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Researching across invisible borders: Young punk women speak about their environmental experiences while living on their own

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RESEARCHING ACROSS INVISIBLE BORDERS: YOUNG PUNK WOMEN SPEAK ABOUT THEIR ENVIRONMENTAL EXPERIENCES WHILE LIVING ON THEIR OWN

by

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Abstract

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Rachel Pfeffer

Adviser: Professor Maxine Wolfe

This study investigates the environmental experiences of 10 Punk identified young women who are living-on-their own in San Francisco (Punks are one of many youth subcultures and there are many types of Punks). Multiple factors, including, gender, age, race, class, sexual orientation and historical views of young women across disciplines embed our understanding of their experiences. Unraveling this complex social construction shines light on the underlying reasons for the lack of research completed about this population as well as the methodological and epistemological problems faced by social scientists, policy makers and social service providers. The social production of space has important implications for understanding homelessness, runaways, youth at risk and spatial filtering in urban areas. The environmental negotiations made by young women on-their-own are in part resistance to the dominant moralistic views about young women and an assertion of their youth culture, which provides the only support available to them.

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Overview

> The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory, therefore it is imperative at the outset to compile such an inventory. (Gramsci in Said, 1978, p. 25).

This study was initially an investigation of the spaces used and created by young women who are supposedly "homeless" and "runaway." By interviewing ten young women in San Francisco, and involving them in a photography project, I intended to provide an opportunity for their voices and experiences to be a part of social science research literature. I did not intend to change their lives, re-unite them with their supposed "families", measure their mental illness or pathologize them in any way. I did not intend to morally judge them either. I wanted to document their lives as they would reveal themselves to me, to provide a forum for their voices and develop new theories as they emerged. My methodology was quasi-ethnographic, but there was room for responding to situations as they arose. I employed a modified grounded theory approach taking into consideration the institutional consequences of race, class, age, gender-identity, and sexual orientation.

I was prepared to acknowledge the power relationships between myself and the young women, and in many ways I had no idea what this research would reveal. Consequently, the thread to follow through-out this thesis is the unraveling of complex relationships between myself, as an adult woman and researcher, and the young Punk identified women. Punks are a youth subculture which has a history and ideology. There are different factions within the Punk community, who embrace different cultural

histories, styles, music and may have different social and environmental experiences. A comparison of different types of Punks is not part of this study because the participants identified as one type of Punk group and did not indicate the importance of this distinction. The conceptual framework which influenced my unraveling process was the etching out of borders, of the map (s), of places, which bring us (girls and women) together and places that separate us. The map can locate physical sites and ideological ones. Clues to the map are found historically in previous research in social sciences, urban development, labor policies, criminal laws, in the newspapers and in all adult youth interactions, if you look for it.

The young women who participated in this study were living within youth subcultures (without adults), experiencing day-to-day hardships, due in large part to moralistic ideology about girls supported by studies completed in a variety of fields. Crossing the invisible borders to meet with them, to go where adult women rarely go, without the intention of saving, incarcerating, or controlling these young women was unusual to them. Proving that I was respectful and consistent, was embedded in a complicated personal, social, political history that mediated our interactions. Sometimes I didn't like them, and sometimes, I suppose, they didn't like me. How we arrived at those feelings and what they implied, or the consequences of these experiences were relatively small but large at the same time.

After working as an ethnographer, for a study about HIV knowledge among "homeless" and "runaway youth", I realized that I could not find the girls. I walked and searched in all the neighborhoods "known" to tolerate this population. I knew they were out there, through interviews with boys, but I could not find them. I began to review the

literature, to see if other studies had similar difficulties, or perhaps there were no girls living on-their-own in San Francisco. And so, the borders began to be visible.

At first, I was distracted by categories of analysis typically used in social science. For example, I initially thought that through the investigation of newspapers, (Chapter 4) I would uncover social constructions, which I could count and content analyze. Perhaps, I could be more sophisticated and include a discourse analysis, which would challenge dominant categories of homeless/runaway girls. I soon realized that the newspapers' content, their "reporting" or lack of "reporting had day-to-day implications. It was an element, one of many elements which constituted the borders, the layers of supposed subtext which permeated every interaction I encountered.

The "delinquent" youth, "runaway" youth, "at-risk" youth and "homeless" youth literature, were the first written bodies of information I encountered. They provided a partial and important context for my work with the young women I met in this study. The academic descriptions of the young people studied, their environments, and their "problems", created a disturbing picture. The doctrines each literature supported were explicitly youth negative, thereby describing a morally bankrupt, demonic and culturally marginalized class who needed "special" treatment, education and prevention, if they were to grow-up to be responsible productive adults.

The knowledge produced during the course of the late 19th and 20th century across fields and disciplines in criminology, juvenile delinquency, sociobiology, psychology, sociology, and social work is a network of thought which benefited from the debasing representations it has produced. The fields have constructed an importance around their

theories and subsequent polices. The investment or lack of investment in girls has supported capitalism and specifically male dominated capitalism in relation to the collective academic reification of the demonic girl on-her-own. This point will become more evident in the first chapter where I discuss social sciences' views of girls on-their-own and the economic, social and political investment and implications of these views.

During the course of this study, as I painfully struggled to identify the borders of resistance, as I came to "know" the girls, and learned about myself, I could identify dominant social doctrines that impacted on my day-to-day work. I began to see these doctrines as borders too. They were clues to my ever-changing, and at the same time-static, location as an adult woman conducting this research. One would think, (especially from a feminist perspective) that connecting with young women/ girls for an adult woman, one who perhaps over-identifies with her adolescence, would be easy. The invisible borders I hit up against, again and again, those which made my research so difficult, were all clues to the textuality and power of the historical social science doctrines which have demonized young women on their own. Though I rejected these doctrines, my social/political place and my historical and institutional location as an adult, a Caucasian, educated woman, was the first thing the young women responded to. I represented the authority of institutions whom young women on-their-own rejected (and I did too). Constantly unraveling and addressing the layers of borders between us was a painful and important part of conducting this research. The borders changed from day-to-day and they grew and diminished depending on a variety of factors.

It is important to say at this point, that few of the youth studies in the literature addressed this limitation in epistemology and methodology (with exceptions, Cain,

1991; Fine, 1991; Lees, 1993; ; Gilligan et al, 1992). The borders which exist between girls and adult women are typically ignored by researchers, or viewed as a dynamic only between their parents, teachers or friends. Thus, researchers claim special non-adult status, because they are "objective" scientists, gathering information in a neutral and responsible way. As a result of this narrow interpretation, young women are epistemologically betrayed. The implications of epistemological betrayal has been a growing "homeless" youth serving industry that is not reaching a visible, growing, poor, youth population. The involvement of adult women, historically, in the development of institutions which controlled young girls on-their-own, based on ideas of gender-morality and demonizing representations, are well known among young women, through the day-to-day interactions with adults and their institutions. While individual historical facts may not be formally known by the young women I met, they knew that I represented a group of people who have imprisoned them and taken away their rights throughout history. Now, I claimed to be doing something different, wanting to be "truthful" about their experiences, acknowledging the pain and betrayal they have felt by adults and women in particular. Throughout this study, I searched for the map to the borders that surrounded us, a way to make these walls visible, so I could see the texture, the history, and the severity of damage done. I acknowledged the epistemological differences between the young women and myself, so I could address it methodologically.

In Chapters two and three, the interviews and photographs are testimony to the complex relationships between the young women's environments and social relationships within the context of their youth culture. Initially I asked for demographic information: when they left home, and what the circumstances were that surrounded their leaving.

They provided, a chronological and rich description of the social and physical environments. Many of the girls had been on their own for four years. Their average age was 16. Half of them, were from the Bay Area. Two girls were from Utah, and the remaining, were from the east coast and the eastern part of California. Eighty percent of the young women were identified as Caucasian, one was Jewish, two were mixed-race: Latino and Native American, and all of them identified as "Punk Rockers". In some ways, these chapters are "what" I thought the entire thesis would be about. I still believe they are extremely important chapters because the girls' voices reveal the contradictions between the dominant moralistic ideology and their ideas and experiences. I do not claim to represent the girls as they themselves would, but I do claim to be honest about what they told me, and construct it in a positive framework rather then a debasing one. The large number of different activities, situations, and environments experienced during the course of one year for most girls on-their-own defies any previous social construction and brings into question the integrity of previous research studies.

Using cameras to capture their seen world was useless. What became important was how the cameras affected the borders and gave me new ways of seeing the them. The exchange of cameras for their "homeless" experiences, a commodity system which they could easily negotiate and exploit for their benefit, was more interesting than the burden of representing themselves. Yet, I was able to find eight themes among the 40 pictures that link the description of their environmental experiences to a photograph. I worked backwards, combing through the interviews to find detailed environmental descriptions, and then looked at the photographs to see if there was any representation. Experiences or places which were repeated often in the interviews but were missing from the photos, were equally important to the development of themes.

In Chapter Four, the connection between newspapers and epistemology is discussed. In reviewing the last ten years of articles in five national newspapers about young people on their own, I found more clues to the borders. I investigated the social constructions, content analyzed the number and types of representations, the rhetoric, and typifications about young girls on-their-own, created by the newspaper industry. I connected this information to the voices and experiences of the young women in this study. This multi-layered approach, led to discourse analysis in the context of social movements, historically situated ideas about family and social/gender disorder. In other words, I put the clues together by asking the question: Which institutions benefited from the production of knowledge, images and discourses which were moralistically based?

Chapter Five, provides instructions for crossing invisible borders and some of the field notes I wrote while I was being stood-up for an interview. Chapter 6 is the theory section, and I have approached it by addressing the border between fiction and social science. The story takes place in the year 2030. Darlene and Lulu who are older now, reminisce about their girlhood during the late 20th century (I only hope the young women I know make it there). They weave a story about their lives which will summarize the following eight theoretical issues which have emerged as a result of my study: 1) there are a variety of youth sub-cultures which girls belong to; 2) the treatment of girls is based on moral codes which are narrow and ideologically flawed; 3) buildings and places have mythology which are important information to young girls; 4) homelessness is a social construction; 5)photography as a method for creating representation of girls-on-their-own is flawed; 6) researchers, even if they are women, are not part of the girls' culture and are in fact, viewed by girls as guilty of betrayal until

proven innocent; 7) the borders which I have attempted to map are the beginning of a new epistemological landscape and, 8) girls are really smart and talented.

Chapter 1: The Borders Created by Views of Girls in the Social Science Literature

Writings about adolescence span the fields of many disciplines. Initially I reviewed only the literature about runaway youth and homeless youth. During the course of the study, as I unraveled the overlapping contexts, the social science literature did not provide a useful explanatory framework to approach my research participants respectfully. Their views were in part responsible for creating borders between myself and the young women. I needed to know how extensive this border was, if there were fields of research which were supportive of young women on-their-own, or at least presented a more complex understanding of their lives. This directed me to begin to read broadly, incorporating the literature in all the fields which addressed "deviant" or "problematic" young women as a population to study.

The young women who participated in this study were living without adults within youth "subcultures", experiencing day-to-day hardships. I eventually concluded that in large part. their situations were due to moralistic ideology about girls supported in studies completed in a variety of fields. Crossing the invisible borders to meet with them, where adults do not go without the intention of saving, incarcerating or controlling these young women was unusual to them. Proving that I was respectful and consistent became the main focus of my work, and while I understood the personal grounds (with other adults) which mediated their experience of me, I needed to understand the theoretical and methodological history which made our interactions so difficult.

Each field which has a literature on "deviant" adolescent girls emerges with a slightly different understanding of "the problem." Each field investigated "the issue" within the confines of its theories and appropriate methodology, yet reached conclusions, findings and critical factors which are remarkably similar (Shacklady Smith, cited in Smart, 1976). Using methods which were grounded in logical positivism, social science developed and repeatedly validated the gender correct behaviors which could be viewed within each field. Using biological and psychological theories about girls' "acting-out behaviors" girls-the good and the bad ones-could be coded into predictable and generalized independent variables. The factors or variables were the basis for behavioral theories and conclusions which explain all or part of an individual female personality. Social sciences which incorporated environmental co-factors as behavioral determinants developed theories related almost exclusively to a girl's family (and also focused on individual characteristics). Regardless of the field, these individual and family characteristics, and even the narrowly defined environmental contexts, are viewed as the causal determinants for "the problems" facing the young woman and society. The implications of such findings have led to legal policies promoting female containment to the home and school, and justifying a variety of institutional mandates imposed by the state on young women. In essence, young women have become political prisoners of American adults, their "crime" and their "incarceration" rationalized by supposedly objective empirical research.

Environmental psychology offers alternative theories for understanding adolescent development based on theories of place identity, user activities, privacy, home and territoriality (Alissi, 1970; Hart, 1979; Lynch, 1976; Newman, 1973; Rivlin & Wolfe, 1985; Saegert, 1983). Researchers who redefine and challenge the deterministic and

limited behaviors allowed for young women are both radical and generally ignored by mainstream policy makers. Problematizing the environmental context within which youth find themselves has re-framed research objectives and policy interventions for very few youth. It has, however, provided both the inspiration and critical perspective needed to critique how social scientists perpetuated the idea of the "deviant" girl across fields with the self-serving outcome of maintaining their professional cultural currency.

Elevating anything to a "problem" is a competitive process among other would-be problems (Gusfield, 1976). The motivation for defining and resolving the problems includes: the cultural currency of the problem, the fields' abilities to garner prestige, "expertness", power and respect for field related theories, and the ability to influence society in developing policy and social knowledge. It is generally difficult to know which came first, the chicken or the egg, but when it comes to girls, it seems that researchers have benefited whether intentionally or not (through contract grants, publications, and being cited for their findings in public discourse among the press, service providers and policy makers) in problematizing the status quo. Subsequently, few research studies to date have attempted to challenge the existing problem domain of girls-on-their-own. It is evident from the literature, that few (if any) of the young women would actually benefit either from the research findings or the process of conducting the research. Since no field is without its politics, the context for creating a "literature" within a field is a critical factor to consider.

In order to create a context and a comparison of emerging historical, economic, psychological and political perspectives, policies and institutions which have shaped our knowledge about "deviant" female adolescents, I have reviewed literature on the

following topics: 1) child labor history; 2) gender in space, homelessness, urban development history ; 3) delinquency, gangs, runaways, youth prostitution, youth subculture; 4) social science and at-risk youth.

Almost all of the literature about adolescence is based on information about boys. Boys have cultural currency among every sector of our society. Studying boys or the sex-trait differences between boys and girls was not a matter of convenience, but a matter of political, economic and moral urgency dictated by dominant secular and religious ideology. However, it cannot be assumed that if previous studies included girls we would have the information or the context to understand the experiences of girls. Girls exist separate from boys. This seems an obvious point to make, but the underlying assumptions of all the literature which compares boys to girls is that girls exist in a "co-man" environment (Cain, 1989). The little written about girls-on-their-own does not take into consideration the underlying moral motives to control girls' behaviors. Yet the underlying motives are directly related to the production of cultural knowledge and attitudes exhibited in all fields of research about girls.

General societal ethos believes that girls who are un-manned or un- familied must be policed and followed, unlike boys who are unwomaned who are seen as independent. This is supported in the literature by the myths and imagery that frame girls' singular existence as "at-risk" or "deviant." If we were to accept the girl as un-manned, on a path of economic independence, we would study girls separately and not need to explain why we are not attempting to make a comparison to boys. This study, therefore, is not attempting to make a comparison to boys.

Lees (cited in Cain, 1989), based on her study, discusses how the "double standard of sexual morality and the concern that girls expressed about their sexual reputations were socially structured." (p.19). Social imbalances for girls are found not only in gender, class and race but in their sexual desires. Girls are steered into particular types of legitimate expression of sexuality, often to the detriment of their own freedom, and bear the moral responsibility of their actions should they act on their desires. The implications of incorporating gender broadens the literature review framework to include writings about, straight, lesbian, bisexual and questioning female youth. This layer of social relations and experience is one of the most important for young women who must often hide their sexuality from adults and in some cases other youth. It may determine the "subcultures" they affiliate with, or the "street family" that they develop, the places they will go and the way they survive. In the present study lesbianism or bisexuality will not be treated as a deviant lifestyle or a psychological disorder. Rather, sexuality will be woven into the context in which young lesbians and bisexual young women create their environments.

The literature reviewed is based on historical and current writings. I begin with a social history of child labor movements, laws and policies and how the underlying premises may have impacted on girls on-their-own, including the development of current problem domains about girls. The changing economic situations barely altered the way white or Black poor un-manned women and girls were and are treated in dominant sociological, psychological, underclass, labor, economic, criminological and cultural studies literature during the last century. Feminist writers have promoted a more positive women-centered context for understanding the impact of labor and economic changes. In particular, the very few studies which include women and girls of color (and

there are very few) add an important critical perspective to the connection between economic, sexual and racial exploitation.

Girl Labor

The concept of the teenage life course is a product of our culture which began with the invention of the adolescent in the second half of the 17th century (Musgrove, 1964). This was marked by the changes in the status of young people in terms of changes in the structure of society due primarily to the change from non-capitalist to capitalist labor systems. This was reflected in the a shift from family systems, plantation systems, Hacienda systems (in Mexico) and Tribal systems of labor to a system where the one-male-European owner employed workers in a wage system (Amott & Matthaei, 1991). For indentured servants, slaves and contract laborers, a wage system created improved conditions and, at the same time, created restrictions which made it more difficult for youth to work.

In the 1600's African children were brought on slave ships, often dying of malnutrition on-route (Zinn, 1980) and forced to work for owners. Poor children were brought to America from Europe, gathered up in the hundreds from the streets of England. Once in America they were also forced to work by their owners. As the colonies were growing in the 1700's, poor children, often referred to as criminals and orphans, were in the streets from as early as 4 years old working as laborers or panhandling (Smith, 1984). Smith goes on to say that, once 14 years old, boys were usually sent off to be apprentices. Though girls worked too, and usually in the worst conditions and for less pay then the boys, especially in immigrant families, they were

predominantly sent off to be domestic workers where organized labor had no presence at all (Amott & Matthaei, 1991).

Throughout the 19th century the rhetoric of concern for children transformed the labor laws of the 20th century, thereby protecting children from the full rigors of adult life and mandating school attendance (Aronowitz, 1992; Best, 1990; Rivlin & Wolfe, 1986). Until then, children of poor families and working class families were always part of the work force and nobody bothered to notice or care if they were missing their childhood. In 1836, in Massachusetts, the major textile manufacturing center passed laws which required children under 15 to attend school for 3 months per year. By mandating school attendance, "... in 1850, the important industrial and commercial states reversed the historical predominance of the family as the basis of the laboring class..." (Aronowitz, 1992, p. 72). Child labor was competing with school. In 1885, In New York, out of 1,685,000 children and young people between the ages of five and twenty-one, only 35% were in daily school attendance (Smith, 1984).

The promotion of school attendance was embedded in the rhetoric of the dangers and evils of the city streets. From the very beginning, school and learning objectives were conflated with keeping young people out of trouble. In addition, creating a socialized (male) worker who theoretically would become trained to handle the new machinery was critical for the new industrialists. Most importantly school was to "...engender respect for authority, self-control, self-discipline, self-reliance and self-respect." (Aronowitz, 1992, p.73). Proponents of expanding the schools campaigned against the unattended youth: "If youth were left unattended in the jungles of cities and town, child and youth were likely to fall prey to prostitutes and swindlers and become disruptive to the

system..." (Aronowitz, 1992, p. 73). The fear of cities became endemic in our culture, embedded in ideas of morality. The vocational education movement joined forces with the capitalists to keep children in school. Their recommendations colluded with the industrialist, youth should be trained to become obedient laborers, and at the same time school was seen as a diversion program for unfortunate victims of society, those who would otherwise turn out to be criminals.

Academic tracking inculcated the female child's position in the family, the labor hierarchy and, specifically, the type of jobs which would be available to her upon completion of her education. The authority of this training was reinforced by discipline. The assertion of allegiances to friends was not permitted during class-time, expression of thoughts and feelings were only allowed at certain times. Girls and immigrant children were most likely more affected by these rules as the obligations imposed by their place in the family meant that school was sporadically attended, leaving them with little social exposure outside of their families and immediate cultural group.

"In 1900, 61% of single European immigrant women over the age of 10 were gainfully employed, compared to only 22% of single white women with U.S. born parents." (Amott & Matthaei, 1991, p.105). Immigrant girls and women were working out of necessity. At the same time, unpaid domestic work of women and girls was critical to the survival of poor families. In 1910, while two-thirds of rural African Americans continued to depend on the white landowners for poorly paid work, the post-abolition work relationship did change, in particular, for women and girls. One of the ways in which male workers put pressure on the landowners was to withdraw the women and children from the labor force. This served to create a labor shortage and reduced

economic and sexual exploitation by whites of African- American women and girls. Their labor at home, preparing food and clothing, was viewed as critical to the family's survival and at the same time, withdrew them from the labor market.

The need to quell domestic unrest prior to the First World War by employing more adults, (including immigrants, for example, the large number of Irish women who emigrated to the United States were viewed as better workers, who would work for the same wages as children) and the development of new machinery and technology, had eliminated many of the jobs that young people had been hired to do. This created a situation where the dangerous work environment became the main focus of the child labor laws, and ,while true, it was also a trope or false argument allowing the industrialists to appear humane. Child labor laws were supported by capitalists for their own financial interests not because they were suddenly concerned for the welfare of children. The ideology of the child reformers was, consciously or not, motivated in part by the expansion of the capitalist class. Organized labor adopted the child protection ideology and assisted the capitalist in removing children from the factories. The pretense of protection was in part the rationale for the creation of the adolescent. This pretense of protection has carried forward in child serving policies of the late 20th century.

Child labor laws prevent young women from employment without the consent of their parent or guardian up to the age of 18. Subsequently, economic resources are severely limited, economic survival is relegated to illegal earning, in exploitative and dangerous environments. Researching among poor young women who desperately need money and have no place to earn any beyond the underground economy including: selling illegal drugs, prostitution, survival sex and panhandling constructs a border

between us, a place for tension and resentment to keep us apart. While this border is not unique, (in that all poor research participants deal with the inequity), the long history of precluding young women from the labor force creates a resentment among young women on-their-own towards most adults. The young women expected to be paid for their participation in my study, partially because it was common research practice in San Francisco and partially because they needed money. The larger problem of employment was viewed and addressed in a variety of ways among participants. For the most part, they were proud of their ability to work in the illegal economy. Others tried to work legally but due to the lack of affordable housing, found it impossible to keep a job and spend the time it takes to maintain illegal housing.

Gender: The Development of Cities, Neighborhoods and Homelessness

For girls, and menless women, those who were deserted, widowed, or lesbian, a slave trade existed from the 12th century through the 19th century in Europe (Golden, 1993). Poor and homeless women were treated as less then human, as prostitutes, and throughout the ages were forced to live in leper colonies, ghettos, and red-light districts. The conceptual paradox of nature and urbanism is analogous to the gender division in society creating a situation where women, equated with the earth, were transgressive and out of their element when they were in cities; thereby constructing disorder in the universe (Sagaert, 1980). Other metaphors for the order of women and men in their proper place which justified policies to control knowledge and power can be found in Wilson's The Sphinx in the City (1988). She posits that what is feared in the city is also desired for the city. " In the Greek legend the Minotaur in the center of the Cretan Labyrinth was half man, half bull. In the cities of modern and post-modernity, it is the

Sphinx, half woman, half animal representing what is feared and desired..." (p.157). The underlying message is that women represent what is feared in the urban environment. Urban policy and production have been influenced by this myth (Hayden 1980, 1981; Wekerle 1980). The production of urban and suburban environments was linked to concepts of female danger and desire and other socially motivated moral ends.

The underlying theories which informed builders and planners who were involved in the social production of space controlled these dangers by controlling women and girls. Through the explicit imposition of normative behaviors institutionalized through ethical codes, family values, religious systems and imagery, urban landscapes, public/private spaces and the collective cultural meaning of home served to quell the fears among "society". The home is still associated with properness, good health, gender appropriateness, and family values by urban and youth policy makers to the exclusion of producing housing and environments which consider the experiences of young women who live on their own in 1993.

Society's preoccupation with the family home, its social prestige, and the concept of self-expression through decoration, has been the basis urban land development policies. These policies have promoted social homogeneity, intolerance of different groups of people and a false sense of family self-sufficiency. They have also promoted the limited role of women in society, slavery, racism, class segregation and institutionalized consumerism (Wright, 1981). The home, and the setting for the home, became linked to such ideas as civic responsibility, good family values and "American" like-mindedness as represented in the repetitious pattern of house design for middle and working class families. Poor people had a different form of repressive housing in which amenities were

absent and disease was rampant. In the early years of the republic, national housing types were promoted by builders to produce a good American family. Even housing for slaves was premised on the white owners' ideas of an American family they associated with slaves. They believed that slave cabins would stabilize plantation society (Wright, 1981). In reality, the intent of slave cabins was to maintain control and promote racist ideas of sexuality, family, black personality traits, cleanliness and the differences that justified segregation.

Worker housing, created in the late 18th century by textile mill owners, provided small spaces for many workers to reside in. Children would play outside until they were old enough to work in the mills. At this time, many of the workers were white European-born and English speaking but were viewed as poor, lazy and potential criminals. The mill owner was publicly congratulated, (similar to the slave owners) for providing the religious training and work ethic needed to create good American families. Experimental boarding housing for young rural girls coming to the textile towns provided the moral and cultural education that the middle class could support and factory owners were applauded for their social innovation. Eventually, however, the women organized and the myths of mill town virtues were dispelled through the publication of a workers' magazine. The conditions deteriorated as the influx of immigrants created increased crowding and factory owners became less concerned with their image. Modernization changed the industrialists' priority from creating good worker environments to creating a good American product (Wright, 1981).

The concept of linking an individuals' character to the home did not leave America, but shifted to different institutional and professional domains. Educational philosophers,

architects, and landscapers, debated and produced the policies and residential designs which would promote the family values already established as American values. Narrowly conceived concepts were becoming connected to the correct behaviors of young women and the family and were being incorporated into the discourse of design and home. Designs connected to nature were viewed in the late 1800's as morally appropriate for perpetuating a sound and good family. Well- ordered natural systems were the basis for developing a physical connection between the home (i.e., bigger windows) and the outdoors.

Behind the development of suburbs for middle-class families, in the late 19th century, was the underlying goal of creating safe and secluded environments for children to grow into the right class, and to ensure that children were kept far from the dangers of city streets. It was generally accepted among architects, landscapers, planners, and scientists that city streets were unnatural environments. They promoted the growth of suburban developments by fostering a suburbanite culture. The current practice of sending young "delinquent" women to closed institutions for their "own good" is in part based on these early ideas of a good environment for a good girl. Most of the participants in this study had been institutionalized, removed from their support networks and their friends. In most situations, the young women ran from these places re-uniting themselves with their "street families".

In the early 20th century cities, reformers were critical of the conditions that poor tenement dwellers were enduring. Guided by the same ideology as the suburban promoters, the reformers wanted to control family behaviors and address the lack of moral character found in tenement families and among women in particular.

Deterministic design solutions to this American problem included the development of back alleys to keep children and women off the main streets. "Privacy was the cornerstone for promoting individual baths and rooms, instilling in the young the value of individual property rights and sexual morality." (Wright, 1981, p.126). In 1902, Professor Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago sociology department warned: "A communistic habitation (that is, a tenement house) forces the members of a family to conform to insensible communistic modes of thought." (in Wright, 1981, p.127). Privacy and sexual morality became encoded into laws against prostitutes who rented the first floors of tenements (at higher rates). The laws would penalize them because children would have to walk through the tenements and the penalty was to discourage prostitutes from bringing customers where children would see them.

The management of prostitution and urban policy share conceptions of deviance and control both in rhetoric and in a structural context. As the 20th century progressed, and as design and urban policy were influenced by civil rights movements and grass-roots organizing, women became part of a more ambiguous rhetoric, but young girls remained in the rhetoric of previous centuries.

Part of the history of homeless/runaway girls involves the measures taken by society to deal with women and girls and poor people in general. The relationship between space, power and gender was never made explicit, (in the spatial production policies or design guidelines) yet the reciprocity between space and status was a constant re-negotiation and re-creation of the existing stratification system. Poor people, women and girls of color have never been given full rights in the city. Yet, industrialization has pulled them there providing little support against the stratification system. In fact, there

are very few social environments for these populations to have and feel a sense of belonging and community acceptance. This factor continues to be one of the major struggles homeless girls and girls on-their-own are resisting in their development of youth subcultures and their "illegal" appropriation of urban spaces.

Views Within The Social Sciences

Other influential conceptual links being made at that time between nature and people was Hall (1915). He was developing the first physical and developmental stage theory of children based on the paradigm of natural order. The influence of this paradigm has not changed dominant society's treatment and policies of youth for over a century and has carried forth to current legal policies and services, negatively impacting poor young women who are on their own.

Those youth who did not succeed in the deterministic development outlined by Hall were used by a variety of fields during the next 60 years to develop problem domains. For example, criminologists and sociologists (and later underclass "scholars") studied the cause (s) of youth deviance, known generally as delinquency (Chesney-Lind, 1992; Feldman & Elliot, 1990). Except for prostitution, for young women, the problem was defined outside of the domain of criminal activity and they were seen as more depraved than the men because they were acting in contradiction to the gender-based moral organization (Rafter, 1990 in Chesney -Lind, 1991).

By the 1920's psychologists, educators and psychiatrists took on adolescence and delinquency but concluded that delinquency was caused by multiple factors, such as interaction between genetic and environmental factors. The environmental factors were

operationalized as family, school, and peer interactions. "The dominance of psycho pathological paradigms in welfare professionals' assessment of the needs of adolescent girls has been well used."(Campbell, 1981, cited in Cain, 1989, p. 109). Psychological research during the early part of the 20th century focused on the pathology of behaviors which led to abnormal female activities as defined by the extensive sex-trait stereotype research industry (Williams & Best, 1990). Running away, becoming a prostitute, becoming involved with drugs or alcohol, having pre-marital sex (with a boy of course) or becoming a teen parent (Brennan, Huizinga and Elliot, 1978; Englander, 1984) were behaviors linked to low self-esteem, deviant sex-trait attributes, (not really acting like a girl who likes herself), and teenager as a developmental stage of rebelliousness. Social psychology, social work and sociology expanded the concepts of individual pathology to family (Gray, 1988 ; Robertson, 1989; Nye, 1980; Whitbeck & Simons, 1990) In the 1990's, researchers who studied runaways found another reason that youth are on-their-own. A new term was coined, "throwaways" referring to parental rejection (Gaines 1990; Robertson, 1989). This rejection was investigated and found to be related to substance abuse, physical violence and sexual violence perpetrated predominantly by males in the family. Studies found that between 5% to 100% (depending on the type of sample), of runaway or throwaway youth had experienced sexual abuse (Robertson, 1989). In spite of this finding, program interventions insisted that the youth be re-united with families who would be mandated to receive counseling and referrals. Thus, girls belonged at home. Solutions for youths who come from family environments where there is no home, include removing them from the family and placing them within the foster care or group home industry. In a few instances, the family may receive temporary housing, but few housing solutions exist for poor people and none exist for girls-on-their-own.

Early psychological research studies supported theories of runaway girls that were generally based on the male model of causal variables related to adventure and the search for identity (Erikson, 1950). Later, research found correlates between running away and family instability, poor living conditions, and problematic adolescent behavior, which are viewed as more problematic in the case of girls (Hildebrand, 1968; Robins, 1958; Robin and O'Neal, 1959, cited in Sharlin & Mor-Barak, 1992). For girls, distinctive gender-related behaviors are connected with running away including: vagrancy, sexual promiscuity, prostitution, suicide attempts, and pregnancy (Steiner, 1979). Running away, according to sociologists and criminologists, is highly correlated with a future life of adult crime (Sharlin & Mor-Barack, 1992). Females are criminalized for different behaviors than males. For example, engaging in sex is rarely a crime which is criminalized or pathologized for heterosexual men.

Other investigations about runaways in the field of psychology included those interested in motivation, strain and control theories. These theories were used in analytic frameworks to construct a taxonomy of runaways and a systematic formula for determining causal correlations between individual personality traits and family in a effort to predict who would runaway. Homer articulates (1973) the dominant social science explanation for girls who leave home for more than 24 hours. They fall into two categories: running to (romantic relations, sex; drugs adventure, stimulation) and running from (conflicts at home, school, rejection). While the research is usually cited in order to critique it's shortcomings: (small sample size, the static nature of a non-static situation, and the lack of psychological personality traits associated with the running to and running from behavior), additional psychological studies were conducted to

supposedly clear-up these methodological and theoretical flaws. Unfortunately, follow-up studies provide few improvements, but focus instead on treatment recommendations based on personality traits. (Sharlin & Mor-Barak, 1992).

This type of research continues to associate the appropriateness of girls' behaviors primarily with their gender roles. Connected to this narrow approach are the interpretations of girls' words during interviews conducted by social workers in the treatment centers. For example, one girl when asked why she left said "because I felt like it." This was interpreted by the authors as having an internal locus of control, thereby putting her in the category of girls who run to rather than from. The researcher's lack of consideration for the context of the interview and the implications of revealing information, which may be a consideration among the young women, is thoughtless. This problem occurs over and over again in the academic literature and even among feminist researchers (Debold, 1993, personal conversation), who interpret statements by the young women to accommodate the ideological basis of psychology (Takanashi, 1978). Unacknowledged borders among researchers, create more borders. Young women express no more trust of feminist researchers who assume they are one of the gang who then mis-interpret their words than other researchers who pathologize them.

Like sociology, criminology and other social sciences, the field of psychology has its own interpretation and typologies for these young women. However, the prevailing focus of "research" has been to problematize individual or family behaviors. Psychology has been particularly diligent in pursuing research which debases young women. Studies typically investigate sexual and other "deviant" behaviors that might be determinants of running away. Green and Esselsyn (1972), for example, studied girls who ran away

from the juvenile justice system. They describe these young women in three categories: 1) rootless: exhibiting a lack of self-discipline, those who indulge in pleasure seeking behavior; 2) anxious runaways, those who feel powerless in the face of their personal problems; and 3) terrified runaways: those escaping from alcoholic parents, incest and threats to their lives. Stierlin's mental institution sample based on a typology of runaways (cited in Brennan, 1980), describes two different kinds of runaways. Both exhibit individual and or family pathology. One type also includes a gender differentiated description. This is the "casual runaway", one who is seeking pleasure and is also called "uncontrollable. " This group is generally found among boys, but the female counterpart is the " 'sweet bad' girl who is characterized by impulsivity, pleasure seeking, sexual promiscuity and hysterical, depressive character structure." (cited in Brennan, 1980, p.195). Brennan (1980) posits a new and supposedly more thorough taxonomy, including socio-economic status, gender and age. The premise underlying the articulation of two classes and seven types of runaways is the level of separation from parents and school. The first class of runaways is not highly delinquent and predominantly males. The second class is delinquent and alienated and, across socioeconomic classes, girls are the majority of those classes, who are rejected by parents and school. They show the highest level of drop-out, are labeled by teachers as having low aspirations for educational and career success. They are characterized as angry, rebellious, having high levels of commitment to their friends and reject their parents, and are thus categorized as highly delinquent.

In an article in the Journal of Developmental Psychology (Caspi, Lynam, Moffit & Silva, 1993), which intended to unravel girl's delinquency from a biological, dispositional and contextual perspective, girls are again reduced to the one biological

event-menarche-which is linked to behavioral changes toward sexuality and misbehavior. "Previous research has shown that early puberty is associated with problems in girls." (Caspi, et al, 1993, p.26). Invoking a supposed environmental perspective as a possible influence on the shaping of the personal and social significance of menarche, they focus on the all girls school and the mixed school. No other description of the context is offered, but it is considered a key element in the experience of girls. It was the hope of the authors that, based on their research, parents could decide if their little girls have behavior problems in early childhood and decide which school environment would not support delinquent behavior, given that menarche could alter their little girls' behavior. They found that the experience of menarche was more difficult for girls in a mixed gender school and that deviant girls are more deviant in mixed gender schools. They conclude that menarche is neutralized in a same sex school and normative controls suppressed deviant activities among girls. This study perpetuated the notion that girls should be controlled and scientific guidance offered to the parents. This type of research also ignores lesbians and bisexual young women, the factors which could be important in understanding the concept of behavior "problems" among a sexually diverse group of young women. This is important for my study, because all previous studies on young women have ignored their sexuality and therefore mis-interpret behaviors and actions based on a heterosexual model of proper behavior. The continued mis-intepretations create more borders between my participants and myself.

During the 20th century, sociologists focused on the criminal "problems" created by deviants who threatened the good American society (Noblit, 1976). One of the sociologists' jobs was to develop objective knowledge about the characteristics of people

who commit crimes. Using explanatory categories such as age, ethnicity, parent's background, social class, employment status and school attendance. Researchers pointed to evidence that delinquency is evident only in a specific stratum of society and almost without exception among males (Asbury, 1927; Merton, 1938; Sutherland & Cressey, 1960; Thrasher, 1928). The work of Miller (1958) attempts to understand women and girls who are seen as deviant, involved in crime and gangs. His main emphasis is on class. He believed that delinquent activity needed to be investigated with reference to the values upheld by girls in the context of their lifestyles. Girls who habitually become involved in violence, theft and so on have to be seen in terms of their own peers who are not deviants but individuals who have certain values and norms. Miller believed that part of societal shock about girls involved in "delinquent" behavior arose out of the stereotypical views of middle class white women and children. Generally, the efforts of this field supported negative and de-contextualized perceptions of people of color, poor, working class and unemployed (largely) immigrants, gangs, prostitutes, youth and criminals, laying the groundwork for the social service industry.

More recent sociological studies about gangs and other organized groups of young people offer a better sense of how class, race, violence and exploitation actually operate within the gang (Gitlin, 1987; Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Hebdige, 1979; Sanchez Jankowski, 1991; Sullivan, 1989). However, when these studies include any mention of girls, they use their theoretical male gang member model to understand the experiences of girls who are rarely interviewed by the researcher. Thus, class, family position and leisure time are some of the critical factors considered in understanding the options available to girls and mediating variables to their behavior in group decisions. Only in studies exclusively about girls in gangs or girl gangs has there been a discussion

about gender. (Brienes, 1992; Cain, 1989; Campell, 1984, 1987; Harris, 1988; McRobbie, 1991; Taylor, 1993). In these studies sociologists and cultural studies scholars talk to the young women and use frameworks of analysis which in part emerge from their study. The methodology used has resulted in studies which represent a closer picture of the experience of girls in society and their subcultures and include girls of color. However, none of the studies consider sexuality as a mediating factor influencing experiences and decisions made. Studies about girls do not have to focus on only lesbian, bisexual and questioning youth to include sexuality as part of the framework because many girls are sufficiently closeted even with their closest peers. Researchers may be talking to a lesbian and not even know it. In any case, while it's important to represent the full range of experiences for girls, it's hard to get all worked up over this limitation when none of these studies are known by the general public.

The cultural currency of studies which challenge dominant ideas about girls is minimal. The reasons for this is complex. It is due in part to the traditional research ethos of objectivity which often precludes researchers from working in tandem with community organizations, service providers and policy makers. Another reason is that research which does not support dominant ideas about girls and women is not widely received nor considered influential by other researchers. In addition, the mainstream press does not report on non-mainstream findings, leaving the study in the inaccessible format of a book or journal article, most likely known only to university students and researchers like myself.

The implications of the obscurity of important research and research particularly focused on girls' sexuality has created service organizations with little support to combat

homophobia against lesbians. In addition, the legal history of gay and lesbians which criminalizes their activities and identity, have infringed on their ability to reach out to young gay and lesbians (Robeson, 1992). This lack of support within the community and the general youth serving organizations has created a service gap which the gay and lesbian community has only recently begun to address. Unfortunately, even within the gay and lesbian community there are class and racial biases which negatively impact on gay and lesbian youth organizations leaving poor lesbian and bisexual girls without support. The organization cultures create borders between myself and the research participants. My location as a lesbian researcher offers little comfort to young lesbian or bisexuals who find themselves outside of the "community" which I supposedly represent. In reality, I find little comfort in the existing organizations within the lesbian community.

Criminalizing Girls

> The first large scale and organized imprisonment of women occurred in the U.S. when many women's reformatories were established between 1870 and 1900. Women's imprisonment was justified not because the women posed a public safety risk, but rather because they were seen to be in need of moral revision and protection. (Chesney-Lind, 1991 p.17).

Women and young women have always been part of gangs, but their violent behavior was usually ignored unless it directly challenged the racist, sexist, homophobic and classist policies of their day (Chesney Lind, 1994). Reform policies have historically been used to justifying incarceration of white working class women who acted outside of the true nature of womanhood. Women of color, African American

women were always incarcerated in prison and treated like the male prisoners. (Rafter, 1990) because their occasional violent behaviors could easily be undermined to mask their challenge to racism and sexism. The "war on ...." policies of the last 30 years are imbedded in sexist and racist policies of punishment for "immoral" non-criminal activities.

The criminalization of non-criminal activities such as lesbianism, drug use among women before the birth of a child, and "crimes" committed due to violent systemic victimization (Chesney-Lind, 1991) among girls and women are lumped into one world view of murderers and child killers. The American legal system and its tendency toward regulation through concepts which categorize people through a process of dichotomies has dominated our views of who is a criminal (Robeson, 1992). For lesbians in particular, the legal system has trapped young women into images which are in conflict with their experiences. What is legal and right and what is illegal and immoral seem to be the same within the legal system and yet, when survival is dependent on breaking into an abandoned building and having sex with a guy even if you are a lesbian, the terms become clouded and irrelevant. As a lesbian, is she moral and right to be having heterosexual sex? As an un-emancipated minor without shelter, is she being a criminal by breaking and entering? What measures can be used to understand the experiences of young lesbians on-their-own? Evaluating the legal system and it's applicability to survival of young lesbians on-their-own is critical to understanding the borders between adults and youth and the services developed or not developed. If we accept the terms legal and illegal as set forth by the existing legal system, synonymous with moral and immoral we are limiting the options available to young women and our connections to them.

The growth of the criminal justice system during the 20th century has been accomplished through a economic-rationalized policy of building more prisons, abandoning any pretense of rehabilitation, reducing health care and mental health services for poor people, criminalizing homelessness, and detaining youth after arrest without bail until their trials, thereby violating their constitutional rights.

In 1985, the National Association of Private Psychiatric Hospitals, defending the profitable mass commitment of teenagers to psychiatric treatment on vague diagnoses, invented the "fact" that a teenager commits suicide "every 90 minutes" - or 5,000 to 6,000 times every year. *Psychology Today* and other mainstream news magazines continue to reprint this fact while the true teen suicide toll averaged 2, 050 during the 1980's. (Males, 1994). Policies to promote school-based clinics by the American Medical Association were supported by inflated rates of child births among teenage mothers. Juvenile crime reports supported by the National Association of State Boards of Education claimed that youth crime had increased 30 fold since the 1950's. This fact has been refuted, showing no increase in juvenile crime rates in at least two decades yet the Associated Press publishes the exaggeration.

The demonized young woman is African American, Latina, and she is poor, violent and part of a gang and she is a lesbian. Youth have been described in the press more violently then they actually are. Young pregnant women according to the U.S. Public Health Service reports that 71% of all teenage parents have adult partners over age 20. Even though many more births are caused by men over 25, the media only portrays high school boys by their choice of terms and images. The media blames young women while

giving adults and males a break. Donna Shalala (Los Angeles Times, 12/12/93), blames teenage mothers for poverty. Thus, the colluding of official reports and media distortions with regard to youth and crime are one and the same. The lack of content and fairness in coverage of youth and young women in particular has created borders between adults and youth. The seriousness of creating an environment where youth are feared for the "crimes" they have committed, where the two sides of the "story" comes only from adults, is a form of youth bashing and an institutional response which has focused on fixing young people not the environments.

Social inequities are often evident in the environment. Researchers since the 1920's have not adapted their understanding of the environment to include the socio-cultural world of the female adolescent even though environmental psychologists in the 1970's (Proshansky, Rivlin & Ittleson, 1976) have laid the groundwork for investigating the socio-cultural world and physical world to understand the relationship between individuals, their identity, and their developmental process. The youth-at-risk paradigm provides a new currency for old research.

Are Youth At Risk in Their Environments?

> A new class of untouchables' is emerging in our inner cities, on the social fringes of suburbia and in some rural areas: young people who are functionally illiterate, disconnected from school, depressed, prone to drug abuse and early criminal activity, and eventually, parents of unplanned and unwanted babies. These are the children who are at high risk of never becoming responsible adults (Dryfoos, 1990, p.3).

The identification of high risk youth has become the major buzz word/category for funding and program intervention in the 1990's. Social scientists (generally medical allied professionals, i.e. public health researchers, pediatricians) were the whistle blowers of the late 1980's. They "saw" the increased deterioration of youth along with multiple and varied interventions, "community-based" movements, and governmental support. Ultimately nothing was working to change the behaviors of youth, not even institutions responsible for the environment in which the behavior was learned. Thus the major goal of the high risk saviors was to determine who needed help before the problem behavior was exhibited and to create a sort-of mathematical formula for assessing deviant youth behaviors. The assumptions underlying much of the research with "youth at risk", and in particular female adolescents on-their-own are problematic.

Dominating most research efforts is an image of "safe youth" which supports an idealized, static, status quo or stereotype which was promoted and unchallenged within the behavioral science fields for over a century. Also missing from this image is an understanding of how youth on-their-own experience safety and create it in their daily lives as a process over time. These assumptions also provide a justification to focus policy on prevention of "risk," resulting in the study of the social class of youth who are still in homes, rather than of youth who are homeless. Further, this approach avoids understanding the economic and physical dangers /risks that are actually caused *by* homelessness. The dominant research ideology provides a disease model of youth, justifying policies focused on individual treatment where families and youth are pressured to adhere to specific behavioral changes rather than to promote social systemic changes (Fine, 1990).

Definition of the problem domain remains stuck in specific characteristics and predisposing factors or determinants of behavior (i.e., social status). The main areas of high risk behavior fall into four problem groups: delinquency, substance abuse, early childbearing and school failure. Based on definitions of high risk, target populations are quantified, first by estimates of prevalence and second by estimates of numbers of risk. The formula to assess the risks is based on insurance actuarial methodology- risk probability. Risks are constituted by the individual academic fields who have previously conducted and defined juvenile delinquency research. Then, probabilities are calculated to define the risk. There is no longitudinal research on youth who "display high risk behaviors", yet the method used by risk assessors assumes that nothing changes for the youth over time. Finally, the predictors of the specific behaviors are reified in order to identify the characteristics of those who will fall into the risk groups. Behaviors with negative outcomes are included in a psychiatric diagnosis called "conduct disorder" (Dryfoos, 1992). The symptoms of this diagnosis include multiple behaviors extended over a six-month period. The symptoms include: truancy, stealing, cheating, running away, fire-setting, cruelty to animals or persons, unusually early sexual intercourse, substance abuse, breaking-in and entering and excessive fighting. When three or more of these behaviors co-occur before the age of 15, and a child is considered unmanageable or out of control, the child can be diagnosed. Recent studies suggest that conduct disorders may lead to delinquent behaviors and that delinquency may lead to criminal careers (Dryfoos, 1990). Policy makers interested in interventions to prevent youth-at-risk behaviors suggest that service providers utilize behavior disorder categories to diagnose youth. The problem with this method is that the behaviors become reified and subsequently bound social knowledge with inaccurate analyses. The problems do not get ameliorated, youth continue to be misunderstood, and they are then further alienated

from adults and the social services offered. The borders between youth and adults are substantiated by at-risk researchers.

There are few at-risk researchers who offer a phenomenological perspective on risks as assessed by the youth (Irwin, 1985). In the 1990's ethnographies of street kids have been supported by the federal government interested in reducing the spread of HIV disease. Irwins' research rejects the actuarial approach to calculating probabilities by asking youth how risky certain behaviors might be over time. Incorporating both the opinions of youth and time into a broader understanding of risk is important. However, the basic categories of risk are codified in the ideology and theories defined by social scientists during the last century. Operationalizing risk offers a new paradigm embedded in new and old cultural currency for professionals researching youth. Asking youth about their explanatory framework for defining risk may be important to addressing borders between adults and youth and then again, risk may be too embedded in an adult framework to have meaning for young women on their own.

Risk calculations are significantly based in the research and theories formulated in the field of psychology (Douglas, 1992). The main underpinning of the field is to differentiate youth from adults and create a gauge of normal and abnormal behavior then utilized by parents and professionals to control and treat children. The youth displaying abnormal behavior are at risk for not growing up to be a responsible adult. According to at-risk theories, adolescents are not yet adults because they have not achieved independence from their families, developed skills for problem solving, developed awareness of their self-definition, developed their own set of values, and do not have the

capability to build the boundaries of a physical home to protect themselves (Dryfoos, 1990). Yet, each day, homeless girls create both their physical and social worlds.

Particular behaviors which constitute risks for girls have been viewed through a perspective which recognizes that girls' experiences are both unique and linked inextricably to their status as young women. The underlying moralistic assumptions which have shaped this concept remain unchallenged in the current youth-at-risk interventions and research. Policy makers who attempt to use these developmental assumptions to create interventions for "youth at risk" are defining the youth experience in a manner which does not include these girls and will not speak to their reality or needs. We know that in many cases "risk taking behavior" occurs because of conditions which put the youth in a dangerous situation (i.e., adult abuse, homelessness, youth gang culture). Recent studies on the sociology of gangs and street workers (Campbell, 1984; Hall, 1989; Harris, 1988; Jankowski, 1991) have highlighted that what is categorized as risk taking behavior is sometimes the result of choosing the lesser of two dangers and/or economic and social security. Paradoxically, this concept of youth at risk confuses our image of them as both victim and victimizer (Fine, 1990). Consequently, existing social services range from the therapeutic to the punishing. Both forms of interventions intend to treat and prevent further acts which are dangerous to the "well being" of youth as well as to mainstream them back into a "safe youth" situation. disregarding the context for their actions. A "safe youth" situation is defined as family re-unification if their families are not homeless as well. Many runways are on their own and sustain themselves through involvement in the street economy.

Ruddick's article on a new geography of homelessness (1988) explores the theory that homeless youth are attracted to certain areas within a city for different reasons than adults. The premise of a geography of homelessness was first posited in Dear and Wolch's work (1987). Specific urban environments were found to support large concentrations of homeless adults due to the initial development of city ghettos and later by de-institutionalized mentally ill patients who could only find inexpensive accommodations in these urban ghettos. The destruction of single room occupancy hotels, the main type of housing available for poor people, has destroyed fragile social networks created by homeless people (Stutz, 1987, cited in Ruddick, 1988). Historically, according to Ruddick, youth on their own did not mingle with adults who were considered hoboes in the 1920's and 30's. The boys (I assume, White) were integrated into menial labor jobs during World War I, such as "newsies." Today, after talking to youth in Hollywood, Ruddick found that five areas of concern determine where youth will "spatially filter" including: safety from violence, ability to avoid police authority, the presence of a large stable population of other youth, an accessible underground economy where they can just blend in, and participation in "oppositional" subcultures.

Unlike adults, the location of services was not a factor in determining areas to which youth were attracted. A study by Brockman (1988) found that "...when runaways were taken out of Hollywood to foster homes in other parts of the country they often ran right back again." (cited in Ruddick, 1988, p.12). This may be due to resistance to the system of child protection which most young women find difficult to maintain unless the home they are placed in provides a new freedom. For example, young lesbian and bisexual

women in my study stayed in their foster placement after they were placed with adult lesbians who supported their sexuality, while the street culture did not.

In Rivlin's essay (1986) on the variety of homeless people who we don't necessary consider within our typification of homeless people, youth are among the new homeless. Until 1985, the Coalition for the Homeless did not consider youth as part of their constituency. The life experiences of female youth who live on their own are both similar to adult homelessness and unique to their gender, race and legal implications of their age. Our physical experience of them in the streets, our characterization of where they are and the etiology of their existence is typified by the Times Square hustlers, the Lower East Side Squatters, the Haight Ashbury Hippies, the Los Angeles Punks and Gangsters and the younger children who are living with their homeless families. There are no studies to date which have focused on young women, investigating the circumstances of their life experiences. However, the youth homelessness of the 1990's, especially among girls, is a complex arrangement negotiated by urban developers, advocates, the street economy, youth subcultures and the moralistic representation and relative invisibility of girls who live on-their-own.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to review the range of work that has been written about girls-on-their-own. Historically, within academia, across different fields girls have been mis-categorized and mis-represented because researchers have tried to use male models of life experiences and gender-based morality to maintain control over the girl-on-her-own. The studies of homelessness, homeless youth, youth at risk, runaways, delinquent youth, gangs, deviance among girls, and prostitution, indicates that each field

problemmatizes different aspects of girls, yet concludes and recommends similarly. In addition, each field has benefited in different historical moments from grants, contracts and prestige without necessarily being interested in benefiting the girls. Rather than challenging and redefining terms based on a grounded knowledge of the population they are studying, researchers have accepted the negative myths and stereotypes. These myths have reified this population using information from counselor reporting. Researchers have wrongly accepted and presented research findings that were based on participant non-participation to describe the experiences of girls. When researchers include girls' reporting, at most, 20% of the study participants have been girls. Researchers have extrapolated and generalized from boys' experiences supporting male, female gender-role behaviors supporting conceptual frameworks which were debasing and oppressive to girls. These explanatory frameworks presented extensive contradictions to my study. Throughout time, social scientists have not developed new concepts and methods which embrace girls-on-their-own in a positive light nor have they been responsible and ethical researchers making the connection between the production of knowledge and the real life experiences of girls-on-their-own.

The historical and current doctrines each social science literature supported, and subsequent policies created have been explicitly negative and negating of young women's experiences. The comprehensive and systematic invisibility of girls, lesbians, bisexual young women in studies about youth and their subcultures hurts the relationships between adult women and young women. The double standard of sexual morality embedded in racism and classism within the social sciences and the dichotomies (good girls, bad girls) developed in the legal system which criminalize young women for being on-their-own is a serious problem which impedes the survival of

young women. If researchers are to address the survival of young women, we must analyze the usefulness of existing theories and policies. We must develop an understanding of the borders which have been created throughout history and have been canonized through our disciplines . Narrow and simplistic explanations of young women's experiences will only increase the borders between us and threaten the subsistence of our younger sisters.

In my study, I listened to what the young women said, how they experienced their environments, their lives, their survival. They created physical environments which were both in resistance to the sterotypes previous research has forced on us and within the structures of their youth subcultures. The environments are embedded within a history of the social production of space. Unraveling the complex relationships between the social production of urban neighborhoods, the history of property rights and squatter communities, the spatial context for gender, class, homelessness, sexual identity, and urban myths reveal the borders, the tensions between adults and young women on-their-own.

Chapter 2: The Social Production of Space Among Punk Rock Girls On-Their-Own

This study of environments used by girls who live-on-their-own, focuses on San Francisco's downtown: the Civic Center, South of Market and Polk Street neighborhoods. This study used a "snowball" sampling technique to interview 10 young women. This sample of girls was skewed towards those who either knew each other or had seen each other on the street. Participants were part of a well hidden population to which few adults have access.

Conceptual Framework

I used the social production of space as the theoretical and conceptual framework in this chapter as outlined in great detail by Wolfe and Manzo (1990). Their framework offers a grounded and historical knowledge of space in a contextualized and interpretative history. "As a template for analysis it clarifies the interplay between forces at the present moment and other times, looking for differences as well as similarities; discontinuities as well as continuities; changes in language, use and meaning as well as form" (Wolfe & Manzo, 1990, p.8) or spatial organization. Understanding people-environment relationships in a moment in time is a complex task which necessarily must include an understanding of specific dominant and subcultural social histories, " as well as architectural history."

The decision to inhabit abandoned buildings or "squat" is informed by a variety of ideological factors and social histories impacting the production of resources. The

combination of: restrictive, age-based laws prohibiting "minors" from legally renting an apartment, the never-produced affordable housing for this population, gender-based moral codes of public life often embedded in a variety of specific ethnic/religious/family norms, and the social memory of historically non-conformist communities in San Francisco. The beatniks, hippies, Punk rockers, and gay and lesbian communities who attempted to find refuge in the supposed tolerance of San Francisco, are considerations in making spatial decisions among young women who come to San Francisco to live on their own. The ideological link made among young people who identify and belong to a subculture, is connected to the social history of San Francisco. The Punks' political ideology, to challenge the dominant rules of geography, ageism and capitalism makes sense in a place that has a history of that type of activity. In part their decisions are informed by the belief that socially progressive places treat girls with more respect. Though this belief has been refuted, predominantly in biographies of women who participated in socially progressive movements (Di Prima, 1988), the public knowledge supports the concept that if a progressive cause is politically left in one ideological area, thereby challenging dominant norms, then they would support equality for women and young girls. This is just not the case, in almost any social movement. These social histories are a link to unraveling an understanding of the experiences of resistance and dominance expressed by the young women who participated in this study.

According to Spain (1992), ..."the organization of space is both product and producer of existing (and historical) economic relations: spatial representations expressed in their own logic... active instruments in the production and reproduction of the social order." (p.17). Yet, few social scientist have addressed sufficiently (if at all) gender, youth

subculture, sexuality, mental and physical disability, race and ethnicity into their examination of space (Wolfe & Manzo, 1990).

> Goffman (1977), proposed that gender segregation is fluid: men and women periodically separate into different places but re-group in integrated spaces to carry out shared goals. Thorne (1989), cites gender segregation in schools as a component of childhood development for boys and girls. Ardener's (1981) extensive anthropological collection of articles highlight the importance of spatial arrangement and women. Rosaldo (1974), proposed nearly twenty years ago that women's status is lowest in societies within highly differentiated private and public spheres. Thus the greater the distance between women and girls and the sources of valued knowledge, the greater the gender stratification. (cited in Spain, 1992, p. 26).

In contradiction, Katz's study (1993) of girls in a small village in the Sudan, and other "urban" cities in the United States indicated that purdah, which is the culturally based separation of boys and girls in Muslim societies does not inhibit girls' activities in the environment, as much as fear-based rules among parents in the United States. Thus, girls in "urban" cities of the United States, are more restricted than girls under the rules of purdah in the Sudan. Piche's study (1988) of girls, contradicts Katz's study. The girls in her study who lived in public housing did not feel restricted in their access to the environment. In fact they would go wherever they could find peers, and did not go where there were groups of people with whom they did not identify. Places were differentiated according to lifestyle, not sex. The lack of opportunities offered to them in the public realm does differ from boys; they often join their male friends in activities as a defense against the sexual harassment they experience in public spaces. The small apartment space available in public housing afforded young women little indoor space for

gatherings. The use of boys as a defense, while available to girls in the United States, may not be available to girls in Muslim countries. Thus, the contradiction of sexual aggression by boys and their protection is a dialectic which most girls confront while trying to survive. When indoor space is limited due to poverty or parental restrictions, outdoor space is used more extensively and in more varied ways. The use of "public" space by young women on-their-own and young women who are housed but live in poor neighborhoods can be a conflict for them, their parents and other neighbors. However, the factors guide the use of the environment for girls, including fear, is more complex and varied then discussed in Katz's article.

Emphasis on the social production of space, weaves the threads of the fabric of complexity revealing how of both historical and current relations are constituted and experienced among young women-on-their-own. These factors, however, are often made invisible by omission in research studies. Focusing on invisibility leads to other invisible relationships which are clues to the structural maintenance of subordination and dominance which is embedded in the experiences of young Punk women living-on-their-own.

Gender in the City

During the early development of cities, the presence of women had raised a moral debate. The controlling and surveillance of city life has always been directed particularly at women. This is because "...urban life potentially challenged patriarchal systems. With the coming of modernity, the cities of veiled women have ceded to cities of spectacle and voyeurism, in which women while seeking and sometimes finding the freedom of

anonymity are often all too visible." (Spain, 1991, p.16) Women, and even the young Punk rockers, are part of the spectacle which brings people to the city. Advertisements and movies, which sell "bad women" and their body parts, are part of the urban landscape where many of the participants in this study live. The contradictions of social control and American consumerism, economic survival and gender/youth exploitation, resistance and paternalism meet on the street. Analyzing and understanding the meaning of these experiences for an outsider, becomes further complicated by racism, youth subcultural style, gender ideologies, both in and out of youth subcultures and lesbian and gay culture as it has permeated both style and ideology. The complicated nature of understanding young women's experience and it's spatial implications, can be traced to historical ideas about the development of cities and the conduct of urban life--controversies which often act to conceal an underlying disquiet that "women are roaming the streets."

American novels at the turn of the century were constructing a gender-based relationship between the wilderness and men/ cities and women. For example, in Willa Cather's 'O Pioneers! (1913) the male heroes flees from the materialistic evils of the city to the Edenic frontier in search of their own lost innocence and an "authentic existence". The female heroines flee from the bareness and torpor of the prairie and the small town to the freedom of the city in search of experience and adulthood" (Wright, 1980, p.22). The moral of these stories and others like them, is that the Man is separate from, morally superior to, and sovereign over "Mother Nature", who like woman, he may tame and exploit for his own benefits. The dichotomization of cities and wilderness is yet another cosmological construction in the symbolic universe of male supremacy. Mapped on to

the opposition of city and country culture, and nature, is male and female with man as culture and woman as the chaotic earth.

Along with these early and "worldly" social constructions, comes a knowledge of territory for men and women, the behavior which is expected to maintain the borders of this territory, linked closely with our identity and judgments we make accordingly. We judge how well we have defined our boundaries both self and social , i.e. those who are "centered" in their identity and not "thrown off balance" by others or their surroundings are admired. Other judgments focus on belongings, i.e. those who have settled down in a home, are stable, trustworthy and those who are homeless, are vagrants and subject to arrest or fine (Wright, 1980, p.24).

While there has always been resistance to these ideas which separate women from men in cities based on control, the battles have usually been fought with property rights. By the 1930's, during the depression, women in leadership positions were organizing unemployed councils. "Groups of as many as 100 would gather to put evicted family's furniture back into an apartment or house, even when the family was not present" (Wright, 1980, p.28) These stop-eviction campaigns often resulted in a bloody confrontation between police and organizers. The contemporary girl squatters, are resisting the gender-based urban dichotomies of the last century. They are fighting for their right to shelter, which could also be coded as freedom to be a girl on-her-own. The Punk girl squatting is based on ideology of placing shelter rights over property rights. Their confrontations with the (authority) police, and adult homeless groups who would take their shelters from them is the 1993 version of resisting the worldly construction of

men and women, adults and youth, confronting the borders of territory both private and public which maintain social control.

A Geography of Risk

All of the young women I interviewed for this study hang out in the Downtown area (including Polk Street, the Tenderloin, Civic Center) and develop squats in the South of Market district. When I asked them why they go South of Market to squat, they said that they wanted to get out of the "mix" in the Tenderloin or Civic Center. The "hustling" environment is loud, demanding, dangerous, not the kind of place one can rest and get some peace and quiet. There were many spatial decisions made which alluded to their desire for a certain quality of life.

Half the young women in this study were raised in San Francisco. However, local residency did not mean that the participants had a much greater cognitive map of San Francisco than the girls who were recent inhabitants. Most of them had been to, and know how to get to the Haight area. They had been out to the beach in the most western part of the city and besides this area, the "Embarcadero." The redeveloped tourist attraction piers and the Civic Center and Downtown area and the Castro were the only neighborhoods to which the young women traveled to. The Castro was an area for panhandling late at night, after the bars close at 2 am. Young women rarely sleep in this area because there are few abandoned buildings. Many of the young women felt safe there, because they knew the men were gay and did not want to exploit them sexually. The Beach area was a place to hang out and relax for the day. Though some of the young women thought they might live there for a while, they often did not stay for more than a few days before returning to the Civic Center. They felt the beach was too far

away from friends and needed supplies like food. Locating a secure shelter was a time consuming activity.

> I: How did you find the squat?
> Theresa: I found squats myself. You just walk around sometimes you go squat hunting. The only time I ever find squats is when I'm not looking for one though you know. Like coming back from somewhere, walking on a weird street that you don't usually walk on and there's an abandoned building and you scope it out for a couple of days and
> I: What do you look for?
> Theresa: It has to look abandoned most of all. Look for no one coming in or out, ever. Look for a doorway or window you can get in and out easily most of the time with no seeing you like in a back alley or something What some squatters do is put a lock on a door and see what happens, if it gets fucked with they know that they can't do it. But if it doesn't they know they can move in. Usually you should watch it for a week. It's not a good Idea to find a place and sleep in it the next day unless you have nowhere else to go. Then you just say fuck it and do it. Like the one on 1st and Mission 1st.

The young women in this study who squat hunt go during the day, often climbing up unsafe fire escapes, or up to the roof to find a entry into the closed building. It's safer not to stay the same night in a squat found that day. Putting a lock on the front door for a few days would ensure that the building is not inhabited by other squatters, or watched by the owner. If the lock is still on the door a few days later, it's a good squat. Depending on the type of building, most girls stay in a room with other squatters and often they have their "best girlfriends" sleep with them in the bed, or with their boyfriends. A number of girls did not tell their friends their sexual feelings towards other girls because they did not want to jeopardize their tenancy in the squat.

All of the young women who participated in this study thought that their contacts with the police were the most dangerous situations they encountered while being on-their-own. Often police would "bust a squat" in the middle of the night, with dogs and flashlights, chasing them from roof top to roof top.

The young women's possessions are usually ready to go at a moments notice. Sadness (16 years old), who had been living on her own for 3 years, had a pet rabbit. At one of the squat busts, police told her that next time they catch her, they would arrest her and give her rabbit to the Animal Control Unit (a place where stray animals are killed). The average length of stay at any squat is about a week or two, before the squat is busted. There are few activists fighting with these young people for their right to shelter. Without policy changes which address the lack of shelter rights for youth-on-their-own, young women will continue to run from the police at 2 am. The implications of this policy are nothing less than danger and death.

> Betty: This is a nine story squat that we lived in on the top floors. I've had a lot of fun. We lived in this squat when the war demonstrations were going on, the anti-war demonstrations. We would sit upstairs and have all these political discussion by candlelight. We went in the front door.

In the summer of 1992, a 15 year old woman who was squatting in this building fell nine stories through the elevator shaft and will never walk again. Few people squat there any longer, out of respect for this young woman, but as fewer and fewer buildings remain standing in the face of urban gentrification, some young women are left with no choice.

In the face of complicated and risky circumstances which surround their living stability, many of the young women in this study attempted to return to school. All of the young women wanted to return to school and some did even when they were squatting. Most of the young women had left school when they were just approaching their teenage years. At that time, school just didn't seem to work for them anymore.

> I: How come you left school?
> Mary: I just transferred from Bland. Bland is a really small farmer town and Belling was a big redneck town and uh I like transferred. I was not doing good in school and my mom told me I was stupid so I should just quit. One day it just all got to me and found out I was flunking band and I'm like, I've always been really good in band. I was in solo and ensemble and stuff and I can play flute really good and I couldn't understand why I was flunking but I guess it was because I didn't go to a prep assembly or whatever, and anyway, I just said fuck you and I dropped out like two seconds later and I went home and said oh by the way I dropped out mom she said, Oh, I knew you would.

Mary returned to school, as do many of the young women, even when they have nowhere to stay.

> I: Were you in School when you were squatting?
> Mary: I'd been going to school since December it was crazy.
> We took the elevator to the very top floor and turned it off and slept there and got pretty good sleeping til 6 or 7 the next morning. This guy opened it up with a crowbar and said you better get out and thought he was going to beat the shit out of us, B had been flipping out, she was having really bad stomach pains, she thought she was having a miscarriage, because she hoed a lot. She was a hustler and did a lot of heroin. Nothing was open, she was crying and I was holding her and I let her wear my jacket I didn't know what to do. I begged these people to let

> us stay in their hall and they said we could stay on their fire escape and it was wet like sewer big bugs and it was no way we were sleeping in here so we went to the elevator and did that. I was in school. I had nowhere to stay.

The issues of safety, welfare and protection, though critical issues for all women in our day-to-day lives, have been used to justify paternalistic service guidelines in urban and female adolescent urban studies. "Yet, women have a right to the carnival, intensity and even the risks of the city. ...urban life, however fraught with difficulty, has emancipated women more than rural life or suburban domesticity." (Spain, 1992, p.35). The benefits of urban life, even though young women are excluded from some of them, justify their demands for inclusion. They have a right to be on the streets, live anonymously, experience their sexuality, drink, dance, protest and enter the economy (legal or illicit). At the same time, within every city a growing distance between rich and poor, young and old, male and female makes for another kind of unreality and a gulf in experiences.

> Girls are trained in our society to expect and accept spatial limitations. They are taught to occupy but not control space, keep their self and social boundaries permeable. As youth they are to tolerate the decisions of adults in terms of the location of private space. As adults they are supposed to be able to tolerate frequent interruptions by their children and husbands or male co-workers and bosses. Boys grow up on the streets where they learn the lessons of manhood. "Nice girls" are kept off the streets and close to the home, lest their virginity or virtue or both become endangered (Weisman, 19 p. 68).

Girls and women must confront the misogyny in the billboards, the catcall and whistles which attempt to bring attention to what could be another anonymous city

dweller and, paradoxically, find spatial freedom from the confines of socially constructed norms for female space, control and socialization.

> I: What was that like, in Seattle?
> Digy: It was OK I mean I got hassled by people but not any more than usual. If you're panhandling on the street, older men will come and try to pick you up. At least 20 times a day. They think because your a kid and you're poor that you're going to do it.

Privacy for women on the streets is violated no matter how well you learn to handle the situation. Areas like the Tenderloin, Civic Center and Downtown, South of Market Areas are filled with porno-movie and book stores, pictures of dismembered women, women having sex with women for the pleasure of men. The continual message is that men are powerful, and women can be consumed, controlled, raped and dehumanized.

> I: Since you left home have you been in any risky or dangerous situations?
> Theresa: I didn't think that walking down the street was a risky situation but I got here, it's rough on Turk Street people just fuck with you. Someone just sort of beat me up just cause I was walking down the street and didn't like how I looked, they didn't like how my friend looked so he tried to light her hair on fire and I pushed his arm out of the way which I guess I shouldn't have done (laugh). My first reaction was to just push his arm out of the way so he when I was walking away I was like why are you doing this you don't know us I never said anything to you. We started walking away and he ran up behind us and punched me on the side on the head like my jaw hurt for weeks. It's kind of risky just walking down the street.

Unfortunately, this is the place where an economy exists for young women to earn money for an occasional hotel room, when squatting becomes too difficult and overwhelming.

Sadness: I have a fake ID and I can strip for a living.
I: Have you done that before?
Sadness: Yeah, I've done it once in Seattle, and its not that big of a deal and I can make a lot of money really fast and maybe I can get my own apartment or move into someone else's. I'm tired of people's little games. Most of the time it's good but sometimes it gets really rotten.

For young women, resisting, negotiating and surviving both the violence of the streets and their poverty means that they are "autonomous." Only in the secrecy of their squats and in certain neighborhoods, do these young women have a place to discuss their values, ideas, projects that do not conform to the dominant social interest.

Patesha: You are going to have people look at you and feel more sorry for you because you are a girl on the street than if you are a guy. You gonna have people try to take you in and use you and try to play you for a fool. You are gonna have trouble if you're trying to sell drugs because they think females don't know what they are talking about. If you try to prostitute on you own if that's what you do to get your money girls might get ripped off, abused, beaten. I think if you're a strong willed female and you take care of yourself and watch out for yourself or have friends who will watch your back, it's not much different, you're just a minority, you're street kid, you're trash. But there are a lot of butch girls on the street and nobody messes with them."

The Social Production of Squats

Living in squats has historically been linked to hippies and Punk rockers in San Francisco (Godfrey, 1988; Golthorpe, 1992). Squatting or using condemned and abandoned buildings for residences manifests itself differently in other U.S. cities, and is radically different in Europe. Its history in the U.S. is related to the unequal distribution

of land and wealth dating back to the early colonialist squatters (Golthorpe, 1992). Embedded in an understanding of squatting is the concept of property rights. The institutions which were developed to legalize tenancy, subsequently undermined and devastated the Native American cultures, thus justifying the sale and theft of native lands. Europeans were all squatters in the "New Land". When land right laws were being developed and land sold to richer immigrants, earlier European squatters were often given preference and some protections for improvements made. In the 1830's, the debate over homesteading or squatting was regional, embedded in the political and social differences between the north and the south or agrarian and industrial and the east and west pioneers. By the 1850's, squatters grew more rebellious as surveyors put "their" land on the auction block at prices squatters could seldom raise. Squatters began to block land sales to the railroads by forming land organizations. The preemption legislation of the early 19th century was not working to secure land against the dominant land owners, speculators and developers. The Homestead Act of 1862, which currently protects squatters in New York City, was the first law which allowed for women's property rights, but specifically promoted heterosexual marriage by rewarding husband and wife with twice as much land as a single person (Heskin, 1988; Welch, 1992).

Another historical link to be made to squatting are rent strikes of the mid-and-late 19th century. Rent strikes, laid the groundwork for tenants unions and mass strikes, still evident today in many cities. After 1904 rent strikes were conducted along lines of workplace strikes, using the tactics of withholding rent, stopping evictions, and organizing picket lines to keep eviction crews out of buildings. "Thus the 19th and 20th century rent strike activity in urban centers links the early frontier squatting and the activity of 150 to 200 years later." (Heskin, 1988, p.24).

The discussion of homelessness in this country has predominantly referred to adults, and more recently, children within families, but rarely does it refer to young people on their own. Social scientists rely on historical and economic circumstances and individual pathology to explain the causes of "homelessness." The generally accepted causes of homelessness do not apply to young people. The reasons for homelessness, generally discussed in the literature are: lack of affordable low-income housing and loss of jobs. The death of a spouse and battering, as well as physical illness and lack of health care insurance, often leads to women's homelessness. For young people, the literature cites the following reasons for homelessness: abusive and neglectful parents, rebellion, drug use and general juvenile delinquent behaviors such as pregnancy (Robertson, 1989). Lack of affordable housing is never a reason used by youth at-risk policy developers, service providers or researchers. Based on this research, youth-on-their own are the product of individual pathologies within a family structure, those youth going against the law. While this may be partly true, the larger structural problems which are meaningful factors for young women on their own and that are integral to the social production of squats are lost in currently accepted social science terminology.

The reification of homelessness both in the general public and academia erroneously encapsulates youth-on-their-own into the wrong explanatory framework. Most often, young people do not identify themselves as a homeless person; instead they use it to define and limit their spatial organizations in urban areas. For example studies which have identified areas of the city where youth stay, while there is some overlap the "homeless" have been environmentally located by social scientists in one areas, while the young people who are part of a certain culture and class stayed in another area.

While this phenomenon is nothing new, as groups have always defined territory, the development of squats specifically for youth and the areas used by young women in San Francisco is, in part, determined by the prolific misuse and stigma associated with homelessness. None of the young women in this study identified themselves as homeless, yet in studies which research homeless youth, they would all be screened and accepted in a study. It is the constant expansion of the term homelessness rather then the development of a new concept which keeps youth supposedly "homeless", and maintains the research and homeless industry developed in the last 10-15 years.

In studying the patterns of homeless youth in Hollywood, Ruddick (1988) developed a theory of urban geography which states that, the dynamics of homeless youth geography are not understood because youth who are homeless are spatially segregated from adult homeless people. Thus, locating services in "traditional haunts of homeless adults may not best serve the needs of homeless and runaway youth." (Ruddick, 1988). Many of the youth in her study (3 females and 12 males) stated that they preferred to be in areas of Hollywood where adult homeless people do not congregate. They did not feel safe in those areas, due to violence from homeless adults, gangs, and the police.

As the dynamics of homeless and runaway youth geography are unraveled, Ruddick asserts that the issue of service provision is confounded with discourse about redevelopment. The issue is couched in a debate: Is Hollywood the appropriate place for homeless youth and is it the place for agencies that serve them? Similar to San Francisco, Los Angeles redevelopment and the subsequent destruction of squats is occurring almost as quickly as they are found. Yet, youth are not leaving Hollywood because there are other factors such as services, sources of money and the presence of

youth subculture which continue to attract youth on their own to Hollywood. However, finding shelter has become more of a challenge taking up increasing amounts of time in their day to find creative and secure shelter.

> "Areas which were characterized by high volume tourism and leisure activities provided the youth with an atmosphere where they could blend in and avoid detection, find things to occupy their time and gain some meager income through panhandling or illegal activities such as drug peddling or prostitution." (Ruddick, 1988, p. 11).

Thus, survival was an important reason for the geographic filtering of youth in Hollywood. Homeless adults have similar needs but are often less tolerated in these business districts. Lately, students are becoming villainized and this is reflected in recent policy changes in malls and shopping areas. Merchants are galvanizing around controlling the number of youth allowed into a store at one time.

Squatting in the United States has barely been recognized, or drawn public attention to the government for not providing affordable housing to low income people and youth, in particular. There has never been legal housing available to young women. The legal constraints which preclude young women from signing leases, contracts, working without consent of their parents, being out on the street after curfew (10 p.m.), making decisions about their lives and living outside the sanctity of the "family unit" has not been challenged. Throughout the last century, young girls have been placed in group and foster homes, or institutionalized in other ways. To include young women in the category of homelessness, clouds both the ideological and economic issues which surround their situation. "Street girls" represent a resistance to ideologies involving the

social control of young women, the production and use of space in urban areas from a class and gender perspective, and the realization that Punk rocker and other youth subcultures create knowledge and use space in an counter-hegemonic fashion. It is this complex interplay which constitutes the social production of space for young women on their own.

The Social Production of Neighborhoods where Squats Exist

There are two neighborhoods in San Francisco in which youth are visible on the street: The Haight Ashbury and Downtown (including: Polk Street, The Tenderloin and Civic Center). While many of the participants initially lived in the Haight Ashbury neighborhood, they later moved downtown where they found different opportunities. Downtown offered a variety of youth subcultures, cheaper food, more tourists to panhandle from, more buildings to squat, and youth outreach and drop-in services.

> Doherty: First I was living on Haight street with some chick in her apartment. There were 20 of us all squatting in her apt. and that was a rad scene. There was one bedroom tiny apartment, 30 people every night on Haight Street and everyone was dirty and smelled and it was worse than my apartment is right now, 10 times worse I'm serious it was so nasty, stuff on the floor. We would just panhandle for burritos. Panhandling used to be really good up there. I used to make like 10 bucks in 45 minutes like no problem. Now I go up there and I can't even make like a dollar in fucking 2 hours
> I: Why?
> Doherty:I think I look old, I don't look like I'm 15 anymore, yeah there like right you have money, I don't please, please. And then I started squatting up on Haight by Polytech. I squatted there for a while. I started going out with another dude and he hung out downtown. I had never hung out downtown and I'd like OK I'll go down there with you and like that's when I found Larkin Street and Hospitality House and the fact that beer was so much cheaper and everything was

> so much cheaper in the Tenderloin then in the Haight and it was easier to panhandle down here and there weren't so many yuppies and fucking stiff assholes, It was cool like I could hang out here, everyone is a scum bag, cool, rad."

The differences found by Doherty in these two neighborhoods, is partly due to the social, economic and development patterns in San Francisco. Many young women who leave "home" and arrive in San Francisco, initially go to the Haight Ashbury Golden Gate Park, whose history as a bohemian enclave is over a century old. Whether the young women know it, or not, they are following a long tradition. In the 1860's, the Golden Gate Park was originally planned to begin farther to the east and extend across much of the Haight Ashbury ", but a number of squatters in the area could not be dislodged". (Godfrey, 1988, p.184). For a eighty years, the Haight remained somewhat suburban. This changed once cars were widely owned and the real suburbs were developed, leaving places like the Haight to become more citified. During the 1950's the Haight did not experience the blight of the South of Market, Tenderloin or Mission Districts due to large redevelopment projects in the adjacent Fillmore neighborhood. The displaced African American working class moved to the Haight along with beatniks from North Beach. A number of social and economic events made the Haight ripe for the "hippie era" including a neighborhood identity of common transience, and a long standing community liberal tolerance for alternative lifestyles. The Haight was also the common living area of many rock and roll stars: Jefferson Starship, Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, and the home of a subcultural philosophy which opposed the pursuit of material affluence. Almost overnight, the Haight Ashbury became a mecca for

disenchanted youth from all over America, who occupied flats or just slept in the park. The SF Examiner wrote the following anti-counter cultural account in 1969:

> Some of the crash pads of the streets- once neatly maintained dwellings are foul litter-infested, evil smelling latrines. Dog feces, festering garbage and broken bottles abound next to living establishments that are meticulously maintained. It is from many of the hovels that the predatory types emerge at night-like hungry rats to loot, forage and violate. (Godfrey, 1988 p.189).

Theories of neighborhood change, displacing low income people in San Francisco, generally follow political, economic and social forces of "bohemian influx, middle-class transition and bourgeois consolidation" (Godfrey, 1988, p. 178). Thus, a non-conformist population discovers a neighborhood, making a dangerous or rundown neighborhood livable and attractive to others who would not normally walk down the street. Housing speculation begins, the word gets out and the entrepreneurial class moves in, outside firms enter the area representing bourgeois consolidation catering to a wealthier class, rents rise, the population becomes more homogenous and the original bohemians move out or move up and out of their "bohemian phase"; thus moving into a more affluent economic class and remaining in the neighborhood (Godfrey, 1988). There are few non-gentrified residential areas left in San Francisco. Downtown redevelopment has drastically changed the landscape of the traditional transient neighborhood of South of Market area. Squats are being destroyed daily, leaving fewer places for young women to find shelter.

While tourists came (and still do) to San Francisco to temporarily participate and be voyeurs in the "counter culture" (now more the memory of that time), the city officials

began to redevelop the entire downtown area. In the 1960's and presently, these areas have been geographically shared, yet separate at the same time, by teenage girls, and boys, older poor residents, shoppers, tourists and multinational corporations. The planning and development objectives outlined in "The San Francisco Master Plan" (1990) acknowledged the "valuable low cost rental housing" in the area including the Civic Center, Tenderloin neighborhoods, and South of Market District. There are approximately 10,000 residents (reported) living in 5,000 dwelling units (including apartments, flats and hotels) not including a number of artists living in industrial buildings and an unknown number of "street people" who reside in various forms of "spontaneous shelters." The estimated number of homeless people living in San Francisco is 10,000 (Coalition on Homelessness, 1993). The planning report goes on to state that "The City of San Francisco seems content with the residential quality and number of dwelling available. The stock matches the space and needs and housing affordabililty levels of existing residents." (Department of Planning, 1990, 11.10.8). In contradiction, homeless youth, and young women in particular, are not content with the residential dwellings available.

> Betty: Over here, these garages, is where we used to sneak in. This one down here see they have boards in them now they were always opened a little and we would crawl underneath. This is where I got staff infection from all the glass and the dirt. I used to have cuts all over my hands full of staff infection. There were like 30 or 40 people here. And like some floors were just warehouse with a couple of rooms around the sides. I loved this squat. I stayed here for like 2 months. Off and on, I stayed there and we went to Seattle and I came back and stayed here again, um my room in here was so rad Oh my god. It was a loft and it was boxes around the loft and it looked just like a shelf but it had a ladder I could pull up and I hid it under the staircase. It was my own room. Basically it didn't look like a room. The police would come in and we would all hide in my

room because to the cops, it just looked like a shelf. but I could stand up and not hit my head on the ceiling cause the ceiling was so high. It's an old party goods party favor factory.

Since 1970, the population in San Francisco has stayed about the same and there has been an increase in the number of housing units available to rent. In 1990 there were 5, 492 more vacant units than 1980. A total of 22, 887 units of housing were vacant and 60% were buildings with 10 or more units, thereby leaving the larger buildings to deteriorate. There has been an increase in the number of one and two room units and a decrease in 4 and 5 room dwellings, indicating that more people are living in smaller apartments. San Francisco is still a city of renters, two-thirds of the city rents. The number of people living with more than one person per room has doubled since 1980, indicating that the number of vacant units does not provide more space per person. As the number of available squats decreases, a new mixture of people and cultures are forced to share squats.

On 7th Street:

Betty: This is the Greyhound Building, but it's attached to a hotel. We would walk through where the Greyhound part was but we lived in the hotel part and the hotel on the right on top. I would go there by myself and carry this pen with me. Piss and shit everywhere. Floors with dead pigeons we couldn't stay on. I'll show you how we got in. Oh my god there were 150 people living here.

According to the South of Market District Report, (1990) 15% of the population are in households containing three or more persons. This represents twice as much crowding in the South of Market area than in the city as a whole. The rent prices in the South of Market are lower than those for the city as a whole, and the median income for

South of Market households was less than half the citywide median income level in 1980.

The specific policy objectives for this area are "...to convert the existing housing to residential zones, protecting it from industrial or business conversions as well as maintain the low rents and the current tenancy who could not afford the rents in other parts of the city." According to the South of Market Plan (1990):

> Therefore, tenant counseling should provide information to existing residents." In contrast to these objectives, the plan calls for "...the development of housing without adversely affecting the scale, density, and architectural character of the neighborhoods and the conversion of abandoned single room occupancy hotels to be converted to low income units as well as limit the number of liquor stores along 6th street (City Planning, 1990, p. 27).

Sixth street is a hub for transient and homeless residents of the area, and while liquor stores are not "desirable" as the only commercial activity, they provide many needed administrative neighborhood services to people who would otherwise have no legitimate business contacts. Checks are cashed, convenient supplies for either the street or hotels can be purchased in the liquor stores. As in many neighborhoods, merchants are long term residents of the area and become part of the community. Their commercial establishments offer an anchor to a street and sometimes initiate and motivate neighborhood improvements.

The contrast between the "downtown" and the South of Market urban landscape has become increasingly disparate in the 1980's, as the South of Market buildings decrease in number. This particular juxtaposition is not new to urban areas, but serves as an

example for the priorities and policies which produce the urban environment. The new developments represent parking lots and corporate office plazas where low income housing and single room occupancy housing used to exist.

> Betty: This is it, the squat. I lived here for six months. It's been a parking lot for like 2 years. I loved it, we had electricity, running water, TVs. I had my own room with a single, double bed and dresser, three stories we got in through the front door. I guess it was an apartment building something like that. An apartment building where some of it was like one room apartment. I don't know maybe it was like flats or something. Because there would be like a room and a bathroom in the hallway. It wasn't a hotel I think it was like just a bunch of flats. There were probably about 20 people living in the building or 30. We used to have big dinners together and everyone was doing something, panhandling or selling pot or something and we chipped in and had dinner together. It was one of the most organized squats I've ever lived in that I was a member of, you know.

Young women want only to have a secure living environment with no restrictions, such as curfews or moralistic rules regarding a girls' behavior. In order to find that in San Francisco, they must maneuver around the new building development which takes away shelter opportunities and does not provide job opportunities. Betty recalls the shelters they used to have:

> Betty: All these lots were all warehouses that we lived in. There were maybe six warehouses, Now flat ground, flat land of nothingness, hundreds of people could be living but we're more worried about parking places. Um, basically we'd scope them out and figure out how we were going to get in through the back. Once in a while there were garage doors um, there were lots of them so whenever we got kicked out of one we'd move to another. Damn, some of them had electricity, some of them were very styling I don't know, this sucks man.

Local Geographic Mythology

> I: Do most squats have mythology about them?
> Patesha: Yeah, a lot of the squatters start it because they don't want other squatters to go there. But this was real because they have this Satan symbol and I mean blood marks on the wall. If you walked down to the basement and walked this hallway, different spots were cold and warm..."

Myths are powerful agents of social control. According to Klein (1991), "myths seek to legitimate dominant ideologies. Myths change the socially constructed into the seemingly inevitable. Myth presents the social scientist with a role and a problematic: to decipher, decode and deconstruct myths; and to reconstruct alternatives to them" (p. 21). Klein's study (1991) uses the concept of myth as defined by Barthes, to understand the context for creating and using myths, to define the idealized image of the bourgeois world.

Myths are also created to pass on information among marginalized groups, to maintain the cultural knowledge (almost secretively) among "their group members." The tales told by the young women about the spaces sometimes gave them license to occupy, or created fear about their safety, provided architectural information regarding structural damage and hiding places and challenged the established knowledge and evolution of a neighborhood and its structures. The myths gave multiple meanings to the geography. If two or more realities could exist at the same time, the myth pointed to the complexity of spatial decisions made among these young women, and revealed another

invisible border separating us. I could not see what they saw when they looked at building, at a street, or an neighborhood.

Betty was 14 when she began living on her own. She was born in San Francisco and had squatted in a many buildings. The social and "underground" tenant history of one of the first squats she stayed in is described below:

> Betty: This squat is remains of a humongous school, someone built condos. On either side they built condos and we squatted in the remaining girls gym. So basically we got busted because people in the condos saw us going in and out.
> I: How did you get in?
> Betty: This is a really old squat that a lot of people have lived in (It was first opened in the 1970's). When it was first opened people were staying in the principal's office and stuff. When it was first opened before they tore part of it down. We were the second generation of people living here because we lived in here after, it was pretty much trashed. It was a pretty gross squat. There were no boards there (she's pointing to a window in a small yard) we could open the window to the basement and we crawled through the windows, jumped down onto the sink and like could only get in (she's out of breath) Used to be blackberry bushes all over here and we could pick them in the morning when we woke up. On the ground there were blackberry bushes. We slept up there (the second floor). I can see an anarchy sign up there (inside on the wall). This was our bedroom, all the window were shot out. They were all gone (there are windows in the building now). We came in here the very first time we ever broke in, (through the side door) In the first room there was electricity but there was supposed to be this really old hermit that will like, kill you if you step into his building. Wow, yep and there's the gym, we used to walk up those stairs right there. There's another anarchy sign, oh yeah, that's someone's room. Swastika there, I know because there are a lot of skin heads that used to squat. (sigh) There were a hell of swastikas here when we first came here and burned baby doll in the middle of the gym. It was really freaky, we got all freaked out and graffittied

over everything so we would feel rad about living there. It was pretty freaky when we first came in. I opened this squat for the second time.

Sorry was 16 years old, and had been on her own for two years. In that time, she had developed a system of finding squats and an intuitive sense of what constituted a safe squat.

Sorry: I was squatting all over, but there was one main one. I don't want to explain all the others, it was the same idea. I'm squatting right now, but we got busted so I'm looking for a new one for tonight. We found one but it's scary, I think the South of Market Murderer lives there because it said "red rum" on the wall in red drippy writing. It was this weird murder writing on the bottom. We just ran out. I never get the creeps from abandoned buildings because I've lived in so many. But from when we first walked in that place it looked creepy.

Theresa came to San Francisco because the winters in New York City were too difficult to survive in. She had heard that there were strong girls in San Francisco. She describes the squat she lived in for over a year-and-a-half in New York City.

Theresa: I found out about the squat from my friend who was from my home town. She got me into it. She had her own room and we shared it. There were 20 people in the squat during the summer, but it was too cold in the winter. My friend told me that it had been a squat for two years, first it was a junkie squat, like a shooting gallery, everybody bought and sold there. Then someone took it over and it was established as the PEST squat that stands for Planet, Eggs Scum Tribe. I lived there for a year or so and then moved out here. I haven't been a squat longer then two weeks since I've been in San Francisco.

Punk Culture

There are messages that are delivered to young adolescent girls which tell them that Punk rock culture will embrace their desire for escape, help them survive. There is meaning in Punk style, hidden messages, interrupting the socialization process. Punk rockers have sought out disapproval from the "mainstream", have challenged the basic tenants of cleanliness, literacy, pushed profanity to extremes, and offered a social place for girls to escape, to experience hedonism and live a relatively "adult-free life", though not free of gender politics.

Most of the women I interviewed thought the squats were dirty places where lice, scabies, and other infections await them. While squatting is ideologically based in a "right to shelter", the social organization of squats are often (though not always) embedded in a hierarchy which is informed by sexism. This permeates personal relationships which can leave a young woman without an expected roof over her head at 1 am because her "old man" was sleeping with someone else. Most of the squats are inhabited by Caucasian Punk rockers indicating a racial separation which was not discussed with me during the study, even when I asked about the racial politics in the squats. The young women in this study were periodically, romantically involved with young African American men. In order to spend the night with them, they would stay in hotels or crash in apartments. The squats are generally organized by young men who identify as Punk rockers or "grungies." While it is unclear if all the males have more social status then the young women, it is evident from the interviews that the assignment of rooms and sleeping locations is generally decided by a male, even though explicit squat "rules" defy a hierarchy of any kind.

In contradiction to Punk Rock ideology which includes a critique of the "feminine and masculine role" in mainstream society (primarily through fashion, music and anarchy politics), girls have less rights in the squats. Creating equal spaces and rights to spaces among young men and young women remains a theoretical construct.

The role of the male as spatial organizer of the squat is more detrimental to a young lesbian. Two of the young women I interviewed felt that they could not have sex with other women while "living on the street" because they would be stigmatized by the people in their squat. The fear of homophobic repercussion kept these women in the closet until they were in a group home and lesbian foster home respectively. Along with sexual demands there are behavioral guidelines around the use of intravenous drug use. In the mainstream, girls who drink and have sex are considered "dangerous", boys who drink and have sex are being boys. Even in Punk subculture, the young women are expected to maintain their allegiance to their men, regardless of their sexual demands or junkie behaviors. Young women were pressured to use drugs or at least tolerate them with their sexual partners and friends. Often , they were nursing them and helping them through hard times (bad dope or lack of it). There was always the fear of being evicted from the squat by their friends.

There have been few critical studies on the nature of youth subcultures, or gangs for girls (McRobbie, 1988). Although McRobbie's article (1980) lays out a feminist analysis of the theoretical canons of youth subculture, she draws the conclusion that there is little more "freedom" for girls in Punk culture than staying "at home." While I agree that the literature completely avoids the issue of gender politics, nor does it even mention girls in any meaningful way, all the girls in this study identify as Punk rockers and find more

gender freedom than they did living at home. Though this study focuses on the environmental territories mapped out and used by girls in San Francisco, the gender politics of their youth subcultures developed in squats and street, is a transitory freedom and a pragmatic freedom for young women. Their freedom is different from the sedentary nature of "home". Punk culture and its discourse provides theoretical options to sleep with boys or girls, thus expressing their sexuality. The young women have responsibilities to their "street family." They are often in charge of the logistics of finding an illegal building. At the same time, these girls are exploited by the "male street culture", the gendered, racial and class biased downtown corporate and tourist milieu. Yet, the Punk subculture provides an ideological framework to engage in these dialectical relationships. Their freedom is transitory but more expansive than if they had remained "home."

The history of Punk subculture, both in England and the United States provides a framework for understanding the importance of this subculture, to the young women in finding and using spaces in San Francisco.

> David Bowie's, glitter rock was woven together with elements from American proto-Punk (the Ramones, the Heartbreakers, Iggy Pop, Richard Hell) with factions within London pub-rockers (the 101ers) inspired by the mod subculture of the 60's from the Canvey Island 40's revival and the Southend R&B bands, from the north soul and from reggae. (Hebdige, 1977).

Glam rock contributed narcissism, nihilism and gender confusion. American Punk offered minimalist aesthetic, the cult of the street and a penchant for self-laceration. Northern Soul (a genuinely secret subculture of working-class youngsters dedicated to

acrobatic dancing and fast American soul of the 60's) brought its subterranean tradition of fast, jerky rhythms" (Hebdige, 1977, p. 25). The alliance of diverse music was equally matched by it's fashion, producing a style which "reproduced the same kind of cacophony on the visual level" (Hebdige, 1977, p. 26). Punk fashion is a catalogue of all the post-war subcultures, split apart and pinned together in every imaginable and unimaginable combination. Although many of the Punk parents like David Bowie were not liberated in any radical sense, never transcending sexual role play, they did question the value and meaning of adolescence and the transition to the adult world of work (Taylor & Wall, 1976, cited in Hebdige). They confounded the images of men and women through which the passage from childhood to maturity was traditionally accomplished. Punks claimed to speak for the neglected constituency of the white lumpen youth, their obsession with class and relevance was expressly designed to undercut the intellectual posturing of the previous generation of rock musicians. The Punks were creating a cultural space for the crisis of modern life- a "condition of unmitigated exile" (Hebdige, 1977, p. 66). There was a strong pull by some Punkers towards reggae music and Rastafarianism. The Mohawk hairstyle, was in fact a take off on black dreadlock styles. They wore Ethiopian colors and the Rock against Racism campaign was a political movement combating the growing influence of the National Front in working class areas and was central for many Punk groups in England.

In the United States Punk was born in 1979, yet was barely noticed by the left as a youth resistance movement, even though anti-war, anti-nuclear politics were foremost in Punk dissent. They were a new generation of youth, who were critical of society, coming into their individuality during a politically repressive time in the United States and had

first hand experience and insights. In the 90's, Punks engaged in AIDS activism and anti-war politics:

I: How long were you living with your girlfriend?
Blue: 4-6 months I'm not sure, cause we broke up but we stayed together- which was ridiculous - but we did it anyway. She's way older. She's 22, she's cool. She's a scientist, a Punk Rock scientist. She works with AZT and DDI so, but it wasn't working out.

I: Do you consider yourself a Punk?
Doherty: I consider myself, I guess you could call me a Punk because Punk rock it's just being yourself and don't give a fuck. I don't know there are some Punk rockers out there, some grungies, there into getting dirty and being vegetarian and stuff. One with the scum.

Sabrina: I had cane and I was all Punk rock
I: What does that mean?
Sabrina: No, I mean, by the time I came back from SF I was like fuck you, cause everyone there is like really stupid and there Punk rock and I was really annoyed and everyone was like you're so Punk rock. Everyone there lives with their parents and have all these expensive Punk rock clothing and I was like. The first night I was there I was drunk with my cane and sitting in the corner people are like ay what's your name and who's that? That's Sabrina, Oh, what happened to her and I was like nothing, I'm drunk. Where did you come from? SF today and I'm all fucked up. They were all skin heads. This girl Liz is like four of me, four of me, huge big bad bitch. I was talking to her kind of, but I was all drunk laugh,
I: So when you say you were really Punk rock, what does that mean?
Sabrina: I was really grungie, and I was more SF style, more I didn't look like a death rocker or anything. You knew that I was some grungie person who didn't live with my parents, (laugh).
I: If you looked like a death rocker what would you look like?
Sabrina: I would have makeup on, a lot of more quote un quote "gothic". I don't

know how to explain it. But I was just grungie and my attitude was fuck you people and I hated everybody and they were stupid. I hated Utah and all these people.

In the 1980's a Punk scene was spreading throughout the United States. "Although the big cities and college towns remained important sites, it was spreading to the boonies and suburban metropolitan areas." (Golthorpe, 1992, p. 35). Radio shows multiplied and unlikely places in Utah, Texas, Maine, had strong Punk scenes, varying in size from a few dozen to a few thousand. Punks were not the only youth subculture whose population was expanding. In San Francisco, different youth subcultures can co-exist literally across the street from each other.

Patesha: I started hanging out with Punk rockers.
I: Who were you hanging out with before?
Patesha: The gangster crowd. They are just these drug dealer kind of people. They're supposed to be hard core with guns in their belts and knives and they just think they are it.
I: Youth or adults?
Patesha: Both, more like early twenties. Well, hardly anyone is from San Francisco. They hung out at Civic Center. The Punk rockers are on the wall, Carl's Jr.s was the place to be. The gangsters are around the Civic Center because they sold crack, speed they were down in the Tenderloin. They hang across the street from where the Punk rockers hang, in front of McDonalds, or they'll go in Carl's Jr.s.
I: Girls and boys?
Patesha: yeah,
I: What is the difference between gangsters and the Punk rockers?
Patesha: I mean it's a whole different scene, different spirit, different kind of things you know, just totally different. These people are these big bad people who think they can kick everybody's ass, and a lot of the Punk rockers are like

> really hyper cause they're on drugs most of the time, they are really hyperactive, people, and they can be violent but they don't walk around like they are it. They are just being different. When I was hanging with gangsters I was different, I was cold, I didn't have any feelings at all and when I was a Punk rocker I was into chaos and mark on things and squat and just kind of be kind of crazy.
> I: Can you have sex with girls if you are a gangster?
> Patesha: No, girls cannot have sex with girls. No, I would have got my ass kicked.

The American Punk scene was anti-1960's nostalgia, "apocalypse was central to early Punk's symbolic mythology" (Golthorpe, 1992, p.38). Punk announced its disaffection from both middle and working class standards, and U.S. Punks did not ally themselves with people of color and their music as they did in Britain. Offshoots of U.S. Punk produced independent publications- fanzines, *Rock against Racism*, *Rock against Sexism* journals and Rock against Reagan tour, bringing together Yippies and other politicized youth cultures. *Rock against Sexism* was published out of Boston in the 1980's by a group of lesbian Punk rockers. Their intent was to raise the consciousness of musicians, listening audiences, and the music industry to sexist traditions in rock'n'roll. Their objectives were: to support women's non-sexist bands and their music; to provide comfortable playing listening and dancing space for people who don't like or can't get into most of the clubs due to age, race, sexuality or price; to promote rock'n'roll alternatives to music that is offensive to women, gays and lesbians, bisexuals and people of color; to hold workshops and information exchanges for women to demystify equipment, technology and the music industry; and to network with and unify diverse progressive political and musical groups in Boston (Rock against Sexism, 1984).

In San Francisco, in 1984, Punk protest first emerged around the Livermore Anti-Nuclear Action Group, "Hall of Shame Tour" which took place in the San Francisco financial district. Activists condemned the financial institutions for participating and supporting the proliferation of nuclear power. The Punks walked in the middle of the street and pretended to die (die-ins) as a strategy to disrupt business as usual. It was through this political alliance that the Punk's affinity group held screaming "die-ins" in the middle of the street, playing a game of avoiding arrest and creating street theater while working with the larger mainstream anti-nuclear movement(Golthorpe, 1992). Squatter Punks in San Francisco had already opened the "Vats" in 1983, also known as the "Punk Hotel," a place for visiting bands and after-concert parties. "The Punk squatting was an inspiration for other anonymous squatter groups to feel a sense of cohesion in an everyday type of radicalized politics of land, ownership and the production of space in an urban environment" (Golthorpe, 1992, p. 39). Other squats opened and were quickly closed by the police and by the end of 1984, a Rock against Rent concert was held to gain support for squatting. Their efforts did not maintain the squatting momentum in San Francisco. As the 80's moved on, Punks, anarchists and pacifists formed national alliances to organize protests and a sensibility that still exists among homeless teenage girls.

I: What was New York squatting like?
Theresa: Where my squat was in NY, everyone spoke Spanish so we didn't really hang out with people who lived right next to us but most of the time people didn't really talk to us because they think that something weird is going on inside your building so they don't socialize with you. I'm not sure, I've never talked to any neighbors of the squat. Like on 9th Street there is a squat and next door there is a big crack building so you're not going to be hanging out with them.
I: How did you become a member of your squat?

> Theresa: They vote you in like if you are a junkie or thief they are not going to like want you there.
> I: What kind of people are there?
> Theresa: In the squat I was living in for a while it was mostly like grundge Punks.
> I: What does that mean?
> Theresa: Like, dirty squatter people like I don't know, like kind of like Punk people there were a couple of older people who had been squatting in NY for a while they were into the newspapers and stuff there like the squatter newspapers.

The paradox for the girls is that they do not have a choice of surviving on the streets without boys, and yet, they are often dependent on the survival knowledge of other girls. Doherty was 15 when she joined the street scene. At the time of the interview she was 17. Though she rejected all sexual categories, she was having sex with another woman at the time of the interview. Her interview was typical gender discourse among young women who were living in squats. Generally, it was only after young women left the squats, or while remembering past situations that the sexism of men they shared squats with surfaced in their interviews.

> Doherty: I know couple of guys who are sexist towards girls but not homophobic. I'm kind of sexist. I don't know if I'm seriously sexist but I give guys a lot of shit. I don't hate men or anything. They deserve to be bitched at by me at least once per day. (laugh) They do man, they're pigs. They sit around they're slobs, they don't care the only thing they ever do is buy beer which is a good thing and they better keep on doing that if they want a place to stay.

Summary

In the past, studies about the environmental experiences of girls were embedded in comparisons with boys' environmental experiences. The questions answered in those

studies included: where girls went and how they felt, the reasons for their going, and how their geography was either similar to boys environmental experiences or different. There are also a few studies which incorprated a more sophisticated gender analysis, thereby including the mainstream social and cultural norms which impacted on the environmental experiences of girls. Both these approaches were not useful to me in this study because I did not conduct a comparison with boys because girls in this study have a variety of unique experience that are related to many different power relationships which are not only embedded in the experiences of boys or gender-identity. In addition, my theoretical guide- modified grounded theory, allowed me to investigate a broader array of consequences of institutionalized gender, sexual orientation, class, race and gender-identity. Gender is only one of many factors which contribute to the geographic decisions made by girls on-their-own. The social production conceptual framework outlined by Wolfe and Manzo (1990), opened up a new way to view the experiences of girls.

While the gender-based moralistic ideology of the last century is socially and physically evident in the development of cities; the development of youth cultures, their ideology and their environments has rarely been given the credit it should be, to understand the environmental experiences of young women who are part of youth subcultures. Within the particular type of Punk culture described by the young women in this study, there is ideology, social organization which provides direction to their lives through subcultural knowledge about surviving outside of mainstream society. The Punks have both challenged and recapitulated social norms. How and why certain norms are challenged or not is not static, instead it seems based on survival issues.

Young women on their own in San Francisco live in a myriad of places and circumstances that they are constantly negotiating in an effort to resist dominant gender, race, class and heterosexual norms. They are fighting for property rights, civil rights and against the debasing social services which claim control and authority over their lives. They are faced with an absence of housing which was never planned or intended, few jobs which will accept the way they look, and shelter which is threatening both physically and emotionally. The neighborhoods where young women stay have dissident and transient social and geographic histories. Housing activists, European Punks, and gays and lesbians activists have laid the ideological foundations for current anti-establishment youth subcultures and their landscapes. Urban development strategies and affordable housing plans have generally ignored the needs of poor adults, and never considered the housing needs of poor youth. The spatial and social dynamics of homeless adults and youth on the street as well as the circumstances which explain youth-at-risk, runaways, and homeless youth does not adequately explain the reasons for homelessness, nor the reasons youth and adult homeless people stay in certain areas.

Young women are faced with economic, political, emotional and spiritual situations which have never been addressed by society. Their civil rights, having the freedom to chose a safe secure environment is not currently permitted by the legal system. Acknowledging the broader experiences of young women on-their-own in the context of the social production of environments expands our understanding and discerns borders between adults and youth which negatively affect their survival, their options and solutions sought by policy makers.

The underground mythology about buildings and neighborhoods is cultural knowledge which is important information used to decide the places used by young women. Their mythology offers information about safety, architecture, neighborhood histories and tenancy. I could not see the borders between myself and their landscapes. The cameras I gave them went where I did not. Our interactions around the photos and cameras presented the opportunity for discussions that had very little to do with the their environments and more to do with how the young women used their "homelessness" to survive.

Chapter 3: Environmental Photography: Relating Places to People to Researchers

> Knowing is a striving for certainty and categorization where the categorization process is totally controlled by the observer. To understand is to learn more up close from the perspective of the actor, not the observer. (Weick, cited in Ziller, 1990, p. 14)

I tried to understand the physical elements displayed in the images produced by the young women, as well as the experience and meaning of producing the photos. Exchanging photographs for cameras and film is critical to understanding how photography as a methodology has been used in the social sciences.

Typically, social science has used photography to visually document already established categories of social and personal characteristics. The categorization was used for purposes of maintaining social order and in different historical periods to promote the ideas of those in authority (Tagg, 1988). This method of using photography usurps the context, the voice and/or the power of those within the gaze of the photographer. The study of the uses of photography in the social sciences (Riis, 1890; Hine, 1932; Ziller, 1990) has revealed five categories: visual records of groups and societies, visual records of human movements, visual records of social interaction, visual records from the actor's point of view and observation involving the interaction of persons and camera (Ziller, 1990). Ziller's work (1990) on the theory of self, uses the camera to gather information in the three areas which constitute his theory of self, a theory in which the self emanates from the interaction with the environment. The general theory posits that

the self is involved in every aspect of human behavior, processing of information, and emotion. In his theory, the self functions as a control, mediating the environment and behavior and all efforts to understand human behavior must first attempt to understand the self in interaction with the person's environment. (p. 95). Therefore, Ziller believes that self-photography can lead to more meaningful data when people use words to describe themselves or their environments.

The study of the social production of representation attempts to deconstruct researcher's photo data which has been generated in the name of science and truth, and by so doing, produce a critical sociology of the production of the image. This approach has demonstrated the lack of democratic process in selecting the image, and the misrepresentation or over typification of one image to symbolize a larger idea. The "photo" has been used to impose control, order and evidence in a state-defined-history and context which reifies ideology supporting the hegemony. For example, pictures of poor people and those suspect of anti-patriotism during periods of national paranoia produced the "gaze of surveillance" (Tagg, 1988, p.73), thereby creating private disturbances for the good of America. The alibi of criminal threat and national security provided the state authorities with the motivation and framework to use the camera to maintain power and control. The camera itself does not have power, but is imbued with power by the state's production of highly coded images. These images can transform daily life.

The young women in this study have environments and experiences which are relatively invisible and unimaginable to most adults. It was my intention to bring texture and visual data to the words used to describe their experiences. While self-theory is an

interesting supposition, I realized that the photos were difficult to interpret (unlike Ziller's work) and that the process of meeting the young women after the interviews to give them film and discuss the photos was more complex than I initially imagined. I became more interested in the process of the interaction between the environment and young women, seeing the camera and the camera supplier (me) as mediating factors in developing relationships and methods for representing and respecting the meaning of the young women's experiences.

Ziller assumes that the camera has power and when used by the observer is subject to a variety of misuses of that power in terms of both the pictures taken and the interpretations. However, when the camera is used directly by the actors, Ziller claims that these pictures provide insider understanding, a theoretically closer and true knowledge of the actor. Ziller's analysis is limited because it does not take into consideration the social value and use of the camera. The camera has exchange value on the street market and it has cultural value since it was developed into an art form at the turn of the century. Recognizing these values, then incorporating them into an understanding of the environmental experiences as they are linked to the images produced and described by the young women in the interviews, led me to ethnomethodological analysis of the photography project.

Ethnomethodological methods for visual analysis provided the framework to make sense of the photos taken in the context of their everyday experience (Ball & Smith, 1992). Ethnomethodology advocates the close investigation of actual courses of social action rather than producing rule-like characterizations of individuals or cultures within outsider defined categories. When the young women resisted discussing the photos but

instead talked about the camera getting "lost", "broken" or "borrowed" I began to question them about their experience of having a camera.

Content analysis (Berelson, 1962, cited in Ball & Smith, 1992) is viewed as an "objective" method used for photographic analysis. It theoretically offers a systematic and quantitative approach to categorize photographic material. Thus, supposedly, if two coders were to look at the pictures taken by the young women in this project, they would obtain the identical results from the body of information. I doubt this would occur because the interview text, the experience of knowing the young women and the process of entering the corridors of their environments are integral to reproducing the photographic analysis. Significance given to the picture-type by the frequency it appeared was not an important quantitative finding. While I did count photos within categories, no one category was given any more importance than another. I did not have pre-established categories or hypotheses regarding the environmental experiences of the young women, but allowed that to come forth during the interviews by using their language to guide the direction of the discussion. The amount of times the category is counted represents a more complex weaving together of stories and photos which leads to an understanding of the pictures through the interviews. My assumption was grounded in the belief that girls had particular environmental experiences as a result of being homeless. I did not know prior to meeting the young women that squatting was the main type of housing or that the subcultural identity would influence their environmental choices and spatial organization. Content analysis was not an adequate method to pull out the layered meanings from the environmental experience represented by the photos. Instead, content analysis was used to compare and contrast the descriptions of the experiences. The subcultural meaning of the photos are not immediately readable to an

outsider by viewing the photos alone. The language and meaning of the pictures only became evident through the girls' descriptions. For example, pictures of metal garage doors did not express the complexity of the experience of entering or exiting an abandoned building.

There are many advantages to using a camera for gathering information with people who do not have a common language. However, this approach becomes less salient if symbols, experiences and meanings are not incorporated into the physical representations as photographed and explained by the participants. The main advantage of using cameras in this study was to give the young women something they could trade. The camera became a tool that allowed them to communicate in a medium they respected (artistic tools), to be creative and expressive. It gave "us" a reason to meet again and it was used as a symbol and new identity (temporarily a photographer) for them to be involved in a long term project which included an exhibition of the photos in a community gallery, thereby offering another type of cultural currency to their use of abandoned buildings. In some ways it could be said that I elevated the social value generally placed on their squatting, thereby creating a commodity for the young women to trade with. There are many examples within the interviews indicating that the abandoned buildings or squats were re-established as a commodity in their social relationships with other homeless people, in political housing movements, and in negotiations with owners of abandoned buildings. The value of the squat is linked to their rights of first entry and resistance to the hegemony of homeless adults to impose rules in the squats (known as squatter nazis), thereby disregarding the rules already established by the youth. The line between property ownership and inhabiting a building was often a point of resistance used in negotiations between squatters and building

owners as well as a strategy for longer tenancy and community acceptance and support. The squat was in many cases more than a roof over their head. It was a symbol of their anarchic ideology challenging the rights of ownership and a commodity they used with other subcultures in certain circumstances. The photography project was another circumstance in which they could use the squat as a commodity to have a camera for their own use or to sell or trade in other circumstances.

While most of the participants did not comment directly on the photos taken, during the interviews, each participant did discuss in detail their environmental experiences of being on their own. Themes emerged from my analysis of the photos and, after combing through the interviews, their voices created a strained but collective image of the spatial experiences of living on your own as a girl. The resistant space they carved out in deteriorated buildings and urban landscapes, was a hardship, a home, provided safety and freedom simultaneously with danger and deprivation. The complexity of constant trade-offs and negotiations within the spaces they use defies a dichotomous or cause/effect understanding of the consequences of their experiences. This chapter clearly illustrates that the dialectic expressed by girls who squat and consider themselves Punk Rockers must be explored further (with other girls as well) because the meaning of their environmental experiences is expressed in a complexity often omitted by researchers and those who use photography to gaze into the meaning of homelessness (see for e. g. Shooting Back Exhibit, 1991).

The young women were told at the beginning of their initial interviews that if they were interested in photographing their environments, including places where they hang-out, eat, party, sleep, they could participate or they could participate in only the

interview. I distributed a total of 20 cameras (auto-focus, 35 mm with flash) and 450 film shots resulting in 40 pictures. Often cameras would break as they climbed a fire escape to the roof and lowered themselves into the top floor window, or skirted under a door held up by another squatter. Eight of the young women were given cameras more than once and one young woman who did not get interviewed was also given a camera with film. Generally I would meet those who participated one week after they received the camera and give them more film and they would give me the film they shot. This arrangement gave us the opportunity to talk and discuss the week, including the process of photographing and any problems they had with the camera and/or the notebook. I gave each young woman a small notebook to document the pictures she took, feelings, thoughts, a type of diary to reflect on the pictures. That was an unsuccessful strategy. I don't know what they did with the notebook, but it wasn't used for the purposes intended. This made discussing the photographs difficult. There were only a few times that I was able to show the developed photographs to the young women and discuss the content and process of taking the pictures.

I photographed the places where I met the young women as well as places in other parts of the city where girls stay, such as the Haight Ashbury area, the Polk Street and Nordstrom coffee shop. The quasi-public and public environments took on a new meaning to me while I was photographing. I often felt like an intruder, entering both invisible and visible rooms, and landscapes created by youth on their own. Photographing places where homeless young women stay has nothing to do with documenting a competent representation of their environment. In retrospect, I would not do that again, because I produced meaningless images, decontextualized from their experience.

I went on a photographic tour of all the squats one of the participants had used in the 4 years she had been homeless. I photographed the buildings and places while she spoke into a tape recorder describing her experience. These 11 different places and the information I could gather from discussing the sites as we toured was the most successful photographic experience because it created an immediate understanding between us that was not achieved through the other activities. The meaning of windows, walls, symbols, public art and each building became more visible as the framework for the social production of their landscapes became grounded in her experiences. Retrospectively viewing photographs was generally not an evoking experience. The limitations of this type of analysis are embedded in personal and social memory, and the coercive relationship between researched and researcher documented in critical anthropology and sociology literature. My interpretations, as well as my categorizations of their photos is based on the verbatim interviews with the young women, not necessarily while they were looking at the photos they took, our interactions over a period of time, as well as my a priori assumptions that race, class, gender-identity, and sexuality mediate environmental and social experiences. The themes provided the opportunity to discuss related issues that emerged both from the photographs and the interviews.

The eight themes which emerged from the photographs taken by the participants were: 1) entrance and exit 2) interior spaces, symbols and design; 3) furniture; 4) one person; 5) groups; 6) public places ; 7) views of the outside from the inside and 8) art. The number of pictures in each area varied considerably and the reasons for that became evident as the girls revealed their experiences.

Entrance/Exit

Photographs of entrances and exits to squats accounted for 1% of the photographs taken by the young women. The circumstances surrounding breaking into and leaving buildings necessitate the young women rushing through an entrance or exit, due to the criminalization of squatting by outsiders or the authorities who may be watching or pursuing them. Taking pictures of entrances and exits becomes a dangerous photo experience and one which is rarely represented by a door. Text which accompanied this theme included Lashawna's. She had not been in San Francisco for very long. She described how she entered a squat in Hollywood where she stayed for almost a week:

> We squatted one night in this big abandoned apartment building. They were trying to put it up for lease and wasn't finished. We hopped over this fence went all the way round this yard to the parking lot and went to the side of it and climbed up these bars and went through the window and jumped down which was a long jump and it was really dark and we had candles.

The dangers and complications of entering a squat were echoed by all of the young women. Finding a squat or squat hunting is usually a group effort precipitated by the closing of one or more of the squats by the police. Walking down a street that people don't usually walk on is a prime location for a squat. Finding any type of abandoned building is the next step. If you don't need to sleep in it that night you can put a lock on the door to see if anyone else is using the building. Negotiating an agreement with the owner can sometimes be accomplished and lessens the dangers involved with entering. Despair recounted Lashawna's long term squat experience:

> I have a squat on 7th and Nato Street, and that's the only place I call home. I don't tell my family I'm coming back home. I tell them I'll be back for a little while. The squat has 8 apartments in it. We actually counseled with the manager and she has given us permission to be there. Some of the neighbors give us money in the morning for breakfast and that's really nice to have that kind of support cause a lot of us don't get that.

Few land-owners are willing to allow squatters to stay, even if the building remains empty. Locating a squat has become more difficult as apartment buildings and hotels in neighborhoods which usually house transient communities are being destroyed by government neglect and developed by corporate businesses. Punk girls prefer squats on quieter streets, not located directly in the middle of the street economy of the Tenderloin. The buildings must be out of their day-time hang-out area but not too far because transportation can become a problem. In lieu of sleeping on the streets, girls find ways to break into buildings. Tia entered an old school building in the Castro, a neighborhood with few abandoned buildings:

> We broke the window, but the first time we just went through the front door, then the door was boarded up, so we went in through the side door and the third time we tried to get in from the roof but it didn't work. Sometimes its hard to get in and you have to be pretty persistent.

Many of the squatter buildings are earthquake-damaged and others have been abandoned due to asbestos or fleeing manufacturers. Thus, many of the buildings squatted during the last 3 years are no longer standing. Empty lots or parking lots have replaced existing squats. Dana describes how she entered one of these buildings:

There was a door that went from here to here and if you fell off the door you fell in the swamp and there were mosquitoes and nasty weird things so you didn't want to do that, so you went across that and you went down and it was dark, it was really pitch black dark. I went in and went up to their bedroom and all these people were coming in like 50 people up there at one time.

Another time, Sue went looking for a squat:

Sue and I hated looking for squats, one time she almost died and was hanging out of this window by her finger tips dangling way up there.

Dispair took part in cleaning up a squat but ended up sleeping on the roof:

There was this big metal garage door and it was chained down but there was six inches and you had to shimmy your way under it and then you had to be sure you didn't get cut by all the broken glass while you're doing that and then you go up three flights of stairs and make sure you didn't find the broken stairs and then you go up there and there is this room with carpeting and bugs.

Another building was good for sleeping on the roof:

In the alley way, we had a hole in the wall with a board covering it and when you go through that hole you go up the stairs to the roof which was OK once you got up there.

Amber discusses the perils of being seen by outsiders:

It was really difficult because you had to climb up on the roof to get in and then climb back down to get into the squat really quickly. One of the people across the street saw us crawling in and out and one of them called the cops and we had to

> leave really quickly. A couple of us had to jump down and it's three stories high so we had to hang by this ledge.

Robin's squat tour emphasized the difficulty of getting in and out of squats.

> We got into it by climbing up the roof, hopped between two things as far as our legs would go and there would be a drop of three stories and we would jump into the squat.

Interiors

Another theme which emerged from the photographs and interviews were interior spaces of the squats. These pictures (12%) depicted the size of the spaces and the dirt and vermin that was usually swept into a neat pile, if possible. Other interior photographs included the themes of furniture (8%), individual people (10%) and the view to the outside from the inside (5%). These three areas were discussed at length during the interviews.

Though there were no photographs of Theresa's New York City squat, where she lived for a year and one-half, her description is important as contrast and comparison to San Francisco squats.

> It was a 6 story building and three room apartment I shared with another woman from my hometown in upstate New York. We had electricity and furniture, rugs anything you want you can find on the streets in New York. We didn't have running water, we had a gas station across the street and we'd fill up water containers, I didn't shower very much, though I knew a couple of people who had showers.

Some of the young women who participated in the photography were friends or "family" and squatted in the same squats either concurrently or at different points of their homelessness. One squat in particular, now burned down, provided shelter for an unusually long period to a number of young women, due in part to the design. For example, Shannon had lived in at least 12 different squats in 3 years. The longest she lived anywhere was 6 months in this squat. She described:

> It was an old music studio, and it took 115 firefighters to put out the fire. I think the "nazis" burned it down, they had threatened. Well I lived there for 6 months. I had a secret room, you had to move a wall you walked in through this one room and you moved this wall there would be a little hallway and you would put the wall back then walk down this tiny corridor that was very thin and a lot of bigger guys has to walk sideways and you came to a door that was three feet tall that came off and then you opened another door that came out of the hinge and you came into the room and you could stand up. The doors were only three feet tall but the rooms were normal. I guess it was an old storage space and it was really clean and warm and it would be pitch black, there were no windows. You could sleep until 5 p.m. and not know what time of day it was.

The places squatted were usually dirty and infested. Without an alternative, Punk girls would make the best of it:

> We fixed up places, we built rooms where there weren't any, we cleaned up the rubble and bird shit and scraped and scrubbed and sweat and made a little house.

Rooms were important to a well designed squat because lovers and "single best friends" usually slept in close proximity to each other. Secret rooms could hide you from

police or intruders when you were too ill to leave the squat. For example, Robin was ill with bronchitis one winter. The rain was too much for her to negotiate for an entire month and she luckily found refuge in a squat:

> It was a loft and it had boxes around the loft and it looked like a shelf but it had a ladder. I could pull up and hide it under the staircase. It was my own room. Basically it didn't look like a room. The police would come in and I could hide in my room and not be found. I could stand up and not hit my head on the ceiling because the ceiling was so high. It was an old party favor factory.

The respect for rooms, things, people and space was often discussed by the young women. In San Francisco, there was very little explicit structure and rules in the squats, due in part to the instability of squat tenants because of legal restrictions. In other cities, like New York, squatting is more stable due to housing laws which require a 30 day notice be given to inhabitants and a variety of other political/housing circumstances which have created a more organized squatter movement. In any case, long term intermittently used squats or those which go through years of use and non-use due to squat busting are not spaces which encourage respect. Amber speaks about this:

> The squat is pretty dirty it's been a squat for along time. I think it's an earthquake building which means it's not safe. There is broken glass everywhere. We tried to clean it up but it's really difficult because some people don't respect the squat and piss everywhere. I mean the bathtub had been used. It was really gross. That was one of the worst squats I had been in except for Shmeg house, I mean the name says it all. There were so many people at Shmeg that you didn't even notice. The squat did not have electricity, but it was pretty warm. The squatting scene got really bad here cause some people were kicking other people out of the squats violently, like beating them up. There's three or four different squats and

> the people who have opened them up want to keep them clean and safe. Unfortunately, that creates squat nazism which if a new person comes in unannounced they are going to get beat up and that happens sometimes to other people's friends. It happened and it started a big war and I decided to get an apartment and work and get my own place for awhile. I have a fake ID and I can strip for a living.

In contrast to the chaos of some squats, Dana who was lovers with the "king of the squat" was able to negotiate two months of stability until her lover decided his drug was more important:

> There were 2 girls and 5 guys, I really cared about them, it was like a family and we'd get really drunk and we had stereo and someone would cook breakfast we had hot plates and stuff. Actually it was the most organized squat. We had plates and people would bring food and cook and share and would buy beer for everyone and bring drugs for everyone. It was like family. I had a lot of friends and then Olah (the boyfriend) started doing a lot more heroin. On Halloween night was the first night I came home and he had a girl in bed with him, bleach all over my clothes. He did that a lot with different girls in my bed all the time and he would be doing heroin. It was pretty stable for a while, I had a boyfriend, money, it was going the way I wanted, I wanted to do it myself, I didn't want to go to no foster home. I wanted to get a job, go to school, do it by myself. But the squat got really fucked up with drugs. You know the bathrooms that say men or women on it, this bathroom said junkies on it. This guy from New York came down to the squat and I kissed him and my boyfriend found out and jumped him and hurt him pretty bad and everyone in the squat blamed me and I was thrown out.

For many reasons girls found themselves without a squat. The chaos became too much, imposed rules of the squat, or the power relationships linked to the consequences

of sexism and heterosexism became too much for girls to negotiate, so they would try to earn money to get an apartment or hotel room - usually with a group of people. Sometimes they would end up walking the streets all night because they had nowhere to go. Negotiating space sometimes means negotiation with homeless adults or "community organizers." Teardrop had been living in a squat for over a year when a local organization which feeds homeless people organized to take over abandoned buildings as a strategy to house people:

> ... they tried to take over our squat, they're squat nazis. They marched down with the news and broadcast people and acted like they just opened up this squat. The Punks had already opened it. I think they're really stupid because bringing down the press gets the squats busted. We don't care if they are there, but the rules they impose are not going to be there. If they keep trying to put down the rules, we will move them out of the squat. The purpose of the squat is so people have housing, shelter and they choose to do their drugs in the squat, that's the safest place to do it. Nobody can tell them different, because it's your home. We were here first, if you look at the walls you can see that punk rockers put their names up here since 1977. There are a lot of drawings. My ex-boyfriend's room has cartoons on the walls. A lot of Punks have different talents. I myself do the electricity and carpeting inside the squat. Others do the water, gas, the heating, painting. Everyone who comes in does something to improve the squat so we can stay there.

There is a variety of experiences that each girl has had while squatting. While the hope is for stability, the lack of support from San Francisco government's housing laws fosters a squat environment that is chaotic. Robin expresses the more cynical aspects of squatting:

> Basically people don't give a fuck, and we're fucked. I've stayed in so many buildings and ruined so many buildings. Those aren't even places I would consider a squat because to me a squat is a place to make your home you know. No one cares, because we're going to get kicked out anyway, it's an abandoned building.

Furniture

Furniture was represented in 8% of the photos taken. Squats sometimes have furniture left by the previous squatters or tenants, such as couches, carpeting or desks, depending on the type of building it was before it was abandoned. If there is no furniture squatters must find what they need, carry it to the building and enter the building as unobtrusively as possible. For that reason, unless the squat is well established and stable (which means that the neighbors and police have accepted the squatters as part of their community), the squats have very little furniture. Blankets for beds or no beds at all are frequently what girls make-do with.

Tia describes a squat:

> ....basically it was a 15 room mansion, about 6 different bathrooms and a basement, no electricity or water. Three of us were staying there. We all stayed in one main room with a humongous marble fire place. We used to sleep on these lazy boy chairs. It was completely furnished, I think it used to be a drug house and the people had to move out really quick cause there were all kinds of clothing. We used them to start fires. We stayed there for about a month, and one morning we woke up and people were nailing boards to the front windows and we were scared and we ran.

Other squats that were also furnished had amenities which made better squats than most. Dana describes the squat she stayed in:

> We had our own bedroom. It had big murals all over the wall. I don't know what it used to be before but it was really cool. It had running water, lights, a fridge, the toilet flushed. It had mirrors and a door we could shut to our bedroom. We had a little table, I don't even know where we got it and we had candles on it. We had a mattress that we stole from this trailer and this bookcase we turned over and put the mattress on it like a real bed. It was so cool, it was our room.

Another squat that was shared with adults in the old Greyhound building and adjoining abandoned hotel offered only dirt and a roof over her head.

> There was piss and shit everywhere, floors with dead pigeons, we would sweep away the dirt and lay down with all our clothes on and our stuff under our heads and it was pitch black.

People

Although I instructed the participants not to photograph people (in-case they could be identified from the picture which might become public in the future), they did it anyway. Both individual and groups of friends were photographed, though in distinctly different environments. Generally, the single shots of people were taken inside the squats, while the group shots were taken in public places. I believe this is representative of the spatial and social relationships within the squat and youth culture. The girls indicated that if a squat had many rooms people would either pair-off into couples or

with their best friend. If the squat was one large room they would spread out on the floor but generally sleep in the same configurations.

Shana explains this spatial arrangement as it relates to sexual activity:

> Usually people have their own rooms if they're in couples, I know, I share a room with my boyfriend. Everybody has their own room and only shares it with one other person, either boyfriend, girlfriend or best friend. it all works out. Just like having your own place.

Group shots represented 25% of the photos taken. All the photos are taken on the street at night and they look like any group of teenagers eating fast food, drinking beer and soda, putting their arms around each other and posing for the camera. Of course, the street they eat on and hang out on is more than just a hang-out; it is their living room of sorts, the place they make money, find needed furniture and clothing and socialize freely without the fear that they will have to run from authorities in the next minute. The public places are sometimes places to get support and converse with people outside of their "street family."

Public Places

Pictures taken by the young women of public places represent 16%. They include fast food restaurants which provide food, bathrooms in which to wash (because there are very few showers) which serve as hang-outs and sometimes double as a place to sleep when there is nothing else. The "rocks" (a cube-like cement fountain) at the Civic Center was also used as a bathroom and shower, and was one of the main daytime

hangouts. It was sometimes used as a last resort sleeping area, often shared with adult homeless people. Hardcore pornography was also represented in their public environment shots. The lack of caring for the environment was depicted by pictures of garbage layered on a tree basin struggling for space with the young tree. When I talked to the photographer about this picture, she said she was disgusted with the lack of caring by both the people who live in the Civic Center area and the government who do nothing to care for the area. Her discouragement came through while on a squat tour. We found many of her squats gone and replaced with empty lots:

> This empty lot used to be a three story building about three years ago. Well that's the way things happen in this city. There used to be lots of warehouses, maybe six of them and hundreds of people living in them. Now flat ground, this is the land of nothingness. I guess it's more important to worry about parking places.

Public places are sometimes the last resort for sleeping accommodations. There are times when squats get busted in the middle of the night, or other circumstances which leave girls without a place for the night. Outside living is rarely done by girls alone and will generally be for short periods of time. Doherty describes the places she slept after she returned from a trip:

> ...we were sleeping under a stairwell on the top floor of apartment building, the stairwell to the roof, in the park.

Even though, the girls never slept alone; they were always with a friend, or boyfriend. Some girls thought there were fewer non-exploitative options for girls to sleep on the street. Darlene explains:

> ...it's a scary thing for a girl to live on the streets, people don't respect girls. Anything could happen to her on the streets and especially being that vulnerable. If a guy needs a place to stay and a guy says to him, hey do you want to come stay at my place, it's straight up do you want to come stay at my place. If somebody says that to a girl, it's different, they mean they want to get laid. That's why it's scary because no one is straight up with you, they want something from you, and it's a lot harder that way.

Staying on the street wears you down quickly. The negotiation of spaces occurs in shorter intervals in more quasi-public environments, due in part to legal restrictions, the lack of visible borders and the social "acceptance" linked to sexual harassment of girls on-their-own. This is explained by Robin:

> I've slept on somebody's back porch one night. I've slept on the scaffolding by a construction site, in the alley of the youth center, in the new Greyhound station, and on this public stoop where rich business people sit and have lunch downtown. You go around the back and there is a fire escape and you get down the bottom and there is a kind of inside. The security guard woke us up at 7 a.m., at the Greyhound the security guard woke us up at 6 a.m. and we only got to sleep at 4 am. He didn't bother anyone else, just us.

Doherty had a similar experience after she was thrown out of her squat by her boyfriend:

> We had no where to stay so we stayed at the greyhound station, it was raining and freezing and it was the third night we had no where to stay, one night we spent in Carl's Jr., they let you sleep there if you don't put your feet up on the chairs. One night we were walking and walking the wind was blowing so hard we couldn't get to sleep till 5 am and the cops woke us and fucked around with us till the youth center opened. I stayed up a lot, I stayed in this elevator a lot, I

> would turn it off and could get pretty good sleep until 6 or 7 am. One morning a guy opened it up with a crowbar and threatened to beat the shit out of us. Brandy was flipping out cause she was having really bad stomach pains, she thought she was having a miscarriage because she tricked a lot. Nothing was open and we were crying and I was holding her, I didn't know what to do. I begged these people to let us stay in their hall and they said we could stay on their fire escape, and it was wet and had large sewer bugs, no way were we staying there.

Despair had just moved out of her mother's house and she was living under a tree in a small town in Washington:

> I didn't have anyway of making money I was 14 and my mom wouldn't help me get ID so I couldn't get a job, I made some money for a while sitting for my GED but after I finished that, I didn't have money so I had to move out of where I was staying and I lived under a tree. I felt scared all the time except when I got into my sleeping bag, then I was OK. I couldn't really clean up or take showers, it was impossible to stay clean. One time I slept behind a dumpster, I never thought I would do that, but I was so tired, I couldn't handle it.

Views to the Outside from the Inside

These photographs represented 5% of the pictures, due in part to the secrecy and invisibility required to sustain the squat and partly because there were few unboarded windows for light to stream in to. Because the windows are central to the security of the squat, the few rules that squatters agree to abide by are that windows not be broken. This however, is often more theory than practice. Dakota explains why she broke the rules:

> There were some kind of rules that were supposed to be there but they never happened and people broke all kinds of windows. I did, I broke all kinds of

> windows, I got really pissed off and broke the window in the bathroom and everyone could see in when you take a piss, but I was pissed because my boyfriend was strung out on heroin.

The advantages of not having any views from the inside out was longer periods of undisturbed sleep and staying in the squat during the day. This was very important especially when girls were ill and had no where to rest.

> People don't like to hang out where they are squatting unless they have a really secure squat because that's when you're going to usually get busted during the day. This one squat did not have any windows so we could sleep till 4 in the afternoon, it was rad.

Art

The representations of art (20%) are public murals (sometimes known as graffiti art) completed by artists, then tagged and overlaid with text by other artists, as if an on-going dialogue were occurring increasing the size and texture of the piece between those who passed by and engaged with the wall art and those who initiated the art. The girls who photographed the artwork only discussed it when they were shown their photographs but did not discuss it in the context of their experiences of being homeless. The public art had a subcultural subtext which placed it within the ideological framework of the squatters. According to the interviews, they saw the art as another form of their squatting and details in the artwork representing feelings that they could relate to in their own experiences, like anger.

Summary

The eight themes which emerged from the interviews and photographs were: 1) entrance and exit. This theme was difficult to capture in the photos due to the danger of coming and going. I chose this category because it was discussed at length by all the young women as an important aspect to their surviving; 2) interior spaces of squats were organized according to resources and the sociology of their youth subculture; 3) furniture was often not available. The creativity of the young women to collect and re-use found objects made their squats more habitable and would sometimes counter the horrible conditions; 4) and 5) people who were photographed inside the squats were not in groups. Singles or couples, represented the spatial arrangements inside the squats. People photographed outside the squats also represent the spatial arrangements of their environments more often found in groups; 6) public places represent a continuum of use and perhaps the most ambiguous. While girls rarely slept on the street and almost never on their own, public places were safe and dangerous, a place to earn money, find food, hang-out and meet people outside their group; 7) views to the outside from the inside were rarely represented in the photos, but pointed to an important aspect of their survival - windows and; 8) art was rarely discussed in the interviews, but was photographed. The art had symbolic meaning both in the interpretation of the art and the way it was interacted with by Punk girls. The location of the art was also significant (usually sides of buildings) because it was viewed by the young women as another form of squatting.

The process of taking pictures gave me the opportunity to meet with girls more than once, thereby increasing my chances of developing relationships where the camera was mediating. I initially thought I would get access to their seen world by engaging them in a photography project. Instead, the young women engaged me in an exchange of

commodities beyond our own interactions. Owning cameras gave the young women an opportunity to be artistic, and trade-in their "homelessness" or squatting for temporary tools to produce images. Their environments portrayed in the photos, are invisible to outsiders. Thus, using general photographic interpretation methods to gain deeper knowledge about a subculture or individual may be useless unless, the discussion of the photos taken can be conducted simultaneously. The eight categories which emerged, were chosen from the interviews not the photographs. In some cases there were few photographs to support the environmental experiences discussed in the interviews, and that became as important as the photos which were taken. A more potent and complex analysis of the images and a deeper understanding of the social production of the images created is necessary to cross the borders of the invisible environments used by girls on-their-own.

The day to day negotiations needed to survive their experiences and the descriptions of their environments is never accurately represented in the mainstream press. Media rhetoric about young women on-their-own has supported a family values agenda. Again, I am faced with more borders which have been created by the widespread acceptance of the authority of the press. I am confronted with the contradiction between the facts I am presented and the voices of the young women. Do I accept the general knowledge written by the authority of the press? What are we to believe? Who benefits from the knowledge that is produced? and Why is there such a big discrepancy between the media rhetoric and experiences of young women on-their-own?

Chapter 4: The Cultural Rhetoric of Girls: A Review of Newspapers

> ...nothing can remain immense if it can be measured...every survey brings together distant parts and therefore establishes closeness where distance ruled before. Thus the maps and navigation charts of the early stages of the modern age anticipated the technical inventions through which all earthly space has become small and close at hand. Prior to the shrinkage of space and the abolition of distance through railroads, steamships and airplanes there is the infinitely greater and more effective shrinkage which comes about through the surveying capacity of the human mind, whose use of numbers, symbols and models can condense and scale early physical distance down to the size to the human body's natural sense and understanding. Before we knew how to circle the earth, how to circumscribe the sphere of human habitation in days and hours, we had brought the globe into our living rooms to be touched by our hands and swirled before our eyes. (Hannah Arendt, 1958 cited in Greenwood, 1964, p.39).

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the printed news in mainstream newspapers as they have represented young women who are runaway, homeless or prostitutes. I am concerned with the origin of the cultural rhetoric that has informed ideas and knowledge about girls. I am specifically concerned with the power and influence of particular child and youth movements which have framed the social domain of the "problems" for young women who do not live with their biological families. The borders which are created by the adults' acceptance of these "problems", the controlling policy decisions made based on this knowledge and the overall hateful and violent treatment of youth by adults as it relates to the production of knowledge by mainstream media institutions is addressed in this chapter.

The printed media are a map of the world that we bring into our homes each day. They provide information about places and people which are outside the limits of our daily surroundings. The authority of that information, brought into reach by the newspaper holds the responsibility of reporting a world defined by the (secular) newspaper industry. There are many worlds of information to chose from. The papers are not only bringing the true "world" into our homes, they are reifying ideas, as do maps. They are navigating us through a smaller world, through selected visuals, and organized information. However, there are many communities and events which are not reported about in the major mainstream newspapers. We hear about other news from friends, witness it ourselves, take-part in it , read it in alternative presses, and yet it remains absent from the paper with the largest reading population, with the most cultural status. Thus bringing the news into our homes may fool our senses and mediate our experience of the full scale of the world.

> News is among other things the exercise of power over the interpretation of reality. (Gans, 1979, p. 81)

News and social science literature share an ideological perspective in the social construction of girls. Similar to social science, the news media have created methods of validating their ideas, by simultaneously gleaning data from and legitimating the religious and corporate state. They reflect and promote images and ways of knowing poor and homeless girls which is based (as in all the other literature) in morality, with the intent of controlling female behavior. While there are differences in the creation of institutional structures, (i.e., canons of "legitimate" abstract knowledge inculcated in

schools and day-to-day factoids viewed in the socially accepted newspaper), the news media decontextualizes the experiences of homeless, runaway girls as systematically as social science research neglects to report the complexity and contradictions of society.

The development of objectivity in journalism coincided with the growing faith in both positivist science and techniques in photography (Young, 1990). The continuing growth of the need for facts, faith in the power of science and reliance on liberal concepts of fairness and impartiality have led to the position where the social concept of the newspaper is self-constituted by promoting its ideology - or reporting the facts. Since the demand for a news story is a demand for facts (pertinent information gathered from reliable sources) the commitment to appear objective can be woven into the notion of validation. Therefore, the production of the social construction of knowledge reported or objectivity and institutional source come to be seen as identical. Patterns, or stages of reporting (Borman, 1972; Cohn, Nimmo & Combs, 1985; Lasswell, 1948; Sperry, 1953) were developed to create a type of scientific approach (control and predictability) to the production of news narrative. Narrative theory, control analysis, media analysis, effect analysis, teller, tale and listener dramatist analysis, audience analysis, attitude analysis and content analysis are all founded on the commitment to be objective. Work methods (Fishman, 1980) for journalists also posit theories of replicable rational patterns assuming an underlying scientific objective work ethic- a quest for truth.

However, sociologists have investigated the media from the perspective of social relations (Epstein, 1973; Gans, 1979). They posit that journalists need bureaucracies because the journalistic system of account production is itself bureaucratically organized (Fishman, 1980). The standard production they turn out is dependent on scheduled,

reliable, predictable quantities of raw material (the contextual information to embed the facts within as defined by the mainstream establishment). The basis of the journalistic accounting system is the rationale for capitalist economy; the raw material received by the news bureaucracy is like a subsidy to the media. Other studies which examine the "life" of the reporter, comparison of different types of media, and cross cultural publications (Douglas &Wildavsky, 1984; Tuchman), provide more complex assessments and explanations of the social constructions produced by the news media. The values and messages created by the news industry have been the center of communication research.

The most recent comprehensive study to evaluate teen content in newspapers was completed in 1968. Lyle, surveyed 24 newspapers, all American National Press Association members , (1968 in Stone, 1987). He reported that "57% published either columns, pages or sections aimed at youth." The main reason (66%) editors reported writing youth articles was to develop the newspaper reading habits among youngsters. Only one-third of the editors believed youth deserved coverage, while 14% believed the "youth need a forum of their own." (Stone, 1987 p.37). Lyle's study examined the content of the youth articles and found that: "30% dealt with sports activity, 29% with achievement or recognition, 20% with new experiences, and 16% with knowledge." A more recent study (Bogard, 1981, cited in Stone, 1987) found that newspapers cut back on using special features between 1967 and 1979 and that "teen features was diminished more than any other type." (p.37). In 1967, 61% of the papers carried teen pages, 45% in 1974 and 24% in 1979. Along with the decline of coverage, young readers stopped reading papers, costing the papers 2.5 million readers daily. In the mid-1970's the newspaper industry conducted one of the first focus groups to understand why they were

losing young customers. Many theories were developed including: the effects of dependency on television news; their unsettled lifestyles; temporary historical events like the Vietnam War; and lastly, not having the skills to read a newspaper. When all these theories proved implausible, it was finally suggested that something about the newspaper itself was unappealing to young people. Further investigation revealed that young people saw reading the newspaper as an "old people's habit." They felt the newspaper was cold and impersonal and a middle-aged product which spoke for the status quo while discouraging change within society. Thus, the problem was not with these readers but rather the newspapers themselves (Bogard, 1981).

The context of the "message" produced in relation to the receiver (readers) is central to understanding the ideas which organize the more quantified mass communication research. The message is the narrative, the context (as described by the literature) is the raw materials used, where it is acquired (i.e., the relationships developed to produce the facts), and how influential the message is perceived to be by the readers. One of the main areas of quantitative research which assesses this relationship is known as agenda setting- the influence of the news in inducing a greater sense of importance of a particular issue for an individual. Agenda setting is based in the theories of Lippman (1948), an early mass communication theorist who believed that news provides the information which people need to see the world they cannot touch. While most quantitative research supports this idea, (implicit in this idea is a value that producing social knowledge is good for society and democracy) studies regarding agenda setting have found that stories which prevent agenda setting are about victims or personal travails (Iyenger & Kinder, 1987). They go on to propose that stories which blame the victim do not work in agenda setting. If one of the main purposes of the newspaper is to

promote a collective social knowledge by setting agendas, then personal tragedy does not fall into the realm of news worthiness. The domain of the problem surrounding runaway girls and homelessness is viewed as a personal tragedy instead of a systemic issue and therefore it is not news worthy. If girls are not news worthy what theoretical framework is used to publish articles about girls-on-their-own?

Blaming the victim is a well documented and a powerful social construction used when research suggests that agenda setting would not work. The victim typology is often used in constructing the domain of problems that surround children and youth. However, the narrow social construction of the perpetrators is often embedded in religious icons (i.e., devil worshippers, Satanists, transgressors) and leaves the public immersed in imagery that is often not part of the "objective facts." (A good example is the news coverage of the David Koresh massacre, Waco, Texas, 1993). Consumers of newspapers are under the impression that newspapers utilize facts generated by science or objective fact gathering techniques. Consumers also believe that they may not be getting the entire story but at least its what everyone else believes. The desire to be informed gives way to deeply embedded personal values connected to the status quo of society and religion. These values which motivate the way " facts" are reported are historically situated within the power base of society.

The concept of enduring societal values is part of news judgment (Gans, 1979). These values are implicit in journalism and do not reflect professional expertise. Rather they are ingredients for a good nation and society. Even facts do not arise out of thin air but are fashioned out of concepts and particular methods based on value judgments. Different value judgments produce different facts. So-called enduring American values

(with their roots in religious-thinking and the progressive era) are shared by politicians and journalists and serve business interests. Enduring values advocate democracy, pay allegiance to small town pastoralism, support individualism and moderation and preach order and family values. Mainstream family values view shortcomings of poor and single parent households as the "bad ones" and as a result, enduring values are blind to structural faults within the system (Gans, 1979) thereby narrowing the world brought to us through the newspaper.

Youth/women/ gays and lesbians/ People of Color/immigrants/ people with HIV have challenged and protested the normative standards of behavior which have legally and socially controlled their power in society. While some social changes have occurred as a result of these movements, (and these movements have been studied for efficacy in the political arena) few studies have investigated the impact of the larger questions. What has been the impact of resistance on the hegemonic social constructions, rhetoric, and media? How has it changed the debate over time? Resistance movements do not merely identify a problem and work towards its elimination but are integral to changing social constructions which includes the news production.

In the face of newspaper hegemony, readers and viewers have some power expressed by protest against, and refusal to accept, what they read and see. Social changes and human decisions regarding appropriate behaviors do not occur in a vacuum created by media; they are created by people (Meyerwitz, 1985). Media can determine who may perform before whom, where and when that even takes place, but the behavior is still socially defined. The way people behave takes shape in human interaction yet media can undermine certain behaviors. Media can seriously affect the way people behave, the way

they feel they or others should behave, as well as their responses and attitudes toward other people's behavior. The media can then report on these behaviors it has induced or prompted to varying degrees, which again contributes to behavior and so the cycle continues endlessly feeding off itself. Within this paradigm, even protest and resistance become incorporated into the media system though often reduced to limited analysis, without content, and therefore shaped by the media.

A consensual view of normative behaviors is achieved through continual processes of typification (Lea & Young, 1984 in Brake, 1990). Through the processes of typification, what is normal and what is deviant become widely accepted, resulting in a standardized perception of the nature of social reality. By highlighting what is abnormal or deviant, the media simultaneously determine and judge what is perceived to be "bad" behavior and implicitly reaffirm the presumed status quo. To put it slightly differently, the media select events which are atypical, present them in a *stereotypical* fashion, and contrast them with images of normality. For example, an in-depth analysis of the printed news representation of homeless girls and teenage girls will illuminate the process by which typification guides collective knowledge about them.

Girls Socially Constructed in the Newspaper

Images of "homeless" girls rarely appeared in the newspaper before 1900. "When there were descriptions of them, they fell into two categories: those who were essentially good but had been tempted into ways that needed to be changed and the evil ones who were beyond assistance" (Manzo & Rivlin, 1987). In a review of articles on homelessness in the New York Times from 1865-1900, Manzo and Rivlin found that

> ...distinctions between worthiness and unworthiness applied to children, most of whom were orphans or from exceedingly poor families. Some street children were considered to be honest and industrious children and others were described as "living by their wits", with repeated accusations that the unworthy children were "dangerous," "street sinners," and "petty thieves." The columns were filled with ethnic prejudices and implications that the children were pretending to be in unfortunate conditions. (p. 2).

According to a study by White (1990), images of young people in the media have varied over time. As wider social, economic and political circumstances change, and as young people are affected by these changes, so media reportage shifts accordingly. In the 1980s, young people were rendered visible due to high levels of unemployment coupled with increasing fears within society about the safety of property and person. This fueled media stories which very selectively highlighted youth activities. There were few reports which presented youth outside of fear and hostility inducing stories. Youth were typified as coming from bad, abusive families. Beyond this image the media renders homeless youth invisible. The absence of coverage and representation is due to the powerlessness of youth in the adult world, the agenda of the newspapers, and the limited youth experiences which can be marketed to readers.

The framing of youth, and girls in particular, is a rhetorical strategy, not one based on empirical or well-investigated evidence. The current rhetoric is historically rooted in the discourse which has taken shape during the last century. Contrary to White's study, very little has changed in public discourse on youth and girls in particular. However, the experiences of young women have changed considerably in that time due to multiple factors including the influences and impact of modernization, urban production,

feminism, the gay and lesbian movement, increased poverty, and emerging youth subcultures.

The concern in the press for children is not new. While some historians can trace the decrease in family size and the industrial revolution as having a significant improvement in the care of children, (Shorter, 1977, cited in Best, 1990) the gender, class or race of the child is never a critical point of consideration for those observers of the modern family. Therefore, it would be irresponsible to go along with this notion without further investigation. Best states that "...with fewer children, parents have more at stake with each child, the emotional ties between parent and child become closer and children receive better treatment." (p.3). Given the deeply embedded hegemony of family values which is the lens through which to see children and youth in our culture, we cannot assume that girls are treated better overall. We also cannot deny that some girls have benefited from human rights and the women's movements. But again, conservative backlash and increasing poverty are equally strong factors in assessing the experiences of girls.

Americans romanticized children in the 19th century. The upper class put all their hopes for the perpetuation of the "race" (Hall, 1915) in children. Using the white-upper and middle class family as the normative model (coded for "race") they were able to create a social urgency for reformers based on class fear regarding the end of the "race". Subsequently, the professionalization of child reform created an exigency for experts to delineate a clearer idea of the problems facing children. Reformers were in the business of shaping children who did not have the privileges of the white middle and upper class. Public schools, scout troops, juvenile courts, inoculation programs, were developed to

save the children (Best, 1990). The child reformers were in business, and they would lay the groundwork for the social domain of problems facing children. Through out the century, a few new problems have developed. Freud's misguided and diligent work, and subsequent denial of the large number of women who had been sexually abused, significantly contributed to society's' ambivalence about the widespread child sexual abuse (Herman, 1992). Thus, the initial conceptualization, created over a century ago, working in tandem with Christian family values and "individualism" are the underpinnings for the current public discourse, focused always on the individual child and "his family". Though these problems had a public pretense and were for public consumption, the problems were never presented and typified for the public as widespread or systemic in nature.

Rhetoric: Homeless Girls as a Social Problem

Typifications are used in public discourse to understand what most people do not often see or experience and are often reflected in public opinion polls, public policy and legal resolutions of the "problem." The typification of a problem can change due to the changing zeitgeist of society. At different times in different places what is criminal is viewed as sinful or is pathologized. There are a number of ideas in which a collective consensus based in morality rather than fact laid the foundation for the typification of runaway girls.

Tracing the history of typifications for runaway and homeless girls is integral to understanding current ideas about this population. The images and which characterized runaways has been based on some observation of only boys. These characterization include: adventurous, delinquent, vulnerable to exploitation, and the "rebellious child

rejecting the adult world's expectation" (Best, 1990, p.4). Other typifications are that runaway youth run to have sex, break the law, wear unusual clothes, change their appearance, and listen to "unlistenable" music. The resolution of these problems is control, using legal institutions if necessary. According to public discourse these children were deprived due to poverty or family circumstances. Societal response was to resolve this problem by developing social welfare institutions to intervene when necessary in individual families. Sometimes, the typification was of a sick child with a medical problem, and later into the 20th century he had a learning disability or emotional disability. The public discourse claimed that with modern medicine, the child could be treated and cured. Child advocates have created campaigns around specific medical problems (i.e., infant death syndrome) in the hope of alleviating the illnesses sick children face. Another image, and one that creates a murky world view of children, is the child-victim. These children are exploited by social deviants, and in some case are themselves social deviants. Advocates who concern themselves with child-victims (starting with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1876) theoretically seek to protect children and punish their perpetrators. In reality, the claims and subsequent institutional support have protected larger cultural systems (i.e., legal, family, religious) which have denied children and youth their human rights.

The child protection movements made their arguments on the premise that few people see or experience child abuse. However, in contrast, one out of four women has been sexually abused by a family member (Herman, 1992). Yet, like Freud, the public discourse and subsequent resolutions have refused to address its implications systematically. At the same time that the missing children's movement was growing, the child sexual abuse movement was booming, and they supposedly brought public

attention to the broad definition of sexual abuse. In 1977, child pornography and child prostitution came to public notice (Best, 1990). Though anti-prostitution sentiments existed in the social domain since the story of Sarah, who threw Hagar, Abraham's concubine, out of the house (Leviticus, Old Testament), it has been pointed out by feminists that these policies have been ideologically linked with family values, and are anti-woman. When the missing child's movement, and the child prostitution movement reluctantly developed rhetoric for the supposed few youth who ran away as opposed to being abducted, they focused on the exploitation of youth in abusive situations (though vague in definition) who were later "sold" into the sex industry. Public knowledge about child sexual abuse became popular in the 1980's due to cases involving child care workers who were sexually abusing or forms of ritual abuse.

Federal legislation, proposed in 1988, attempted to penalize those who would exploit children by trading in obscene works. This conservative backlash expanded the definition of child abuse to include women who smoke while pregnant, women who use drugs or alcohol during pregnancy, and attempted to invoke hatred towards women who would abuse their children by aborting their fetuses. At the same time, there has been a rise in anti-teenage mother discourse. The moral underpinnings of the development of the broad child protection movement conspicuously blames the mother for any familial abuse, including those who would work and leave their children with child care workers rather than stay at home. The development of rhetoric used for typification by child protection advocates has obfuscated the real experiences of children in a vague and often unfounded claim of abuse outside of the family and ignored the systemic issues that prevent children from real human rights protection. Typifications which included a

criticism of the family have only been used when they were embedded in anti-woman rhetoric, anti-working-mother and anti-poor people.

What are the implications of contemporary images and ideas of young women who are on their own? Analyzing the rhetoric will shed light on the relative lack of conflict in the public domain regarding child protection discourse, some of the reasons for the invisibility of girls in that discourse and will underscore the implications of the images that do exist.

When it comes to girls, the four images that Best outlines as the historical roots of the embodiment of children's problems, do not clearly fit into four distinct areas. This is due to the conflated ideas connected with youth and those (morally based) associated specifically with girls and women in our culture. Though the there was public concern for kidnapping in the 1930's after the Lindbergh event, the business of missing children only developed in the mid 1970's. Other social conerns at that time include the women's movement agenda. They were concerned for children and the role of women within their family (i.e., the mother, could and wanted to be super-woman, though she always was, now she wanted the status and economic rewards). The traditional family values of the New Religious Right, also in the 1970's, supported an anti-abortion agenda. The family values agenda moved further-right with discourse to support their anti-abortion agenda, promoting the strong mother-child bond and the mothers' moral responsibility for perpetuation of the family. Lesbians organized and joined the pro-choice movement with straight feminists later to be ostracized by some feminist women who supported the conceptual underpinning deeply entrenched in heterosexual and gender-based moral standards imposed by society. Thus, the family rhetoric was murky, confusing the power

relationships for women and those of children within the family and within the larger social arena. Pro-choice feminists and liberals concerned with human rights have done little to clarify this confusion.

Other emerging cultural voices in the 1970's had little influence in changing the rhetoric about young females, yet they created new venues for young women in leadership positions, developed new skills, reproduced their own cultural communication, and generally promoted gender-disorder. The Punk Rock culture, a youth subculture which questioned almost everything, was getting off the ground in the United States. The rhetoric about Punks was simplistically presented in the mainstream press as rebellion of middle-class white youth. Other emerging youth cultures included a radical environmental movement, (i.e., the Clamshell Alliance). They were closing down nuclear power plants. At the same time, students on campuses all over the country were setting-up shanty-towns in front of administration offices, insisting that Universities divest in South Africa, and Womyn-land and peace camps organized by young lesbians were challenging militarism and patriarchy (even hair salons were uni-sex, though women's haircuts still cost more than mens').

It is at this moment, this heightened level of female youth participation in challenging the social order, that the missing children organizers made a radical change in focus, from the child-victim to the plight of the parents. There was no public discussion of who or under what circumstances children were missing. The missing children industry staff, without clear empirical evidence, claimed that these young people were abducted by deviants who would sexually molest them, turn them into drug users and sell them on the streets for sex. This was printed in the mainstream (secular,

not only religious) newspapers without real evidence. With all this "public" support, the conservative government of the 1980's needed very little encouragement to support the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in 1984. I wonder: What really happened to those missing children? The loss of control of youth and girls in particular generated social movements of this historical period motivating the discourse. Did the sympathy for parents whose children were "missing", motivate the "facts" or Were children just not listening to them anymore? Did this dynamic become coded into the social problem of youth and public discourse?

Parental empathy was promoted by the missing children's movement and then in the mainstream press with images and religious rhetoric of Satanists, social deviants, and sinners, referring to stranger child abductors (Best, 1990). In reality, only a small portion of reported missing children were in fact missing as a result of abduction. Most were runaway and others still were just part of youth movements who wanted nothing to do with adults or the social order (Best, 1990).

The social value promoted by the missing children's movement was the parent as potential victim. It encouraged parents, through questionable tactics and political motivation, to fingerprint and file photos of their children with the local police as a supposed measure of increased protection and possible abduction prevention. The definition of a missing child was never clear, nor did these advocates investigate or publicize the reasons why children were missing. The few runaways who were publicly discussed by these advocates were believed to be from abusive families. They promoted pathologizing individuals as criminals or perverts instead of looking at the complexity of the larger social issues. All of this had the effect of obscuring the relationships,

situations, environments, and systemic treatment of young women in the dominant culture.

Girls are conspicuously missing from the press coverage. I can only hypothesize that if girls' stories were honestly told, if the voices of runaways were heard, it would undoubtedly complicate the already existing sympathy for parents and reveal the hidden religious agenda at the root of popular ideology. The moral underpinnings of the rhetoric developed for missing children seems to be connected to the agenda of enduring family values. Reviewing the articles in the secular press and in one religiously-affiliated newspaper for the past ten years indicates that the controversy one might expect to be part of the domain of this issue is, in fact, missing. This is especially surprising since the sexual abuse movement and battered women's movement has been so successful in garnering relative support and media coverage.

A Review of Newspaper Coverage: 1982-1992

In a review of five national newspapers (Los Angeles Times- Home edition, New York Times-Late and National, Christian Science Monitor-National Edition, Wall Street Journal-East and West edition and Washington Post-Final edition) over the ten year period from 1982-1992, under the keywords, "runaway girls", I uncovered 5 articles; "female adolescent" had no articles listed, "teenage prostitutes" had 4 articles catalogued, "runaways" had 36 articles, "street kids" had 28, "homeless youth" listed 63 articles and "youth" listed 5, 386. A sub-search under the category of "poor" listed 94 articles. Many of the articles are cross-referenced which leaves a total of 84 articles that discuss the social problem of homeless and runaway youth.

1982-1992: Total Number of Articles 84

Newspaper Name	Number of Articles
LA Times	11
NY Times	51
Christian Science Monitor	14
Wall Street Journal	2
Washington Post	6

None of the articles were duplicated in another paper on the same day or week. Thus, the idea that homeless or runaway youth are news is a false notion. They were treated as a special feature related to local news. There was no national news related to homeless or runaway youth.

The context for 30% of the all the articles was to praise the work of a youth service program or a T.V special that has done exceptionally good work in discussing a "teen issue", like suicide. Ten percent of the articles were written primarily to discuss a new study, for example, the lack of educational services for homeless children or because the Federal Government was about to pass legislation impacting on homeless youth. The remaining 60% portrayed the deviant and transgressive behavior of youth as a result of being victims of abusive families.

Within the many articles written as an arm of the public relations campaigns for youth serving organizations, the authors would present a case study. Seventy percent of the case studies were about boys, approximately 30% included girls and boys. The only

article which focused exclusively on girls covered a sex ring, involving adults exploiting young women. None of the young women were interviewed for the article. In fact, none of them could be found.

Photos of young boys were in 50% of the articles. The photos depict boys sitting on the street, staring off into space, sharing and eating food with other homeless boys, all from a distance. One wonders if the youth in the photos are the young people the reporter is talking about and if the reporter even talked to the young people. The photos seem to be without a context. At best the visuals were ambiguous. However, the ambiguity could be interpreted by the reader based on the content of the article which depicted these youth as aimless, hopeless and probably high on drugs.

The typifications of the homeless and runaway girl were almost always prefaced in tragedy; usually her suicide. The analysis, or cause of her victimization in 90% of the articles is said to be her parents (blamed or not). The following quote epitomizes the discourse, " If parents won't be parents what can be done to close a gap in the legal system that allows teenagers to destroy themselves." (Hevesi, 1988, p. 31). Fifty percent of all articles blame the family for the runaways and describe them as children who are unwanted, "throwaways", who are sexually and physically abused. There is never a direct quote from the young woman discussing her own experience. The range of reasons and explanations that could be presented to understand this situation is never offered. There is one, maybe two causes for running away, (cause-effect, positivist paradigm) and one solution, more social service organizations.

The lack of interviews with young people themselves is the most difficult thing to accept from the perspective of journalistic rigor. Only 5% of the writers of articles actually talked to a young person. Often case studies use testimonials from people who know or knew the youth or just observe ethnographically for a short time and then interpret the meaning of what the reporter saw based on known and accepted theories of runaways as described earlier.

Each paper was equally irresponsible in their adaptive use, not only of anthropological methods, but psychological analysis.

> They are growing up in an extremely abnormal environment. Many are very sad, and if they are not sad they are exceptionally aggressive. The street becomes an addiction in itself, the excitement or whatever it is. All the money in the world would not get these kids off the street." (Hevesi, 1988, p.35).

One particular article goes on to discuss the psychological make-up of a girl the reporter got to know as he passed through Grand Central Station in New York City over a two year period. The impetus for the story was her suicide and his need to explain how he could not have prevented it. He goes on to write his psychological assessment of her: "If you reached her heart it stirred up anxiety and her way of dealing was to run away. Young people who get overwhelmed by stress feel they're entitled to be destructive to themselves." (Barden, 1990, p. 12). The authors' generalizations about youth are seemingly compelling given the history of rhetoric about youth and society's deeply entrenched morality about young women on their own. We, the readers, are both swelling with pity for the young woman and the author who was helpless in his ability to assist her. We are led directly to the only conclusion possible; this girl represents a social

problem that can be resolved by better laws that would allow adults to force her into an institution.

Although there are reasons to believe it, it seems too simple to accept the explanation that young women on their own are stressed, suicidal, self-destructive, anxious and unable to make heart-felt connections. Without talking to a single woman, it hardly seems believable that these journalists would attempt to claim that they offer even a semblance of a thorough or useful analysis. This typification supports earlier claims made by the religious right and missing children advocates who portrayed anything outside of the family as deviant. Yet, the collective agreement that these girls must be saved and the lack of conflict in the interpretation of the problem in the public domain is unbelievable.

A census of the population of runaways does not exist. A 1976 Federal study conducted by phone found that there were 733,000 runaways per year. This number includes those who leave for a 24 hour period and return home. Another news article reported:

> Hundreds of thousands of adolescents are running away or being forced out of their home every year. (Reed, L. A. Times, 1993).

> A Federal report reported 500,000 per year. (NY Times, 1990).

> ...3,000 young people turned away from shelters every year due to lack of space. (NY Times, 1988).

...68,000 homeless youth in any one night, Congress estimates... (NY Times, 1988).

...250,000 homeless youth in anyone night, ... and 500,000- 750,000 per year, reported the Coalition for the Homeless. (L. A. Times, 1988).

..1.2 million runaway and so-called throwaways on the streets each year, reported by the National Network of Runaway and Youth Services." (L. A. Times, 1987).

More than a million children runaway from home every year, a report by the Department of Health and Human Services. (Washington Post, 1987).

The organizations that are in the runaway business report fictionalized facts to the news based on estimates. The authority of their claim lies in their position to make the claims and continue the theme to save the children. The organizations do little to challenge either the demonizing of abusive relatives or the vagueness of definitions. Reports are characterized by the following types of claims: "Families drive them away to drug abuse." "She was a crack addict" "Yeah I was smoking marijuana said her mother. He left a note said he'd be back once a year and I had to live with it." (Hevesi, 1988). These are the children who come from deviant homes. While this line of thinking offers a vindication for the "rebellious behavior" of leaving the sanctity of one's family, thereby breaking the legal and moral codes of society, in reality there are few options for those who are "throw aways" or runaways. Yet, the victim typification alludes to a "new compassion" for the plight of youth. In fact, this "new" compassion does not seek to prevent or assist young people who are survivors of sexual molestation by their male family members. The "new compassion" is not addressed legally or politically in mainstream society. The absence of reporting on the systemic problems that face young

people on their own, their poverty, the legal restrictions, leaves these to your imagination, at best. The organizations promote a view that somehow the youth are damaged "merchandise" ready to hurt others because they have been hurt. They are violent, drug using, sexually promiscuous, and "at-risk" for AIDS. This is not a new consciousness towards youth. Their perpetrators are coded as their parents but for most youth, and especially girls, the real perpetrators are their fathers, uncles, brothers, grandfathers and pediatricians who are criminal and there is little social resolution. Gusfield study (1980) on drunk driving as a social problem explains:

> The most subtle forms of social control are those we least recognize as such. Precisely because the categories of understanding and meaning provide so powerful a constraint to what we experience and how we think about that experience, they prevent awareness of alternative ways of conceiving events and processes. Because they lead us to "see" the accustomed forms as the only reality they minimized and obscure the possible conflicts and the volatile decisions that have helped construct 'reality'. (p. 28).

Summary

My concern in this chapter was with the theory of child protection used by reporters as the major framework for the development of public knowledge within which "runaway", "homeless" and girls on-their-own have been represented in the five national newspapers over a ten year period. The nearly exclusive attention paid to the stranger abductions, the child pornography industry, sexual abuse by child care workers, and ritual abusers, contrasted with alternative frameworks such as systemic issues that face young girls on-their-own, have not yet been developed by reporters as the focus of news. The stories told by the news are congruent with and fortified by the social construction

of girls on-their-own in the social science literature. The agencies which service young women are responsible for allowing and perpetuating these one-sided stories. Their collusion with the mainstream press accumulates hostility towards young women by adults and by the young women towards authorities who would allow this to happen. The borders between adults and girls are thick with tension and betrayal of their voices, their side of the story.

It is apparent from my discussion that the newspaper focus is influenced by a collective agreement about young women and the concern for gender order and disorder. The typification of young women as tragic, suicidal, victims of neglectful parents and throwaways seems to be the only story told. The 84 human interest stories I found in my search indicated a lack of "news" stories reporting about the young womens' situation from their perspective, the invisibility of their side of the story is evidence of the morality which is deeply embedded in the industry. The newspapers' stereotype is reinforced by organizations and policy makers which prevents young girls who live on their own from being vindicated and obstructs the creation of positive resolutions to the real dilemmas they face.

The collection of news stories I found is an important source of cultural knowledge. It brought to light the institutions which benefit from the negative views constructed by the news media. While sociological studies of the power of news and opinion attribution is debated in the field, the day to day life of young women is impacted by their sense that no one is concerned with who they are or what they think.

Chapter 5: Instructions for Crossing Invisible Borders and Field Notes

In Kevin Lynch's *Growing up in Cities* (1977) adolescents still living with their families were interviewed in four different countries to examine how youth use space in their neighborhoods as a way of understanding their daily life experiences. The most significant finding was that youth do identify with places, and that places inform their identity and development. Youths, in a similar fashion to adults, look for representation of themselves in the world and, when they can imprint themselves on a place, it is a confirmation of their existence in a world which often misrepresents and stereotypes adolescents. I thought I could use this work as my stepping stone into the investigation of girls. According to Lynch's study researchers just walked up to the adolescents wherever they were, asked the youth their favorite and least favorite places, the places in which they rest, sleep, eat, play, and how they get from one place to the other. They readily gave the researchers the answers to their questions. The youth were also asked to draw a map of the area and indicate the places they go to, and how they modify (if they do) their environments and why - and according to Lynch, they did what the researchers asked them to do. So why was my research with girls so difficult?

Stereotyping adolescents, and in particular girls who live on their own, has many consequences. The long term and cumulative institutional responses by adults to youth has created a hostile relationship between young women, who understandably want to live their day-to-day lives without adults, and the tensions of authority and service providers. The strain created offers girls and women little chance for direct communication or the possibility of developing a respectful relationship. This was the

focus of my work, to understand the contents of the borders between girls and women, which are not static and can change from day-to-day depending on a variety of factors. The borders generally keep adults at a safe enough distance so that the young women are not threatened. The constellation of situations I encountered which mediated the borders between us included a variety of intended and unintended consequences. Borders between us would change depending on the level of safety and danger in the physical environment. Changes would occur when a girls' squat was discovered and shut down, if her belongings were searched and confiscated, if her money was not stolen, if her pets were fed and safe, if her friends were safe from authorities, if she was not denied services because of the color of her hair, or the number of body piercings, nor refused needed health care because she was high. For all these reasons and more, I was kept at variable distances by all of the girls I met for entire time of the study.

Since I intended to interview the young women, I had to address the distrust. I did not ask questions which, though they seem "natural", can resemble invasive professional attitudes and questions. This is particularly true around issues of sexual behavior now so hyper--visible in all youth education and research projects in San Francisco due to the available funding for HIV prevention. Many of the participants reported to me that they never told the truth to any adults and that they said what they thought would get them what they needed. Since I was not connected to any service or social control organization I feel that my judgments were not as important to them. I used ethnomethodology, using their words and ideas to ask the questions. When we talked about sex, it usually related to the spaces available and the gender and race of their sexual partner or anything else which might be a factor in the expression of their sexuality. They reported that they appreciated not having to answer questions about

their safe or un-safe practices which they thought were "dumb questions, because anyone living on the street is at risk for AIDS ". Since I am an HIV educator, I would sometimes offer latex and lubricants at the end of the interview. They often had questions about recent changes in HIV prevention information and we would talk about when their last HIV test had been. All of the young women reported having been HIV tested many times. I don't pretend to think that everything they told me is "truth" but a mixture of fiction and non-fiction which is all any study about humans which attempts to report on personal histories in the context of institutional power inequities, poverty, violence and trauma can presume to report.

Theoretical Framework

This project is based in a modified grounded theory approach to research. The explanatory conditions brought into analysis are not restricted to those that seem to immediately to bear upon the phenomenon under study. I included conditions that derive from broader societal contexts including economic conditions, social movements, trends, and cultural values. These do not function as mere background to the analysis but constitute the atmosphere in which the theory is generated. They led to an understanding of the walls of the borders between girls and women. The major intent of the grounded theory strategy is to systematically seek the full range of variation for the phenomenon under scrutiny (Strauss, 1987). The modification in this study are my a priori assumptions that class, gender and sexual identity modify experiences. If this were a "true" grounded theory project, I would not make these assumptions and all categories of analysis would emerge from the study.

Using this approach gave me the foundation to make methodological and theoretical leaps of logic when I needed to, in order to address the variety of borders that I faced. I was clued into this when I could not connect with the young women. For example, I interviewed people in a variety of places, which led to different relationship outcomes. I found that crossing borders between the girls and myself was more effective when we met in my home. There, we would cook a meal, sit and talk. Sometimes the interview occurred at their next visit. In the privacy of my home, they knew I respected them because I let them enter my home. Their guard were down, or maybe they were just being polite. In any case, generally I maintained a longer relationship with young women I could interview in my home.

There was never just one issue which came between us. It was not just age, or race, or class, it was all of these things and the local activity of the police the night before, or the treatment of one of the girls by a youth service provider last month, or the grief about the 15 year old girl who fell 7 floors in her squat and was paralyzed, or the gender relationship between boys and girls. Grounded theory allowed me to pull together a omni-directional, multi-layered, non-static, unwedded to professional canons understanding of these young women and it was ultimately more complex and useful than the theoretical frameworks which already exist regarding "deviant girls".

Data Recording

I have audio taped all interviews and tours and transcribed them verbatim. I intended to gather and analyze data as a concurrent process allowing the themes which emerged to guide the process of selecting informants and interview participants. Due to the nature of this type of research, (Glazer & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin 1990)

a variety of factors shaped the sampling design. Upon interviewing my first contacts, I realized that I would be sampling not just teenage girls who were homeless but girls who are part of a youth subculture. I decided that was a strong theme to follow and interviewed only punk rocker homeless girls. I changed questions in my interview guide to cover the important aspects of being a punk rocker and even interviewed participants at later stages of data collection, solely on their experiences and importance of being a female punk rocker. This became an important analytical category as defined by the participants.

There are a number of youth subcultures in San Francisco and many co-exist in similar geographies. Further research in the Tenderloin will uncover a variety of homeless girls who belong to groups and organizations not identified in this study. The implications of acknowledging the differences is critical to working with youth. Youth subcultures stay in different areas within urban environments. While there may be overlap among some youth subcultures, researchers who want to work with youth must know the geographies of their group, as well as the multiple factors which influence the borders surrounding the divisions between the youth and adult worlds.

Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred concurrently with data collection. Sampling, photographing and mapping, and archival research with popular printed images of homeless girls during the period of 1982-1992. This period was chosen because only those years are indexed on the library computer at the University of California at Berkeley. This was not a linear process but one where the analysis informed the process. The underlying assumption of the analysis was that the concepts being questioned in this study, myself, the participants

and written materials are situated in particular historical, socio-cultural, political, circumstances which affect the material reality and experiences of physical settings for these young women. These forces are components of the system of hegemony which is reified in the institutions created and the plans produced and utilized in production of space. The system is driven by the multi-national and local economic and political interests of a few powerful people who are making choices about the production of space. One of the outcomes of this policy is a large un-housed and marginally housed female youth population. The anger and frustration expressed by some of the young women about these decisions would often surface during interviews and in particular during their explanation of why they were Punk Rockers. Some girls explained why they needed to dress the way they do, why they needed to be loud, why the music they listened to was loud. They wanted adults to be imposed upon (not scared) by their presence and they wanted adults who share their environments to think about them while shopping from store to store.

Narrative analysis (Mishler, 1986) was used to understand the structure of the stories, how the stories were linked to cultural and historical information, how events were conveyed, how they are linked to time. I employed coding techniques labeling data with as many codes as apply and created a matrix which cross-classifies categories which emerged. I attempted to impose a structure of difference in the sampling, a priori deciding to interview heterosexual, bisexual and lesbian girls. I compared the difference in stories with reported sexual identity. There were many conflicting stories about the importance of sexual identity. While the culture has a guiding policy based in an anarchist philosophy, they have not created environments in a counter- hegemonic fashion with regard to sexual orientation. There are no safe-places for lesbian and gay

youth. The contradiction between the ambiguity of the punk rockers' sexual orientation, reported as bisexual or not complying with existing categories, and the experiences of gay and lesbian youth is a theme which consistently emerged in their complex narratives. Some of the young women were resistant to discuss these contradictions, "I don't know, I'm not gay" when pressed for some analysis of the punk rock space and attitude of gay and lesbian youth. Other contradictions around race were also evident from the small number of girls of color, girls who were hanging out with the punk rockers and their response when questioned about the racial and ethnic composition of their friends and other punk rockers and the underlying racial biases of punk rockers. There were more male youth of color who hung-out with punk rockers. I don't know if they identified as punk rockers. A number of the Punk girls had African- American boyfriends who would hang-out with the punk rock girls but did not identify as a punk rocker as reported by the girls. The denial of any racism, sexism or homophobia within their group which did exist was difficult to understand. I presume that their world view which was nihilistic anarchism rejected all categories and therefore did not criticize themeselves outside the construct they created for themselves.

Credibility & Ethics

To address the issue of credibility as an outsider trying to construct an explanatory framework of a sub-culture of which I have never been a part, I gave my thesis proposal to a few of the participants as well as youths who are ex-street kids and asked them for feedback and their opinions on some of the ideas I presented. This process continued with three of the young women with whom I was able to maintain relationships. It was important to know if they recognized, understood and accepted my interpretation of their experiences (Bloor, 1983; Douglas, 1976). As I discussed earlier, the contradictions

between race and sexual orientation were hard to get an external validity check on. This also occurred with my analysis of the gender and power relationships. The young women initially disagreed with my analysis, in part because they did not want to be viewed in appropriate gender role positions in relationship to the boys.

There were several ethical issues I considered while conducting my research. The participants in this study were breaking the law since individuals under the age of 18 who are not under the supervision of adults can be jailed. While some of the participants chose to photograph the places they have created, no pictures were supposed to contain people or identifiable street signs or addresses of squats currently being used. Generally, participants have street names, their given names are rarely used though generally known by close friends. While doing the consent form, I obtained verbal rather than written consent before each interview. The consent process consisted of giving each participant a written information sheet about the study's background, my background, purposes, procedures, and plans for dissemination of results as well as verbally instructing her that her participation in the interview indicates consent. Each girl was told that at any time they can stop the interview process or decline to answer any question.

I felt morally and ethically responsible for creating a research situation which would guard participant safety. This meant that participants must be safe from forced disclosure, fears of reprisal and attacks on their self esteem. Participants must be met with respect, honesty, and openness to their point of view. Given the dynamic nature of this research, I negotiated research procedures as necessary, recognizing distress related to the research process. Participants who chose to discuss their unwanted sexual

experiences were clearly in distress during the interview and often cried or tried not to cry. All of the girls in this study have experienced unwanted sexual acts both with strangers and men in their biological family, and in some cases, with male Punk Rockers. In some situations I turned off the recorder and we talked until the participant wanted to continue the interview or leave. Generally a feeling of support emerged between us. While I intended to have a research partner to walk with me and attend to my security, that was never possible because I did not have the money to pay her. Instead, I tried to put myself in public situations during day light hours where I didn't feel threatened. That was not always possible, but I suggest that future work be conducted in the manner I had planned. Conducting interviews in my home was both the safest for me and resulted in a richer conversation with the participants.

Interviewing: Guide, Location and Duration

There were no questions. I started the interview with an explanation of what I was doing and asked the participants to tell me all the places they stayed from the first time they were on-their-own. I tried to ask participants the reasons why they slept in certain places, if those places have changed over time and whether their knowledge of the area is important to understanding why they feel OK about sleeping in some places and not others. A interview guide was eventually developed and reformulated throughout the research process, depending on contingencies of particular interview situations and emerging themes. In later stages of data gathering and data analysis, questions about building knowledge, gender relationships, and punk culture needed further verification. Content validity of questions were substantiated continuously by checking with participants, informants, and other members of the homeless adolescent communities about their appropriateness and quality.

The interviews lasted for as long as the participants allowed. They were held in department store coffee shops near their hang-out location, in cafe's in other neighborhoods, in jail and in my home. Though I initially thought I would be able to spend extensive time with participants, sometimes moving through the day with them, it was impossible to develop that level of intimacy given the short amount time I had to collect data. I did meet with them multiple times for shorter periods of time and did hear about them from other participants over one year. I would often run into them on the street and "casually" catch-up with them over the period of a few minutes, sometimes going out for coffee. There are three young women with whom I have developed relationships, and see on a regular basis (have dinner with, they have stayed in my apartment, we go to movies, and spend a lot of time talking). I could easily (now one year later) spend a day with them.

In comparing interview intimacy and environments, it is evident that the participants are most revealing and comfortable talking in my home over a meal or tea. While it may be unorthodox to interview study participants in the researcher's home, developing a rapport with teenage girls who have been traumatized by at least one and generally a large number of adults and their institutions is a barrier to having meaningful discussions. Only with slow respectful contact can a young women begin to discuss the details of her life. Meeting in my home, a quieter, stable place, assists in developing the relationship a researcher needs.

Demographic data were collected during the interviews. I initially thought that collecting these data would be helpful in the interpretation of interview data as well as in

the comparison of findings to other studies about adolescent girls. I have since discovered that there are no other studies about adolescent girls with which to compare my work, yet the demographics were informative in terms of addressing larger, class, race and youth subcultural issues. Almost all the girls in my study were Caucasian; about 50% were bisexual, 1 was a lesbian and the remaining were either heterosexual or did not identify with any sexuality, I was concerned that I was not getting a cross-sectional representation. I was concerned that because I am Caucasian my sample was reflecting my own racial biases. Through my political work with a multi-racial, city-wide coalition that advocates for girls and women involved in the criminal justice system, I was able to check out this bias among coalition members. In addition, I discussed race with the young women I interviewed and I surveyed 12 youth serving organizations. I discovered that girls of color and lesbians are not being serviced by the local organizations, and are predominantly in other youth subcultural affiliations. I concluded after meeting with adults who have contacts in Latino, African American, and Asian communities that I was not going to make a dent in those communities for this study.

Making in-roads into an illegal, underground population is a difficult task for any adult. Caucasian punk rock girls are the most visible community and the most accessible because they are not generally involved in the sex industry. Contacting girls directly on the street is impossible when they are "represented" by a pimp who acts a gatekeeper. Since Punk Rock ideology challenges traditional gender roles Punk Rock boys do not take on that role, at least not theoretically.

Gender relations were complex even among Puck Rockers, but the ability to make contact was not impeded by those relationships. One time, at the Nordstrom coffee shop,

a group of "Grungies"- dirty, male punk rockers (friends of the participant) sat down at our table during an interview. S hardly stopped talking to acknowledge them. We only had to stop the interview for a few minutes before the young woman I was interviewing told them to leave and that she would meet up with them later. The boys left and we sat there for another 30 minutes.

Violence was a common occurrence for the young women in this study and the sexual violence upset me the most. During one of the interviews, a young women reported that she had been raped only last week. She had just arrived in San Francisco, one month earlier, from New York City. I was so angry towards the boy who raped her, a Grungie punk. I shut off the recorder and we talked for a while. She didn't seem to need any referrals because she was talking to someone and had a place to receive medical attention. I assured her that if a vigilante group were organizing, I would be part of it. Another young woman reported a rape and that she was prosecuting the rapist. She was not visibly upset but she was also interviewed in a youth jail and the entire interview was not reliable because she was not open to me. All the girls had my number and a few called me frequently after the interviews even when they traveled to other cities.

Field notes

Based on recommendations from a number of authors (Briggs, 1983; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: Mehrabian, 1981; Spradley, 1980), I used a field note book to record observations about all individual interviews. I often wrote about settings, patterns of social relationships, temporal context, non-verbal behaviors, power dynamics, levels of engagement, emotional reactions, general impressions, and procedural problems. The notebook was a way to document small and ongoing conceptual breakthroughs, write

down the unending list of questions and answers after an interview, express my feelings and was a way to spend time when I was waiting for one of the participants or when I was actually stood-up. I used that time to express my disappointment and record the questions I had regarding the content of the most recent borders.

During one of my outreach/recruiting efforts I was arrested. I went to the illegal needle exchange in the Polk neighborhood. I knew many of the street workers from previous political and research work. We were standing in a dark cold alley discussing the groups' reservations about my recruiting young women who use the exchange on Monday nights between 6 and 8 PM when a police car drove up. They confiscated all the clean syringes and arrested us all and one client. I did not recruit participants from this site because the exchange workers did not want to approach new users of the exchange on the off-chance users might be scared-off, especially since the arrest gave the exchange a bad reputation on the street.

I sent out a brief synopsis of the research to all the service organizations in San Francisco. I wanted to inform them of my work since there is a lot of territoriality among youth service workers. I also wanted to get feedback and ideas for recruitment. One outreach worker with whom I worked with politically gave me the name of a peer educator working for the community-based sex worker organization. Robin was my first contact. She worked part-time passing out condoms and providing HIV education to prostitutes. We spoke on the phone and she broke three appointments with me, standing me up each time. Finally one month after our initial conversation, we met at a cafe´. Here's what I wrote about it in my field notebook:

February, 1992

While waiting to meet Robin for the first time, I am sitting in the Nordstrom's coffee shop, a well kept secret in San Francisco- the coffee is only a quarter with limitless refills. The shop is like an atrium overlooking Market Street and up the hills through smaller streets running through the financial district. It's very sunny, quiet and pleasant. The waiter is attentive but not pushy. I am waiting to meet Robin for the first time, she is late. There are young people sitting in the back-possibly homeless, can't tell. They are drinking coffee and water. The girl has a crewcut; the guys have long blonde hair and are very dirty. I am nervous about meeting Robin, I want to work with her, she seemed excited about the project. Should I tell her about my insecurities, ask her questions about herself, just let the conversation flow? Robin sounded as though she only knew the straight world: when I asked her about lesbians and bisexuals she said that would be no problem. She's 25 minutes late, I'll go call her. No answer, fuck, no show.

Later that week:

It's the weekend and the atmosphere here at the coffee shop is very different. A lot more shoppers, older Asian people eating lunch. Not many homeless looking people, the waiter is the same. It will be really "ucky" if Robin stands me up again. When I finally got in touch with her, she said that she had been up late the night before and overslept and usually wasn't flaky. She seemed apologetic. I didn't want to be a jerk but also didn't want to act like I didn't care. I think I'll use color slide film because then the pictures will look the way we actually see things rather than this manipulated stark over-dramatized environment. I've written to five camera stores. It's really exhausting going into the store and getting 30 seconds to tell them about the project and then giving them the letter. Whole Earth Access seems like a possibility. Oh no, Robin is 20 minutes late, I hope she shows. Three gay "street looking" guys just walked in, they're so cute. They're sitting in

the back. I have to figure out some other way to meet Robin. She's 35 minutes late, I'm going.

Two days later....

Spoke with Robin, she's feeling embarrassed about the last two times but "has had a lot going on." I tried to re-assure her that I wasn't going to let her go. I'm sure she'll show up this time. Shit I forgot the cameras. I need a field bag with everything in there: camera, film, tape recorder, consent forms, condoms, bleach, tampons, referral list, HIV pamphlets. OK, she's late. I can't believe I'm doing this again. There is one Punk looking guy with fatigues and a weird haircut. Two punky looking people, a guy and a girl just came in and she was carrying a cane and both are wearing metal studs. She mentioned Larkin Street, they must be homeless. They're talking about going to grave yards, how cliché. It's 11:25, I'm going and then what?

Three weeks later....

Robin and I met from 6:30 to 9pm at the Picaro Cafe´. Finally. I told her about my life, how I came to be involved in this research and how I find myself peculiarly writing a thesis. I asked her to review the consent forms and to comment on the questions. Then, I interviewed her and taped it. First of all, she looks like my cousin, it's very strange. Some of the time it felt like a discussion, but mostly it felt like an interview. After the interview we ate dinner and talked for another hour about Jewish stuff, family, an apartment her grandmother found for her and how she got kicked out after 12 days because her boyfriend was Black and the owners were Russian Jews. I don't know if we hit it off very well. I don't know if I like her or she likes me. I want her to work with me, walk with and introduce me to other girls. I may not like her flakiness. I would like her better if she was the perfect informant, excited about the project and responsible. She seems excited but not responsible and she cops to it.

Ten days later...

Robin and I had the best conversation on the phone. We talked about her court case and how it got dismissed. She met a guy this weekend and was waiting to hear from him. She was nervous because he's her age (which she likes) and he's got his shit together politically, but he still lives at home with his father and he's in school. We talked about ex-lovers and how trying to get back together with ex-lovers is like taking moldy bread out of the refrigerator. and sticking it back in thinking that next time you take it out it won't be moldy. She said she had 6 girls who I could interview. I asked her what I should do if they don't show up and she said she would find them again. Some are homeless now and some are ex-homeless. It seems like it doesn't matter if they are ex-homeless because it is likely that they will be homeless again. There is a cycle of movement through marginal housing to squat to shelter to housing again. Each girl is expecting $15 and is basically doing it for the money and because Robin asked them. I don't know what she tells them, I'll have to ask.

One week later...

Met Robin at Nordstrom's, gave her the camera and slide film. She didn't know the difference between slide and print film. We talked about death and the people we have lost. She lost four people last March; two ex-boyfriends and a great Aunt and Uncle. She seems to be in contact with her grandmother and feels warmly toward her. She said she might call her soon and go to Seder. She brought up Jewish stuff again. We seem to bond on that, though we feel differently. When I was 17. I didn't have much of a Jewish identity either. She told me about the crack dealer who shot her ex-boyfriend in the back and how the other guy hung himself because he felt guilty about a friends' overdose. She talked about the loss and that she was a mess at the time. There didn't seem to be much sadness now. She used to do drugs. Started using IV drugs about 7 months after she left

home because her boyfriend, who she met one week after she left, used drugs. She used heroin mostly, but cocaine and speed too. She lived in a druggy house. All her friends who used to use IV drugs stopped and left her behind. She had a "monkey on her back" spending $25 a day on a bag of heroine. She fixed herself, shared needles and bleached her needles. She was very educated about HIV because she lived in the Tenderloin, but she didn't know about bleaching her cooker and not sharing cotton (cotton is used as a filter when drawing-up the heroin into the barrel of the syringe).

We loaded the camera and talked about what she wanted to photograph. Squats, inside, outside, but that may be a problem because the squat she is currently staying at may be haunted and she may have to leave. She said it would take her one week to use up the role of film, so we agreed to meet next Saturday. She looked very cute today wearing overalls, green tee shirt and matching headband. Her hair is bright orange and cute blue shoes. Can't remember if she has tons of piercings. When we walked from Nordstrom's down Market Street she talked to many people on the street. We sat in Union Square Park, it was pleasant, nobody bothered us. It was a warm day as we sat and talked for about an hour. She said I could call her anytime after 11am and she would arrange a meeting of her friends. This was a good meeting. I felt like we connected and clarified the project. I like her and I think she likes me.

October, 1992

During the next four months I met 5 of her friends and kept in contact with Robin. She would come over for dinner or we would just meet for coffee. In June she went to New York City for the summer. She called me three times from New York. She wanted me to send cameras so she and her friends could take photos of the squats in NY. She was living in a squat on Avenue C and then moved up to Harlem and was staying with a

man. She and her friend said he was cool, nothing sexual, but then things got weird with his cousin or something, I'm not sure what the story was. Robin and her friend were preparing for their GED at the Door, hanging out and enjoying New York a lot. I didn't hear from her for a while but the last time I spoke with her I told her about a conference in October that I wanted her to participate in, showing her slides of the squats and talking about her participation in the project. One week before the conference she calls from Southern California, where her father lives, and told me she'd be up for the conference. She stayed at my house for a couple of days and then moved to a hotel room in the Tenderloin, a gross. gross place. She had some money her father gave her. After her first weekend at the hotel, she called to tell me she met a guy and he has a 9 month old baby and they were all moving to Santa Cruz or Arizona next week. I was shocked but did not let on. I told her that if she was happy I was too and that the whole family should come over for dinner Friday. I ran into them in the Civic Center. She was wheeling the little baby around, looking like a mother and seemingly very happy. Friday came around and Robin arrived without the rest of the family. He stood her up. We talked a lot about how sudden this move would be and I let her know that I was concerned and she knew I would be but didn't want to hear it because it only echoed her own ambivalence. She cried and we talked about what her needs were in this situation and she decided not to go with him. I helped her moved into Guerrero House, a temporary housing situation for people 18-21 who are homeless. They can stay for over a year as long as they get a job, go to school, get Medi-Cal and follow the rules of the house. It is run by Catholic Charities, and while the counselors are usually cool, meaning understanding, sympathetic, they find themselves faced with guidelines which do not seem to work for the people staying at the facility. Robin hated living by "their" rules and also felt shame about living in a "house" and not on her own. She moved out of the

house after about two months. She moved into an apartment where 3 others were living. She was the youngest and the only female. She had a boyfriend for one week, and he moved in with her. I never met this boyfriend, when I talked to him on the phone he seemed obnoxious, but he was soon out of the picture. Robin has now been living in this apartment for 4 months. She has her own room filled with stuff which is hers and which belongs to one of the men she lives with. Two of her roommates are HIV positive and one is dying. This has put a lot of stress on Robin. She was working for about one month where I work doing data entry. She did a great job, but started having a hard time getting to work as her roommate got sicker and sicker. She wanted to stay home and take care of him. She quit the job, feeling that the environment was too "straight" and therefore stressful. She contracted hepatitis A from a friend of hers and has been at home ever since. She seems to be isolating herself these days as she waits for her roommate to die.

I met M in April, 1992.

She had bright orange hair. I have to remember not to be squeamish when I see her infected, dirty, multiple piercing. We met at Nordstrom's coffee shop. Friends brought her because she was new in town and didn't know the location of the coffee shop. She had just arrived from New York City and had been squatting. We liked each other immediately and I felt that the interview was smooth and helpful to both of us. M was initially very self-conscious about her voice because she speaks softly and the recorder annoyed her. She quickly relaxed, we drank coffee and ate brownies. At one point I shut the recorder off and we talked about her recent rape. It was upsetting for both of us. She didn't want to photograph her environment, so we parted ways at the end of the interview and I only saw her once more when I ran into her when I was walking through the Civic Center.

SH made exotic hats. She was wearing one of her creations when we met: a leopard skin hat with black shorts, high top sneakers, many piercings, silver rings on all her fingers, chains as bracelets, thumb-ring chain, very short hair, buzzed on the sides then apple green and longer on top. She's very cute. She woke up 15 minutes after we were supposed to meet at the Nordstrom coffee shop so she called the coffee shop and they told me. Very responsible. Her dad is homeless and works for the Coalition for the Homeless. SH is very articulate and has done interviews before. She is very self-assured and interested in doing the photography. She is a good friend of Robin.

February 1993

I met SH many times since our first interview. She gave me one role of film to develop. Many of the pictures had people in the photo, so I gave her the photos. Most of our connection was making appointments and her not meeting me. Sometimes I ran into her on the street. She was always sweet. She had an apartment when we met, but soon lost it and stayed with a friends and squatted. She went to New York too and squatted and stripped for money. She stayed there six months, then returned for Thanksgiving and planned to return to New York City. She was staying with Robin and with another friend (girl) who was her lover for awhile. She left in January, 1993 for New Orleans. We had a hard time maintaining our connection.

May, 1992

N, worked in a local porn video shop as a cashier. She is a flower child punk. I met her there and delivered cameras and film. She never managed to be interviewed. There was always a lot going-on in her life. Initially she was losing her apartment. Then she

moved back to an apartment in the East Bay where her family lives. She went to New York City too, and stayed with Robin in Harlem and squatted in the Lower East Side. We talked a couple of times when she was in New York. When she returned to San Francisco in December, I met her again. We did an art project together and she told me she was going to college and living in an apartment which was owned by her family in Oakland. I don't see much of her, and she didn't really take any pictures. I hear about her from Robin, because they are close friends.

Today I sold three CD's to have the $15 to pay one of the interviewees. I met TT on the street, she had a pet rabbit and she sat on the street in the Polk with her friends and the rabbit. Last night her squat got busted and the police said they would put her rabbit in the pound. If that happened and she couldn't raise the money to get it out, she said it would get killed. (Her rabbit did die, two weeks later; it got sick.) She seemed drunk during the interview and uninterested in talking with me. She was resistant to talk about the squats, which is understandable since they got busted last night. She is interested in taking photographs. I gave her a camera with film and she said it broke.

It's June, 1992

At least five of the young women I have been working with are in New York. I drove one of them to the airport. The Urban Health Study has begun a study with the National Institute of Drug Addiction. Their study includes interviewing homeless youth. IN and MI were referred to me from one of the people who is interviewing. The people working on this study are my ex- co-workers from other studies I worked on with IV drug users.

November, 1992

In October 1992 I finally met SHL. She is a lesbian. I've heard that she was on the street from outreach workers for six months. Now, it's November and she is no longer living on the streets but is with a lesbian foster mother. She's 15 and sure that "girls fuck their 'best-girlfriends" and don't tell their boyfriends. She could not be a lesbian and be out while living on the street because her physical security was based on her relationship with a guy who was powerful within the squats and on the street among punk rockers. She is punk, but doesn't dress to look punk anymore. She describes how she used to look in great detail and is upset that she doesn't have picture of her blue hair to show me. We met three times before I interviewed her in my house. She seemed very shy. We have since stayed in touch and meet about once a month to have dinner and catch up. She is very busy with school and her family, and though I often ask her to go places she is too busy. In February, 1993, she began training for a peer education job at Youth Advocates. She introduced me to her foster sister, TA.

TA is part African-American, part Native American and a punk rocker. She is 14 and wears a dog collar and chains and met me at my house for dinner and an interview. She was shy and yet shocking. She has come to parties at my house, though we don't keep in as close touch as her foster sister SHH. I hear she has been having a difficult time, and has disappeared for days at a time. I like her a lot, but find it hard to consistently connect with her on a personal level.

M and T were two young women whom I interviewed while they were still incarcerated in the juvenile detention center. Both girls were white and identified as Punks, and when they were not detained, they stayed in the same geographical area as the other participants. The interviews were long, but the borders between us were even

greater due the controlled environment. Adults in juvenile detention are not trusted and youth say whatever they think you want to hear. While that may be the case in all the interviews, I could gauge the difference based on my other contacts. T gave me her phone number and wanted me to call her when she was released. She seemed more available to talk about her life than M. T who had just detoxed after 11 days and was in a vulnerable position. I never saw either one again.

Summary

Fieldnotes gave me the opportunity to address my experiences of the young women, as I met them, after we spoke and to reflect on our relationship. I was able to re-think how I was approaching them, what I was asking and what I could actually do with this work-for their survival. The border between social science or the discourse of reality and fiction, the expression of non-reality is as thick with tension and history as the variety of borders between adults and youth. In some sense, the young womens' side of the story has not been viewed as valid discourse for reality. If we did, they would not be consistently debased by the dominant producers of knowledge. I sometimes thought that I must be off, because the contradictions between the authoritative voices and theirs was so vast. Perhaps was has passed for reality was infact fiction and the fiction was real.

My last chapter is situated 41 years from now, in the year 2035. My story speaks to my hope for their survival. The characters Darlene and Lulu were girls on-their-own in 1993. Their story weaves together the eight theoretical issues which have emerged from my study: 1) there are a variety of youth sub-cultures which girls belong to; 2) the treatment of girls is based on moral codes which are narrow and ideologically flawed; 3)buildings and places have mythology which are important information to young girls;

4) homelessness is a social construction; 5) photography as a method for creating representations of girls-on their-own is flawed; 6) researchers, even if they are women, are not part of the girls' culture and are in fact, viewed by girls as guilty of betrayal until proven innocent; 7) the borders which I have attempted to map are the beginnings of a new epistemological landscape and, 8) girls are really smart and talented.

Chapter 6: The year 2030: Reflecting On The end Of The Millennium

> Fiction and social science are usually seen as very different approaches to representing reality. They have different persuasive rhetorics, they deal differently with evidence, and they offer different kinds of rewards to the readers. (Krieger, 1983, pp. 174).

It was very dark, thank god there were some small pieces of candles we found in the garbage we picked from. The candles were left over from the White Night demonstration - you remember the riot after Dan White killed Harvey Milk and Mayor Mascone. I wasn't alive then, but I remember going to the marches. They were fierce and big and I was thrilled to see all those angry gays and lesbians. In fact, one of those marches was when I kissed a girl for the first time. I'll tell you about that later.

Lulu wouldn't usually go off on these long stories when I asked her about her past. My mouth would get parched as I listened to the never ending ups and downs of running through the streets, trying to stay safe and fed and somewhat clean.

Just the night before the cops had busted a squat we were staying at and I lost my clothes and my favorite music tape as I ran down the stairs, I could barely see in the dark. I felt the hot breath of the dogs that followed behind me. Their barks were so loud in the empty cavernous floors we stayed on. It was all I could hear, and I know Teardrop -that was her street name, was calling to me but I couldn't hear her. I tried to block out the yelps and then I heard someone scream and I heard her fall and the dogs kept on barking and I knew that Lizard had fallen. I didn't know how far down, but at least the dogs were off my trail and I managed to squeeze through where the window was broken. Here's the scar from the cut I got. I didn't know where to go or where anyone else had gone but I heard the sirens coming towards me and I ran. The blood was warm on my arm but I didn't feel a thing. I went to the Emergency room. I walked the entire way and it was late and the buses had stopped running, besides I had no money. As I walked to the emergency room, these guys started following me. I wasn't

scared but I didn't want to fight, but I didn't have much choice. I managed to get one of them on top of me so the others couldn't hit me and after I was pretty tired, they left me lying on the street. Can you believe this happened to me all in one night? Hey Darlene can we stop and have some dinner, I need a little distraction, some Diet Pepsi at least.

Lulu and I have known each other for 30 years and been friends for 20 and she has never been able to tell me what she went through when she was on her own, not really. It seems strange now to think that she was illegal and that all that she went through happened because late 20th century authorities thought that girls on-their-own should be controlled or they would run wild in the streets. I don't really understand their objection at the time, to sexually active girls living away from their family. Thank god society isn't worried about girls being girls and boys being boys anymore or growing up to be responsible adults. Kind of like that old Peter Pan story. I guess Peter Pan was a member of a youth subculture; One where you were kind of androgynous and wore funny clothes and flew around or was that a metaphor for being on drugs? Peter Pans' culture was sweet but he/she knew how to protect herself and her friends from hurtful adults. Lulu's group was like that too and yet she would be running from authorities, mental institutions and sometimes her friends especially after she decided to be with girls.

Darlene was Lulu's closest friend, and though they had been lovers, roommates, enemies, and friends (in that order) Darlene has never understood how Lulu survived during those "Repressive Years" (1980-2010), especially as a teenage girl on her own. It seems that at the end of the 20th century, the moralistic consensus regarding girl's behavior was founded on ideas from the earlier centuries, maybe even 2 and 3 hundred years ago, maybe even older. While there were short periods in the 20th century that seemed to be more liberal, girls never benefited from it. So the problem for Lulu was a self fulfilling code because the strict codes of gender-based behavior supported by the academic fields we used to depend on to guide society and individuals would problematize girls who did not fit into their codes. But the codes themselves were a problematic. No girls wanted to or could behave according to them, especially Lulu. Lulu was too creative, too wise, strong and independent. She had to be, in part because she was so poor growing up and her parents had accents or maybe just her mom did.

Her mom was also strong, spiritually strong and smart and worked in a local community center at the front desk. Her dad couldn't always work, but Lulu still doesn't like to talk about him. He died on the streets around 1997, Lulu found him. They never had any money because neither of her parents finished high school and minimum wage at the end of the 20th century was not enough for people to live on. Lulu left school to work by the time she was 11 and the only money she could make was panhandling.

"Dar, I'm ready to walk Pfanny and I would love it if we could walk together down to the park, it's such a lovely night." Pfanny has been Lulus' dog for the last 30 years. Those new vitamins really work. Used to be that pets only lasted 16 years max, but that discovery in Pretoria really changed the way people feel about their animals. I remember when I was little, around 1980, my pet cat Evelyn had to be put to sleep, I nearly died from grief. Back then we could only put animals to sleep, not people. Anyway, she was so soft and smart and when I refused to go to school and eat and started cutting school, my mother had me sent to a hospital where I went to school and saw therapists. I was very confused and ran from there and met Jojo. He and I would stay in old warehouse buildings. It wasn't as bad as Lulus' experience because we didn't have dead pigeons lying all over the place and crack addicts, squat nazis and junkies after us, but there were some buildings that had their own life. I remember one building that got hot and cold in different parts of the hall. It was really weird. Another squatter told us that a ghost lived there and that a girl had been raped and killed in this building and her ghost was seeking revenge. After we heard that, we left and stayed under a tree in a park. I felt so safe under our blankets and I would dream of Evelyn every night. I never wanted to go back home and Jojo was so good to me. We met other kids who were on their own and they believed in the powers of mother earth because she provided for us. We stayed together like a family for at least three months, cooked together and shared food and drugs. My street sister was my best friend and often she would sleep with me and my boyfriend, I loved her so much. We were all staying in an abandoned warehouse outside of town. It had been a squat for 10 years off and on. There were stories written on the walls inside the building, telling histories of who had come and gone. It was an excellent place and all the bedrooms were already set up.

Pfanny was chasing her favorite stick that night, running around in circles just delighted to be running, running and Lulu started calling her back because she would get scared if Pfanny got too far away. I could not believe how smart Pfanny was, she understood everything Lulu said to her and would respond immediately even if she was smelling the bottom of her favorite girlfriend-dog. One time, many years ago, Pfanny did go off and started staying with a guy who used to live under the bridge. He was about 20 years older then Lulu, his name was Jeff. Now he lives in the Redone District, but during the "Repressive Years" he was forced to live outside. It was bad enough that Lulu didn't have a place to live, but she was illegal, she was under 18. This guy was an adult and yet he was called homeless. I remember adults had something they called shopping carts which was a large container with wheels. Homeless adults would put their belongings in it. There were even vigilante groups who would take their carts and destroy their belongings. People who lived inside were very mean to Jeff and other people they called homeless and this group came to be treated worse then animals by the authorities. Anyway Pfanny was living with Jeff who lived under the bridge. He was a nice guy who lost his job after his lover died of AIDS and was thrown out of his apartment. He started doing some drugs in order to cope with his situation and it got out of hand mostly because it took so much time to get drugs in the underground because drugs were illegal then, but he took care of Pfanny. Pfanny and Jeff loved each other, but according to Lulu, Pfanny found her way back to Lulu. Jeff and Lulu met and have been friends ever since.

When Lulu's father died, Jeff became a surrogate father, and though adults who were living outside and kids who were living outside rarely lived together at that time, they would often look out for each other, especially when the police were being particularly repressive. Mostly Jeff stayed with his friends and they were mostly called homeless too and were outside for similar reasons. It was different for kids, we were outside for different reasons but sometimes we were called homeless too. Lulu said she didn't much mind being called homeless when it helped her negotiate for better living conditions among adults or building managers or helped her get food or clothing or things that she needed. We laugh so hard when we think about ...the camera. She had gotten so good at being a homeless teen that she was able to be in official surveys and University research

studies. Once she was even able to get a free camera all because she was called homeless.

In front of the restaurants where they used to serve what was called fast food, I got two free cameras and numerous meals. At that time, we would panhandle to get enough money to eat at these places and academics who wanted to study homeless people and us would find us there. Sometimes we got a free meal and told them stuff about our lives and sometimes we got a free meal and made-up so much stuff and they never knew the difference. After all why would a smart girl like me pass up a free meal? And that one time, I got a free camera. I guess I was supposed to photograph the places I stayed at, ate at, hung out. It seemed strange to me, but I had a camera and I could get 10 bucks for it. on the street. Next week, I told you the camera broke and you gave me another one and I got another free meal. I was only 15 then and I had a boyfriend with a bad heroine habit and I knew if I wanted to stay at the squat I had to come up with some money for his drugs. I hated drugs but everyone did them. I hated boys but everyone did them. It was part of our culture, drugs and boys and though we agreed that we were open to all types of sex, the boys were not happy when the girls did it and so we didn't or we hid it or we left.

It's ironic that I met Lulu again, 10 years after I had met her on the streets. I was walking my dog Bee and she was with Pfanny and they started playing and as I walked over to talk to the owner which was dog etiquette, I realized that it was Lulu. Some of the girls I met I stayed in contact with, but Lulu was always traveling at that time, visiting her family of young women from coast to coast. There were "tribes" all over the country, working on different political projects, underground magazines, organizing squats, developing bands, art projects, crafts, theater. I guess that's how she survived those years.

One family I stayed with for over a year was very organized because the owner of the building agreed to let us stay . It was better then leaving the building completely empty. Anyway, I did the carpeting and electricity and Soli did the water and someone else did the food that's how it worked. We would produce plays about our lives and about things that were happening politically. One night after one of the uprisings, I remember staying

up all night discussing politics. We wrote some articles about it and they were published in a magazine that you couldn't buy in a store. You had to know someone to get it. I loved doing the acting. I think it was 1995, we did a street play about AIDS and how the government was doing nothing to cure it or stop it. We had Dr. Dimento, that was Chicken-head, wearing a very bloody looking white coat . A woman came to him for treatment for all these different problems, but he wouldn't help her and especially wouldn't help her get AIDS benefits. It was so fucking realistic, Toto couldn't handle how serious we were being so she came skateboarding in whenever she wanted. We were avante-garde performers, but we did it for the thrill of being seen..

I loved having so much time on my hands, but then I also was so bored so much of the time. I hated school but I wanted to learn stuff about theater production and building sets. Everyone in my family wanted to learn something so we just stole books and read them to each other. Dar., you gave me a book once, do you remember? This was before we met again, you gave me some science fiction book. I think I lost it when my grandmother died and my mother cleaned out her apartment and threw out all my stuff that I kept at her house. I liked you Darlene, even the first time I met you, but I had to give you a hard time or else you would have thought that I was a woos. It did take me 20 years to trust you and even now, I sometimes don't. Why do you put up with me? Dar, you're just like one of those people in that book you gave me. There were three women and they didn't seem like they were connected to each other as they moved through the world, but they were very connected to each other through their work and politics and their communities and through the communication of their souls which they weren't really aware of. I think that's what's going on with you. and me.

The end.

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