawing upon the oppressed group’s knowledge of the oppressor, feminist methodology seeks to reveal the workings of systems of oppression. Feminist researchers acknowledge that different groups of women will have different experiences: determining the similarities and differences between these groups contributes to the feminist goal of understanding all women’s situations (Narayan, 2003, p. 314). Although all women will possess double vision by virtue of being women, axes of privilege and disadvantage are multiple and, sometimes, relational.

While it may be generally advantageous for feminist researchers to share epistemic advantage with the women whose lives they study, this situation is not always preferred (Narayan, 2003, pp. 315-317) and is often not possible. However, “[t]he construction of knowledge [is] a political process” (Kirby et al., 2006, p. 6), and issues of power must be addressed. An insider in a research situation will also always be an outsider as her status as researcher sets her apart from the research participants.

Situating my self.

This work comes very deeply from my own experience of adolescent pregnancy. I was a teenager in the late 1970s and early 1980s; a White, heterosexual, able-bodied daughter of British immigrants, living in an isolated community in northern B.C. with a population of about 300 people, almost all of whom were Aboriginal. My childhood home was built on the border of a First Nations reserve, and compared to our neighbours my family was extremely economically privileged. My teenage pregnancy represented a crisis for my family in ways that I did not understand at the time. As I recall, much of the sense of catastrophe centered on the stigma that we would all have to face. Of course, I was not the first girl in my family to become pregnant ‘out of wedlock’, as some people so quaintly spoke of it in those days. I learned later that my family history has been profoundly shaped by so-called ‘illegitimate’ pregnancies and questions of ‘legitimacy’. I also learned that such sexual relationships and pregnancies, which defied White, middle-class social rules at the time, were not unique to my family. These stories, combined with my own experience, have fuelled my curiosity about the specific stigma which is reserved for younger mothers (see Furstenberg et al., 1987, pp. 8-10; Kelly, 1996; Reekie, 1998).

Because I grew up beside a reserve and attended school there, I was able to move between two cultures with some freedom: a privilege that I think is unique to childhood. I am grateful for this as I was shown philosophies, cultural practices, and worldviews, including gender ideologies (Grady, personal communication, January to April, 2007. And see Allen, 2006; Cajete, 2000; Graveline, 1998; 2004), which I would not have been acquainted with otherwise, deeply influencing my thinking and value system, and nurturing my creativity, curiosity, and optimism. Everywhere people were living with, and theorizing about, the real effects of power, oppression, and choice. Observing some of the ways that racism and colonialism impacted and implicated me, my family, and my community left me with some

difficult questions about who speaks for whom, who acts on whose behalf, and who gets to decide? Similar questions accompanied me on my journey through adolescent pregnancy and motherhood. The people in my community responded to adolescent pregnancy very differently from my family. The shame and stigma I came to expect from people in the dominant culture were rarely experienced there. Instead, adolescent mothers were treated with respect and their children's births happily anticipated.

Though separately these facets of my education were critical in shaping me, the comparisons and interactions between the two have been especially powerful, leaving me with an embodied understanding that those in power set the terms and conditions of domination (see Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). These experiences moved me, eventually, toward a deep suspicion of the liberal 'choices' discourse in general and, specifically, of the dominant discourse concerning adolescent sexuality and pregnancy, guiding me away from questions -- and answers -- that blame and pathologize individual girls.¹⁶ As Smith writes, decolonizing researchers are "struggling to make sense of our own world while also attempting to transform what counts as important in the world of the powerful" (1999, p. 39).

As a young woman, I spent time in feminist organizations, working with and for women seeking bodily integrity, autonomy, and personal power. I desperately wanted to believe that women have choice -- real choice -- not just two or three poor options. But I have learned, many times, that this is often not the case. Choice involves much more than creativity and will: it relies heavily on power. My utopian ideal includes a place for adolescent girls who want to be mothers and for their families, however they are configured.

¹⁶ To clarify, my claim to epistemic advantage is related solely to adolescent sexuality and pregnancy. Whatever knowledge I may have concerning the effects of racism and colonialism was given to me, not experienced by me: as my survival was never at stake, I am not "fluent" in these oppressive practices (see Narayan, 2003, p. 315).

My work and life experience have made me aware of some of the ways that experiencing a teenage pregnancy reduces women's opportunities as well as their families', and I have been compelled to critically examine my own assumptions and ideals about sexual and reproductive choice, especially as they apply to adolescent girls.

Many women have told me about experiencing unwanted intercourse. Many of these same women had experienced this in adolescence and some of them became pregnant at that time. I hope that my research will enable others, the women who had these experiences and those who helped and/or judged them, to see and think about girls' and women's options in a new way. To be more specific, my motivation for conducting this research is threefold: First, it centres on making pregnant and mothering adolescents' lives a little easier by challenging the negative stereotypes that are built upon liberal ideals of health and choice. Second, I am concerned with challenging the definition of sexual violence as it is currently socially constructed, joining with other women and feminist scholars who argue that unwanted sex, in any form, is violent to us as women (Broach & Petretic, 2006; Gavey, 1999; 2005; Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991). And finally, an acknowledgement of unwanted sex as violence leads logically into a discussion of choice. This project illustrates that girls' sexual choice is, indeed, highly constrained and explores how some of these constraints operate.

As I have made clear, I suspect that most girls do not have meaningful choice in matters of sexuality and reproduction. But my evidence, so far, has been largely theoretical and anecdotal. In order for women's stories to have credibility to a larger, and perhaps less sympathetic, audience, it is important to explore this claim rigorously and systematically. Both Mary Koss's and Diana Russell's early work demonstrates this well. Though there was resistance to their results, their traditional research approach, employing quantitative designs and large sample sizes, generally lent credibility to otherwise incredible findings, raising

public awareness of two painful issues: date rape and marital rape. I am hopeful that the findings from this study justify further investigation on a larger scale and that more women will have the opportunity to share their experiences and contribute to the production of knowledge concerning girls' and women's sexual power and choice. Such awareness could facilitate positive social change. Consistent with my underlying assumption, that the primary site of women's oppression is our sexuality, I especially hope to see much more engagement with ideas about "sexual ethics" (Carmody, 2004; Reynolds, 2004): where boys and men recognize that sexual access to females is not their entitlement; where girls learn that they are entitled to sexual pleasure; where good sex is understood to be sex that is desired by whomever it involves; and where we have richer conversations about how that is practiced.

Previous research concerning heterosexual violence or adolescent pregnancy has relied on questionnaires, interviews, and crime and population statistics. In order to retrospectively gather quantitative and narrative data regarding the prevalence and context of unwanted sexual intercourse and its role in adolescent pregnancy, I utilized a questionnaire that explored women's heterosexual experiences prior to their nineteenth birthdays and before they were married or in a common-law relationship, highlighting women's experiences of growing up in northern British Columbia. Guided by feminist methodology, I drew on proven questionnaires, adapting these models to create a forum where women could tell stories if they wished. I hoped that each woman's response might form a narrative; a meaningful way for women to testify about their lives (see Smith, 1999, pp. 144-145).

As one way of keeping women's experiences at the centre of this project (Harding, 1987), I wanted the respondents to know that their experiences mattered to me (Kirby et al., 2006, p. 46). But I was also concerned about other messages women might take from this questionnaire. With an awareness of a sexual double standard and the knowledge that many

girls' early sexual experiences are judged moralistically and negatively (as evidenced by labels such as 'slut'), my goal was to offer another point of view, creating an opportunity for women to step outside the 'good girl/bad girl' dichotomy, naming their experiences as *wanted* or *unwanted* when appropriate and, in considering some possible contexts in which adolescent heterosexual consent is negotiated, reframe that experience for themselves. I was particularly concerned about the women's dignity: if responding to the survey did not strengthen their dignity I hoped that at least it would not be diminished. I felt that articulating questions about possible reasons that girls might have intercourse, even when they do not want to, actually highlights and celebrates girls' creativity and resilience (Smith, 1999, p. 145). I hoped that by responding to the questionnaire women would see their integrity confirmed as they saw the sometimes difficult 'choice', to engage in intercourse or not, described in practical and logistical terms.

Feminist methodology includes a commitment that researchers ask for only what we need. Numbers of questions and sample sizes, for example, should not exceed what is required to conduct meaningful research (Kirby et al., 2006). While admittedly more than what is required to answer the research questions, both closed and open questions about pregnancy and life outcomes were included for two main reasons. First, including women whose experiences have "traditionally been silenced ... [transforms] the process of knowledge production" and challenges the "ideological power base" (Kirby et al., 2006, p. 44). The questions concerning pregnancy outcomes are particularly salient since, for some women, such pregnancies have remained a secret and they may have had few, if any, spaces to speak of them (Fessler, 2006; Petrie, 1998). I felt that asking only a yes/no question about the experience of adolescent pregnancy might be disrespectful to the personal significance of that event. Second, learning more about the many outcomes of adolescent pregnancy, as

experienced by these particular women, builds a rich context from which to consider some important implications of heterosexual practice. My goal was to communicate to each participant that she “ha[s] respect and standing in the research process” (Kirby et al., 2006, p. 46). Every respondent had the option of responding to between four and six open-ended questions: opportunities to elaborate on their closed-choice responses, offer feedback, and to share their knowledge and expertise.

Finally, I was concerned with sharing the information in a useful way. Smith writes that sharing, “...demystifying knowledge and information and speaking in plain terms to the community ... is a responsibility of research” (1999, p. 161). And Borland (1991) suggests that “[b]y extending the conversation through checking back with our research participants, we might more sensitively negotiate issues of interpretive authority in our research” (cited in Kirby et al., 2006, p. 40). Rather than asking women who wanted to learn more about the research to “contact the researcher”, a process which is potentially intimidating and risks loss of anonymity, and given that the research questionnaire was delivered electronically via the internet it seemed not only appropriate but necessary that I offer feedback in the same way. The last page of the survey extends the traditional invitation to contact the appropriate people at the University of Northern B.C. and provides an electronic link to a webpage which is solely concerned with this research project (<http://anitashaw.com>. See Appendix C for webpage content). The webpage includes a blog option so that participants can ask questions, leave comments and even engage in conversations. I hoped that the webpage would provide an opportunity for me, the women, and other community members to become more purposefully engaged in a collaborative research process.

Method.

This research was conducted ex post facto, is primarily descriptive, and asks: how many girls have experienced unwanted intercourse within chosen relationships when they were single and less than nineteen years old; whether some girls experienced unwanted intercourse more than other girls; which social and interpersonal factors played a role in these girls' experiences of unwanted intercourse (see Koss, 1985; Koss & Dinero, 1989); when each girl labelled these experiences 'unwanted' and how she reached that decision (see Harned, 2004; 2005). This study also tests the null hypothesis that unintentional adolescent pregnancy does not vary with frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured. As this is the first project I am aware of that draws upon a northern Canadian, community-based sample of women, it was important to begin to quantify the research area. Therefore, in order to reach a large number of women, it was expedient to utilize a questionnaire. Given the large distances between northern communities and recent research findings indicating that computer-administered self-interviewing (CASI) has been "advocated as a way of overcoming underreporting of sensitive sexual behaviors" (Testa, Livingston, & VanZile-Tamsen, 2005, abstract), the questionnaire was published electronically.

Materials.

The study involved the administration of the Girls' Sexual Experiences Survey (See Appendix D), an internet-based self-report questionnaire, to a convenience sample of women over 18 years of age.

Recruitment.

As the questionnaire was published as an electronic survey tool, the women were invited to participate in the study by email. In an effort to maximize the diversity of the respondents I contacted approximately thirty local, provincial, and national organizations, asking them to consider forwarding an invitation to participate in my research to the people

on their listservs. My letter of introduction included the web address which took women to the first page of the self-administered, internet-based questionnaire (see Appendices G and H).

Procedure.

I ran five questionnaire trials and began publicizing my research project in January 2010, collecting completed questionnaires for a three-month period ending in April 2010.

Chapter Four

Results

Sample.

165 women completed the questionnaire.

Descriptive findings. (See Table 1).

Age.

As I asked the women their birth year, their exact age at the time of survey completion is impossible to know. However, they ranged in age from approximately 19 to 67 years. The respondents' mean age was approximately 39 years; the median was approximately 37 years; the mode was approximately 40 years.

Geographic location and community.

89% of respondents lived the majority of their adolescence in Canada, 64% lived in British Columbia, and 34% of the women had spent the majority of their adolescence in northern British Columbia. Of the women who grew up in northern British Columbia most (70%) described their community as either a small city or a small town.

Table 1

Percentage of Respondents, by Selected Characteristics

Characteristic	% (N = 165)
Age (years)	(n = 156)
19-29	29.5
30-39	28.2
40-49	21.2
50-59	14.1
60-69	7.0
Range: 19 – 67	

Education	(<i>n</i> = 164)
Less than elementary school	0.0
Elementary school	0.0
High school	14.0
Certificate program	23.2
Undergraduate degree	37.2
Graduate degree	25.6
Ethnicity	(<i>n</i> = 162)
Aboriginal	13.0
Caucasian	80.2
Other	6.8
Sexual orientation	(<i>n</i> = 162)
Heterosexual	69.1
Lesbian	10.5
Bi-sexual, queer, questioning	20.4
Socioeconomic status	(<i>n</i> = 162)
Low	30.2
Medium	59.2
High	10.5
Disability	(<i>n</i> = 165)
No	95.8
Yes	4.2
Geographic location	(<i>n</i> = 165)
Northern B.C.	33.9
B.C.	30.3
Northern Canada	1.8
Canada	23.0
The United States	5.4
Somewhere else	5.4
Community	(<i>n</i> = 165)
Large city	20.0
Suburbs	13.9
Small city	29.7
Small town	26.1
Village	4.8
Isolated	5.4
Reserve	2.4
Farming community	12.7
Other	4.8

Girls' sexual experiences. (See Table 2).

Childhood sexual abuse.

Many of the women (41%) shared information that was consistent with the blended legal definition of childhood sexual abuse as discussed in Appendix E; 46% do not appear to have experienced childhood sexual abuse, and for 13% of the women I did not have enough information to code for childhood sexual abuse.

Wantedness of intercourse.

Of the 118 women (72%) who had intercourse before the age of 19, 92% had had intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when they both wanted to and 21% of the women had experienced intercourse when a partner had not wanted to. Unfortunately the response choices for these two questions were 'yes', 'no', or 'don't know', so it is impossible to know how frequently either of these situations occurred.

Importantly, many adolescent girls experienced unwanted intercourse within 'potentially appropriate' relationships. Of the women who had experienced intercourse before the age of 19, 85% indicated that they had experienced unwanted intercourse with a boyfriend or partner; 22% stated that this had occurred 'often' or 'always'. Only one woman responded that she did not know if she had had intercourse when she did not want to. After reading her textbox responses, it was clear that her uncertainty was related to the definition of 'partner'. As it was not possible to determine whether or not she had experienced unwanted intercourse, her responses were removed from analyses involving this question.

Age of partner.

The question, "Thinking back to your youth when you had intercourse that you did not want, approximately how old was your partner?" proved problematic. For girls who had only one partner, responses were fairly straightforward; but girls who had more than one

sexual partner came up with creative ways to try to accommodate the inappropriate format of this question. Of the 100 responses, I was able to code 69. For girls who had experienced unwanted intercourse, the age difference between girl and partner ranged from -1 year (she was one year older than he) to 22 years in the case of an 18-year-old girl who had a 40-year-old partner. The mean age difference was 3.6 years; the mode was 2 years.

Aware of unwantedness at the time.

Of the women who indicated that they had had heterosexual intercourse when they 'didn't really want to', 74% said that they knew 'at the time that [they] had not wanted it to happen'. About half of the women who realized later that they had not wanted the intercourse offered more information regarding this realization. A few had come to this awareness over several years. But many had realized that they did not want the intercourse almost immediately, either as soon as it was over or the next day. This will be discussed further in the thematic analysis.

Table 2

Girls' Sexual Experiences

Characteristic	%
Childhood sexual abuse	(n = 165)
No	46.1
Yes	40.1
Unclear	13.3
First heterosexual intercourse	(n = 165)
Before age 19	71.5
After age 19	28.5

Intercourse that both partners wanted	(n = 118)
Yes	91.5
No	7.6
Don't know	0.8
Intercourse that he did not want	(n = 118)
Yes	21.2
No	61.9
Don't know	16.9
Intercourse that she did not want	(n = 118)
Never	14.4
Rarely	27.1
Sometimes	35.6
Often	17.8
Always	4.2
Don't know	0.8
Male partners' age difference	(n = 69)
Two years or less	49.3
Between two and five years	30.4
More than five years	20.3
She knew at the time that she was engaging in intercourse that she did not want	(n = 97)
Yes	74.2
No	25.8
She realized later that she had engaged in intercourse that she did not want	(n = 98)
Yes	33.7
No	39.8
Not applicable	26.5

Context of unwanted intercourse. (See Table 3).

Of the fifteen factors listed to indicate the circumstances of experiences of unwanted intercourse the following were most often cited 'often' or 'always': First, it was a way for a girl to receive affection or attention. Second, she felt that he expected it. Third, she was under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Fourth, it seemed normal, that 'everyone was doing it'. And

fifth, she was overwhelmed by his continual arguments or pressure. These data confirm that the sexual pressure that adolescent girls face does, indeed, take many forms.

Table 3

Contexts of Girls' Experiences of Unwanted Intercourse

Context	% (N = 118)
It was a way for her to receive attention or affection	(n = 118)
Never	37.3
Rarely	12.7
Sometimes	25.4
Often	16.9
Always	7.6
She felt that he expected it	(n = 115)
Never	28.7
Rarely	20.0
Sometimes	28.7
Often	16.5
Always	6.1
It seemed normal	(n = 118)
Never	39.8
Rarely	15.2
Sometimes	24.6
Often	15.2
Always	5.1
She was under the influence of drugs or alcohol	(n = 118)
Never	41.5
Rarely	11.9
Sometimes	25.4
Often	20.3
Always	0.8

She was overwhelmed by his continual arguments	
or pressure	(<i>n</i> = 118)
Never	47.4
Rarely	11.9
Sometimes	23.7
Often	11.9
Always	5.1
He was so aroused that she thought it useless to try	
and stop	(<i>n</i> = 118)
Never	33.0
Rarely	21.2
Sometimes	32.2
Often	9.3
Always	4.2
To keep the peace or avoid unpleasantness	
	(<i>n</i> = 117)
Never	46.2
Rarely	19.6
Sometimes	19.6
Often	12.0
Always	2.6
Saying 'no' was not an option she had considered	
	(<i>n</i> = 118)
Never	52.5
Rarely	13.6
Sometimes	20.3
Often	8.5
Always	5.1
As a way for her to give him attention or affection	
	(<i>n</i> = 117)
Never	34.2
Rarely	20.5
Sometimes	32.5
Often	11.1
Always	1.7
He said things she found out later he didn't really	
mean	(<i>n</i> = 116)
Never	56.9
Rarely	16.4
Sometimes	15.5
Often	8.6
Always	2.6

She was afraid of what might happen if she didn't	(<i>n</i> = 117)
Never	63.2
Rarely	12.0
Sometimes	15.4
Often	6.8
Always	2.6
To avoid appearing inexperienced	(<i>n</i> = 117)
Never	52.1
Rarely	17.1
Sometimes	24.8
Often	5.1
Always	0.8
She needed money or a place to stay	(<i>n</i> = 116)
Never	83.6
Rarely	3.4
Sometimes	7.8
Often	4.3
Always	0.9
He threatened to end the relationship	(<i>n</i> = 118)
Never	77.1
Rarely	9.3
Sometimes	9.3
Often	3.4
Always	0.8
She did not want to embarrass him	(<i>n</i> = 118)
Never	72.0
Rarely	15.2
Sometimes	9.3
Often	3.3
Always	0.0

Adolescent pregnancy.

Of the 165 respondents, 24 (14.5%) became pregnant before their nineteenth birthdays (See Figure 1 and Table 4).

Unintentional pregnancy.

Considering only the women who had intercourse before the age of 19 ($N = 118$), 9 had wanted to become pregnant, 7 were unsure whether they had wanted a pregnancy, and 102 stated that they had not wanted to become pregnant. Of the 102 women who had not wanted to become pregnant, one was removed from the analysis as stated above. 19 women became pregnant unintentionally before the age of 19. Notably, compared to the demographic characteristics of this sample, girls of low socioeconomic status, Aboriginal girls, and girls who had experienced childhood sexual abuse are over-represented in this group.

Maternal age.

See Figure 2.

Age difference.

For women who became pregnant unintentionally before the age of 19, none of the males were younger than the females. The age difference ranged from 0 (the male was the same age as the female) to 18 years. The mean age difference was 4.3 years; the median age difference was 3 years. One woman gave paternal age as 'unknown'.

Relationship change and pregnancy outcome.

Three women who became pregnant unintentionally experienced miscarriage; one was married, one was single, and one did not state her relationship status. Of the remaining 16 women pregnancy outcomes for unintentional adolescent pregnancy broke down as follows: 50.0% of the women ($n = 9$) remained single, 31.3% ($n = 5$) married or entered common-law relationships, two did not state their relationship status. All of the women who

remained single had abortions except one woman who had a miscarriage. All of the women who partnered became mothers except one woman who had a miscarriage. Also, one woman who did not state her relationship status became a mother.

Figure 1. Unwanted Intercourse and Pregnancy before Age 19

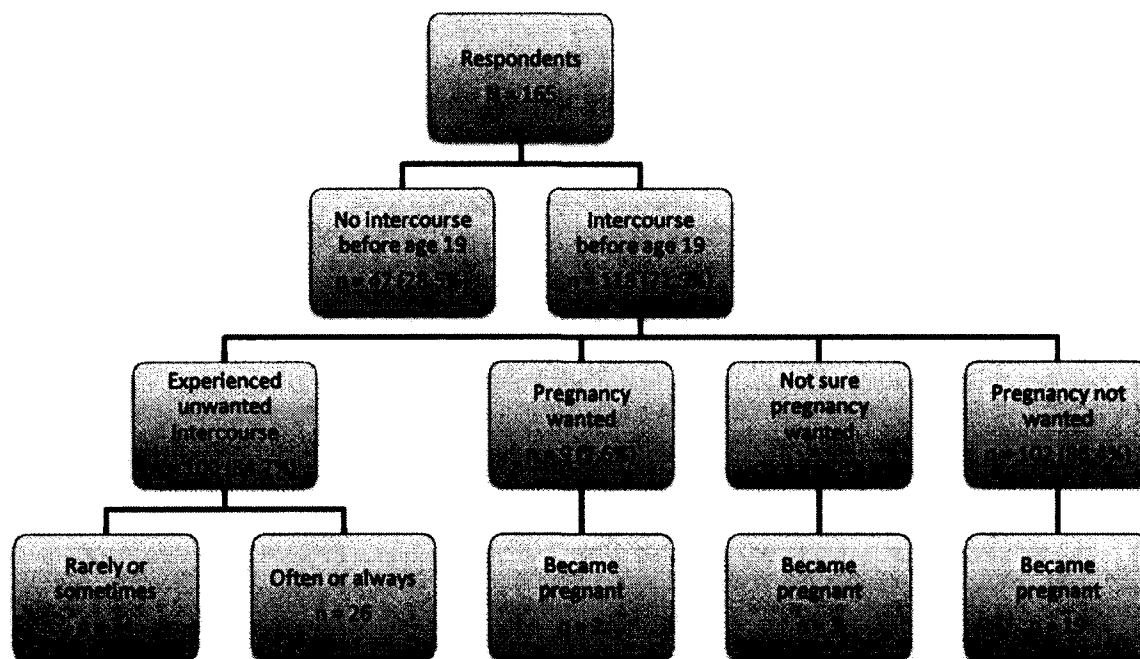
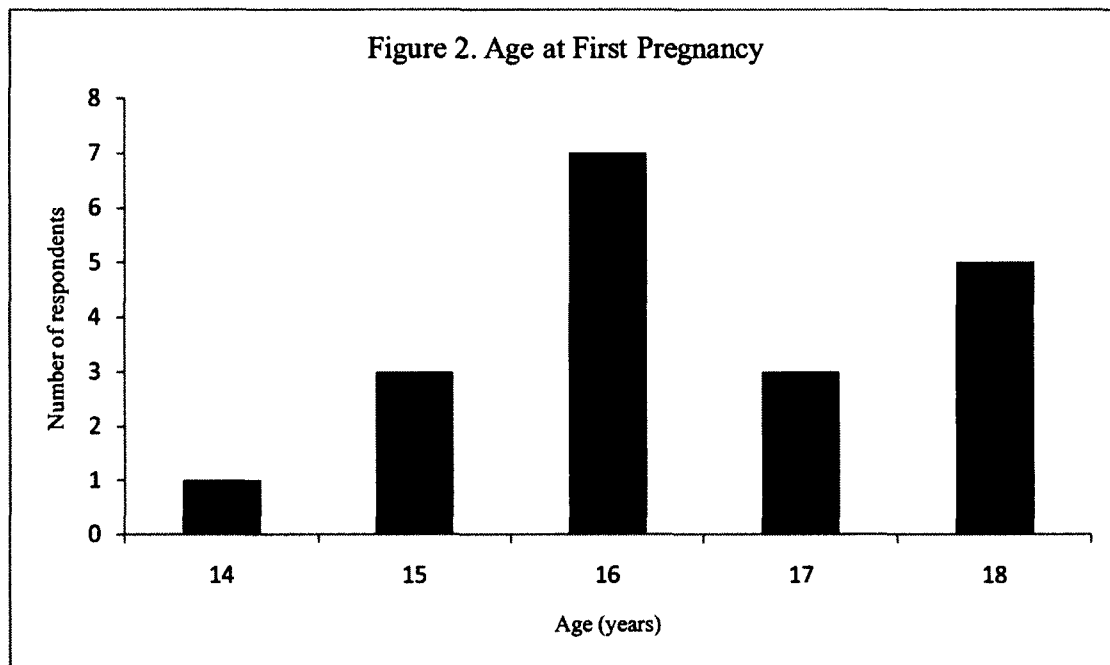


Table 4

Pregnancy Contexts and Outcomes

Characteristic	%
Pregnancy wanted	(n = 118)
Yes	7.6
No	86.4
Not sure	5.9

Pregnancy occurred	(n = 24 or 14.5% of entire sample)
Intentional	8.3
Unintentional	79.2
Unsure about intention	12.5
Relationship change	(n = 21)
Remained single	57.1
Marriage or common-law relationship	42.9
Outcomes of all pregnancies	(n = 23)
Abortion	47.8
Miscarriage	17.4
Motherhood	34.8
Outcomes of unintentional pregnancy	(n = 18)
Abortion	50.0
Miscarriage	16.7
Motherhood	33.3
Maternal demographics at first unintentional pregnancy	(n = 19)
Age	Range = 14 – 18 years Mean = 16.4 years Mode = 16 years
Low socioeconomic status	61.1 %
Aboriginal ethnicity	38.9%
Childhood sexual abuse	66.7%
Paternal age at first unintentional pregnancy	(n = 18)
	Range = 16 – 34 years Mean = 20.7 years Mode = 17 years
Age difference	(n = 18)
	Range = 0 – 18 years Mean = 4.3 years Mode = 0, 3, and 5 years Median = 3 years



Statistical Analysis.

The chi-square test of independence.¹⁷

Since this study relies heavily on the chi-square test of independence, I will briefly describe this statistic.

According to Glass and Hopkins (1984) the chi-square test of independence does just that: it tests whether two variables are independent of each other. It “can be viewed as a test of association or relationship between ... two factors” (Glass & Hopkins, 1984, p. 287). More specifically, this test compares the observed proportions, or number of respondents, in each condition to the proportions that we would expect to find due to random chance (p. 282). A statistically significant result indicates that the null hypothesis -- that there is no difference between the groups -- is not supported, lending support to the alternate hypothesis: “that there is some association between the two variables” (Glass & Hopkins, 1984, p. 287). Setting the alpha level at 0.05, as I did in this study, simply means that if we ran this study 100 times the

¹⁷ Also referred to as the chi-square test of association.

observations I report would occur due to random chance less than five times. If the probability of finding these results due to chance occurs less than five times out of 100 it is reasonable to assume that the results are not due to chance but that there is something else going on. This 'something else' is congruent with the alternate hypothesis; that the two factors are not independent of each other. This is commonly expressed as "a significant relationship" (Glass & Hopkins, 1984, p. 299), or that there is "some association" (p. 287) between the two factors or variables.

Importantly, the chi-square does not test causal hypotheses; determining that two variables are associated with each other gives no information regarding whether one causes the other or whether other phenomena cause both or either. To be more specific, a chi-square analysis might show that there is a statistically significant association or relationship between eye colour and hair colour or between unwanted intercourse and unintentional pregnancy but tells us nothing about cause and effect. If, in the case of eye colour and hair colour, the value for chi-square is determined to be significant, we cannot say that a particular eye colour *causes* a particular hair colour or that hair colour causes eye colour; rather, we know that there is some degree of association or relationship between these two factors, that a certain eye colour tends to *co-occur* with a certain hair colour. Indeed, other phenomena could be causing both or either. Likewise, in the case of frequency of unwanted intercourse and unintentional adolescent pregnancy, a statistically significant chi-square test of independence does not indicate that the frequency of unwanted intercourse causes unintentional pregnancy or that unintentional pregnancy causes frequency of unwanted intercourse; only that there is an association between the two factors, that they co-occur to some degree. In this case, establishing causality requires different methods than those employed in this study. For

example, though logistically difficult, longitudinal studies employ statistical analyses that test causal hypotheses.

Setting $\alpha = 0.05$ I tested the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and unintentional adolescent pregnancy. Secondly, I tested the null hypothesis ($\alpha = 0.05$) that there is no relationship between frequency of unwanted intercourse and the age difference between the partners. Third, I tested the null hypothesis ($\alpha = 0.05$) that there is no relationship between frequency of unwanted intercourse and the girl's awareness that she did not want to have intercourse at the time, all retrospectively measured. And finally, I tested the data ($\alpha = 0.05$) for no significant relationships between frequency of unwanted intercourse and demographic variables; specifically, the women's year of birth, level of education completed, ethnicity, sexual orientation, family income retrospectively measured, geographic location during adolescence, and her experience of childhood sexual abuse. There was not enough data to test for no relationship between frequency of unwanted intercourse and experience of disability. In the words of one respondent, "You only asked the one question about someone having a disability. This aspect of a women's life could affect the answers had those people with disabilities been given a different set of questions. Disabilities play a part in whether or not someone wants/doesn't want sex and how exposed they are to sex in their early years".

Unintentional pregnancy.

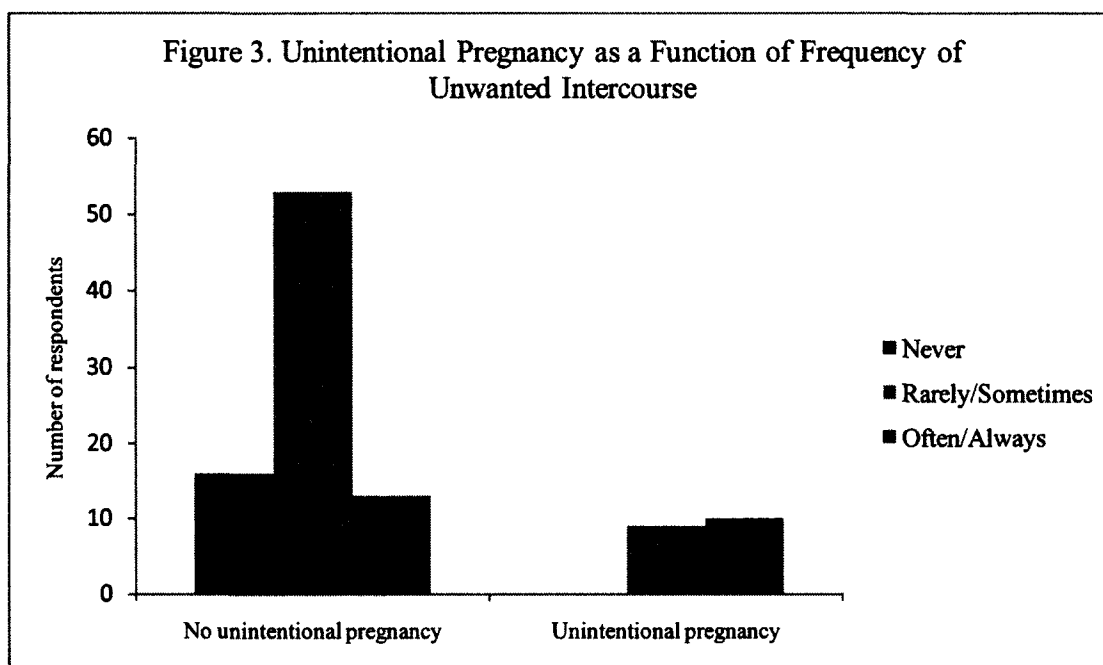
The 101 women who had sexual intercourse before the age of nineteen and who did not want to become pregnant were classified by unintentional adolescent pregnancy and three levels of frequency of unwanted intercourse. The data are categorised in Table 5 and a histogram was produced (see Figure 3).

A chi-square test of independence was performed to test the null hypothesis that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is not associated with unintentional adolescent pregnancy. Alpha was set at 0.05. Effect sizes were calculated using Cohen's method (Cohen, 1988, p. 222). Cohen's guidelines for effect sizes state that a w of 0.10 indicates a small effect, a w of 0.30 indicates a medium effect, and a w of 0.50 indicates a large effect (Cohen, 1988, p. 227). The results were $\chi^2(2, n = 101) = 13.619, p = 0.001, w = 0.367$ indicating a statistically significant association with a medium effect size between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and unintentional adolescent pregnancy. The statistically significant value for χ^2 made it appropriate to conduct a cell wise post hoc analysis. Analysis of residuals using the standardized residual method with Sidak's alpha correction (MacDonald & Gardner, 2000) shows that $R = 2.75 > z_{\alpha} = 2.37; p < 0.05$, indicating that girls who experienced unwanted intercourse 'often' and 'always' were statistically significantly more likely to become unintentionally pregnant than were the girls who experienced unwanted intercourse 'rarely' and 'sometimes' or 'never'.

Table 5

Unintentional Pregnancy as a Function of Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>		
			<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Unintentional pregnancy	No	Observed	16	53	13
		Expected	13	50.3	18.7
	Yes	Observed	0	9	10
		Expected	3	11.7	4.3



Age difference. (See Table 6).

The women who had experienced unwanted intercourse 'rarely' or more often were classified by frequency of unwanted intercourse and by the age difference between themselves and their partner. I divided frequency of unwanted intercourse into two groups: less frequent, which included the women who responded 'rarely' or 'sometimes' and more frequent, which included the women who responded 'often' or 'always'. I split the partners' age difference into three groups: a difference of two years or less, a difference more than two years but less than or equal to five years, and a difference of more than five years (see DiClemente et al., 2002; Victims of Violence, 2008). A χ^2 test of independence was performed to test the null hypothesis that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is not associated with partners' age difference. Alpha was set at 0.05. The results were $\chi^2 (2, n = 69) = 3.971, p = 0.137$, indicating no statistically significant association between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and partners' age difference. Since this non-significant result was unexpected (see Males, 1992; 1996) I

decided to look more closely. I ran two Fisher's exact tests,¹⁸ splitting the age difference two ways. In one case, I split the age difference into two groups: two years or less and more than two years. The results were $\chi^2(1, n = 69) = 3.561, p = 0.093$, indicating no association, although a probability of less than 0.1 is noteworthy. In the second case, I split the age difference into two groups: five years or less and more than five years. The results were $\chi^2(1, n = 69) = 0.146, p = 0.734$, again indicating no association.

Table 6

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Partners' Age Difference

			<u>Partners' age difference</u>		
			<u>2 years or less</u>	<u>More than 2 years and less than or equal to 5 years</u>	<u>More than 5 years</u>
Frequency of unwanted intercourse	Rarely/Sometimes	Observed	16	53	13
		Expected	13	50.3	18.7
	Often/Always	Observed	0	9	10
		Expected	3	11.7	4.3

Awareness of unwantedness. (See Table 7 and Figure 4).

A Fisher's exact test was performed to test the null hypothesis that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is not associated with the women's awareness that they did not desire the intercourse at the time that it took place. Alpha was set at 0.05. $\chi^2(1, n = 96) = 5.697, p = 0.018, w = 0.24$, indicating a significant association with

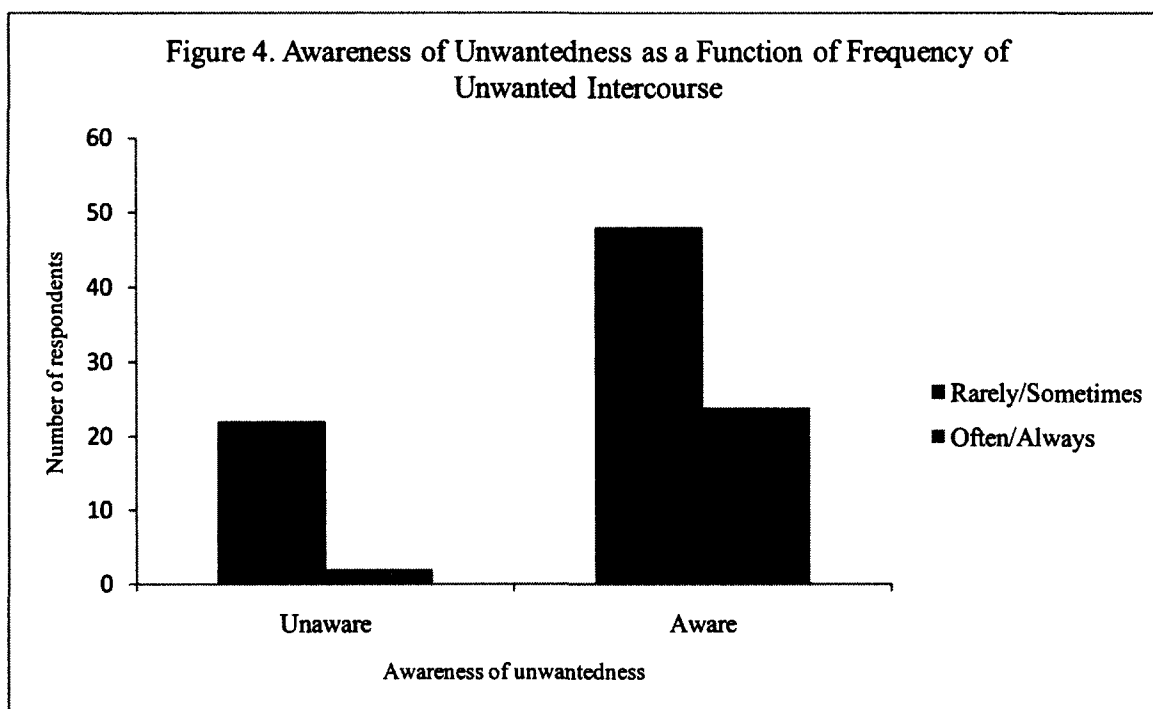
¹⁸ A Chi-square test of independence is actually a special case of Fisher's test. Therefore, the basic principles of the Chi-square, outlined above, apply to Fisher's test.

a small effect size between frequency of unwanted intercourse and awareness of wantedness at the time it took place. While the significant χ^2 value indicates that there are significant differences between the four cells we cannot know where they lie. Although further investigation is warranted, an examination of the data suggests that those women who were aware of unwantedness at the time were also those women who were more likely to say that they experienced unwanted intercourse 'often/always' and those women who were less likely to have been aware of unwantedness at the time were more likely to have experienced unwanted intercourse 'rarely/sometimes'.

Table 7

Awareness of Unwantedness as a Function of Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>	
			<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Aware of unwantedness	No	Observed	22	2
		Expected	17.5	6.5
	Yes	Observed	48	24
		Expected	52.5	19.5



Childhood sexual abuse. (See Table 8 and Figure 5).

A χ^2 test of independence was performed to test the null hypothesis that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is not associated with experiences of childhood sexual abuse. Alpha was set at 0.05. $\chi^2 (3, n = 142) = 43.953, p = 0.000, w = 0.57$, indicating a significant relationship with a large effect size between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and experiences of childhood sexual abuse. The statistically significant value for χ^2 made it appropriate to conduct a cell wise post hoc analysis. Analysis of residuals using Sidak's alpha correction shows that $R_1 = |-2.8| > z_{\alpha} = 2.51, p < 0.05$, indicating that the girls who experienced childhood sexual abuse were significantly more likely to have intercourse before the age of 19 than those girls who did not experience childhood sexual abuse. $R_2 = 2.6 > z_{\alpha} = 2.51; p < 0.05$, indicating that the girls who did not experience childhood sexual abuse were significantly less likely to have

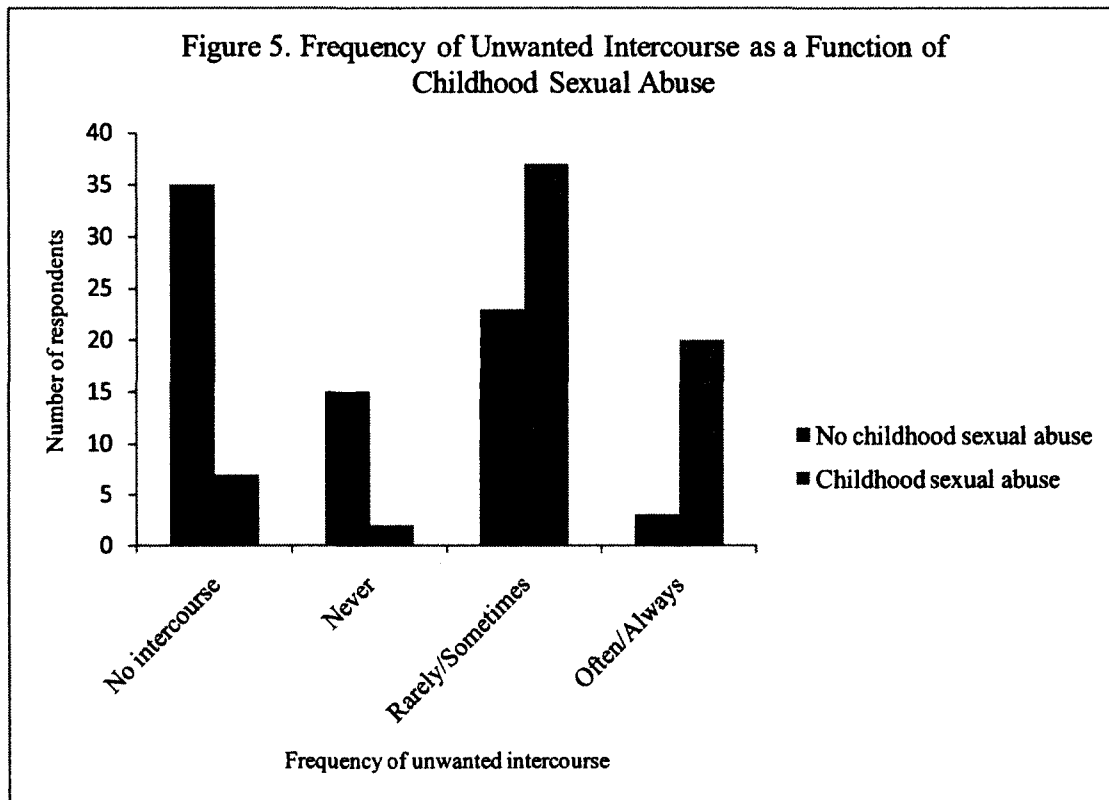
intercourse before the age of 19 than the girls who did experience childhood sexual abuse.

$R_3 = 2.8 > z_{cv} = 2.51; p < 0.05$, indicating that the girls who experienced childhood sexual abuse were significantly more likely to have unwanted intercourse 'often/always' than those who did not experience childhood sexual abuse. Finally, $R_4 = |-2.7| > z_{cv} = 2.51; p < 0.05$, indicating that the girls who did not experience childhood sexual abuse were significantly less likely to have unwanted intercourse 'often/always' than those who did experience childhood sexual abuse.

Table 8

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Childhood Sexual Abuse

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>			
			<u>No intercourse</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Childhood sexual abuse	No	Observed	35	15	23	3
		Expected	22.5	9.1	32.1	12.3
	Yes	Observed	7	2	37	20
		Expected	19.5	7.9	27.9	10.7



Socioeconomic status. (See Table 9 and Figure 6).

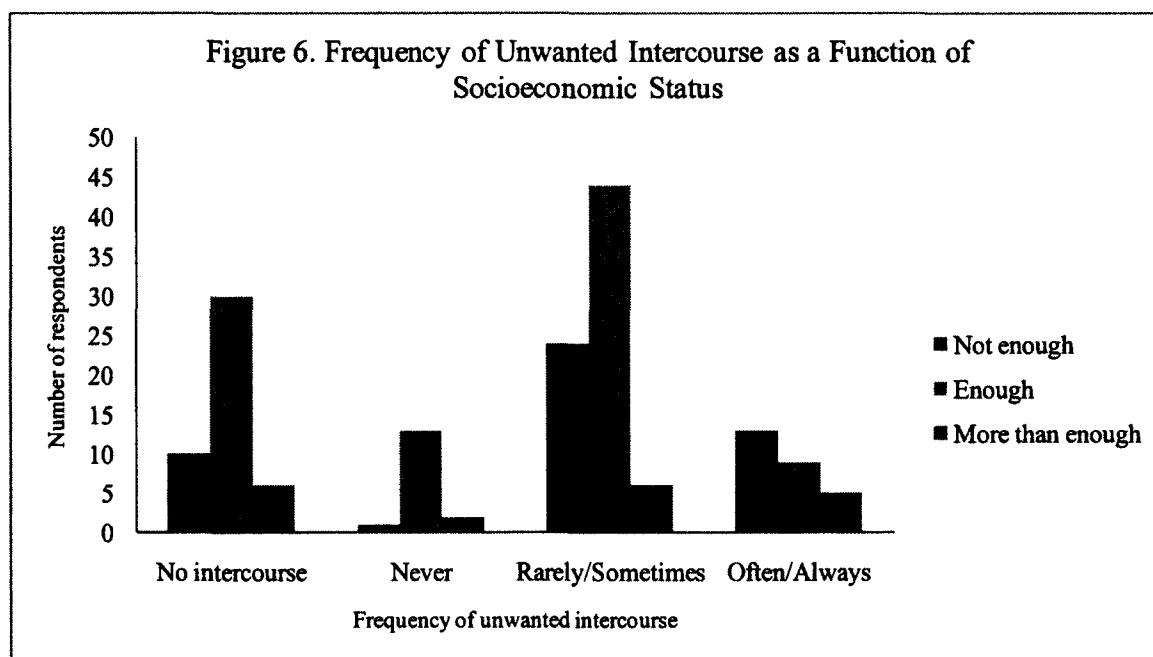
A χ^2 test of independence was performed to test the null hypothesis that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is not associated with the women's families' socioeconomic status when they were adolescents. Alpha was set at 0.05. $\chi^2(6, n = 161) = 12.916, p = 0.044, w = 0.28$, indicating a significant association with a small effect size between socioeconomic status and frequency of unwanted intercourse. The statistically significant value for χ^2 made it appropriate to conduct a cell wise post hoc analysis. Analysis of residuals using Sidak's alpha correction found no significant cells. The largest standardized residual, $R = 2.0 < z_{\alpha} = 2.65; p > 0.05$. Though not significant, this cell is suggestive of an association between low socioeconomic status and experiencing unwanted intercourse 'often' and 'always'.

As the residual analysis was not statistically significant at $\alpha = 0.05$, it seemed prudent to look more closely. I combined the categories ‘enough money’ and ‘more than enough money’ under the assumption that not having enough money is fundamentally different from having either enough or more than enough money. I then conducted another χ^2 test of association, setting alpha at 0.05. $\chi^2(3, n = 161) = 11.802, p = 0.008, w = 0.27$, indicating a significant association with a small effect size between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and socioeconomic status. Again, the post hoc analysis of standardized residuals yielded no significant results though, once again, the largest standardized residual, $R = 2.0 < z_{cv} = 2.51; p > 0.05$ indicates a possible link between ‘not having enough money’ and experiencing unwanted intercourse ‘often’ or ‘always’.

Table 9

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Socioeconomic Status

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>			
Socioeconomic status	Not enough		<u>No intercourse</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
		Observed	10	1	24	13
		Expected	13.7	4.8	22.1	7.5
	Enough	Observed	30	13	44	9
		Expected	27.4	9.5	44.1	14.9
	More than enough	Observed	6	2	6	3
		Expected	4.9	1.7	7.8	2.6



Ethnicity. (See Table 10 and Figure 7).

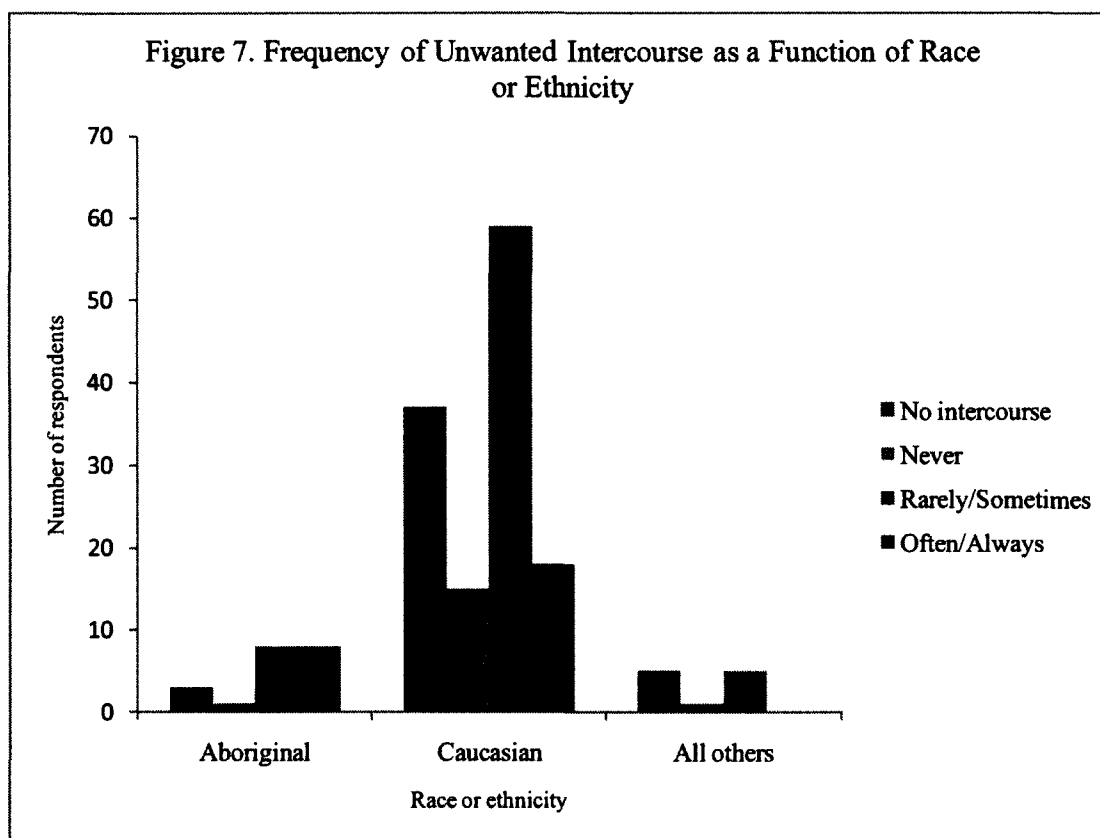
When divided into three categories, Aboriginal, Caucasian, and all others, frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, did not differ according to ethnicity. $\chi^2(6, n = 142) = 12.432, p = 0.053$. Since this result is close to statistical significance it seemed prudent to look more closely. I collapsed the categories for ethnicity in two different ways. In the first instance I divided the women into categories of Caucasian and non-Caucasian. For this χ^2 test of independence $\chi^2(3, n = 160) = 2.945, p = 0.400$: also not significant. Next I divided the women into Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. In this instance $\chi^2(3, n = 160) = 10.142, p = 0.017, w = 0.25$. This indicates that there is a statistically significant association with a small effect size between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and ethnicity when defined as Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. The statistically significant value for χ^2 made it appropriate to conduct a cell wise post hoc analysis. Analysis of residuals using Sidak's alpha correction shows that $R = 2.6 > z_{cv} = 2.51; p < 0.05$,

indicating that the Aboriginal girls were significantly more likely to experience unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always' than were the non-Aboriginal girls.

Table 10

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Race or Ethnicity

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>			
			<u>No intercourse</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Race/ ethnicity	Aboriginal	Observed	3	1	8	8
		Expected	5.6	2.1	9.0	3.3
	Caucasian	Observed	37	15	59	18
		Expected	36.3	13.7	58.1	21.0
	All others	Observed	5	1	5	0
		Expected	3.1	1.2	5.0	1.8



Age. (See Table 11).

The frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, did not vary by birth year grouped by decade, $\chi^2(12, n = 154) = 16.366, p = 0.175$.

Table 11

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Age

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>			
			<u>No intercourse</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Age of respondent (years)	19-29	Observed	15	6	18	5
		Expected	12.3	4.6	20.3	6.9
	30-39	Observed	13	3	22	6
		Expected	12.3	4.6	20.3	6.9
	40-49	Observed	7	3	13	10
		Expected	9.2	3.4	15.2	5.1
	50-59	Observed	4	1	14	3
		Expected	6.1	2.3	10.1	3.4
	60-69	Observed	4	3	4	0
		Expected	3.1	1.1	5.1	1.7

Completed education. (See Table 12).

The frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, did not vary by level of education completed, $\chi^2(9, n = 163) = 8.702, p = 0.465$.

Table 12

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Completed Education

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>			
			<u>No intercourse</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Education completed	High school	Observed	4	3	13	2
		Expected	6.3	2.3	10.0	3.4
	Certificate program	Observed	9	2	19	8
		Expected	11.0	4.0	17.3	5.8
	Undergraduate degree	Observed	23	6	25	7
		Expected	17.6	6.4	27.7	9.4
	Graduate degree	Observed	11	6	17	8
		Expected	12.1	4.4	19.1	6.4

Geographic location. (See Table 13).

Comparing girls who spent the majority of their adolescence in Northern British Columbia to everyone else, the frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, did not vary by geographic location, $\chi^2(3, N = 164) = 4.697, p = 0.195$.

Table 13

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Geographic Location

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>			
			<u>No intercourse</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Geographic location	Northern B.C.	Observed	11	5	28	12
		Expected	16.0	5.8	25.3	8.9
	Elsewhere	Observed	36	12	46	14
		Expected	31.0	11.2	48.7	17.1

Sexual orientation. (See Table 14).

The frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, did not vary by the respondents' present sexual orientation, $\chi^2(6, N = 161) = 8.818, p = 0.184$. However, because recent studies show that gay, lesbian, and bisexual adolescents may be more likely to become involved in an unintentional pregnancy than heterosexual adolescents (Saewyc, Poon, et al., 2008) it seemed prudent to take a closer look. I collapsed the categories two ways. In the first instance I compared the frequency of unwanted intercourse experienced by heterosexual girls to non-heterosexual girls. There was no significant difference between the two groups, $\chi^2(3, n = 161) = 3.908, p = 0.272$. Next, I compared the frequency of unwanted intercourse experienced by lesbian girls to the frequency of unwanted intercourse experienced by non-lesbian girls, retrospectively measured. Again, these groups were not significantly different, $\chi^2(3, n = 161) = 5.898, p = 0.117$ but, given the small p value, further investigation is warranted.

Table 14

Frequency of Unwanted Intercourse as a Function of Sexual Orientation

			<u>Frequency of unwanted intercourse</u>			
			<u>No intercourse</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Rarely/Sometimes</u>	<u>Often/Always</u>
Sexual orientation	Heterosexual	Observed	31	10	50	21
		Expected	30.6	11.8	51.5	18.1
	Lesbian	Observed	8	2	7	0
		Expected	4.6	1.8	7.8	2.7
	Bi-sexual, queer, and questioning	Observed	5	5	5	5
		Expected	8.7	3.4	5.2	5.2

Summary of the statistical analyses.

The statistical analysis found a statistically significant association between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and unintentional adolescent pregnancy. Specifically, the women who had experienced unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always' were more likely than women who had experienced unwanted intercourse 'never' or 'rarely' and 'sometimes' to have also experienced an unintentional adolescent pregnancy. In addition, the statistical analysis rejected the null hypothesis that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is not associated with the women's awareness, at the time, that they did not want the intercourse experience.

The statistical analysis retained the null hypotheses that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is not related to the partners' age difference, the current age of the women, their level of education, geographic location during adolescence, or their current sexual orientation. But some girls did experience unwanted intercourse more than others.

Specifically, the women who had experienced childhood sexual abuse were significantly more likely to have experienced intercourse before the age of 19 and were more likely to have experienced unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always' than the women who had not been sexually abused as children. Conversely, the women who had not experienced childhood sexual abuse were significantly less likely to have experienced intercourse before the age of 19 and were less likely to have experienced unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always' than the women who had been sexually abused as children. Aboriginal women experienced unwanted intercourse significantly more frequently than non-Aboriginal women. In addition, socioeconomic status is significantly associated with frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured. While the residuals are not statistically significant,

there is some indication that lower socioeconomic status is associated with more frequently experiencing unwanted intercourse. Since lived experience is not often limited to one significant event like, for example, sexual abuse, and since the three demographic variables, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and experiences of childhood sexual abuse, are significantly associated with adolescent experiences of unwanted intercourse, I wanted to see how these factors might be inter-related. I conducted the following three chi-square analyses.

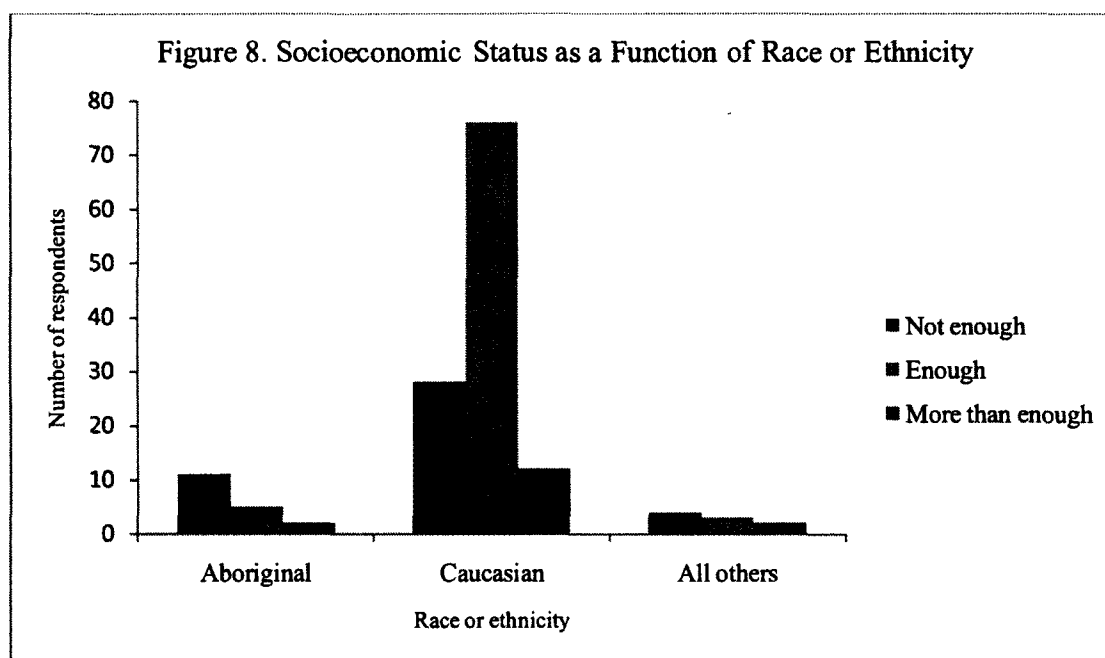
Socioeconomic status and race or ethnicity. (See Table 15 and Figure 8).

A χ^2 test of independence rejected the null hypothesis that socioeconomic status is not associated with ethnicity. $\chi^2(2, n = 143) = 9.959, p = 0.007, w = 0.26$. This indicates that there is a statistically significant relationship with a small effect size between socioeconomic status, retrospectively measured, and ethnicity when defined as Aboriginal, Caucasian, or other. The statistically significant value for χ^2 made it appropriate to conduct a cell wise post hoc analysis. Analysis of residuals using Sidak's alpha correction shows that $R = 2.4 > z_{\alpha} = 2.37; p < 0.05$, indicating that the Aboriginal girls were significantly more likely to 'not have enough' money than the two other groups, Caucasian and other.

Table 15

Socioeconomic Status as a Function of Race or Ethnicity

			<u>Race or ethnicity</u>		
			<u>Aboriginal</u>	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>All others</u>
Socioeconomic status	Not enough	Observed	11	28	4
		Expected	5.4	34.9	2.7
	Enough	Observed	5	76	3
		Expected	10.6	68.1	5.3
	More than enough	Observed	2	12	2
		Expected	2.0	13.0	1.0



Socioeconomic status and childhood sexual abuse. (See Table 16 and Figure 9).

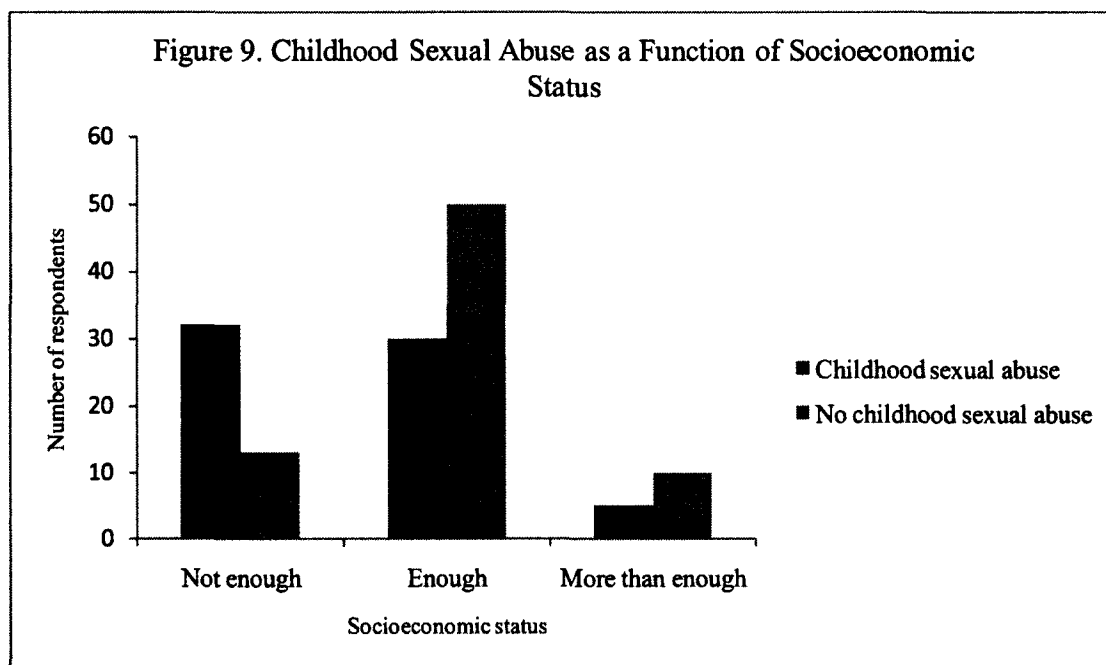
A χ^2 test of independence rejected the null hypothesis that socioeconomic status is not associated with a history of childhood sexual abuse. $\chi^2 (2, n = 140) = 14.458, p = 0.001$,

$w = 0.32$. This indicates that there is a statistically significant association with a medium effect size between socioeconomic status and a history of childhood sexual abuse. The statistically significant value for χ^2 made it appropriate to conduct a cell wise post hoc analysis. Analysis of residuals using Sidak's alpha correction found no significant cells. The largest standardized residual, $R = 2.3 < z_{\alpha} = 2.37; p > 0.05$. Though not significant, this cell it is very close to statistical significance and is suggestive of an association between low socioeconomic status and childhood sexual abuse.

Table 16

Childhood Sexual Abuse as a Function of Socioeconomic Status

			<u>Childhood sexual abuse</u>	
			<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
Socioeconomic status	Not enough	Observed	13	32
		Expected	23.5	21.5
	Enough	Observed	50	30
		Expected	41.7	38.3
	More than enough	Observed	10	5
		Expected	7.8	7.2



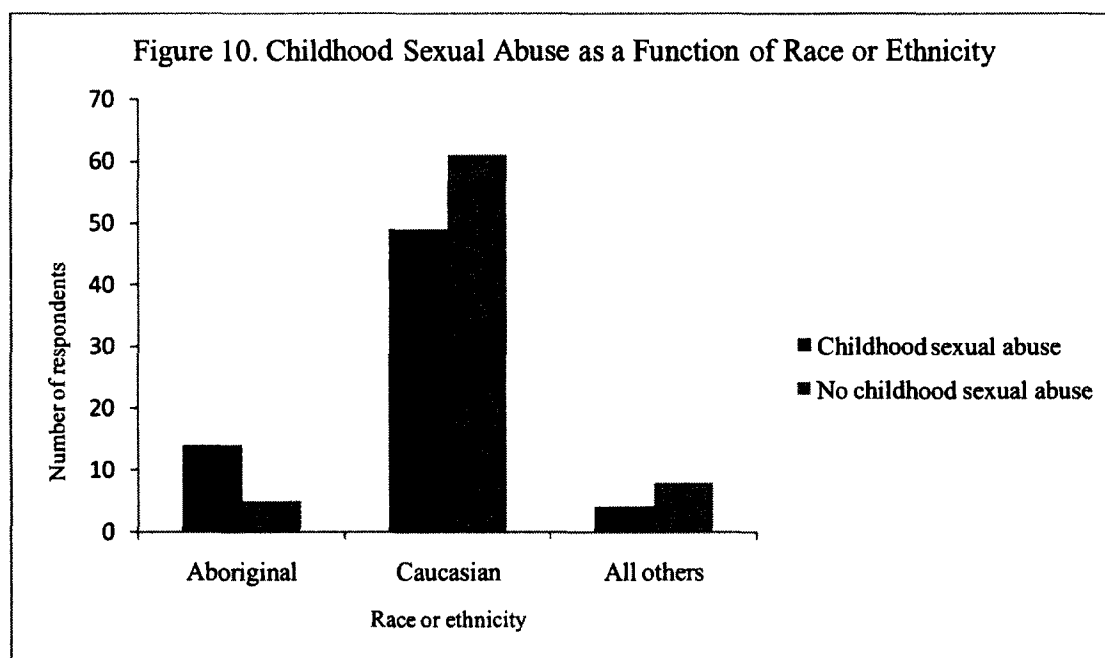
Childhood sexual abuse and race or ethnicity. (See Table 17 and Figure 10).

A χ^2 test of independence rejected the null hypothesis that childhood sexual abuse is not associated with ethnicity. $\chi^2(2, n = 141) = 6.574, p = 0.037, w = 0.22$. This indicates that there is a statistically significant association with a small effect size between a history of childhood sexual abuse and ethnicity. The statistically significant value for χ^2 made it appropriate to conduct a cell wise post hoc analysis. Analysis of residuals using Sidak's alpha correction found no significant cells.

Table 17

Childhood Sexual Abuse as a Function of Race or Ethnicity

			<u>Childhood sexual abuse</u>	
			<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
Race or ethnicity	Aboriginal	Observed	5	14
		Expected	10.0	9.0
	Caucasian	Observed	61	49
		Expected	57.7	52.3
	All others	Observed	8	4
		Expected	6.3	5.7



Thematic Analysis

While the statistical analysis points to some intriguing and potentially important links between girls' demographic characteristics, frequency of unwanted intercourse, and unintentional adolescent pregnancy, the next obvious step is to investigate the meanings of these statistically significant associations and why they might exist. In the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) my goal was to learn more about the women's adolescent experiences of unintentional pregnancy in a general sense and to account for the statistically significant results I had found. The questionnaire included six optional open-ended text box questions asking, for example, "Is there anything else you would like to say about your early sexual experiences?" All of the respondents saw four such questions; the fifth was addressed only to the women who had become aware that they had not wanted intercourse some time after the experience; and the sixth was directed to the women who had experienced adolescent pregnancy.

Over 100 (65.4%) women responded to at least one text box question. I looked to their writing for a deeper understanding of the statistical analysis which indicated statistically significant associations between frequency of unwanted intercourse and: 1. the girls' experiences of childhood sexual abuse, ethnicity, and class, 2. unintentional adolescent pregnancy, and 3. being aware of not wanting the intercourse at the time. Here it is important to remember that the 'groups' I created for analysis cannot possibly be entirely accurate. For example, determining whether a woman had experienced childhood sexual abuse depended, largely, on whether she revealed that. When she did write about her experiences of sexuality in childhood I then had to decide whether what she said fit my working definition of abuse.

Some cross-over between the groups was inevitable as lived experience does not fall neatly into one discrete category or another. For example, while the statistical analysis shows that women who had experienced childhood sexual abuse were significantly more likely to experience unwanted intercourse in adolescence, many of these women also embodied other statistically significant parameters, such as low family income, which do not necessarily separate out. Specifically, of the 56 women who had experienced childhood sexual abuse and who responded to one or more text box questions, 26 indicated low socioeconomic status, 13 were Aboriginal women, and 7 women embodied all three categories. It was important for me to remember exactly what the statistical analysis meant; that each *count* represents a *woman*. Therefore, in order to make sense of the statistics, I needed to consider what they each said about their *lives*, focusing on each significant parameter but privileging their lives over the parameters.

I began the thematic analysis by comparing the responses of the women who indicated that they had experienced unwanted intercourse ‘often’ or ‘always’ to the women who reported having unwanted intercourse ‘sometimes’, ‘rarely’, or ‘never’. While I expected to find some differences between these groups, the text responses indicated that women’s experiences were not so clearly delineated. The ‘sometimes’ category seemed particularly fluid, representing quite a range between, possibly even overlapping, rarely and often. Rather than deal with the ‘frequency of unwanted intercourse’ category in an arbitrary manner, I decided to treat the insights of the women who sometimes had unwanted intercourse as something of a bridge between the two extremes, moving them in either direction depending on the context.

In the thematic analysis I considered each statistically significant category separately. And in each of these separate analyses I included all of the women who had endorsed the

factor under consideration, regardless of whether they lived one such experience or more. For example, when my focus was on childhood sexual abuse, I read the responses of all of the women who had had that experience, whether or not a woman also belonged to another statistically significant group, such as Aboriginal women or women whose families did not have enough money. My challenge was to read their narratives and 'tease out' relevant themes. Consequently, my analysis is necessarily preliminary, leading to many more questions than answers.

Childhood sexual abuse.

As previously noted, research has shown a link between childhood sexual abuse and later sexual victimization (Basile, 2008; Classen et al., 2005; Erikson & Rapkin 1991; Gidycz et al. 1993; Humphrey & White, 2000; Small & Kerns, 1993; Smith et al., 2003). Furthermore, the statistical analysis showed that the women in this study who had experienced childhood sexual abuse were significantly more likely to report a higher frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and that the relationship between childhood sexual abuse and frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, had a larger effect size than the associations between either class or ethnicity and frequency of adolescent experiences of unwanted intercourse. When I looked to the women's written responses for more insight into why this might be so I found two main themes -- pain and training -- and a complex third theme linking self-esteem with education.

Pain.

Experiences of childhood sexual abuse left many of the women with on-going emotional pain. Many women wrote about the negative emotions such as shame and humiliation which resulted directly from being de-humanized: becoming an object for use in another's pursuit of sexual pleasure. For example, a woman who reports not having

intercourse before the age of 19 wrote, “I became ashamed of my body.... [M]y abuser took away.... [my s]elf-esteem, trust, self-confidence, pride”. Another woman who always had unwanted intercourse wrote, “I have always been ashamed of being a woman because all it meant to them was I was something to rape and enjoy for their pleasure”.

Others wrote about the shame they experienced when their disclosures of sexual abuse were received inappropriately; when they were not believed, treated as if they were to blame, or the abuser was protected. One woman, who rarely had unwanted intercourse, wrote, “I certainly think being exposed to sex and sexuality so early wasn't good, but what I have found more damaging psychologically was my family's response.... Rather than reassuring me that what happened wasn't anything for me to feel guilty about, they managed to make me feel guilty and make sex and sexuality something that is dirty, untouchable”. Another respondent who sometimes experienced unwanted intercourse wrote of her adolescent sexuality, “...one of the reasons I was in such a confused state of mind about sex and sexuality etc... was because I am a survivor of childhood sexual abuse. When I disclosed, I was not believed and was treated like I was to blame, this became more devastating to me in many ways than the sexual abuse itself”.

Two women who experienced pleasure in situations that are socially defined as sexual abuse discussed their on-going confusion. For example, a woman who sometimes had unwanted intercourse in adolescence wrote, “I experienced two incidents of 'molestation' or non-consensual sexual activity at a young age. These events were very difficult to reconcile because on one hand I knew at that age (5 and 7) that it was 'wrong' but couldn't figure out why it felt good. Managing those conflicting feelings through adolescence was difficult”.

A dramatic source of emotional pain resulted from “flashbacks” of the abusive episodes. Attempts to manage this pain seemed to present women with two main options: sex

and drugs or alcohol. As one woman put it, “I would have flashbacks about the sexual abuse I endured as a child that were so intense I [could] feel my stepfather’s hands on me, fingers in me...The only thing that could block out that gross feeling was to have someone else’s hands on me.” For some women this required that they have many sexual partners. Many of the women referred to their adolescent selves as “promiscuous”. This woman “... had sex with over 70 men by the time [she] was 19”.

Drugs and alcohol were another strategy that women used to cope with the pain of sexual abuse. Often, intoxicants placed girls at risk of unwanted intercourse. “The incidents [of unwanted intercourse] usually happened while intoxicated.... Alcohol was ... used to escape a hard life”. One woman, who sometimes had unwanted intercourse, and who left a sexually, financially, and emotionally abusive relationship while still in her teens wrote, “I later abused alcohol and drugs and became promiscuous (probably to do with all of the above). Possibly to forget/ease the memories”.

Training.

In this context, ‘education’ and ‘training’ are distinctly different concepts. Training refers to the ways in which girls are moulded into a way of being that is in opposition to what they need or want for their growth and development and represents a narrowing of options. Education offers women information for them to freely consider: ways of looking at their lives that also broaden their options.

Some respondents theorized a direct link between childhood sexual abuse and unwanted intercourse in adolescence; for example, one wrote, “I was sexually abused by my father when I was a child, and therefore gave sex to any older man who was nice to me”. Another woman stated, “As a child I experienced repeated sexual abuse and understood very little of boundaries or personal space”. Both of these women often experienced unwanted

intercourse in adolescence. Another respondent, now in her 30s and who always experienced unwanted intercourse in adolescence, felt that her sexual behaviour, which involved weekly binge drinking and many sexual partners, could be traced directly to the rape she had experienced at the age of 5. Other women's writing expanded on these ideas. One respondent, who often had unwanted intercourse, wrote, "intercourse was not an option, I remember laying still and letting it happen to whomever wanted sex from me".

In some cases, however, bargains were struck. Many women wrote about exchanging intercourse either to get something that they wanted or to avoid something that they did not want. Many times, women simply wanted affection or attention. A woman who often had unwanted intercourse writes of an early sexual experience when she was 8 and her partner was 12, "I was attracted to this boy and interested in the attention he gave me, but he was much larger than I and much more sexually mature. Although I went along with his sexual advances, I was not old or informed enough to be in a sexual relationship with him". The same woman, in later years, often had unwanted intercourse to prevent adverse outcomes. "[P]revious experience taught me that he would emotionally abuse me if I did not comply". Another woman who sometimes had unwanted intercourse speculated that, in response to both an uninvolved father and experiences of childhood sexual abuse, she "...was searching for love and approval..." in her romantic relationships. This same woman had felt that she had very little choice regarding intercourse with one partner because "...he had financial power over me and used it against me to have sex nightly. If I did not it was a given that I would be homeless". At a young age she learned that sex was "... not something to be enjoyed with a partner one loved but something to barter and trade and a way to control someone else".

Contradicting statistical predictions, some women who experienced childhood sexual abuse had unwanted intercourse only infrequently. One woman who rarely experienced unwanted intercourse wrote, “My first experience was a series of assaults by an older relative that started when I was 12. The assaults ended after about a year because I found ways to avoid him. I did not disclose the assaults to anyone until after his death”.

Education and self-esteem.

While many of the women who had experienced childhood sexual abuse wrote of diminished self-esteem, some women told hopeful stories, linking self-esteem and education in a way that was striking. They pointed to the important roles that education and self-esteem had played in their lives, and their insights complicate some of the observations above.

One girl, who sometimes experienced unwanted intercourse, was grateful that her cousin had given her a book about sexuality that “really helped me feel comfortable with my body and sex life”. Other women who had experienced unwanted intercourse often or always in adolescence wrote that their current sexual experiences were more positive. One respondent who always had unwanted intercourse in adolescence wrote, “As an old woman [now in her 50s], I am now discovering that I have a right to define my purpose and worth for who I was born to be rather than what I was made into”. And from another, who experienced unwanted intercourse often in adolescence: “I now find it interesting and empowering to know I am the boss of this body. I have the choice to say yes or no if I want to. I am so glad to be my age [40s] and know that my body is my own and I can choose the experiences I want. I can also communicate to partners about my boundaries and safety issues and they can live with it or go to hell!”

Other women emphasized the role of education in reassigning responsibility for inappropriate and unwanted sexual behaviour. One woman, who often had unwanted

intercourse, wrote “When I became a kid in care at 13 is when I learned to exchange sex for the basics. I hated group homes and men with predatory behaviour took advantage of that. I was having sex with 30 year old men and no one told them that was wrong, I was always the one who got in trouble”. She goes on to say, “I hope your survey and body of work analyzes the predatory behaviours of men making [it] unsafe for teenage girls. We have to stop blaming girls and put the blame where it really belongs”.

Many of these same women expressed their hope that education will have a positive impact on young people writing, for example, “I am a mother of a little girl now who is quickly approaching an age when sex will become an issue for her. Information that comes from studies like these will be like a teen age girls bible on 'sex'-why, when, how, who and why not to, when its not the right time, when it's not the right way, not the right guy, etc.”; “As young girls, we need to be taught to define our own definitions of self, self-worth, and meaning and then live it... Don't allow society or anyone else to define who we are and what we are good for”; and finally, “I hope [the survey] helps the current generation and generations to come [learn] that sexuality is something that should be valued and that they need to value themselves, despite what society tells them or despite the negative messages regarding women”.

Summary.

These women are arguing that their experiences of childhood sexual abuse reduced their understanding of boundaries or personal space which led them to feel that they did not own their own bodies; that their bodies were not for their own pleasure but for others'. Possibly referring to experiences of gang rape one woman, who often had unwanted intercourse, wrote, “I had a boyfriend who used to 'share me' with his friends, I wonder if other young women apathetically go along with the notion that your body is not really your

own but the property of the man you belong to". Childhood sexual abuse prepared the women to be available to meet men's sexual demands regardless of their own needs or desires while the pain associated with childhood sexual abuse placed some women at further risk. Some respondents identified their use of drugs and alcohol, used for pain management, as being associated with further experiences of unwanted intercourse. However, these women also offer hope, emphasizing the role of education in two areas: First, in assigning responsibility where it properly belongs; with the men who perpetuate sexual violence; and second, in efforts designed to encourage and support girls' sexual and self-determination.

Ethnicity.

Statistical analysis showed that the Aboriginal women in this study were significantly more likely to report a higher frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, than the non-Aboriginal women. 15 Aboriginal women responded to at least one text box question regarding their early sexual experiences and, given that many of their responses have already been incorporated into the preceding section, it was difficult to find new information. I did, however, notice one theme which I labelled expectation.

Expectation.

Related to, and sometimes enforced by peer pressure, expectation is somewhat more encompassing and reflects some of the ways that Aboriginal girls internalized or acted on the social expectations they felt were directed towards their lives. I expect that, as for all women, some of these expectations may have changed with the passage of time. For example, one woman who is now in her 40s and who sometimes had unwanted intercourse "felt that it was a duty to provide sex to [her] partners". Her first experience of intercourse was at the age of 16. She was not sure whether she had wanted that experience but "felt pressured by my peers to have sex as I was the only virgin in our group - I had low self-esteem and wanted to fit in".

Another woman, now in her 50s and who sometimes had unwanted intercourse, concurs: "I think back then women did what was expected. It was felt you didn't have a choice in the outcome" and she raises an interesting point to which I will return -- "...especially when dating older men". Another woman, also in her 40s and who often experienced unwanted intercourse, felt pressure from the other girls and women in her small community to have a boyfriend so that they "...would no longer see me as a threat to their relationship[s] and [would] stop physically attacking me".

However, when I considered the non-Aboriginal women's responses it was clear that these kinds of expectations were not unique to Aboriginal girls, though their effects may have been intensified in Aboriginal communities. Indeed, many non-Aboriginal women also felt that peer pressure and community expectations influenced their relationships. A woman who described her ethnicity as "mixed" and who sometimes had unwanted intercourse wrote, "I was very sexually active from 11-19. ... I thought it was normal..." A Caucasian woman who is now in her 50s and who sometimes had unwanted intercourse stated that at the age of 14 she had intercourse "because all the other girls were doing it, and I didn't want to seem like a chicken". Another Caucasian woman related how, at the age of 15, she was "... talked into [having intercourse] by a girlfriend who was two years younger than me. She called me names like chickenshit and candyass until I gave in and we went to see some guys she met". The man she met and had intercourse with was 22 years old. As she put it, "the whole experience was so unpleasant that I waited until my 20's before doing it again".

On the other hand, the Aboriginal women did not write about a general expectation that sex would lead to marriage, as some of the Caucasian women did. A few of the Caucasian women who are now in their 50s wrote one of two things: either that sex before marriage was unacceptable and would leave a woman somewhat 'unmarriageable' or that

premarital sex was acceptable as long as marriage followed. Aboriginal women generally did not write about this, though one Aboriginal woman, now also in her 50s, had been forced to marry after she had become pregnant at the age of 18.

Only one Aboriginal woman directly addressed the issue of ethnicity. Her comments offer an incisive analysis based on her experience of life at the intersection of racism and gender oppression. She wrote of experiencing gang rape and of being sexually abused by her birthfather and his uncle from the age of 5 months. "I was also raped in foster care, my second adoption, Indian Residential School and in my two marriages. I have always been ashamed of being a woman because all it meant to them was I was something to rape and enjoy for their pleasure. ... Throughout my life... It has been extremely painful to be a half breed baby girl, girl, woman and mother". She attempted suicide at the age of 6. What follows is a testament to her resilience: "As an old woman, I am now discovering that I have a right to define my purpose and worth for who I was born to be rather than what I was made into. My rapists saw me and treated me as if I was a piece of meat... I have never done that to myself".

Although she clearly does not accept this as true, she was expected to accept others' decisions about her life and her future, where she lived and with whom, and where, even whether, she attended school. This extremely painful narrative of institutional abuse and multiple rapes over most of her lifetime encapsulates others' expectations for her: that *they* could define her purpose and her worth. As Razack states, "[w]hen the terrain is sexual violence, racism and sexism intersect in particularly nasty ways to produce profound marginalization" (1994, p. 897).

Summary.

Colonialism is expressed and maintained through unequal power distributions built on patriarchal structures of White, masculine domination (Graveline, 1998; 2004). Furthermore, White domination of Aboriginal communities is profoundly implicated in contributing to male violence within Aboriginal communities (Razack 1994, p 910). While Aboriginal girls may have experienced a set of expectations that were different from, but nevertheless overlapped with, the expectations that influenced non-Aboriginal girls, it is impossible to know, based on their responses, from where those expectations arose; whether they came from within Aboriginal families and communities or whether the rest of the community imposed these expectations on Aboriginal girls, specifically. I suggest that the previous response supports the work of Sherene Razack (1994; 2009) and Fyre Jean Graveline (2004) who show that this is not an either/or question. Both the statistical and thematic analyses suggest that, no matter who are the perpetrators, Aboriginal girls are more vulnerable to sexual violence simply because they are Aboriginal girls.

Socioeconomic status.

The statistical analysis showed that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is related to socioeconomic status. Though the residual analysis did not reach significance, the highest residual value in this chi-square test indicated that low socioeconomic status may be related to higher frequency of unwanted intercourse. 42 women who indicated that they 'did not have enough' money in their families during their adolescence responded to at least one text box question. In order to see how lower socioeconomic status, by itself, was related to experiences of unwanted intercourse, I began the thematic analysis by considering those women who were not Aboriginal and who had not experienced childhood sexual abuse. Once I had identified themes within these women's

responses I looked to the rest of the women who had experienced lower socioeconomic status to check whether or not their responses supported those themes.

The first thing I noticed was that the women who belonged only to the lower socioeconomic status group contradicted the statistical findings that indicate a possible relationship between not having enough money and more frequently experiencing unwanted intercourse. Many of the women in this group had not had intercourse before the age of 19 and those who had experienced intercourse tended to say that it had been unwanted 'never' or 'rarely'. Counterintuitively perhaps, only one woman in this group referenced economic issues as being related to frequency of unwanted intercourse. A woman who was born in the 1950s and who sometimes had unwanted intercourse shared her observations of her community; "in resource based communities young women [are] 'taken care of by older men', who have the money to buy them alcohol or drugs. These young women became common-law partners at an early [age] because the community does not question this practice".

Right relationship.

The women who responded that their families 'did not have enough' money tended to write about relationships; specifically, about the types of relationship which are considered appropriately sexual. For example this woman, who was born in the 1980s and who did not have intercourse before she was 19, wrote, "I was brought up to value sex and to make sure it was the 'right' time. I waited until I was 19, and I had a boyfriend who I cared for". Another woman, who was born in the 1970s, who describes her ethnic background as "mixed", and who rarely had unwanted intercourse, wrote, " I had been warned for so long about waiting until someone special came along because sex was a beautiful thing, blah, blah, blah...and then when I finally had sex I was like 'That was it???' ...lol". Similarly, a woman who was

born in the 1980s wrote of her first experience of intercourse when she was 17 and her partner was 26, “I didn’t feel that I had a choice to say no. I was really curious about sex, but not ready for it. I felt pressured to do it, and it didn’t feel like a sacred event.... It didn’t feel respectful or loving”. One respondent, who was born in the 1960s, writes of her first experience of intercourse after the age of 18, “I was in a steady relationship and was curious. He was experienced and we loved each other so I felt it was a natural step to take”. Another respondent, born in the 1970s and who did not have intercourse before age 19 wrote, “I was raised to believe that having sex with someone was a responsibility to take seriously and that it shapes the nature of relationships”. She was not the only woman who believed that sex changes relationship dynamics. One woman, who was born in the 1980s and who sometimes had unwanted intercourse in adolescence wrote that she had not been ready to have intercourse the first time but she thought she was in love, so she did. After that first experience, and for reasons she does not explain, she “wanted to do it all the time”. She concludes that “In a way, sex ruined my first relationship”. This narrative, the belief that sex changes a relationship, apparently carried some weight. Another woman, who was born in the 1970s and who did not have intercourse before age 19 recalls “being very nervous about how the relationship would change with my boyfriend if we had sex”.

Pleasure.

Ideas about pleasure were important in these girls’ lives. The previous respondent noted that she “had not heard from any single girlfriend that they actually enjoyed having sex”. On the other hand, another woman, who was born in the 1970s and who rarely experienced unwanted intercourse, emphasized her own sexual pleasure writing, “I enjoyed sex as a youngster (and now!), I don’t remember ever having sex that I didn’t want to physically. Later I might have thought ‘oh that guy was probably not the best choice’, but I

felt like I owned my sexuality”. Another woman, who was born in the 1970s and who did not experience intercourse before age 19, later “realized that [she] was a lesbian”. She wrote about emotional connection being an important part of her sexual pleasure, “...when I started having [sex] with my boyfriend, I just didn’t get what the big deal was. Physical responses were there but the emotional just wasn’t, it always felt like there should be something more. I kept forcing myself to have sex, to just try harder”. She was able to find that pleasurable emotional connection when she had sex with women.

Summary.

Some of the women who wrote about what I have called ‘right relationship’ wrote about love or about being in love. For some right relationship involved an emotional connection that they named beauty, sacredness, or respect. These women emphasized their own sexual pleasure and, for most, this was found in sexual practices that included an emotional element. Right relationship, however each woman viewed that, was linked to sexual pleasure.

I want to summarize this section with a narrative that brings these threads together. I have chosen to share this respondent’s response in its entirety because, given its nature, I feel that any edits could misappropriate her story. A Caucasian woman who was born in the 1960s and whose family did not have enough money described a life-threatening sexual assault that she endured at the age of 12, after she had met a 16-year-old boy:

i didn’t want the experience but he kept pressuring me . Telling me i wasn't nice etc. the pressuring went on for a long time. it sounds lame now but at the time ??? i wasn't prepared emotionally or physically. i just met him and immediately liked him. we started dancing and kissing and then went for a walk to be alone. we starting kissing and then he wanted more. the pressuring was relentless. i had reluctantly agreed - my body wasn’t ready and it was turning ugly not beautiful as i expected. I tried to stop him but it was useless. he was stronger. he forcefully tried but he ended up tearing me badly. i ran home alone covered in blood. I jumped in the bathtub and my sister found me

in a blood bath. It must have been a horrible sight. she called my parents and my mom says we need to get her to the hospital. i was in and out of consciousness long enough to hear my Dad say "let her die." my cousin took me to emergency - i was sitting between my brother and sister in the back seat of my cousins car. my parents didn't go. i had shamed them. I forgive the boy - ill Never forgive my Dad.

Regarding the themes of pleasure and right relationship, a couple of things stand out.

She wrote about the absence of physical pleasure, "i had reluctantly agreed - my body wasn't ready". She wrote about physical pleasure and her emotional state in connection with each other, "i wasn't prepared emotionally or physically" and she refers to her expectations of a sexual relationship, "it was turning ugly not beautiful as i expected" and finally, she illustrates how these stories influenced the amount of help she received at such a critical time, "my parents didn't go [to the hospital]. i had shamed them". She was not in a 'right' relationship and she found herself quite alone.

Clearly, this experience reached its conclusion at the extreme end of the sexual violence continuum; at the furthest point from mutually consensual sex and far from unwanted consensual or pressured sex. Even so, she specifically wrote about pressure, "He kept pressuring me.... the pressuring went on for a long time.... the pressuring was relentless". She was 12 years old and the pressure that the 16-year-old boy exerted was tremendous. Her perspective, that "[succumbing to the pressure] sounds lame now", illustrates the relationship between pressured sex and extreme sexual violence: Her experience shows that the distance between being pressured to have sex and sustaining a life-threatening injury can be very short indeed.

Unintentional adolescent pregnancy.

The statistical analysis showed that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is related to unintentional pregnancy; girls who 'often' or 'always'

had intercourse when they did not want to were more likely to become unintentionally pregnant than the girls who experienced unwanted intercourse less frequently or not at all. In order to learn more about the impact unintentional adolescent pregnancy had on their lives, the women who had become pregnant were asked an optional, open-ended question, “Would you like to say more about your pregnancy experience?” 11 of the 19 women (57.9%) who became unintentionally pregnant before their nineteenth birthdays responded to this question. In addition, all three of the women who became pregnant when they were ‘not sure’ whether they wanted to responded to at least one open-ended question. I included these three women’s responses for two reasons. First, I felt that intentionally becoming pregnant has a very different meaning than becoming pregnant unintentionally or when pregnancy intentions are uncertain; at least initially, the first group would respond to their pregnancies differently than would the other two. Though these women’s pregnancies are not unequivocally unintentional, they are certainly not intentional. One respondent, who did not become pregnant, supports this idea:

The question about whether or not I wanted to become pregnant at the age of 19 was hard to answer because for me it was [not] a yes/no situation. I did fantasize about the possibility of becoming pregnant, probably because I was romanticizing the idea of being pregnant, having a baby and living with my boyfriend ... - but at the same time I did have educational and career plans and goals and was smart enough to realize that a baby would derail all of that.

She adds, “Thank god I did NOT become pregnant”. Second, as these three women experienced unwanted intercourse sometimes or often their experiences lend clarity to the thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis of these responses was undertaken to explore the connection between experiences of unwanted intercourse and unintentional pregnancy, the contexts of each, and the consequences for these women. Though the small number of responses

presented challenges, it seemed meaningful to divide the responses into three themes: difficult emotional reactions, coercion and violence, and resilience. As this study found that numerous variables are significantly related to frequency of unwanted intercourse and has found frequency of unwanted intercourse to be significantly related to unintentional adolescent pregnancy, I have attempted to place each woman's story in a meaningful context by including information about the women's age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, history of childhood sexual abuse, and frequency of unwanted intercourse.

Difficult emotions.

Some of the women wrote of strong emotional reactions to their pregnancies, primarily fear and shame. A Caucasian woman, who was born in the 1950s, whose family did not have enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and who often had unwanted intercourse, became unintentionally pregnant when she was 14 and her partner was 18. This pregnancy ended in miscarriage and she again became pregnant unintentionally by the same partner when she was 16. She succinctly summed up her emotions at that time when she wrote, "My teenage years were a fog of suicidal thoughts and shame and humiliation". An Aboriginal woman, born in the 1960s, whose family did not have enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and who sometimes experienced unwanted intercourse, became unintentionally pregnant when she and her partner were 16. She wrote, "We were young, scared kids. I had another family member lie for me at the hospital and to the doctors. My dad never knew." A Caucasian woman, born in the 1950s, whose family did not have enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and who sometimes experienced unwanted intercourse, became pregnant, though she was not sure whether she wanted to, when she was 18 and her partner was 22. She wrote, "When I became pregnant, I felt I was agreeing to get married due to pressure from our parents. However, when I miscarried....I

really did not want to marry but felt some kind of obligation so as not to embarrass myself or his/my families. Like it was a proof of love”. She married him anyway.

Coercion and violence.

An Aboriginal woman who was born in the 1950s, whose family had enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and always had unwanted intercourse, became unintentionally pregnant when she was 18 and her partner was 26. She was “forced to get married because it was the ‘right thing to do’ for everyone else but for myself”. A Caucasian woman, born in the 1970s, whose family did not have enough money, and who often had unwanted intercourse, was not sure if she wanted to become pregnant. However, she did get pregnant when she was 17 and her partner was 33. She wrote, “The partner said he would break up with me unless I aborted at 20 weeks pregnancy which was the legal limit at the time. I was emotionally torn apart”.

Two women experienced miscarriage due to physical violence directly related to their pregnancies. An Aboriginal woman, born in the 1960s, whose family did not have enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and who often experienced unwanted intercourse, became unintentionally pregnant when she was 15 and her partner was 22. She wrote, “I was beaten for becoming pregnant and had a miscarriage, ended up in the hospital”. Another woman shared a similar experience: An Aboriginal woman who was born in the 1970s, whose family did not have enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and who often experienced unwanted intercourse, unintentionally became pregnant when she was 16 and her partner was 21. She wrote, “[I] became pregnant – partner beat me stupid and I lost the baby which was devastating but a blessing also”.

Resilience.

Although it was often difficult to obtain an abortion, most of the women who had had an abortion generally felt that taking that option had been positive for them. An Aboriginal woman, born in the 1960s, whose family had not had enough money and who sometimes had experienced unwanted intercourse, became unintentionally pregnant when she and her partner were both 17. She writes of her abortion, "It was the right decision as I was only in grade 11 and wanted to complete high school". A Caucasian woman who was born in the 1970s, whose family had enough money and who rarely experienced unwanted intercourse became unintentionally pregnant when she was 17 and her partner was 19. She writes of her abortion experience, "This was not upsetting to me and there was no hesitation or decision making".

Resilience manifested differently for some of the women. For them, becoming pregnant appears to be just another developmental step: A Caucasian woman who was born in the 1970s, whose family did not have enough money and who sometimes experienced unwanted intercourse was not sure whether she wanted to become pregnant. She became pregnant when she was 17 and her partner was 16 and wrote of their on-going relationship, "We eventually had three children together, married, but are now separated, but the best of friends".

For other women, teenage pregnancy was the result of self-care. For example, a Caucasian woman who was born in the 1970s, whose family had enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and often experienced unwanted intercourse, became unintentionally pregnant when she was 16 and her partner was 19. She wrote, "My child's father was probably the only person up till that point that I had a good and equal sex life with". And a Caucasian woman who was born in the 1960s, whose family did not have enough money, who experienced childhood sexual abuse and who sometimes had unwanted

intercourse, became unintentionally pregnant as the indirect result of a sexual assault; for her, self-care involved seeking physical and sexual closeness with her partner. She wrote, “I had intercourse with my boyfriend, at my request, the same night I was molested by someone for whom I babysat. I wanted to be with my boyfriend to remove the horrible feeling..., and became [unintentionally] pregnant as a result.... I only realized this connection between the molestation and the pregnancy years later”.

Summary.

The relationship between unintentional adolescent pregnancy and frequency of unwanted intercourse is not simple, straightforward, or linear. The women’s writing reflects what the numerical data show; girls who became pregnant unintentionally are different in important ways from the other respondents in this study. In addition to experiencing unwanted intercourse more frequently, they are more likely to be poor, Aboriginal, and to have experienced childhood sexual abuse or sexual assault. As one woman, who became unintentionally pregnant at the age of 15, wrote, “...I was surviving as best I could given the circumstances at the time”.

Collectively, these women’s stories show that adolescent pregnancy is not an isolated event. Nor is it, as it is often depicted in the media, a frivolous choice based on romantic ideals. For how can there be a choice when a series of events conspires to take that choice away? For so many of these women, unintentional adolescent pregnancy seems to have been a logical chapter in a narrative shaped by racism, poverty, and sexual violence. They were pushed in this direction by external forces and were then held accountable; their reproductive choice was compromised as was their sexual choice. For a couple of these women, their pregnancies seemed to come at the right time and in the right situation. I don’t deny that that happens. But that was not true for all. For many of the women, maybe not all, adolescent

pregnancy changed the course of their lives. It was a serious situation that required a serious response, often involving deep emotional pain and more violence.

Awareness of unwantedness.

As stated above, an important question in sexual consent research concerns whether women who experienced unwanted intercourse knew that they did not want to participate in the intercourse at the time that it was happening. The statistical analysis tests the null hypothesis that a girl's awareness of not wanting intercourse is not associated with frequency of unwanted heterosexual intercourse. As Fisher's test was significant, there is evidence to suggest that frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, is associated with the respondents' awareness of unwantedness at the time. Though further investigation is needed, inspection of the data suggests that the more frequently a woman experienced unwanted heterosexual intercourse, the more likely she was to endorse awareness, at the time, that she did not want the intercourse.

All of the women who answered that they had experienced unwanted intercourse in adolescence were asked whether they had known at the time that they had not wanted it to happen. Those women who answered that they had realized later were then asked if something had happened to cause them to see it that way. If they responded 'yes' to this question, they could choose to "say a little about what that was". 72 women answered that they knew at the time that they had not wanted the intercourse; 25 women said that they had not known at the time. But in the next question, 33 women answered that they only realized later that they had not wanted the intercourse that they had labelled unwanted. Here the results seem contradictory: There is some overlap between the groups, as we would expect the number of women who had not known at the time to be equal to the number of women who later realized that they had not wanted intercourse. 30 women responded to the text box

question, providing information about how they had come to realize that they had experienced unwanted intercourse. Careful reading revealed some of the nuances concerning this apparent confusion.

Some girls knew at the time that their experience of intercourse was unwanted but, as they grew older, they learned more about what that meant to them. Some women were able to clearly identify instances of intercourse that had taken place when they knew beforehand that they did not want to participate, but this was not always the case. Some women wrote about experiences that had begun with intercourse that they wanted or thought they wanted and had decided, during or after the event, they did not want. There were some women who only realized later that they had participated in intercourse when they had not wanted to but who do not fit the category of having 'changed their minds'. These were the women who had come to realize either through education or reflection that their lack of desire for intercourse really had been at a pre-conscious level. While not explicitly the focus of this study, it is important to consider women's knowledge regarding their awareness of engaging in unwanted intercourse -- what women knew, when they knew, and the influences on knowing -- as this may enrich understandings of heterosexual consent and coercion.

In this instance, I approached my thematic analysis informed by two key theoretical concepts, symbolic violence and habitus (Bourdieu, 1990; 2001), as discussed in Chapter Two. In a system of symbolic violence the dominant maintain their dominant position with the help of the oppressed, with the perverse effect of making such domination appear natural or inevitable. With regards to this study, unwanted intercourse represents the violence perpetrated on girls with their complicity. Males' perpetration and females' complicity is enacted through the gendered habitus.

Habitus refers to the idea that “social norms become embedded in the individuals”, often unconsciously, influencing how we behave (Chambers, 2005, p. 330). With regards to heterosexual consent, we all receive many messages supporting, for example, the “male sex drive” (Beres, 2009; Hollway, 1984a; 1984b), compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1980) and the eroticization of male domination (hooks, 1993), which influence the development of boys’ and girls’ gendered habitus, making it almost a necessity that girls and women ignore our own desire and relinquish our sexual agency.

So, the question is, do women really do this? Are women really having intercourse when they do not want to? Clearly, the answer is ‘yes’: women and girls do have intercourse when they do not want to - many of them have had this experience often. And, as we have seen, the women who responded to this survey are very articulate about some of the reasons for that. So the next level of analysis is concerned with what else women are saying about participating in something they do not want to participate in. Pushing on this idea of women’s complicity could deepen our understanding of how pressured and unwanted heterosex contributes to women’s oppression; understanding whether and how women are complicit in their own domination could point to a way out. Asking women when and how they became aware that they did not want the intercourse that they did engage in might prove to be a useful approach in bringing women’s oppression to consciousness, leading to positive change (Bartky, 1990; Chambers, 2005; MacKinnon, 1989).

In the thematic analysis I found support for four themes that engage with the role of symbolic violence in heterosexual consent situations where girls engaged in intercourse that they did not want. As these themes are concerned with women’s self-knowledge, their labels explicitly reference this. They are women who always knew; women who changed from wanting to not wanting; women who did not know; and women who would have known.

Women who always knew.

Before intercourse happened, some women were aware that they did not want to participate but participated anyway. These women tended to reference the contextual issues already identified in the second set of survey questions. In other words, these women would say, "...I didn't necessarily want to participate in intercourse.... I wanted to be close to him", or "He ... would guilt me into it by saying he did not feel attractive", or "[It] was all about pleasing the male not my own pleasure", that she "[gave] in after constant refusals that were not listened to", or she "...sometimes had sex just to get it over with so he would leave and I could have my space again".

But even in this group of women who always knew, there were changes over time regarding *what* they knew; as one participant so eloquently wrote, "I would say the depth of this realization [that she had engaged in unwanted intercourse] occurred over time". For example, one woman, who often had unwanted intercourse, knew 'at the time', at the age of 16, that her experience was unwanted. She wrote, "We had facilitators from the sexual assault centre come in to speak to our dorm and I realized that some early sexual experiences had been date rape". Another woman who sometimes had unwanted intercourse knew at age 16 that she had unwanted intercourse wrote, "I knew at the time that I did not want to but I did not realize until later it was pretty much rape". She does not say whether anything specific had happened that caused her to redefine her experiences as rape.

Women who changed from wanting to not wanting.

These women started out wanting to have intercourse but realized that they did not want it some time during or shortly after the experience. These women tended to reference disappointment or negative consequences as important factors in changing their minds. If either the relationship or the sex was disappointing to her she tended to label that experience

as unwanted though she might have wanted it initially. Her disappointment was generally centred on two things: that the sexual experience was “not enjoyable”; “he was rough and I didn’t feel very aroused”, or that the relationship was not what she had thought. She realized that she had not wanted intercourse by “the way I was treated after”; she “found out what type of person he was”; “he instantly seemed uncaring”. Negative consequences were generally of an emotional nature: fear, of having been ‘used’, of pregnancy, abandonment, and gossip were mentioned as well as shame and self-hate following intercourse that she now labelled ‘unwanted’.

Women who did not know.

The women in this group had come to view some of their adolescent experiences of intercourse as unwanted after the passage of time. They wrote, “Sometimes you don’t realize you don’t want to be intimate with someone until after the relationship is over. For example, when things are winding down and you’re still having sex but you don’t really love him anymore”, or “intercourse was not an option, i remember laying still and letting it happen to whomever wanted sex from me...”. For some women, this realization came after only one or two days, but for others it took years to reach this understanding. For some, this realization came to them after an easily identifiable event, such as “education on sexual abuse”. Others, did not “think anything really happened to make me realize that I hadn’t wanted it to happen, it just slowly occurred to me that I hadn’t wanted it” and they cited developmental processes, such as “knowing myself better” and “develop[ing] self-respect”.

Women who would have known.

These are women whose sexual negotiations took place in situations that made it difficult for them to know what they wanted. Primarily, these involved alcohol and most girls who had unwanted intercourse while under the influence of alcohol realized that they had not

wanted the intercourse almost immediately after the effects of the drug had worn off. Another situation that made it difficult for girls to know whether or not they wanted to participate in intercourse was the partner's very presence. One woman realized that she did not want the intercourse "[u]sually right after he left. I think, because I was able to think more clearly when I was alone". Another woman, who rarely had unwanted intercourse, simply did not have time to evaluate her desire: Considerations about whether she wanted to engage in intercourse at the age of 14 seem to have been irrelevant. "I remember wondering how the hell I ended up having sex with this person. One minute I was outside running through the sprinklers the next thing I knew I was naked and having sex. It was the strangest feeling...I felt detached from my body". She knew the sex was unwanted "about 2 seconds after it happened".

Summary.

Though these four overlapping groups of women, by engaging in intercourse that they did not want, could be seen as complicit in their domination, the specifics of their complicity were different. Some women began wanting intercourse but changed their minds and did not ask their partners to stop; others knowingly engaged in unwanted intercourse because that was the best option for them in the situation; and many women engaged in unwanted intercourse because, for any number of reasons, they just did not realize that they did not want to. Had some of these women been in a different situation, they might have been able to access that knowledge. However, all of these women's experiences support the Bourdieusian concepts of symbolic violence and gendered habitus, implicating some of the complexities of their roles regarding adolescent girls' knowledge of their desire and their ability to exercise agency in heterosexual negotiations.

Conclusion.

As both Narayan (2003) and Mohanty (2003) argue, knowledge about the unique ways that different groups of women experience oppression can lead to a deeper understanding of women's oppression in general. Therefore, I conclude this analysis by sharing the words of women you have not yet heard from, women who did not fall into one or another (perhaps somewhat arbitrary) analytic category. They were not abused as children, they do not belong to any of the three statistically significant 'at risk' groups as identified in this study, and they did not unintentionally become pregnant. But their experiences matter, of course. What they shared enriches this analysis because, despite their positions of relative privilege, they also know about engaging in unwanted intercourse, they know how that has impacted their lives, and they know that this underscores the pervasiveness of this issue: Though not every teenage girl is personally affected by experiences of unwanted intercourse, every teenage girl is vulnerable.

Like the others, these women also pointed to the importance of education, referring to its role in several different ways: lack of education, wrong education, and learning from experience. Many women expressed a belief that openly discussing sexuality with their parents would have provided some protection against some of the negative outcomes of their early sexual experiences. Other women wrote that they had received sexuality education but that it had not met their needs. "Even though I had been exposed to a lot of 'sex ed.' classes, I was incredibly naïve about relationships and how sex changes and complicates the dynamics of relationships". This woman, who sometimes had unwanted intercourse, felt that she would have benefitted from information about partners' personal qualities that contribute to a "healthy partnership". Other women felt that their early sexual experiences had frightened them because they lacked information about what was involved. Similarly, another

respondent regrets her lack of information about sexual health and pleasure, as well as ways to be intimate that do not include intercourse.

Some women wrote that their early sexual experiences had taught them important lessons. A woman who never had unwanted intercourse as an adolescent and whose first sexual relationship had been positive found that she mistakenly trusted subsequent partners to show her love through sex. Conversely, some girls had the information they needed to conduct risk assessments with regard to their sexual relationships: “I did not get into any situations that put me at risk.... Even when I engaged where I did not want to it was for the benefit of the partner with no risk to myself”. Another woman wrote of her first experience of intercourse, which she wanted, when she was 17: “It was great fun! In a tree house. A good memory. :)”

Although many respondents emphasized education and self-esteem as beneficial to and protective for girls and women, other women referred to men’s responsibility for girls’ experiences of unwanted intercourse. Although this study solicited responses only from women, it is important to remember that gendered habitus refers to males as well as well as to females: In heterosexual negotiations, as in symbolic violence, both are implicated.

Chapter Five

Discussion and Conclusions

When a writer presents a work, she is really saying: ‘This is what I see. Can you see it too?’ In this gesture there is a hope – not certainty – that perhaps others may come to share her vision, if only for a moment (Moi, 2008, p. 268).

Introduction.

My background reading had prepared me to consider that, even within relationships of their own choice, girls’ sexual and reproductive choices are highly constrained. In order to better understand the specifics of girls’ reproductive choice I examined what is arguably the most pervasive and least visible type of heterosexual violence against women (Gavey, 2005): the point on the sexual violence continuum closest to mutually consensual sex (Kelly, 1987), what is sometimes referred to as ‘unwanted consensual sex’. However, although issues of sexual consent are critical, this study was not concerned with consent: only wantedness. I gathered data on adolescent girls’ experiences of unwanted heterosexual intercourse that had occurred in ‘potentially appropriate relationships’, expecting to find that a large percentage of the respondents had experienced unwanted intercourse that did not involve physical violence or threats of physical violence when they were adolescents and in relationships of their choosing.

Although there is ample evidence that unwanted intercourse contributes to adverse health outcomes, I chose to focus this analysis on an outcome that is not necessarily or always negative but which almost always represents a crisis: unintentional pregnancy. Specifically, I hypothesized that the frequency of unwanted intercourse would be associated with the respondents’ experiences of unintentional adolescent pregnancy. Finally, both utilizing and testing Bourdieu’s concepts of symbolic violence and gendered habitus, I attempted to uncover some of the circumstances under which the respondents’ experiences of

unwanted heterosexual intercourse had taken place; at what point in time women had come to label these experiences as unwanted; and what, if anything, had influenced their labelling.

Findings and contributions.

O'Sullivan (2005, p. 10) criticises much of the research in this field for measuring 'lifetime' incidence. That is, respondents are often dichotomized into 'yes' or 'no' categories; they did or did not ever experience, for example, unwanted intercourse. She argues that one isolated experience is likely to be qualitatively different from persistent experiences; yet conclusions are often drawn as if these were comparable. My research is sensitive to this issue. Asking women how frequently they experienced unwanted intercourse allowed me to compare the groups O'Sullivan identifies, offering some support for her argument concerning qualitative differences between women who experienced unwanted intercourse more often, less often, and not at all.

Incidence, prevalence, predictors, and context.

Of the 165 respondents, 118 experienced heterosexual intercourse before the age of 19; 100 women (85%) had experienced unwanted intercourse; and 26 women (16% of the total sample) had experienced this 'often' or 'always'.

Although all girls are at risk for experiencing intercourse that they do not want, this study supports previous research implicating childhood sexual abuse, low socioeconomic status, and Aboriginal ethnicity as predictive of higher frequency of unwanted intercourse in adolescence. In addition, childhood sexual abuse, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity were shown to be linked; and Aboriginal girls were more likely than the two other ethnic groups to have had 'not enough money' in their households during their adolescence. However, each of these findings must be treated with caution, as they would be strengthened by the use of

standardized measures of childhood sexual abuse and socioeconomic status as well as the inclusion of purposive sampling in the research design.

Comparing the experiences of women who grew up in northern British Columbia to women who grew up elsewhere, this study adds to a small but growing body of literature comparing women's experiences by the characteristics of the communities in which they live. This study found that, regarding frequency of unwanted intercourse, the experiences of girls who had grown up in northern British Columbia were not significantly different from those of girls who had grown up elsewhere. Furthermore, this study found no evidence to support the hypotheses that frequency of unwanted intercourse in adolescence, retrospectively measured, is linked to the women's current age or sexual orientation, experience of disability in adolescence, or education level.

The survey delineated fifteen different possible interpersonal and social pressures that have been implicated in heterosexual coercion (Beres, 2009; Connell, 1987; Fine, 1996; Gavey, 1993; 2005; Hollway, 1984b; Koss & Oros, 1982; Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991; Patton & Mannison, 1995; Reynolds, 2004; Rich, 1980). From economic disparity, to compulsory heterosexuality, to the male sexual drive discourse, the respondents endorsed each one as playing a role in their adolescent experiences of unwanted intercourse, confirming that heterosexual pressure does, indeed, take these many forms. For those concerned with facilitating social change, such contextual diversity could seem daunting: If sexual pressure occurs in so many different forms, a lot of work will be required to address them all. However, from an educational point of view, seeing the many forms sexual pressure can take may be helpful for youth who are evaluating their own sexual practices while, at the same time, open the discussion to include other, previously unidentified, contextual issues. In addition, reflecting on the multiple forms of sexual pressure as analogous to technologies of

symbolic violence will broaden understandings of the dimensions and limitations of the gendered habitus. Considering frequency of unwanted experiences will enhance these benefits.

This study found that frequency of unwanted intercourse was significantly associated with women's awareness, at the time, that the intercourse was unwanted. Though the data point to awareness increasing with frequency of experience this did not reach statistical significance. Further, this study attempts to determine when women came to label their experiences as unwanted (see Harned, 2005; Houts, 2005). Most (74%) respondents knew, at the time, that they were participating in unwanted intercourse; some labelled their experiences as unwanted after the passage of time, ranging from immediately after the event, the next day, or years later. However, the research design proved particularly effective in uncovering some of the complexities related to women's understandings and labelling of unwanted intercourse. Even when women labelled immediately, many felt that their understanding of these experiences deepened over time. As they made clear, all of these women know about knowing. That is, regardless of when they knew that their experience of intercourse was unwanted, as a group they expressed their insight into the non-dichotomous natures of both knowing and wantedness and the ways that such complexity shaped their lives. In the short term, their specific awareness would dramatically enhance sexual health programs, particularly those that emphasize healthy choices. In the long term, women's knowledge may prove to be an important resource for mapping and subsequently reshaping the heterosexual gendered habitus.

The thematic analysis found that the women's experiences were more similar than different, with education being the overwhelming theme. Almost all of the women referenced the power of education in their lives: wrong education, lack of education, and liberatory

education. Overwhelmingly, experiences of childhood sexual abuse taught the girls that their bodies were not their own, preparing them to be sexually available to men. Alternatively, a lack of education left girls the options of learning about sexuality from peers or partners, with mixed, and largely negative, results. Positive education, whether it happened earlier or later in life, offered two critical outcomes: The first was a firm assignment of responsibility. Women who wrote of experiencing positive education did not blame themselves for engaging in unwanted intercourse, stating clearly that men's violence is men's responsibility. Second, the women connected liberatory education with increased self-esteem, both in general and in relation to their sexuality. As these data are cross-sectional, causation cannot be determined. However, this analysis points to an important relationship between sexual violence, sexuality education, and sexual self-esteem.

Unintentional pregnancy.

19 women became pregnant unintentionally; over half of them reported unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always'. This study found a statistically significant link between frequency of unwanted intercourse, retrospectively measured, and unintentional adolescent pregnancy. Women who reported experiencing unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always' were more likely to become unintentionally pregnant than girls who experienced unwanted intercourse less frequently. Predictably, the same girls who were more vulnerable to unwanted intercourse – those who had experienced childhood sexual abuse, Aboriginal girls, and girls whose families did not have enough money -- were also more likely to become pregnant when they did not want to. In contrast to media representations of teenage pregnancy as a frivolous choice or an unfortunate accident, these data offer another story. A potentially life-changing event that commonly involves deep emotional turmoil, coercion, and violence, the real story of teenage pregnancy is too often written on an understory of

poverty, racism, and sexual violence. These data illustrate, in very real terms, another layer in this discussion of girls' experiences of unwanted intercourse whereby constrained reproductive choice follows constrained sexual choice.

Limitations.

Sample.

Despite growing evidence that university students experience less sexual violence than women who do not attend university, a majority of research looking at sexual violence against women continues to draw samples from undergraduate student populations. Although my intention was to draw respondents from the community, the survey does not gather the necessary information to confirm or deny that I did. Indeed, the high levels of education attained by the respondents (a minimum of high school graduation) show that these women could all belong to the university community. Future studies will need to incorporate more questions regarding respondents' community affiliation.

In this sample, 15% of the women became pregnant in adolescence. Knowing that approximately half of all teen pregnancies are aborted, that almost 10% of Canadian girls will give birth before the age of 19, and that adolescent pregnancy rates have been dropping steadily since the 1960s (Caragata, 1999; Dryburgh, 2000; Saewyc, Poon, et al., 2008), we could expect at least 20% of this sample to have experienced teen pregnancy. It is possible that a substantial number of women who became pregnant in adolescence may have self-selected out of this study.

Validity and reliability.

Aside from the most basic questions as well as the narrative data, the Girls' Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Appendix D) can make no claim for validity or reliability. This questionnaire was developed from the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Oros, 1982) and

although Koss's Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) has proven reliable, adaptations, such as I and many others have created, offer no such assurances. Nevertheless, Hamby and Koss (2003) support adaptations to the SES. Specifically, they argue for precisely worded descriptions of target behaviours and the inclusion of social pressure and other heretofore unidentified factors in sexual coercion. Accordingly, my intention was not to use the SES as a standardized measurement but, rather, as a model for good questions that encourage meaningful responses regarding women's experiences of interpersonal and social pressure to engage in unwanted intercourse.

The measures of childhood sexual abuse and respondents' familial socioeconomic status also present validity and reliability concerns. These measures should be tested or abandoned in favour of proven measures.

Retrospective data.

Retrospective data are subject to recall errors (Aalsma, Zimet, Fortenberry, Blythe, & Orr, 2002), especially as the length of time between an event and its recall increases (Brewer, 1994; Livingston et al., 2007). Therefore, Maughan and Rutter (1997) advocate corroborating memory recall with other types of evidence. Clearly, when considering sexual experiences, corroborating data would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to access. However, "most memory experts have concluded that autobiographical memory is relatively accurate" (Melchert & Parker, 1997, p. 134). Low-frequency and highly emotional events are more accurately recalled than neutral events that occur often and qualitative responses are more likely to be accurate than 'factual' information (Brewer, 1994). But regarding retrospectively labelling sexual experiences as positive or negative, Stapleton (2010) suggests that experiencing an unintentional pregnancy might lead women to re-evaluate more negatively. Prospective studies, therefore, offer a corrective to this potential bias. Researchers can

support their respondents in accessing accurate autobiographical data by providing contextual cues: for example, by asking respondents to recall an important birthday (Cohen, Kasen, Bifulco, Andrews, & Gordon, 2005) as this study did. However, whatever limitations accompany retrospective autobiographical data also apply to this study.

Pregnancy intention and coercion.

Although this survey acknowledges that pregnancy intention can be complex, we can expect survey data on pregnancy intention to be accurate (Joyce, Kaestner, & Korenman, 2002). But as Miller et al. (2007) have shown, questions of adolescent girls' pregnancy intention can be complicated by intimate partner violence and pregnancy coercion. Up to 66% of teen pregnancies in the U.S. occur within a physically, sexually, or emotionally abusive relationship; 26% of female adolescent participants in one study reported that their male partners were actively trying to get them pregnant, indicating that men might be using pregnancy as a "mechanism of control in a relationship" (Miller et al., 2007, p. 365; see also Miller et al., 2010). A holistic research focus on adolescent pregnancy would benefit from incorporating questions on non-sexual IPV and pregnancy coercion as complicating factors in pregnancy intention.

Relationship intimacy and sexual precedence.

Some respondents pointed out that the type of relationship and level of commitment impact the types of pressure that girls experience. Research supports their observations: relationship intimacy has been shown to be related to the type of coercion and level of intrusiveness of the unwanted sexual experience (Livingston et al., 2004; Livingston et al., 2007; Patton & Mannison, 1995). Future studies would benefit from gathering information on relationship intimacy and, possibly, limiting the research to a narrow range of relationships. Related to level of intimacy is sexual precedence, which has been shown to be an important

factor in verbal coercion: Resisting unwanted intercourse is more difficult for girls who have already participated in a similar act with a partner (Livingston et al., 2004). Though sexual precedence has been believed to be less salient for adolescent girls, especially those with no intercourse experience (Livingston et al., 2007), there is new evidence to suggest that sexual precedence is being set by their male partner's previous partners, making this issue particularly compelling for researchers of adolescent sexuality (Hyde et al., 2008).

Social and interpersonal factors.

As previously stated, the respondents endorsed all fifteen social and interpersonal factors relevant to their experiences of unwanted intercourse that were contained within the questionnaire. Hamby and Koss (2003) suggest that identifying additional forms of sexual pressure should be included in investigations. For example, Morgan and Zurbriggen (2007) identified threats of infidelity as another form of pressure to engage in unwanted sex. This was confirmed by one respondent who wrote, “[I was] constantly worried about being cheated on”. Although reasons to participate in unwanted intercourse such as “he threatened to end the relationship” and “he said things that I found out later he didn’t mean” were included in this study and might have been read as threats of infidelity, they may also have been interpreted differently.

Focus on unwantedness.

Though I do not subscribe to this view, this project runs the risk of characterizing all adolescent girls’ experiences of intercourse as negative. While my focus is on unwanted and presumably negative experiences, the project implicitly references an ideal of joyful, satisfying female adolescent sexuality. Impett and Peplau (2003), Impett and Tolman (2006), and Kaestle (2009) write about two types sexual motivation: avoidance motivation and approach motivation. Avoidance motivation refers to doing something to avoid a negative

consequence; for example, engaging in intercourse to avoid conflict. Approach motivation refers to doing something in order to gain a benefit; for example, having intercourse to enjoy sexual pleasure or to receive or show affection. However, this study shows that approach motivation to engage in desired sex must be differentiated from approach motivation to engage in unwanted sex, though these two situations may overlap somewhat.

Impett and Tolman (2006) show that, for girls in late adolescence, sexual experience and sexual satisfaction are related to sexual self-concept¹⁹ and approach-motivated sex. And Impett, Sorsoli, Schooler, Henson, and Tolman (2008) support feminist psychologists' consistent reports that, for girls and women, relationship authenticity²⁰ is related to higher self-esteem. Considering the strong evidence that sexual victimization predicts further sexual victimization, their conclusions lead to questions regarding the relationships among relationship authenticity, sexual self-concept, sexual satisfaction, and sexual motivation. For example, perhaps relationship inauthenticity is related to unwanted sex, which then erodes sexual self-concept, all of which could be related to self-esteem. There are many possible complementary approaches to untangling this knot: focussing on unwanted sexual experiences is just one.

Focus on intercourse.

Because this preliminary study of unwanted sex investigated adolescent pregnancy, questions were limited to heterosexual intercourse. And while unwanted intercourse has been found to have more serious psycho-social consequences than less intrusive forms of unwanted sex (Crown & Roberts, 2007), we know that other sexual practices usually precede, or take place instead of, intercourse (Patton & Mannison, 1995; Tolman, 2002). Adolescent

¹⁹ Feeling positive about one's sexuality.

²⁰ When one's feelings, thoughts, and actions are consistent within a relationship.

girls' sexual experiences, while potentially setting the course of their sexual lives, may never include intercourse. Focus on intercourse, rather than considering broader expressions of sexuality, limits a fuller engagement with the ways that girls' sexuality develops (Impett et al., 2006). Therefore, and especially when considering adolescents, it is important to consider the full range of sexual experiences.

Conclusion.

Rather than defining women's sexual experiences by legal or social definitions, this study purposefully queries women's subjective assessments of wantedness regarding their adolescent experiences of sexual intercourse and validates girls' subjectivity, arguing that 'unwanted' is perhaps as valid as 'illegal' or 'immoral'. Surely, compared to legal and social sanctions, wanting or not wanting is most intimately each person's own – her truest response. And if being repeatedly pressured to relinquish what Catharine MacKinnon (1982) refers to as “that which is most one's own” -- that is, sexuality -- is not already abhorrent, in and of itself, my argument is supported by evidence that unwanted sexual contact has potentially important personal and political implications, including unintended pregnancy, stigma, and shame.

But women know this. So why do they appear to be complicit in this violence? Even in relationships of their choosing and in the absence of physical violence or threats of physical violence, many of these women, as adolescents, did comply with their partner's sexual desire when they did not, themselves, feel desire. Some women did this frequently. That this violence is done to girls and women with their complicity establishes unwanted intercourse as a form of symbolic violence. Delineating girls' gendered habitus will be more complex as there are a number of forces acting on adolescent girls that limit their autonomy in heterosexual negotiations.

Sexual pressure is so common in adolescent relationships that it is normalized. Some girls learned from other girls that they could just expect to 'do it' and not expect to enjoy it. Sexual pressure can be so intense that, in order to resolve conflict or negotiation in the absence of their own desire, some girls ignore their own preferences, prioritizing their male partners over themselves. In this context, then, wantedness becomes fairly irrelevant. However, as this study shows, wantedness is a complex, non-dichotomous construct. An ambivalent sense of wantedness, falling somewhere between really wanting and really not wanting sex, tends to be the rule rather than the exception (Houts, 2005). Under conditions of pressure and expectation it is hard for girls to assess their sexual desire. If they do, it is common to minimize, dismiss, or ignore the implications, especially if wantedness is largely absent. Girls who are still able to access their own subjective assessment of whether they want to have sex may subsequently decide that it's not worth the fight, the risk, or the cost to object.

In my view, work on sexual wantedness in adolescence is intriguing; rich in both complexity and disruptive potential. Firmly placing nonagentic, pressured, verbally coerced, unwanted but (questionably) consensual sex on the continuum of sexual violence sets the groundwork for social change (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999). From a feminist Bourdieusian point of view, a cultural shift towards labelling unwanted sex violent has already altered the field of heterosexual relations. The gendered habitus is forced to respond to the field. In theory at least, calling unwanted sex violence brings its normalization to cultural consciousness. When unwanted sex is no longer considered legitimate, what is acceptable will more closely resemble wanted sex. Girls who know that they do not want the sex on offer might have options other than capitulation; and girls who might otherwise not have

recognized their lack of desire might have a label to help them identify their authentic feelings.

Because socialization and discourses form the gendered habitus, each embodied habitus is unique, explaining why individuals in similar situations will respond differently and experience different outcomes. Now, if the gendered habitus was immutable, we would simply have to accept our fate. But, according to Bourdieu, it is certainly mutable.

According to Bourdieu's theory, all of the women who responded to this survey have always inhabited a continually changing gendered habitus. Not all of them experienced unwanted intercourse in adolescence; those who did experienced this with varying frequency; and some women indicated that although they had many unwanted sexual experiences as girls this is no longer the case. Their stories offer a hopeful contradiction to studies that point to lifelong trajectories of sexual victimization. This makes me curious. How do some women escape this painful trajectory? Does it have to do with the partners they encounter? What intervention occurs? Do they actively negotiate this? And why are some women exempted? Is there something different about them?

My analysis points to important relationships among education, self-esteem, and sexual autonomy suggestive of a feedback loop whereby strengthening one aspect positively impacts the other two. This idea is appealing on two levels. First, it is consistent with feminist understandings of the gendered habitus in that discourses and socialization (education and, possibly, self-esteem) shape the habitus (sexual autonomy and, possibly, self-esteem) and the habitus also alters the field. Secondly, it resonates with Impett and Tolman's (2006) concept of 'relationship authenticity'. In this thought experiment, positive sexuality education enhances self-esteem and, together, these support relationship authenticity, including sexual autonomy: the appearance of sexually autonomous adolescent girls in the

field of heterosexual relations changes ‘the rules of the game’ – predictably, in a positive direction; toward authenticity. Unless something disrupts this process, it would be expected to continue until the system reaches an egalitarian stasis.

I would like to hear what women know about this. Women whose embodied experience includes both situations, who once experienced unwanted intercourse frequently but now only engage in intercourse that they desire, might be in the best position to offer insight. Women who have never experienced unwanted intercourse still know that it happens. And women whose entire sexual lives have been determined by others’ wishes may, according to feminist standpoint theory (Hartsock, 2003), have the clearest view of this.

In conclusion, this study shows that experiences of sexual coercion in intimate relationships are not just a concern for adult women but are also present in the lives of adolescent girls. And although conservative and liberal discourses alike would hold these young women responsible for their complicity, this study substantially weakens support for the choices discourse. It would be simplistic and arrogant to suggest that all girls should always say ‘no’ to sex that they do not want. And it is unfair to place the burden of responsibility for negotiations of heterosexual consent solely on girls and women. Choice relies on power and autonomy. Since some women wrote of regaining their sense of power and autonomy in their later years, I can only assume that many of these women were also powerful, autonomous girls. But power is relational and contextual (Bartky, 1990). Focussing on unwanted intercourse, this study shows that, more specifically, *sexual power* is also relational and contextual. In heterosexual negotiations it is difficult, first, for girls to know what they want and, second, to ask for that. But although the gendered habitus is resilient, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992, pp. 136-7) argues that scrutinizing the habitus can precipitate change. Sharing the knowledge that comes from such scrutiny could impact both

socialization and discourses and, hence, re-shape the dominant gendered habitus (Chambers, 2005).

The women who responded to this survey seem to understand this. Memories of their adolescent heterosexual experiences point to ambivalence regarding knowledge of their sexual desire. Adding interpersonal and social pressures created, for many, a situation wherein capitulation was the only option. Though they did not use the words 'gendered habitus' or 'symbolic violence', many of the women had critiqued their experiences, noting that their sense of self had improved with education and self-awareness. An Aboriginal woman in her 50s, who had experienced many forms of violence throughout her life, was especially passionate, writing, "many men see women's worth is something to fuck, use for their pleasure, and to dominate over rather than to love, honour, value, respect, and enjoy as equals". She offers her insight: "As young girls, we need to be taught to define our own definitions of self, self-worth, and meaning and then live it... Don't allow society or anyone else to define who we are and what we are good for".

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Appendix A

Koss and Oros's Sexual Experiences Survey for Women

Have you ever:

1. Had sexual intercourse with a man when you both wanted to?
2. Had a man misinterpret the level of sexual intimacy you desired?
3. Been in a situation where a man became so sexually aroused that you felt it was useless to stop him even though you did not want to have sexual intercourse?
4. Had sexual intercourse with a man even though you didn't really want to because he threatened to end your relationship otherwise?
5. Had sexual intercourse with a man when you didn't really want to because you felt pressured by his continual arguments?
6. Found out that a man had obtained sexual intercourse with you by saying things he didn't really mean?
7. Been in a situation where a man used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to try to make you engage in kissing or petting when you didn't want to?
8. Been in a situation where a man tried to get sexual intercourse with you when you didn't want to by threatening to use physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) if you didn't cooperate, but for various reasons sexual intercourse did not occur?
9. Been in a situation where a man used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to try to get you to have sexual intercourse with him when you didn't want to, but for various reasons sexual intercourse did not occur?
10. Had sexual intercourse with a man when you didn't want to because he threatened to use physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) if you didn't cooperate?
11. Had sexual intercourse with a man when you didn't want to because he used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.)?
12. Been in a situation where a man obtained sexual acts with you such as anal or oral intercourse when you didn't want to by using threats or physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.)?

(Koss & Oros, 1982, p. 456).

Appendix B

Pyne-Addelson's Good-Girl Life Plan and Career of an Unwed Mother (1999, p.87).

Figure 1
Good-Girl Life Plan

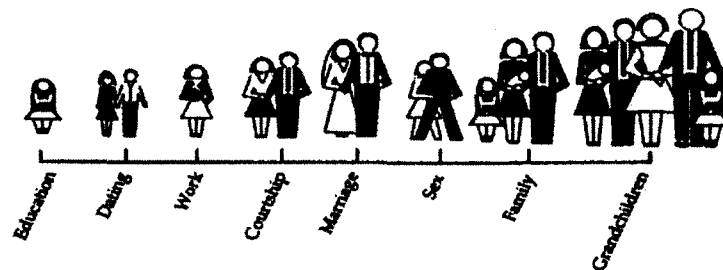
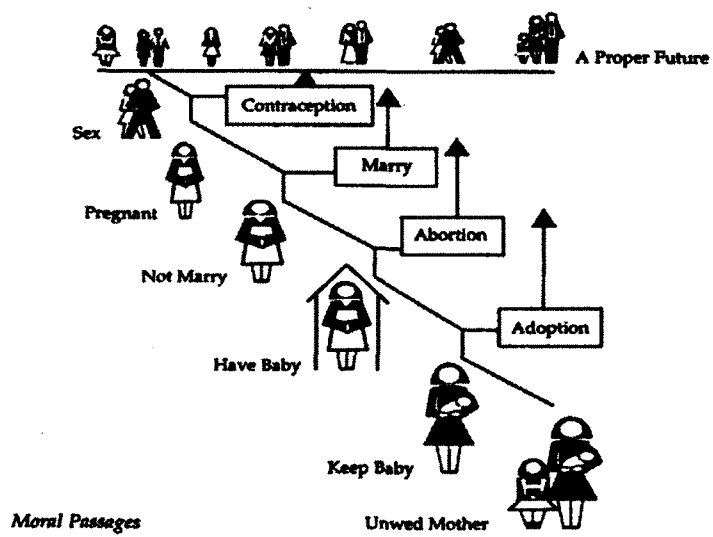


Figure 2
Career of an Unwed Mother



Appendix C

Webpage Content at <http://anitashaw.com/>

First post²¹

Girls' Experiences of Unwanted Intercourse and Unintentional Adolescent Pregnancy: A Retrospective Study

To get information sooner or to get a copy of the research results:

Please contact the researcher, Anita Shaw,
or her supervisor, Dr. Holler, or call 250 960 6343.

Any questions or complaints about the project should be directed to:

The Office of Research, 250 960 5820 or by email

Counselling contacts:

If, after responding to the questionnaire, a woman feels the need to access counselling or emotional support she may wish to contact the following:

In Prince George:

The Prince George Crisis Intervention Centre at 250 564 5736

The Sexual Assault Centre of Prince George at 250 564 8302

UNBC Counselling Services (for UNBC students) at 250 960 6369

In B.C.:

The B.C. Crisis Line, toll free, at 1 800 515 6999

VictimLINK, toll free, at 1 800 563 0808.

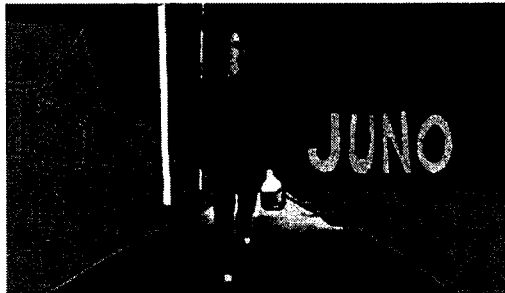
In other areas:

Look in the phone book under "Crisis".

²¹ The first post appeared on the website at the beginning of the data collection period.

Or Google “women crisis line” and your city or country. For example, women crisis line Scotland.

Second post²²



Several recent media events got me thinking about adolescent pregnancy. First, the movie “Juno” was released in 2007 followed, in 2008, by news coverage of the so-called ‘pregnancy pact’ at the high school in Gloucester, Massachusetts.

“18 pregnant schoolgirls”



“US town reeling in shame”

At that same time, there was a media storm over Jamie Lynn Spears’ teenage pregnancy and, later that summer, the uproar over Bristol Palin’s pregnancy.

It struck me that a lot of the coverage talked about choices. There was much hand-wringing over the ‘poor choices’ girls were making about having sex, getting pregnant, and keeping their babies.

Interestingly, after her child was born, Bristol Palin became a spokesperson for the abstinence movement, encouraging teenagers to “just say no” to sex until they are married.

²² The second and subsequent posts appeared on the website once data collection was complete.

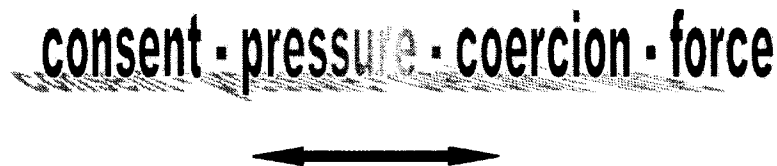


The more I talked with other women about these stories, the more I thought about this idea of choice. I wanted to find out more about how much choice girls really have in these matters, even when they are in relationships of their own choosing. My research challenges the notion of choice, asking the question:

Do girls have meaningful choice in matters of sexuality and reproduction?

Sexual Choice

In the 1980s, while interviewing women about their experiences of sexual violence, Liz Kelly found it useful to think about a 'continuum' of sexual violence. The concept of a continuum shows how different sexual experiences are related;



from consensual sex to pressure, to coercion, to force, one blends into another.

The continuum has proven useful in at least two ways. First, it can help women describe experiences which don't easily fit one description or another; for example, when what started as a mutually consensual experience ended with a woman being forced to engage in intercourse. Second, any point on the continuum can help women describe her specific experience. This can be useful when a label such as rape or even consensual sex is not a good description of how she sees her experience.

The Focus of this Study

If you have seen my questionnaire, it will probably be clear that my research focuses on the point on the continuum closest to mutually consensual sex, often referred to as unwanted consensual sex. Some scholars have defined this as:

sex that the girl does not desire but feels pressured to participate in, that does not involve either the threat of or direct force or violence, and that she appears to consent to or, at least, does not obviously resist (Gavey 1992, 326; Kelly 1987, 55-58) and that takes place within “potentially appropriate” heterosexual relationships; relationships that women might choose to have with, for example, a boyfriend, lover, partner, or date (Estrich 1987, quoted in Gavey 2005, 38).

Of course females can and do pressure males to have sex. But this is less common and tends to be different than when males pressure females. This issue has been, and continues to be, studied by other researchers.

Why should we care about girls' experiences of unwanted sex?

Some possible consequences for girls and women are:

- *Psychological and emotional* - Some girls are upset or disturbed by these experiences. These effects might be brief or on-going.
- *Further coercive sexual experiences* - Some research indicates that having early experiences of unwanted sex leads to more experiences of a similar nature in later life.
- *Physical health* – Unwanted sex can lead to health risks such as exposure to sexually transmitted infections.
- *Pregnancy* – And, of course, intercourse can cause pregnancy. Importantly, some research suggests that intercourse that is unwanted (by the woman) may be more likely to cause pregnancy than intercourse that is wanted.

The Girls' Sexual Experiences Survey

So the questionnaire that you so generously answered will begin to answer some of the following questions:

1. How many girls have experienced unwanted sex within relationships that they chose? And what were the circumstances of those experiences?
2. Did some girls experience this more than other girls?
3. Is there a relationship between unwanted intercourse and unintentional adolescent pregnancy? That is, were girls who experienced unwanted intercourse more or less likely to get pregnant, **when they didn't want to**, than the girls who didn't?
4. And, of course, how might future studies be improved?

The results will be posted as soon as they are available. Please check back. They should be ready by June.

Once again, thank you so much for sharing your experiences and supporting this project.

Sincerely,
Anita Shaw, M.A. (candidate), UNBC

Thank you!

Third post

About me:

I consider myself very fortunate to have had the opportunity to return to school later in life; I am a student at the University of Northern British Columbia where I am pursuing a Master's degree in Gender Studies. My research focuses on women's heterosexual consent and reproductive freedom, especially the social and interpersonal factors in girls' compliance with unwanted intercourse and girls' experiences of unintentional pregnancy.

I grew up in northern B.C. but I have lived in many other parts of the province where I have spent most of my adult life working with and for women and children in a variety of settings, including crisis intervention and support groups. This research project, which meets part of the requirements for my degree, is inspired by all they have taught me.

Fourth post

165 women completed the questionnaire.

Thank you!

SO, WHO ARE YOU?

Age:

- You ranged in age from 19 to 67 years of age.
- Approximately half were under 38.

Race/ethnicity:

- Aboriginal – 13%
- Caucasian – 80%

Sexual orientation:

- Heterosexual – 69%
- Lesbian – 11%
- Bi-sexual, queer, and questioning – 20%

Socioeconomic status (when you were adolescents):

- Did not have enough money – 30%
- Had enough money – 59%
- Had more than enough money – 11%

Geographic location (when you were adolescents):

- Northern B.C. – 34%

Childhood sexual abuse:

I didn't ask directly whether you had been sexually abused as a child because that is not always the most sensitive way to deal with this. Instead, I asked you a series of 4 questions which were designed to help me figure out whether this was your experience, according to the Canadian legal definition. This was challenging and, indeed, for some of the responses I could not say for certain whether sexual abuse had occurred or not.

I feel fairly certain, however, that 41% did experience childhood sexual abuse and that 46% of you did not.

First heterosexual intercourse:

- Before age 19 – 72%
- After age 19 – 28%

Adolescent experiences of intercourse (of the women who had intercourse before age 19):

- Experienced intercourse that both partners wanted – 91%
- Experienced intercourse that only you wanted – 21% said yes; 17% did not know.
- Experienced intercourse that only he wanted – 85%; 22% said that this occurred 'often' or 'always'.

Adolescent pregnancy:

- 24 women (14.5%) became pregnant before their 19th birthday.
- Of these 24 pregnancies, 19 were not intentional.

Based on my questions, why do girls have sexual intercourse when they don't want to?

Most commonly:

- It was a way for her to receive attention or affection.
- She felt that he expected it.
- It seemed 'normal'; that 'everyone was doing it'.
- She was under the influence of drugs or alcohol.
- She was overwhelmed by his continual arguments or pressure.

Did some girls experience unwanted intercourse more than other girls?

- Yes. Girls who experienced childhood sexual abuse were more likely to have had intercourse before they were 19 than girls who had not. They were also more likely to have experienced unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always' than girls who had not been sexually abused as children.

Was unwanted intercourse associated with unintentional adolescent pregnancy?

- Yes. Girls who experienced unwanted intercourse 'often' or 'always' were more likely to become pregnant when they didn't want to than girls who experienced unwanted intercourse 'rarely' or 'sometimes' or who only experienced intercourse that they wanted.

I will be posting more results as they become available.

Check again in September.

Appendix D

Girls' Sexual Experiences Questionnaire: Asking Women about their Early (Hetero)Sexual Experiences.

Information for Research Participants.

Researcher's name: Anita Shaw

Address: University of Northern British Columbia, 3333 University Way, Prince George, B.C., Canada, V2N 4Z9

E-mail: shawan@unbc.ca

Supervisor's name: Dr. Jacqueline Holler

Title of project: Girls' Sexual Experiences: A Retrospective Study

Type of project: M.A. thesis

Purpose of research: To learn about girls' experiences of unwanted sexual intercourse in relation to unintentional pregnancy and the subsequent impacts on their lives.

How the respondent was chosen: Any woman over the age of 18 can participate in this study.

What the respondent will be asked to do: To respond to an on-line questionnaire. The questionnaire will ask for demographic information as well as for some information about women's early sexual experiences, pregnancies and pregnancy outcomes, specifically, before the age of 19. The questionnaire is composed of about 40 questions and will probably take less than 20 minutes to complete.

Potential risks and benefits: Sometimes women want to share their youthful experiences of heterosexuality and pregnancy but do not have a place to do so. This study provides that space as well as the opportunity to participate in future in-depth studies concerning similar issues. In addition, this study might offer women some new language with which to describe and understand their adolescent experiences of heterosexuality and, possibly, pregnancy. This could lead some women to a greater forgiveness of self as well as a feeling of community which might previously have been unavailable to them. On the other hand, gaining insight into and language about oppressive experiences can re-open old wounds, leading to anger and other uncomfortable emotional states. The researcher will provide contact information for counselling and support should the participant feel the need to access that (see below). Due to negative stereotyping, some women are reluctant to speak of their adolescent sexuality and pregnancies. There are strong social pressures against openly discussing these issues. Therefore, talking about these experiences can create anxiety for some. For others, it may be cathartic. But for most women, it will be both.

Counselling contacts: If, after responding to the questionnaire, a woman feels the need to access counselling or emotional support, she may wish to contact the following:

In Prince George:

The Prince George Crisis Intervention Centre at 250 564 5736

The Sexual Assault Centre of Prince George at 250 564 8302

UNBC Counselling Services (for UNBC students) at 250 960 6369

In B.C.:

The B.C. Crisis Line, toll free, at 1 800 515 6999

or VictimLINK, toll free, at 1 800 563 0808

In other areas:

Look in the phone book under “Crisis” or Google “women crisis line” and your city or country; for example, *women crisis line Scotland*.

Who will have access to the completed questionnaires: Only the researcher, Anita Shaw, and her supervisor, Dr. Jacqueline Holler, will have access to the completed surveys. There will be no identifying information on the completed questionnaires.

Voluntary nature of participation: The respondents volunteer to participate and have the right to withdraw at any time. You can do so simply by exiting the on-line survey tool. No reason needs to be given for withdrawal and your information will be withdrawn automatically.

Remuneration: Participants will not be paid for their participation.

Anonymity and confidentiality: There is no personal identifying information on the survey. It is, therefore, completely anonymous and confidential.

How the information is stored and for how long: Completed surveys will remain in the possession of the researcher, Anita Shaw, until the thesis has been completed; approximately one year. The electronic surveys will be saved in a secure electronic file and will be accessed only by the researcher, Anita Shaw, and her supervisor, Dr. Holler.

For more information or to get a copy of the research results: Please contact the researcher, Anita Shaw, at shawan@unbc.ca or her supervisor, Dr. Holler, at holler@unbc.ca or at 250 960 6343 or go to <http://anitashaw.com/>

Any questions or complaints about the project should be directed to the Office of Research at UNBC, 250 960 5820 or by email: reb@unbc.ca

Checking the box below indicates that you have read and understood the preceding information and will allow you to view the survey.

Do you consent to take part in this study?

☐ I CONSENT

The first part of the survey tells me a little bit about you.

What year were you born?

What is the highest education level that you have completed?

- ☐ Less than elementary school
- ☐ Elementary school
- ☐ High school
- ☐ Certificate program
- ☐ Undergraduate degree
- ☐ Graduate degree

Please describe your race or ethnicity.

Please describe your sexual orientation.

How would you describe the financial situation in your household when you were growing up?

Would you say that your family:

- ☐ Did not have enough money?
- ☐ Had enough money?
- ☐ Had more than enough money?

When you were less than 19 years of age, did you have a disability?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

For the most part, when you were single and younger than 19, where were you living?

- ☐ Northern B.C.
- ☐ B.C.
- ☐ Northern Canada
- ☐ Canada
- ☐ The United States
- ☐ Somewhere else

What would be the best way to describe the place where you lived?

Checking more than one option may help you to describe your home more completely.

- ☐ Village
- ☐ Farming community

- ☐ Large city
☐ Suburbs
☐ Isolated
☐ Small town
☐ Small city
☐ Reserve
☐ Other, please specify:

Now I would like to ask you about your earliest sexual experiences.

How old were you at the time of your first sexual encounter? (approximately)

How old was the other person? (approximately)

Looking back at this, would you say that this experience was something that you wanted?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Not sure

Would you like to say more about this experience? (Optional)

More specifically, did you ever have sexual intercourse when you were single and younger than 19?

☐ Yes

☐ No

**In this part of the survey I am asking about the relationships that you chose
 - when you were less than 19 years of age -
 that included sexual relations; for example dates, boyfriends, partners, or lovers.**

Note:

If you are having trouble remembering your adolescence it may help to recall an important event, such as a special birthday. Please take a moment to remember what was happening in your life at that time.

You might think about: where you lived,
 the kind of music you listened to,
 where you went to school,
 who your best friend was,
 the kinds of clothes you wore,
 and what you liked to do.

Your experiences are unique to you.

While the choices below may not describe these perfectly, please try to choose the "best fit"; the response that best explains what you know and understand about your early sexual experiences.

There are no right or wrong answers.

The next set of questions is designed to explore some of the reasons why some girls and women might have intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when they don't really want to.

Please read each question carefully. Even though they seem very similar, they are all different in important ways.

When you were single and under the age of 19:

Did you ever have sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when you didn't want to because **he was so sexually aroused** that you thought it useless to try and stop?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because **you were overwhelmed by his continual arguments or pressure?**

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because **you felt that he expected it?**

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because **it seemed normal**, that "everyone was doing it"?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because **you needed money or**

a place to stay?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when you didn't want to because you were under the influence of drugs or alcohol?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because it was a way for you to receive attention or affection?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to in order to keep the peace or avoid unpleasantness?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because he threatened to end the relationship?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because he said things you found out later he didn't really mean?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when you didn't want to

because you didn't want to embarrass him?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because you were afraid of what might happen if you didn't?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because it was a way for you to give him attention or affection?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to to avoid looking inexperienced?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Did you ever have sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because saying "no" just wasn't an option you had considered?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

Now I would like you to think about your early sexual experiences in a very general way.

When you were single and under the age of 19:

Did you ever have sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or partner because you both wanted to?

- ☐ Yes

- ☐ No
☐ Don't know

Did you ever have sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or partner because **you wanted to but he didn't?**

- ☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

Did you ever have sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when **you didn't really want to?**

- ☐ Never
☐ Rarely
☐ Sometimes
☐ Often
☐ Always
☐ Don't know

Thinking back to your youth when you had intercourse that you did not want:

Can you say, approximately, how old you were at the time?

Approximately how old was your partner?

Sometimes it is difficult to know, in the moment, whether or not we want something to happen. In the case of sex we might know very clearly, as it's happening, that we either do or do not want to have intercourse. On the other hand, we may only recognize this after the fact.

Thinking back on your adolescence when you had intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when you didn't want to, would you say that:

You knew, **at the time**, that you didn't want to?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

You only realized **later** that you had not wanted it to happen?

- ☐ Not applicable
☐ No

☐ Yes. Can you estimate when you realized this?

If you answered 'yes' to the previous question:

Did something happen that caused you to see it this way?

- ☐ Not applicable
☐ No

☐ Yes. Can you say a little about what that was?

Now I would like to ask you about pregnancy.

When you were single and under 19 years of age:

Did you want to get pregnant?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ Not sure

Did you get pregnant?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Can you tell me a little bit about your pregnancy experience?

How old were you the first time you became pregnant?

How old was your partner?

And what happened after you became pregnant?

☐ Married or entered a common-law relationship

☐ Remained single

What was the outcome of the pregnancy?

☐ Miscarriage

☐ Abortion

☐ Adoption

☐ Stillbirth

☐ Motherhood

☐ OTHER. Some examples might include: 1) A period of motherhood followed by adoption.

2) A within-family adoption, mothering part of the time. Please elaborate.

Would you like to say more about this experience? (Optional)

In this section I hope you will take the opportunity to "talk back" to me a little.

Every woman's experience is different.

Whether or not you had intercourse, and regardless of whether you wanted to or didn't, your insights and ideas are important to me and to future research. Please write as much or as little

as you wish.

Is there anything else you would like to say about your early sexual experiences? (Optional)

Can you think of any questions I haven't asked that you think would be important for me to ask you or other women? (Optional)

Would you like to tell me what you think of this survey? (Optional)

Please click on the Submit button to complete the survey.

Appendix E

Rationale for the Girls' Sexual Experiences Questionnaire

I surveyed adult women, as opposed to adolescent girls, primarily, for two reasons. First, though they are becoming more common, studies of adolescent sexuality are challenging. The challenge is due, in large part, to the difficulties in gaining research access to this population (Small & Kerns, 1993, p. 942). Second, the information I sought may only be accessible to women after a length of time has passed. Normal developmental processes, as well as temporal distance from the actual experiences in question, may aid women in making the nuanced judgments I asked them to share (Saewyc, personal communication, June 7, 2009).

Following Koss's (1987) protocol, I collected information about the respondents' ethnicity, education level, and age prior to questions concerning unwanted intercourse and pregnancy. As I did not ask about their place of residence or collect IP addresses, it is impossible to know where the women were living when they answered the questionnaire. In accordance with Saewyc, Poon, et al.'s (2008) findings that sexual minority youth experience significantly higher levels of teen pregnancy than their heterosexual peers, there is a question regarding the women's sexual orientation. Since Saewyc, Taylor, et al. (2008) also identify vulnerability to harassment, discrimination, and violence as risk factors in adolescent pregnancy it was prudent to ask the respondents whether or not they experienced any disability in their youth.

Any feminist analysis must consider class standing (hooks, 2000). However, the usual methods for measuring socioeconomic status are not appropriate for this project: most are either lengthy (Lien, Friestad, & Klepp, 2001) or rely on contemporary White North American material expectations asking, for example, how many computers a family owns,

the highest level of education the adults have achieved, or the type of work that they do (Currie, Elton, Todd, & Platt, 1997; von Rueden, Gosch, Rajmil, Bisegger, & Ravens-Sieberer, 2006; Wardle, Robb, & Johnson, 2002). Of course, the mode of measurement must be appropriate to the population and though I was not asking children about their socioeconomic status, I was asking women to estimate their family's financial situation when they were children. Though formerly considered to be outside a child's realm of knowledge, recent studies show that children as young as eleven are able to accurately assess their families' socioeconomic status (Andersen et al., 2008; Lien et al., 2006; West, Sweeting, & Speed, 2001), particularly when creating a rank order (Andersen et al., 2008). Based on this information, I designed a very simple question that would enable me to rank the respondents' socioeconomic status in their youth into three categories: 'did not have enough money', 'had enough money', and 'had more than enough money' or low, medium, and high socioeconomic status.

Many studies indicate that childhood sexual abuse is a factor in later sexual victimization (Basile, 2008; Boyer & Fine, 1992; Classen et al., 2005; Erikson & Rapkin, 1991; Gershenson et al., 1989; Gidycz et al., 1993; Gómez, 2010; Humphrey & White, 2000; Small & Kerns, 1993; Smith et al., 2003). But, as discussed in the literature review, simply asking women whether they have been abused is not always the best way to determine if they have been (Harned, 2005; Koss, 1985; Koss et al., 2007; Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, Livingston, & Koss, 2004). Questions that utilize behavioural descriptors rather than labels such as 'rape' or 'sexual abuse' has been found to be a much more effective way of learning about women's experiences of violence, especially when the perpetrator is someone whom she trusted (Cook, Gidycz, Koss, & Murphy, 2011; Koss, 1985). In order to determine whether a woman had experienced childhood sexual abuse, I asked three questions: her age at the time of her first

sexual experience, the age of the other person, and whether or not she had wanted this particular sexual experience. Though not always definitive, her answers to these questions provided information which I then evaluated according to standards set by Canadian law.

In 2008 the Canadian legal age of sexual consent was raised from 14 to 16, the first time this law had been changed since 1892. There is now a 'close in age exemption' which permits consent between the ages of 14 and 16 when the partners are within 5 years age of each other. In addition, a youth under 18 cannot give sexual consent to a person who is in a position of trust, for example, a parent or teacher (Victims of Violence, 2008). Given the retrospective nature of this research, I chose to blend the two legal definitions. I considered 14 to be the age of consent though I flagged age differences of more than 5 years as potentially problematic. The third question, whether the respondent had wanted this sexual encounter to take place, aided in coding the incident as abusive. A fourth question in this series provided respondents with the opportunity to elaborate on their first sexual experience, to state who the other person was, to describe their relationship, or to explain what had happened.²³ This textbox added significant clarity regarding, for instance, whether the other person had been in a position of trust, and provided the added benefit of corroborating or refuting my coding. This late addition also held a surprise: A number of women reported childhood sexual experiences with other children that they describe as pleasurable and, aside from parental or social disapproval, unproblematic. This alerted me to the fact that this method for measuring childhood sexual abuse would have missed some women's experiences because, of course, abuse can occur subsequent to the first positive sexual experience.

²³ I added this text box question on the advice of a respondent who suggested that it would have been easier for her to comment on her first sexual experience earlier in the survey rather than having to wait until the last page. The question was added on the first day of the data collection period.

In addition, despite my clearly delineated coding scheme, many situations were difficult to code because there was not enough information to do so confidently. In other situations, the guidelines appear to be somewhat conservative; some situations that I coded as abuse were likely not considered abusive by the women involved. One example involves a 12 year-old girl who was not sure whether she wanted to but had intercourse with her 16 year-old boyfriend. Because she was under 14, she had not reached the legal age of consent and, thus, I coded this as sexual abuse. Another example involves two 12 year-old partners. Though she was below the age of consent, they were the same age and she wanted the experience, I placed this experience in the 'unclear' category as I felt unable to determine whether it was abusive or not. Third, a first experience was wanted when she was 12 and her partner 14. Because she was under 14 and he was older than she, I coded that situation as abuse. On the other hand, since I was only coding for *childhood* sexual abuse, if her first sexual encounter took place at or after the age of 18, no situation was coded as abuse even if, as several women reported, the man was much older and the encounter was described as "awful" and unwanted.

The last question in this section determined whether the respondent had experienced heterosexual intercourse before she was 19 years of age and when she was not married or cohabiting. The survey tool included a 'pipeline' option; that is, it directed respondents past irrelevant questions. Answering that she had not experienced heterosexual intercourse before the age of 19 took the respondent past all the questions pertaining to adolescent intercourse to the final three open-ended questions.

The next set of questions was directed only at the women who had experienced heterosexual intercourse before the age of 19 and concerns the context in which they had occurred. Though girls' experiences of unwanted heterosex could occur in any relationship

with a male, my work is heavily influenced by feminist work which pertains primarily to date rape or acquaintance rape (for example Koss et al., 1987; Gavey, 2005). Feminist psychologist Mary Koss coined the term, “date rape” (Gavey, 2005) and her Sexual Experiences Survey (see Appendix A) has been utilized many times in sexual consent research, proving very reliable for use with adults (Cecil & Matson, 2006). However, as it was designed for use with university students, Koss’s Sexual Experiences Survey may not be accessible to women with more general levels of literacy. It was therefore appropriate, for my purposes, to consider a different questionnaire. Patton and Mannison (1995) adapted two versions of the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Oros, 1982; Koss et al., 1987) for use with high school students (see Appendix F). The language in their adaptations is more accessible than that of the original survey and provides a good model for use with a wide range of respondents. Like the Sexual Experiences Survey, Patton and Mannison’s adaptation focuses on the role of interpersonal factors in coercive sexual experiences, downplaying the potential role played by social influences such as gender roles or dominant discourses concerning adolescent heterosexuality (Patton & Mannison, 1995, pp. 449-53).

Paul Reynolds broadens this discussion by insisting that we consider social influences when thinking about sexual consent. In his discussion of sexual ethics, he shows that both interpersonal and social issues influence sexual consent and he provides examples of circumstances where the quality of consent might be in question. Some possibilities include: “sex is consented to [to] keep the peace or avoid unpleasantness ... because it is expected ... as a way of receiving attention or affection ... in exchange for money or other goods” (2004, p. 104). Reynolds emphasizes that most sexual relationships probably involve coercion at times though he argues that if this is the case most of the time the “issue of sexual ethics” would require attention (p. 104). Rather than simply asking ‘yes/no’ questions, a research

design incorporating this argument would include a gradient measure, a more conservative assessment of coercive situations. Since Reynolds does not provide a model for this, I incorporated both Likert scales and Reynolds' examples of situations of questionable consent into Patton and Mannison's questionnaire (see Harned, 2002). Inspired by the works of both Rich (1980) and Gavey (1993), I added four additional questions aimed at exploring whether relationship-specific expectations and gender roles play a role in negotiations of heterosex. In all, this section, consisting of 15 questions concerning the context of the respondents' adolescent experiences of heterosex, served to prepare the respondents for the general measure of frequency of intercourse that followed.

Next, I asked the respondents to shift from thinking about the specific circumstances under which they had experienced intercourse to consider their early sexual experiences in a very general way. In order to test the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between girls' experiences of unwanted intercourse and unintentional pregnancy, I needed an overall measure of unwanted intercourse. The women who experienced intercourse before the age of 19 were asked, "Did you ever have sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or partner when you didn't really want to?" The women were given a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 'never' to 'always' and including 'don't know' to indicate their answer. My second goal in this set of questions was to learn about the age differences between the partners.

An important consideration in retrospective studies centres on how a person's perspective on an event changes as she grows older. Specifically, when thinking about girls' unwanted sexual experiences it is important to know whether the person involved was aware of her reluctance either at the time of the incident or after some time had passed. The next set of questions addressed this concern by first asking whether women who had experienced unwanted intercourse had been aware that they had not wanted to engage in sexual

intercourse at the time it had taken place (see Harned, 2005). This question is important for two reasons. First, if women cannot say that they knew at the time whether or not they wanted intercourse then their consent or non-consent is always in question. Second, if girls knowingly participate in unwanted intercourse, learning more about this aspect of heterosexual practice could provide insight into not only the gendered habitus but also whether and how this particular form of gender domination contributes to gender oppression generally. Women who indicated that they had become aware that they had experienced unwanted intercourse some time after the incident were asked how much time had passed between the event and their labelling it as ‘unwanted’ and, if something had happened to change their view of this, what that was.

Questions regarding pregnancy followed. As pregnancy intention appears not to be an either/or issue and is particularly difficult to ascertain in survey research (Kendall et al., 2005), the survey offered three response options, yes, no, and not sure, to the question, “Did you want to get pregnant?” If a woman had not been pregnant she automatically skipped the questions related to pregnancy outcomes. Acknowledging a pregnancy took the respondent to a small set of questions regarding her age at her first pregnancy, the age of her partner (see Males, 1992; 1996), and pregnancy outcomes.

The final three open-ended, text box questions drew upon women’s knowledge and expertise on the topic and gave the women an opportunity to give feedback about the questionnaire and the project. The survey concluded with an expression of appreciation, an invitation to participate in future, related research, and the researcher’s contact information, including the electronic link to the project’s dedicated webpage (see Appendix C for webpage content).

Appendix F

Patton and Mannison's Adapted Sexual Experiences Survey for Women

Did you ever have intercourse when you didn't want to because:

- a) He was so sexually aroused you thought it useless to try and stop?
- b) You were overwhelmed by his continual arguments and pressure?
- c) You were under the influence of drugs or alcohol?
- d) He said things you found out later he didn't really mean?
- e) He threatened to end the relationship?
- f) He threatened to use physical force?
- g) He used physical force?

(Patton & Mannison, 1995).

Appendix G

Email Letter: Invitation to Participate in the Study

Dear _____,

I am a graduate student in Gender Studies at UNBC and my MA research involves an electronic survey concerning girls' (hetero)sexual experiences - as remembered by adult women. As I hope to gather responses from a diverse group of women I would be very grateful if you could forward my letter of introduction, below and attached, to your listserv. It might be helpful if you indicate that only criterion is that respondents need to be ADULT WOMEN.

This project has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at UNBC.

Thank you for your support.

Best regards,
Anita Shaw

Girls' Sexual Experiences: A Retrospective Study.

I am a graduate student in the Gender Studies program at the University of Northern British Columbia. I am interested in learning about girls' early experiences of sex as remembered by adult women.

I hope that this study will be useful to women who wish to speak about their early sexual experiences. I hope, too, that the results of this study will be helpful to young people as they strive to develop healthier sexual lives.

- This is a web-based survey for ALL women over the age of 18.
- The survey is anonymous and confidential.
- The survey needs to be completed all at once.
- The survey will take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete.

You are Invited to Participate: ANY WOMAN can participate in this study.

The survey is available on-line until March 2010 at <http://fluidsurveys.com/s/anitashaw/>
To access the survey, simply click on the link or copy and paste the link into your web browser.

Your input is critical to the success of this study, and to understanding the impact of girls' early sexual experiences on their later lives.

The results of this study will be available in the summer of 2010.

If you have any questions, or if you would like a copy of the final results, please go to <http://anitashaw.com/> or contact me at shawan@unbc.ca, my supervisor, Dr. Jacqueline Holler, at holler@unbc.ca or at 250 960 6343, or the Office of Research at the University of Northern British Columbia at reb@unbc.ca or at 250 960 5820.

Thank you for your interest in my study.

Sincerely,

Anita J. Shaw,
MA candidate, UNBC

Appendix H

Organizations Contacted

British Columbia Alliance on Telehealth Policy and Research, Prince George
British Columbia Federation of Labour
British Columbia Government Employees' Union
British Columbia Network for Aging Research
British Columbia Rural and Remote Health Research Network
Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres, B.C. and Yukon Region
Canadian Union of Public Employees
College of New Caledonia, Prince George
DAWN-RAFH Canada (DisAbled Women's Network Canada)
Elizabeth Fry Society, Prince George
First Nations Centre, UNBC
Hadih House, Carney Hill Neighbourhood Centre Society, Prince George
Hospital Employees Union
Justice for Girls
Kikino Métis Children and Family Services Society, Prince George
Northern Lights College, Terrace
Northwest Community College
Pride UNBC
Phoenix Transition Society, Prince George
Poverty and Human Rights Centre
Prince George Council of Seniors
Prince George Native Friendship Centre
Street Spirits Theatre Company, Prince George
Vancouver Women's Health Collective
West Coast Legal Education and Action Fund
Women North Network
Women's Centre, UNBC
Women's Enterprise Centre, British Columbia
Women's Housing Equality Network

Appendix I

Evaluation of Internet-Based Survey Research

Evaluating methods was not a stated research goal but arose as I proceeded with and reflected on the data gathering process. As this data gathering technique is relatively new, I will offer my observations.

The survey.

In order to verify quantitative findings and to gain a more nuanced understanding of sexual violence, especially as differentially experienced within marginalized groups of women, Koss and her colleagues now advocate the development of research methods that combine quantitative methods with narrative data (Cook et al., 2011; see Testa, Livingston, & VanZile-Tamsen, 2011). Indeed, this study does just that and, as anticipated, begins to articulate some commonalities and differences in women's experiences of unwanted intercourse. Gathering narrative data may also positively impact future survey design. The women in this study offered feedback by, for example, identifying questions that were hard to understand, experiences that did not easily fit or, alternatively, expressing appreciation for the more positive aspects. One woman asked, "Define sexual encounter - intercourse only or does that include oral, masturbation? Boyfriend sounds like relationship, where do one night stands fit into this?" Another woman wondered where her experiences working in the survival sex trade fit into the survey. And another woman, who was born in the 1950s, wrote, "I think this is super of you to do this survey. I REALLY like that you are asking all women no matter what her age. Thank you".

As evidenced in this study, narrative data offers a corrective to closed questions that did not 'fit' respondents' understandings of their lives. For example, this study originally fell prey to the common misconception that sexual wanting is dichotomous and, therefore, left

little space for women to talk about experiences of intercourse that were both wanted and unwanted at the same time (see Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007). My respondents did not let that stand, as my thematic analysis of women's labelling illustrates. Their text responses stretched the arbitrarily narrow categories of 'wanted', 'unwanted', and 'not sure', in ways that support a fresh and meaningful discussion of girls' and women's various engagements with sexual wantedness.

Notably, the optional text box questions appear to have been positively received. Over 65% of the women responded to at least one text box question and many expressed appreciation for the opportunity to participate in research in this way. For example, one woman wrote, "I love surveys! They really get me thinking :D". Another woman concurred, commenting, "very eye opening".

Computer assisted self-interviews.

Though becoming increasingly common, the computer assisted self-interview (CASI) is a relatively new and somewhat untested method for sexual violence research. I will, therefore, offer a critique of this tool based on my experience with this study.

Benefits.

Though referring to the difficulties of learning about the perpetrators' role in sexual violence, O'Sullivan suggests that the anonymity of internet-based questionnaires may aid researchers in gathering good information about "socially censored activities" (2005, p. 7). One respondent in this study agrees. Although she is referring to experiences of victimization and not perpetration, she writes, "I appreciate the anonymity as I would not have told you all of this face to face".

Limitations.

Thinking and writing about emotional memories can be painful. Though we can't always predict the impact of our questions, researchers need to consider this. Some comments left me feeling concerned for the respondents. For example, one woman wrote, "Thinking about [my experiences of childhood sexual abuse] upset me a little bit. It had been years since I thought of it. But I'll be okay". Another woman, in response to my invitation "Is there anything else you would like to say about your early sexual experiences?" wrote a fairly lengthy response in an attempt to explain, possibly to herself, her reasons for engaging in unwanted intercourse. She concluded with "I am not sure how to answer a lot of the questions, not because of the questions you ask but because I really haven't thought too much about this topic and I am really unsure how I feel about things, I feel really confused".

The web page.

We cannot know whether women accessed the dedicated webpage unless they left a comment. As only nine people did so, I conclude that the web page is limited as a collaborative tool.

Summary.

Feminist researchers will need to consider the risks and benefits of computer assisted self-interviews, especially in light of the type of information being sought. Judging from this study, it is not possible to expect women to separate out one, possibly less traumatic, sexual experience (even if we could know what that was) and ask women to focus on that – especially when utilizing a questionnaire. At the risk of infantilizing our respondents we must also acknowledge the potential for harm. However, computer assisted surveys show promise and may be particularly well-suited for large geographical areas. There appears to be some potential for adapting this method for use in research with victims of violence. For example, on-site computer assisted methods have been combined with personal interviews (see

DiClemente et al., 2002). Since these issues require cultural sensitivity such as knowledge of sexual and language norms, researchers are advised to consider conducting interviews and focus groups as a preliminary step (see Elmerstig et al., 2008; Hyde et al., 2008; Powell, 2010).