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Preventative Education for Indigenous Girls Vulnerable to the Sex Trade

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Preventative Education for Indigenous Girls Vulnerable to the Sex Trade

by

Dustin William Louie

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Abstract

Indigenous women in Canada are drastically overrepresented in the sex trade (Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001; NWAC, 2014; Saewyc, MacKay, Anderson & Drozda; Sethi, 2005; Totten, 2009), while the phenomenon is simultaneously overlooked in academia. This dissertation investigated the potential of formal education systems in preventative education for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade. Five Indigenous sex trade survivors and nineteen service providers from a partner organization in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, participated in individual unstructured interviews to collaborate in unearthing the life experiences creating vulnerability, methods of recruitment, and preventative education recommendations. The case study methods of this dissertation are steeped in the principles of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999). Based on interviews, organizational documents, and scant academic literature, the life experiences creating vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls were found to be: sexual abuse, transition from reserves, prison systems, violentization, substance abuse, family disorganization/out of home placements, family in the sex trade, poverty, and poor relationship with services. Indigenous girls are recruited into the sex trade by: gang recruitment, boyfriends, female recruitment, family recruitment, meeting basic needs, substance abuse, social media, and reserve recruitment. Prevention education will be targeted to Indigenous girls from 7-13 years old in on-reserve schools. A combination of teachers, female community members, elders, role models, and service providers could teach preventative education using love, engagement, patience, and understanding. Entire families should be included in the education process as much as possible, which should apply local cultural education and ways of knowing as much as possible.

Keywords: Indigenous, sex trade, decolonizing, gangs, preventative education

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to the Indigenous survivors of the sex trade industry in Canada. The unrelenting courage and resiliency I encountered was overwhelming. In the face of crippling trauma and oppression these women overcame a lifetime of barriers that most of us could not comprehend.

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Chapter 1 – Overview

Indigenous¹ women and girls² are significantly overrepresented in the sex trades of Western Canada (Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001; NWAC, 2014; Saewyc, MacKay, Anderson & Drozda; Sethi, 2005; Totten, 2009). Traumatic experiences creating vulnerability to recruitment for Indigenous girls are exacerbated once the constant abuse of the sex trade dominates their existence. Disadvantages of being within the sex trade are apparent and have negative transferable implications that burden subsequent generations (Ensminger & Slusarcick, 1992). Nimmo's (2001) study identified female Indigenous sex trade participants in Winnipeg to be two to three years behind while in school and achieving, on average, a grade eight education in their lifetime. The factors that cause difficulty in formal education for Indigenous girls are also predictors of vulnerability to sex trade activities, the problems are exacerbated once an altered lifestyle brings the additional barriers of delinquency, truancy, and increased drug and alcohol use in prostitution (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Janosz et al., 1997).

Bingham, Leo, Zhang, Montaner, and Zhang (2014) argued that “Little or no research has specifically investigated Aboriginal women's pathways to sex-work involvement” (p. 443), highlighting the necessity for undertaking a regionally specific investigation into sex trade prevention education for Indigenous girls. The Native Women's Association of Canada (2014) published a document on Indigenous women in

¹ The term Indigenous is used to be inclusive to all Indigenous peoples of Canada. The term First Nation is not used because it is a government definition of ethnicity that is not recognized by some Indigenous people who prefer to not have classifications of ethnicity imposed upon them. Indigenous includes those defined as First Nation, Metis, Inuit, and other mixed raced Indigenous people of Canada.

² Girls will often be used to describe participants and research subjects due to the extremely young age of recruitment into the sex trade.

the sex trade, which appeared after research for this dissertation was completed, clearly stating the need for cultural and regionally specific research into this phenomenon.

Despite the late discovery of this research, emerging widespread data and analysis is a necessity for understanding the pervasive problems facing Indigenous girls. The report (NWAC, 2014) argued, “Perhaps it is time to reframe the discussion of sex trafficking in Canada and greatly increase the emphasis on exploring Aboriginal overrepresentation” (p. 42).

Experts within the field have identified a correlation and causation between Indigenous women in the sex trade and the experience of sexual and physical abuse in early childhood (Kingsley & Mark; Hoogland & Redden; Totten, 2009, 2012). Within Indigenous gangs, female members are marginalized and are subject to violence, sexual assault, and exploitation at rates far higher than their male counterparts (Grekul, 2008) and their female non-Indigenous counterparts (Boe & Dell, 2000). There is an overwhelming tendency for Indigenous women in gangs to get pushed into prostitution and used as sex slaves to recruit new members (Totten, 2009). Grekul and LaRocque (2011) argue that “the sexual use and abuse of women” (p. 133) should be used as a fundamental component defining gangs. Research in this field indicates that Indigenous women are susceptible to the same elements as non-Indigenous women in their social class, but additional factors of colonialism and racism make this population far more vulnerable to recruitment and abuse (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). The pathways to sex trade activities for Indigenous women almost always include extensive sexual and physical abuse during childhood, which is an overwhelming cause of being trafficked (NWAC, 2014; Saewyc et al., 2008; Totten, 2012). Since abuse leads these women into

the sex trade, instead of government agencies helping with the extreme trauma of their childhood, their exploitation is criminalized as prostitutes.

Fontaine (2006) argued that women's issues within Indigenous causes are often eclipsed by the needs of the larger population, ignoring additional and unique oppression at the hands of non-Indigenous and Indigenous people alike. Indigenous women are asked to suffer in silence to propel the male agenda. Frontline workers interviewed in a study by Grekul and Larocque (2011) stated their frustration over the absence of services for Indigenous women suffering abuse, especially in comparison to services for middle class White women. Preliminary investigation of the causes leading Indigenous youth to sex trade activities, gangs, and violent lifestyles highlights the need for prevention strategies, which have proven far more effective than the current reactionary stance of the justice system (Goodwin, 2009; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Totten, 2009, 2012). According to Totten (2009), programs that have been identified as effective require an evaluation by the participants, so best practices can be identified and understood.

In order to establish a model for life experiences that create vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls, I have merged aspects of Hoogland and Redden's (2010) research on *Gangs, Girls and Sexual Exploitation in British Colombia*; Kingsley and Mark's (2000) *Sacred Lives: Canadian Aboriginal Children and Youth Speak out Against Sexual Exploitation*; Seshia's (2005) *The Unheard Speak Out: Street Sexual Exploitation in Winnipeg*; and Mark Totten's research (2009, 2012) on Indigenous gangs. Indigenous gangs have been used as a partial baseline for vulnerability due to the literature arguing gangs serve as a primary mechanism for recruitment into the sex trade. The pathways are experiences, social realities, environmental conditions, and physical challenges that make

Indigenous girls especially vulnerable to prostitution and gangs, as well as numerous other harmful activities. The seven pathways will be used to help construct the conceptual framework for this research. The pathways are as follows:

1. Sexual abuse (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshi, 2005; Totten, 2012)
2. Social devaluation (Hoogland & Redden; Kingsley & Mark; Totten, 2012)
3. Violentization (Totten, 2012)
4. Family Disorganization/Street life (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Seshi, 2005; Totten, 2012)
5. FASD (Totten, 2012)
6. Sexualized femininity (Kingsley & Mark, 2000)
7. Substance Abuse (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshi, 2005)

The seven pathways were to identify the target respondents for this research, selecting those who have experienced multiple pathways, in order to be representative of Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade.



Figure 1.1 Seven Pathways to the sex trade (Hoogland & Redden,

2010; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshi, 2005; Totten, 2012)

Totten (2008) argued that male's experiences of recruitment into gangs and criminal activity is linked with their peer group, while predictors of female involvement are family and home experiences (in Grekul & LaRocque, 2011). In nearly all available studies on sex trade participation for Indigenous girls, abuse, neglect, and substance abuse are considered pathways (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Sikka, 2009), which justify the amendment in this study of Totten's (2012) pathways that do not emphasize the female experience. Grekul and LaRocque (2011) cite Giordano, Cernkovich, and Rudolph (2002), when arguing that pathways tied to gender mean exit strategies tied to gender are necessary. Since this research is focused on prevention, gendered preventative strategies specifically targeted to Indigenous girls are imperative.

Hoogland and Redden (2010), Kingsley and Mark (2000), and Seshia's (2005) models for vulnerability to sex trade exploitation informed the design of the seven pathways in the proposal stage of this dissertation, and took on a larger role once data collection began and the questions shifted away from primarily looking at gang-initiated sex trade activities, and instead investigated all Indigenous women in the sex trade. While available research addressed parts of the research questions in this dissertation, their studies have become partially obsolete, were not looking at prevention through education responses, or were not Indigenous specific. The variables in the previous studies require additional research asking specific questions about pathways, recruitment, and pedagogy to understand prevention specifically designed for Indigenous youth. Totten's (2012) pathways played the most significant role in the design of the original pathways model, but began to take on a secondary role once the research focus slightly shifted. Moreover, the predictive outcomes in the seven pathways are not only limited to the sex trade and

gang activity, similar pathways are found in other studies uncovering the pathways for sexual offenders (Rojas & Gretton, 2007).

The three primary modes of peace education being employed in combatting sex trade participation are as follows: prevention, intervention, and suppression. This study will focus on preventative education for Indigenous girls in Canada. Numerous academics, practitioners, and policy makers have emphasized prevention as the imperative foundation of any successful education program aimed at curbing sex trade and gang involvement (Totten, 2009; Virgil & Yun, 2002). Totten (2012) has argued that, “the best way to address the gang problems in Canada is to work to prevent high risk children from joining gangs in the first place” (p. 239). In order to see an effective method of sex trade prevention established, we need to understand the participants’ perspective of the current programs identified as leading the field. Of the limited number of organizations addressing Indigenous specific issues related to gangs, and even fewer with a female component, most prioritize intervention and gang exit programs. Programs such as these are important, but any strategy for combatting the oppression of women in the sex trade needs a foundation of prevention, rather than reactive solutions.

Of the seven pathways to sex trade recruitment for Indigenous girls being utilized for this research, a majority are outside of the control of potential recruits at such a young age, resulting in no agency for vulnerable children. Sexual abuse, social devaluation, violentization, FASD, and family disorganization are pathways imposed upon vulnerable populations. Education’s only recourse is supporting victims and reporting the offenders when the situation is appropriate. The final three pathways to sex trade activity, social devaluation, sexualized femininity, and substance abuse are also imposed upon the girls,

but education has the ability to mitigate the imposition and create healthier participant views of themselves and societal roles.

It can be successfully argued a better strategy to eliminate the pathways to the sex trade for Indigenous girls/women would be to create education programs for new parents, ensuring children are not subjected to physical and sexual abuse, violentization, prolonged institutionalization, and experience lower occurrences of brain and mental disorders at such a high frequency. This would likely prove effective, but it is not the focus of this research. Totten (2009) argues, “[T]he best way to address the sexual exploitation and trafficking of gang-involved Aboriginal girls and women is to prevent child sexual abuse and implement broad-based education programs to confront sexism and the early sexualization of girls” (p. 147). A wide range of programming already exists that offers services to new parents, without being based on sex trade education. Academics working in the field of the Indigenous sex trade and gangs argue that holistic education is necessary in order to address the entire spectrum of issues facing the youth (Sethi, 2005; Totten, 2009, 2012). Attending to one aspect of the problem will not suffice in dealing with the systemic and generational abuse causing these barriers. This research investigated prevention, collaborating with the sex trade survivors who have experienced multiple pathways to understand methods of building up resistance and resilience for those vulnerable to the sex trade. While this may prove a daunting method of prevention, it is necessary in a holistic response that is often overlooked. “Aboriginal women’s pathways into sex work and experiences working in sex work are a significant gap in the research literature” (Bingham et al., 2014, p. 443). Optimally, research findings and recommendations would prevent this abuse from happening in the first place, but as long

as Indigenous girls are experiencing abuse at far higher rates (Sethi, 2005; Totten, 2009), there is a need for research to empower them to end the cycle of abuse prior to experiencing additional victimization in the sex trade. The term survivors will be applied to Indigenous women who have endured the hardships of the sex trade, connecting their experiences with both survivors of sexual abuse and survivors of Indian Residential Schools (IRSs).

Numerous programs already exist for expectant Indigenous mothers (Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program, Aboriginal Mother Centre Society), violence against women and children (Minister's Advisory Council on Aboriginal Women, Ending Violence Association of BC) and prevention of FASD (Act Now BC, BC Aboriginal Child Care Society) (Examples limited to Vancouver). Despite their mandate being located outside of the sex trade, these initiatives inevitably impact the influence of pathways on Indigenous communities. A glaring gap exists in programs and research related to prevention, specifically for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade and gangs (Bingham, 2014; Boe & Dell, 2000; Boritch, 1997; Correctional Services of Canada, 2002; DeKeseredy, 2000; Faith, 1993; Grekul, 2008; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Juristat, 2006; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009). Moreover, many of the Indigenous girls experiencing multiple pathways to the sex trade are also vulnerable to becoming teenage mothers. Success in preventative programming will inevitably disrupt the cycle of violence for some program participants, and subsequently their children's exposure to the seven pathways; serving as both an immediate and long term response to the vulnerability. Grekul and Larocque (2011) argued that inter-generational trauma extends beyond Indigenous people being severed from their culture,

the older generations are inflicting trauma on the youth of today and participating together in harmful activities like physical abuse, substance abuse, prostitution, and violent lifestyles.

The literature for women in gangs states three modes of gang involvement: 1. women in all-women gangs; 2. women in male-dominated gangs; and 3. women in the sex trade being exploited by gangs (Totten, 2012, p. 80). The third mode of gang involvement, women in the sex trade exploited by gangs, is often overlooked and requires consideration in gang prevention strategies. The number of Indigenous girls/women exploited in the sex trade by gang members significantly eclipses women in traditional roles. Gang prevention models need to expand to account for significant representation of Indigenous girls exploited in the sex trade (Sethi, 2005; Totten, 2012).

Working in concert with the seven pathways will be Dorraais and Corriveau's (2009) four categories of recruitment into juvenile prostitution by gangs. The pathways are the childhood experiences that can predict Indigenous girls who will be especially vulnerable to recruitment, while the four categories of entry are the tactics used in recruitment. Combining two theories creates a more robust understanding of the entire spectrum of who to target for secondary prevention education and what knowledge can support the resiliency necessary to avoid becoming recruited. The four categories of recruitment are: submissives, sex slaves, independents and daredevils (p. xi). Specifics of each category will be discussed in greater detail in the literature review. It is important to understand that the four categories clearly lay out the strategy of gangs attempting to pull Indigenous girls into the sex trade, and should be used to create an appropriate prevention program in response.



Figure 1.2 Strategies of recruitment (Dorrais & Corriveau, 2009)

The theoretical framework this research will utilize is the Indigenous Research Agenda (IRA) developed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith. Smith's (1999) framework is based on the needs of global Indigenous populations dealing with the fallout of oppression and continuing to live in an environment of overt and insidious colonialism. The goal of the framework is self-determination for Indigenous communities, achieved after experiencing survival, recovery, and development, on an individual and collective level. The methods for achieving self-determination are: healing, decolonization, transformation and mobilization. The specifics of how each aspect relates to this research will be expanded upon in chapter three.

Despite the limited quantitative data to provide a baseline for studies involving Indigenous women in the sex trade, this qualitative study will primarily investigate the lived experiences and perspectives of female Indigenous sex trade survivors and service providers. Qualitative analysis gives a voice to survivors, providing researchers and practitioners with the benefit of experiential knowledge when designing preventative education. The need to include culturally sensitive research strategies when working with female Indigenous youth is apparent (Kenny, Faries, Fisk, & Voyageur, 2004; Smith,

2000). The IRA lens can be enhanced by Indigenous feminists theory, which considers the influence of paternalism and colonialism in societal systems of Indigenous women (Smith, 1999).

The main question of the study is:

- How can preventative education be used to address the overrepresentation of Indigenous girls in the sex trade?

The study will use Indigenous methodological strategies that include the community being studied in the process of evolving the project design (Kenny et al., 2004; Smith, 1999). Linda Tuhiwai Smith's Indigenous methodological framework, which uses a circular model that emphasizes using methodology as a tool of decolonization, will be followed. The framework uses healing, decolonization, transformation and mobilization as strategies to bring about self-determination in Indigenous populations (Smith, 1999). Smith's framework is conceptualized for global Indigenous populations, requiring this research to fuse Smith's agenda with a holistic framework for researching Indigenous women in Canada, developed by Kenny, Faries, Fisk, and Voyageur (2004). The holistic framework dispatches specific methodological recommendations for working with and empowering Indigenous women through vital research.

It is imperative to avoid viewing the Indigenous perspective as monolithic, resisting the temptation to apply a single cultural identity. The modern urban centre is home to a patchwork of Indigenous peoples from across Canada, ushering in the development of new Indigenous cultures emerging from the confluence of ideology and lived experience (Envirionics, 2011). Applying Smith's (1999) methodology, at first glance, may appear to succumb to the monolithic, but the methodology was chosen due to a focus on using

research methods as a tool of decolonizing and giving agency to Indigenous people and research participants. The specificity of the methodology is increased with the use of Kenny, Faries, Fisk and Voyageur's (2004) framework, which lays out steps for applying local knowledge in the development of appropriate methods.

Topic and Purpose

In an effort to empower marginalized communities and challenge the current system, one that oppresses Indigenous people through covert, overt, institutional, social, and civilizational racism, the Indigenous Research Agenda will be implemented due to its ability to give voice to a silenced minority (Smith, 1999). Connected research into the topic of Indigenous gangs revealed the significant gap in programs and research responding to women's issues as a sub-category (Boe & Dell, 2000; Boritch, 1997; Correctional Services of Canada, 2002; DeKeseredy, 2000; Faith, 1993; Grekul, 2008; Juristat, 2006; Totten, 2009).

Scheurich and Young (1997) argued that "civilizational racism" (p. 7) places western White culture as the reality of human experience in the western world, with every other culture being seen as a diversion from the understood neutrality, instead of as an alternative ontology and epistemology. James Baldwin gives possibly the most succinct definition of civilizational racism via assimilation:

Assimilation was frequently but another name for the very special brand of relationship between human beings which had been imposed by colonialism. These relations demand that the individual, torn from the context to which he owed his identity, should replace his habits of feeling, thinking and acting by

another set of habits which belonged to the strangers who dominated him.

(Baldwin, 1954)

Baldwin is specifically referring to colonized African-Americans in the 1950s. The fallout from colonization is a similar experience for many marginalized populations in North America. Indigenous women are especially susceptible due to the tendency for societies rare gaze to focus on broader Indigenous experiences, while ignoring specific gender disparities (Smith, 1999). It can be argued that when Indigenous gang members are studied, the implicit understanding is that male Indigenous gang members will be discussed and women's issues are only seen as relative to the male (normative) experience (Boe & Dell, 2000, p. 2). Totten (2012) claims that despite minimal hard data, women only make up a small percentage of Indigenous gangs, but this fails to include the third mode of gang involvement for Indigenous women, those being exploited by gangs in the sex trade. Finally considering these women significantly expands the number of Indigenous women who fit within the bounds of gang activity.

The marginalization of Indigenous women in the sex trade by socialization and oppression (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012) is clear by institutional response (Sikka, 2009) and overwhelming overrepresentation (Sethi, 2008). Research (Cler-Cunningham & Christensen, 2001) has found that Indigenous women in the sex trade are more likely to experience physical abuse and rape, while less likely to have their reports pursued by the police. Societal responses to missing and murdered Indigenous women send an implicit message of acceptance of the disposability of Indigenous women, while creating internalized oppression for Indigenous girls. Occupying the lowest rung of social hierarchy is a consistent experience for Indigenous people, a phenomenon consistent in

the sex trade and gangs. Grekul and Laboucane-Benson (2008) report that Indigenous gangs are marginalized within the organized crime community, while Totten (2009) contend that Indigenous women are marginalized within Indigenous gangs. Indigenous women in gangs are under-researched marginalized populations, within marginalized populations, within marginalized populations. The rapidly expanding use of Indigenous research techniques and methodology to be applied in the field, combined with the lack of research into the subject, leaves a significant need for research.

The expectation an individual has for their ability to succeed in education has been identified as an indicator of prospective sex trade participation via gang for girls, more so than a predictor of gang participation for boys. A study on the gender disparity in gang recruitment found that an expectation of not completing high school established a 20 percent increase in vulnerability for girls, while the same expectation for boys saw only a one percent increase in probability (Bjerregaard, 1993). Bell (2007) conducted a quantitative study that identified numerous discrepancies between the motivating factors for gang involvement, when comparing boys and girls. One such example is the socio-economic background of gang member's families; male gang members are more likely to come from a working-class background, while girls are predominantly from underclass and abusive families. These are only two examples of the contrasting situation for girls and boys in gangs, which emphasize the need to establish additional research that can understand gangs in the female context and perspective. Totten (2012) makes a strong plea for researching alternative prevention and intervention strategies for girls, who have unique needs within the violent lifestyle of gangs. Moreover, since this dissertation is

moving beyond the bounds of sex trade recruitment by gangs, investigating additional variables of recruitment by all predators victimizing Indigenous girls.

Preventative sex trade education can borrow from gang prevention conceptualization, which contains three basic levels of action: primary, secondary, and tertiary (Mellor et al., 2005). Primary prevention declines to focus on a target group or individual, casting a wide net of education and awareness to affect every student. Secondary prevention operates from the assumption that sex trade participation is not random and attempts to target education to at-risk populations prior to expected sex trade recruitment. Tertiary prevention occurs following sex trade activities. Compared with other definitions of sex trade education, tertiary prevention is better suited within the realm of intervention and suppression. Since the problem and purpose statement concentrate on singling out a specific demographic for sex trade prevention education, secondary prevention is the most fitting description for disruptive sex trade education. Totten argues that secondary research needs to “focus... on reducing risk factors rather than on describing variables that cannot be changed” (Offord & Bennet, 2005 in Totten, 2012, p. 212). This research is affixed to establishing a knowledge-based environment conducive to reducing risk factors for Indigenous girls experiencing multiple pathways, instead of simply creating data describing the specifics of the pathways that will sit on a shelf.

McHugh and Kowalski’s (2010) paper on Indigenous girls and body image opted to use an epistemology and methodology that would empower the participants to be genuine collaborators in design and outcomes through using a collaborative design process that include the input of the participants. “Given that feminist research is

grounded in the experiences of women and focuses on the alleviation of power imbalances between the researcher and participant, feminist theory has the potential to support the collaborative processes” (p. 223). The methodology used in McHugh and Kowalski’s study highlighted participant inclusivity in the design process, but this study will go a step further and focus on the *Decolonizing Methodologies* developed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and Kenny, Faries, Fisk and Voyageur’s (2004) holistic research framework, which employ methodologies appropriate for female Indigenous populations that lead to better research and empowered participants. As previously mentioned, the research questions in this research shifted upon entering the field, ensuring the researcher did not monopolize defining the problem and importance of which questions are asked.

The purpose of the study is primarily explanatory, but contains emancipatory elements as well. The explanatory foundation is discovering the connections that lead to the phenomena of Indigenous girls and women in the sex trade and their experiences in youth that lead to vulnerability. Explanatory research has been identified as a perfect fit for case study research (Marshall & Rossman, 1999), since it seeks to understand the processes and reasons for a phenomenon. Examining and collaborating with a service provider that have been identified as effective, while learning survivors’ perspective on pathways, recruitment, and education will produce valuable insight. Yin (2006) believed that multiple research strategies often appear in research and are not hierarchical, allowing the case study method to address explanatory and emancipatory ends simultaneously. The emancipatory element will come from empowering community members to be actively engaged in the process, which will have a positive effect on their interactions with authority and proactivity in other areas (Marshall & Rossman, 1999;

Yeich & Levine, 2006). Smith (1999) accentuated the importance of utilizing decolonizing methodologies to empower Indigenous peoples through research, establishing a forum for survivors to inhabit positions of knowledge and bolster their self-esteem.

Potential Significance

Of the four domains of significance, the research growing from this proposal will have the greatest impact on theory, which in turn influences policy, practice, and action (Kenny, Faries, Fisk & Voyager, 2004). There is a gap in theory in this field, resulting in much of the policy, practice, and action occurring without the input of academia (Bingham et al., 2014; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009). Conducting research specifically on Indigenous women using the seven pathways and models of recruitment will be innovative and uncover new knowledge in a scarcely researched field. The paucity of research on preventative education for Indigenous women in the sex trade makes the development of a holistic theory difficult. Depending on the unit of resolution and the actor in question, the domain of significance will vary. The following is a brief description of the expected significance for each party.

Participants. The participants are the central focus of the research, as they have the most to gain within the study. The hope is that by being included in a research process the participants' self-esteem will be improved. The adherence to the Marshall and Rossman's (1999) domain of action (p. 38), as it relates to stakeholders, is to emphasize the change of concrete situations for individuals. The individual participants in the research design will gain the positive experience of collaboration and will be empowered based on their agency within the study, assuming the research unfolds as expected (Yeich

& Levine, 2006). Knowledge established from the perspective of Indigenous girls who have experienced multiple pathways can shape theory, which has, to date, been developed without significant insight from this population. The partner organization, which will be a leader in the field, may respond to the stated needs of the participants and offer an amended sex trade prevention strategy. A freshly designed curriculum can meet the nuanced needs of Indigenous youth, creating resilience against recruitment for research participants and the Indigenous girls of successive generations. Subsequent preventative education models can build from a foundation of the seven pathways, or whichever pathway model emerges in the findings, in concert with the emergence of local recruitment methods, and pedagogical recommendations.

Scholars. Scholars will have access to supplementary studies that test Indigenous methodologies for research with marginalized communities of Canada. The processes and outcomes of the study can influence methodological designs, while the research findings may provide fertile ground for additional research. Every report on Indigenous sex trade participation in Canada emphasizes the need for additional research into vulnerabilities and recruitment (Bingham et al., 2014; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009), this study provides a deeper understanding of a specific aspect of prevention. The need for research in this field is impossible to overstate, as it is clear that Indigenous women are significantly overrepresented sex trade activity (Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007), which is irrevocably harming their well-being and the Indigenous community, at large.

Policy makers and practitioners. Policy makers and practitioners are poised to benefit from the findings of this study, as it can offer insight into the self-diagnosed needs

of survivors. Despite their reticence to fully adopt the frameworks and methodological tools of Indigenous academics, future policy-makers will increasingly come from within the Indigenous community if the continued trend of scholarship and action continues. The methodological techniques currently being used by policy makers will also be analyzed and compared to the recommendations of the leading scholars in the field, which have elucidated the best practices and offer an example of applied theory within the field. The partner organization has the benefit of exhaustive program recommendations from youth in need of their services. Selecting candidates by using the multiple pathways framework can influence future policy and program development by successfully tailoring education to the life experiences of the targeted students in secondary prevention.

Framework and General Research Questions

Problem

Indigenous women are overrepresented in the sex trade, which is inhibiting a multitude of basic human rights. There is an absence of cultural specific prevention education attending to the needs of this population, despite a clear need.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand the perspective of Indigenous girls and service providers regarding the life experiences creating vulnerability to the sex trade, recruitment methods, and the optimal design of prevention education.

Research Question

How can preventative education be used to address the overrepresentation of Indigenous girls in the sex trade?

Research sub questions:

1. Which life experiences create vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls?
2. How are Indigenous girls recruited into the sex trade?
3. What should preventative education look like?

Limitations

Several limitations were likely to emerge within such a complicated study, most notably, geographic variance in the experiences and cultures of Indigenous people across Canada. Academics and practitioners have acknowledged the variability in the causes and identity of Indigenous sex trade participation and gang activity in Canada (Grekul, 2008; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Kingsley & Mark, 2000), which would lead one to infer that a regional study is unlikely to produce results representative of the entire spectrum. However, a limited study can contribute to the understanding of a single region and provides a framework replicable in subsequent studies. The particular region being studied has a density of Indigenous sex trade activity and provide support for a large population of Indigenous women. Select factors will be consistent across the country and apparent to practitioners treating similar issues routinely, while unique pathways or methods of recruitment may emerge lacking transferability.

The specific organization targeted for collaboration was identified as a leader in the field (Totten, 2012), but has internal limitations based on economic and logistical realities. The influences of service providers interviewed inevitably bias the results based on single geographic region (urban or rural) their clients are from. Moreover, the intervention organization took responsibility for securing survivor interviews, which may result in access to survivor participants being less robust than optimal, which could lead to a limited sample size.

An additional limitation was the inevitability of systemic issues being among the primary source of pathways, recruitment, and generational trauma. An accurate hypothesis would identify the fallout of Indian Residential Schools (IRS), the colonial relationship between settler institutions and Indigenous peoples, and gender discrimination and victimization among Indigenous women, subject? will all be the foundations of pathways and recruitment into the sex trade. Moreover, the lack of governmental and institutional response to Indigenous women's vulnerability and overrepresentation in the sex trade speaks to the historic and contemporary colonial mentality defining the relationship. It would be an impossible task for a single paper to develop a solution to colonial attitudes or the victimization of Indigenous women. However, this research can contribute by breaking down seemingly insurmountable barriers to manageable levels that can accumulate with other decolonizing projects to create transformative change.

An expected barrier the study encountered was the possibility of a male Indigenous researcher interviewing female Indigenous participants on delicate subjects. Totten (2012) contends that survivors work exclusively with female staff in early stages of recovery from severe abuse, but as a researcher I did not hold a position of authority and did not treat any of the participants. Additionally, it was decided that Indigenous women with counseling experience would occupy the primary role of interviewing sex trade survivors. In instances where no Indigenous women were available, non-Indigenous women with counseling experience provided the second option. In no instance did a man ever conduct or attend interviews with sex trade survivors. However, I interviewed service providers in the partner organization, which will negligibly be influenced by a

male interviewer. Participants selected were survivors who have exited the sex trade at least two years prior, and are no longer extremely vulnerable. As previously mentioned, Indigenous women conducted the interviews, and at no stage did I place myself in a position of authority over anyone involved in the process, to avoid recreating any semblance of the imbalanced gender roles experienced in the sex trade (Public Safety Canada, 2012b; Totten, 2012).

The aim of this research stops short of designing preventative education, instead proposing to equip practitioners and educators with indispensable survivor and service provider knowledge to develop inclusive preventative education. Entering communities and earning the trust of the survivors and service providers without a tangible program at the conclusion is a potential barrier, which could have proved a formidable obstacle in getting permission to conduct research. Kenny, Faries, Fiske and Voyageur (2004) and Smith (1999) have all emphasized the historic problem of research in Indigenous communities occurring for the benefit of the researcher, instead of the researched. It is imperative for academics to prove the value of their research to the participating community and ensure the negative track record of academia in the Indigenous community is overturned.

Preventative sex trade research places the onus on Indigenous girls, oppressed and preyed upon by a colonial patriarchal culture, to overcome the lifetime of trauma in order to disrupt the cycles of violence, sexual abuse, and poverty. Requiring the victims of multiple pathways to transcend their environment, instead of placing responsibility on predators or our oppressive and bystander society, fails to attend to the systemic breakdown of our 'democratic' society. Creating transformative systemic change is

absolutely necessary, but outside the parameters of this study. Even though true transformation of Indigenous women's victimization will not occur until the systems and mentality of this country have experienced decolonization, education can provide a forum of resiliency for Indigenous girls bearing the brunt of civilizational racism. The aim of this research was to reveal the essential tools for Indigenous girls who have experienced multiple pathways to navigate societal pressure of exploitation. Hopefully academics will adopt further studies working with boys and men preying upon Indigenous girls. Since Indigenous girls continue to be preyed upon and oppressed at an alarming rate, it is imperative to conduct research that affords methods of actual resistance rather than mere resilience.

Indigenous girls are targeted extensively in sex trade recruitment from a young age. Research studies cite multiple examples of Indigenous girls as young as nine being recruited by their families and gangs, in the schools and the child welfare system, or in periods of transition and the loss of family support networks (Sethi, 2005; Totten, 2012). Schools, family members, police, social workers, and homelessness service providers need to take responsibility for ensure Indigenous girls have access to the same protective environment the many take for granted.

Conclusion

The first chapter established the foundation for the research aims, questions, and methods of this dissertation. A primary concern of the first chapter was to plainly disclose the pervasive problem of sex trade recruitment for Indigenous girls. Moreover, drawing necessary awareness to academia, an institution which has all but ignored this phenomenon. Comparably, the response by government and civil society has been

completely inadequate in most cases. The following chapter will conduct a comprehensive literature review that connects the experiences of IRSs to the modern crises plaguing Indigenous communities. In addition to creating a linear progression towards vulnerability to the sex trade, prevention and intervention programs will be covered, as well as the theory behind their development.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

The literature review examines all the facets of the research questions, starting with the recent era of trauma in Indian Residential Schools (IRSs), explaining how the ramifications are still evident in Indigenous communities today. The second section speaks to parenting in Indigenous communities, most notably the influence of IRSs on cold and abusing practices. In pursuit of the cycle of abuse, an analysis was conducted of the lived experiences of Indigenous girls growing up deprived of resources and family support, stressing the implications pervasive poverty can have on individuals and communities. The subsequent section looks at the seven pathways into the sex trade in Indigenous communities and the methods of recruitment exploited to push women into the sex trade. The final section reviews the attempted strategies of sex trade and gang prevention/intervention education and programs that have been identified as displaying promising practices. Diverse sets of programs are presented in the promising practices section because of the lack of directed programs for Indigenous girls. Girls trafficked by gangs, girls active in the sex trade, and girls sexually abused by gangs occupy foundational knowledge bases in this literature review, as a result of the deficiency of expansive research (Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009, 2009a, 2012).

Early in the literature review, it became apparent that an investigation into Indigenous girls in the sex trade would partially rely on tangential sources, especially in search of preventative education models. By outside sources I am referring to disciplines besides education, non-Indigenous sex trade research, female gang research, and female gang research outside of Canada. One could justifiably argue that resources with additional variables may offer misleading insight, but the limited research to draw from

requires studying youth in analogous conditions to achieve a cursory understanding of the phenomenon and responsive preventative education. In order to avoid falling into the trap of misleading information, implications drawn from related sources focused on a broader understanding of youth vulnerability. One can easily cut and paste the paragraphs from studies on Indigenous sex trade participation, which plead for additional scholars to help fill the glaring gaps that remain in our knowledge regarding the subject. Entering the fray in order to attend to glaring gaps, this research will start with literature on Indian Residential Schools (IRSs).

Residential Schools

It is impossible to embark on any research concerning Indigenous people in Canada without acknowledging the impact of IRSs. It is assumed that Canadians broadly understand the devastation and ethnocide (Davis, 2009) endured by the generations of Indigenous people forced to attend these institutions (Library of Parliament, 2009). The oversight can occur when considering the continued implications of IRSs on the difficulties Indigenous people are experiencing in contemporary society (Miller, 1996). In the interest of brevity, this research does go into the complete history of IRSs in Canada, instead offering a general perspective. The primary focus in this section is the experiences of recent generations of IRSs--the parents, grandparents, and great grandparents of the current generation. It is imperative first to understand the foundational stated goals of residential schools were to “civilize and Christianize” (TRCC, 2012, p. 10³) the Indigenous population. This misguided goal of the church and

³ The TRC reports take up the First Nation experience, failing to address the Métis residential school experience.

government led to generations of Indigenous children losing their culture and identity, all while being forced to endure abhorrent abuse.

The preconditions for IRSs began in English-speaking Canada following the War of 1812, when the relationship between Indigenous people and settlers began to shift from collaborators to forced dependents (Miller, 1996). Milloy (1999) claimed the modern practice of IRSs actually began in 1879, continuing until the 1996. The estimate for the approximate number of Indigenous students who attended residential schools is 150,000 ⁴(Miller, 1996). Churches and religious organizations housed and administered almost all IRSs, supported by government funding and curriculum, lacking significant oversight (Miller, 1996). The aim of the schools was to “civilize” Indigenous people, assimilating them into the Western culture and eradicate the savage (Haig-Brown, 1988). In many cases children were forcibly kidnapped from parents who refused to send their children to boarding schools, separating families and irrevocably damaging culture (Miller, 2001). Initially, the preferred institutions were day schools, but administrators began to feel children could not assimilate while living within their parents’ influence. Schools began to move great distances from the home reserves, cutting off the community from the younger generation (Redford, 1979). Moreover, the pass system, which restricted Indigenous peoples’ movements to the whim of the Indian agent, established insurmountable barriers that resulted in long stretches of time without family contact (Miller, 2001).

The practices of the churches staff and administration in IRSs were sexually, physically, and emotionally abusive. The stated goal of assimilation, while horribly

⁴ The exact number of Indigenous children attending IRSs cannot be stated assuredly because of problematic documentation on the part of schools and a lack of agreement regarding what constitutes a residential school.

misguided, was still not achieved, and saw an even worse reality emerge (Miller, 1996). The schools were grossly underfunded, in some schools the budget was one-third, per capita, compared to non-Indigenous schools (Barnes, Josefowitz & Cole, 2006; RCAP, 1996). The scarcity of funding required children to spend the majority of their day working in the fields, resulting in the students missing critical class time and receiving a sub-standard education (Neegan, 2005). Barnes, Josefowitz, and Cole (2006) claimed that minimal class time, limited resources, abusive behavior, and banning Indigenous languages made a successful education in IRSs nearly impossible, and a predictor of a lifetime of sub-standard education and poverty. The strategic forced assimilation of residential schools was not achieved, but a loss of cultural identity was wildly successful due to shaming, separating students from their families, and the abuse (Milloy, 1999). Students were caught in limbo with the loss of their own culture and the inability of the institutions to offer an acceptable education to become productive in Western society (Miller, 1996). The fundamental oversight was the racist attitudes of colonizers who assumed Indigenous cultures were incapable of flourishing in western society, which led to the IRSs attempting to create generations of westernized Indigenous people. The ensuing loss of Indigenous culture, inability of most IRS s to offer a suitable education, and rampant abuse are the source of contemporary trauma in Indigenous communities.

In relation to the seven pathways employed in the initial stages of this dissertation, the onset of each pathway has a genesis in the IRSs, reemerging in subsequent generations in a cycle of trauma. The seven pathways used in this research are: sexual abuse, social devaluation, violentization, family disorganization, FASD, sexualized femininity, and substance abuse. Due to the abusive methods of IRSs, various forms of

destructive practices entered the Indigenous community and resulted in parents passing on dysfunctional behavior, perpetuating cycles of abuse, poverty, shame, and addiction.

In what follows, the testimony of IRS survivors offer insight into the pain and torment of these institutions. Since any attempt to contextualize or frame the statements in my own words would fail to do justice to their lived experience, I will honour their words. Entire stories will not be shared, instead short paragraphs providing a small snapshot of the activities within institutions and the enduring consequences for the survivors' lives, their children, and families. In 2008, Canada established a truth and reconciliation commission for IRSs. Consequently, first hand accounts of the residential school experience are being collected across Canada and will be published in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) upcoming reports. Since the findings are not yet available, I have relied upon interviews conducted by other academics in their doctoral dissertations on IRS survivor testimony, memoirs by survivors, and an Assembly of First Nations publication with contributions by survivors. The survivors' stories are as follows:

⁵The system was designed by the federal government to eliminate First Nations people from the face of our land and country, to rob the world of a people simply because our values and beliefs did not fit theirs. The system was racist and based on the assumption that we were not human but rather part animal, to be desavaged and molded into something we could never become – white. (Fontaine, 2010, p. 20) – Theodore Fontaine

You know what? This interview is very scary for me. I am so scared but I trust you my friend. I feel weak and very nervous. This is the first time I will be talking about my experience and what I saw happened. Many children were crippled physically and emotionally for the rest of their lives. Many of these children were our parents back then! You know, some children never returned home. No one knows what

⁵ In this dissertation single spaced text will be used for survivor testimony, both residential school and sex trade survivors. The primary reason is to have the testimony stand out and occupy a privileged space in this document. Please excuse the break from APA tradition.

happened to them. Some children committed suicide after they got home. My heart is starting to pound, I feel like throwing up. Please forgive me if I break down and cry during this interview but I want to continue. (Blacksmith, 2010, p. 116) – Cree elder

And the kids that are on the truck, they're all bawling because they're seeing us, you know, screaming and yelling... Of course, they're all crying because we're crying and Mum's crying and I can remember saying, 'What'd I ever do to you? Why are you mad at me? Why are you sending me away?' She was really heartbroken. (Haig-Brown, 1988, p. 48) – Shuswap elder.

I just remember this horrible, horrible feeling because the D.I.A. went to the door, and the two little boys bolted. They went running into the woods, and I will never forget that scene of him running through the woods chasing them, hunting them down, and their father standing there crying, and the D.I.A. dragging them back to the car. (Freehan, 1986, p. 109) - Anonymous

How did I get to residential school was by Indian agents. I remember them pulling me away from my mother. I was six years old. And how they got me to get on that bus was that they said I would see my older sister. And I never did see her. The first day all I can remember, I just cried and cried and cried. They couldn't stop me from crying, even if they told me to shut up and everything, I wouldn't. I just kept crying for my mommy and 'cause they just pulled me away from her. They told my mum if I didn't go, she could get into trouble. (AFN, 1994, p. 39) – Anonymous

I remember my head being shaved and all my hair falling on the floor, and the way they dealt with my crying and the hurtful feeling was with a bowl of ice cream. (p. 22) – Alphonse Janvier

Long hair was often tied closely to culture and spirituality, and after one survivor was separated from that physical connection to culture he was told, "Now you are no longer an Indian. (p. 22) – Charlie Bigknife

I didn't speak any English; neither did my parents. But I had to learn it in a hurry because that's all we were allowed to speak. I remember other kids getting hit for talking their language. (AFN, 1994, p. 25) – Anonymous

I knew nothing but my native language when I went to school. Day one, actually the first month, I was in all kinds of trouble. I didn't know English so my not knowing the English language resulted in my getting the strap almost every other day until I learned. (Nichols, 2000, p. 37) - Amory

A survivor friend remembers drinking with Mr. H. and then having Mr. H. force him to lie on top of his wife as he stood aside and masturbated. (Fontaine, 2010, p. 19) – Theodore Fontaine

Of the whispered ‘God loves you,’ while the priest fondled him. Of the stony silence in the boys’ dorm while the crime went on in neighboring bunks. (Miller, 1996, p. 330) - Charlie

Sometimes what happens is, those who were abused at school will turn around and do the same thing in the community. Don’t fool yourself. There is a lot of sexual abuse in the Cree communities especially between parents and children! Many youth who are sexually abused, in the home or in the community, remain silent, because they are too ashamed. Sometimes they end up abusing others because they think that it is normal. Those who don’t seek help end up committing suicide. (Blacksmith, 2010, p. 128) - Billy

First of all I think our parents and families were more impacted in many ways. Parents completely lost contact with their children. I know when my children are absent from my home it affects me greatly. I can’t imagine how my parents felt. According to my dad, mom cried a lot... We also knew that our dad also cried a lot not knowing where his children were and who was taking care of them. My dad used to say that after the children left, it was like someone from the family had died. No words could ever describe the pain many parents experienced when their children were taken away. (Blacksmith, 2010, p. 122) - Charlie

If you were fair skinned you were chosen to do the better things in school. I was fair skinned so I was always given the solo parts in plays, for example. And I wasn’t treated as harshly as those who had darker skin. (AFN, 1994, p. 26) – Anonymous

I think we had about two hours of school in the morning every day. In the afternoon we had to take turns working around the school doing different chores. Some of us worked to help out on the farm. We had to clean the farm, wash out the barn, help to milk the cows and feed horses. We did a lot of manual work around the farm and in the school. The girls did a lot of cleaning up in the school, sewing, washing clothes, cleaning up in the kitchen and helping out cooking. (Blacksmith, 2010, p. 133) - William

The children were returned at Christmas and Easter only if their parents could afford to pay the transportation [200 miles]. Otherwise they remained at the school until the end of June. (Nichol, 2000, p. 56) – Velma

They would just come [parents], at that time maybe once a year to visit us ... I got to go at Christmas and Easter, but even that – things slowly were not the same as they were before. There was something lost. Although the, apparently, love was still there, I still liked to talk with them and with my siblings, but there was a kind of sadness there. (Nichol, 2000, p. 82) - Paul

I never tried to run away. I was too afraid. I saw what happened to those who did. They were beaten and put in isolation. (AFN, 1994, p. 31) – Anonymous

During the visit the visit with this man, he stated that he 'felt that the harness strap had nails in it because it tore into flesh' and he began 'to bleed all over.' Furthermore he added that he 'had been strapped over 100 times.' This elder said he 'was kept at Sacred Heart school for the next two days' before being 'taken to the hospital at St. Paul, Alberta' where he 'was detained for one month'. (Bull, 1991, p. 69) - Anonymous

After I left school I felt worthless. I had low self-esteem. I felt I was no good. I had many bad memories of what happened to my friends in school, especially those who were sexually and physically abused. I also experienced a lot of physical and mental abuse. Although I was lacking education I knew I didn't want to go back because of my experience at school. (Blacksmith, 2010, p. 128) - Andrew

I remember when I was in Grade 9, and on the way home and Dad said one time... he said, by then I'd already learned, you know, I'd already been taught that our way was paganistic, and heathens and savages and the wrong way... And anyway, I remember my dad once say to me – you know of course in Cree... 'My girl, help your mother prepare for a feast, a meal. Cook, help your mother cook. We're going to have a sweat.' And I remember telling my dad 'Ha! That's so paganistic.' We were taught that the way we lived was wrong (crying) and of course we were so removed from it for ten months of the year. You believed it. (Nichols, 2010, p. 62) – Velma

Since they thought we were savages, they thought they could treat us like animals. We may have been primitive, but we were not savages. (Bull, 2001, pp 60-1) - Anonymous

Some of the hurt was too great, so I just bundled it up and put the little bundles away. Those bundles are still on the shelf today and I cannot open some of them. (Grant, 2004, p. 40) - Rita Joe

It was sad to say goodbye to my friends but at the same time I felt a great sense of relief, like when a prisoner whose sentence is finally over. (Grant, 2004, p. 59) – Alice French

Dad started to drink, and then mom joined him, and then he stopped working, and then there was all this fighting and more drinking. My older brothers got into all that stuff too. Every time I came back, things were worse. My family just kept breaking a little more, until finally, it was all broken. (AFN, 1994, p. 32) – Anonymous

After I left school I was into a lot of drugs and alcohol. I didn't realize how much I was hurting myself, my family, my parents and friends. I also hurt a lot of people I didn't even know. In 1980 I started having severe pains in my head because of all the drugs I was taking. I was also drinking all the time. I was so depressed I became suicidal and I suddenly realized that if I didn't change my ways I would be dead soon. (Blacksmith, 2010, p. 123) - Isaac.

Thus were born the abandonment issues I would struggle with for years henceforth. There was no plausible explanation for my being locked up and not being able to be with my family. My trust in my parents was shattered. It would take me years to understand that trust goes hand in hand with understanding why a loved one does things. Sometimes broken trust never heals. (Fontaine, 2010, p. 31) - Theodore Fontaine

It's like living a lie: you're not really there. It's like being an empty shell. (AFN, 1994, p. 33) – Anonymous

Those of us from residential schools were mentally crippled by the experience and clueless about what we were supposed to be. Most survivors left school in their teens or early 20s, and most didn't live long. They were trapped at age seven or slightly older in psychological, emotional and spiritual age. For many, it has proved difficult or impossible to recover. (Fontaine, 2010, p. 121) – Theodore Fontaine.

I know a lot of the people that were victims at the school, they learned bad habits. They turned into child molesters, abusive people. That's not the good side of us as human beings, that's not the gifts that we got from our parents. (Feehan, 1986, p. 93) – Art

I worked as an educator for sixteen and a half years looking after young offenders 12-18 years of age. These youth were placed in residential care, commonly referred to as the rehab center in a Cree community. One day they asked me if I had attended residential school and I said yes. Right away they asked me to share my experience with them. They were very excited as they sat around, eager to listen. As I began disclosing my experience to them many had tears in their eyes and you could have heard a pin drop. Shortly after most of them disclosed that they felt neglected and some rejected by their parents. I realized then through this discussion many of the youth wanted to talk to their parents about their experience in the residential school system. Most of the youth were disappointed when their parents refused to disclose anything. Some mentioned they had been physically and sexually abused by their fathers or other relatives. One girl expressed that all she wanted was to be loved as a daughter and not to be seen or used as a sex object... Some youth mentioned that they would purposely get themselves into trouble just to get back into the center or even go to jail. (Blacksmith, 2010, p. 129) – Charlie

Residential School's Impact on Indigenous Parenting

The consequences of the imposed IRS era will be examined as they relate to the barriers for contemporary Indigenous parents. The seven pathways are clearly exposed in the experiences of youth attending IRSs, and the fallout discussed by survivors elucidates the methods in which pathways of abuse and shaming are inter-generationally transmitted.

Survivor stories in this chapter gave examples of sexual abuse, social devaluation, violentization, family disorganization, FASD, sexualized femininity, and substance abuse. The IRS experience is often considered in a historic context, but a Statistics Canada report in 2011 (2011a) found that nearly 20 percent of the current off-reserve Indigenous population had attended an IRS in their youth. This section intends to draw attention to the linear path from the abuse and oppression of IRSs to the loss of cultural and parenting skills by the subsequent generations, which has led to abuse and the collapse of traditional families.

MacDonald (2001) asserted that Indigenous families pulled apart by IRSs have lost their connections to traditional parenting practice, deprived of modeling for healthy family dynamics. Looking first at the former, we will discuss the loss of traditional parenting practices for Indigenous families. Next, the impact of the absence of healthy family models for IRS survivors will be examined. This section will end with quantitative indicators of family crisis, which is highlighted by single parent families and instances of children in the child welfare system. Family struggle and disorganization will follow the linear progression into the subsequent section, which focuses on the experiences of poverty for Indigenous girls.

Traditional practices. It is interesting to note that, generally, IRS survivors began their testimony with traditional education practices and family dynamics ubiquitous prior to the stolen generations (AFN, 1994; Blacksmith, 2010; Feehan, 1986). Traditional parenting practices were not monolithic across Indigenous communities, but consistent elements emerged in most survivor testimony, including close relationships with extended family, where the adults taught by modeling, expressing love and affection

(AFN, 1994; Blacksmith, 2010; Feehan, 1986; Fontaine, 2010). A majority of British Columbian Indigenous communities were matrilineal; therefore, children would inherit their status and clan from their mother, closely tying their childhood with the maternal family (Tennant, 2011). The IRS ritual of separating children from their community at an early age and limiting contact (Kipling & Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003) caused a disruption of this system and created a chasm in conventional community parenting practices within Indigenous worldviews. Christian family structures were imposed and Indigenous culture was discarded (Feehan, 1986), but there was no modeling of healthy Christian families within the authoritarian and abusive rule of the IRSs (Fontaine, 2010; Morrisette, 1994). Even if there had been healthy models, the expectation of an entire culture to shift values and practices within a few generations was misguided, nefarious (Little Bear, 2000), and unattainable.

Concurrently, the British Columbian government outlawed the practice of potlaches, (Loo, 1992), erecting widespread barriers in the ongoing campaign to eradicate culture. The potlatch system is a mechanism for redistributing wealth and is a fundamental activity that expresses and models a culture of compassion, altruism, and egalitarianism. Traditional practices were made illegal and pushed underground, across the country; the Sundance, a spiritual ceremony central to the well-being of the entire community (Shrubsole, 2001), was made illegal on the prairies. The disruption of religious and cultural practices had far reaching implications. Ceremony and traditional practices define culture and create a framework for relationships, leadership, and what it means to be human (Loo, 1992; Shrubsole, 2001). Eradicating culture in IRSs worked in

concert with criminalizing cultural practices to shape a generation without cultural and spiritual touchstones and a fractured social structure.

Parental modeling. Modeling behavior is closely tied to the loss of traditional activities for Indigenous peoples. Partridge (2010) claimed that modeling was a central component of Indigenous education and parenting strategies. Instead of modeling based on their family's culture, Morrisette (1994) believed Indigenous youth in the era of IRSs modeled their behavior after "the dysfunctional relationships of the school" (p. 384). Maternal and paternal care in IRSs often consisted of cold and authoritarian relationships, with widespread physical and sexual abuse, shaming and fear (AFN, 1994; Blacksmith, 2010; Fontaine, 2010). Modeling harmful practices is now pervasive in some Indigenous communities, with subsequent generations practicing similar behavior with their children (Nichols, 2010). Research conducted in collaboration with the second and third generation survivors saw respondents identifying negative elements of IRSs adopted in their family as parenting strategies (Ing, 2000).

Shaming is ubiquitous in conversations regarding IRSs, a central component of destroying culture and endured crippling generational trauma (Fontaine, 2010). Bull's (1991) research employed testimony of Cree IRS survivors to uncover current generations of Indigenous youth who have succumb to low-self esteem and self harm stemming from the negative impacts of shaming in IRSs. Morrisette (1994) identified shaming as a critical element of self-destructive behavior in contemporary Indigenous parents, resulting in an inability to offer children a safe environment. The result of insecure environments experienced by Indigenous children can lead to exposure to abuse,

violence, shaming, and an increased probability of placement in the child welfare system (Carasco, 1986).

Looking briefly at the neuroscientific aspect of this behavior, Merritt (2013) contended that epigenetic structures are passed on from one generation to the next. High periods of stress can modify the epigenetic structure of individuals' DNA, which are inherited by children (Bjorklund, 2006). The modified behavior results in a reduced ability to manage stress, with each generation seeing enhanced deterioration (Jablonka & Raz, 2009). The IRS system was both a collective and individual experience of trauma (Fontaine, 2001), which undoubtedly caused the requisite high levels of stress to stimulate epigenetic modification (Merritt, 2013). Epigenetic phenomenon is genetic level modeling; helping us understand the high stress associated with IRSs as partially responsible for continued generational crisis in Indigenous communities. Neuroscience is far removed from the focus of this paper, but the modification of DNA in stressful environments exacerbates the learned behavior transmitted through modeling. Moving back to learned behaviors, the reduced ability of trauma survivors to cope with stress, on a genetic level, should be considered.

Corporal punishment was not widespread in Indigenous communities prior to the IRS era (AFN, 1994; Collin-Vézina, Dion, & Trocmé, 2009), but the following generations saw a spike in physical abuse rates (Trocmé, Knock & Blackstock, 2004). The embarrassment and shame inflicted upon Indigenous children caused resentment towards their parents and traditional activities (Blacksmith, 2010; Partridge, 2010). Upon returning to their communities during summer breaks and after graduation, many Indigenous youth held resentment toward their culture that was framed as backwards and

archaic in their education. Over time, the students modeled their behavior and internalized oppression after the relationships with authority in IRSs (Morrisette, 1994).

Male survivors of IRSs were reported to physically abuse their spouse at a much higher rate (Kipling, 2003). Statistics Canada (2009) has reported that Indigenous women are twice as likely to endure physical abuse from their spouse. In addition, Indigenous spousal abuse victims are more likely to experience multiple violent incidents than any other demographic. Kipling (2003) argued that in addition to the trauma IRS survivors experienced, they did not learn to parent, how to show affection to their loved ones or develop a healthy relationship with their family, resulting in an inability to do the same for their children. Brasfield (2001) believed the fallout is a syndrome. He claimed “residential school syndrome” is afflicting Indigenous people by causing “detachment from others, and relationship difficulties...diminished interest and participation in Aboriginal cultural activities... anger management difficulties... parenting skills are often deficient...[and a] tendency to abuse alcohol or sedative medication drugs” (p. 79). The wide reaching abuse experienced in IRSs continues to expose Indigenous children to irrevocable harm.

Family struggle. The final topic in this section will address two quantitative indicators of family struggle. First, instances of single parent homes in Indigenous communities, followed by the percentage of Indigenous children who have been placed in the child welfare system. Prior to discussing these indicators, it must be mentioned that numerous academics believe the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in care is partially due to racist policies and the ethnocentric perspective of the child welfare system (Carasco, 1986; Trocme, Knocke & Blackstock, 2004). In addition, census figures

of Indigenous single parent families may not be entirely accurate, as Canadian Indigenous people have historically shown a reticence to being tracked using census materials (Galloway & Grant, 2013). Moreover, research has found that Indigenous families lost their children due to abuse at a representative rate, but were significantly overrepresented in cases of losing children due to impoverished living conditions (Gough, Trocmé, Brown, Knoke, & Blackstock, 2005)

In the most recent national census, Statistics Canada (2011) identified a continued discrepancy between the number of Indigenous children raised in single parent families, compared to non-Indigenous families. According to the data, 36 percent of Indigenous children are raised in single parent families, which are overwhelmingly female led households. Non-Indigenous children are in single parent households at a rate of 13 percent (Stats Canada, 2011a, p. 21). In terms of children being raised by a grandparent(s), Indigenous children experienced “skip generation families” (Stats Canada, 2011, p. 2), 2.7 percent of the time, compared with only 0.4 percent for non-Aboriginal children. The 2006 census revealed that eight percent of Aboriginal teenage girls (15-19) had children, compared to non-Aboriginal teenage girls who had children 1.3 percent of the time (Statistics Canada, 2011a). There are numerous possible factors that can lead to a high occurrence of single parent families, but it must be acknowledged that this family structure is occurring for Indigenous people at a far higher rate.

Statistics Canada’s (2011) National Housing Survey has found that over a third of Indigenous children were being raised in single parent homes. The absence of dual parent household is not an assurance of poverty and abuse, but studies have revealed an unmistakable correlation (Drake & Pandey, 1996; Stats Canada, 2006). An American

study (Gelles, 1989) found that single parent families were more likely to experience abusive behavior than dual parent families. The additional factors of colonialism and racism exacerbate the vulnerable position of being a single mother for Indigenous women.

Single parent Indigenous households led by women in Canada live below the poverty level at a rate of 23 percent, compared with 17 percent for single parent non-Indigenous female led families, and 9 percent for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous male led families (Stats Canada, 2006, p. 59). The Native Women's Association of Canada (2002) cited a staggering statistic that claimed 73 percent of single Indigenous mothers were living below the low income cut off (LICO) in 1996, while non-Indigenous female single mothers were below the LICO at a rate of 45 percent. The vast discrepancy between these two statistics is jarring, but what is undisputed is the chasm between single Indigenous mothers and everyone else. Drake and Pandey (1996) found that children living below the poverty line are more likely to experience neglect and physical and sexual abuse. These paragraphs may read like a mixture of statistics, but the most prescient point is that Indigenous families consists of single parent households at a higher rate than non-Indigenous families, and this family unit is susceptible to poverty and abuse at a higher rate than non-Indigenous families in a similar position. In essence, single parent families happen more often and pose a greater danger when they occur for Indigenous families.

Oftentimes, the result of family crisis in the Indigenous community is children lost to the child welfare system. Trocme, Knocke and Blackstock (2004) found that 40 percent of the 76,000 children in out-of-home care were Indigenous, despite Indigenous children making up less than five percent of the youth population. Grand Chief John

Beaucage (2009) announced in a press conference that the current number of Indigenous children in care exceeds the peak number of students attending IRSs in any one year. In Statistics Canada's (2011) housing survey, nearly half of the 30,000 children in foster care identified as Indigenous. Blackstock and Trocme (2005) believe that there may be currently three times the number of Indigenous children in the child welfare than at the height of residential schools in the 1940s. A report by the NCCAH (2010) argued that a lack of agreed upon national statistics makes an exact number difficult to ascertain, but the available numbers show a discrepancy of response by the government. Research by Blackstock, Trocme and Bennett (2004) found that 17 percent of the reports made to child services were regarding Indigenous children and families. Indigenous children were the subject of 22 percent of the substantiated reports followed up on by family services, and 25 percent of the children admitted to care (NCCAH, 2010). This data supports the argument many make that the child welfare system is biased against Indigenous families and puts Indigenous children into care when it is not always necessary (Blackstock, Trocme & Bennet, 2004; Carasco, 1986; NCCAH, 2010; Trocme, Knoke & Blackstock, 2004). Moreover, a research study on Indigenous overrepresentation in care (Gough, Trocme, Brown, Knoke & Blackstock, 2005) found that Indigenous youth are taken from families for abuse at a representative rate. Instead, Indigenous families are losing their children at a higher rate for poverty, unsafe housing or other issues related to the fallout of colonization.

A strong argument can be made that the child welfare system is biased against Indigenous people, but that discussion is not within the bounds of this research. Even if Eurocentric biases were removed from the system, scholars argue that overrepresentation

would still be present (Collin-Vézina, Dion & Trocmé, 2009; Trocme, Knocke & Blackstock, 2004). The child welfare system has been described as the modern IRS by academics and government critics (McKenzie & Hudson, 1985; Totten, 2009a), resulting in an impossible choice for authorities regarding Indigenous children living in abusive homes. In terms of the seven pathways, keeping children in abusive homes is clearly untenable, as children continue experiencing abuse in a number of forms. Out of home care presents a myriad of additional problems that pose a serious danger to Indigenous children, many of which are similar to residential school experiences in the previous generations (Boe, 1998; Totten, 2012).

Statistics show that Indigenous children are being placed in child welfare systems at an unparalleled rate. In addition, the home life of many Indigenous children includes abuse, poverty, and significant barriers to well-being (Totten, 2009). Blackstone and Trocme (2005) argued that poverty is a primary cause of neglect, which has been cited as the most common reason for Indigenous children being reported to child welfare services (40 percent compared to 17 percent for non- Indigenous children). Poverty is often cited as one of the single most prescient predictor of crisis in the Indigenous community, but poverty itself is a symptom of colonialism and systemic oppression. The following section will expand upon the impact of abuse in IRSs on Indigenous parenting, concentrating on the experiences of poverty for Indigenous girls in Canada. Child poverty examination will demonstrate the linear path from the experiences of abuse in IRSs to the deficits in parenting, to experiences of abuse and out-of-home placements, and now to the experiences of poverty in the current generation.

Child Poverty

The previous section examined topics relating to family disorganization and out of home placements for Indigenous children in Canada. This section reviews the literature on the implications of child poverty and the enhanced danger for Indigenous girls. This section will open with some brief statistics on the prevalence of poverty for Indigenous children, which will be followed by the impact of poverty on health and education. Unfortunately, there are only limited studies on poverty and Indigenous girls, resulting in the necessity of looking at data for tangential demographics to make inferences regarding the larger trends. While poverty is the basis for many negative experiences in Indigenous communities, it must be considered within a web of causation and systemic oppression.

The discrepancy in the current statistics on Indigenous child poverty necessitates attention to this pervasive problem. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (MacDonald & Wilson, 2013) found that, on a national level, First Nation children were living in poverty at a rate of 50 percent, (40 percent for all Indigenous children). The two provinces with the highest percentage of Indigenous populations, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, were seeing their First Nation children experience poverty at a rate of 64 percent and 62 percent, respectfully (p. 6). In contrast, the child poverty rate for the Caucasian non-immigrant population was 12 percent. The statistics that pose the most ominous outlook relate to status First Nation children, but all Indigenous children were significantly behind the rest of Canada (MacDonald & Wilson, 2013). Children's health and potential for healthy lifestyles are subject to substantial detrimental outcomes due to elevated poverty. Kendall's (2001) paper on Indigenous poverty describes poverty as the source of unusually higher infant mortality rate for Indigenous people.

The implications of child poverty are wide reaching, negatively influencing indicators of well-being such as, education, health, social mobility (Anderson, 2002). MacDonald and Wilson's (2013) research found that Indigenous children "trail the rest of Canada's children on practically every measure of well-being: family income, educational attainment, poor water quality, infant mortality, health, suicide, crowding, and homelessness" (p. 7). Enduring unrelenting poverty as a child creates barriers to well-being that are difficult to overcome, due to gaps in education and health that encumber transformation.

Health. Linear progression from poverty to poor health for women in Canada has been documented extensively in research. A study investigating the impacts of poverty on health by Cohen (1994) discovered that Canadian Indigenous women are overrepresented below poverty line (56 %), and in single parent households (86%). The data emphasizes the negative implications for overall well-being: accelerated causes of diseases, such as poor nutrition, stress, and difficult living conditions, which are exacerbated by limited access to preventative healthcare and the deleterious effects of losing employment due to health problems (Cohen, 1994). It has been documented that Indigenous women suffer from heart related problems at a rate of more than double non- Indigenous women, almost five times more stomach diseases, and three times the rate of cancer (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

For Indigenous girls and women growing up in rural areas, there are additional risk factors. Varcoe and Dick (2008) contended that limited options caused by poverty position Indigenous women to the susceptibility of spousal violence and the HIV virus, due to reliance on partners for resources, the inability to relocate, and the absence of

requisite services in rural areas. Furthermore, Statistics Canada (2011a) found that the life expectancy gap between Indigenous (76.8) and non- Indigenous women (82) began to widen, requiring additional research to identify the causation of the discrepancy.

Interestingly, poverty was cited as the reason for 66 percent of this discrepancy in First Nation and Métis men and 30 percent in First Nation and Métis women (Canada, 2011a).

Food insecurity. Food security is defined as “access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life” (Campbell, 1991, p. 408). In a study by Willows, Veugelers, Raine and Kuhle (2009), pervasive poverty was identified as the cause of food insecurity in Indigenous communities, which was found in 33 percent of households (nine percent in non-Indigenous). The researchers posited that food insecurity was partially caused by Indigenous families spending government assistance money, intended for adequate nutrition, on housing related costs. Furthermore, the authors stressed the need for qualitative research to understand the perspective of Indigenous families experiencing food insecurity. Power (2008) believed that diet-related diseases, which are increasing in Indigenous communities, must be a priority in food security related research. The tendency, when discussing food security, is to only consider the lack of food within the household, but the quality and nutritional value should not be overlooked (Power, 2008). The health implications for children who live in a food insecure environment are substantial. A study in Manitoba (Moffat, 1995) found that nearly half of the Indigenous children in certain regions are malnourished to the point of developmental hazard. In many cases health problems for Indigenous children begin with nutritional deficiencies during pregnancy (Moffatt, 1995), creating barriers prior to birth.

Indigenous people have experienced food insecurity for generations. A recent report in the *Globe and Mail* unearthed government practices of denying Indigenous students in IRSs dietary staples and selected vitamins to study the devastating effects of an unbalanced diet (Weber, 2013) and the negative physiological and psychological effects of poor nutrition. Dietary related disease is still prevalent in Indigenous communities and poses a serious threat to overcoming crisis. The expanding threats of food insecurity in Indigenous communities caused by poverty are creating additional barriers to well-being and therefore increasing Indigenous girls' vulnerability.

Suicide. Poverty establishes an environment conducive for devastating and destructive behavior. Suicide among Indigenous youth occurs at an unprecedented rate. MacNeil (2008) uncovered geographic variation in suicide rates, with some regions of Indigenous peoples experiencing a rate 35 times higher than the non-Indigenous average. Nationally, MacNeil (2008) cites data claiming Indigenous women 15-24 years old commit suicide at a rate of "35 per 100,000 compared to 4 per 100,000 for non-Aboriginal women" (p. 5). In both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations of Canada, the female rate of suicide is far higher than that of males. The Indigenous female instances of suicide are higher than any demographic, with an additional six to eight unsuccessful suicide attempts recorded for every successful attempt.

Bagley (1991) and Sigurdson, Staley, Matas and Hildahl (1994) found a significant correlation between poverty and suicide rates when studying the life histories of suicide victims from Indigenous communities. Kirmayer (1994) is cited in Cutcliffe (2005) as stating that common pathways to suicide are: "Frequent interpersonal conflict, prolonged or unresolved grief, chronic family instability, depression, alcohol

dependence/misuse, and a family history of a psychiatric disorder” (p. 143). These experiences are similar to the symptoms exhibited by IRS in the previous section and the seven pathways in this research. Consequently, one can presume traumatic experiences and learned behavior are intergenerational. Malchy, Enns, Young and Cox, (1997) identified “social change, poverty, alcohol abuse, family violence and access to firearms” (p. 1134) as predictors of suicide in Indigenous populations. In light of the pathways to suicide presented in the myriad of studies, it is not surprising that Indigenous suicide rates far exceed non-Indigenous populations as this community has been experiencing these pathways for generations due to the fallout of the IRS era. A Canadian study (Brezo et al., 2008) found that suicide rates have been closely linked to experiences of sexual abuse in childhood, creating additional vulnerability for Indigenous girls.

Citing poverty as the primary pathway to suicide may not reveal the entire problem, as poverty is tied to experiences of hopelessness that expand beyond access to resources. Research has shown (Stewart, Sherry, Comeau, Mushquash, Collins, & Van Wilgenburg, 2010) that hopelessness in Indigenous youth populations includes: pessimism for the future, feelings of worthlessness (individual and communal), depression, extreme sadness, loss of interest and a tendency to abuse drugs and alcohol (p. 2). Poverty, as a pathway to suicide, is closely linked with an individual’s value on his or her own life, and hope for the future. Chandler and Lalonde (2008) contended that a positive connection between the individual and the communal identity is essential to reducing the number of suicide attempts within Indigenous communities. Interestingly, the Indigenous voice is often silenced within suicide research and prevention (Cutcliffe, 2005). Most of the available findings are quantitative and attempt to look back at the life

histories of victims who have committed suicide, instead of talking to those who have attempted suicide or exhibited signs of depression.

Poverty and education. Lack of success in education continues to be a major barrier for Indigenous people attempting to break the cycle of poverty and abuse. MacDonald and Wilson (2013) believed the root of poverty in Indigenous communities is access to education, availability of employment, and enduring racism. The effects of poverty on access to, and success within, education have been irrefutably presented over the years (MacDonald & Wilson, 2013; Spergel & Grossman, 1997; Totten, 2012; Ward & Bouvier, 2001). Kohen, Brooks-Gunn, Leventhal and Hertzmen (2002) conducted a study supporting the correlation between children who grow up in low-income neighborhoods and poor development in language and behavior. Disparities in language and behavior are key predictors of poor educational achievement in impoverished communities, which continue the vicious cycle of poverty. Lavin (1995) argued that poverty is a great barrier to education, while education is the best opportunity to break the cycle of poverty. At the same time, Lavin (1995) believed that schools should not be solely responsible for untangling generations of systemic oppression, but they have the best available forum to address historical inequities. The dichotomy of barrier and tool between education and poverty creates a paradox that needs attention if one of the primary modes of oppression is going to be dismantled.

In 2006, the Indigenous population of Canada, from 20-24 years old, had completed high school at a rate of 60 percent, compared with 87 percent of the non-Indigenous population (Canadian Council on Learning, 2009). In terms of Indigenous women in 2006, 65 percent of the population 25 years and older had completed high

school, while the non- Indigenous population in the same demographic had an 80 percent completion rate (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Follow up questions by Statistics Canada (2011a) found that 23 percent of Indigenous women dropped out to take care of children and 17 percent because of boredom (p. 35). Poverty is not directly acknowledged in the survey, but the connections between experiences of poverty and high teen pregnancy rates in Indigenous populations appear in another section of the Statistics Canada's (2011a) community profile.

Indigenous women are experiencing slightly better results in all levels of education, compared to Indigenous men (Statistics Canada, 2011a), but there remains a significant separation from the non- Indigenous population. It is important to understand the role poverty plays in the gaps of educational attainment. Lavin (1995) stated that poverty is the best available predictor of “how much schooling students will obtain, how well they will do at their studies, and what their life prospects beyond school are” (p. 212). The statistics given at the start of this section clearly display the high instances of poverty in Indigenous communities, which influence the educational attainment of the entire population. In order to elucidate poverty's barriers to education, Levin (1995) quotes McLoyd and Wilson's (1990):

Individuals who are poor... are confronted with an unremitting succession of negative life events (eviction, physical illness, criminal assault) in the context of chronically stressful, ongoing life conditions such as inadequate housing and dangerous neighborhoods which, together, markedly increase exigencies of day-to-day existence. (pp. 49-50)

The life experiences of Indigenous girls clearly inhibit their ability to succeed in education at a comparable rate to the non- Indigenous population.

Research related to Indigenous girls in poverty is limited, so it is unknown how it uniquely affects their experiences in education. Levin and Riffel's (2000) study looked at several schools' responses to child poverty, with one of the selected institutions being an Indigenous school. Within the study there is no direct mention of the experiences of girls, but there is insight into the influence of poverty on students in reserve communities. Parents did not all have access to water in their homes, and stated that they could not send their children to school in this condition. In response to overwhelming poverty, this district implemented lunch and clothing programs to reduce the disparity. There were no discussions regarding poverty in community meetings held during the period of the study. The researchers attributed the lack of discussion to the pervasiveness of the problem, participants' regarded poverty as ubiquitous and permanent. In this study, it is interesting to note that the school was the primary employer in the community.

The implications of child poverty on the well-being of Indigenous girls is unmistakable. As mentioned in chapter one, boys recruited into gangs tend to come from middle class households, while girls who are recruited into the sex trade come from impoverished and abusive homes (Bell, 2007). Indigenous girls are especially susceptible to the barriers created by poverty and bear much of the burden as single parents. It is imperative to be cognizant of the cycles of poverty and abuse, which create vulnerability to sex trade recruitment and activity.

Indigenous Women and Oppression

In traditional Indigenous communities women held prominent political and social positions that were not limited by their gender (TRC, 2015), in stark contrast to most Western nations at the time. The loss of communal traditions, structures, and rites in the IRS era negatively impacted the role of women in Indigenous communities, mirroring the oppressive Western system. Not only did Indigenous women lose their respected position within Indigenous structures, non-Indigenous communities treated this population as sub-human, a socialization that has maintained to this day and manifested in their treatment in systems of education, health care, and policing (Battiste, 2013; Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton, 2004; Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts & Johnson, 2007). Historically, Indigenous women have been marginalized in the feminist movement by middle class White women, while having their interests relegated by men monopolizing leadership of Indigenous movements (St. Denis, 2013). Some Indigenous scholars (Monture-Angus, 1995) contend that accepting a place in feminism means relinquishing or disavowing the valued position women hold in Indigenous communities. Patriarchy, in their perspective, is a fundamental aspect of colonization, which cannot be addressed for Indigenous women through feminist principles alone. The loss of power and agency amidst the shifting landscape of race and gender has created an environment of unparalleled vulnerability for Indigenous women.

St. Denis (2013) argued that despite Indigenous communities' traditional gender balance, Western forces of socialization irrevocably impact internalized oppression and unrelenting external misogyny. Indigenous traditions, in some instances, have been reimagined in the form of patriarchal mechanisms created in the likeness of Western colonizers, all the while being shrouded under the misleading cloak of authenticity.

Social devaluation and sexualized femininity are two pathways predicted to create vulnerability to the sex trade, based on the literature review of this dissertation. The intentional destruction of Indigenous culture and community through residential schools and oppressive laws banning ceremony (Loo, 1992; Shrubsole, 2001) debilitated relative gender balances, creating a predatory environment for Indigenous girls and women. The impact of misogyny has fallen on the shoulders of Indigenous women at an unparalleled rate, perhaps due to their positioning at the crossroads of racist and sexist traditions of colonial hegemony. Indigenous women experience domestic violence, physical abuse, and murder at more than four times the rate of non-Indigenous women (Brownridge, 2008). Gilchrist (2010) argued that despite the significant overrepresentation, Indigenous women as victims of violence are overlooked by media due to a “devaluation of Aboriginal womanhood” (p. 373) and socialization to privilege non-Indigenous women. Overwhelming physical and structural oppression of Indigenous women based on gender dynamics are clearly informed by the destruction of the residential school era and the ongoing colonial mentality of societal institutions.

Residential Schools to Pathways

The historical foundations of the seven pathways have clearly been established thus far in the literature review. Sexual abuse, social devaluation, violentization, family disorganization, FASD, sexualized femininity, and substance abuse have all been traced back to destructive experiences in IRSs and the ensuing trauma. Despite some models for predictive pathways originating from tangential communities or areas of recruitment, the application for sex trade vulnerability is apparent. Locating the origins of pathways to the sex trade in residential schools means identifying colonization as a primary factor in

vulnerability. The implications of colonization need not be limited to historical institutions, instead, unpacking the contemporary manifestations of colonial frameworks in schools (Battiste, 2013), healthcare (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton, 2004), the justice system (Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts & Johnson, 2007), and a myriad of central institutions, highlights to pervasive nature of colonization. Although outside of the direct purview of this research, decolonizing institutions in Canada is imperative for sustainable healing, development, and self-determination to occur. Success in sex trade prevention education will have limited implications if colonial mentalities and structures remain as the prevailing ideology, consciously or unconsciously.

Identifying the life experiences that create vulnerability to the sex trade is only half of the objective of this research, the second half being recruitment methods, which will be addressed in the following sections. Despite sex trade activities landing outside of the direct focus of this research, some aspects of sex trade participation will be included to highlight the overwhelming trauma and abuse endured by Indigenous girls.

Indigenous Women in the Sex Trade

Two aspects of the sex trade are examined in this section, the recruitment into the sex trade and trafficking of Indigenous women. Sources vary on the percentage of Indigenous women involved in the sex trade that have been recruited, abused or trafficked (Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009), and there is a crossover between girls and women working in the sex trade and girls and women who are trafficked, but it should not be assumed that all trafficked women began by consensually working in the sex trade. More to the point, since most Indigenous women in the sex trade were recruited as minors, they cannot be considered willing participants in the first place

(Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). The tendency to blame the victims of abuse and oppression when they are pushed into the sex trade is an abhorrent practice limiting widespread support of victims.

Sikka (2009) argued that poverty-ridden areas are often considered criminalized spaces, which results in the innocent inhabitants growing up in those spaces being viewed as complicit to their abuse by a mere presence in such neighborhoods. Victim blaming is aligned with Horkheimer's (1972) three assumptions of critical theory, which state that Western democracies are inherently unequal places that privilege certain groups. In addition, Horkheimer (1972) argues that inequality is normalized through institutional racism and socialization that hides and normalizes oppression. Viewing Indigenous girls growing up in violent and dangerous neighborhoods as complicit in their own oppression is a defence mechanism for the privileged to maintain their delusion of equality in Canada. Academics and researchers need to view prostitution as arcs in the cycle of abuse that perpetuates in Indigenous communities through sexual, physical, and emotional violence, and is normalized through socialization, racism, and oppression (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012; Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2009; Totten, 2012).

Within the limited field of academic research on Canadian Indigenous women in the sex trade, most of the reports rely on Seshia's (2005) study that focused on street exploitation of women in Winnipeg, and Kingsley and Mark's (2000) study on the exploitation of Indigenous children and youth across Canada. The Kingsley and Mark (2000) study did not focus on education, instead developing wider policy related findings that called for national roundtables, youth driven projects, youth networks, and a national campaign. Even though Seshia's study researched all exploited women in the streets of

Winnipeg, the percentage of Indigenous women working in the visible sex trade in this region varies from 60-90 percent, depending on the source (Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2009; Sisha, 2005), keeping in mind that the female Indigenous population of this area was approximately five percent (Sishia, 2005). Saewyc's research found that Indigenous girls represent up to half of the sexually exploited street youth in British Columbia. Regardless of the region, the overrepresentation of Indigenous girls in the sex trade is staggering. The additional information regarding the extremely young age of recruitment into the sex trade establishes the state of emergency our society currently inhabits.

The limited information available regarding Indigenous girls affiliated with gangs in the sex trade is attributed to the inability of women to access services after escaping gangs because they fear being recognized by gang affiliates and forcibly taken back to the streets (Hoogland & Redden, 2010). It is difficult for these women to escape, as they are often cycled through a number of cities where they have no friends or family (Hoogland & Redden, 2010). Moreover, accessing public services can be problematic due to their criminal records (Sikka, 2009). Regardless of the city of confinement, many of the girls are lacking support systems in the first place (Totten, 2012), which is frequently the impetus for vulnerable to recruitment. In the past, it was primarily Indigenous gangs recruiting Indigenous girls, but recently informants have identified Somali and Asian gangs as becoming more active in recruitment (Sethi, 2007).

In Seisha's (2005) study on street sexual exploitation in Winnipeg, she highlighted the common factors leading to exploitation: poverty; colonialism; multiple care homes; childhood abuse; substance dependency; sexism; peer pressure; generational

sexual exploitation; low self esteem. Kingsley and Mark (2008) investigated sexual exploitation of Indigenous youth and found that the following pathways create vulnerability for Indigenous girls: systemic fragmentation of culture, fragmentation of families, lack of higher education, lack of traditional employment opportunities, poverty, physical, sexual and emotional abuse, lack of role models, substance abuse, homelessness, health risks, media stereotypes, over-representation in the judicial system, racism, gender issues, lack of resources, and self esteem (p. 12). The commonalities between the pathways to gangs and prostitution are apparent, giving additional justification to combining the research of recruitment into gangs and the sex trade. The fundamental reason for combining the research of recruitment into the sex trade and recruitment into gangs is the tendency of the women's positions in gangs to be heavily associated with the sex trade (Totten, 2012). In most instances, gang members recruit young girls specifically for the sex trade, and in others they develop personal relationships before being pushed into the sex trade or trafficked by the gangs (Farley, 2005; Scrim, 2010). Prominent recruiting strategies employed by gangs align with the seven pathways into sex trade, as gangs recognize the girls experiencing these pathways are especially vulnerable to recruitment.

Methods of Recruitment

The seven pathways to sex trade participation developed for the proposal of this research are: sexual abuse; social devaluation; violentization; family disorganization;; FASD; sexualized femininity, and substance abuse. The perpetrators of sexual abuse and violentization are often also responsible for recruiting girls into the sex trade (boyfriends, fathers, brothers, and uncles) (Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009, 2012), or relatives who have

endured similar abuse (sisters, brothers, mothers, aunts and friends) (Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009).

Indigenous girls, at an unparalleled rate, are indoctrinated into the sex trade by experiencing and witnessing violence, sexual abuse, and addiction. Totten (2012) maintained that almost all of the women in his studies “reported that family members had got them involved in the sex trade around the age of ten or twelve” (p. 162). The substantial influence of families, in these case, have either pushed girls into the arms of predators or family members have directly recruited (Dorrais & Corriveau, 2009; Totten, 2012). Enduring abuse is not only making girls vulnerable to recruitment, it is serving as the recruitment process itself.

Prolonged institutionalization is also a pathway that serves as an environment of recruitment (Sikka, 2009; Totten, 2009a). Totten (2009a) identifies institutionalization within the child welfare system and youth detention centers as the cause of vulnerability and an avenue of recruitment. The life history of an Indigenous woman speaks to this phenomenon, which includes her earliest exposure to pimps and the sex trade while in a group home (Totten, 2012). Exploitation in the system is not uncommon, which exacerbates the prior experiences of abuse many of the youth enter the system having already endured (Monture, 1989). Sikka (2009) contended that “the child welfare system has also been heavily implicated in creating the conditions for girls’ entry into the sex trade” (p. 11). Within the youth justice system, research has identified detention centres as being prime recruiting grounds for Indigenous youth into gangs (Nefkh, 2002), while Boe and Dell (2000) identified that female inmates in the justice system tend to be overrepresented by Indigenous people who have experienced serious abuse. The child

welfare and youth detention systems have been identified as channels of abuse for Indigenous girls, and providing an environment for recruitment into the sex trade and gangs (Totten, 2012). Totten (2009a) argued that the child welfare system has partially replaced IRSs, since one in ten Indigenous youth are within the system, in contrast with the one in two hundred non-Indigenous youth.

Research has identified hotbeds of recruitment into the sex trade for Indigenous girls. Sethi (2007) contended that the margins of schools are patrolled by gang recruiters to lure girls as young as ten using flashy cars, gifts, money, and drugs. Most academics agree that girls in this demographic cannot comprehend the consequences of their actions (Sethi, 2007). Schools, in these cases, are negligent in a critical opportunity to provide a safe haven and meaningful preventative education. In addition, the streets, hitchhiking, the internet, and strip clubs have been identified as areas gangs typically recruit Indigenous girls into the sex trade (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2012). Grekul and Larocque (2011) emphasized transition periods as especially vulnerable, which can include leaving home, urbanizing, and ending a relationship.

Dorais and Corriveau (2009) have conceptualized four categories of recruitment into juvenile prostitution (non-Indigenous specific), which are not the same as pathways, but instead a combination of the methods of recruitment. The four categories are: submissives, sex slaves, independents and daredevils (p. xi). Overwhelmingly, submissives are the largest category of recruits, preying on the vulnerability of isolated underage girls by creating dependency (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). Sex slaves are women who are trafficked into the sex trade against their will, which has been explored in a paper by Sethi (2007). It is difficult to give firm numbers on the prevalence of trafficked

girls, but Sethi (2007) stated that Indigenous women are grossly overrepresented.

Submissives are girls who are emotionally dependent on a boyfriend or family member (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). Independents enter due to the lure of money, access to resources, and the perceived glamour of a decidedly unglamorous life. Dorais and Corriveau (2009) identified daredevils as girls who enter the sex trade for thrill and adventure. The final two categories, independents and daredevils, are uncommon and women who enter the sex trade in these categories can quickly become submissives or sex slaves once predators gain control over them.

The vulnerabilities and isolation experienced by submissives is often caused by a confluence of the seven pathways (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). Submissives are almost always runaways, who tend to lack an emotional or financial support network. Predators provide, what appears to be, a safe space and caring spaces, using a tactic called “love bombing”, which stresses extreme affection and gift giving. Once the young girls become emotionally or substance dependent, predators begin demanding repayment for the gifts and drugs.

Within the “love bombing” phase predators, most often gang members, often create a drug dependency for recruitment targets (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009; Totten, 2009a, 2012). In some cases the girls get hooked using deception, by lacing cigarettes and marijuana with heavier drugs, like cocaine and heroin (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). An Indigenous gang member reported love bombing girls by creating addiction, then locking them in a room for days, until the target would submit to his authority (Totten, 2009a). In Sikka’s (2009) study, several participants claimed that gangs were increasingly governing the sex trade, due to their monopoly of the drug market. Upon

becoming addicted, girls perceived no other recourse but to enter the sex trade to repay their balance with dealers.

A number of the research studies on sex trade recruitment illuminate a tactic used in female initiation, “gang bangs” (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Totten, 2009). Most boys entering gangs are forced to do “minutes” (Totten, 2012), which requires new members to take a beating for several minutes from multiple gang members, an experience that some do not survive (Totten, 2009a). Unlike males, females are typically not given the option of initiation and the experience is more accurately a sexual assault by multiple gang members. Even when the appearance of consent is given, these girls are scarcely teenagers, and most often younger than that. Studies on the female gang participation emphasize the use of “gang bangs” as the primary method of initiation for girls, but only Dorais and Corriveau (2009) attempt to probe deeper into the application and subsequent fallout of this abhorrent strategy.

In *Girls and Gangs: Understanding Juvenile Prostitution*, Dorais and Corriveau (2009) argued that the initiation strategy is used for dual purposes. First, the extreme trauma experienced by the girls numbs them, emotionally, for work in prostitution. Numerous personal histories of women who have endured this abuse discuss how these events created such elevated trauma that it emotionally separated them from their bodies. Combined with the previous abuse they endured as children, this final step is meant to shatter the girls’ self worth and identity. The second purpose is aimed at the boys who perpetrate these acts. The gang’s leadership encourages the younger members to participate, intending to create disdain for these girls and help the young boys view them as merely sexual objects. Younger members are required to serve the girls’ pimps.

Established members of the gangs create an environment of extreme abuse to ensure the sub-human treatment continues as they are transitioned into the streets (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009).

The comparison of doing “minutes” and being “gang banged” is a perfect representation of the distorted gender roles within gang life. Totten (2012) argued that hyper masculine and sexualized femininity dominate gang relationships, and these initiation practices serve as both a representation and a cause of these abusive gender identities. The use of Dorais and Corriveau’s (2009) four categories can further illuminate the requirements of sex trade prevention for Indigenous girls. The design of the seven pathways can illustrate the prior conditions often occurring in girls who are susceptible to sex trade recruitment. Dorais and Corriveau’s four categories can add the understanding of the methods and relationships involved in recruitment, which can combine to highlight the optimal preventative education for Indigenous girls.

Indigenous Women in Gangs

Incorporating a section on Indigenous women in gangs may seem peculiar for a dissertation on sex trade prevention. The necessity of including Indigenous girls in gangs is due to gangs being so heavily involved in recruitment into the sex trade, and the fact that dating a gang member or having any gang affiliation places Indigenous women in constant danger of recruitment. The first paragraphs of this section will present the traditional understanding of gang membership for Indigenous women, which is far from the contemporary view this paper is adhering to. According to the minimal research available, the number of women occupying traditional roles within gangs is marginal compared to those in the sex trade (Totten, 2012). Available research on Indigenous

gangs in Canada was deemed ‘nonexistent’ by Grekul in a 2008 paper on the subject. Since 2008 there has been some new academic research, notably the work by Totten (2009;2012), which has unearthed aspects of the Indigenous male experience in gangs, but there is still a major gap in the understanding of female’s roles within the hierarchy. This discrepancy remains despite the growth of understanding related to Indigenous gangs, mostly due to the pioneering work of Mark Totten.

In *Nasty, Brutish, and Short*, Totten (2012) listed three levels of involvement for women in gangs: women in all-women gangs; women in male dominated gangs; and women in the sex trade. The number of women as active members in traditional gangs is low (Hoogland & Redden, 2010), some females take on roles as lookouts or low level drug dealing (Totten, 2019a). Women indirectly affiliated or women dating gang members are constantly in danger of being sexually assaulted and used as sexual objects by multiple gang members (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009). According to Dorraais and Corriveau (2009), girls in gangs circumventing the sex trade must viciously defend their sexual reputation to avoid being perceived as promiscuous or on the level of prostitutes. The hyper masculine and sexualized gender roles within gangs (Totten, 2009a) require females who want to be taken seriously to adopt a male persona, even enduring “minutes” when entering the gang (Hoogland & Redden, 2010). When these girls and women are charged for crimes, there is an additional stigma that is not attached to males, their experiences within the criminal justice system marks them as not “womanly” (Grekul & LaRocque, 2011).

Of the three levels of involvement females in all-female gangs is by far the rarest, and it happens to be, relatively, the safest (Totten, 2012). Although these gangs are often

offshoots of male gangs and dominated by the same leadership, which gives little autonomy to the gang and presents many of the same dangers as females within male dominated gangs (Campbell, 1997; Totten, 2012, 2009). In order to avoid being forced into the sex trade, females need to find a niche within the gang to provide monetary value that would outweigh their earning potential as prostitutes. In many cases, this leads women to become recruiters (Hoogland and Redden 2010; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2009; Totten, 2012). Recruitment can happen by luring friends and relatives with a promise of a glamorous lifestyle, hooking them on drugs (Totten, 2012) or spotting submissives (Hoogland & Redden). Most of the Indigenous gang recruitment research available represented the male experience. The severe minority of women who occupy tiers of the upper hierarchy within the gangs (not prostitutes) tend to be recruited in a similar manner as males, through family, friends, and lack of support structure (CISS, 2009; Grekul, 2008, Totten, 2009, 2009a, 2012).

Grekul and LaRocque (2011) have conducted one of the only research projects looking specifically at risk factors for Indigenous girls becoming gang involved. The Grekel and LaRocque study examined from the perspective of frontline workers. An argument is made within the paper that lateral violence of gangs stems from the pain of IRSs and colonization; gangs replace the disappearing family unit. In this study, the frontline workers share life histories of female Indigenous gang members, which often include experiences that comprise the seven pathways. Responses from frontline workers placed an emphasis on the necessary steps to support gang-involved women, translatable models for prevention. Female-specific safe housing is a thread repeatedly advocated by frontline workers, providing women in abusive relationships alternatives to living on the

street, and a space away from men in similar programs, who have a tendency to victimize when placed in care services with women (Grekul & Larocque, 2011). A detective interviewed for the study discussed the role self-esteem plays in the abuse of Indigenous women by gangs, because they have been “passed around like a piece of meat” (p. 152). In light of this reality, the detective believes that self-esteem building programs must be part of the solution. Most of the recommendations within the study discuss intervention strategies for Indigenous women, which do not lend themselves to prevention programs.

There is only so much that can be discussed regarding Indigenous women in traditional roles within gangs, as this so scarcely happens and very little research has been conducted regarding the phenomenon. Researchers do know that gangs, at alarming rates, force Indigenous girls into the sex trade. A basic understanding of Indigenous women in the sex trade and gang activity sets the stage for a deeper investigation into the life experiences that create vulnerability, recruitment methods, and pedagogical models in response, in a specific geographical region. The following section provides insight into prevention and intervention programming that already exists for sex trade and gang participation.

Sex Trade/Gang Prevention and Intervention

This section will analyze programs aimed at sex trade activities and gang participation, since gang participation for Indigenous girls almost always leads to sexual exploitation. Of the current strategies being used to prevent youth from joining the sex trade or gangs in Canada, there are almost no government programs that focus specifically on Indigenous youth (Totten, 2009). Research has identified that the following strategies are the foundation of the government response and have proven

ineffective: gang suppression programs, incarcerating gang members, curriculum based prevention (not cultural specific), and child welfare models (Totten, 2009). The reason for the ineffectiveness of the strategies varies, but the fundamental fact is that any sustainable model needs to include an emphasis on abuse prevention for children and cultural specific interventions (Sethi, 2007; Totten, 2009). In the specific case of Indigenous women in gangs, feminist theory is absent in almost all frameworks used to research the issue, despite the overwhelming role gender, race, and class plays in factors that push Indigenous youth to the sex trade (Dell & Boe, 2000). Grekul (2008) argued that institutional authorities have taken steps to deal with street and prison gangs without the benefit of academic scholarship to guide intervention. The reason for the disconnect is institutional rigidity on the part of authorities and a lack of academic research available in regards to Indigenous sex trade participation (Grekul, 2008).

Kingsley and Mark (2000) and Hoogland and Redden (2010) offer possibilities for prevention, but most of their attention is paid to intervention services aiming to help girls exit the sex trade. Hoogland and Redden's (2010) research was not Indigenous specific, but can offer insight into possible programming effective across cultures. In regards to prevention, Kingsley and Mark's (2000) research found that a primary need is openness within communities to discuss issues of sexual exploitation, allowing the youth a forum to bring pressing issues to light. Moreover, the youth in this study (Kingsley & Mark, 2000) believed that cultural education could play a central role in educating and instilling self-esteem. Additional recommendations for this study found the youth called for: places to go in their community, economic opportunities, and knowledgeable service providers. Hoogland and Redden's (2010) study, which focused on all girls recruited by

gangs, who are likely to be sexually exploited, give a wide range of preventative and intervention recommendations. Preventative recommendations from Hoogland and Redden's (2010) research include: "support for families, programs targeted to high-risk youth, professional training, mentoring programs for at-risk youth, counseling for youth in need of support, and residential drug and alcohol treatment" (p. 17). The recommendations in these two studies offer a promising first step in considering preventative education, but lack specificity, targeting, and considering of who should be receiving prevention education, where, at what age, by who, and the specifics of the curriculum.

Sethi (2007) offered pathways specific for Indigenous women, but they are not pathways in the same sense as Totten's, since some of them are closer to the realm of recruitment strategies. The pathways are: "poverty; physical, emotional and sexual abuse in their families and communities; sense of power, recognition and protection from street life; and most importantly, the need for belongingness and acceptance" (p. 64). These pathways were inspired by Fontaine's research (2005), and are closely matched by the six pathways Totten has inspired. The final pathway, a need for acceptance, deemed the most important by Sethi, would be difficult to assess, but could be the least intrusive when developing a relationship with suspected at-risk youth.

Kingsley and Mark (2000) and Hoogland and Redden (2010) offer a far more robust vision of intervention or harm reduction models, which aim to help youth participants exit the sex trade. While sex trade participation and intervention education/services are outside of the purview of this research, it is important to gain a deeper understanding of intervention models, in order to understand how they can inform

the creation of preventative programming. Intervention recommendations in Kingsley and Mark's (2000) study first and foremost called for safe spaces available for sex workers, twenty-four hours a day. Trust is a major component of successful services, since Indigenous youth in the sex trade typically have life histories plagued with authority figures violating their trust. In addition to twenty-four hour drop-in centres, Kingsley and Mark's (2000) research found that safe houses, crisis lines, experienced staff, and education about existing resources are required for intervention and harm reduction. The intervention recommendations in this case offer support and harm reduction for sex trade participants, but offer less of an emphasis on assertive intervention. Moreover, Kingsley and Mark (2000) also developed recommendations for exiting and healing, which are an extension of intervention, and include:

Specific services for the unique needs of Aboriginal youth sex workers, services and support for those who do not wish to exit the sex trade, longer term services, experiential counselors, decreasing obstacles youth face in accessing services, education, self-confidence building, building trust with agencies, outreach workers and counselors, basic life skills training, social skills training. (p. 67)

Hoogland and Redden (2010) similarly offer intervention recommendations, but it is important to reiterate that their paper is not Indigenous specific, and focuses on gang recruitment into the sex trade. The recommendations are lengthy, and fall under the headlines crisis intervention, programs to assist leaving, and programs to assist healing and reintegration. The recommendations include:

...outreach to exploited and street-involved youth, mental health services for exploited youth, professional training for health care workers and suicide

prevention...programs for commercially sexually exploited youth to support them as they leave, reconnect programs, education and training programs for exploited youth, and financial support for youth who are leaving exploitative relationship or situations...life skills training, and ongoing emotional and psychological support. (p. 17).

Intervention recommendations can inform the development of preventative education models, but can also provide the available resources for the development of intervention services that can work alongside preventative models. Despite this dissertation limiting its focus to preventative education, it is important to understand the symbiotic relationship possible between levels of education and the necessity of providing education to both those who are vulnerable, and those who have already been recruited. Hoogland and Redden's (2010) models of intervention are based on girls recruited into gangs as a method of sexual exploitation. The following prevention and intervention models are specifically related to gangs, since it has already been established that gangs are a primary recruiter into the sex trade (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Totten, 2012), and that Indigenous girls' roles in gangs are typically related to sex trade activity or sexual exploitation (Hoogland & Redden, 2010). Gang prevention or intervention education aimed at Indigenous girls will undoubtedly result in sex trade prevention or intervention.

Matthews (1999) argued that Indigenous gangs are so varied from city to city in Canada that a unifying theory or response would not provide a panacea to the multitude of problems (in Grekul, 2008). The difficulty of geographic variation establishes the need for testing and developing methodological tools for research in a single community,

so that methods of engagement can be replicated, since intervention strategies will not be uniform. Totten (2009) identified the tendency of policy makers to see Indigenous culture as monolithic as one of the primary causes for program failure. In other Indigenous fields of research, the tendency to use a monolithic understanding of Indigenous culture has been an ongoing barrier to uncovering real truth (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb, & Hampton, 2004; Kouritzin, 2004; White, Maxim & Gyimah, 2003).

Virgil and Yun (2002) used the term “multiple marginality” to highlight the confluence of factors that make specific youth vulnerable to becoming involved with violent gangs. Multiple marginality theory is similar to the seven pathways applied in this research, but Virgil and Yun’s framework is for the general population and not specific to a certain segment of society. Some of the examples given are: “family structure and stability, schooling readiness, language and cultural contrasts...living conditions, stressful personal and family mutation, racism, and cultural repression in schools” (p. 166). The multiple marginality theory aligns seamlessly with the seven pathways because it looks at the problem in relation to the society it occurs within. After reading the specifics of some prevention and intervention programs, like the G.R.E.A.T. program in America, it is apparent that outside factors are not weighed as heavily. The stated objectives of the program are as follows: “(1) to reduce gang activity and (2) to educate a population of young people as to the consequences of gang involvement” (Ebsensen, 1999, p. 198). While the lessons students can learn are valuable, these programs do not address the external factors that are pushing youth toward gangs, placing the onus on the youth to live within communities conducive to gang activity, but manage to avoid the gang lifestyle that has flourished because of social realities. This program may be one

response on a continuum, but it is important to collaborate with other service programs that address connected factors. Similar consideration can be made to sex trade prevention and education.

Totten (2009) argued that quantitative data shows that G.R.E.A.T. has not achieved long-term effectiveness for students who have taken the training. I believe the inability of the program to achieve lasting results was partially due to the decision to overlook multiple-marginality. Totten (2009) believed that a five pathways approach to understanding Aboriginal gang involvement should be utilized: violentization, multiple out of home placements, FASD and mental health disorders, social exclusion and hyper-masculine and sexualized femininities, but for this dissertation, sexual abuse and substance abuse will be added. The pathways address the multiple marginality theory developed by Virgil and Yun (2002), seeing the phenomena in a holistic manner.

The seven pathways can provide a basis for selecting preventative education candidates using secondary level of action, which Mellor et al (2005) described as an at-risk population, who have not yet become sex trade involved or been involved in significant sex trade activity. Primary level of action is focused on casting a wide net to all youth and tertiary works with youth who have become recruited into the sex trade, which is a better fit for sex trade suppression or intervention work. Dorraais and Corriveau's (2009) four categories of recruitment can combine with the seven pathways to create a framework showing both the pre-existing experiences of the vulnerable population (seven pathways) and the commonly used recruitment strategies employed by the predators (four categories of recruitment). Combining these elements can help to give

a multi perspective understanding of the push and pull factors prevalent in Indigenous women being recruited into gangs and the sex trade.

The research from policymakers and practitioners within Canada is concerning, as within the same agency (Correctional Services of Canada) two separate policy papers make contradictory statements about the prevalence of Indigenous women in gangs and prisons. Nafekh (2002) stated, “Female Aboriginal offenders were not included in the present sample due to their low numbers in federal correctional facilities” (p. 3). The title of Nafekh’s paper is *An Examination of Youth and Gang Affiliation within the Federally Sentenced Aboriginal Population*, which does not make it explicitly clear that it is a male study, and this is not mentioned until the methods section. Boe and Dell’s (2000) study gave thanks to Nafekh in the acknowledgements section for providing the data for their study. How is it possible for Nafekh to find an insignificant Indigenous female gang population in 2002, when his data in 2000 was enough for a study by Boe and Dell on female Indigenous gang members in prison? Dorais and Corriveau (2009) claimed that the low number of Indigenous women identified as gang members is due to the stereotypical view of a gang member, causing those researching to overlook female members. A Statistics Canada (2000) statistic, presented by Irvine (2001), showed the percent of female prisoners in Canada who are Indigenous was 25 percent, much higher than the Indigenous male population (p. 10). The policy that grows from these studies uses the male experience as the standard and does not take into account the unique position of Indigenous women, requiring additional research to influence policy. We will now turn to the conceptual model of the cycle of abuse for women in the sex trade.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework model for this research is designed to present the cycle of abuse within the Indigenous community, highlighting the possibilities for prevention, intervention, and suppression. The first model presented in this section (Figure 2.1) is the cycle of abuse experienced by some Indigenous girls. Cyclical experiences make abuse multi-generational, resulting in the exposure of sex trade participants' children to the same pathways that made their parents vulnerable to recruitment (Dorais & Corriveau, 2010; Totten, 2012). Within the model, parents pass on their abuse to the next generations, leaving children likely to repeat their experiences of trauma. All children who experience the seven pathways are not destined to recruitment into the sex trade, but the seven pathways are also predictors of substance abuse, poverty, unemployment, risk of contracting HIV, and low academic achievement (Ship & Norton, 2001). Children who then grow up in homes plagued by substance abuse, poverty, unemployment, and low academic achievement are also more likely to experience the pathways (Totten, 2009), making each generation consistently in danger of succumbing to the sex trade or other harmful outcomes.

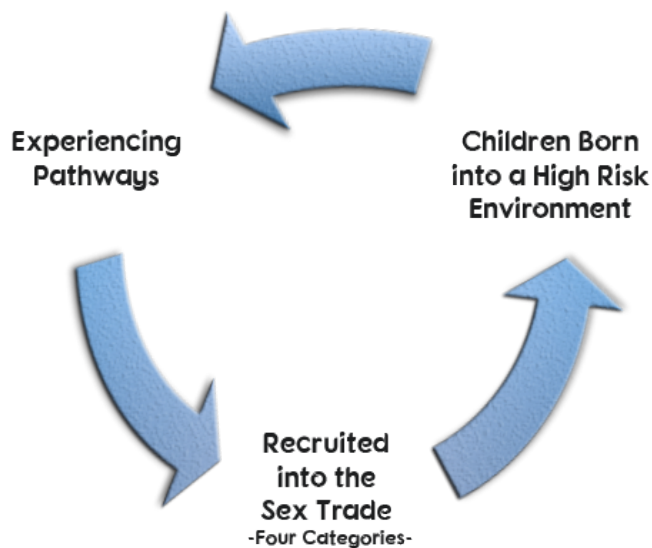
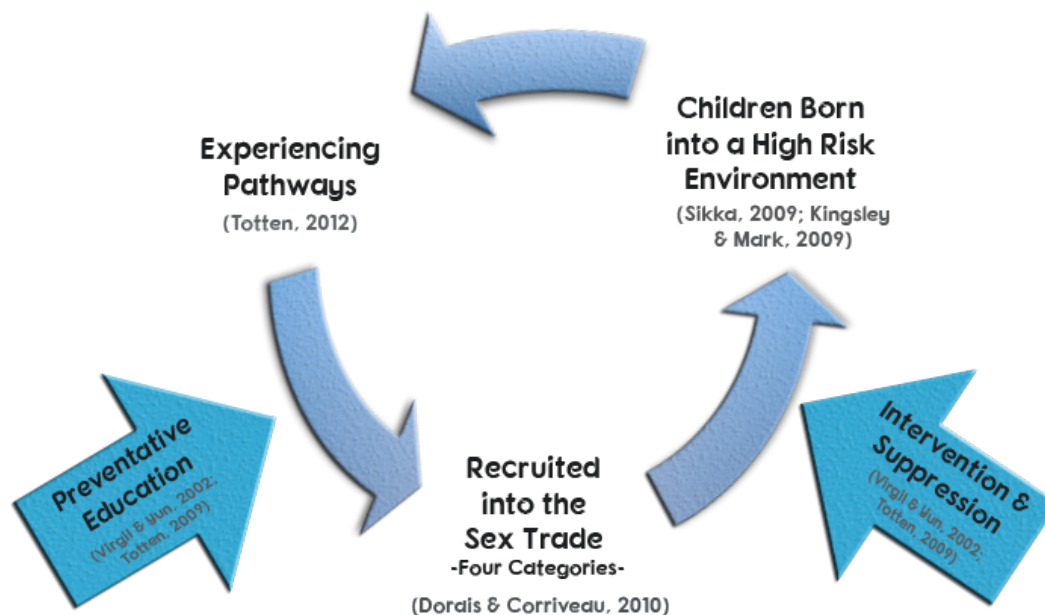


Figure 2.1 Cycle of Abuse

The model (Figure 2.1) conveys the experiences of children being born into a high-risk environment, experiencing the seven pathways, then consequently recruited into sex trade and the cycle that can be perpetuated generation after generation.

Figure 2.2 displays a cycle of sex trade education. Secondary prevention, the strategy focused on for this research, is established for an at-risk group prior to the expected period of recruitment, which Virgil and Yun (2002) argued is nine years old. Virgil and Yun have found that the average age that children experience the seven pathways is age nine, as a result this period is the optimal stage for preventative education. As mentioned in the limitations section, another strategy of prevention is to develop education to prevent the seven pathways from occurring in the first place. It is imperative that research is developed to help prevent these pathways from occurring at

such high rates. Until such a program is successful, models of prevention are needed for Indigenous girls experiencing trauma to avoid the perils of the sex trade and gangs.



Figure

2.2 Prevention and intervention

It could be argued that prevention occurring at any stage in the cycle can help prevent subsequent generations from being exposed to the seven pathways. The systemic issues facing the Indigenous population require a multifaceted healing approach (Smith, 2000). Programs for early childhood development, youth, young adults, parents, and grandparents within various organizations and focusing on the spectrum of social issues within the Indigenous community are required to work in concert to create meaningful change. The second model would be more accurate if preventative education had arrows

into every section in the cycle abuse, but we will instead focus on the typical definition of preventative education.

Practices in Sex Trade/Gang Education

Community Action Teams. The Community Action Teams (CATs) are a British Columbia specific offshoot of the Provincial Youth Gang Prevention Strategy, which has a four-year mandate to develop responsive and preventative programming. Hoogland and Redden (2010) identified the CATs as a “group of service providers and community partners who are working to develop local strategies to address sexual exploitation” (p. 18). A provincial government document identifies 16 CATs operating throughout the province, but does not give any specific descriptions of activities related to prevention or intervention. Community Action Teams offer the possibility of responsive programming, since they are overseen locally. Housing CATs within the Provincial Youth Gang Prevention Strategy highlights the connection between gangs and the sex trade. The lack of information available regarding the activities in the CATs does not necessarily speak to their effectiveness, but may instead be a result of their lack of publications of findings.

Children on the Street Society – Predator Watch Campaign. Located in the Greater Vancouver Area, Children of the Street Society had a mission “to take a proactive approach through public awareness education and early intervention strategies to prevent sexual exploitation and human trafficking of children and youth, while offering support to families” (CSC, 2013). The predator watch program unveiled four campaigns between 2011 and 2014. The first program, ‘180 Degrees’ is aimed at online predators accessing child pornography online. In 2012, campaigns were launched using a fake 3d camera in bathrooms aimed at creating an understanding for being watched and

violated. Just One Photo was a campaign designed to help youth to understand the negative outcomes connected to ‘sexting’. Finally, #ParentProject aims to help youth understand the behavior of predators online (CSC, 2013).

The programming connected to the Predator Watch campaign is primarily related to challenging online predators and preparing youth for predatory online behavior. While challenging predatory behavior is an important element of addressing the wider issue of sexual exploitation, it falls outside of the mandate of this research. Additionally, none of the programming is cultural specific, despite the overwhelming representation of Indigenous girls/women in the Vancouver sex trade (Bingham et al., 2014). Since the data gathering phase of this dissertation was completed, the Children on the Street Society has undertaken additional preventative education focused on education youth through Taking Care of Ourselves, Taking Care of Each Other. At the time of the literature review, this program was not documented or readily available.

Tracia’s Trust: Manitoba’s Sexual Exploitation Strategy. The Manitoba strategy, Tracia’s Trust, is based out of the Department of Family Services, working together with partner agencies and departments. Launched in 2008, the focus of Tracia’s Trust strategy was to: create prevention initiatives, develop victims’ services, increase public awareness, and ensure offender accountability (Government of Manitoba, 2014). The most recent activities undertaken were: a grandmother outreach council, to connect with street youth; a youth education event; display booths at youth career symposium; and a one-day youth forum (Government of Manitoba). Although not explicitly Indigenous focused, there are a number of activities that are clearly designed for an Indigenous audience, most notably, the grandmother outreach council. Although in the

earliest stages, most of the activities are connected to one-off sessions instead of ongoing education dialogue and programming. Since the original questions in this research were tied to recruitment into the sex trade through gang activity, programs like Tracia's Trust were not emphasized until after a partner organization had been chosen and data gathering had begun.

National Youth Gang Prevention Program. Canada's National Youth Gang Prevention program is the overarching program that dispenses most of the government funding available for youth gang initiatives. The three primary objectives of the prevention program are to: support effective gang prevention programs; "promote targeted interventions such as mentoring, counseling, skills development and recreational opportunities, to provide young people with alternatives to joining gangs"; and "develop and disseminate knowledge" (Public Safety Canada, 2012a). The Youth Gang Prevention Program (YGPP) is part of the larger National Crime Prevention Strategy, which has among its many aims, one focused on reducing youth gang involvement and another on crime within the Indigenous population (Public Safety Canada, 2012a). The role of the Youth Gang Prevention Program is funding localized responses to gang issues and then serving as a hub of information from the studies and projects that it funds. Several of the other programs subsequently listed in this section were partially funded by the National Gang Prevention Program. Totten (2009) cites several ongoing programs funded by the YGPP closely related to Indigenous youths and is hopeful for their impact in the future.

The Warrior Spirit Walking Program (AKA Youth Alliance Against Gang Violence). The Warrior Spirit Walking Program (WSWP) is the only project identified offered only to Indigenous people. The program was supported by a \$1.6 million

contribution from the Youth Gang Prevention Fund (Public Safety Canada, 2012d).

Prince Albert, Saskatchewan is the home of the initiative, which has been essential due to the growing presence of gang activity in the area (CISS, 2005). The Criminal Intelligence Service Saskatchewan identified 12 active gangs in 2005, ten of which are Indigenous (p. 2). A third of the population in Prince Albert are of Indigenous ancestry, and the city has very high levels of single parent homes, poverty, teen parents, and youth within the child welfare system (Public Safety Canada, 2012d). Recruitment for Indigenous gangs occurs in urban settings, rural Indigenous communities, and detention centres (CISS, 2005). The diversity of recruiting by the gangs requires a varied response and intervention strategies. The model for the WSWP stresses both prevention and intervention services for at-risk Indigenous youth from ages of 12-21 (secondary and tertiary intervention), but most of the services focus on intervention activities.

The program has used a traditional Indigenous model called the “Circle of Courage”, emphasizing “increased youth attachment to school; increased youth employability and life skills; reduce youth activity in gang related activity and crime; increased literacy skills and high school completion rates” (Public Safety Canada, 2012d, p. 3). Totten (2012) believed the model used helps the Warrior Spirit Walking project attain the status of “a Canadian leader in evidence-based prevention and intervention for gang-involved Aboriginal youth” (p. 223). Research cited by Totten (2012) has shown the programs’ ability to achieve decreases in vulnerability to, and activity within, street gangs for Indigenous youth.

The six components of services include: counseling, presentation team, Wok Ska cultural school, youth activity centre, van outreach for the sex trade, and court outreach

(Public Safety Canada, 2012d). The remarkable aspect of the program, in regards to this dissertation, is the fact that 41 percent of participants are female (p. 3), significantly higher than any other program evaluated. In addition, all of the participants are Indigenous, making this targeted service unique. The statistics on reported experiences of the youth within the program follow closely to the seven pathways in this research. During the three-year trial period of the program, 86 youth had their cases closed and only 12 of those had not completed the entire program. Of those who completed the program, there was an average of 683.5 hours of services between the six components mentioned (Public Safety Canada, 2012d, p. 3).

Field observations conducted by the funding agency found that “interventions were gender responsive, culturally competent, and were implemented as planned. Observations also demonstrated high demand for each type of service provided to youth” (Public Safety Canada, 2012d, p. 4). Other indicators were measured and saw improvements in violent attitudes, attachment to role models, participation in school, total risk, and a number of other factors (p. 4). In terms of an intervention program, it was remarkably successful, seeing all gang members who entered the program exiting gangs within two years.

One problem identified by the funders was the need for therapeutic counseling that matched female counselors with female participants (p. 7). A failure to separate boys and girls in the rehabilitation period is a major misstep, according to many academics and practitioners in the field (Grekul & LaRocque, 2011; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2009; Totten, 2012). The recommendations state the need for evaluations to use more gender specific tools, looking at the sex trade, parenting and

other pertinent issues (p. 9). Grekul and LaRocque (2011) compared the abusive gender relationships in gangs to brainwashing, and require the equivalent of deprogramming in treatment that is female only. An additional reason for separate facilities is the need to provide treatment for Indigenous women that includes housing for their children and child care, or else the women will be forced to leave their children with gang affiliated fathers or lose them to the welfare system (Grekul & LaRocque, 2011), both predictors of future sex trade activity for their children. Totten (2009) argued that separating the genders is an absolute necessity, as many female's report "physical, sexual and verbal abuse by young men in facilities, and that hyper-sexualized relations with male peers and staff are common" (p. 147). However, it is difficult enough to obtain sufficient funding for transformative programming without dividing a budget for additional gender-based facilities.

Regina Anti-Gang Services (RAGS). RAGS is not actually a prevention program, but instead a program in Regina with a mandate to intervene and help gang members exit safely (tertiary intervention). While intervention strategies are not the focus of this dissertation, it was decided RAGS would be included in the literature review because it is one of the only sex trade or gang related programs with an Indigenous component. Saskatchewan is identified as having the highest gang involvement per capita in the country, and most gangs within the province have been identified as Indigenous (Public Safety Canada, 2012b). The four components of the program, as identified by Totten (2012), are: "life skills programming for young men, the Circle Keeper program from young women, intensive gang exit counseling, and outreach to schools and institutions" (p. 224). RAGS identified their primary goal as helping youth exit gangs

through: employment/education; creation of role models; reduced involvement in gang activity; and reduced activity in the sex trade (Public Safety Canada, 2012b, p. 1).

For the interest of this research, we will look specifically at the aspects of the program related to women and the sex trade. In 2011, Mark Totten wrote a report evaluating the Circle Keeper program developed by RAGS, which offers great insight into its strengths and weaknesses. Totten argued that the importance of the program, other than the practical implications, is that it is one of the only programs with a component specifically addressing Indigenous women in gangs (2011). The Circle Keeper program is intended for women from 16-30 years old (Public Safety Canada, 2012b), which is sufficient for an intervention program, but would be far too late for a successful prevention program (Virgil & Yun, 2002). As mentioned earlier, recruitment has been identified as early as nine years old, into both the sex trade and gang activity for Indigenous girls (Sethi, 2007). Totten's (2011) research on the Circle Keeper program interviewed 14 women, with an average age just under twenty-one years old and experiencing life within the sex trade and gangs.

The processes of the program are designed using Indigenous culture, utilizing "emotional, physical and spiritual aspects of life" (Totten, 2011, p. 8) within the curriculum delivery. The programs are delivered with gender specific designs, and female staff are always used when working with the women in the Circle Keeper program. Multi Systemic Therapy and the Wraparound Process are the two care models used to address the numerous factors causing gang related behavior and susceptibility to the sex trade (p. 8). The stated aims of the Circle Keeper program are to "increase protective factors and decrease risk factors" (p. 10) for Indigenous women associated with gangs. Program

activities used within the Circle Keeper program were “personal safety, addictions, family, parenting, employment, self-esteem, healthy relationships, and literacy” (p. 10). Participants were paid a stipend to attend courses by the day and half day.

Totten (2011) presented the program as successful by using quantitative indicators of recidivism, gang activity, activity in the sex trade, and other criteria. The qualitative responses of the fourteen participants in the study also pointed to the relevance and success of Circle Keepers for Indigenous women. Despite this program looking at intervention instead of prevention, components in the program focusing on increasing protective factors and decreasing risk factors, which have the possibility of implementation at a younger age in prevention strategies.

The Surrey Wrap Project. The Surrey Wrap Project’s primary goal is to “prevent gang-related crime in the Surrey community through the development and application of a wraparound approach” (Public Safety Canada, 2012c). The project was given over \$800,000 by the YGPP and is overseen by the school district and the local RCMP (RCMP, 2010). The three aspects of gang vulnerable youth supported by the Surrey program are: traditional at risk, non-traditional at risk and mental health at risk (Surrey School District, 2010). In an interview with the Vancouver Sun, one of the project’s managers stated that from the outset focus was on Indo-Canadians, since there was a significant presence in Surrey (Bolan, 2010). The fundamental concepts and training of the Surrey Project are “voice and choice; team-based; natural supports; collaboration; community-based; culturally competent; individualized; strength-based; and persistence” (Public Safety Canada, 2010c, p. 1).

The project is designed for youth from 11-17 years old, with traditional at risk youth being those experiencing poverty and difficult home lives, and non-traditional youth being from south Asian middle class families (Public Safety Canada, 2010c). Totten (2012) has acknowledged the program as presenting promising results, but it appears that the Indigenous focus is minimal and the percent of those using the program who are female is only 16% (Public Safety Canada, 2012c, p. 3). Despite overall success reported, due to fewer occurrences of “negative police contacts” (p. 4), there were initial difficulties providing staff with adequate training for the wrap around services.

Spergel’s Comprehensive Gang Model. Spergel (2003) designed a comprehensive gang model that began implementation in poor neighborhoods in Chicago in the late 1990s. Totten (2012) acknowledged the program as being “adopted by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention across the USA” (p. 213). The researchers argued that coordination between agencies would not suffice, schools, child welfare agencies and the justice system needed to be included (p. 203). Key assumptions stated that gangs were most often found in high poverty areas where social disorganization left many youth with few options (Spergel, Wa & Rosa, 2003). The five core strategies of the Comprehensive Gang Model are: “community mobilization; social intervention; provision of academic, economic, and social opportunities; gang suppression; and facilitation of organizational change and development” (Totten, 2012, p. 213).

Aspects of each of the five core strategies can be seen in a number of the preceding programs mentioned in this dissertation. The first core strategy, community mobilization, is the process of mobilizing community members, organizations and

services to combat social disorganization, which can serve as the foundation of the response to gang problems (Spergel & Grossman, 1997). The mere development of the organizations serving gang vulnerable youth constitutes this process, the development of RAGS in Regina, the Youth Alliance Against Gang Violence in Prince Albert or the collaboration between the school system and the police force in the Surrey Wrap program. The absence of community mobilization in the G.R.E.A.T program may be one of the reasons it was unsuccessful. The other four aspects of Spergel's model are actions by the mobilized communities that can deter or intervene in gang activity.

In Little Village, Chicago, the site of the first implementation of this model, numerous agencies and organizations worked together to address serious gang problems in the neighborhood (Spergel & Grossman, 1997). For higher-level projects, like the Nation Youth Gang Prevention Program, Spergel's model can provide a framework for projects that should be funded and how complementary projects can be paired to provide symbiosis. Within smaller organization, like RAGS, where economic and human resources are limited, Spergel's model can be used to inform decisions basing where resources can be allocated. More importantly, smaller organizations can use the model to help understand the importance of creating meaningful collaboration with other agencies and organization within the field, in order to offer a continuum of care. Not to infer that RAGS has a limited scope, looking at the activities within their mandate, it is easy to see that all five aspects of Spergel's model are used.

The original implementation of the model in Spergel and Rossman's (1997) research occurred in a predominantly Latin American neighborhood, but the unique circumstances of Indigenous people in Canada may require additional aspects to be

effective. Looking specifically at Indigenous women in gangs, the model may be missing foundational elements that are requisite for understanding the myriad of barriers.

Spergel's model would still be relevant, in terms of organization and collaboration, but may be remiss in addressing cultural and gender issues.

As referenced previously, there are a number of programs addressing issues connected to the seven pathways that are not explicitly gang prevention or intervention. The limited number of programs that have been acknowledged by Totten (2012) as effective is cause for concern, especially since so few have a curriculum that specifically meets the needs of Indigenous women. The existing programs listed here are the best options for case study research, with the first few examined providing the best opportunity for insight into prevention education. Since the initial research questions were tied to recruitment via gangs, the sex trade recruitment outside of gang were examined after the partner organization was selected. A lack of viable research options supports the problem statement of this research, claiming that not enough is done to prevent Indigenous girls from becoming active in the sex trade or gangs.

Conclusion

The literature review in this research has taken on an expansive perspective of Indigenous women in the sex trade and gangs. I would have been remiss not to start the literature review with the experiences of IRSs, since they are a fundamental element in the current trauma in many Indigenous communities. It may appear repetitive to find the history of IRSs in dissertations studying Indigenous communities, but the impact of these institutions continue to dominate the lives of Indigenous peoples. Understanding the causation of the current epidemic of poverty and abuse in pockets of the Indigenous

community is imperative, if preventative education will meet the needs of Indigenous girls. Describing the impact of residential schooling on parenting practices in the Indigenous community was necessary to identify the genesis of the overrepresentation of Indigenous girls in poverty and the sex trade

The following chapter on epistemology and methodology continues to track the linear progression established, by using the lessons learned in the literature review to dictate the use of research tools in this dissertation. The lack of agency available in impoverished communities should be considered when selecting an appropriate methodology; furthermore, the specific oppression faced by Indigenous girls should be a factor when selecting a suitable epistemology. A primary goal of this research is to implement meaningful methods that respond to the specific needs of the marginalized community. The following chapter outlines the research methodology and explains how the research process will be conducted.

Chapter 3 - Research Design and Methods

Conceptual Framework

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) decolonizing methodologies is a transformational work of methodology that has shifted the landscape of research for Indigenous peoples. Decolonizing Methodologies gives a voice to silenced Indigenous communities who have been marginalized within the academy, forced to position themselves within the mindset of their colonizers in order to gain academic recognition and validation. Tuhiwai Smith (2012) contended that research is inherently a political act, and has been practiced and reinforced to privilege Western culture by modeling the principles of colonization. Conventional Western research methodologies disregard Indigenous ways of knowing by drawing attention to research findings targeted at supporting Indigenous communities. In reality, the researchers are overlooking the negative implications of the maintenance of colonial relationships, the researcher imposing questions and processes, which overshadows any possible positive research outcomes. Since research findings in Western framed studies ignore Indigenous epistemologies, the application of the findings are limited due to their inability to fit within the system in which they hope to transform. Reimagining research as a disruptive act that privileges Indigenous ways of knowing, communication, and self-identified desires, challenges unequal positioning while promoting systemic shifts in the field of research and education.

The framework of the Indigenous Research Agenda (IRA), designed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), outlines the stages of Indigenous communities' empowerment efforts: survival, recovery, development, and self-determination. Smith describes the four stages as directions, which are the "processes which connect, inform and clarify the

tensions between the local, the regional and the global” (p. 116). The framework was not designed to be exclusively successive, aspects of each stage can happen concurrently or sequentially. The IRA model is used as the theoretical framework of this research. Many prominent Indigenous academics have used similar models (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Castellano, 2004; Lavallée, 2007) for their framework, all of which emphasize continuity and the holistic nature of healing and self-determination. Despite this model being described as an Indigenous Research Agenda, the components translate seamlessly to form a theoretical framework.



Figure 3.1 Theoretical Framework (Smith, 1999)

Each direction within the model (survival, recovery, development and self-determination) represents a stage of Indigenous response to colonization and oppression. The directions are apparent across the experiences of everyday life for Indigenous people, and help to mark delineations of response to systemic oppression. *Survival* goes beyond the physical, including culture, language, legal rights, and additional aspects (Smith, 1999). Until the early 20th century, physical survival was a primary concern for the diminishing population; government officials advocated the position of leaving Indigenous people to their own devices, since the belief was they would soon be extinct (Miller, 2000). Currently, Indigenous peoples continue struggling for survival, but longer-term goals are starting to take precedence, survival is tied to the expansion of the dynamic Indigenous culture.

Recovery can include recovery from the damage of IRSs, lost rights and lands, colonization, and internalized oppression (Smith, 1999). Smith states, “Recovery is not a selective process, often responding to immediate crisis rather than a planned approach. This is related to the reality that indigenous people are not in control” (p. 116). A constant focus on recovery hampers progress toward self-determination within oppressed communities, requiring systemic changes to address systemic issues.

Development is not expanded on within Smith’s agenda, but there are clear areas of Indigenous empowerment that include this concept. Continuing the momentum of survival and recovery, development can build resiliency for youth; develop education that promotes culture and language, a new agenda for political action and numerous other activities. Despite Smith’s (1999) argument that sequencing is not a necessity, in many

cases survival will precede recovery, which will be followed by development and eventually lead to self-determination.

Self-determination was identified as the optimal end result for Indigenous researchers working within their community (Smith, 1999). The overarching idea of self-determination is more expansive than just a political achievement, “it becomes a goal of social justice which is expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains” (p. 116). Cornell (2006) stressed the importance of not mistaking self-government for self-determination, which can apply to both the state and individual. Self-government, Cornell (2006) argued, is merely transferring bureaucratic structures from the State to Indigenous leadership. Self-determination is the ability to shape the structures that govern the individual and the collective. For the individual, self-determination is the ability to shape one’s understanding and relationship with their surroundings. Battiste (2005), while defining intellectual self-determination for Canadian Indigenous people, argued for approaching barriers with the mindset of framing within the Indigenous context, which I would argue is both the process and the outcome of decolonization. Castellano (2004) identified self-determination as the ability to define what is real and what is valuable. Self-determination is the final goal for Smith’s Indigenous research agenda, and the section will now look at strategies within the theoretical framework for achieving this end.

Smith’s (1999) strategies for achieving self-determination are as follows: healing, decolonization, transformation and mobilization (p. 117). Within Smith’s (1999) model, healing includes: physical, spiritual, psychological, social collective and restoration. Mobilization consists of: local, nation, region and global. Transformation includes:

psychological, social, political, economic, collective and change. Decolonization consists of: political, social, spiritual and psychological (p. 117). The model designed by Smith is circular, with the stages serving as the layers and the strategies constituting the four directions. Marie Battiste used a sacred circle for her conceptual model in the text *First Nation Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds* (1995), explaining that it emphasizes “the unity, continuity and interconnectedness of each issue” (p. xv).

Smith’s framework for self-determination is used to emphasize impacts on the Indigenous community and the road map provided by Indigenous academics to achieve transformative research. This study focuses on youth who have already been recruited, who will fall anywhere between survival and development on Smith’s empowerment model (1999). The girls interviewed were in the developmental phase due to intervention and recovery from the sex trade. The information gleaned from this research will influence preventative research for at-risk youth before the age of recruitment, so the survival phase must be heavily considered.

The research questions for this study are:

1. Which life experiences create vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls?
2. How are Indigenous girls recruited into the sex trade?
3. What should prevention education look like?

Smith’s (1999) four strategies for achieving self-determination are present in the research framework. Knowledge gained from the research can help in the “healing” response to trauma. Healing can be intergenerational, and can begin by understanding the fallout of IRS on the subsequent generations. As previously alluded to, healing must occur in the cycle of abuse to prevent additional generations from experiencing the seven

pathways. Smith (1999) described healing as consisting of: physical, spiritual, psychological, social and the collective.

The research addresses the physical aspect of healing by emphasizing reclamation of Indigenous women's bodies by opposing the sexualized gender identities imposed by society. Every step was taken to ensure that the Indigenous girls interviewed will experience a positive and empowering environment. Dorais and Corriveau (2009) stress the need to reverse gender dynamics and empower girls to heal from the physical and emotional trauma inflicted upon them. Spirituality is a strong component in most programs and is recognized as being effective. Participants may bring up the spiritual aspects of an intervention program as either positive or negative in their personal development. In the paper, *Teacher as Healer*, Katz and St. Denis (1991) posit the necessity of implementing spiritual education as part of the healing process for Indigenous youth. Psychological influences are omnipresent within the research, both within the minds of the girls being abused, their abusers, and society's perspective of Indigenous girls within the cycle of abuse. Sethi (2007) argued that not enough is known about the gang members who prey on Indigenous girls, this study can help give insight into the recruitment process and perhaps the traits of recruiters. The collective component is one of the most prominent aspects of this research; an outcome of the study may create resistance within individuals, and also help Indigenous girls as a collective create resistance and break the cycle of abuse imposed upon them.

Decolonization is the second strategy for achieving self-determination. The decolonizing methodology designed by Smith (1999), and used in this research, holds decolonization as a primary objective for any study in Indigenous communities. The

epistemological considerations of the Feminist Indigenous Theory acknowledges the oppression of both gender and race in the design of the problem statement, research questions, collaboration with the community, and data gathering and analysis (hooks, 2000; Scheurich & Yeung, 1997). Feminist Indigenous Theory leads to a decolonizing process that empowers the participants and further research to be more inclusive on frames outside the confines of western thought (Cannella & Manuelito, 2008). In regards to academic research, there is often frustration within the Indigenous community, due to research being beneficial to the researcher, but not the researched (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Smith, 1999). This frustration leads Indigenous people to experience a new form of colonization, with Indigenous culture continuing to be confined within the dominant perspective (Smith, 1999).

Decolonization has a final goal of post-colonization (Battiste & Henderson, 2000). The mediums of decolonization in the framework have the ultimate goal of post-colonization, in relation to the research subject. Smith (1999) used the term “researching back” (p. 7) to address decolonization’s role within research, the equivalent of talking back in a conversation. Researching back is part of the recovery process for Indigenous people in response to the previously default colonizing research mentality within academia. The political aspect of decolonization research emphasizes Indigenous researchers and participants taking control of the research agenda (Smith, 1999). In this respect, the research intends to challenge the mindset of Indigenous people researched and collaborating within society, which also addresses the social aspect of decolonization (Smith, 1999). The negative expectations based on skewed gender dynamics have damaged the psychological and social experiences of Indigenous girls, and this needs to

be addressed in order to challenge the status quo. Within this research study, researching back has been achieved by sharing control of the questions with the researched, who advocated expanding the questions to include all levels of vulnerability to the sex trade, not limited to gang recruitment.

“Transformation” can occur by empowering the group as a collective to work together on the pervasive problem of oppression against Indigenous women. Indigenous families are single parent households (35%) led by women (29%) at a much higher rate than non-Indigenous families (14%) (Statistics Canada, 2006, p. 15). The overrepresentation of Indigenous women as sole caregivers results in a greater singular negative influence on the subsequent generations. Research has suggested that abuse of a child is the best predictor of future sex trade activity, gang affiliation and a myriad of negative life consequences (Totten, 2009). Breaking the cycle of abuse for Indigenous women at any stage will give the following generations a childhood less susceptible to the seven pathways.

An obvious flaw in the logic of this model is that men are not involved in the research and are seemingly negligent in their parenting duties. On the contrary, the responsibility of Indigenous men and boys cannot be overstated, but is not within the bounds of this research project. It can be argued that an empowerment of Indigenous women will create a stronger future generation of Indigenous boys and girls who have positive female role models who insist upon an inclusive system that respects women and avoids paternalist policies and sexualized gender identities.

The final strategy in Smith’s framework (1999), mobilization, is apparent in many of the same ways seen in decolonization and transformation. First, the girls interviewed

were able to get their ideas into the realm of academia and the discrepancy between their needs and what policy makers are imposing upon them will be highlighted. Second, mobilization is strongly tied to empowerment (Agbo, 2002) in Canadian Indigenous communities. The ability to mobilize a community builds momentum towards and creates a collective ownership of self-determination. Finally, the continued pressure by Canadian Indigenous academics on policy makers can help to shift the institutionalized design to include and perhaps be driven by Indigenous epistemologies, which would mobilize government forces for the benefit of Indigenous people.

Rationale

Indigenous women represent between 50 to 90 percent of the visible sex trade in western Canadian cities, despite comprising between two to five percent of the population in this region (Bingham et al., 2014; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007). The significant overrepresentation is clearly sufficient rationale for undertaking a study aimed at addressing this unspeakable oppression. Government agencies and academics have conducted minimal quantitative data regarding Indigenous women in prostitution (Bingham et al., 2014; Dorais & Corriveau, 2009), incarceration rates of Indigenous people (Boe & Dell, 2000), Indigenous families in poverty (Kendall, 2001), gang activity among Indigenous people (Totten, 2009), and the correlative childhood experiences that can serve as predictors for the sex trade (Totten, 2012). What is completely lacking in the field is qualitative research investigating the perspective of Indigenous girls and women regarding vulnerability, recruitment, and pedagogy related to the sex trade. Canadian populations that live in poverty have a higher risk of becoming part of the sex trade (Nikulina, Widom & Czaja, 2011; Seshia, 2005), but Indigenous

women are burdened with additional factors of colonialization and racism that increase their vulnerability (Grekul & LaRocque, 2011; Kingsley & Mark, 2000), requiring research into prevention for this extremely high-risk population. Fontaine (2006) describes “double victimization” (p. 135) as the experiences of Indigenous women being victimized from the Western world and within the Indigenous community. The phrase would also lend itself to the experiences of Indigenous women in poverty, who are under the same pressures as non- Indigenous women, but have additional factors of colonization threatening their well-being.

The need for qualitative inquiry used in this study matches Marshall’s (1985a, 1987) indicators for a problem or topic that should be studied qualitatively. The three indicators Marshall uses that are found within this study are: (1) “research for which relevant variables have yet to be identified” (2) “Research that seeks to explore where and why policy, folk wisdom and practice do not work” (3) “Research on unknown societies” (In Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 46).

Marshall’s (1989) first indicator, “research for which relevant variables yet to be identified” (p. 46), has been emphasized in all major research relating to Indigenous girls in the sex trade. Totten (2012) pleads for “much more research ...into the background and activities of male and female gang members who exploit and traffic young women” (p. 248). Grekul and LaRocque (2011) stated that “...surprisingly little academic research exists on female Aboriginal gang involved individuals” (p. 132). Culhane (2003), in her essay on Indigenous women working as prostitutes in Vancouver, argued a major gap in research is “a relative lack of interest in resistance practiced and visions of change articulated by the subject of these discourses” (p. 595). In summary, a simple equation

illuminates the absence of research and the need it creates: Indigenous women are significantly overrepresented in the sex trade (Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Scrim, 2010), while academia has not sufficiently taken up the burden of understanding the problem (Bingham et al., 2014; Kingsley & Mark, 2000; Sikka, 2009; Totten, 2012), results in a major gap in required research.

The collaborative nature of meaningful research within Indigenous communities means that stakeholders will help to continually define the problem statements and alter research questions to meet their own needs (Hall, 1992; Smith, 1999). Adhering to this principle was a central component of this dissertation, which saw the shift of the fundamental questions framing this research from recruitment by gangs into the sex trade, to recruitment into the sex trade. Smith (2012) reminds us to be humble as researchers, avoiding unilaterally outlining the important questions in our field. From the outset, the voices of staff and survivors made it clear that questions of vulnerability and recruitment should not be limited to targets of gang predators. The central research question essentially asks if policy and practice work and can be effective for the development of prevention services. Not in a quantitative sense, but in the eyes of those being served. Responding to Marshall's (1989) second call for qualitative inquiry, "Research that seeks to explore where and why policy, folk wisdom and practice do not work" (p. 46), elucidates that Indigenous women in the sex trade are given little consideration within academic and policy studies. Oppression faced by Indigenous girls in at-risk populations is monumental, and the statistics show that current policy is not meeting their needs adequately.

When Indigenous gangs are researched, the male experience is taken as normative, hence the entire culture of Indigenous women in gangs and the sex trade is barely understood within academia and requires investigation. Marshall's (1989) third indicator of a need for qualitative inquiry is "Research on unknown societies" (p. 46). A lack of understanding of the marginalized Indigenous girls and women in the sex trade clearly elucidates the need for qualitative inquiry in this area. Researchers have identified the need for interviewers to use techniques that do not place the interviewer in an influential role, and allow the respondent to express their feelings freely (Partington, 2001). Smith (1999) identified the need for protection within research studies that involve Indigenous populations; in this case it would be the need to protect the dignity of the women in the study.

In-depth interviews and life histories of Indigenous girls who have experienced recruitment into the sex trade will be the methods and cornerstone of this research. In addition, in-depth interviews will be conducted with service providers working with at-risk Indigenous youth in the partner organization. Virgil and Yun (2002) argued that preventative education should occur at eight or nine years old, in order to be effective. Since interviews will be conducted with Indigenous girls who have already been recruited and exited the sex trade, the age group of interviewees will be anywhere from early 20s and older. Relationships with the respondents will be developed prior to the in-depth interviews during the process of collaborating, in order to come to consensus with the problem statement and research questions. One possible barrier that is considered is having a male researcher interviewing young women who may be in vulnerable states, as mentioned previously. The NWAC (2007) emphasized the need for research to place

women in a position of power, in order to set a standard within the community of power expectations. Empowering Indigenous women through a female interviewer is the most logical response, which will alleviate some of the problems of a male researcher interviewing vulnerable female populations. A partnership was developed with a female local leader affiliated with the partner organization who conducted the interviews.

Approach

Case Study. Prior to making the argument for this research to be conducted as a case study, I will give a brief description of what a case study consists of, using several academics. Robert Yin's case study was the primary source of information for design. While there is a great deal of variation within case study design, fundamental aspects are given a brief overview. Hartley (2004) described a case study as "a detailed investigation, often with data collected over a period of time, of phenomena, within their context" (p. 323). Neal, Thapa and Boyce (2006), define the case study as "a story about something unique, special, or interesting – stories can be about individuals, organization, processes, programs, neighborhoods, institutions and even events" (p. 3). For this research, the case study focused on Indigenous sex trade survivors and service providers. Yin (2009) gave a description of case study research in two phases. First, he states that, "you would use the case study method because you wanted to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth" (p. 18), and secondly:

The case study inquiry: copes with the technically distinctive situation in where there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result; relies on multiple sources or evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result. (p. 18)

For this specific research, the triangulation came from the evaluation from other academics, the organization's own policy documents, and the perspective of the survivors and service providers. Yin (2009) gave the six sources of evidence as: "documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artifacts" (p. 98). In this research project, documents, interviews, and participant observation were used, but from three different perspectives. Of the three perspectives used to view sources of data (academic evaluation, policy, and participant evaluation), the academic evaluation has already begun in the literature review of this dissertation, albeit limited due to few available sources. The internal document analysis (policy) was conducted after ethics have been cleared and once an agreement is made with the organization. After the completion of the document analysis, interviews were conducted with staff members offering services to vulnerable Indigenous girls, and finally, Indigenous sex trade survivors, which were the main source of information in this dissertation. These three sources came together to give a triangulation of the organization and help to create the framework for a future prevention program.

Kenny, Faries, Fiske, and Voyageur (2004) placed the importance of the case study within the female Indigenous context by stating: "By learning about the challenges that Aboriginal woman have experienced, and continue to encounter, we have a better understanding of the impacts of European contact on Aboriginal women, as well as on Aboriginal women in general" (p. 25). Speaking directly to Indigenous girls who have experienced recruitment into the sex trade aided in understanding their life experiences and the historical shifts in attitudes, as advocated by Kenny, Faries, Fiske and Voyageur (2004).

Yin (2009) gave three principles of data collection: multiple sources of evidence; a case study database, and a chain of evidence (p. 101). The reason for employing the three principles is to ensure “internal validity, external validity, and reliability” (p. 100). While it is important to consider the validation techniques used within case study research, this dissertation focused on the validation techniques established within Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s *Decolonizing? Methodologies* (1999). Significant crossover exists between the two validation techniques, but the importance of following Indigenous methodologies eclipses aspects of the case study.

In terms of variation within the case study, Yin (2009) gave four applications of the case study model:

The most important is to *explain* the presumed casual links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies. A second application is to *describe* an intervention and the real-life context in which it occurred. Third, case studies can *illustrate* certain topics within an evaluation, again in a descriptive mode. Fourth, the case study strategy may be used to *enlighten* those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes. (pp. 19-20)

In terms of this research, all four elements (explain, describe, illustrate and enlighten) were present within the research model. At this stage a brief overview of the four elements embedded within the research will be given:

Explain: an explanation was given of the life histories of sex trade survivors, and the perspective of service providers; describe: descriptions was given of how

recruitment was achieved and the possibilities of preventative education, from the perspective of the Indigenous girls.

Illustration: an illustration is given of the perceived ability of the survivors' life experience to be transformed to a strictly preventative program

Enlighten: to understand the wide reaching implications of childhood trauma. In the first chapter the explanatory and emancipatory purposes developed by Marshall and Rossman (1999) are given, which are close to the four elements within Yin's (2009) model.

A variation on the case study was applied in order to understand the effectiveness of current organizations working with the same population and a comparable agenda. The slight difference is that the organizations in the case study will primarily focus on sex trade intervention for Indigenous girls, while this research studied sex trade *prevention* for Indigenous girls. The findings of the research did not speak to the merits of the *intervention* partner organization; instead, they evaluated the perspective of the participants on possible prevention for younger Indigenous girls. Intervention organizations were approached and collaborated with because they are all that is available and much of the program design will be transferrable to a preventative program. The intervention programs provided the best access to Indigenous girls and women who have experienced recruitment and participation in the sex trade. Fundamental aspects of the intervention programs stress the importance of lowering risk factors and raising resiliency, which are necessities for Indigenous girls vulnerable to recruitment.

Yin (1994) stated that case study research should occur when the question is 'how' or 'why', with the researcher having no control over behavioral events, and the focus is

contemporary. The question of this research focuses specifically on the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of pathways, recruitment and possible education for at-risk Indigenous girls. The questions included: Why are these girls specifically vulnerable to recruitment? How are they recruited? What should preventative education look like? Harley (2004) states that, “The case study is particularly suited to research questions which require detailed understanding of social or organizational processes because of the rich data collected in context” (p. 323). Yin (1994) sums up the necessity of a case study in this specific instance succinctly: “if you needed to know ‘how’ or ‘why’ a program was successful (or not), you would lean toward either a case study or a field experiment” (p. 7). In the 2009 edition of *Case Study Research*, Yin described the process of a field experiment as the researcher having the ability to “manipulate behavior directly, precisely, and systematically” (p. 11), in order to glean information on a phenomenon. This is not the type of study that suits manipulating behavior in the research, resulting in the case study being the best fit.

Flyvbjerg (2006) examined a common criticism of case studies, which states that findings cannot be representative of the entire issue being researched, but instead one policy or organization’s response. As the literature review of this research pointed out, there is no organization strictly looking at sex trade prevention for Indigenous girls, and only two that have programs specifically dealing with intervention for Indigenous girls. The limited options make the case study an optimal tool, since the study can get an in-depth understanding of the limited services available. In Smith-Maddox and Solorzano’s (2002) article investigating the application of case studies in critical race theory research,

the authors argued that case studies promote the questioning of current systems and the generation of possible solutions.

The first step in the case study triangulation process commenced through the literature review. Organizations' websites, agreements with government agencies, and reviews by academics were used to create brief portraits of their goals and activities. The outcome of the initial research was combined with the site and population framework to select an organization, or organizations to partner with for this research. Once the partnerships have been established, the next step in the triangulation process is the document analysis. This process is used to understand the policies and procedures of the organizations being researched in the case study. The following section will discuss this document analysis process and how it will be conducted in this study.

Document Analysis

After signing an agreement with the organization, a thorough document analysis was conducted to understand the intricacies of their operations, recruitment, and theoretical strategy. The selected organization was researched in the literature review, but only to the extent possible without contact with the organization and sharing of internal policies, documents, and interviews. Yin's (2009) text does delve into extensive detail regarding the application of a document analysis of a single organization. The only recommendations given are to "arrange access to examine the files of any organization being studied" (p. 103). Hartley (2004) gave a detailed account of the document analysis procedures, which include interviews with staff to gain a greater understanding of the organizational structure. In his recommendations, Hartley gave the following advice on researching the operations of an organization in a case study:

This might consist of half a dozen ‘orientation’ interviews in which the researcher learns something of the history and present functioning of the organization.

Obtaining an organization chart (if available) is useful in ensuring that you are aware of the work of the principal departments. Mapping external partnerships and stakeholders can be important. It can be valuable to be ‘walked round’ the organization following the workflow and observing the work being undertaken. (p 328)

The process laid out by Hartley does not emphasize the document aspect of document analysis, but instead offers a personal introduction into the activities and processes of an organization.

Since this research question is unique, I used the aims of the research to guide the document analysis of the partner organization. The ability to conduct the analysis depended on the approval and accessibility of internal documents. It is possible that the organizations may have limited official documents, and I will instead have to rely upon the interview process recommended by Hartley (2004). In the case of the partner organization, there were substantial program documents making the interviews less focused on past programming.

Taking into account the research questions, the first aspect of the document analysis sought to understand the organization’s identification of at-risk youth and prospective program participants. Once the process of recruitment was identified, the documents relating to the project programming and timetable for program completion were analyzed. Finally, the document analysis looked at the research or theory used to create the intervention program.

The information collected by the document analysis elucidated the organizations methods, highlighting the processes emerging from prior research. Document analysis identified sex trade and gang realities for Indigenous women in the regional context, which helped to prepare questions for in-depth interviews the sex trade survivors. It was important that this process was built at each stage, with the website data and critique by other academics providing the foundation by which to select suitable organizations, followed by the document analysis, which was conducted to understand the inner workings of the organization and the nature of the problem in this specific geographic context. In the following section, in-depth interviews are described. Interviews were conducted to gain understanding of the perspective of the Indigenous girls who have experienced recruitment into the sex trade. The interview process was the last step in the case study triangulation.

In-Depth Interviews

Prior to giving the justification for using in-depth interviews within this case study, I give a brief description of what constitutes in-depth interview. Yin (2009), while describing the six methods of data collecting (documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artifacts), claimed that interviews are “[o]ne of the most important sources of case study information” (p. 106). The three types of interviews within a case study are in-depth, focused, and structured. In-depth interviews are described as being a collaborative, ongoing process between the interviewer and the interviewee. The subject being interviewed does not simply answer a string of questions, but places value on phenomena and helps to direct the researcher through conversation and recommendations towards what is important. One or several

interviews will be conducted with survivors and service providers without a strict agenda in mind (Yin, 2009). Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003) stressed the importance of using in-depth interviews to understand the perspective of individuals “because of the power of language to illuminate meaning” (p. 138). The fundamental aspects of in-depth interviews perfectly mirror the goals of this research study and Smith’s (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda.

Focused interviews are typically limited to a single interaction with the interviewee, and follow a specific line of questioning predetermined by the interviewer. Yin (2009) stated that focused interviews tend to be used to corroborate suspected facts, instead of entering a situation with an open mind. In a very old, but still relevant article, Merton and Kendall (1946) described the aim of focused interviews as “designed to determine the responses of persons exposed to a situation previously analyzed by the investigator” (p. 541). The focused interviews tend to be conducted in a situation where the interviewer has a supported hypothesis and is working towards triangulation. The final interview technique is a completely structured process. Yin (2009) compared the structured interview to a survey, and even though the final data is most often quantitative, it can help to explain qualitative elements. From the description of the interview processes given above, it is clear that this research fits with the design of an in-depth interview process.

In Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies*, twenty-five promising aspects of successful Indigenous projects are given. Some of the elements clearly match the methods within an in-depth interview and bring added justification for its application. *Testimony* is praised by Smith as “a way of talking about an extremely painful event or

series of events” and “ a form through which the voice of a ‘witness’ is accorded space and protection” (p. 144). A particular aspect of the testimony that fits with in-depth interviews is the control the subject has over the direction of the conversation, instead of the interviewer.

Smith (1999) describes *remembering* as the ability to deal with a traumatic past, instead of turning the pain inward and self-destructing. The pain experienced within some Indigenous communities remains silent and is masked by substance abuse and violent behavior. By *remembering*, communities and individuals enter into the first step towards healing and empowerment. Within Yin’s (2009) definition of in-depth interviews, remembering is made possible by allowing the interviewee to direct aspects of the interview and be empowered by the process of overcoming barriers of shame connected to their abuse. The one drawback that in-depth interviewing may pose, in terms of remembering, is the hesitation some interviewees may have leading the conversation towards a particularly painful memory. In order to ensure support for the vulnerable position the girls may be in after sharing traumatic events, counselors will be available from the partner organization.

Most of Smith’s (1999) discussion about *connecting* speaks specifically to land and lineage. In the final section Smith (1999) reminded us of the importance of the individual and community being connected to the research. Smith (1999) speaks of the numerous studies that have alienated Indigenous participants by placing the needs of the researcher and the research as paramount. Multiple meetings with interviewees by the researcher helped to develop relationships and make the participants comfortable enough to take control of the interviews. Creating a connection with women who agreed to

participate in this research was important to the success of this study, especially since this particular vulnerable population has been exposed to a series of difficult events, which may cause relationships between interviewer and interviewee to take longer to form.

Kenny, Faries, Fiske and Voyageur (2004) argued the necessity of including the Indigenous community in any development design: “In the native community, direct input of the people is crucial in designing and implementing policies that work, because the expression of these policies in funding and services are usually the responsibility of grass-roots Aboriginal workers in the community” (p. 19). In order to empower the voice of the Indigenous community in the case study model, it is imperative to move beyond simply asking them questions. A call and response dialogue will not suffice within an Indigenous research model. This was achieved in this research by sharing control over the questions of the research, which shifted based on the stated importance by service providers and sex trade survivors. Kenny, Faries, Fiske and Voyageur’s (2004) model for holistic research requires (1) “honoring past, present and future in interpretive and analytical research processes including historical references and intergenerational discourse;” (2) “honoring the interconnectedness of all of life and the multi-dimensional aspects of life on the Earth and in the community in research design and implementation”; and (3) “honoring the spiritual, physical, emotional and mental aspects of the person and the community in research protocols, methodologies and analyses” (p. 8). In order to achieve the goals of this holistic model, it was imperative to share power with the researched and consider the implications of the past.

To understand the unique culture of the collaborating organization that was investigated, the researcher made three extended visits to become familiar with the

operations and staff and then the individuals receiving services. The process of becoming familiar minimized the possibility of skepticism about outsiders researching in their community (Fine, Tuck & Zeller-Berkman, 2008,) and allowed the researcher to contextualize the knowledge shared in the in-depth interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The analysis of the data allowed the researcher to better understand the perspective of the individuals in the greater context of the organization and culture.

A single organization was selected to partner with, Prince Albert Outreach, who developed and administered Warrior Spirit Walking. Individuals within the organization were approached through appropriate networks (Smith, 1999) to help the participants and staff feel safe. At this point, the dissertation will turn to the selection criteria used to decide which locations and organizations fit the criteria of this research.

Site and Population Selection

In the first edition of Marshall and Rossman's *Designing Qualitative Research* (1989), four recommendations are given for site and population selection: (1) "Entry is possible" (p. 54); (2) There will be a mix of the processes, people, programs and organizations outlined in the study; (3) The researcher can remain in the community, within their role, for an extended period of time; (4) The quality of data and credibility of the study are assured by avoiding a misleading sample size (p. 54).

The actual selection of the site could be made prior to clearing the ethics board at the University of Calgary. When researching human subjects at the University of Calgary, researchers must follow the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. The Tri-Council Policy states that researchers must clear the ethical board prior to getting consent from participant individuals or organizations (p. 35).

Acting within the policy meant that the researcher used the site and population selection to outline the attributes of communities or individuals that would be desirable research candidates. The intent of the Site and Population selection was not to name a specific organization. Instead, the four recommendations by Marshall and Rossman (1989) were applied to the specific problem statement and research questions to identify a framework that was used for site selection.

The site selection became problematic because of the extremely limited number of organizations providing services specifically to Indigenous girls and women in this field. The top two or three choices meeting the criteria were the ideal selections, followed by several organizations that had Indigenous females receiving services, but not services designed specifically for them. Keeping these factors in mind, the following is the application of Marshall and Rossman's (1989) four recommendations:

1. "entry is possible" (p. 35): The community and organization should be reasonably accessible, both physically and socially. Regions too far in the north that would make regular contact and extended stays difficult should not be considered. Organizations that have leaders and participants that are eager to collaborate are preferable, as they have a mode of entry to the community. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2010) discusses this when emphasizing the importance of "connecting" in Indigenous communities (p. 148). Being introduced through the proper channels and respecting the community's process can be achieved by selecting a community with available and organic entry points.

2. “There will be a mix of the processes, people, programs and organizations outlined in the study” (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 35). Some aspects of this recommendation will not be a relevant to this research, as the question looks at specific programs and a limited demographic. In many other aspects, this research will attend to the mix, by examining varying strategies for preventing prostitution and gang involvement, as well as documenting the personal experiences and of Indigenous girls. As Grekul (2008) stated, there is no uniform cause of Indigenous sex trade participation across all Canadian cities, which would lead one to infer that there are no uniform preventative methods. An area should be selected where some attempts have been made so that programs can be compared with the ideas of participants. In regards to people, it should be an area with significant sex trade activity and with enough Indigenous participants to offer an acceptable sample size across the demographic.
3. “The researcher can remain within their role for an extended period of time” (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 35). This factor should not be too critical in the selection of a community to research in, but it should influence the entry point and contacts made within an organization. Experience working in First Nations communities has prepared me for the kinship political systems that can derail research attempts. When selecting an entry point that can seemingly provide “connecting” (Smith, 2010, p. 148) to the rest of the community, the researcher should be cautious how this decision may alienate the rest of the population or

limit future access. Becoming too reliant on one entry point may limit the possibilities of the research within the community.

4. “The quality of data and credibility of the study are assured by avoiding a misleading sample size” (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 54). The response to this recommendation will be covered in the trustworthiness section.

By using the site selection to evaluate the best prospects from the list of relevant organizations in chapter two, a clear picture emerged of the optimal candidate organization. Once an agreement with the organization was completed, the data gathering process commenced. Much of the data gathering techniques have already been discussed in the sections on case studies, document analysis and in-depth interviews, but the following section will expand upon this discussion and look at the specifics of this process.

Data Gathering Methods

Previous sections in this chapter extensively discuss the data gathering process. The collaborative process of in-depth interviews, discussed by Yin (2009) and Smith (1999), require flexibility within the actual interviews. The earlier methods section mentions the three methods of data collecting employed for this study: academic evaluation, policy, and in-depth interviews. Of the three methods, the academic evaluation was already begun in the literature review prior to connecting with the partner organization. The process involved in policy evaluation was discussed in the previous section on document analysis, which included a framework for how it was conducted within the organization. The final data gathering method, participant evaluation, has been

explained in the in-depth interview section. The complete interview process cannot be described in detail, as it will depend on the direction the interviewee feels comfortable.

In Smith's (1999) IRA, the stated goal of any research project within the Indigenous community is identified as self-determination. The processes leading to self-determination in the model should be considered in the data gathering methods. This means that healing, decolonization, transformation and mobilization should be foundations of the design of data collection. In the earlier chapters a great deal of discussion regarding these strategies was undertaken, but I want to give a brief explanation for their use in data gathering. All four of these processes emphasize empowerment and collaboration. There are varying degrees to which these can be included in different studies, specifically when they are not action research based. The fundamental question of this research indirectly ask about empowerment, in addition to using the perspective of the Indigenous girls as the primary data set. But within the data collecting process, face-to-face communication was applied as the mode of empowerment, added after each phase to ensure genuine collaboration and empowerment.

In McHugh and Kowalski's (2010) action research project that collaborated with female Indigenous youth, the researchers opted to use Stinger and Genat's (2004) five-phase action research formula (research design, data gathering, data analysis, communication, and action). While this is not an action research based project, the IRA intends for research to have real world consequences (Smith, 1999). A primary requirement of research within this design is to have an impact with the community. While action research requires the researcher to implement findings into new programs (Hinchey, 2008), this research instead helped to provide the foundation for future

programs to be built upon. Basically, of the five phases (research design, data gathering, data analysis, communication, action), only the first four are completed, leaving action for a subsequent project (Stinger & Genat, 2004).

In this study, the five-phase formula was adapted to be more inclusive throughout the processes. Communication followed each step to ensure agency on the part of the participants and avoid an imposition of research design from an outsider (Hinchey, 2008; Smith, 1999). The reason for including the discussion of the five-phase research formula in the data gathering section was to ensure that each section of the research was deemed data gathering. Developing relationships with the organizational leaders, working with the stakeholders and collaborators to refine the problem statement and questions, agreeing on a method of in-depth interview, and life history are all included in data gathering. Knowledge is shared in both formal and in-formal settings. After completing the data collection process, the qualitative analysis was used to gain a greater understanding of the responses and how they can be understood in relation to program creation.

Data Analysis Procedures

The standard five modes of data analysis are used in the study: “organizing the data, generating categories, themes and patterns, testing the emergent hypothesis against the data; and writing the report” (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 114). The first two modes of data analysis are assisted by the use of the coding software Nvivo. I have used this coding tool in past qualitative research projects. This software gives researchers easy access to patterns of responses and topics that emerged as salient to the study based on

participant interviews. The generation of themes and patterns emerged from the data analysis process have been applicable to the community and their work.

Marshall and Rossman (1985) warned against becoming too reliant on coding, because it could lead all information to be seen as fitting within one or more category of a framework. Patton (2001), in *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, argues that an emic (insider) rather than etic (outwardly imposed) definition of terms and categories should be established in the analysis of data, in order to properly categorize and understand that data that has been collected. Marshall and Rossman (1989) called the use of emic definitions: Indigenous typologies. Since this research will be cooperative, the participants themselves help to develop the analysis, which will ensure an emic perspective.

The following sections on testing the emergent themes and writing the report are difficult to predict, given the data that has to be analyzed in the first three sections. The trustworthiness section that follows addresses data analysis using Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) framework, in addition to other non-indigenous perspectives on the subject. Trustworthiness relates to both the data gathering and analysis techniques and should be considered during the entire research process.

Trustworthiness

Poor sampling is the biggest threat to trustworthiness. It is best to include “a sample with the widest possible range of variation in the phenomena, settings, or people under study” (Dobbert, 1982 in Marshall & Rossmann, 1989, p. 55). Frankel, in *Standards of Qualitative Research* (1999), gave a number of recommendations for ensuring trustworthiness in a qualitative research study, focusing on the closest thing to a

consensus from the leading researchers: “verification procedures include tactics such as triangulation, prolonged engagement, peer debriefing, thick description, member checking, external audits and searching for confirming and disconfirming cases” (Creswell, 1998; Kuzel & Like, 1991 in Frankel, 1999, p. 335). The author claimed that two of these tools should be used to achieve “trustworthiness” in qualitative inquiry (p. 335).

The first tool that will be used in this study to ensure trustworthiness is member checking. Using “member checking” fits with Frankel’s list of trustworthiness methods, but it was selected to follow Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s recommendations in *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999), highlighting the importance of genuine collaboration as meaningful practices to indigenous communities. Smith called the process “Democratizing” (p. 156) by giving each community member a voice in the research procedures. She is not referring to the colonial democratic processes, which have imposed a western ideal of democracy upon communities that have their own methods for achieving a democratic system.

The second tool that would come naturally in the stated data analysis strategy is triangulation. Analysis of interviews and interactions within the organization inevitably resulted in a triangulation of certain issues across the spectrum of demographics and respondents. The triangulation is present when comparing the three methods of data collecting: academic evaluation, policy and participant evaluation. The overall question of the research intends to understand the optimal design for a preventative education program, and the existing data from these three sources helps to create a well-rounded perspective. *Intervening*, as described in Indigenous methodologies, requires a method

very similar to the process of triangulation (Smith, 1999). In order for a representative intervention to occur in Indigenous community, each level of stakeholder should be represented. In the case of this research, it gives a voice to the academic, the policy designer, the front-line worker, and the vulnerable population.

The final tool used to ensure trustworthiness was developed together with the women collaborating in the study. Gorelick (1991) argued that women's oppression is "a complex of many contradictions" and necessitates a new standpoint-based methodology, created by researchers and participants of diverse race, class, and other oppressed groups, refocusing and re-visioning knowledge based on theory, action, and experience" (p. 459). In *Red Pedagogy: The Un-Methodology* (2008), Grande stated that pedagogies need to be developed within the Indigenous community in order to promote "disruption, intervention, collectivity, hope and possibility" (p. 238). Using participant views of success as a primary indicator has been used in other action research studies working with female Indigenous youth in Canada. McHugh and Kowlaski (2010) cite action research academics when opting to develop indicators of success with the girls collaborating: "Having to address such questions of quality and credibility within his own qualitative research, Garratt (2003) argued that researchers should select judgment criteria that are appropriate for the story being told" (p. 235). In light of these arguments, participants helped to create a third trustworthiness indicator, problem identification. Unstructured interviews supported survivors and staff members in directing the conversation towards what they felt was important. Early in the process it became clear that research needed to expand beyond gang recruitment. Shifting the questions to all Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade ensured trustworthiness by giving agency to the researched.

Immediately following the research design process outlined in the past few chapters, it is required to clear ethics in order to research using human participants. A meticulously ethical framework was especially imperative for this research, since the participants are in a vulnerable position and gender dynamics can be tenuous. In order to meet the multiple needs of the researched community, this research relied upon both the University standards and those set by Indigenous researchers.

Ethical Considerations and Tri-Council Process

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) developed an ethical framework for working with Indigenous communities, moving away from the ethical codes that adhere to a top down mentality. The Community-Up ethical code was developed to help guide researchers in conducting themselves in a respectful manner that offers dignity and agency to collaborating indigenous communities and people. The principles of Community Up were outlined in *Decolonized Methodologies* (1999) and then utilized by Fiona Cram (2001) to elucidate how these principles can apply to research, which was cited in a later paper by Tuhiwai Smith (2005).

The principles of the ethical framework are as follows: (1) A respect for people: allowing collaborators to meet on their own terms; (2) Face-to-face interactions: this is especially important when presenting the idea of research to the community; (3) “Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking)” (p. 98); (4) “Sharing, hosting and being generous.” This opens the door for true collaboration and positioning both parties as knowledge givers; (5) “Be Cautious: be aware of your position within the community”; (6) “Respect the dignity of others. Be cognizant not to be paternalistic and

culturally insensitive”; (7) “Do not flaunt your knowledge...Sharing knowledge is an empowering process, but the community has to empower itself” (Smith, 2005, p. 98).

Kenny, Faries, Fiske and Voyageur (2004) recommend using the eight principles of ethical research in Indigenous communities designed by Castellano (2004). Of the eight principles listed, several are similar to what has been presented in Smith (1999), but there are additional recommendations not covered in the ethical frameworks, they are as follows: (1) Indigenous people have the right to participate in research “that generates knowledge affecting their culture, identity and well-being” (p. 109). (2) The government of Canada has the responsibility to protect against oppression through research. (3) The government of Canada has a responsibility to both block infringement on Aboriginal communities and promote internally developed ethical frameworks (Kenny et al, 2004; p. 110). Of particular interest is the development of internally driven ethical frameworks. Since research was conducted through an organization in a city with a large Indigenous population, it was deemed an inaccurate representative to go to a specific First Nation community for ethical standards. The collaborating organizations also adhered to an ethical framework similar to the University and what Indigenous scholars have designed.

The entire methodology section is designed to seamlessly fit together to create an appropriate research model for this specific community. In the personal biography, I will use my personal, academic, and professional background to present my unique positioning to conduct this research. While race and experience are not necessarily requirements for conducting research in this field, it gives certain advantages of accessibility and understanding.

Personal Biography

I am originally from the Nadleh Wh'uten and Nee Tahi Buhn First Nations of the Carrier Nation in central British Columbia. My undergraduate degree is in Canadian history and I have a master's in international development. The research I conducted for my master's thesis was in rural, post-conflict Uganda and investigated youth strategies for peace building in post-conflict regions. While living several years abroad I worked for Greenpeace, Amnesty International, and the Wilderness Society in Australia. In the period between my undergraduate degree and master's I worked as the senior historian at a First Nations specific land claims law firm. After completing my master's I took on several research and policy writing contracts with First Nations in northern British Columbia and a study on Indigenous homelessness in western Canada with the University of Calgary. While working on my Ph.D., I gained experience as a sessional professor, for both graduate and undergraduate courses, participated in school reviews for on-reserve schools, and served as a senior policy advisor for my First Nation. I have recently been hired as a tenure-track assistant professor in the Werklund School of Education at the University of Calgary.

Conclusion

The epistemology and methodology described in this chapter present the theory of knowledge utilized and the specific methods of research that were employed. Previous chapters have displayed the historical realities within the Canadian Indigenous context and previous research in related fields, which combine with the third chapter to reveal a fully constructed research proposal. The seven pathways created for this research give a predictor of prostitution and gang participation for Indigenous girls. The four modes of recruitment (Dorrais & Corriveau, 2009) offer insight into the recruitment strategies and

relationships developed between Indigenous girls and their abusers within gangs. Smith's (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda is an epistemology that promotes collaborating with Indigenous communities to achieve self-determination. The use of case study research, and specifically in-depth interviews with Indigenous girls with experience in the sex trade, justified using the accepted optimal utilizations of the methodological tools. Combining all of these aspects of the research creates a logical pathway for research to be conducted within the field that gives the best opportunity of unearthing real truth and meeting the specific needs of the female Indigenous community. There are a number of issues within this field of study that need additional attention beyond the scope of this research, but the designed research plan is the best that fits this specific question and within this specific community.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The aim of the data gathering process, and the research as a whole, was to empower the voices of Indigenous women who are the victims of the sex trade industry, something that I believe was realized. While interviews with Indigenous women who were previously in the sex trade are central to the findings in this study, the perspective of staff within the organization working with these women is also necessary to achieve additional breadth of understanding. Frontline and administrative staff of PA Outreach, the partner organization in Prince Albert who oversaw the Warrior Spirit Walking Program, have extensive experience working with this population prior, during, and after their involvement in the sex trade, and they can provide invaluable insight into what has been done, what works, and what does not for Indigenous girls and preventative education.

Data collection for this dissertation has followed three steps. First, documents relating to the programming once offered at PA Outreach were collected and examined in order to understand what preventative and intervention programs looked like in theory. Second, staff members in PA Outreach were interviewed in order to understand their perspective regarding Indigenous girls recruitment into the sex trade, the life experiences of these girls, what prevention has looked like, and what prevention should look like. The primary interviews of this dissertation involved the girls/women who have actually experienced recruitment, hence they authentically reflect upon the process and an education program that helps to equip vulnerable Indigenous girls against manipulative recruitment tactics. The interviews with Indigenous women were unstructured, which led

to a number of topics being discussed that could not have been predicted. Surprising topics the researcher did not expect will be included in the presentation of findings in this research.

Document Analysis

The *Warrior Spirit Walking* (WSW) program developed by PA Outreach was established in 2003 (Totten & Dunn, 2011a), and was in operation until funding expired in 2013. This program will be the focus of the document analysis, including the primary method(s) used within the organization to prevent and intervene gang activity and the sex trade. The document analysis for this program consists of three print documents and four DVDs. The print documents are the *Manual for Gang Prevention in Your Community: Warrior Spirit Walking; Annual Evaluation Report for the Prince Albert Outreach Program Inc. Youth Alliance Against Violence Project, 2010; and, PA Outreach Program Inc.: Annual Report 2011-2012*. The DVDs used in the document analysis are *Fallen Angels; Fallen Through the Cracks: Where is our future?; PA Outreach: Making a Difference; and, Untitled*. The collection of documents elucidated the growth of a successful program that used multiple mediums and approaches to address prevention and intervention of gang activity and participation in the sex trade. In addition to the documents, discussions with staff contributing to the WSW Project will help to give additional insight into operations and philosophy.

Design. The mission statement of the WSW project was to “increase protective factors and reduce risk factors for youth involved in gangs and youth at high risk of joining gangs; and to reduce gang related youth violence and crime” (Totten & Dunn, 2011a, p. 11). While there was no explicit reference to the sex trade or female gang

members in the mission statement or project title, some activities within the organization were clearly designed to address gender and participation in the sex trade. The central objectives of the Warrior Street Walking project were as follows:

1) to increase access to community support and services for youth gang members and those youth at high risk of gang involvement; 2) to assist youth to leave street and/or gang life through individual and family counseling, cultural supports, and other opportunities for youth to experience safety, belonging, mastery and pro-social engagement with adults and peers; 3) to increase school re-entry and promote success in the completion of high school and GED; 4) to increase neighbourhood and community gang prevention programs and decrease gang control in high risk neighbourhoods through education and youth led intervention.

(Totten & Dunn, 2011a, p. 11)

Prevention and intervention are the focus of the WSW Project, goals that go beyond the scope of this research, which is limited to investigating preventative models. The objectives of the Prince Albert Outreach project are expansive. The organization hopes to attend to the needs of Indigenous youth in Prince Albert using a “wraparound process and multi-systemic therapy” (Totten & Dunn, 2011a, p. 17).

The Warrior Street Walking program was targeted to Indigenous youth from the ages of 10-21 (Totten & Dunn, 2011a), but some of the activities reached individuals outside of the targeted range. The youth who entered the program were at various levels of risk. As of 2012, 116 youth became a part of the program, 57 percent were deemed high risk, 36 percent medium risk, and seven percent low risk, based on 14 indicators of risk. In relation to the seven pathways in this dissertation, statistics illuminate that most

students participating in the WSW program fit the criteria for vulnerability. Totten and Dunn's (2011a) research found that 41 percent were in the child welfare system, with 31 percent experiencing seven or more out of home facilities. The research states that 40 percent of the youth had sold drugs in the previous year, and the same number had violently attacked another person. Unfortunately, these statistics were not broken down by gender, so it is impossible to know what percentage of the girls entering the program were high risk and which had experienced the pathways to predict vulnerability.

Prince Albert Outreach's philosophy is based on the Circle of Courage model, which places an emphasis on belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity (Won Ska, 2012). The Circle of Courage model is built from the scholarship of Brendtro, Brokenleg, and Van Bockern (1990), who accentuate positive youth development based on Indigenous parenting and education models (Totten & Dunn, 2011a). Secondary preventative and intervention education are targeted using fourteen risk factors: prior delinquency, anti-social attitudes, aggression and violence, friends who are gang members, interaction with delinquent peers, poor school performance/learning difficulties, low achievement in school, family disorganization, family violence, family members who are in a gang, extreme economic deprivation, social disorganization, presence of gangs in the neighborhood, and cultural norms supporting gang/criminal behavior (Totten & Dunn, 2011a, pp. 15-16). The model is focused on an expansive understanding of gang participation, but skews towards male-centric gang activity. Nevertheless, there is crossover between PA Outreach's risk factors and the seven predictors used in this dissertation. Additional elements from the fourteen risk factors have influenced a

reconsideration of including new pathways to the model developed in the first chapter of this research.

Once a youth is identified as vulnerable to gang recruitment, case managers are assigned to work in partnership with the student to create a personalized partnership plan. The general components of the program are broken up in six activities. Indigenous youth who enter the program vary in emphasis relating to separate program components, depending on needs and context. The six components are: counseling, presentation team, senior and junior Won Ska Cultural School, youth activity centre, van outreach, and court outreach (Totten & Dunn, 2011a). In order to establish a firm understanding of the activities in this prevention and intervention service, a brief examination of each component is necessary.

Counseling services in the Warrior Street Walking program are targeted to the specific needs of each youth, and offered at a number of sites. The five services comprising the counseling services offered through WSW are: “Individual/crisis counseling; employment counseling; substance abuse counseling; female assistance group counseling; and community school-based counseling” (Totten & Dunn, 2011a, p. 12). Since services specifically aimed at Indigenous girls and women are the focus of this dissertation, we will take a closer look at what these counseling sessions consist of. Totten and Dunn (2011a) researched the sessions and found that topics covered in the female assistance group counseling ranged from “parenting and baby wellness, sexual abuse, sex trade, body image, sexual orientation, life skills, self harm, and skills for violence-free relationships” (p. 12). The female specific counseling sessions in the WSW Project provide a service that meets the criteria of Mellor’s (2005) model for secondary

prevention education, and is recognized as being the pivotal program component that specifically addresses the needs of girls vulnerable to the sex trade (Totten & Dunn, 2010).

The second component of the Warrior Street Walking Program, the presentation team, is comprised of youth who have previously been gang involved. These youth give mixed media presentations at schools on the dangers of gang activities and youth violence. Indigenous culture is used extensively in the presentations, which offer the presenters as much opportunity for growth as the intended audience. Youth with prior gang affiliations are empowered to become leaders and educators, while also providing primary prevention education (Mellor et al., 2005) to a wide range of students. The youth giving the presentations attend the Senior and Junior Won Ska Cultural schools, which is the third component of the program. This component offers alternative education to Indigenous youth who have been expelled or struggling in mainstream institutions. Won Ska schools give students access to teachers, counselors, elders, and a personalized education plan that offers the best opportunity for graduation.

The Youth Activity Centre (YAC) provides youth with a place to spend time and participate in positive activities after school hours. A significant danger facing Indigenous youth in Prince Albert is spare time; spare time increases the possibility of gang involvement or the exposure to negative influences. The YAC provides a space for positive activities and makes every attempt to ensure that youth will not be subjected to recruitment or violence. Providing a continuity of services is paramount for Prince Alberta Outreach (which is further bolstered by giving youth access to a group home facility) for anyone who is homeless or does not have a safe place to live (Staff Interview,

2014). The program materials do not stress this aspect of the program as much as personal interviews with staff from PA Outreach. The earliest stages of this program saw students experiencing significant growth during school hours, but they continued to experience immense pressures outside of the hours spent directly with the staff and other students. Extension of services allowed for the removal of negative pressures and increased positive experiences.

The Van Outreach component of PA Outreach's Warrior Street Walking program gives services to sex workers and the homeless by using a mobile support station during peak hours of street activity. Surprisingly, most of the sex trade activities in Prince Albert take place in the late afternoon and early evening, with almost a complete absence overnight (Staff Interview, 2014). The services are not limited to Indigenous women, but the van outreach staff has indicated that sex trade workers in Prince Alberta are almost all Indigenous. Sex trade workers are offered medical attention, lights snacks and water, someone to talk to, and connections with service providers. Two times a week a nurse from the Prince Alberta STI Centre accompanies the van outreach workers to meet with girls working in the sex trade. Van outreach staff reported that sex workers are never going to be told or convinced to receive services, it is only when they are ready and decide independently that services will be an option. The role of the van outreach workers is to be there when the women have decided they are ready for services, upon which they are immediately removed from the streets. After years of experience, outreach workers say they are able to identify girls within days of death, and only then do they try to apply pressure to get the girls off the street.

The final component of the program is court outreach, which pairs a youth in the justice system with a counselor from PA Outreach. In this program schedules are created to remind youth of their court appearances. Youth are driven to the court to ensure they appear before the judge. The counselor advocates on their behalf during these times. For many of these youth, it is the first time they have felt supported and they often develop strong feelings towards the court outreach worker, who often take on a maternal role. Court outreach workers have reported getting numerous phone calls from youth at all hours of the night, which often lead to the staff picking up the youth and bringing them to a safe environment (Staff Interview). Since youth in the program do not have parents or guardians playing an active role in their lives, the outreach staff become the only stabilizing and reliant force in their lives. Prior to the creation of this component, youth were continually sentenced to time in juvenile detention centres for not appearing in court or other avoidable infractions.

Despite numerous mentions of female specific programming, the reports do not contain significant findings related to success based on gender. The Totten and Dunn (2011a) report refers to multiple group interviews completed with the boys separated from the girls, although the findings were not attributed to a specific gender, which nullifies the intent of the exercise. The findings from 2008 to 2009 stated that 58 out of 133 program participants were female, but there is no data given on success based on gender. Limited reports do not necessarily mean that gender-based programming was not successful, but makes it difficult to research the successful application for female participants if gender is not recognized in reporting mechanisms. Thankfully, a

meaningful qualitative analysis of the female experience in programming was possible through interviews with the staff at PA Outreach.

The Totten and Dunn (2011a) report made recommendations for the WSW program based on the perceived needs of female participants, which can be helpful in shaping what prevention education can contain. The three recommendations that were focused on the needs of female Indigenous students are as follows:

Methods and tools need to reflect the unique risks and protective factors of young women. Use qualitative interviews to supplement quantitative data. Baseline risk assessment and follow-up surveys need to address issues such as parenting, sexual health, involvement in the sex trade, and depression. When assessing gang membership and affiliation, ensure that questions are sensitive to the gendered experiences of gang involvement. (p. 110)

Develop gender-responsive programs for girls which address their unique risk and protection factors: such interventions should not simply replicate male-oriented programs. Therapeutic programs for girls and young women should be separate and distinct from those programs geared towards boys and young men. Female staff and elders should be engaged in such programs. Although there may be skilled male staff and Elders who can deliver these programs, it is not safe for many high risk women. In the eyes of traumatized young women, any male can potentially be an abuser. (p. 112)

Implement Family-based Interventions for Young People who are living with Parents: Providing family counseling requires specialized training and prior experience in the field. It is more complex than individual counseling and should be

undertaken with the required skills. However, it is a critical area of intervention that often is an oversight in gang programs. Given the fact that many Aboriginal parents have suffered greatly from Indian Residential Schools (IRSs) and in general from forced assimilation, there is an identifiable need for parenting classes and coaching. Many participants who live with parents report that they are gang involved or are active in the sex trade, have addictions, are violent, or have other serious problems, such as poor mental health. In order to interrupt cycles of ill-health, violence and gang involvement, it is often helpful to speak with parents on their own or together with their child and understand the nature of their issues; having the child understand, from the parent's perspective, the root causes of parental problems; and developing an action plan to address communication and behavioral issues. (p. 213)

The stated findings of Totten and Dunn's (2011a) report address the conventional wisdom in the limited field of intervention education for Indigenous women vulnerable to gangs and the sex trade. Within this field, researchers are apprehensive to address prevention education because of the young age needed in order to be successful. Totten and Dunn (2012), in their third recommendation, begin to consider including entire families in counseling services and breaking the cycle of abuse that stems from the IRS era. Family-based programming is difficult to achieve, because many vulnerable youth do not have parents actively involved in their lives, but is a good start to accessing vulnerable populations prior to recruitment age.

The success of the Warrior Street Walking Program is clear, with appreciative inquiry oriented recommendations that support the growth of an already innovative project. Totten and Dunn (2011a) argue:

The Warrior Spirit Walking Project is an innovative gang intervention and prevention project which has demonstrated remarkable success in its first two years of operation. Overall, the outcomes achieved with participants are very positive and there are clear and consistent indicators that the project is achieving its objectives.

(p. 61)

The upcoming section documenting the interviews with PA Outreach staff can begin to give context and further detail to the limited focus on gender available. In addition to reflecting on the Warrior Street Walking program, the staff discussed the changing landscape of the sex trade, what life experiences made Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade, and what preventative education should entail. Much of the knowledge gained from the PA Outreach staff was established during activities associated with the intervention and prevention Warrior Street Walking Program.

Staff and Administration Interviews

Staff and administration interviews at Prince Albert Outreach proved to be a fruitful source of information. Nineteen staff members participated in the interviews, spanning three institutions of the program and all six components. The roles of the interviewees included both junior and high school teachers, cultural administrator, youth outreach workers, van outreach counselor, elder, education associate, court liaisons, addiction counselors, crisis counselor, prison counselor, employment counselor, and program director. Interviews were unstructured and ranged from twenty to ninety minutes. Instead of giving individual breakdowns of responses, the cumulative interviews will be broken down into themes and sub-themes using Nvivo qualitative software. In this section analysis will not be given, but instead a presentation of the responses.

The themes extracted from the interviews are broken down into the following categories: pathways, recruitment, sex trade activities, consequences of the sex trade, Warrior Spirit Walking Program, and prevention education recommendations. Each of the themes are broken down into sub-themes and expanded upon. Even though the focus of the dissertation investigates prevention education for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade, I have included some responses relating to sex trade activities and intervention education to add to the limited knowledge base. This information can inform other projects aimed at intervening in the sex trade or understanding the life experiences of sex workers, but do not necessarily inform the creation of preventative education. Since the information relating to sex trade activities does not relate directly to preventative education, there will be no analysis of these activities or the process of exiting the sex trade. In this section the responses of the staff and administration interviews will be presented without analysis, which will be saved for the following chapter.

The interviewees will be uniformly listed 'Staff Interview' instead of separating into 'Interviewee A', 'Interviewee B', so that the cumulative responses of one individual cannot be used to uncover their identity. It may be deemed helpful to understand the responses an individual made in totality, but I believe protecting the anonymity of interviewees is paramount in this process. Even though no one was critical of their employer or divulged anything that could put their position in danger, this level of protection is necessary. In total there were nineteen staff interviewed, which offers a robust view of prevention education and the sex trade in Prince Albert. Similarly, the section presenting the testimony of sex trade survivors will all be listed as 'Survivor' or

‘sex trade survivor’ to ensure the experiences cannot be combined to ascertain the identity of respondents.

Similar to the IRS testimony section of the literature review, I have attempted to let the words of those experiencing the trauma or working directly with the girls be the primary focus. I view this process as empowering, as it allows the voice of people directly experiencing the trauma remain intact in the data presentation.

Pathways to the sex trade

The seven pathways to sex trade for Indigenous women established in the first and second chapters of this dissertation pertained to the national perspective. In contrast, the responses of the staff and administration of Prince Albert Outreach focus on the local context, which contain a number of unique factors that may not be present in other cities. The findings of these interviews can help schools and agencies in Prince Albert create specific criteria for evaluating vulnerability, while keeping in mind that the sex trade is constantly changing so models of vulnerability and recruitment need to be responsive as necessary. The dynamic nature of the sex trade does not mean that creating models is futile, but academics and practitioners must remain vigilant to update models and stay attuned to any shifts.

Upon completion of the proposal, but prior to conducting interviews, it became clear that substance abuse was a common pathway to participation in the sex trade for Indigenous women. Substance abuse is not geographically specific, but based on the literature it appears to be uniform among girls who are recruited and forced into the sex trade (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Seshia, 2005; Sikka, 2010). The pathways to the sex trade will be organized in this section first based on the seven pathways (including

substance abuse), then possible pathways that could help expand the general model will be added, and finally locally specific pathways will be given. To review, the seven pathways to the sex trade are: sexual abuse, social devaluation, violentization, family disorganization, FASD, sexualized femininity, and substance abuse. It is important to remember that the absence of a single pathway in any Indigenous girl does not limit their vulnerability, but the accumulation of multiple pathways can help educators understand the level of vulnerability.

Sexual abuse. When asked to describe which life experiences make Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade, the most common responses in the established seven pathways was sexual abuse. Out of the nineteen staff and administration interviewed, ten directly named sexual abuse as a major cause of vulnerability. The remaining staff interviewed never denied sexual abuse playing a factor; in these cases they either did not mention it or said they did not know. There were never questions asked about sexual abuse being a pathway to vulnerability, due to the unstructured nature of the interviews. Quotes from the interviews elucidate how ubiquitous sexual abuse is in the childhood of Indigenous women in the sex trade: “All have been sexually abused” (Staff Interview, 2014); “One-hundred percent of the girls have been sexually abused” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Eighty percent of them have been abused in their life, probably even higher” (Staff Interview, 2014); “most of our girls have had some sort of sexual abuse” (Staff Interview, 2014); “always have been inappropriately touched in some ways” (Staff Interview, 2014). Additional responses attested to the pervasive nature of sexual abuse and vulnerability to the sex trade, but the limited number shared here highlight the perspective of support workers in a wide range of positions at Prince Albert Outreach.

In some cases, the interviewees gave deeper insight into how sexual abuse impacted Indigenous girls as they entered adolescence. One staff member acknowledged that most of the girls, “have been through hell and back, and their story would astonish the average person” (Staff Interview, 2014). In response to persistent abuse, an interviewee claimed that survivors “don’t have control of their own bodies, someone else has taken control. When they get into the sex trade, they have the control” (Staff Interview, 2014). In addition to losing control of their bodies, many survivors of sexual abuse reported to the staff feelings of shame, which make them feel that they deserve to be in the sex trade (Interview, 2014). Shame stemmed from not only their own abuse, but allowing it to happen to younger siblings or cousins, “It is intergenerational... The young ladies and men who came from these homes had parents who were dealing with the difficulty of what happened to them, a lot of them were abused. And a lot was passed on to the grandchildren” (Staff Interview, 2014). The shame from repeated sexual abuse was often not disclosed because the girls felt “so guilty about people finding out what happened” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Social devaluation. Social devaluation was a significant aspect of the predictive model developed in the first chapters of this dissertation, but was only mentioned once in staff interviews, “Growing self-esteem within young Aboriginal girls would make such a huge difference. The racist expectations of people lead some girls to it” (Staff Interview, 2014). The sex trade in Prince Albert is predominantly Indigenous women (Staff Interview, 2014), which leads to a logical assumption that social devaluation is a factor in vulnerability.

Violentization. The nature of violence in the home has been documented as a consistent life experience that can be used to predict vulnerability to gangs and the sex trade (Totten, 2012). The Prince Albert Outreach staff continually remarked on the role a violent home life plays in the experiences of Indigenous girls becoming recruited into the sex trade. “This girl, she was abused by a step dad, then there is the violence in the home and then the poverty” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I’ve never seen anyone here who has not talked about pain. Their dad hitting their mom, them getting knocked out by their dad. It’s like an every day occurrence” (Staff Interview, 2014). Exposure to violence has a myriad of negative consequences, and further isolates Indigenous youth, creating a rift in families. One interviewee remarked, “Kids feel safer out of their house than inside. PA is pretty small and it is a dangerous place” (Staff Interview, 2014). The fact that Indigenous youth feel safer on the streets in one of the most dangerous cities in Canada than in their own homes speaks to the impact of violence on their sense of wellbeing. In addition, numerous staff mentioned keeping kids away from the streets as the primary goal of the wrap around services (Staff Interview, 2014), which is being counteracted in violent homes, pushing youth on to the streets and normalizing violent behavior.

Once violence has become normalized for youth, it is only a matter of time until they begin to take on the role of perpetrating violent acts against other. The cyclical nature of violence is clear in the experiences shared in the staff interviews: “I just worked with a girl who had choked her mom and threatened her. I told her that she could have gone to jail and she said ‘no way’” (Staff Interview, 2014); “You come from violence and it is going to go on and on and on. It’s learned behavior” (Staff Interview, 2014); “If that is all you know, that is how you deal with it” (Staff Interview, 2014). The expected

nature of violent relationships for Indigenous youth who experience violentization places them at elevated risk of meeting and staying with partners who are prone to abuse, and place these women and their children in danger of a wide range of negative outcomes.

Family disorganization. Before discussing the impact of family disorganization and out of home placements, I want to mention that an entire separate section has been created for the impact of the prison system on Indigenous girls. While there are instances of discussions in the interviews that refer to parents being placed in prisons as the cause of family disorganization, these examples will be saved for another section.

There are several references to teachers recognizing family disorganization, which is likely the first step to addressing it: “Every teacher in grade two, three and four can see when children are struggling and when life at home is not good. There are signs are all over the place” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There is this girl who will text Carmel and says ‘I won’t be in school because mom is drunk’” (Staff Interview, 2014). In addition, several participants cite dysfunctional families as a pathway to involvement in the sex trade: “Usually the girls recruited don’t have much support at home, looking for what a family would typically give them” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The second thing is, family dysfunction. Ninety-nine percent of the young girls that are involved in gangs from my case loads are from a really, really dysfunctional family” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The girls who end up in the sex trade do not have family support. They are either in peer homes or wards or families just don’t give a crap” (Staff Interview, 2014).

In response to family disorganization, some of the girls are placed in a position of responsibility at a very young age, with no resources or support network: “A lot of the

girls we see there might be five or six kids at home and mom is an alcoholic. That girl is out on the streets feeding their family” (Staff Interview, 2014);

This one girl, there were eight kids in the family. Her mother was a drug addict and unemployed. She was on the streets, but was attending school on a regular basis... She told me, we are eight kids at home and nobody works. I’m the second oldest kid so I have to take care. To get food I had to rely on the bros, gangs, and I got sucked in to the street... She thought I was the one who asked the social workers to remove the kids. Sometimes they would spend two days and nights without food. I had to ask her how they would have survived if they had stayed and she understood they may have been dead. (Staff Interview, 2014)

Family dysfunction can lead to children being taken from their family and placed in the child welfare system, which creates a number of additional barriers for the children to overcome. “The social system as well. When you remove a kid from a biological family there are impacts. I talked to one kid and she felt like she was just a puppy” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There are people who have kids and cannot look after them and then another family member takes them in. The kids don’t get that bonding. Then people break promises and so the kids shut down and get cold” (Staff Interview, 2014). Even though parents and guardians dysfunction and abuse traumatizes children, they often want to keep their family together: “There is always that love/hate thing that is happening. If you have someone who has a mom who is an alcoholic, the kids still want to go back. Nine times out of ten they can’t wait to get back home. Some of the foster parents are abusive. It just seems that, you have got the laws and you have got to follow them” (Staff

Interviews, 2014); “It is their home and family and that is her mom, no matter what” (Staff Interview, 2014)

Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder and mental disorders. Almost all of the pathways discussed are interwoven with one another, and this is especially relevant for children with FASD. There are clear links between sexual abuse, physical abuse, and substance abuse, which is a leading cause of parents having children with FASD. The interviews unearthed few references to FASD and mental disorders: “A lot of them have mental illness and addiction” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Low psychological functioning can lead kids into gangs. They cannot think outside of their box. Like kids with FASD or autismism. They are a much higher target to the predators” (Staff Interview, 2014); “A lot of kids have FASD. Probably eighty percent” (Staff Interview, 2014). Within the interviews, the reason FASD made girls vulnerable was not often clear, but one staff member believes, “They don’t have the coping skills to deal with their lives” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Sexualization of femininity. It is impossible to talk about sexualization of femininity without addressing sexual abuse, and the role it plays in creating distorted views of gender, for both boys and girls. In order to understand the complex and traumatic experiences of sexual abuse and its impact on gender identity, the staff responses in the earlier section should be considered. The staff reported the vulnerability of being a girl in oppressive conditions being magnified if they are considered attractive (Interview, 2014), which increases appeal to the sexual predators. “This girl, she was abused by a step dad. Then there is the violence in the home and then the poverty. All of those strikes against her and really good looking, as well” (Staff Interview, 2014). There

are a number of responses that directly relate gender modeling and negative outcomes: “Sexualization is huge. People that surround these girls make it really normal. They get a really young one and have these eight or nine year olds hanging out with 19 or 20 year olds and it becomes normal” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Children who are exposed to gangs and prostitution, everything is going to be different with them” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Substance abuse. Most interviewees named substance abuse as a primary pathway to involvement in the sex trade: “I’ve never seen one sex worker without an addiction. I think it is pain, addiction and then the sex trade” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I find what is the cause of prostitution here is drugs” (Staff Interview, 2014); “They work the streets to feed their habit” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Almost all prostitutes in PA are IV drug users” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Girls started at about 14 – she openly admits with addiction and problems at home and that is what gets her out on to the street” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I’m assuming that since they need the money for drugs or alcohol, they see how easy it is to put on a skirt. Here it is common knowledge with the girls on 13th street” (Staff Interview, 2014). As you will notice, there is no discussion of drug use being the impetus for going on the streets the first time, so these responses may highlight the methods used to keep Indigenous girls on the street or how they get there in the first place.

Furthermore, the addictions of parents are clearly impacting the vulnerability of Aboriginal girls, which was discussed in staff interviews, “Most parents have an addiction themselves” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Her mother was a drug addict and unemployed” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Most of them don’t have parents that are parents. They are either addicts or in jail” (Staff Interview, 2014).

New pathways. The seven pathways created in the first chapters of this research were based upon the theory emerging from a confluence of research in related topics. Since there is a limited amount of available research, I was anticipating the identification of new pathways in this process. Pathways specific to Prince Albert were expected in this research, but I believe a number of these pathways will translate to other cities across Canada. The two pathways identified by staff members with the largest responses, prisons and transition from the reserve, were both outside of the established framework. Additionally, poverty and family members in the sex trade garnered as much attention as any pathway within the existing framework.

Transition from reserve. The response given in this section were the most robust, which was surprising, at first. Staff continually recognized that most of the sex trade in Prince Albert is comprised of Indigenous girls from the reserve, “More kids from the reserve turn to the sex trade than the ones that are already here. It is scary for them here, they are comfortable in their community and then you come here, it has to be hard for them” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There are a dozen reserves within two hours” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “Most of these girls have come from one of the reserves, but spent most of their time in Prince Albert” (Staff Interview, 2014); “We are the gateway to the north, so prostitution doubles during the summer and girls will come from the reserve” (Staff Interview, 2014); “For PA itself, the majority of girls are from outside and once they get recruited, they come to the city and stay” (Staff Interview, 2014); “They are using Facebook to get them from the reserves and into the city. The majority of them are from reserves, and they know who is back home and then they go home and they do recruitment on the reserves because they are connected” (Staff Interview, 2014); “More

of the girls from the reserve end up in the sex trade, compared to girls from the city. Guys watching all the time for new girls from the reserve” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “Both the males and females that come here from the reserves get here and they have no place to stay, and we know that the people they are living with are putting them out” (Staff Interview, 2014).

The reason for coming to Prince Albert from the surrounding reserves varies, which is reflected in the staff interviews, “Half of the kids coming here were born on the reserve. When they hit 11 or 12 and they want to hit town, their parents say that is ok, but the parents are not coming with them” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There are no programs available for the adjustment from the reserve to the city. We have kids here who have been banished from their reserve for violent crimes, end up with a relative in PA. They have lost their family and community. A judge tells them they cannot go back to their reserve for some time” (Staff Interview, 2014); “One of the things the reserves do is if they get serious charges, they ban them from the reserves” (Staff Interview, 2014); “A lot of kids come from the reserve... A lot of their friends are involved in prostitution because they have no money to survive” (Staff Interview, 2014). “Bands don’t want to talk about it, but it happens. They are not welcome there and have no place to stay. We brought it up to the band and they denied it” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There is nothing there on the reserves. They see these things on TV that other people have. What is the easiest way to get that? The pimp makes it sound so luxurious. For twenty minutes you could get two hundred dollars”

Prison. The impact of the prison system on Indigenous girls was ubiquitous in the responses by the Prince Albert staff. The significant overrepresentation of prisons in the

region may result in this phenomenon being context specific, “PA has four jail institutions. Those who are dealing, are dealing with gang members or family members and the four jails” (Staff Interview, 2014); “One prison is federal, which means they are from all over. One is provincial and another is for youth and another for women” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “If you have a place that has different levels of social stratification they have different expectations than if you grow up in a place with two or three universities” (Staff Interview, 2014). The expectations that accompany multiple prisons in a single city are apparent, and even directly influence the decisions of youth in that city. It was noted: “I have one client who is a girl, she has been in and out of jail. I tried to help her to understand. It had become normal for her family. She said my mom and dad are in jail and my three uncles are in jail. She said the best way to get connected to her mom and two aunts was to commit a crime and go to jail” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I had two young males who said they committed a crime to go visit their family members. The jail plays a key role in increasing crimes and gang related matters” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Once prison terms are completed, most of the inmates remain in Prince Albert, “A majority of them, almost nearly one-hundred percent of those inmates make PA their homes” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “We also see serious offenders who are not allowed back in their community and end up staying here after prison. If we try to get them into a work program it tends to be here” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “Majority of the people just stick around after they get out of prison, even if they are not from here” (Staff Interview, 2014). In addition to the inmates remaining in Prince Albert after release from prison, a significant number of families move from the reserve to be closer to relatives in the

prison system, “Because if they have a long-term sentence to serve in the prison the family will relocate so they won’t have to drive back and forth to visit” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “Lots of the people who move here are here for their relatives in the prison” (Staff Interviews, 2014).

Children of prison inmates are impacted by family dysfunction and the normalization of being incarcerated. The ramification of family members in the prison system is apparent, “They don’t have the coping skills to deal with their lives. Its generations of people in jail” (Staff Interview, 2014); “One guy I talked to said in five years he will be in the pen. And I said why, and he said all of his family are there” (Staff Interview, 2014); “My son went to school at Prince Charles. I volunteered when he was in grade two. And there was this one boy who I knew was going to be in jail, when he was two. I knew at that age. He didn’t have the structure, he came from a home where both parents were in jail” (Staff Interview, 2014).

The staff felt disheartened by the priority of funding the justice systems over education, which must be far more conspicuous in a city with four prisons. The comments included: “Maybe the government is interested more in punishment than prevention. The government chose to strengthen jails instead” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Two million dollars is being put into the PA Max prison. It is seen as job security, instead of the future of the community” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The justice system pays more than the education system” (Staff Interview, 2014). The frustration with the system includes the lack of programming available within the prison system to help support inmates to address trauma or gain the skills necessary to thrive upon release, “A lot of it

has to do with the jails themselves and not have any rehabilitation with these girls” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Family in the sex trade. Vulnerability is created in a number of areas with parents in the sex trade. Children are exposed to violence, sexual abuse, substance abuse, and a number of other factors. In addition, it models behavior for Indigenous women and normalizes the sex trade. The following responses by the staff made it clear that youth often became vulnerable when the sex trade was part of their every day family life: “Some parents have been in the sex trade” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Same with the girls. They see their mothers doing it and then they start using to cope with it” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I’ve had people say their mother sold them for their first time at twelve years old. Then I’ve seen where a couple will start using drugs and then the couple turning her out” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The older girls who are working the street, we had a mother and daughter who introduce them. They were together all the time, working the streets together” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Upwards of 60 percent of prostitutes are pushed in by family members” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “It is inter-generational. The reasons they are having the problems is mom is out working the streets or out drinking, or she brings it to the house” (Staff Interview, 2014); “A lot of the reason the girls go into it is because they don’t know any better. Lots get into it from their older friend or siblings” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Self-Esteem. A combination of factors leads Indigenous youth to experience low self-esteem. In the interviews, self-esteem was mentioned as a catalyst for vulnerability on several occasions: “The third factor is very low self esteem. They do not view themselves as humans” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Kids come from the reserve with no

self-esteem” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Most girls that come here do not have healthy gender understanding and do not have self-esteem” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Growing self-esteem within young Aboriginal girls would make such a huge difference. The racist expectations of people lead some girls to it” (Staff Interview, 2014); “You have a different expectation of death and life... A lot of girls, wish their parents had been different” (Staff Interview, 2014)

Poverty. Some of the indicators of vulnerability were overlooked in creating the framework because they seemed too obvious. After conducting interviews with the staff it became apparent that including poverty as an indicator of vulnerability was imperative: “Poverty is a high predictor of the sex trade” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Does her mom send her out when she is hard up for cash?” (Staff Interview, 2014); “One is poverty, a lot of the girls we see there might be five or six kids at home and mom is an alcoholic. That girl is out on the streets feeding their family” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Then there is basically the whole idea of, if you let me live here and feed me I’ll give you sexual favors. It is often a trade-off” (Staff Interview, 2014). Housing becomes a serious concern for some Aboriginal girls and can make them especially vulnerable to recruitment: “We have had kids who are living out of their van” (Staff Interviews, 2014); “One student is living in a house with ten relatives”.

Recruitment

Age of recruitment. There was no consensus regarding when recruitment begins, mostly because it does not happen at the exact same time for all of the girls in the sex trade. When considering preventative education, we should start by acknowledging the youngest age of recruitment and work from there. The responses regarding when

recruitment occurs were as follows: “Eleven or twelve is when girls start in the sex trade” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Has been on the streets since she was 14” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I had one girl who was 12 years old” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There was a woman who I had come in, I had her talk to the kids. She was trafficked at 12, taken in a back of a van to Alberta and sent off with rich men” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Girls started at about 14” (Staff Interview, 2014); “When she lived in Saskatoon she worked for the city in the parks and had girls eight to fifteen who were already in the sex trade” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Once they team up they feel uplifted by teaming up. As young as ten is when the girls team up” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Boyfriends. In line with the available theory, most of the staff members referenced boyfriends pushing young Indigenous girls into the sex trade using ‘love bombing’ tactics. The participants shared: “The ones I can think of, they found a boyfriend who was older and they got them into it. Sort of an 18 or 19 year old” (Staff Interview, 2014); “They may not think they were recruited. One of the street guys who want to pimp them tell them what they want to hear, love them and then get them addicted to IV drugs and then put them on the street” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I had one guy that thought as soon as you had a girlfriend you own that person. He thought it was alright to restrain her if she wants to get away” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I don’t think the girls understand until they are in it. If I don’t bring the money back from the streets I’m going to get my ass handed to me” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Some one picks them up and is nice to them. The next thing you know they get them on drugs and get them on the street” (Staff Interview, 2014); “We also had a program called Beat the Street. We will take anyone that needs help. The youth centre, it was difficult with nineteen year old boys

taking advantage of young girls” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The guys are awesome, bright and funny, but they are predators. They will zero in on the new girls. We watch them like a hawk and we see the guys prey on them. It's the guys that we like that will do this. They are unhealthy too, something has happened to them to. They have had the same things go on in their world too” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Female recruitment. A common theme in staff responses was the growth of girls recruiting other Indigenous girls into the sex trade. There are several accounts of girls coming into the school and youth centre to recruit: “One of the girls I was working with recruited other girls. She has been on the streets since she was fourteen. The girl offered protection to other girls and gives them IV drugs and protecting them out there. She offers girls a place to stay, then pushes them on to the street” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Girls recruiting other girls is seen more often than men recruiting them. One recruited seven girls within this program” (Staff Interview, 2014); “If you get one in the sex trade, she would get the other girls involved. She goes to the youth centre and recruits there” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There are multifactorial factors that are involved. Imitation, they see someone that is cool. Ya, she looks cool” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Gang Recruitment. Elements of gang recruitment are present in both of the previous two sections, even though they were not specifically referenced as gang recruitment. It is unclear what percent of Indigenous girls in the sex trade were recruited through gangs, but from anecdotal responses it appears to be significant. The following staff responses speak to the presence of gangs in recruitment, “The gangs have tried, may have a couple of girls that work for them, but they can’t seem to control some of the older ones. The gangs are possibly controlling the younger ones” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The

girls and boys are 50/50 within the gang. The girls are pushed to do street work...In the end, they are involved in recruitment of other girls, especially the younger ones. They do what they call 'teaming up' with younger girls. Hanging out and buying them things" (Staff Interview, 2014); "Both gangs and individuals are luring girls using drugs and great deals of affection" (Staff Interview, 2014); "The girls here are raped by multiple members in order to enter the gangs" (Staff Interview, 2014); "...or they might start dating a gang member and he may pass them around then put them on the street" (Staff Interview, 2014). "That is their family. Those people end up being their family. They may beat the shit out of each other, but that's their family, they'll still be there" (Staff Interview, 2014); "The sexual exploitation is deeply engrained within the gangs" (Staff Interview, 2014)

Family-based Recruit. A source of recruitment that was not discussed significantly in the literature, which has appeared a number of times in the interviews, is recruitment by family members: "I've had people say their mother sold them for their first time at twelve year old. Then I've seen where a couple will start using drugs and then the couple turning her out" (Staff Interview, 2014); "Sadly I think some of the girls follow their older sisters" (Staff Interview, 2014); "I've known of a mother and son who were beat into the gang together" (Staff Interview, 2014); "I think it is different in some ways. Some of them they have family that are on the street" (Staff Interview, 2014).

Reserve. The staff reported that the dozens of reserves north of Prince Albert are prime recruiting grounds for young Indigenous girls into the sex trade: "Both the males and females that come here from the reserves get here and they have no place to stay, and we know that the people they are living with are putting them out" (Staff Interview,

2014); “In my opinion there are similarities and slight difference. It is the same for recruitment or strategies they use. The difference is that the majority of the youth who are involved in the gangs are from the reserves and in the very north. And they cycle into PA for gang related matters. In Regina and Saskatoon they are mostly local girls. Also when you see their interaction, how they came in and out. They have a network through the reserves and the city” (Staff Interview, 2014); “There is nothing there on the reserves. They see these things on TV that other people have. What is the easiest way to get that? The pimp makes it sound so luxurious. For twenty minutes you could get two-hundred dollars” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Social media. The utilization of social media as a tool of recruitment highlights the dynamic nature of the sex trade. The application of social media makes spotting recruitment and sex trade activity far more difficult. “They use lots of social media activities to be gang related. Mass mobilization of social media for gangs and the sex trade. It started with Facebook” (Staff Interview, 2014); “If you target girls at eight or nine. Facebook is used to target the younger girls” (Staff Interview, 2014); “They are using Facebook to get them from the reserves and into the city. The majority of them are from reserves, and they know who is back home and then they go home and they do recruitment on the reserves because they are connected” (Staff Interview; 2014); “You get an abusive man and he can zoom in on a lonely lady and just target them. Even on the internet there is a lot of manipulation. I think that is what it is, they can tell that that little girl does not have any self-esteem or is lonely and they just zoom in on that and manipulate that they are fulfilling their needs” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The phone

system – texting back and forth. The people they are having sex with are buying the phone for them” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Warrior Spirit Walking

The Warrior Spirit Walking Program was PA Outreach’s primary program for addressing intervention and prevention for sex trade and gang activity. The following sections address programming aspects as they related specifically to Indigenous girls. Due to funding cutbacks, despite this program being acknowledged as remarkably successful (Totten, 2009), the activities discussed in this section are no longer available.

Female specific. One of the most enticing aspects of Prince Albert Outreach, for research purposes, was the focus on having female specific programming. The discussions of female specific classes in the Warrior Spirit Walking program provide examples of future prevention development, in any context, “We understood from our research that there needed to be separate work with the girls” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Wednesdays the boys and girls are separated. The girls have their own girls group, and they talk about issues specific to the girls (Dana, Stephanie, Liz and Jen)” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The Wednesday sessions they talk about the girls about sexual health, pregnancy etcetera. Last year they had ten pregnant students here. Talk about abuse, drugs and alcohol. The girls respond positively to the Wednesday sessions. Girls are more open when they are away from the guys. A lot of the boys here are angry and abusive” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Colleen comes in and takes them for exercise twice a week to build their self esteem and create healthy gender expectations” (Staff Interview, 2014); “We even do, counseling about STIs when they are eleven or twelve years old.

And I think the sex trade should be part of that, it is all cause and effect...Most days we are surrogate parents” (Staff Interview, 2014)

The director of the Won Ska School spoke at length about the need for the program to be created by the girls themselves in order to succeed. “For the girls program, you have to ask them what they want. Talk to them and see what they want in the girls program. You have to get the clients to help you create it. It has to be client driven, and give them the ability to run it...They never have the opportunity to be a child; they just want that chance. You have to ask the clients what they want and then help them to create it. And you have to have the transportation and child care. You have to pick them up and bring them there. Help them do what they want, not dictating. Really, you have to celebrate every little thing that they do, even if the kids make one credit. For them it is really big to get one credit” (Staff Interview, 2014)

Prevention. The prevention referenced in this section relates directly to the programming offered in Warrior Spirit Walking. Some of the prevention tactics refer to male students, and these have only been included when the strategy can relate to the female context. Warrior Spirit Walking was primarily an intervention program, but the preventative elements were growing every year. “For prevention – As much time as you can spend with them in one day, it must continue after school. This school does that at the community centre and then the outreach van” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The difference between us and the cops, they are always after the fact. We want to get to them before grade five or six, because they are from families that get into trouble. We know we have kids with mom’s who have guys there all the time. And now we can see it and try to prevent it when we see it coming” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Our mandate is basically

twelve to nineteen. We work with older and under, but we don't tell the funders. The eight to twelve year old are often the funding gaps, but that is the year you need to get to them. They are at a volatile age. They can't go to jail or the YO yet" (Staff Interview, 2014); "Working in gang prevention under Warrior Spirit Walking. First it started with an assessment of families in poverty. We would talk to the guys who were being recruited and show them the other options that they have" (Staff Interview, 2014); "The connection to school is the biggest positive. It used to be called drop-in. Within a day or two, they are very attached to staff" (Staff Interview, 2014); "Attendance is about knowing the kid and catching the one thing that makes them feel special" (Staff Interview, 2014); "Keeping the kids right here in this building is the best preventative education. We always forgive the kids here. They could do some horrible things" (Staff Interview, 2014); "I think coping, coping, coping and self-esteem, and empowering them and planning. Well it is kind of like a fire drill. If we have high-risk girls we should be talking with them about 'what will you do if?'" (Staff Interview, 2014).

The end of the program in 2013 resulted in diminishing services from the PA Outreach. "Since the WSWP ended we lost counseling staff and five people were laid off and now we are dealing with the same number of youth. Each of the staff laid off had different skill sets" (Staff Interview, 2014); "We had a presentation team, who had already left gangs would go and present to other students" (Staff Interview, 2014); "We created a PowerPoint for what is gangs and we went up north to explain it to kids on reserves and community schools" (Staff Interview, 2014); "We used to have so much face time and that is why it was so successful, but now we can't see them nearly as much" (Staff Interview, 2014).

Indigenous culture in Warrior Spirit Walking. Infusing Indigenous cultural activities was a fundamental principle of WSWP. Prince Albert Outreach has an elder on staff and all of the faculty and support staff has extensive personal and professional experience with Indigenous communities. The application of Indigenous ways of knowing and cultural practices result in PA Outreach being an innovator in the field. “Warrior Spirit Walking came from the youth who went to a sweat” (Staff Interview, 2014); “A healing circle, with elders, Mike and Rose Daniels, open and closed sessions, different elders at each session. We respect their ways, as much as you should respect a teacher” (Staff Interview, 2014);

There was this one girl, one of our successes. She was so difficult at the start. She was bouncing around on the street. And one day I asked her if she would like to go to a round dance. She said, I’ll try it. Boy, did she ever have fun. She started round dancing all night long. When I took her home she asked when we would go again. I said in a couple of weeks. I took them again and they danced all night. I asked if she wanted to come to a sweat. Boy did she ever love it. She started coming to sweat every week. Then we started having a powwow group and asked her if she wanted to start dancing powwow. Boy she felt so good, and after that things just changed in her life. Today, you wouldn’t think that she ran the streets. I often ask her, are you happy that you have changed your way of life. Maybe I could have ended up in Pine Grove. (Staff Interview, 2014)

“This school is the leader for a lot of things in other schools. We are one of the only schools that can smudge. We are very unique, we are usually the leader” (Staff Interview,

2014); “If you start early and you start teaching them about sweats and powwow” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Prevention education recommendations

Recommendations are central to the findings of this research. In this section, the recommendations of staff regarding what should be included in prevention programs are included. This section is broken down into five sub-sections: age, aspects of prevention, family prevention, Indigenous culture, and locations of prevention.

Age of prevention. Definitive studies are necessary to understand the average age of recruitment across Canadian cities. The anecdotal responses given here can help the creators of preventative education understand at what age Indigenous girls should have access to sex trade prevention programming. As you will see, there is no agreed upon age range, and some of the lowest recommendations create the need for creative solutions when approaching such a young demographic. “Thirteen or fourteen... girls should start getting services, at the latest” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Thirteen is the age when this education needs to start” (Staff Interview, 2014); “You have to start at seven or eight years old for prevention in the sex trade. When you are in school you can usually tell which students will be at risk” (Staff Intervention, 2014); “Even in grade two you can tell by the behaviors of the girls, you can tell which girls might be doing things that make you understand what is happening at home” (Staff Interview, 2014); “I think we could start young. Coping could start very young and specific education can be given in middle school” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Preventative education starts at home, is what a lot of these girls do not have. Should start at a very young age if you are going to do it” (Staff

Interview, 2014); “Take the girls that are eight or nine and they would be able to understand it” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Aspects of prevention. Recommendations for what preventative programs should contain and how they can be successful were wide ranging. Initial responses focused on rebuilding basic skills and self-esteem within a community experiencing the traumatic fallout of the IRS era. “Offering basic life skills and the students come back happy about their ability to deal with situations” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Schools do not do any self-esteem building that let the child know that they have to love themselves and take care of themselves. It has to be a succession of those types of things. Deal with self-esteem and anger. It can be a life-skills type geared at younger children. Doing activities instead of teaching at them. If you can design everything to be an activity and then you get more out of it. You don’t have to sit and process it” (Staff Interview, 2014); “You have to empower children to want the very best for themselves. To realize what is healthy” (Staff Interview, 2014); “When you are starting out with the younger kids, if they have not been taught at home how to love themselves or to care for themselves” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Housing is the main preventative need, in any city. Self-esteem and basic life skills for youth” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Self esteem and relationship building are the most important education you could give. Coping mechanisms, teaching the kids to see cycles and how to avoid them. It is easier to get stuck in everything instead of getting a job” (Staff Interview, 2014); “It all goes back to teaching people to be parents, or allowing the community to be parents” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Communities need child centres where kids can play everyday, where they can get along and respect each other” (Staff Interview, 2014);

Staff members gave specific recommendations regarding how to address the difficult sexual issues inherently required for a course of this nature. “I’m a bit of a realist, and I think kids need to be talked to frankly about sex, even from a young age. There is a stigma around sex, try and eliminate that stigma” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Find the appropriate approach” (Staff Interview, 2014); “We should be teaching other things in health, we should be changing our school curriculum to learn real life” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Preventing should be based upon, most of all, awareness. Most that get involved follow blindly. After awareness there should be sensitization, after being aware of what is happening and what a gang is about. Most of the time they have a misconception, they don’t know the reality behind that. Sensitization would come with strategies to resist negative peer pressure, and to show them the negative side of the gangs. Helping them to understand that regardless of what they have been through, to reconnect to their inner personalities and hopes from the past” (Staff Interview, 2014); “We expose our kids to the predators without giving them tools” (Staff Interview, 2014); “These people are having multiple partners and they don’t know anything about sexual health” (Staff Interview, 2014); “They don’t understand their bodies or child rearing or anything” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Educate them on prostitution and educate them on drugs. One of the highest rates of Hep C is in this area. HIV is everywhere” (Staff Interview, 2014).

The difficult nature of the content requires responsive pedagogical models. Staff members gave some suggestions regarding how to approach this material in a respectful and positive manner: “Any preventative model should include peer to peer teaching” (Staff Interview, 2014); “It depends on the education. You can use puppets. They are usually people you refer to you. At a young age you can work with what is appropriate”

(Staff Interview, 2014); “To separate the students, I guess it depends on the way that it is presented to be separated. If they think it is negative, they won’t want to see you. So it has to be spun to be positive. None of them are forced to be at the group” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Family-based Prevention. The concept of family based prevention was not included in the original research questions, but emerged as a focal point in the staff interviews. Since intergenerational trauma is, by definition, impacting children, parents, and grandparents alike, the necessity of aiming education toward the whole family is logical. “One of the things I’ve seen in treatment is sending the parents and children together. I think that is a real positive thing. Just like the family treatment centre. Prevention should be breaking them into small groups and discussing it with them. Letting them know they have a choice and a voice. Bring people in to talk about choices and their experiences. You have to select those people. You cannot have a person who has a mom or dad and stick them in there, it won’t be beneficial for them, it may hurt them” (Staff Interview); “If you are looking at taking programming on to the reserves. If you can take your identifiers and you somehow manage to incorporate the family into it. If the child is at risk and then I guarantee there is something happening with the family” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Connection with grandparents can be very positive” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Programs on the reserve should include grandmas, they are more mature and firmer. Need to get wise people who are older, calmer and forgiving. They are going to do some things that need forgiving” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Educate the parents first about the sex trade. Go to that reserve talk to the parents there. How do you deal with all the abuse and that kind of thing? How does it work if her dad is abusing her?

Find out the dynamics of the reserve and their home experience. You have to have the social workers on the reserve on board. They are the ones creating a lot of the problems and you need them on board” (Staff Interview, 2014); “To have the entire family involved in the processes would be awesome. In the van they have tried to pick up the family, but it is too hard” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Prevention with the entire family is necessary. It is a really tricky question” (Staff Interview, 2014); “It's a really high percentage of women who have been touched. How do you get them to watch out for a family member? You get them to love themselves, care about themselves” (Staff Interview, 2014);

Indigenous culture. The Warrior Spirit Walking section outlined how Indigenous culture was used in the programming, but a number of staff members gave recommendations for the application in future programs. Both of these sections can inform the use of Indigenous culture in the creation of preventative education: “The Aboriginal way works within today’s society” (Staff Interview, 2014); “But also into the culture, approaching elders to know what it is about, so they can transmit that to their families, or any youth leaders or women organizations or associations” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Today people are trying to heal from all of that, and culture is a big part” (Staff Interview, 2014); “These are some of the things the young people need to learn, to bring these two worlds together. One world where there is an Aboriginal culture and the ceremonies that we do there, plus our white brothers’ way of life. We have to, we have got to learn from them. To be able to bring those two worlds together” (Staff Interview, 2014); “We have beautiful ceremonies and teachings. Someone told me a long time ago that the drum came from our women, and the same with our sacred pipe, and I tell them

that. When I go out and teach them about medicine and what not, I always talk about mother earth” (Staff Interview, 2014) “Taking a negative and making it a positive, being proud to be Aboriginal. Trying to incorporate some of that culture” (Staff Interview, 2014); “It’s the processes not the outcomes that are translatable... Take the elders in your community, have other people come in and teach the kids” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Locations of prevention. Approaching this research, the questions regarding where preventative education should occur was among the most important. Are schools the optimal location for prevention on such a sensitive topic or are community based educational projects preferable? “I think teaching about sex is a role schools can play, and should play” (Staff Interview, 2014); “You need to educate the educators to be comfortable with it” (Staff Interview, 2014); “The young girls are impossible to get to. They aren’t walking the streets, so schools is a great place to start. Outreach is the last hope” (Staff Interview, 2014); “More awareness and education on the repercussion of being involved in gangs or the sex trade. They are not attending school regularly” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Other schools in urban centres should all know patience. They really have to listen to the needs of the student, they cannot dictate what those needs are” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Finding the clientele seems to be the big thing. If I was living in a big centre I would take the part of town that I’m in. I would take that area and look at that area. I would look at the schools or the medical centres. Whether this would work in Vancouver, I don’t know? It is taking a big thing and making it smaller” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Staff interviews touched on school or community based education models, but a far greater emphasis was placed on creating prevention education that can be delivered on

reserves surrounding Prince Albert. “Thirteen is the age when this education needs to start. This needs to happen on the reserves. Educate this kids on the reserve” (Staff Interview, 2014); “They need to know it is not going to be easy coming to the city. Give the kids alternatives on the reserve. Positive things need to happen on reserves before they come to the city. The reserve is the starting point for preventative education” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Any preventative education should be taught in both the reserves and the schools” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Now we need to change all that. There are some reserves that are doing well. They need to dry these reserves out, need to bring programming into these schools. Hire psychologists ... Healing needs to start on the reserves” (Staff Interview, 2014); “Any preventative education should be taught in both the reserves and the schools” (Staff Interview, 2014).

Sex Trade Survivors

The testimony of female Indigenous sex trade survivors is the most powerful information available in this dissertation. For this section especially, it is not appropriate to attempt to paraphrase the words of those who have lived with unspeakable oppression and trauma. The survivor experiences will be separated into the headings of pathways, recruitment, and prevention recommendations, with each section having a number of sub-headings. The expansive life histories shared by Indigenous women in this study tend to cross multiple pathways, recruitment strategies, and recommendations. In some of the cases they will be under a single heading, with the understanding that life histories are not neatly contained within prescribed compartments. Sexual abuse is the most commonly recognized indicator, with aspects of sexual abuse present in almost every section. Unlike the staff interviews, the sex trade survivor responses tend to be multiple

paragraphs, which will be kept intact in their presentation. Ensuring Indigenous women's voices remain unedited brings empowerment to their perspective, and helps the reader get a better sense of their life experiences and recommendations. Despite the significant length, I have decided to include a large section of Survivor testimony, in order to honour their voice and experiences. The following section gives graphic descriptions of sexual abuse and extreme violence.

Pathways

Sexual abuse

⁶They wanted to know what happened in your past, what happened as a child that put you in this position. They never really talked about mom brought a party home and somebody touched you there. They never talked about mom went to red eye bingo and someone touched you. Whether or not the babysitter was family, we didn't talk about those things. Either you are a liar, or no one is going to believe you. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think that the abuse is something that, I have never ever, ever met a girl who has worked the streets who hasn't been sexually abused. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Sexual abuse. I learned how to use myself. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think it started way before that with sexual abuse, as a kid. They would piece you off with candy or, you know, money. Back then a dollar went a long way, you know, and my brothers and sisters were hungry and that's what I used the money for. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Interviewer: Did you tell anybody about your sexual abuse as a child?

Respondent: When I was nine I told my mom and then I got a beating.

Interviewer: So you weren't heard?

Respondent: Then right after that I attempted suicide. The doctor thought I was playing, eating candies. I remember after that guy got arrested what happened, I was playing dolls with my friend who was this nice pretty white girl. Her dad was managing the motel we were living in. We were playing and I don't know what I did or how I said it, I realized I had opened my big mouth and I basically said about, she is going to touch you there. 'Who does that?', 'My mom's boyfriend',

⁶ As explained in the earlier section on IRS testimony, I have opted to employ single spacing uncommon in APA to allow survivor testimony to jump off the page and hold the rightful place of recognition in this dissertation.

and she said, 'No one is supposed to touch you', and I realized that I put it out there. She said, 'I have to tell my daddy', and I said, 'you can't, don't tell nobody'. She said 'I have to tell my dad', she told him and he called the cops.

There were also drugs involved. Guys used to try to fix me up with dope.

Interviewer: At nine?

Respondent: At nine. I remember, the cops came and pulled him out. The whole time, my mom just kind of stared at me. You have to know my mom's stare to understand. They pulled him out and he was gone. My name was bitch, whore, slut, after that. Clean this, do this. My mom got a separate room for me, away from the family. They had one room and I slept in the other room. She brought in one of my older cousins and she slept in her room with me. I dug through her bag and I found pills. I had seen the movie *The Apartment* where she took the pills. So I took the pills, because I wanted to go to sleep. They didn't work, because I came out. The first person I saw was my baby sister. I thought, I can't leave her, who is going to protect her? She went and got mom because I was passed out. They took me to the hospital. The doctor pumped my stomach. I remember my mom just stared at me and stared at me.

Right after that, well we moved from that motel and I missed my best friend. My mom just didn't talk to me; there was just total silence. I don't know how long that went on, it felt like forever. Then one day my mom took me to a movie, ironically enough it was *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. In the middle of it she turned to me and said 'he's dead', and I knew who she was talking about, but I said 'who is dead?', 'He is dead'. I felt very guilty because he killed himself in jail. So after that I just never said shit to anybody.

Interviewer: That was all that was said 'he's dead'. You were left with the guilty feeling that you somehow did something wrong. No one ever explained to you or sat you down and said 'this is not your fault'? There was no intervention, so at nine years old you had this huge burden.

Respondent: I remember when the cops came to get him. I remember pleading with them to take me, 'don't leave me here, please'. I begged them and followed them out. They said, 'we can't, honey'. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

That somehow that abuse would continue on for me. Like I said, it started way before I stood on corners, the abuse started a long time before. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

I know shortly after we ended up in foster care. I was abused there. I got sexually abused there and again felt that it was my fault. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

When she was thirteen, her boyfriend was fourteen. He just got his license. He tried to rape her at Walmart. This was a good kid, this is a kid I never would have imagined. It's not a kid walking around with his pants down under his ass or anything. He had a job, he was going to school. A good normal kid. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

When my one daughter was abused. I was giving birth to my other daughter, she was abused while she was in the care of my mom, by my step-dad. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I remember we went into foster care at my dad's sister's place. They have this house, they are renovating this huge house next door. My dad and his wife and their baby, and my aunt, who was our foster mom, and their kid, and their grandpa stayed in that little house, while me and my brothers and sisters were staying in blankets on the floor in that house that was being renovated. I remember waking up to my sister's screams, and hearing the bell because she peed the bed. I remember the bush that the old man sat, in his wheel chair and he would say 'come, come'. I remember his fingers in my jeans zipper and my fingers inside 'what's this, what's this'. To this day, that is a trigger, when people say 'what's that, what's this'. 'Oh, that's my vagina', but you aren't going to say that.

It was my dad's dad, and he is dead. When he died, everyone was crying, everyone was like 'oh, dad's dead, Mushums dead'. 'Yes, he is dead, I never have to worry about him bothering me, or bothering anybody for that matter'.

Then, we are with mom now again, and we are seeing a counselor and he comes to the house and he is bringing up that, well my sister blew up because she won't talk about it, but me and my other sister did. She blew up and she said, 'tell him you are lying, tell him you are lying', because she didn't want to get apprehended again. I am assuming that's the case, because we were apprehended quite a bit back then. Obviously something really bad happened to my sister. Three or four years ago, we sat there and she started opening up a bit. All of a sudden she got really mad, and cried. 'I'm done talking about this, we are done'. So, obviously something happened to her. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Nowadays when I think about it, I love my step dad so much. 'You were kind of a dick. You took mom away from us a lot. When you stressed mom, mom started drinking. Then parties started coming home and we would get touched'. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

When I was a little girl they would do all of that. Do you know what, this time they are giving me money. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

You were always scared to talk about it because no one talked about it. You don't want to put it on mom's shoulders. Mom is stressed out. If she gets more stressed,

she will start drinking again, and that will end up with a huge party. Then some guy will end up at your bed. The cycle continues, so you never talked about it. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think, um, the girls that are coming up from abusive homes, like myself, being misplaced from their families. Girls that are getting caught up with gangs and drugs, it all leads all to the same. It all leads to the same ending. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Interviewer: Do you think that when you were nine, when you told your mother, if she had told you ‘my god, I can’t believe this happened. I love you. I have to make sure this will never happen’. If she said that to you, would your life be different?

Respondent: Yes. When I was 5 and the abuse first happened. My mom opened the door and said, ‘my dad gave a licking to the guy’. They walked in on him on top of me. My dad gave him a licking and my mom said, ‘now go to sleep’. She closed the door. They didn’t know how to deal with it. My mom, the reason why my mom got put on the street when she was eleven, my mom got sent away from here then because my Mushum, I never knew him, but he was abusing her and she had a nervous breakdown. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

All of the guys that ever did that to me, back then, I should have charged them. Do you know what? All over the years, over the years, the more I talk about it the easier it is to get through. And a lot of them have already been charged, been, you know. I can’t move forward if I keep looking back, you know. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Violentization

Then I think about it, ‘why is mom like this?’ Look at how she was raised. Then look how kokum, and on. So I’m standing in front of that mirror with a bloody face, is this what my mom saw the first time she got a beating, what about my grandma? It is a cycle. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

So obviously the party left, and I’m washing my face. He said ‘wash your face and come to the living room’. I’m looking at the mirror and I thought is this the face, the puffy face, black eyes, and blood my mom saw the first time my dad beat her, or my grandma the first time she got her beating from here Mishama, it’s like a cycle. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Substance abuse. No, it was not so much like that. I would end up on the run, because I became an alcoholic. I was an alcoholic by the time I was in Kilborne Hall. They did the test on me and I scored high on the test if you are an alcoholic. I knew I was an alcoholic by the time I was twelve. I drank a lot; it put me in

places that put me at risk. I ended up being used a lot. Being bought for their game. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Then the drugs and drinking just numbs them out. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Interviewer: We will just start with when you started.

Respondent: Started the sex trade?

Interviewer: Yes, the sex trade.

Respondent: 13

Interviewer: How did you start?

Respondent: I wanted to sit on the corner. Hahahah

Interviewer: You just did it?

Respondent: I took my friend and we went on the corner.

Interviewer: Was there any particular reason why you did it?

Respondent: Drugs, alcohol

Interviewer: How did you find out about the job?

Respondent: Cause I lived in the hood, and it was everywhere (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Transition from the reserve/running away

I ran away, I ran away from mom. I was in school hanging out with one of my friends, who was also, had a pretty questionable childhood. We decided one day we would walk to Prince Albert, so we did. We ended up, now that I'm older, I know it was 28th Street. Back then I didn't know where we were. We ended up downtown, now I know it was that little red building in front of City Hall. Then those bushes, along the side. I will always remember standing there, the very first time wondering how come those girls are standing there? How come they are jumping in so many vehicles? How come my friends? (crying). We ran into a house on 28th Street I remember we went to her family's, but probably from her other side of the family because I never met them before. When they talked to each other he was always uncomfortable, what an uncomfortable setting.

My next memory I'm downtown hiding in the bushes at night. Girls are walking around. There are old men driving around, and girls are jumping in the vehicle, and I'm probably fourteen. Then my friend comes to me and says, 'I got a ride, I got a ride for us back'. I thought, ok, that's good, I don't want to sit here and watch this going on. We get in there, he buys us a six pack of beer and some cigarettes. I thought, cool, what a cool guy, hey. He is an old man, but he must be a really nice old man. And we are driving down the highway, she says 'ok, do you want me to do this or do you want to?' I thought, do what?

Here he wanted something in exchange for the beer. I thought to myself, all of those memories, this is an old man, and he wants his hands on me, it's a dirty feeling, you know what it feels like. She goes, 'well, we are going to pull over, and I'll turn the music up for you, and I'm going to go in the back'. The car just

kept rocking and rocking, and I was like, you know. Well I drank that six pack and I got to mom's house drunk, and I vomited, and twelve hours later my dad was laying there and he came up and give me shit and reamed me out. I guess dad grabbed her and said, 'just leave her, let her sleep'. That was my first prostitution experience.

We did that a couple of times over the next little while. We ran back to PA and this was another friend that took me back over here and did the same thing. Ok well, my running away started going towards Saskatoon, and I met friends. 'Friends'. You think they are your friends, a bunch of girls and we would walk around stand on the corner. A couple of them would jump in a vehicle. She said, 'this one, he wants you'. You know what, it was an old man. I remember his look, his long stranded hair and big goatee and moustache. It looked like, just looked creepy. Really old guy driving a yellow Trans Am. She was like, 'he wants you, he will pay you right away'. I chickened out, I pretended I was walking towards it and I chickened out. I found out days later, we were giving sheets from EGADs, they were telling us that same old man was picking up girls agreeing on a price, taking them out of town, beating them up and raping them and leaving them. Someone had their hand on me that time.

We kept doing it, I would go along for rides and sit in the front, then, a blowjob, you know. Ok well, when I was a kid all of these old men would put their hands on me, and do whatever they did. This time I'm getting money for it. So I gave my blowjob, my first blowjob. He told me I had an award winning mouth, and I was like, wow. Then it was on. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

What I think about it now, with initiations and all that, what could have protected me was self-esteem and confidence. I don't belong here, I really don't belong here. I should be here, but I didn't think like that. I thought, I've already made such a mess of my life, you know. Just going into family, like family lived in the city, but I never went to them because I was already a prostitute or a drug addict. If I walked into their house would they wonder if I had needles? I didn't want to carry that into. There was, I can give you two or three names, that would take me into their home, give me a shower and a change of clothes, and they would put me to bed, the next day or while I was sleeping they would make phone calls to give me a home. Whether or not I was ready was another story. There was times that I would take off before the police came. Or before the ride came or I would just sit there and wait. Then I would go back home, back to the reserve for a week or two, and I would find myself back there again. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I was sleeping under the Holiday Inn, in Saskatoon, which is not a Holiday Inn. I was sleeping under the steps there. I had been walking around for a while, waiting for the traffic to lessen so I could go down there. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Prison system

The oldest. It actually was social services who separated us to begin with. I ended up in Kilborne hall. Shortly after, I went from Kilborn hall to Royal Wilson Centre, which is a detention centre for girls. From there I graduated to Pine Groove. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

The women in jail, the majority of them have been abused, and they have no outlet. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Family in the sex trade

What did I need from mom? Tell me the danger, tell me about the past, tell me about you. You know that show Scared Straight? That's between a mother and daughter, this is what happened to me, don't make the same mistakes. I didn't know nothing about mom. All I knew was, I knew nothing about her past. All I knew was, she was in an out of foster care, me and my brothers and sisters. That is the part I knew. I didn't know she was killer, hardcore chick on the streets. I didn't know any of the stuff. I know now, I didn't find out until my late twenties, she started opening up, I wish she did that before. That would have created a bond between us, kind of an understanding. I wished that would have happened, you know. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Interviewer: Did you know that your mother worked the streets when you were a child?

Respondent: No. By the time I got older I kind of figured it out. There were condoms in the drawers and men around, you know?

Interviewer: So you didn't have any knowledge or exposure to it in your home life, with your parents?

Respondent: Ya, I did, but I had no idea. I was naïve. I was very naïve. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Social Devaluation

Because I was raised to hate being a First Nations person, so I hated myself. And being in the surroundings that I grew up in every First Nations person was a street person, so that's where my belonging went. I didn't see good people or like healthy people, healthy living people. I saw the people that were on the street. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Family disorganization/Out of home placements

Like this girl, I told her, 'when you are ready, dial zero and say you want the police', and if they won't do anything, have them call social services. But know for a fact that you are probably going to be moved away from home'. Then you teach them about gaining other family members who will be accepting of you. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

We didn't tell mom about the sexual abuse as children until we were in our twenties. It broke her, until this day she will cry. We will sit there and talk about

the foster homes, in Saskatoon. I still have frost bite, from our second hand winter jackets that bared our whole wrists. And the bunk beds that were on plywood with blanket over it, and the sexual and physical abuse, and how mom felt about it. She will just sit there and think and will wipe tears, you know. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Well, a lot a whole life story could have changed it. Like not being in the system growing up, in the system, away from my family, sexual abuse in my childhood. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Victim Blaming

I hitched a ride once, this was years ago, ten years ago, with a guy who is in leadership and his wife was giving me a ride and he was in there. She asked me a question, and I'm not even talking to you dude, and he said 'isn't it just the women being opportunistic?' I said, 'how many daughters have you got? You have two daughters', I said, 'god forbid by chance they get gang raped, did they ask for it? Did they ask for it? That is basically what you are saying'. For me it started way before getting to the street. And we have to deal with that. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

When my one daughter was abused, I was giving birth to my other daughter, while she was in the care of my mom, by my step-dad. I reported it. I was staying clean, I was doing well. I had a good home and everything and I reported it and I had to sit there with the doll thing, as they did the doll thing, there was two RCMPs and two social workers and my psychologist. We sat there, I had to sit through it, it just killed me, it sort of re-traumatized myself. Thank god for my psychologist, he was pretty good. Afterwards the dude turned around and said, 'he taught her that because she was a prostitute'. They dropped the charges, she was three and a half. They said they didn't have enough evidence. I sat there when she described, she took the penis and put it in her mouth. They described where her mom was, where her kokum was and where her sister was. 'What are you talking about, you don't have enough evidence, you sat through the doll'.

Because of my past, of course we couldn't do anything and I went mad after that. I gave her up to a man and a woman, a family. Same with my other daughter, I gave her up for adoption too. I just went back to the streets. When it happened to my son, I'm in recovery again. By then I'm like, you know, what the fuck is going on here? It happened to my son by a babysitter, a female babysitter. She didn't just abuse him, she held his head down in the tub, from what my other daughter described it was just horrible. But I wasn't going to put him through that, so I just phoned, and I wasn't going to put myself through the humiliation as well. So I just phoned around, and what I did was called around and asked a few people 'what do I do, what do I do', and they said 'love him', so I did, I loved him. And that is what I mean, trusting services, that is kind of tough, when you have been failed already. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Poor relationship with services

When I was fifteen, by the time I was fifteen social services took my baby away. I ended up hurting it, by my boyfriend in Alberta. I had actually planned that pregnancy. I wanted to prove the world I could be different from my mom and different from the situation I was in. My boyfriend broke up with me, my mom landed in jail and social services found out where we were and they came and got my sister. Got us back to Prince Albert and though my group home mom was great. She actually, she was about the most helpful person there. She was going to help me in raising my baby. My social worker threatened me. When I went and had my baby she said, 'you either sign this baby over or I'll take her away like I took you from your mom and she will end up in foster care'. I didn't want my baby to end up where we ended up. I signed her up hoping she would go to one family, a good family. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

We went to the Salvation Army church. The preacher, I remember sitting in the middle, near the back, half way to the back. The preacher was preaching and he all of a sudden went sinner, and he pointed right at me. Well, I got up and I ran out and I was hiding in the closet. I was literally sobbing. I remember the feeling of sobbing and humiliation and frustration and just everything. My foster mom found me to see what's wrong and I don't remember if I even said anything to her, I had already got in trouble for speaking, so I didn't really say anything, but I remember taking that in as a spiritual thing also, by then. Ya, I'm definitely bad. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

The irony is, the daughter they took away. The social worker, one of the lies she told me 'she will end up a whore like you and your mother anyways'. I didn't know what a whore was anyway. I knew there were things for money, I didn't know that was a whore. She said she would end up a whore like you and your mother anyway, 'you people don't know how to raise your kids'. The irony was, I met my daughter was she was seventeen, she was in (school name erased). She had been on the streets since she was twelve. Part of me feels satisfaction in knowing that we are cursed. This family isn't cursed. Something, it validates the truth about the abuse, because she was abused. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

What happened over there, see, I'm a big woman, when I was sixteen people thought I was twenty-one or twenty-two. I ran away there, I was already pregnant with my daughter. The head lady didn't want me there because I didn't have any ID. But I wasn't going to go call my mom, I wasn't going to call people, 'can you tell them how old I am', because that is telling them to come and rescue me, I might not be ready to be rescued right now, I might now want that attention, you have your own stuff, I don't want to burden you, that kind of thing, you know. So I never, she never found out my real age. So she thought I was a twenty-one year old pregnant woman, abusing the system. Sixteen years old, running away from my pimp. And all of a sudden I'm abusing the system. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

See, I know three o'clock in the morning, I get beat up from my pimp and three o'clock in the morning, I see a vehicle, I'm going to run there, I need help. They will open the doors and they will have a bed for me. If there is not a bed, there is a cot. There is also some place, where you have to make an application, or be on this or on that kind of system in order to qualify. But the one's, I need you at that moment, I need you right now. I don't need you after my paper work is done, I don't know what will happen between now and then, that is what they need. They need more of that, I didn't need a system to say wait for the paper work to go through. Go to this place and go sign some paper work, I need you right now. When I was turned away, I had nowhere to go, so, I would either go back to him and say sorry and get my beating. I could still make money and sleep there. You don't want to do it, but when you have no where else to go, that's what you are going to do. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think you can in the end, if you look at my relationship with my mother. We have kind of come around that and through it. You know circles. She was saying we should have a healing circle, and I was like total disgust. Not even, it will be a bunch of people whining around, and I didn't want to face any of that. That was years ago, hey. But we ended up in a circle and me hearing from her, I all of a sudden understood that she had did the best she could. She did all that she could do in her time. In her time there was sweet diddley. Not everyone had a phone, and that is what the people today don't get. Not everyone had a phone. Not everyone had a car, or access to anything. And the only thing on, in the phone book back then was the hospital, cops and ambulance. That's it. Now we have many other services. Who do you trust? (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Cycle of Abuse

I always felt like I was jinxed. That somehow that abuse would continue on. For me, like I said, it started way before I stood on corners, the abuse started a long time before. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Yes, one thing after another. Plus, back then, I used to think a curse, or you know, fate that I was there. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Everyone has their own story. Did you watch The Curse, the video? We all kind of had the same thing; it was almost like a fate thing. That was the way it was. And when you look around, when you looked around, that is what was happening in our community. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I don't want to hate my mushum, because I didn't know the man. And, my mom didn't hate him. You know. I know she didn't. I don't hate my mom. Now that I realized growing up she had, she didn't know anything. She had less information than I did. I had, at least, a few opportunities. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Recognizing the pathways

If you do a boundary exercise, that is the best way to know. I would do a boundary where I would walk around the circle and I could feel, this one girl, I was talking about boundaries. If you step to near like this, I stepped up and I wasn't even that close to her, but I felt her push me away. Not literally, but I felt her push me away. There was a millisecond of knowing between the two of us. I looked at her eyes and I saw the anger and the rage and I just knew. I literally felt sick, physically. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Any psychiatrist or anyone who reads people will know. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Recruitment

Boyfriends

Then it was on. Then I met my daughter's dad, before we had children. My friend said, 'I have someone I wanted you to meet, lets go buy weed off this guy'. So we go to this house and he was supposed to end up with one of my friend, but he kept staring at me from across the room. He was this big macho man, he is the one everyone looks up to in this house, and he wants me? He got me drunk. I should have known what I was walking into that first night. I blacked out, I come to and my hands are cuffed together in his hands. He had me pinned against the wall, my hands above my head. He is slapping me and he is hitting me, I blacked out again, and I come to and I am on this bed.

And then, I was seeing him for a few days, he was giving me kind of like hinting for me to go for a walk. Some guy would pull over and offer me money and I thought to myself 'you are supposed to be my boyfriend'. I said 'ok' and I really liked this guy and everyone was scared of this guy. It was kind of like protection. OK, well, I want to impress him, I said 'yes, I'll do it'. So I went for a walk, I walked blocks. I went back and I said 'there is nothing', he said 'that's ok, I can't stand the thought of any other man's hands on you'. I thought 'he really likes me'. Then he kept asking 'I don't want any man hands on you, but, I am really short on this, I owe this, and I need it'. Praising me, I'm beautiful, he thinks he is falling in love with me, and he could really use my help. 'OK', I said, and I did. I gave him money, he sent me down to his room, that is where I stayed while he was upstairs drinking.

Then it was on, history from there. Five years, every night I had to make about two to three hundred dollars a night, and tricks were cheap, tricks were really, really cheap. Then you get the random good ones. He started hitting me like that, right. Then he would blow me to the chest if I didn't make enough. Give me a blow to the chest. It got to the point where if I didn't make enough, I would wear a necklace of bruises across my chest. When they went yellow, he would bring them back again, because I was his girl.

My first beating, my very first bad beatings, he had a couple of cousins who were on the streets too, and he sent me out with them and they made me dress really biker, 'that's my baby now'. And I thought, 'ya, I'm your baby'. He made me feel really good. The whole time I'm on the streets for this guy. They weren't happy with him, 'we'll make the money, you just wait right here, we will come back with vehicles and the money and we will say you did it', 'ok', you know, that is awesome. We went back, and he was sleeping when we got back. We started drinking and I went and woke him up, 'the beer is here, do you want a beer'. He looks at me and he is getting drunk already. He looks at these guys that are at the party and obviously I brang them. 'Well, how much money did you make?' I said, 'I didn't make any money, you wanted beer and here is the beer.' The first crack and I went flying. I thought, eff this, I ran out into the street, I was crying and he ran after me.

I just remember there were people in their yards, and they are watching me and he caught up to me and then he beat me up and just kicked me around and nobody did nothing. (Crying). He said, 'get your fucking ass back to the house before I kill you'. So I ran back to the house, and went he got there I said 'please, no more', and he walked and he closed the door. He just kept punching me and kicking me and punching me and kicking me. When he is done, I'm bloody and beaten. He sent me to the bathroom, 'go wash your face'. Then he comes behind me, 'is this how you want me to look every time you don't listen to me?' so I said 'no, no'.

"So obviously the party left, and I'm watching my face. He said 'wash your face and come to the living room'. I'm looking at the mirror and I thought is this the face, the puffy face, black eyes, and blood my mom saw the first time my dad beat her, or my grandma the first time she got her beating from here mishama, it's like a cycle. That is when the cycle ideas went to my head. So I washed up and went to the living room. He is lying on the couch and watching porn. He had me sit on the floor, at the foot of the couch where he was sitting and his hands are sore and his feet are sore from kicking me and punching me. I had to massage his sore muscles and fists, while he watched porn. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Female recruitment

Interviewer: What are some of the strategies that you are seeing with individuals or gangs used to recruit Aboriginal girls in the sex trade? What are some of those?

Respondent: Women are doing it lots, lots of women. Actually I see more women than men. Ya.

In the beginning I remember when I was fifteen and that woman put me out. I remember telling the man that, what was happening, this lady has got me and she wants me to work on the corner. Can you drive me somewhere, take me somewhere? He just proceeded to take his pants down. Put my head down in his groin and that was it. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Is that how a lot of women you saw, initiated that way. They were after, after the fact, you don't do the initiation, you already had your beating. You would say 'you see that girl, she wants in, and now I'm the head, you are the head'. I had to beat up some girls. Some of them were so tiny, they would say 'no, please', but I didn't want to. I know if I didn't do it, I'm going to get a beating, I'm going to go to the room, and in his eyes I'm a little bitch. He is going to go to the room and beat the shit out of me. I would look at them, they would look at me with these eyes saying 'please don't'. Before they try and plead I would beat the shit out of them, and that was their initiation. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I just started drinking, I ended up with a boyfriend and we went to Saskatoon. I got put out, I actually got put out by his sister. She put me out and I got away after about three weeks, a friend helped me. A friend helped me and my dad got me busted out of there. Because of my drinking I ended up, the guy knew the woman and so he just took a hold of me. He raped me every night. He had me out on the street. I had to work under a hotel room, so he could watch. Got away from him, but I ended up pregnant. I didn't want the baby. Not her herself, but the action that lead to her birth. So my mom took her, and, of course, I thought if this is the way its going to be, I'm just going to do it. I went and hooked up with my family, who by that time I knew were on the street. I knew they were in to prostitution. I hooked up with my family who were already out there, the older ones. I stuck with them for a lot of years. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Number one, it was my boyfriend and they were pretty scary people. I remember it was just before I started working there. One night they were all running around like crazy ranting, and they all had frickin guns, shotguns. They had an actual war with another family. I was thinking, shit, this is bad, I don't know how I ended up here, but it is bad. Also, she was a scary woman. Plus, she always had eyes. I don't know, I just felt like the way things sat, it was almost, it seemed like there was fate to it. Like it was everything led to me being on the street, leading that kind of life and being me. In regards to fighting her back, there was another thing, she said she knew my mom. My mom was on the street, my mom got put out when she was 11, by my father. She knew my mom and my dad. She had told me the first time, I remember the first time, she said 'I'll blow your fucking mom away', and I believed her, I believed she was that crazy to do it. People were afraid of her, like adults. I'm kind of locked in this thing, do you know what I mean? (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Gangs.

Ya, it was different though. But I have gotten into heated discussions with gang people. They say 'it is family', but family don't fuck each other, family don't wait for that moment, family is loyal, family sticks together. I have to be careful about how I say this. I have been accused of glorifying the street, but I'm not. I had people who treated me well enough, taught me how to take care of myself out there. I didn't have people who just took advantage of me. I was lucky in that way.

I tell women that, too, I was lucky not to just have all a-holes, I was surrounded by some decent people, and I was in the middle of Edmonton and I was surrounded by decent people. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Ya, some days I would think ‘if I was on the street, I could deal with this right quick’, and it would be appropriate, because no one would question it. Because I’m not on the street I have to find other means of dealing with it, and the biggest one is the abuse. You know, sexual abuse is just stupid and now it’s gangs. Actually gangbanging girls into the gang and I’m like, lets talk about, you’re just being a skinner, man. You have just become the pedophile and, you know, I don’t think they realize that. Don’t think they realize that. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

See, he was the head of this big gang full of a bunch of teenagers. You know, I was one of those teenagers. I didn’t get the beating to initiation. You know what, I was already getting beatings everyday. That was my initiation. All of these guys partied on my prostitution money, if not his drug money. My vagina paid for those drugs, you know. So, that was my initiation. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Kidnapped from school

By the time I was 17 and I ended up with this dude and I had this child. My mom took her and I went back, but I went back with my family. I remember there was a brief moment when there was kind of an intervention with Dorothy Levine, she was a court worker. She literally took me home. She was the only adult that I knew at the time who literally told her mom to go fuck herself. She said ‘fuck off, you don’t need this one’ and she took me home. Then I was going to school and I heard this, they call it Native Survival School. I was at school and I loved it. Like, number one. I knew Maria Campbell was around, I loved Maria Campbell, I always did, since I was a kid reading Half-Breed in Kilborn Hall. I was going to school there and actually starting to feel like, maybe again, this is going to be OK. All of a sudden I heard this ruckus and I came out of the class and there she was standing at the door. There she was dragging this 11 year old kid out. Then she noticed me and she said, ‘I’m coming back for you, you little bitch’. I said ‘fuck this, I’m not waiting’. So I went back to the street and I said screw it. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think I kind of knew anyway, because we were on 20th. I remember when I was young some guy tried to pick me up. Then I saw his picture later and it was that Fischer guy. He grabbed me and told me my mom sent him to get me. I was in front of the store and he tried to grab me. I told him ‘fuck you, you are a liar’. I remember kicking at him and screaming at him. In my generation we didn’t have many white people mixed with Indian people, not in my circle, who my mom was with. I knew he was a bad guy instantly, so I fought that way. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Raped

I was a trick, a trick advantage of me, I was on the run and, ah, this guy just, ah, he said well. I was sleeping under the Holiday Inn, in Saskatoon, which is not a Holiday Inn. I was sleeping under the steps there, I had been walking around for a while, waiting for the traffic to lessen so I could go down there. This guy pulls up, a white guy, he kind of reminded me of that guy on Dukes of Hazard. Tall white guy. He said 'what are you doing? Why are you wandering around?' I said, 'I'm waiting for daylight so I can hitch hike to PA to find my mom'. He said, 'oh', he says, 'well, you know what are you hungry? I could give you something to eat'. He took me home and he fed me, he seemed like a nice guy. He said 'I have an extra room you can sleep in'. He said there were two rooms, he put me in the extra room. Not long after, he crawled in there and did his thing, he raped me, and then took me back downtown and gave me some money. So, that was my first introduction to it, as far as I'm concerned. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

But there again in my time there was no services. When I was in the Royal Wilson Centre I ran away briefly, like a couple of nights. In that time I got raped again, an old guy threw money at me again. Luckily I wasn't killed, because I think that is what he was looking for, a place to kill me. He couldn't find a quiet enough place, there was still vehicles coming around. When I got back to the Royal Wilson Centre a couple nights later I was just catatonic for a long time. I just sat, because they had me in the hole. My worker kept, she had a whole long list of questions: why do you run away? why do you do that?, I just looked at him and I thought it was ridiculous and I told her that. After a week of her trying to get answers I just told her, 'you never asked what happened out there, you didn't ask me anything, nobody asks me anything'. They brought in a psychiatrist. That guy just sat there for a whole hour when I spilled the beans. He's a professional, right, all he did was dope me up, gave me drugs. Didn't say nothing to me, just wrote during the conversation. I thought 'oh, we have got some good stuff here'. Then, after we were done out session, and I only seen him the one time, he said, 'ok then', and he left and they came and started giving me medication. So I was high every night, and the girls, the older ones, made sure I sat up. When anyone asks me about dope, that's where I learned about it. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Drugs

Interviewer: How were you kept within the sex trade, what kept you there?

Respondent: Drugs. Ya, drugs.

Interviewer: Was it like hardcore drugs?

Respondent: Ya, life IV use, and then when I left for a few years it was because I had my children, and then going back to jail and losing my children and everything, that's when I went back to the sex trade. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

They get them on the drugs, and then show them the way out to the streets. A lot of them just bully, men will bully girls into doing it. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Prevention Recommendations.

Education, I think they need to do it more in schools. I've heard teachers say this. Teachers want to do this, but they can't, they only have the basics, reproductive and planned parenting. I would love to see, if they got all of the hoes and just a committee of hoes, just a committee of women and men who have been there and done that. Putting their stories out there so they can be heard so that when a kid, if it's happening in a kids life, they would have an idea of where to go to. There are services, even though the government is cutting a lot of that out, like Tamara's house. We need Tamara's house back. There should be one in every city, as far as I'm concerned, Prince Albert being one of them. The women in jail, the majority of them have been abused, and they have no outlet. I think if every classroom had a kokum, I'm serious, you know, especially one that has been there and done that. Well, a lot of them have. They have been through their own experience. Each class had its own grandmother, and they can get one from their own community and bring them in. Just have them a part of the classroom to get to know that class. That kokum or auntie, if you can't get an older one, just get an auntie to sit in to talk about her experiences. Her experiences. It doesn't take much. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

When they were little, I think, she was about nine or ten, my son was two years younger, I started putting condoms in my bathroom. I started leaving information all over the place, you know. They look at the covers, there are even those cartoon books. Now they even have more cartoon books about different topics. That kind of stuff, every parent should decide, not just in schools, every parent should decide. Even if you think it doesn't happen. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think if I had been educated better, I think if I had known that it wasn't my fault then I wouldn't have carried the guilt that I carried my whole life. That ended up working against me because I did become violent and abusive towards men, very violent. I think if I had been educated when I was very young that this is not supposed to happen to young girls then it might have been different. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think when the community, school or whatever, if they just surround that child and that family with love, rather than 'oh my god', like they have lice or something. I think we have gotten lice easier than we have gotten over sex. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

For me, I'm at the point where, I'm going to talk about it. I am in a position, I have a job that, you know what, these kids are scared. They are going through stuff that I already know what they are going through, I know the feeling, I know there are emotions, I know the fear, I know the exciting and the frustration and guilt. So I talked myself in those rehab centres and in time, just to talk about it, and it got easier. Ya, the first few times I cried like a big baby, just cried. I can talk about it today now and I'll cry a couple of times, but it is so much easier. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I have girls too that, I work nights, my girls, they will cry and they will open up, you know, and that is good, and that's at night. I tell them, I'm only here at night, you have my cell number, you want to vent, you want to cry, I'll be sitting at work at three am and they will call, they will say I can't believe this, I'm having a panic attack, I feel like I'm choking because their situations. So I talk to them and I say 'you're ok honey, you're ok'. I talk them down. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Everybody. I think you have to start with the top up. I'm glad that Guy is doing the teachers. If the teachers don't know, then you can't do anything. But it also has to be a follow through. I know when my son was abused here. That when I went to the family worker at the school, they brought in social services on me. And I'm like, What! It was never dealt with and I know he abused another boy, also. It went all hush, hush after that. Nobody said anything to me, and nothing was done for my son, and I had to do that, and I had to force social services to do something. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

If you are truly educated, there are only three reports done in Canada on prostitution and HIV, and none of them say anything about prostitution, only intravenous drugs. My concern in regards to HIV and how it is changing. Because I have met a lot of tricks in my time, pedophiles and creeps in my time, who thought the younger you were, the less at risk they were. These same guys are doing it to their children, their grandchildren and thinking they are not at risk for anything. What they are actually doing is putting them at risk, because of what our youngest with HIV in 2012 was eleven, do you think she asked for it? No. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I've done communities, I've done classrooms. It's actually the teachers that need teaching man. Some of them are so stiff or stuck in their own issues, that it is sad. I remember being at King George in Saskatoon, a younger man, I thought maybe the old guy would say whoa, it was a younger man who got up and walked out. The funny thing is, with these kids, there were even grade fives, I sat down on the floor and they all came and surrounded me, they surrounded me and then one of the girls said, 'Is that why my mommy is tired all the time, is the Hep C?', The hepatitis C. I said 'probably'. She said 'ooohhh', I said 'ya, she is probably just tired, but she'll be alright'. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Ya, when I was fifteen or sixteen years old on the streets, you know, when I see somebody in a suit, or a nice fancy car, and their paper work, what do they want to do to me? Then your fear comes up. Then you are pretty much naked in a glass bowl with everybody looking in. But I also, I used to run away to safe shelter, there are a few times I went to a safe shelter in Saskatoon, I had a bad experience there. There were some workers there I could stay up with at night, they are dressed casually, and they are listening, they are listening. They were not telling me 'were you ever raped, checked yes or no', they just want to know, they are listening. They see tension, they see fear, they feel those energies and they sit there and listen. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

You know why I bring that up, when I was a kid I had a couple of counselors. They said ‘come on, I have to go buy a house, do you want to help me buy a house?’, and they would say, ‘what do you think? Do you think I would be comfortable?’ I loved that he did that, but he got canned the next week, because his approach wasn’t what their approach was. There was concerns of things happening. That is a good concern, because really I lost my connection, I was so enraged, that was my outlet, I could have been saved. You know it probably could have saved me years of trauma, maybe not everything, but I had an ear. You know, like you were saying. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I had this one girl, she worked at EGADs, she gave me her cell number, ‘it doesn’t matter what time of day’, she said, ‘I might be in the office or I might be out and about’, but I called her and I needed her that moment. The office hours might be closed, and I need her now, this girl said ‘call me now’, I would call her up and she would come pick me up. I would cry, go to McDonald’s, we would just talk, and then, after our conversation, she would drop me off at the bus depot, with a bus ticket to go back home. She did that a few times and I’m so grateful for her. A lot of people thought ‘oh you were just using her to get back home’, I didn’t want to get home, I just didn’t know if I would make it out of this day alive. I needed her right here and right now and I remember her, her face, her tears, I remember her hugs and her smile. Her eyes, just her eyes that just said ‘trust me, talk to me, I understand, I don’t judge you’. That’s the kind of people they need here. If you are going to open up recruitment and all that, get people like that in there. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I remember, where I’m working now, we can’t have anyone on the property after a certain hour. I had one that kept coming, I know I’m not supposed to be here (name erased). He would cry, cry and cry and talk about all of his issues. ‘I’m sorry, I didn’t mean to be here, I just needed to tell you that, please don’t call the cops’. He did that a few times. One time, he didn’t, he needed to. He didn’t, and I find out that he committed suicide. I was working that night. My boy, you are not supposed to be on the property. Come cry and we will sit on the picnic table and we will cry. Cry to me and we will give you some options, but he didn’t come and he committed suicide. So, this kid wasn’t going to come and see me during business hours, because I work night, he needed me to listen to him when I was there. That is what he used to do, and now he is dead. He needed me, he didn’t want me to sit with him, in front of a piece of paper with a little yes or no pamphlet. I sat there and I listened to him, he just needed me to listen, give him some options, give him some encouragement and some confidence. There were lots of people who would say ‘ah, he drinks every day, nothing is going to happen’. I would say ‘you know what, I was a prostitute, on the corner with a short skirt and a bag full of needles and I thought nothing would happen’. Now I have this job and have everything I have today. Don’t you for one second tell me, that this kid is making so many wrong choices that they will never amount to anything. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

You can do it in school, but you know what? You are there from Monday to Friday, nine to three. You know, that is it, and maybe an hour or two, and that is just when you don't have class, but if you could really tap into, what I expected, what I would have needed would just come to my house, get to know my family, get to know my mom, get to know my dad. You know, you don't go sit me in your office with your pinstripe suit and your pencils and your paper work, and you sign here and you sign there. You know what that is? That is a system. You don't go into foster care and get sexually and physically abused in a system. Here is some paper work. It didn't happen that way. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

They are going to say, your appointment is at 3 and I have an appointment at 4, so I have an hour. Then the child leaves after the hour, with things they needed to say. Then they go off into their lives with unresolved issues. Be more involved, don't make an appointment. Just say 'I'm going to come pick you up, lets go for coffee'. Maybe the child has a thin jacket, say, 'lets go for a ride around the city, let's go shoot hoops in Kinsmen Park, let's go sit by the river, let's go make a fire by little red'. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Well it seems that once you start getting better with your life, everyone just kind of wipes their hands of you because they see you as doing good. But that's not the case. That is how I ended up tumbling back down. Everyone just would write my, my feelings or thoughts about things, write them off as me just being over reactive. When really I was bottoming out again. People need to recognize that street doesn't leave you. It never leaves you no matter how you go get a degree, whatever. It is still there. And you could go back in a heartbeat. I don't really know. It's hard to. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

People get so mad with the sight of a penis, but you will see the same people gyrating and doing their thing on a weekend. I think there has got to be more people like me, being open about it and not afraid of facing it. I remember when I was with that one organization in town here (PA), they have kids coming through work programs, I would tell them 'your penis is going to fall off if you don't watch it'. From the way you are talking. Do you cover it?' As adults, those are the sorts of things we need to talk about, compared to the old days, when we just talked about the basics. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think it could make sex a touchy subject. I don't think talking about it makes it a touchy subject. It opens doors. And it opens doors to people who felt odd about themselves, I think we open doors to be say "ya". Even the dove commercial, that is a good one, all the women different sizes, the new Girls thing they have going one. They have a girl camp and stuff like that, they advertise it at Won Ska. I do a girls group on Sundays, they have a big thing, I don't know if its through Dove or whatever, they are doing a lot more, I think. We need to bring it home now and start dealing with those hard talks. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Give them confidence. It doesn't matter how many bad decisions they made, people make bad decisions, it doesn't make them bad people. They are making bad decisions because hurt people, it happened to that hurt. Not with an application either, build a relationship, because they might not open to you on the first day. A week or two, or a month down the road you might know everything about that kid because you built the relationship you built the trust. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I go to classes once a year. I kind of think that is shortening me and shortening the kids. They just realize, hey, this is maybe someone I can talk to. I get letters from kids, I got a letter from a girl who said she sat on the bed with her dad's gun and wondered if she should do it today. I told the community 'bring me back or have somebody', because I didn't want to rat her out. She didn't leave a name. I always tell them, you don't have to leave a name. If they can be a part of the classroom setting, not the whole school, because that can be overwhelming, but have that person there, so they can talk to them. That person has to be responsible, when they hear they need to respond. With this little girl, I told the one lady, she was very surprised, surprised with the outcome. She said 'no, no, we are going to do something'. This is the one community where the principal didn't want me back because he thought I was vulgar. I was hurt, (laughing). I am not vulgar, (laughing). She opened her mouth. She was the bravest one. The kids were great and that is why I knew I was in the right community. None of them said anything. You could have heard a pin drop in that room. With that amount of kids that is a tough thing to do as a presenter. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Who should teach?

I think if every classroom had a kokum, I'm serious, you know, especially one that has been there and done that. Well, a lot of them have. They have been through their own experience. Each class had its own grandmother, and they can get one from their own community and bring them in. Just have them a part of the classroom to get to know that class. That kokum or auntie, if you can't get an older one, just get an auntie to sit in to talk about her experiences. Her experiences. It doesn't take much. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

A lot of people when they gather, and lets help the community, and a lot of people want to do it. But you know what, a lot of people want to get paid for it, a lot of people want money for their time. Do you know what that is telling those that really need the help? 'You are not worth my time, because I'm not getting paid for it, your issues are not really worth it'. It has to be really genuinely caring people. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Find people who are genuine. Some will say, I have honestly, I know people who have had a beautiful upbringing, awesome upbringing and they went to post-secondary and they read it all from a book. There are some that don't know anything from a hole in the ground. 'Tell me about it, so I can help you, from what I read in a book'. The one's that don't know it from a hole in the ground,

avoid them. They are just going to sit in front of those children with all of the issues, they will be in front of a brick wall, nothing coming in, nothing coming out. Aim for not just business hours. Don't put an application in front of a child, 'have you ever done drugs, check yes or no. Have you ever been sexual assaulted, check yes or no'. Sit there and talk to him. The kid might like the guitar, take him to the park and play the guitar. Don't say, my name is so and so and I'm here to talk to you. Talk to me like a normal friend. Build the relationship, talk to me like an old friend. That is what those kids need. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I find that when you talk about people who go to school, to do all of this support, they only do it to a certain level. If you are going to commit to somebody, and have them lead, verbally, spiritually, emotionally, and even physically, you need to go all in. Be in, until they are done, until they are ready to move forward. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I'll tell you one thing, where I work, the gender to gender, there are some girls that are more comfortable talking to a man, because they have been hurt by women, and some that have been hurt by women. There are some that will only talk to women. Same with the boys, some that will only talk to women and some that only talk to men. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Age of prevention

Interviewer: What age, do you think we should start teaching kids preventative education, as far as becoming involved in gangs and on the streets, involved in prostitution, drugs, all of those things?

Respondent: I think they should do it young. They always say grade six is good. Even now when I do sexual health, well even grade six is too young. And I say, 'are you kidding? Do you all hear yourselves? You insinuate sex all the time', some more than others. And then mom is always looking for a husband. It's based on the fact that there is always a man in the house every two weeks. I think it has to be done early. Right from when they are little. Nobody wants to touch sexual abuse, they touch it if they get caught, but nobody wants to talk about, we do talk about good touching and bad touching, but I think it has to be more than that. Don't ask me what, I only know what I know with my kids. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Starting from an early age when kids learn how to speak out. It's ok, even when you are shy, it's ok. They have got to build their own circle within the school, their own community within the school. This little one here just had a community at Family Futures and I knew she trusted that community there. I knew, she knew, that somebody would step up for her. She was getting bullied and the staff stepped up for her. That's the kind of atmosphere you want. If you don't know, then you call someone in who does know and just do your best. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

That is again starting the conversation when they are young, with people there who look normal, grannies or whatnot. Specifically women, I say that because women are much easier to approach most times. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Right from the get-go. Right from the get-go. My daughter now, I started thinking about the cycle thing. What did I not get that I should have got? What should I have known about, that I didn't? Where I ended up, now what can I do differently for my daughter? So, when she started liking boys, you know and so on, I started opening up to my baby, my daughter. More and more, just letting my daughter knows everything about me now. She knows about the prostitution, she knows her dad was my pimp. I need her to know there is danger out there. You think that you have it all figured out. You think you can look after yourself, because you know, no one is looking after you, let's look after ourselves. You do the best with what you have at home. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Preventative education on ending up on the streets? Like, but that is kind of hard, because I could have used that at nine, but nine is such a young age to teach people this stuff. But I could have used it. It is different in every case. Its not all like broad, I don't think it is a broad age because everyone is different. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Age eight to ten and older, up to teens. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Locations of education.

Interviewer: Are school the best place for preventative education, or any other institution or community organization?

Respondent: I wasn't going to school when I went on the streets. I was already out of school for how many years. That would have never helped me, and I wasn't in touch with any organizations except for maybe institutions like jails and stuff, youth jail. So I don't really know where it would it have came from. Where would I have found the supports? Do you know what I mean? (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Schools, YWCA, or other organizations that work with youth. Outreach programs. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Everywhere, school, home, just involvement. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Family Healing

I don't know. We haven't sat down and talk about the whole thing. We talk about bits and pieces when they come up. My family tend to want to, 'oh that's history', you know? 'Why can't you let it go?', and I'm like, it's one thing to let it go. Sometimes I want, it doesn't feel real somedays. I even feel like, what if I was wrong? (Survivor Interview, 2014).

I don't think there is enough involvement of parents. A lot of parents are in their own trauma. If you can find a way of making it attractive and in Indian country, or poverty country period, if you have food, you know this is always a good pull. That's always a good way to bring people that you wouldn't normally have there, something of interest that would pull them in. That is the only other way. And ya, that costs money. That's the biggest way of pulling them in. I remember I was in a reserve last year that turned out wonderfully. We had the students, we had the teachers, but we also ended up with adults. We ended up with nurses. Even the nurses were surprised. You know, it should be taught to the people who are going in to these services also. From people who experienced this side of life that you wouldn't normally get. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Well, it would have to... I don't know. This goes into politics (Laughs). You have to stop taking these children from their homes. You have to stop placing them where they don't belong. You need to, it has to go back to family. You have to get families healthy and together. Until that unity happens, there is not going to be a change, I don't think. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Interviewer: Is there a way you think you could get families involved in the process?

Respondent: I think you can, and that would go to attraction rather than promotion. You have other families that are getting involved. Behavioral, you know. When the kid's behavior is off, it is usually because something has happened. I heard there was a kid in one school, she was rubbing legs, rubbing herself on the legs of one of my friend's boys. So I know, in my guy, I knew that something was going on. She said you should be going to the school and asking them to check the parent, what is going on at home. That put them at risk around here. Getting them stolen away.

Interviewer: Do you think that is a part of why parents don't get involved in the process, because if they do reach out to help, say their child was abused by another family member that their children would be taken away?

Respondent: Ya, taken away and the family would be disrupted. And the family has loyalty. I don't think it should be like that. It should be a working thing within the family. They should take the family and just work with them. You might, say for instance there is a big scab, if you pull the top, there is still going to be a sore. The services, that's the other thing. The services need to be educated, social workers need to be educated. Parole officers, the police need to be educated. And not just on a bogus lever, paper stuff, enough with papers already. They have to get the human aspect of it. That when they run into somebody and this is going on, just to tear the family apart, even though the crap was going on in my family, I loved my family. I love my mother. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

I have met many, many, many kids and parents over my years of work and it doesn't matter what, everybody loves their parents. Their parents could do horrendous things to them and they still love them. That's a fundamental thing, is being loved and when I speak with other girls on the streets, they will say all somebody has to do is tell you that they love you and you will do anything for them. It's really kind of one of the fundamental aspects of how do we raise a child to be healthy and love themselves. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Then you teach them about gaining other family members who will be accepting of you. I notice a lot of places I go, people are starting to find other relatives that will accept them. I have tons of other brothers that I am really close to, I can tell them anything I want, within reason, of course. They are supportive of me. Sisters, too, talking to them about things. Even recently, I got a sister and her daughter, we talk about sexual abuse, about how it is important and that someday down the line, we are thinking about doing something, we just don't know what that will be yet. But it will be because it effects us all, within her family, and then within my family. My two youngest granddaughters have also been abused. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

We didn't tell mom about the sexual abuse as children until we were in our twenties. It broke her, until this day she will cry. We will sit there and talk about the foster homes, in Saskatoon. I still have frostbite, from our secondhand winter jackets that bared our whole wrists, and the bunk beds that were on plywood with blanket over it, and the sexual and physical abuse, and how mom felt about it. She will just sit there and think and will wipe tears, you know. Obviously it's a very touchy subject. It is still ongoing, things are still hard to talk about. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

I wish mom and dad would, you know, be more involved. I wish the school would be more involved, that is not just a kid you are going to put a piece of loose leaf and a text book, you have to get to know me, because I might have an issue at home. I might not be able to talk to mom and dad... You know what, help my mom too. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

I think we need to expand on the 'it takes a community to raise a child', we need to expand on that. What does that mean? For instance, I had a lady come to me, who said she had to report her older son against her younger son. I said 'that is good' what about your older son? She said 'that is why I'm talking to you', I said 'who abused him? If it was someone close, you have to let them know you love them. Sit them in a room and let them know that'. There aren't many services in that area at all that I know of. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Indigenous Culture

Cultural. As a kid, see I would have loved to have grown up going to sweats and going to Sundances. You know. I would have loved to have been a powwow

dancer, I would have loved to do all of that. But you know, mom's busy. Mom was preoccupied. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

I think it's better to have women taking on those roles. It's traditional and also because, I think we think with different eyes. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

The other thing is involving, especially Aboriginal children. A lot of them lost their way. The kids with the gangs, I feel like they are stuck, and I understand there is skepticism of the Indian way, plus they have got a lot of, the beliefs are kind of off. But if you get a kid in a sweat and they seem empowered by that. Even if they get to help in the sweat, not go in. Even churches, a lot of churches are changing. I go to church too. I call myself a traditionalist with a twist. I follow the culture, but I believe in taking you can from everything that is there. I go to church, too, and I found some really decent places that are opening up to being supporting and including and not excluding. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Since they are taking prayer away. I believe prayer in any form is a good healer. If you teach children to do that, you empower them. That would be my biggest thing is empowering through their culture, whatever their culture may be. We have a lot of Pakistani women who are abused, we hear about it all the time in Canada. I think that's the other thing, is empowering them from when they are very young. To know the services around them, to know when to make that call and only they can do that. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

That is what I did. I was really lonely. I didn't know it until I ran into a bro who was going into recovery. I see it with people all the time. The first Sioux Sundance I went to, it was all pimps standing there. I was like 'what the hell', I thought those guys were dead. There they were, healing themselves. These are the same brothers who hold true with helping me and supporting me. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

They're also bringing back, what needs to be brought back, we talk about it a lot, is the ceremonies. Honoring the children, nobody honors the kids. I mean honoring them when they get to manhood. Taking the boys, sending them out to a cultural camp, or just camp. Doing things that men would do together. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

I heard they used to put bellybuttons in the anthills. They did that so women would grow up being hard workers. This woman was saying, 'does anyone have any idea what to do with the bellybutton when they have their babies'. I said, 'I know the women carry it in their bundle'. My mother who had everyone's bellybutton would bring it to the Sundance and leave it at the tree. She said she took all of hers and put them all in the ant pile. She said all of my kids work hard. We heard in this video for the women you put their bellybutton in there. For the boys you take and put them in the bush so they would be great hunters and

providers. I said, you see that would be an interesting thing that a lot of people don't know about. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Take them to a sweat. Talk to an Elder in a circle. Learn how to make Tipis. Around 11 or 12 years old. (Survivor Interview, 2014).

Conclusion

The harrowing experiences of sex trade survivors speak to the multiple traumatic barriers ensuring vulnerability for Indigenous youth. Reading the transcripts from the interviews elicits sadness and despair, but we must not succumb to the overwhelming scope and depth of this systemic issue. After reading these descriptions, it is important to give yourself the time for self-care, the unspeakable trauma has transferrable properties that can impact the reader. Amassing the vast resources of survivor and staff knowledge is the foundation from which prevention education can be constructed.

Data presented in this chapter will be analyzed using Indigenous epistemologies in the following chapter. Understanding the wide range of pathways, recruitment strategies, and pedagogical recommendations is only the first step, we must now apply trusted Indigenous frameworks to establish meaningful scholarship. The disclosure of painful histories on the part of survivors and staff must be commended, and their knowledge will be respected by forming the basis of prevention recommendations. Smith (1999) demands that researchers empower participants by bolstering their voice to remain untainted and the centre of knowledge creation.

Chapter 5: Analysis

Introduction

Findings in the fourth chapter presented a wealth of new information regarding pathways into the sex trade, recruitment strategies, and pedagogical recommendations. The organization of data will be expanded upon in the analysis section, where findings will be unpacked using theoretical lenses and the limited literature base. Smith (1999) argued that analysis in Indigenous research should utilize the strength of Indigenous ways of knowing in order to avoid being colonized by Western frameworks, which forsakes an opportunity for empowerment and influencing transformation towards self-determination. As an academic disciple of Smith's research agenda, I continue the legacy of decolonizing research practices that influence each level of data collection and analysis.

The organization of the fifth chapter unfolds as follows. First, a brief review of epistemologies used to inform the research design and analysis. Second, pedagogical, demographic, geographic, and cultural recommendations are summarized in order to explain how the emerging issues related to pathways and recruitment can be addressed using prevention education. Finally, an analysis of pathways and recruitment strategies that have emerged using pedagogical recommendations, the literature review, and epistemological frameworks are presented. Following each relevant sub-section of the pathways and recruitment strategies, an example of a preventative education strategy is given, utilizing the overall pedagogical recommendations given by the interview participants and the epistemological framework. The examples of preventative education are not intended to represent best practices, but instead models addressing pathways or recruitment based on the pedagogical recommendations provided by the interview

participants. Pedagogical recommendations applied in each sub-section were not specifically recommended for the pathway or recruitment strategy, but general suggestions for the design and approach of preventative education.

Modification of Research Questions

The methodological underpinnings of this research call for a democratization of aims, questions and methods, in order to empower Indigenous participants and communities (Kenny, Fiske, Faries & Voyageur, 2004; Smith, 1999). Because a flexible research design was implemented in the field, it became clear that questions needed to shift away from asking specifically about gangs, and focus instead on all Indigenous girls in the sex trade. While gang recruitment was uncovered in the research, the diversity in demographics and methods of recruitment became clear once I began meeting the Prince Albert Outreach staff. The shift in research questions away from the limited scope of recruitment required additional review of literature for the purpose of gaining a more expansive perspective on the topic. Fortunately, the shift in questions was not so drastic that substantial sections needed to be added to the literature review. The original questions were founded on an understanding that recruitment into gangs for Indigenous girls meant being pushed into the sex trade, so the literature review focus on vulnerability to and recruitment into the sex trade was still relevant.

In addition to the modified questions, which now look at all methods of recruitment, some of the unexpected findings in the data collection required supplementary literature reviews. The models created in the first three chapters for pathways and recruitment strategies were based on the limited information available (Bingham et al., 2014), and amendments were anticipated as data emerged. In the

analysis section, I have included short literature reviews for newly arising pathways and recruitment methods. Some pathways already covered in the literature review needed to be more robust, due to the emerging perspectives presented in the interviews. An example of this is sexual abuse, which was clearly a strong indicator of vulnerability in the literature review. During the data collection phase it became clear that models were required for teaching about sexual abuse in a classroom setting. The additional literature reviews are kept concise and restricted to the corresponding sections. Moreover, the specific phrasing of research questions represents only one required shift. Unexpected limitations emerged during data gathering and analysis activities that required the research to remain flexible in response to a dynamic environment.

Limitations

The fifth chapter of this dissertation was intended to include data analysis of the interviews by sex trade survivors. Typically, the term survivor, in the Indigenous context, is reserved for those who attended IRSs. In this research, I recognize the traumatic life experiences creating vulnerability to the sex trade, and the unspeakable aspects of the sex trade these Indigenous women were subjected to, in this case, I believe survivor is an appropriate term that honours the experiences of these Indigenous women. Smith (1999) recommended democratizing the analysis of information by inviting participants to engage in organizing and analyzing data in research projects. Unfortunately, securing survivor interviews was far more difficult than initially anticipated, resulting in several months of waiting and near misses. The cost and time required to travel to Prince Albert was a barrier that made last-minute interviews difficult to attend, and long-term planning for interviews with survivors proved impossible due to their sporadic availability.

Furthermore, contact with survivors was difficult after their interviews, making it problematic to follow-up for the analysis and validation of the data. In the cases when contact was not lost, survivors made it clear their participation would end after the interview. In contrast, leadership of Prince Albert Outreach were extremely accommodating when making their employees available for every stage of the research. The organization also helped to secure a number of sex trade survivor interviews, which required significant individual effort on their part. The survivor voices are given a forum by leaving their words unedited in the results chapter. Admittedly, collaboratively analyzing the content with survivors would have validated the knowledge and strengthened the recommendations. If I was to repeat this process, I would have conducted the research in Calgary, or moved to Prince Albert for several months to be constantly present in order to secure interviews. The analysis is still based upon Indigenous academics' research and the recommendations of survivors and staff, but the additional analytical input from survivors would have been an empowering experience.

Additional limitations need be recognized in the research design and analysis of the data. The sex trade survivors in the study are all Indigenous women, and Indigenous women conducted most of the interviews. Despite the use of feminist Indigenous methodological tools, it is important to acknowledge that an Indigenous male oversaw the analysis phases of this research. We must be cognizant of "new oppressive forms of power created even within attempts to decolonize" (Cannella & Manuelito, 2008, p. 47), when a male Indigenous academic analyzes the interviews of Indigenous women. Indigenous women should be encouraged to take leadership roles in this field, which is

what I hope to achieve when recruiting female Indigenous graduate students to be engaged in research on this topic.

Beyond the limitations of being a male Indigenous researcher in a study grounded in issues of gender, the medium of a written dissertation may privilege specific knowledge sources that further marginalize participants. Smith (1999) claimed that written text is given precedence over oral communication, which is a remnant of patriarchy and Western oppression. The fourth and fifth chapters in this dissertation have been presented in a manner that gives power and privilege to oral communication by leaving the words of survivors intact. The nature of organizing knowledge in text places power in the hands of the editor, but I have done my best to give a forum to survivors that is untainted by my own perspective. The best example of sharing power in this study was altering the questions to meet the needs of participants, after entering the field.

In addition to the barriers of gender, Smith (1999) argued that Indigenous people in the academy have a limited capacity as liberators because of the restrictions placed on them by Western institutions. While Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies have achieved a greater representation in the academy since the publication of Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* sixteen years ago, the reality of Western gatekeepers in institutions of higher learning is still relevant. The University of Calgary has been extremely supportive during every step of this research, but I must recognize the indoctrination I must have experienced during my twenty-three years of Western education.

Acknowledging the limitations of research is imperative to enjoying a balanced perspective of analyzed findings. Prior to delving deeper into the analysis of data, we will briefly review the theoretical lenses applied in this research.

Epistemological Frameworks

Indigenous Research Agenda

The section of the Research design and Methods chapter gives an extensive description of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda (IRA), which created connections between the stated goals of the agenda and the direction of this research. For the analysis section I will not restate the entire description of the IRA, but would like to reiterate the central components. As mentioned in the earlier chapters of this research, theoretical frameworks need to be intertwined in every aspect of design, research, analysis, and application. Continually adhering to Indigenous epistemological frameworks is especially important due to a tendency for Indigenous knowledge research to be colonized within Western institutions, ultimately losing their intended meaning (Kenny, Fiske, Fairies & Voyageur, 2004).

The fundamental elements of the IRA include four stages, or directions: survival, recovery, development, and self-determination. Each of the directions represents the Indigenous response to colonization and generations of unrelenting oppressive experiences (Smith, 1999). Throughout the analysis section it is important to consider which stages the recruitment and prevention pathways inhabit, and what role education can play in empowering Indigenous girls to reaching the final goal of the IRA, self-determination. In addition, the strategies Smith (1999) employs to achieve self-

determination are: healing, decolonization, transformation, and mobilization. The analysis of data from Chapter Four needs to consider the recommendations of these actions in order to give a meaningful voice to the Indigenous epistemology applied in this research. The responses from sex trade survivors and staff gravitated toward the same strategies, which will be highlighted as the instances appear.

I have included a visually updated version of the IRA model designed for my research by the Wet'suwet'en scholar, Carla Lewis. Lewis included the fern as the centre of the IRA because of her experiences walking the land with a Maori elder, who shared their traditional use of the fern as a representation of eternity.

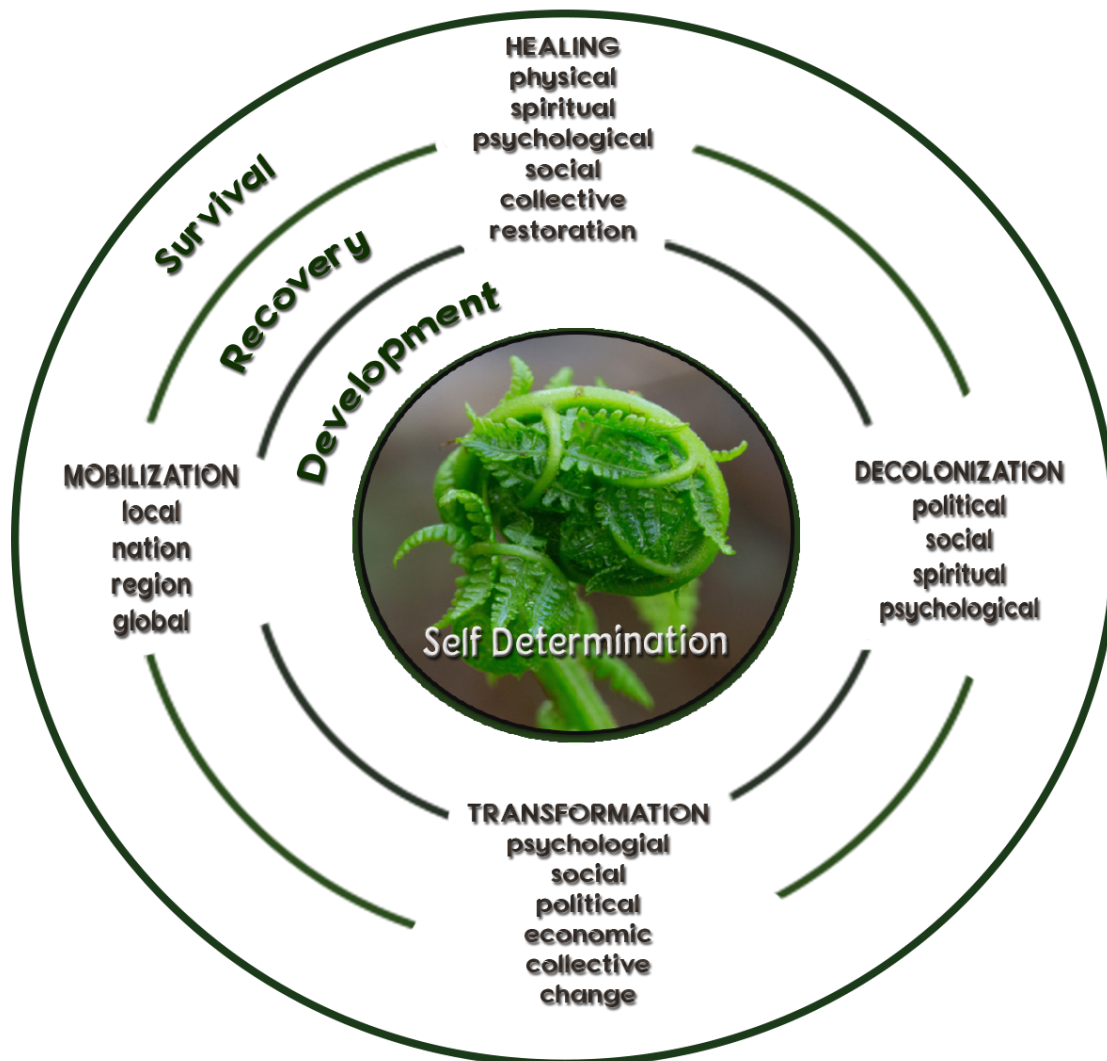


Figure 5.1 Theoretical Framework (Smith, 1999)

Aboriginal Epistemology. In addition to the Indigenous Research Agenda, Willie Ermine's Aboriginal epistemology (1995) was used for analysis in this study. Ermine's epistemological framework fits seamlessly with Smith's indigenizing research practices, supporting the creation of meaningful scholarship based on Indigenous ways of knowing. My first experience with Ermine's Aboriginal epistemology was through a course syllabus designed by Dr. Ottmann after data collection already began. The principles of Ermine's epistemology create such a powerful indigenizing force that I would be remiss to not apply this lens in the analysis.

It is important to give a quick overview of the central components of Ermine's epistemology in order to understand how it is going to be applied to the analysis of the data collected for this dissertation. Ermine (1995) explained that traditional Indigenous cultures viewed the world from an inside-out perspective, seeking the expansive inner knowledge of self. It was only through a deep knowledge of the self that Indigenous people could then understand the lens in which they would view an ever-changing world. In contrast, Ermine (1995) argued that traditional Western models of education viewed the world from an outside-in perspective, attempting to create objective perspectives of the outside world, while paying little attention to the subjective aspect of human knowledge.

The concept of the Indigenous holistic perspective is in stark contrast to some traditional Western ideologies that promote fragmentation (Ermine, 1999). Ermine's (1995) description of Aboriginal epistemology explained that traditional Indigenous cultures viewed the world they inhabited as inherently connected. A fragmented worldview includes the belief that existence can be separated and studied in isolation, attempting to rid subjectivity and relationships from scientific examination (Ermine, 1995). Opposing approaches place value on different aspects of pedagogy and curriculum design. Applying Ermine's (1995) Aboriginal Epistemology to preventative education design requires a collaborative process in order to harness the strength of a holistic model. The findings relating to pedagogy, pathways, and recruitment must be considered in relation to one another, along the continuum of colonization in order to understand the holistic nature of trauma and healing.

The articulation of the Aboriginal Epistemology was not an attempt to establish a monolithic Indigenous culture, but instead was an attempt to recognize the commonalities between Indigenous epistemologies in North America. An inside-out understanding of knowledge and experiences is applied to the analysis. The inside-out perspective demonstrates the importance and value of traditional Indigenous knowledge and as an attempt to meet the needs of the Indigenous girls that participated in this study. It must be acknowledged that the traditional Aboriginal Epistemology Ermine shares is a mindset that may not be universal among traditional communities, and may not be held by some contemporary Indigenous people or communities. Despite this concession, many scholars believe that traditional epistemologies are still relevant for Indigenous people and play meaningful roles in their daily experiences (Doige, 2003).

Ermine's (1995) orientations of transformation can help guide the creation of preventative education recommendations based on the sex trade survivors and staff suggestions.

Individuals and society can be transformed by identifying and reaffirming learning processes based on subjective experiences and introspection. For Aboriginal people, first languages and culture are crucial components in the transformative learning process. The three specific orientations of the transformation are: skills that promote personal and social transformation; a vision of social change that leads to harmony with rather than control over the environment; and the attribution of a spiritual dimension to the environment. (Ermine, 1995, p. 102)

Epistemological frameworks are required to maintain relevancy beyond their introduction in a dissertation. Smith (1999) maintained the necessity of decolonizing Indigenous knowledge throughout an entire study to be truly transformative. Indigenous worldviews are made accessible and translatable through the application of pioneering epistemologies born in Indigenous communities and only now entering academia, overlooked for far too long. Aligning epistemological frameworks with methodologies, methods, and analysis tools is imperative to uncovering meaningful knowledge in academic investigations. In the subsequent section analyzing pedagogical recommendations, the connection between the perspectives of Indigenous participants and Aboriginal epistemologies becomes clear, which would have been misunderstood with the application of strictly Western epistemologies.

Pedagogical Recommendations

In order to analyze the responses of specific pathways and recruitment strategies, it is first important to understand the recommendations given by the sex trade survivors (2014) and staff members (2014) regarding pedagogical models that may inform what education should look like, where it should be taught, and who should educate. The creation of these models based on interviews can then be applied to the specific pathway or recruitment strategy, so that preventative education can embody content and methods that address the holistic needs of Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade. The preventative educational pedagogical recommendations will be broken down into age categories, engagement strategies, ethic of care, family-based prevention, cultural education, geographic variation, location of instruction, and background of educators.

Age of Prevention Education

Since there is no research and literature that directly advocates for the creation of preventative education for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade, the analysis of recommendations in age categories will come primarily from staff and survivor interviews, with some peripheral suggestions from relevant fields of literature. While there was no consensus regarding the earliest age of instruction on prevention in this research, staff members indicated that participation in the sex trade begins between the ages of 10-15. Survivors (2014) reported being recruited into the sex trade by 13, but experiencing sexual trauma at a far younger age, which many saw as an extension of their experiences in the sex trade (Survivor Interview, 2014). Totten (2012) states that most of the women in his study, which was not Indigenous specific, were recruited between the ages of 10-12. A study in Vancouver (Bingham, Leo, Zhang, Montaner and Shannon, 2014) found that Indigenous girls had their first experience in the sex trade at a younger age than non-Indigenous Canadians, resulting in predictors of Indigenous participation starting earlier than 10-12 years old. Staff and survivor interviews spoke to a similar age of recruitment, the youngest example in the findings of this research being nine years old.

Participants were divided as to when preventative education should begin. Most of those who responded believed that prevention education should begin between the ages of seven and ten years old, while a smaller contingent believed that it should commence during middle school, around the age of 12-13. Survivors all recommended beginning preventative education for students as young as possible, so that vulnerabilities created in childhood can be addressed.

The consensus between the three sources (sex trade Survivor and staff interviews, and literature) claimed that direct sex trade activities for most Indigenous girls happens

between the ages of 10-13, making it clear that preventative education needs to start before this period. Participants believed that preventative education start times may be based on the Indigenous girls' readiness for the information and the appropriateness of the content. Staff and survivors felt that educators must overcome any discomfort discussing topics of sex and abuse with students in grades two and three. Research regarding education designed to address and prevent sexual abuse indicates that continued interventions throughout all grades are a necessary and sustainable response to and prevention of sexual abuse (Zwi, Woolfenden, Wheeler, O'Brien, Tait & Williams, 2007). Since multiple interventions are necessary to break these cycles, perhaps two separate age appropriate curricula could be designed for students in grades three and four, and a different program for students from grades six to eight.

Programming for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade should include considerations related to attendance. One survivor (2014) stated this conundrum: "I wasn't going to school when I went on the streets. I was already out of school for how many years. That would have never helped me" (Survivor Interview, 2014). Wilms, Friesen, and Milton (2009), in a study spanning 93 Canadian schools and 32,322 students, found that the percentage of female students regularly attending schools dropped from above 90 percent in grade six, to just above 50 percent by grade twelve (p. 18). Despite the data not being Indigenous specific, it highlights the precipitous drop in attendance with each successive grade, which supports the need to establish sex trade prevention programming before they are less likely to attend school regularly (Hoogland & Redden, 2009; Totten, 2012; Wilms, Friesen & Milton, 2009). The importance of reaching Indigenous girls experiencing multiple pathways prior to the age of recruitment cannot be

overstated, but preventative education programming must incorporate responsive engagement strategies in order to achieve success.

Engagement Strategies

The most prominent engagement strategy that the participants identified was to avoid approaching the youth with distant professionals who do not understand the needs of Indigenous youth. Nearly all of the survivors shared experiences of frustrating relationships with teachers, psychologists, and social workers, who operated on a set of predetermined assumptions instead of engaging them as people. “You know, you don’t go sit me in your office with your pinstripe suit and your pencils and your paper work, and you sign here and you sign there. You know what that is? That is a system” (Survivor Interview, 2014). An inability to identify with or relate to teachers caused Indigenous girls to feel they were not being heard, and were being researched instead of developing a relationship with another human being (Survivor Interview, 2014). Most of the survivors believed that women with previous experience on the streets could better relate to the traumatic life cycles experienced by the vulnerable students. However, survivors commented that educators with no personal experiences in the streets or sex trade can overcome knowledge shortcomings by being empathetic and placing an emphasis on relationships.

Survivors stressed the need for teachers and support workers to remain available whenever students experience crisis. The structured nature of schooling, which included commitment to schedules, limited access to teachers and missed the opportunity to support students in crisis. “I just didn’t know if I would make it out of this day alive. I needed her right here and right now” (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014). Perhaps the structured

nature of schools that limit relationships with the students requires revisiting in order to meet the specific needs of vulnerable populations. Some of the survivors are currently working as support workers and have been able to experience relationship with the students from a new perspective. These survivors have experienced the thin line between life and death, with perhaps the only lifeline being a support worker who made herself available in the middle of the night (Survivor Interview, 2014). In order to be a truly community-based initiative and conducive to students' needs (in this case Aboriginal girls), curriculum development should not be limited to conventional Western structures of instruction.

The final engagement recommendations that emerged from this study addresses course development and presentation to new students. The survivors and support workers emphasized the need to use a strengths-based approach, instead of highlighting the negative aspects of vulnerability, when explaining why certain students are required to attend. Clearly, the course should not be framed as prostitution prevention, but instead have a life skills or empowerment focus. Schools should be careful not to marginalize the students and create additional barriers to educational success. In order to achieve success in preventative courses, educators will need to abandon traditional dutiful teacher roles, instead adopting a caring and nurturing approach.

Ethic of Care

Noddings' (2005) ethic of care philosophy argued that teachers should approach their work from a place of love, instead of duty, which echoes the expressed needs of populations vulnerable to the sex trade. Staff and survivors (2014) nearly all made reference to moving away from detached educational processes when working with

vulnerable Indigenous populations. The principles of Noddings' (2005) ethic of care include modeling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation of care. An ethic of care needs to expand beyond lesson plans, practicing empathy and caring at a classroom and institution level, which requires modeling in all relationships. The focus on family support approaches to prevention could be steeped in the ethic of care philosophy, modeling and giving entire families an opportunity to care and be cared for. A school in the greater Vancouver area working with expelled students created a foundational philosophy based on an ethic of care model (Cassidy & Bates, 2005), which has experienced remarkable success with students who were previously written off as unreachable.

Memorable experiences were shared by survivors (2014) of being included in the everyday activities of teachers and support workers, instead of limiting their interactions strictly to class time or addressing specific issues. The fundamental relationship between teachers and students needs to be reimagined if preventative education participants are going to experience the modeling necessary to establish a new understanding of a healthy life. Holistic (Ermine, 1995) approaches to education have been perceived as being too expansive in the past, but the research (Cassidy & Bates, 2005, Noddings, 2005), staff interviews (2014), and the recommendations of survivors (2014) all contend for the necessity of creating relationships based on caring. Specific suggestions for employing the ethic of care (Noddings, 2005) in a preventative program and providing students with support beyond classroom hours will be discussed in the recommendations responding to the pathways and recruitment strategies. Schools have taken on the primary role of the ethic of care philosophy in Canada, raising questions regarding how parents and families

can be included to provide additional modelling and practice of care beyond the walls of schools.

Family Based Prevention

A recurring question that emerged during the interviews was the necessity and feasibility of creating family based segments of prevention education. Overwhelming support was expressed for including parents and siblings in the classroom, “To have the entire family involved in the processes would be awesome” (Staff Interview, 2014). It is clear that some aspect of preventative education need to include the entire family, which does not necessarily solely focus on abuse and prevention, it can be an opportunity for families to practice healthy dynamics and participate in positive behaviour modelling (Noddings, 2005). Included in the recommendations for responding to pathway and recruitment vulnerability are specific classroom projects imbued with family-based activities. It is important that family-based prevention does not evolve solely into a means of placing blame and uncovering sexual abuse, instead equipping families trapped in cycles of trauma with the skills necessary to establish healthy relationships and coping mechanisms. When sexual abuse allegations do appear, the recommendations include responsive programming based on Indigenous ways of knowing and cultural education.

Totten and Dunn (2012) supported the need for family-based prevention:

Given the fact that many Aboriginal parents have suffered greatly from residential school and in general from forced assimilation, there is an identifiable need for parenting classes and coaching. Many participants who live with parents report that they are gang involved or are active in the sex trade, have addictions, are violent, or have other serious problems, such as poor mental health. In order to

interrupt cycles of ill-health, violence and gang involvement, it is often helpful to speak with parents on their own or together with their child and understand the nature of their issues; having the child understand, from the parent's perspective, the root causes of parental problems; and developing an action plan to address communication and behavioral issues. (p. 213)

Cultural Education.

Most interviewees enthusiastically recommended incorporating Indigenous culture into preventative education, although most recommendations were vague and general. While everyone agreed (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014; Staff Interview, 2014) that Indigenous knowledge and culture should be included in prevention education, the interviews did not provide any specific transferrable knowledge, in terms of ideology or specific examples. Perhaps staff and survivors were apprehensive to give specific recommendations because they wanted to allow traditional leaders and elders to design cultural experiences based on their vast resources of knowledge. The appropriate approach to incorporating cultural education in the classroom is to tap into the remarkable human capacity of elders and community members steeped in traditional culture. The Circle of Courage model used by Prince Albert Outreach was only successful because the staff was well versed in the traditional application of these methods (Staff Interview, 2014; Totten & Dunne, 2010). Creating traditional cultural education needs to be accomplished in collaboration with Indigenous community members for meaningful application to be achieved. Cultural education respects Indigenous ways of knowing, which can be achieved if educators include elders and community members in design and application. Prince Albert Outreach has an Elder on

staff, a valuable resource that will benefit any academic institution. Moreover, the cultural and geographic variation between communities would limit the application of direct recommendations beyond the methodological approach of collaborating with knowledge keepers from different communities.

Geographic Variation

The first chapters of this dissertation placed an emphasis on the unique circumstances creating vulnerability for Indigenous girls becoming recruited into the sex trade. Grekul and LaRocque (2011) argued that predators use a wide range of strategies based on geographic variation to recruit Indigenous girls into the sex trade. Staff Interviews (2014) emphasized the discrepancy in needs between on-reserve and off-reserve First Nations populations in the Prince Albert region. Several of the identified pathways and recruitment strategies may be unique to the Prince Albert context, but it is likely that findings can inform other communities' research and creation of prevention education. The unique circumstances of Prince Albert are necessary to understand in order to create meaningful preventative education models that respond to the pathways and recruitment methods in the local sex trade. Research studies examining Indigenous girls and the sex trade in other Canadian cities need to take due time to understand the local context to create responsive preventative education. While many findings will have universal application for Indigenous girls in other Canadian cities, the additional understanding of geographic variation is imperative to address contextual elements of the sex trade. Building from a firm understanding of geographic variability, the location of instruction should be focused in the area with the highest recruitment concentration. The

long-term strategy is to see implementation in all schools, but the initial emphasis should be placed in the areas of greatest need.

Location of instruction

The primary finding related to location of instructions is the separation between on-reserve and urban prevention education. Given that Prince Albert outreach is located in an urban area, it was surprising to hear staff members stress the importance of focusing programming in the reserve communities prior to youth entering the city: “This needs to happen on the reserves. Educate these kids on the reserve” (Staff Interview, 2014). Prior to losing funding, PA Outreach gave presentations in on-reserve schools and created strong connections with leadership in these communities. Staff interviews (2014) suggested that sex trade workers in the city were primarily First Nations girls from the surrounding reserves, establishing the necessity of focusing preventative education in on-reserve schools. Undoubtedly, preventative education is also required in urban centres, but the immediate response of the data collection in this context would be to create prevention education for the reserve communities surrounding Prince Albert, or other cities with significant Indigenous populations.

Schools were referenced with the greatest frequency, but survivors (2014) and staff (2014) believed that social programs and local governments should become meaningful partners in school-based prevention. One staff member (2014) said, “The young girls are impossible to get to. They aren’t walking the streets, so schools is a great place to start. Outreach is the last hope”. School can serve as a hub for multiple service providers, much like the Prince Albert Outreach model (2011). In 2013, the Prince Albert RCMP developed a program informed by successes in high-crime neighbourhoods of

Glasgow, Scotland, that stressed creating a hub of services based on needs assessments performed by police officers in the field (Turner, 2013). The success of collaborative models established between government agencies and at-risk individuals can be extended to the school environment; a continuity of services can be established between the reserve school, local government, and support agencies. Designing the program together with multiple stakeholders can create a robust model with additional supports available for extreme cases of vulnerability. Responsive programming requires an understanding of the spaces of greatest need, while also supporting students with educators who have specific backgrounds and skill sets to create a classroom atmosphere conducive to meaningful change.

Background of educators

The background of educators that were recognized in the interviews of this research were elders, aunties, community members, teachers, and support workers. The most pervasive recommendation relating to educators asked for the inclusion of grandmothers in the classroom: “Programs on the reserve should include grandmas...Need to get wise people who are older, calmer, and forgiving” (Staff Interview, 2014). In addition to the inclusion of elders, survivors (2014) explained the merits of Indigenous women sharing their stories of the sex trade or multiple pathways as children in order to provide students examples of comparable backgrounds. Difficult subject matter is inevitable in a course designed to address vulnerability to the sex trade, which requires schools to remain open to a classroom environment typically unseen in a standard Western education model. With this in mind, perhaps Indigenous elders or community members are recognized as a necessary member of a teaching team because

of their ability to establish an environment of trust. Comfort and trust between the educator and the student are imperative in any setting (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012), with a specific emphasis required for the vulnerable students in secondary sex trade prevention education.

Survivors (2014) urgently called for educators to become comfortable and competent talking about issues related to sex, sexual abuse, and the sex trade. A moment that continues to resonate is the emphatic belief of a survivor (2014): “they went to post-secondary and they read it all from a book... The one’s that don’t know it from a hole in the ground, avoid them”. Survivors repeatedly referenced ‘suits’ refusing to understand the girls or their problems on a personal level, always reverting to filling out forms or providing pills to ingest. Surprisingly, multiple survivors (2014) believed that educators or service providers without any personal experience in abuse or Indigenous communities can become the strongest allies through meaningful personal relationships. Every survivor referenced one teacher or support worker who never gave up on her, partially attributing survival or eventual exit from the sex trade to this relationship.

Unearthing pedagogical recommendations is important to begin forming the framework for responding to multiple pathways and creating resiliency to recruitment strategies. The wide-ranging pedagogical recommendation presented in this section can establish the foundation from which responsive programming can grow. In the following section, pathways to the sex trade will be analyzed to gain a better understanding of vulnerability to the sex trade and how preventative programs can respond to traumatic life experiences.

Pathways

The pathways to the sex trade have multiple meanings in the creation of preventative education, since they serve as both indicators of vulnerability guiding educators to vulnerable participants and the traumatic experiences of which prevention courses respond. Knowing that pathways create vulnerability is not enough; courses need to mitigate the persistent impact of harmful life experiences. It may be argued that dealing with complicated psychological trauma is beyond the scope of elementary school teachers. Preventative courses are not expected to be a panacea for the pathways to the sex trade experienced by Indigenous girls, but can provide a valuable foundation for creating resiliency. In many cases this may be the first time students experiencing multiple pathways have an opportunity to discuss trauma, and the first time they recognize that abusive behaviour is not acceptable. Prevention education should be viewed as one in many services available to respond to the fallout of colonization for Indigenous populations. Once strong relationships have been forged in a healthy environment, students may need additional work with psychologists, elders, social workers, health care workers, and other relevant services. Moreover, it is imperative to support in-service and pre-service teachers with the additional training necessary to meet the needs of vulnerable students.

The analysis of the pathways and recruitment strategies will follow the same pattern. Themes will be taken from all three sources: PA Outreach documents, staff, and sex trade survivor interviews. Each pathway will be further examined to understand exactly which aspects create multiple vulnerabilities. The multiple vulnerabilities of each pathway will be responded to with educational recommendations that are grounded in the knowledge of sex trade survivors, staff, pertinent academic literature, and Indigenous

epistemologies. Responses from staff and survivors will include pedagogical recommendations regarding philosophy of education, the location of preventative education, and background of educators. Not all of the recommendations are in direct response to the section in question, but sometimes referring to broader pedagogical recommendations, which will be implemented throughout the pathway and recruitment sections.

The recommendations and program design are primarily based on the responses of local experts and sex trade survivors, but the actual design of any programming must be completed in collaboration with local Indigenous populations, schools, leadership, and those sharing responsibility of the program. The intent of this dissertation is to present possible preventative education models and a framework for research necessary to build informed education curricula. In what follows, the foremost pathways to the sex trade that emerged in this research will be analyzed.

Sexual Abuse

The most prescient pathway that emerged during the data collection was sexual abuse. Every Indigenous sex trade survivor (2014) interviewed had prolonged, multiple experiences of sexual abuse. Staff members (2014) argued that nearly every woman they encountered in the sex trade had a history of sexual abuse in their childhood. The pathways serve as predictors of vulnerability that can help educators employ secondary prevention strategies to targeted students. In addition to their role as predictors, the pathways should be recognized as the base trauma addressed in any prevention courses, which are required to go beyond treating the symptoms. Addressing sexual abuse in the

school system is a daunting proposition for educators who typically lack extensive psychological training, emphasizing the necessity of a wrap around approach.

Sexual abuse creates vulnerability for the Indigenous girls in the Prince Albert context in two clear ways. First, survivors (2014) reported seeing prostitution as merely an extension of the sexual abuse they experienced as children. One of the primary requirements of preventative education is to create a separation between experiences of sexual abuse and their introduction to the sex trade. Second, the extreme trauma of sexual abuse has ongoing negative emotional and psychological effects that create additional vulnerability. Since sexual abuse has been identified in this research as the primary identifier and cause of vulnerability to the sex trade, preventative education needs to respond to those who have already experienced sexual abuse, and work to prevent children from experiencing it in the first place. In order to gain a firm understanding of best practices, we will analyze the available research regarding preventative and responsive programming in sexual abuse.

Prevention of sexual abuse has proven a distressing subject to address in a classroom setting, despite schools being the primary location for preventative programming (Zwi, Woolfenden, Wheeler, O'Brien, Tait & Williams, 2007). The papers presented in this section will discuss approaches to teaching sexual abuse in both classrooms and reserve communities. Best practices in these communities will offer possibilities for sexual abuse education in the class, which can be fused with the recommendations from the three sources of knowledge in this dissertation. We must continually remind ourselves to be cognizant of the persistent influence of the IRS era

inciting intergenerational trauma for Indigenous Canadians, which created distrust in schools, schools which I propose should interrupt these cycles of pain.

The first paper examined is a meta-research project that consists of 24 studies, containing 5802 participants, titled, *School-based education programmes for the prevention of child sexual abuse* (Zwi et al., 2007). Programmes of prevention examined in this research included the following areas: “children’s skills in protective behaviours; children’s knowledge of sexual abuse prevention concepts; children’s retention of protective behaviours over time; children’s retention of knowledge over time... and disclosures of past or current child sexual abuse during or after programmes” (Zwi et al, 2007, p. 3). The stated goal of prevention education models was to help students avoid being the victim of sexual abuse, while some of the programs also focused on supporting victims to report their abuse and avoid blaming themselves for their experiences. Research findings suggest that participation in one of these prevention programs increased resiliency against sexual abuse, increased the instances of reporting by sexual abused youth, and resulted in victims being less likely to participate in self-blaming (Zwi et al., 2007). The extension of responsibility and knowledge beyond the student was a stated goal in a number of the research studies, which argued that preventative education should be, “raising awareness and delivering information to multiple members of children’s social systems, via provision of information packages to parents, training for teachers, and family participation in homework activities” (p. 7).

A paper by Couture, Parker, Couture, and Laboucane (2001) evaluated the effectiveness of the Hollow Water First Nation’s Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) program, in central Manitoba. The CHCH focused on addressing sexual

violence by using the Ojibwe Seven Sacred Teachings with offenders, victims, and families. The specific aspect of the CHCH that can inform this research are the 13 Steps used to respond to specific sexual abuse allegations (disclosure, protecting the victim, confronting the victimizer, assisting the spouse, assisting the families/community, meeting the assessment team/RCMP/crown, ensuring that the victimizer admits and accepts responsibility, preparation of victimizer, preparation of victim, preparation of family, organizing a special gathering, ensuring that a healing contract is implemented, and organizing a cleansing ceremony). Including sub-steps, there are 113 specific processes laid out for the community to follow in order to ensure healing occurs for everyone affected, justice is achieved, and the entire community is educated about the impacts of sexual abuse.

Depending on the severity of the case(s) and the victimizer agreeing to take responsibility, the community can take the primary role of achieving justice and reconciliation in collaboration with the justice system. If the assessment team achieves a progression to the special gathering phase, all affected parties participate in the gathering where ten steps are undertaken (opening, explain the purpose, explanation of offence, educational process, victimizer accepts responsibility, participants speak, healing contract presented, victimizer publically apologized and accepts contract, and the ceremonial closure) (Couture et al., 2001). Throughout the process psychological professionals work with the victim and victimizer, adhering to protocol to ensure each party can heal and acknowledge the ramifications of sexual abuse. Critics of this process argue that too much attention is focused on the victimizer (Couture et al., 2001), while others view this procedure as preventative education aimed at protecting future victims (Couture et al.,

2001). In terms of preventative education for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade, the communal acknowledgement of what has happened, psychological support, and familial healing can mitigate the vulnerability created by sexual abuse.

The recommendations used in CHCH may not pertain directly to preventative classroom education, but instead represent community-based responses grounded in Indigenous ways of knowing. Furthermore, teachers express trepidation regarding acknowledging sexual abuse (Zwi, Woolfenden, Wheeler, O'Brien, Tait & Williams, 2007). The 13 steps can relieve educators of the responsibility of handling accusations without proper training, placing the child in the hands of specialists who have credentials, experience, and a proven framework for addressing sexual abuse based in cultural understanding. There are aspects of this program that can be adapted into a classroom environment, primarily pertaining to openly discussing the impacts of sexual abuse and finding ways for victims to understand their experience and avoiding self-blame. Within a classroom this would not occur with specific individuals, but instead speaking broadly about hypothetical experiences. When addressing sexual abuse in the classroom, educators and community members need to decide if this program is intended to uncover sexual abuse and hold the perpetrators accountable, or to educate and support whole families through preventative and intervention education.

The first vulnerability created by sexual abuse uncovered in the interviews of this dissertation was the perception of the sex trade as an extension of the abuse survivors (2014) experienced as children:

I think it started way before that with sexual abuse, as a kid. They would piece you off with candy or, you know, money. Back then a dollar went a long way, you

know, and my brothers and sisters were hungry and that's what I used the money for. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Survivors (2014) regularly mentioned the seamless transition between sexual abuse and the sex trade; the similarity of experiences creates extreme vulnerability to recruitment. "That somehow that abuse would continue on for me. Like I said, it started way before I stood on corners, the abuse started a long time before" (Survivor Interview, 2014). The expectation of abuse in childhood created similar expectations for Indigenous girls as they matured. The normalization of sexual abuse at such a young age created the commodification of sexual activity, which translated into a perceived loss of control of their bodies when forced into sex trade activities. The sexualisation of Indigenous women is a pervasive characteristic of Western culture that is amplified by corroborating trauma and objectifying experiences imposed upon victims of sexual abuse.

Prevention education can respond to victims viewing their entry to sex trade as an extension of sexual abuse by applying Smith's (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda. A possible application of the IRA would be pertinent to a sex trade survivor (2014) who was sold at parties as a young child. The survivor (2014) was programmed at an early age to connect her sexuality with survival, "Sexual abuse. I learned how to use myself". Preventative education can support young Indigenous girls' transformation from perceiving their bodies as a means of survival, to embodying the stages of recovery, development, and self-determination. Reclamation by Indigenous women, reaffirming power over their bodies speaks to Ermine's (1995) first orientation, which posits that personal transformation is an essential concept of Aboriginal Epistemologies. Indigenous girls participating in preventative education can learn to view themselves as more than

sexual objects and begin to develop positive self-images. A pedagogical model that can be applied in this context is cultural education to instill traditional gender education in the lives of girls whose perspectives on sexuality have been skewed by intergenerational trauma and predatory street life (Kenny, Fairies, Fiske & Voyageur, 2004).

The second vulnerability created by sexual abuse in the Prince Albert context is the ongoing emotional and psychological impacts of traumatic experiences. A sex trade survivor (2014) shared her experience of being sexually abused by her mother's boyfriend at the age of nine. Following months of continual abuse, the survivor worked up the immense courage to tell her mother about her stepfather, only to be beaten and accused of fabricating the story. Several weeks later a friend was accidentally made aware of the abuse, which led to the boyfriend's arrest. The nine year old victim was referred to as "bitch, whore, and slut" (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014) by her mother and forced to stay in a separate motel room from the rest of the family. The victim eventually attempted suicide prior to her tenth birthday, mimicking an overdose she had seen in a movie. The abuser committed suicide in prison, resulting in the mother blaming the victim for the loss of her boyfriend. This experience exemplifies the external and internalized blame that can emerge from sexual abuse. Research elucidates that survivors often shoulder most of the blame for acts of sexual abuse and the negative outcomes emerging from the justice system and separation of families (Zwi et al., 2007).

One possible educational response to external and internalized trauma is to convince community leadership to adopt aspects of Hollow Water First Nation's Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) program in reserve communities. Even if some sexual abuse victims hesitate to bring allegations, viewing the support systems

made available establishes a communal understanding of empowering victims. The CHCH program involves entire families in the process, a pedagogical recommendation by survivors (2014) and staff members (2014). Establishing the CHCH program in on-reserve communities supports Ermine's (1995) recommendations of internal search for understanding, by asking all of the affected parties to understand the implications of sexual abuse while empowering internal community structures to reimagine justice and reconciliation. The fragmented (Ermine, 1995) nature of traditional Western justice systems separates the victim, victimizer, and community, attending to the fallout with isolated processes. The holistic nature of the CHCH program follows Indigenous epistemologies that emphasize connectedness and community (Ermine, 1995). In addition, the programs examined by Zwi (et al., 2007) attend to internalized blaming which can be adapted and adopted for Indigenous populations.

Interviews in this dissertation found, overwhelmingly, that sexual abuse was the most important indicator for vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls. Since uncovering sexual abuse is incomprehensible for most educators, and likely outside of the direct mandate of most school systems beyond the naturally arising cases, targeting secondary prevention education and directing prevention towards students experiencing multiple pathways requires additional criteria to locate Indigenous girls occupying the most vulnerable positions in their community. In addition to identifying sexual abuse as the most prominent indicator of vulnerability, interviews elucidated that transition from the reserve to urban centres represented among the most frequent pathways to recruitment.

Transition from reserves

A major finding in this research was that Indigenous girls transitioning from reserve communities to urban centres are the most common targets for recruitment into the sex trade (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014; Staff Interview, 2014). The literature review found tangential mentions of urbanizing from the reserves within other life transitions (Grekul & Larocque; Sethi, 2005; Totten, 2012), but the Prince Albert context revealed a far more emphatic and focused recognition of the role this life experience plays in vulnerability. Other than sexual abuse, transition from the reserve and reserve recruitment were the most common responses given to questions of vulnerability. A quote from a Prince Albert Outreach staff member highlights the shared understanding of vulnerability between frontline workers and the predatory recruiters; “More of the girls from the reserve end up in the sex trade, compared to girls from the city. Guys are watching all the time for new girls from the reserve” (Staff Interviews, 2014). Given the uniform understanding of vulnerability connected to Indigenous girls transitioning from the reserve, prevention education should target First Nations communities surrounding major centres.

Despite the perceived *regionality* of this phenomenon owing to the unique circumstances of Prince Albert, I would argue that Indigenous girls living on reserves surrounding any Canadian centre have an increased vulnerability to recruitment. Urbanization of Indigenous peoples in Canada commenced on a large-scale in the mid-twentieth century. In 1951, Calgary had an Indigenous population of 62 individuals (Peters, 2002), which has since grown to 26,575 in 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2010). Similarly, Winnipeg expanded from a population of 210 Indigenous people in 1951 (Peters, 2002) to 68,380 just over 50 years later (Statistics Canada, 2010a), the largest of

any city in Canada. Norris, Cooke, Beavon, and Guimond (2004) found census periods between the late 1980s and the turn of the millennium where migration from cities back to reserve communities was more common than urbanization of Indigenous people. The increased reciprocal migration between urban centres and reserves speaks to the porousness of the physical borders following the dismantling of the INAC enforced pass system. Furthermore, Indigenous girls experienced heightened vulnerability due to an increased probability of migrating to the city, which is then exacerbated by negative habits and recruitment brought into the community by those returning from the city.

Peters (2002) stated that conventional wisdom leads many to perceive Indigenous urbanization as initiated by those seeking employment and education opportunities, but that current research is unearthing new evidence suggesting a far muddier understanding of individual motivations. A study in Winnipeg by Cooke and Belanger (2006) interviewed First Nations people to ascertain the motivation for urbanization. In their responses, First Nations people disclosed harmful experiences following their transition to the city, which included: violence, substance abuse, lack of affordable housing, racism, lack of family support, and absence of cultural activities (Cooke & Belanger, 2006). Despite no direct mention of vulnerability to the sex trade, the negative experiences imparted speak to the existing pathways of vulnerability. The prevalence of the pathways when migrating to an urban centre such as Winnipeg supports a theory that migration from reserves to many major centres is a period of vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls in any city.

The responses given by survivors and staff (2014) regarding vulnerability created by transitions from reserve appeared in three areas: a lack of support network in the city;

the targeting of girls from the reserve; and the desire to be liked and accepted in the city. Each of these aspects of vulnerability will be analyzed using the epistemological frameworks in order to gain an additional depth of understanding.

The lack of support network created by migration to urban centres is repeatedly addressed in Cooke and Belanger's (2006) interviews with First Nations people in Winnipeg. The responses in the data collection of this dissertation found frequent descriptions of losing support networks directly creating vulnerability to the sex trade, "There are no programs available for the adjustment from the reserve to the city... They have lost their family and community" (Staff Interview, 2014). Prince Albert Outreach staff (2014) gave specific examples of youth being misled by relatives when moving to the city, only to be pushed into the sex trade upon arrival. "More kids from the reserve turn to the sex trade than the ones that are already here. It is scary for them here, they are comfortable in their community and then you come here, it has to be hard for them" (Staff Interview, 2014).

Considering the loss of support network through the lens of Ermine's (1995) *Aboriginal Epistemology*, we gain profound insight into the complex transition from a community that, more or less, operates from the same theory of knowledge. Foundational cultural assumptions grounded in the relationships of family members and ideas of communal parenting in the Indigenous communities (Miller, 1996) can mislead youth entering the city regarding support networks that will be available once urbanized. The cultural foundations of communal support are absent in many cities (Cooke & Belanger, 2006), which can result in Indigenous girls placing trust in the wrong people (Staff Interview, 2014). A resource created by Indigenous women representing Indigenous

communities in northern Ontario cautions parents to be mindful of the differences in communal responsibility in raising children between reserves and Canadian cities, specifically citing the difference between the expansive family unit common for Indigenous people and the smaller family unit typical in urban centres (Fearn, 2006).

Considering these elements, preventative education can prepare Indigenous girls for the difference in support systems between life on the reserve and what they will encounter in the city. Survivors (2014) remind us to not overlook the empowerment and knowledge created when aunties or other Indigenous women are included in the education process. Curriculum may attend to the lack of support systems in the city by integrating Indigenous women who have urbanized into the classroom. The Indigenous women speaking to this experience will not require a background in sex trade activities, but will instead talk about the differences in the city and tell the story of their transition. Resource created by Fearn (2006) can help direct the discussions, revised to meet the needs of a younger audience in a specific location. Collaborating with Indigenous women from outside of the school stresses and models healthy love for Indigenous girls, which can be absent in the lives of those lacking parental support. Bringing Indigenous women from the city provides an opportunity to ‘practice’ being cared for, one of the four methods within Noddings’ (2005) ethic of care.

The second vulnerability created by transitions was recruiters specifically targeting Indigenous girls arriving from First Nations communities. Staff members (2014) referenced otherwise respectful boys targeting girls arriving from the reserves, “The guys are awesome, bright and funny, but they are predators. They will zero in on the new girls”. Predatory Indigenous boys share multiple pathways of vulnerability with

Indigenous girls exposed to the sex trade, which find their roots in colonization and the IRS era (Totten, 2012). The implications for Indigenous youth experiencing multiple pathways mirrors and then exaggerates patriarchal society at large, which encourages the sexualisation of femininity and hyper-aggressive masculinity. The first impulse is to create corresponding curriculum for Indigenous boys to reduce the recruitment of Indigenous girls. While such curriculum would undoubtedly have resounding success for Indigenous boys, the testimony of survivors (2014) speaks to the wide range of individuals introducing Indigenous girls into the sex trade. Survivors (2014) reported being raped into the sex trade by older White men, female family members introducing sex trade activities, parents selling their children at parties, and a number of other initiating experiences. The expansive backgrounds of recruiters introducing Indigenous girls into the sex trade makes targeting prevention to predators far more difficult than creating resiliency within Indigenous girls experiencing multiple pathways. Holding men and boys accountable is a crucial step required in addressing vulnerability of Indigenous girls, but outside the scope of this research. Furthermore, patriarchy and racism within Western culture need to be addressed to minimize predatory behaviour.

Preventative education can address this vulnerability by directly explaining the targeted experience of urbanizing. Indigenous girls moving to the city will be required to be weary of anyone behaving in a friendly manner, which is disheartening, but research shows the necessity of being cautious. In relation to Smith's (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda, some of the Indigenous girls moving to the city may have progressed beyond survival, in relation to colonization, due to their limited exposure while living on the reserve. Moving to the city could provide the impetus for regressing to survival. During

periods of major life transition, the goal of preventative education may be to prepare for the vulnerable situation in order to sustain a progression toward self-determination.

Understanding the specific strategies predators will employ in an urban environment can help to prepare students to resist recruitment and protect against descending into strictly a survival mentality.

The third aspect of urbanizing that creates vulnerability for Indigenous girls is attempting to conform and gain acceptance from youth in the city. Children in reserve settings often rely on cousins and close relatives for their social network (Fearn, 2006), eventually finding themselves in the cities as an outsider or losing their familial relationships. In an attempt to be accepted, some Indigenous girls vie for the attention of popular kids by mimicking their behaviour, “imitation, they see someone that is cool. Ya, she looks cool” (Staff Interview, 2014). Entering the sex trade via perceived imitation could be mistaken for embodying the role of ‘independents’ described by Dorais and Corriveau’s (2009) four categories of recruitment. However, ‘independents’ in Dorais and Corriveau’s (2009) research deliberately enter the sex trade, while the behaviour of Indigenous girls interviewed in this dissertation imitates activities like substance abuse and gang involvement that create vulnerability to recruitment. Despite some Indigenous girls leaving the reserve already having exposure to multiple pathways, survivors (2014) shared accounts of being exposed for first time amongst new friends in Prince Albert.

Preventative education responding to imitative behaviour is continually addressed in school systems concerning peer pressure, substance abuse, and other dangerous behaviour. In order to respond to low self-esteem and vulnerability, cultural education was one of the most significant pedagogical recommendations made by interview

participants (2014). Modeling a strong cultural identity has proven to be an effective method of creating resiliency in Indigenous students in response to colonization (Bell & Anderson, 2004). The Warrior Spirit Walking program achieved remarkable success using female specific cultural education (Staff Interview, 2014) that attended to sexual abuse, the sex trade, and parenting from an Indigenous perspective (Totten & Dunn, 2010). Cultural education should be a collaborative communal undertaking, in order to empower entire communities to participate in the growth of a cultural identity together. Mobilization, on a local and regional level, is a method of achieving self-determination in Smith's (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda. The mobilization of community members through collaborative education initiatives aimed at instilling cultural pride in students has the possibility of short and long term effects.

Transitions from the reserve and childhood sexual abuse represent two pathways likely to have universal application across Canadian cities. In contrast, the following pathway represents a geographically unique vulnerability. The justice and prison systems of Canada have historically oppressed Indigenous people, but the ubiquity of prisons and prison culture in Prince Albert has created an overwhelming threat to Indigenous girls.

Prison

The existence of prisons as a significant source of vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls was completely unexpected prior to this research. In most communities the prison system would not pose such a threat, but in Prince Albert the institution was omnipresent. Numerous prisons in a small town are a regionally specific phenomenon that may not be a pathway in other Canadian cities. There are four prisons in the city of Prince Albert: a federal men's prison, a provincial men's prison, a

provincial women's prison, and a provincial youth prison, despite only having a population of 35,129 (Statistics Canada, 2011). If Calgary were to have the same number of prisons, per capita, there would be 136 within the city limits. What implications would an over-abundance of prisons have for youth well-being? What impact would regional overrepresentation of prisons have on girls? Sikka (2009) argued that youth inhabiting impoverished, high crime neighbourhoods are often perceived to be complicit or deserving of oppression. Media outlets regard Prince Albert as a gang-infested city (Turner, 2013), convincing outsiders to brand the youth that are forced to grow up amongst and participate in gang activities as complicit in their daily oppression.

Prior to analyzing the abundance of prisons creating vulnerability for Indigenous girls, it is relevant to consider why a small community houses so many inmates. Prince Albert's population is 38 percent Indigenous, among the highest in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). The non-existent Indigenous voice in municipal, provincial, and federal politics (Palmer, 2015) result in cities with high Indigenous concentrations being regarded as a safe space for politicians to outsource toxic institutions. Huling (2002) stated that economically depressed communities are convinced to accommodate prisons by promises of economic benefits and employment growth. In Andrea Smith's (2005) transformational work, *Conquest, sexual violence and American Indian genocide*, the significant overrepresentation of nuclear power plants and nuclear waste sites near American Indian land in the US was uncovered, speaking to powerlessness in political spheres. Moreover, there are a wide range of studies highlighting externalities of harmful fallout to impoverished communities populated by racial minorities, in the realms of

pollution (Ponce, Hoggart, Wilhelm & Ritz, 2005), and environmental regulations (Bullard & Lewis, 1996).

In the context of Prince Albert, the negative consequences of multiple prison facilities were exported to a small northern city with a large Indigenous population. The prison system in Prince Albert was continually expanded and upgraded. In 2013, a 30-dorm expansion was undertaken for the women's provincial prison (Piller, 2013), while the men's prison received a 72 dorm expansion in 2015 (The Canadian Press, 2015). Staff members of Prince Alberta Outreach were clearly frustrated with the preferential treatment the prisons experience over the school system, "Maybe the government is interested more in punishment than prevention. The government chose to strengthen jails instead" (Staff Interview, 2014). Michele Alexander (Karlin & Alexander, 2012) believes the same is true in the United States, where "Poor folks of color are shuttled from decrepit, underfunded schools to brand new, high tech prisons" (para 4).

Regardless of the motive for the overrepresentation of prisons in Prince Albert, a negative correlation is created for Indigenous girls. A high volume of prisons results in the exacerbation of vulnerabilities to the sex trade, which have been organized into three distinct categories. The three categories of vulnerability created by the overrepresentation of prisons are: the normalization of incarceration; inmates remaining in Prince Albert upon release from prison; and, families moving to Prince Albert to be near relatives in prison.

The normalization of spending time in prison and the growth of prison culture surfaced in a number of staff interviews (2014). An expectation is created based on the normalization of incarceration due the ubiquity of visible institutions and the elevated

number of incarcerated friends and family. A Prince Albert Outreach staff member summed up the impact of prisons on a city, “If you have a place that has different levels of social stratification, they have different expectations than if you grow up in a place with two or three universities” (Staff Interview, 2014). The prison system is not viewed as a deterrent for negative behaviour due to youth’s expectation of serving time (Staff Interview, 2014). Interview participants believe that Indigenous youth in the community have embodied a fatalistic perspective, “One guy I talked to said in five years he will be in the pen, and I said ‘why’, and he said all of his family are there” (Staff Interview, 2014). Huling’s (2002) research on the effects of prison clustering in small American towns finds that counties with exponential growth in prison populations begin to have a negative self-image due to close associations with prisons, and the transference of negative behaviour to the prison staff.

In *The New Jim Crow*, Michelle Alexander (2012) reported that in the contemporary United States there are more African Americans in prison than in slavery ten years before the civil war. Alexander (2011) argued that prison systems have supplanted oppressive Jim Crow laws, African Americans are treated more harshly for the same crimes, normalized through media indoctrination, despite percentages of criminality being mostly consistent between races. Once African Americans exit the prison system, their rights as citizens are ‘lawfully’ stripped and they become a separate caste. The excess of incarceration of African Americans has created the expectation or normalization of imprisonment in this population (Alexander, 2012). In both the African American and Indigenous Canadian context, systems of oppression have been created

that convince minority populations they are deserving of imprisonment, and justify their marginalization to the rest of the population.

Negative expectations create internalized oppression for Indigenous people in Prince Albert, while generating negative racial stereotypes in the minds of non-Indigenous people. The formation of identity is influenced by the overrepresentation of prisons and Indigenous people within these institutions (Staff Interview, 2014). Social devaluation occurs by placing Indigenous people into categories of imprisonment. Sensoy and DiAngelo (2012) have argued:

Prejudice manifests in attitudes about an individual based on our ideas about a group to which that individual belongs. Prejudice is part of how we learn to sort people into categories that make sense to us... our categorizations are not neutral.

We are socialized to perceive and value these categories differently. (p. 29)

In this case, a criminal identity is attached to Indigenous people due to their overrepresentation in a visible system. Indigenous youth subsequently become caught in the system, due to barriers of colonization and the normalization of incarceration, resulting in the perceived justification of categorical attachment. Categorization happens both internally and externally, inhibiting Indigenous girls by creating expectations informed by internalized oppression, and limiting their ability to get positive attention from teachers in schools, gain employment, and have equal access to services (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012).

A response to this vulnerability in preventative education could be in the form of modeling by healthy and successful Indigenous women. Connections can be made with Indigenous women successful in business, local politics, and university graduates. Role

models can regularly appear in the school to help create new expectations for Indigenous girls in preventative education classes. Instead of having role models giving a lecture, allow them to briefly introduce themselves and then get to know the girls. Survivors (2014) reported the most impactful positive relationships they had were with people who attempted to get to know them, instead of following a preconceived check list of questions. Ermine (1995) argued that a fundamental assumption of traditional Western epistemologies is fragmentation, which is basically the polar opposite of holism. Role modeling can be approached in a holistic manner by refusing to design these sessions with a specific agenda, and instead allow everyone to participate together in games and activities that will provide an opportunity for the Indigenous women visiting the class to model a healthy way of being.

The second reason prisons cause vulnerability is due to nearly all ex-inmates staying in Prince Albert upon release, which extends the gang culture from the prisons into the city. One PA Outreach staff member said, “PA has four jail institutions... Majority of the people just stick around after they get out of prison, even if they are not from here” (Staff Interview, 2014). Interviews suggested that most of the prisoners being incarcerated in the four local prisons did not live in Prince Albert prior to their sentencing, but many stayed in town for a work release program or because of gang affiliations. The fact that most people released from prison stay in Prince Albert contributes to the normalization of time in the prison system. Specifically relating to this cause for vulnerability, prison systems are acknowledged by Totten (2012), Grekul, and LaRocque (2011) as being primary areas of recruitment for gangs. Once released from prisons, gang

affiliation and practices are carried into the Prince Albert community, which are notoriously harmful to Indigenous women.

Dorais and Corriveau (2009) commented that one identifier of gang involvement should be sexual abuse of women. Within gangs Indigenous girls are primarily used as money earners in the sex trade or sex slaves to recruit new members (Totten, 2012). The growth of gangs, due to inmates staying in Prince Albert after release, means that more Indigenous girls are being used as sexual objects. The gender identities within gangs require males to identify with aggression and violence and females to be completely sexualized (Totten, 2012). In addition, the growth of gangs caused family disorganization, an increase in substance abuse, and the normalization of violence in a community (Totten, 2012), all established pathways in this research. Staff Interviews (2014) revealed the perceived negative impacts of creating a community of released prisoners, “The fact that we have jails here is another factor that causes great increase in gang activity and drug dealing”. Every day prisoners are released into the community, since most are staying within the framework of their prison gang in Prince Albert, there is little hope for rehabilitation or growth beyond the survival requirements modeled in prison. The exponential growth of released prisoners in the city continuing their gang affiliations creates a toxic environment, with Indigenous girls experiencing increased vulnerability to recruitment into the sex trade.

Preventative education can be bold in response to the ubiquity of gangs created by the prison system in Prince Albert. Explicit discussions of gang activity can be undertaken with younger students, transferring the ownership of defining gang activity to critical observers and out of the hands of gang members. Survivors (2014) argue that

educators need to overcome their discomfort when discussing topics related to sex in order to achieve any success. Smith's (1999) strategy of transformation as a means of achieving self-determination can be applied by changing the content and forum for discussions of gangs in reserve communities. Staff interviews (2014) suggested that gangs are routinely using social media and in-person visits to recruit from the reserve communities surrounding Prince Albert. Bringing discussions of gangs into the classroom transforms the message and the openness of communication in oppressed communities.

The third vulnerability is created by the movement of family members from the surrounding reserves to Prince Albert to be close to incarcerated relatives. This creates both family disorganization and transition periods for Indigenous girls moving from reserve communities to the city. Several Staff Interviews (2014) revealed the prevalence of this practice, "Because if they have a long-term sentence to serve in the prison, the family will relocate so they won't have to drive back and forth to visit". Transition periods, especially transition from reserve to the city, have been identified in this research as the most vulnerable period for Indigenous girls. For a further understanding of how this process creates vulnerability, please see the section on 'transition from reserve'. Mendelson (2006), and others have recognized the difficulty for Indigenous students transitioning from the reserve to post-secondary education. Consider the additional difficulty a school-aged Indigenous girl would experience with the added trauma and shame of recently losing a parent to the prison system.

Interviewees stated that boys and men aiming to recruit girls in the sex trade are always watching for Indigenous girls arriving from the reserve (Staff Interview, 2014). Directed recruitment is experienced by Indigenous girls in transition due to their limited

resources and loss of extended family structure. The loss of family support networks is exacerbated when the court system bans Indigenous offenders from returning to their home communities, which often determines the fate of their family, as well (Staff Interview, 2014). Judges, in these cases, are understandably trying to protect reserve communities from the negative behaviours exhibited by the incarcerated individual, but the ramifications of judicial decisions impact entire families, limiting their access to community resources and extended families. Banishment practices are a reflection of the pre-Bill C-31 days, when Indigenous women lost their status due to marrying non-Indigenous men. In addition to Indigenous women, future generations were marginalized from their cultures and support networks through loss of First Nation status (Bourassa, McKay-McNabb & Hampton, 2004). Indigenous inmates banned from reserves are not stripped of treaty rights, although the family often sacrifice communal resources when choosing between separation from an incarcerated parent or remaining in their traditional territory.

Preventative education can address urbanization due to incarcerated family members by creating a continuity of services between reserve and urban centres. Service providers in Prince Albert could visit classes periodically for introductions to the students and discussions regarding services. Subsequent visits could include participation in classroom activities and relationship building. The vulnerable position Indigenous girls are thrust in when urbanizing for family incarceration will be mitigated by an established relationship with social services. Since teachers and administration will develop stronger relationship with the city's services through recruitment and class participation, the school can constantly update service providers with the names and contact information of

the urbanizing families. In terms of Smith's (1999) IRA framework, the strategy being used here is mobilization, by creating a collaborative environment between schools, city agencies, and service providers. Connections with agencies in the city can respond to a myriad of other concerns, including attending to violentization in the lives of Indigenous youth.

Violentization

The ramifications of growing up in a house or community that normalizes violence has multiple negative outcomes for Indigenous girls. Vulnerability is created through violentization in two ways: by creating the expectation of physical abuse by future partners, and creating an unsafe home environment that pushes children into the streets (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014; Staff Interviews, 2014). Each of these aspects of vulnerability need to be addressed in order to mitigate the vulnerability created and interrupt the cycle of violence stemming from the IRS era. Violentization is a foundational element of Totten's (2012) model for gang recruitment, and more importantly, recognized by Hoogland and Redden (2008) as a primary life experience causing vulnerability for women being sexually exploited in British Columbia. Interview responses in this research gave additional depth of understanding of the manner in which violentization creates vulnerability, which can inform the development of preventative education. In response to violentization, preventative education is required to interrupt expectations of violent relationships and promote safe spaces for at-risk families. While lofty goals may read as too optimistic, the school as hub model can ensure additional agencies will be supportive in attaining transformative outcomes.

The first vulnerability created by violentization is the implicit expectation of physical abuse in romantic relationships. A sex trade survivor (2014) remembered a particularly vicious beating from her pimp boyfriend, “So I’m standing in front of that mirror with a bloody face, is this what my mom saw the first time she got a beating, what about my grandma?” (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014). An expectation of physical abuse is created for children exposed to their mother’s and grandmother’s generational domestic violence (Godbout, Dutton, Lussier & Sabourin, 2009). Recruitment strategies used by gangs and boyfriends are deeply rooted in the use of violence as controlling mechanism (Hoogland & Redden, 2009; Totten, 2012). The expectation of violence created by intergenerational physical abuse places Indigenous girls in prime position to enter and remain in relationships with abusive partners practicing violence as a means of control.

Preventative education can respond to vulnerability by breaking expectations of violent relationships for Indigenous girls. Survivors (2014) made consistent calls for grandmothers and female elders to deliver sections of preventative education and participate in designing curriculum. Teachers should cede control to Indigenous elders on this topic, supporting elder development of a framework for modeling healthy relationships and disrupting generational violence based on Indigenous traditions. Based on Smith’s (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda, the elders overseeing healthy relationship curriculum may have personal or familial histories of inhabiting the survival phase of violence, eventually overcoming their oppression to experience recovery, development, or self-determination. Indigenous girls in preventative education will have the opportunity to learn from the life experiences of role models who have transformed their lives and eliminated the normalization of violence from their families. Hearing the

wisdom of female elders will likely be the students' first opportunity to recognize the growth in life experiences from survival to healthier stages of decolonization (Smith, 1999).

The second vulnerability created by violentization is the propensity of dangerous home lives to drive youth into the streets where a drastic increase in recruitment and pathways arises. In Hoogland and Redden's (2009) study investigating risk factors leading to sexual exploitation of girls in British Columbia, violent homes were recognized as a primary risk factor due to creating a pathway to homelessness. Prince Albert Outreach staff members (2014) mentioned clients who reported feeling safer on the streets of Prince Albert, one of the most violent cities in Canada, than living in their own homes. Moreover, survivors (2014) recounted their violent home lives that were the impetus for running away, often into the arms of predatory males offering false protection.

In response to this vulnerability, preventative education is required to expand beyond the conventional influence of school hours. Prince Albert Outreach created the Youth Activity Centre (YAC) to offer Indigenous youth a safe and desirable space outside of school hours, seeking to provide healthy alternatives to street life and abusive homes. The director of PA Outreach stressed the need for schools working with Indigenous youth to employ any means necessary to provide around the clock services (Staff Interview, 2014). Survivors (2014) passionately expressed the need to avoid limiting services to 'business hours', since youth may encounter life or death situations at unpredictable times. Viewing prevention education on a continuum from a holistic perspective adheres to Ermine (1995) and Little Bear's (2011) theories regarding traditional Indigenous education. Creating a program that offers afterschool resources

may seem optimistic, but the school can work together with band leadership and other service providers to create manageable solutions. The creation of the YAC in Prince Albert is recognized by staff (2014) and community members to be a safe haven for Indigenous youth who would otherwise be bombarded with negative influences and predatory recruitment. One specific influence the YAC protects against is the omnipresent availability and pressure to drink alcohol or take drugs, which will be expanded upon in the following section.

Substance Abuse

Substance abuse as a predictor of vulnerability to the sex trade was conspicuously absent from available models in the literature review (Totten, 2012). Based on the research interviews for this research, no consensus was uncovered regarding the role of drugs and alcohol in creating vulnerability for Indigenous girls (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014; Staff Interviews, 2014). A section of the participants believed substance abuse preceded sex trade activities and established pathways, while others viewed drugs and alcohol as a method of recruitment. Finally, a segment of participants deemed substance abuse a coping mechanism required to enduring the nightmarish conditions of sex work (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014; Staff Interviews, 2014). Regardless which perspective one subscribes to, substance abuse is clearly either creating vulnerability, a method of recruitment, or a means of keeping Indigenous girls within the sex trade.

Participants who contended that substance abuse created vulnerability also believed that a subsection of Indigenous girls entered the sex trade to pay for drug habits (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014; Staff Interviews, 2014) or because prolonged substance abuse had triggered chaotic life circumstances. Drug debts as the impetus for initiation in

the sex trade was supported by Sikka's (2009) study, which found that drug addicted girls often became mired in debt to dealers, who in turn, directly or indirectly, encouraged sex trade activities. Hoogland and Redden (2006) recognized the role substance abuse plays in both creating vulnerability and as a tool of recruitment, and that both aspects need to be addressed in order to mitigate vulnerability. It is imperative to remember that substance abuse is often a symptom of significant trauma for Indigenous girls, which requires comprehensive support to access underlying issues (Teusch, 2014). A staff member isolated the primary role of substance abuse in the sex trade, "I've never seen one sex worker without an addiction. I think it is pain, addiction, and then the sex trade" (Staff Interview, 2014). Moreover, a survivor (2014) shared her experience of becoming vulnerable due to substance abuse, "I knew I was an alcoholic by the time I was twelve. I drank a lot. It put me in places that put me at risk. I ended up being used a lot. Being bought for their game" (Survivor Interview, 2014).

The recommended age for preventative education, based on the feedback from survivors and staff (2014), begins by seven years old. Any preventative education recommendations for pedagogical responses to substance abuse prior to recruitment must consider the prevalence of substance use at the period of instruction. Webster-Stratton and Taylor (2001) conducted a study of substance abuse prevention programs for children from 0-8 years old that displayed oppositional defiance disorder. The disorder in question increases vulnerability to substance abuse problems as teenagers and adults, with behaviours crystalizing by eight years old. The recommended interventions were based upon empirical evidence of programming success, which split the resources between parent-based interventions and child-based interventions. An emphasis on parent and

child-based interventions corresponds with participant pedagogical recommendations in this dissertation. The specific design of curriculum to create resiliency against substance abuse will not be included in this research, but merely suggesting that preventative education classes research programming suitable for Indigenous girls in the youngest age demographics. In addition to the resources available in Webster-Stratton and Taylors (2001) study, there are Indigenous specific programs (Brady, 1995; Maracle, 1993; McCormick, 2007) that can inform educators of successful strategies to address substance abuse in a sustainable manner. A study by Rawana and Ames (2011) found that participation in weekly artistic or athletic activities and creating optimism through direct intervention are two factors frequently present in Indigenous youth resilient to addiction. Curriculum designed to address substance abuse could coordinate with athletic teams and other weekly extra-curricular activities to encourage participation of Indigenous girls.

The second theory of substance abuse and recruitment emerging from survivor and staff interviews (2014) was the penchant of predators to use drugs, and to a lesser extent, alcohol, to recruit Indigenous girls into the sex trade. Dorais and Corriveau (2009) found that recruiters employing 'love bombing' laced cigarettes and marijuana with cocaine or heroine, in order to breed dependency. A sex trade survivor (2014) recognized manufactured dependency as a common tactic of recruiters, "They get them on the drugs, and then show them the way out to the streets". Since a number of literature and interview sources stated that forced addiction or surreptitiously drugging were common tactics, the level of vigilance required is alarming. In addition to having drugs and alcohol forced upon them in the streets as tool of recruitment, a survivor (2014) reported being drugged with 'dope' as a nine year old by her parents' friends as a means of committing a

sexual assault. An interesting contrast emerged when no staff members identified substance abuse as a method of recruitment, and instead focused on the role it played in keeping girls active in the sex trade.

Preventative education, in this instance, should directly teach Indigenous girls about the prevalence of predators trying to create dependency through forced addiction. Survivors could teach the methods pimps or drug dealers will employ to create dependency, establishing resiliency to predatory street practices. Kenny, Fairies, Fiske, and Voyageur (2004) contended that empowering sex trade survivors places them in an honoured and respected position, “to be what our grandmothers were to us” (p. 5). Educating youth on the predatory use of drugs as a method of recruitment creates resiliency, while helping to support survivors’ growth as leaders and role models. Smith’s (1999) IRA would recognize the healing properties of survivors envisioning themselves as resilient advocates, akin to the leadership roles women held in traditional Indigenous cultures.

The final impact of substance abuse on vulnerability is the tendency of sex trade workers to become addicted after recruitment. A PA Outreach staff member (2014) commented, “Almost all prostitutes in PA are IV drug users”. Staff (2014) working directly with youth in the sex trade were scarcely able to name a single client not an intravenous drug user. A study in Vancouver’s downtown eastside (Shannon, Kerr, Allinott, Chettiar, Shoveller & Tyndall, 2008) discerned that sex workers were typically young, Indigenous, and addicted to drugs. While discerning the pathways to recruitment in Winnipeg, Seshia (2005) used the term ‘substance dependency’ instead of substance abuse, which speaks to the dependent relationship between drugs and their primary

recourse for earning money. In order to endure the constant trauma and abuse of the sex trade, most young Indigenous girls are lost to heavy drugs (Smith & Marshall, 2007).

Drug use as a coping mechanism falls into the realm of intervention education, and will not be included in the recommendations for a preventative program. The substance abuse prevention programs previously discussed may provide responsive possibilities to Indigenous girls already exhibiting symptoms of addiction, but there are a myriad of addiction programs better suited to these circumstances.

An overlooked element of addiction that creates vulnerability for Indigenous girls is the prominence of multiple pathway students with addicted parents (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014; Staff Interviews, 2014). Staff members (2014) shared histories of youth sold at parties or on the streets by parents blinded by their addictions. In these cases, pedagogical solutions limited to students and overlooking family dynamics simply will not suffice. Chansonneuve's (2007) research showed that Indigenous children who have parents with addiction issues are three times as likely to be sexually abused and four times as likely to experience neglect. Preventative education can respond to parental addiction by placing an emphasis on a familial environment in the classroom. A study (Lewis, Holmes, Watkins & Mathers, 2014) in Australia discovered that parents struggling with addiction were far less likely to be engaged with their children. Schools can create a protocol for students reporting addicted parents, and emphasize healthy responses instead of punitive justice. A concerted effort can be undertaken to support a community organization to take primary leadership on adult addiction services in reserve communities. In instances when families are not available or Indigenous youth are in out of home placements, additional considerations are required.

Family disorganization

Family disorganization has wide reaching impacts on vulnerability, due to the multifaceted influences on isolation and dangerous environments. Survivor and staff interviews (2014) indicated that family disorganization and out of home placements create vulnerability by placing children in foster homes, forcing Indigenous girls to being raised in dysfunction, venturing outside of the home for support, and running away. The progression of pathways elucidated that most life experiences creating vulnerability are interrelated, requiring preventative education to meet multiple needs at once in order to mitigate vulnerability. Kenny, Fairies, Fiske and Voyageur (2004) stated that Indigenous feminist research achieves holism by recognizing “the interconnectedness of all of life” (p. 5). Family disorganization was addressed in the literature review to illustrate deficits in parenting practices that are a direct result of the IRS survivors modelling their parenting after the cold and abusive priests and teachers. Recognizing the genesis of parenting deficits is only the first step in addressing this vulnerability, considering the ways in which family disorganization generates vulnerability is imperative when developing responsive preventative education.

The overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the child welfare system was examined in depth in the literature review of this dissertation. A study in 2013 (Sinha & Kozlowski) found that despite only comprising nine percent of the child population of Alberta, Indigenous youth made up 59 percent of the children in the child welfare system. Similarly, Saskatchewan’s Indigenous youth were overrepresented by more than three times (Sinha & Kozlowski, 2013). Survivors (2014) interviewed for this research repeatedly referenced the horrors of the child welfare system:

We will sit there and talk about the foster homes, in Saskatoon. I still have frost bite from our second-hand winter jackets that bared our whole wrists. And the bunk beds that were on plywood with blanket over it, and the sexual and physical abuse (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014)

Prince Albert Outreach staff consistently mentioned the difficult, often traumatic, experiences stemming from out of home placements: “Some of the foster parents are abusive”, “I talked to one kid and she felt like she was just a puppy” (Staff Interviews, 2014). Saewyc, MacKay, Anderson, and Drozda (2008) found that one in five youth in British Columbia in the child welfare system have been sexually exploited. Based on this data we understand that out of home placements drastically increases the probability of experiencing pathways to the sex trade. Out of home placements are not limited to foster homes, a survivor (2014) reported being forced by child services to stay with extended relatives, resulting in sexual abuse by a grandfather. The experiences of interview participants in the child welfare system were uniformly negative, causing additional trauma and creating vulnerability to recruitment.

The negative environment associated with out of home placements requires systemic changes on the part of the Canadian government. Research has uncovered racial profiling of Indigenous families in the child welfare system (Carasco, 1986; Trocme, Knocke & Blackstock, 2004), which can account for some of the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in the system. The school as hub model, examined in an earlier section, is a reciprocal arrangement connecting school systems to social services. Students are afforded the added expertise of multiple services, while offering government agencies and social services stronger personal relationships and cultural awareness of possible

clientele (Clanfield & Martell, 2010). Preventative education in on-reserve schools needs to be conceptualized as holistic (Ermine, 1995), both in terms of the individual and the broader community. Reforming the child welfare system is beyond the reach of the school system, but educators can do more to bring social workers and caseworkers into the school to create relationships with students in a positive environment.

The second manner of family disorganization that exacerbated vulnerability to the sex trade was when Indigenous girls looked outside of their family for support and love, while experiencing the negative consequences of dysfunction. Staff interviews (2014) reported countless girls attending Won Ska Cultural School seeking validation and belonging from outside of their home. Despite the violence often associated with gang relationships, youth identified these affiliations as familial since they fill the void of misplaced care (Staff Interview, 2014). In addition to venturing outside the family for caring relationships, family dysfunction required many Indigenous girls to take responsibility for siblings from a young age. Interviews in this research documented harrowing experiences of teenage girls required to work the streets to provide food and shelter for siblings (Staff Interview, 2014). Inside dysfunctional families, survivors (2014) reported recurring abuse from multiple family members, stepfathers, and partygoers at their parents' house. Dysfunction primarily manifested in families through substance abuse, violence, absence, and single parent households (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014; Staff Interview, 2014). Research has found that Indigenous children inhabit single parent households at nearly triple the rate of non-Indigenous children (Statistics Canada, 2011). Consequently, Drake and Pandey's (1996) research uncovered that children in

single parent households have a higher chance of experiencing physical abuse, neglect, and sexual abuse.

Preventative education responses need to be bold in their construction, recognizing the necessity of either helping to communally support parents to provide a home that offers emotional and physical support, or creating communal spaces that can provide positive alternatives. The Youth Activity Centre in Prince Albert (Totten & Dunn, 2010) is a space that offers physical and emotional support to youth outside of school hours. Since the construction of a youth facility takes long-term planning and financial resources, short-term solutions must be considered. The PA Outreach staff (2014) shared stories of being called at three in the morning by students in crisis, relating to teachers as parental figures. Typically, these relationships are beyond the scope of Western education systems. Traditional Indigenous education models were based upon familial instruction (Little Bear, 2013; Miller, 1996) that emphasized care between the teacher and pupil (Noddings, 2005). The development of preventative education can restore a relationship based on care to the education system, expanding the responsibility of educators beyond the classroom. Teachers cannot be assigned to perpetual availability, but a rotating group of women trusted by the students should be accessible for times of crisis. Constant availability was stressed by survivors (2014), who gave personal anecdotes of Indigenous youth losing their lives due to limited hours of services.

The final aspect of vulnerability created by family disorganization uncovered by the interviews in this research was running away from home. Survivors (2014) shared their experiences of running away from a chaotic home life, only to be raped by men claiming to help them, or introduced to the sex trade by friends. Dorais and Corriveau

(2009) found that periods of running away from home were the most vulnerable for submissives, the most common category of girls recruited into the sex trade. A crossover exists between running away from home due to family disorganization and transition from reserves to the city, which is another example of the interrelated nature of vulnerability. Addressing running away is a complicated issue, especially if the Indigenous girls in question are experiencing trauma and abuse at home, and their only recourse is to endure, enter the child welfare system, or run away.

Preventative education can address running away in a number of different levels, but the recommendations will focus on hitchhiking as a means of leaving the reserve. The section, ‘meeting basic needs’, in this chapter will have an in-depth recommendation regarding running away and hitchhiking.

Building on the theme of family disorganization and out of home placements, the following section will analyze the impacts of family members in the sex trade.

Family in the Sex Trade

Reports from staff interviews (2014) presented a range of opinions regarding introduction to the sex trade by family members. Interviews with survivors (2014) found several instances of families directly introducing or forcing girls into the sex trade. One PA Outreach staff member believed that “upwards of 60 percent of prostitutes are pushed in by family members”, but this was an isolated opinion that was uncommon. In addition to direct sex trade recruitment by family members, relatives participating in the sex trade undoubtedly create indirect vulnerabilities. A staff member (2014) believed that participation in the sex trade “is inter-generational. The reasons they are having the problems is mom is out working the streets or out drinking, or she brings it to the house”.

Along with direct recruitment, family members create vulnerability by normalizing both prostitution and the sexualisation of femininity, as well as bringing drugs, alcohol, and other trappings of the sex trade into the home.

The normalization of the sex trade and sexualisation of femininity that plagues Indigenous girls growing up in the street involved families that established a toxic environment. Totten (2012) related that almost all of the women in his studies reported that, “family members had got them involved in the sex trade around the age of ten or twelve” (p. 162). The cyclical nature of families in the sex trade was commented upon by survivors, “my mom got put out when she was 11 by my father”. Bingham, Leo, Zhang, Montaner and Shannon (2014) found that Indigenous women in Canada are three times as likely to experience generational sex work, which they defined as “having a mother, sister, aunt, brother who exchanges sex on the streets as a means of survival” (p. 443). A telling statistic uncovered in the research (Bingham et al., 2004) found that 54 percent of Indigenous women who reported experiencing generational sex work had also endured homelessness before turning 16, compared with 39 percent for non-Indigenous generational sex workers. The findings of this research suggest that the normalization of the sex trade by family members creates vulnerability for Indigenous girls at a higher rate than other Canadian populations. Based on these findings, it is clearly imperative to create disruptive education that can increase resiliency for Indigenous girls with familial connections to prostitution.

Preventative education can respond to the normalization of the sex trade by developing cultural lessons addressing gender identities. Malone (2000) believed that traditional gender counselling in Indigenous communities should be communal and

include, “connectedness, balance, needs, roles, gifts, and values” (p. 39). A study (Hundleby, Gfellner & Racine, 2007) in the prairie provinces of Canada researched the life experiences that supported Indigenous women who presented anti-social or criminal behavior as youth and later become successful university students as adults. A majority of the women in the study reported being the victims of sexual abuse, violence, and abandonment as children. Cultural education is recognized by the participants of Hundleby’s (2007) study as the primary source of their ability to overcome childhood trauma:

Finding out who I am through my native culture helped me a lot. Talking to elders, going to sweat lodges, smudging, finding out who I was as an Aboriginal woman had the most effect on my healing journey and because accepting the fact that I am Aboriginal and accepting that I am different in a good way, I think had everything to do with healing and starting my healing journey. (Hundleby, Gfellner & Racine, 2007, p. 243)

Preventative education recommendations are intentionally vague in this section. Elders and community leaders collaborating to design the course should be trusted for their cultural knowledge. It would be absurd, and skew the fundamental concepts of Indigenous feminist theory (Kenny et al., 2007; Smith, 1999), for research recommendations to prescribe cultural activities for Indigenous communities. Immersion in cultural activities fits with three of the four strategies of self-determination in Smith’s (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda. Decolonization, healing, and transformation are all achieved by participating in cultural education that attends to the negative associations with Indigenous femininity established by the prevalence of familial sex trade activity.

The secondary vulnerability created by family members in the sex trade is the introduction of unhealthy behavior commonly associated with the sex trade (Sex Trade Survivors; Staff Interview, 2014). Substance abuse, violence, sexual abuse and other negative behaviors increase due to familial participation in prostitution (Staff Interview, 2014), which are all documented pathways in this research. Responses to exposure to these negative life experiences through preventative education are available in their corresponding sections of pathways to sex trade activity, and will not be repeated here. Although, closely connected to familial sex trade participation is the experience of impoverished households, which exacerbate associated pathways. Poverty's impact on vulnerability for Indigenous girls will be analyzed in the following section.

Poverty

One of the most interesting oversights in the literature review of this dissertation is recognizing poverty's influence on vulnerability to the sex trade. Hoogland and Redden's (2010) twelve pathways and risk factors to sexual exploitation offer no direct reference to poverty. Similarly, in Totten's (2012) pathways to gang involvement, which is overwhelmingly sex trade directed for Indigenous girls, references to poverty are conspicuously absent. Upon reflecting why poverty was omitted as a pathway in the proposal of my research, I realized that Indigenous youth are so often associated with poverty that a descriptor of Indigenous youth automatically assumes impoverished circumstances. This is clearly problematic, as it encapsulates Sensoy and DiAngelo's (2012) categorization through prejudice, which would closely associate Indigenous children and poverty, instead of recognizing that Indigenous children are experiencing poverty. It is imperative to refuse associating Indigenous people with poverty, and instead

recognizing the system as impoverished for oppressing Indigenous people at the systemic and individual level. Despite high levels of poverty within the Indigenous community (MacDonald & Wilson, 2013), there needs to be a concerted effort to avoid suggesting an Indigenous identity that is partially defined by this experience.

Interviews in this research (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014; Staff Interviews, 2014) suggested that poverty created vulnerability for Indigenous girls in two distinct manners. First, the neighborhoods Indigenous girls' families could afford to live, due to high poverty, were often high-crime areas housing the city's drug and sex trades. A study of the Vancouver sex trade (Lowman & Atchison, 2006) found that johns were predominantly white and middle to upper class, while sex trade activities were sequestered to poorer neighborhoods where the negative consequences uniquely impacted the lives of marginalized people of colour. Similarly, a study (McCabe, Morales, Cranford, Delva, McPherson & Boyd, 2007) found that White males were more likely to report drug use prior to university than any other demographic. Despite the fact that drug users and men frequenting the sex trade tend to come from middle to upper class White communities, poorer neighbourhoods bear the brunt of the direct and indirect negative impacts. Indigenous people live disproportionately in the poorer areas of Canadian cities, and new arrivals from the reserve tend to move to high poverty neighbourhoods teaming with outsourced crime (Cooke & Belanger, 2006).

In regards to on-reserve preventative education, courses have a responsibility to prepare Indigenous girls for the realities of urban life. Smith (1999) describes 'recovery' within the Indigenous Research Agenda as, "not a selective process, often responding to immediate crisis rather than a planned approach. This is related to the reality that

indigenous people are not in control” (p. 116). Taking a preventative approach to recovery can mitigate some of the negative outcomes that emerge in an urban environment, supporting Indigenous girls on their path to self-determination through a planned approach. An empowering option for class instruction is giving a forum to Indigenous women who have experienced transitioning to the city as a teenager. Learning from the experiences of Indigenous women who have first-hand experience of the negative impacts of high poverty communities may resonate with Indigenous students. Moreover, frequent appeals for peer teaching were echoed by survivors (2014) and staff (2014), which can be achieved through this model. Successful Indigenous women living in the city will also serve as role models to students for healthy gender and ethnic identities. Kenny, Fairies, Fiske, and Voyageur (2004) recommended approaching holistic research with Indigenous girls by recognizing the “spiritual, physical, emotional and mental aspects of the person” (p. 5), which can be realized by shared leadership and honouring the strengths of Indigenous women.

The second negative impact poverty has on creating vulnerability is the lack of resources available in these households. Survivors and staff (2014) gave accounts of young Indigenous girls turning to the streets to meet basic survival needs of their entire family. Poverty is a pervasive problem for Indigenous communities, and in most cases does not bring about Indigenous girls succumbing to the sex trade. Recruitment into the sex trade is more common when accompanied by multiple pathways, in addition to poverty (Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Staff Interview, 2014; Totten, 2012). The vulnerability created by a lack of resources is analyzed in the section on family disorganization, with preventative education recommendations.

Building from this knowledge, the subsequent section will analyze the role of services and government institutions in creating vulnerability.

Poor Relationship with Services

Basic services intended to provide a safety net for the most vulnerable populations in society are sometimes not sufficiently responsive to their needs. Survivors, not staff, mentioned poor relationships with services as a pathway, which speaks to the blame assigned to the ‘troubled’ individuals, instead of questioning the lack of responsiveness in the system. One survivor (2014) shared her experience returning to a group home after running away:

But there again in my time there was no services. When I was in the Royal Wilson Centre I ran away briefly, like a couple of nights. In that time I got raped again, an old guy threw money at me again. Luckily I wasn’t killed, because I think that is what he was looking for, a place to kill me. He couldn’t find a quiet enough place, there was still vehicles coming around. When I got back to the Royal Wilson Centre a couple nights later I was just catatonic for a long time. I just sat, because they had me in the hole. My worker kept, she had a whole long list of questions: why do you run away? why do you do that? I just looked at him and I thought it was ridiculous and I told her that. After a week of her trying to get answers I just told her, ‘you never asked what happened out there, you didn’t ask me anything, nobody asks me anything’. They brought in a psychiatrist. That guy just sat there for a whole hour when I spilled the beans. He’s a professional, right, all he did was dope me up, gave me drugs. Didn’t say nothing to me, just wrote during the conversation. I thought ‘oh, we have got some good stuff here’. Then, after we

were done our session, and I only seen him the one time, he said, ‘ok then’, and he left and they came and started giving me medication. So I was high every night, and the girls, the older ones, made sure I sat up. When anyone asks me about dope, that’s where I learned about it. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

Emerging from the survivor interviews were parallel experiences, creating a lack of trust and unwillingness to pursue the support in the future. The ramifications of negative interactions with services discourage participation with any agency or form of support, resulting in heightened vulnerability.

Comparable to other preventative education recommendations, schools can broker meaningful relationships between services, Indigenous girls, and families. Smith (1999) argues that mobilization on the local and regional level is a necessary step toward self-determination. Mobilization, in the Indigenous context, is strongly tied to the empowerment (Agbo, 2002) movement, shifting power from traditional systems by mobilizing oppressed communities to collaborate with agencies that historically traded in imposition. Browne and Fiske (2001) found that Indigenous women’s experiences with the health care system, which is often representative of their experiences with other services, are, “shaped by racism, discrimination, and structural inequities that continue to marginalize and disadvantage First Nations women” (p. 126). Forming a space for employees of service providers to interact with Indigenous girls in a positive and safe environment encourages healthy relationship building. Several prevention recommendations have included working together with services to generate familiarity and getting to know one another. Survivors (2014) repeatedly stressed the necessity of this relationship in order to achieve any level of success.

A secondary vulnerability affected by strained relationships with services is the reporting of sexual and physical abuse. A survivor (2014) reported her daughter's sexual abuse to the police, only to have the officers discount the child's testimony because of the mother's history in the sex trade. Several years later, a babysitter sexually abused her son, and she did not bother reporting the crime based on the negative treatment she previously endured. If the police had responded humanly, two sexual predators would have been prosecuted and the victims could have been supported in the aftermath of serious trauma. The blueprint for supporting victims and holding perpetrators accountable is accessible through the CHCH's thirteen steps responding to sexual abuse allegations (Zwi, Woolfenden, Wheeler, O'Brien, Tait & Williams, 2007). Adopting a framework that has primary aims of victim protection and community healing can create an open environment where victims feel supported disclosing abuse. The creation of such a program requires the cooperation of multiple agencies and community buy-in, which is a monumental undertaking. Requiring schools to rebuild unresponsive services is an immense task outside of their mandate, but clearly this institution has the capacity to strengthen organizations through the creation of collaborative programming and offering a hub of services.

The pathways presented thus far encapsulate the most significant responses by survivors and staff members. In addition, a number of pathways emerged rarely, but merit recognition and analysis in this dissertation.

Other Pathways

The predictive model developed in the first chapters of this research identified social devaluation and FASD as primary pathways to the sex trade. Staff members (2014)

gave tangential references to youth with FASD being targets of recruitment, but survivors made no mention. Social devaluation was only referred to once, which raises additional questions. Since Indigenous girls are significantly overrepresented in the sex trade, race must be a factor. Perhaps, social devaluation may be occurring, but it is so ubiquitous for Indigenous youth and not obvious to report. Furthermore, since the interviews were absent of specific questions regarding social devaluation, it is entirely possible the whole topic was overlooked. A possible reading of recruitment from reserves and Indigenous girls newly urbanized from reserve communities speaks to targeting and possible social devaluation. Regardless of this possibility, findings must be restricted to the data collected, which suggested no evidence of social devaluation as a pathway to the sex trade. Additionally, sexualisation of femininity was a recognized pathway based on the available literature. While it is a recognized pathway to the sex trade, much of the sexualisation of femininity is closely connected to sexual abuse, since the girls who experience this begin to perceive themselves primarily as sexual objects.

Unearthing pathways in this dissertation offers new insight into childhood experiences commonplace for Indigenous girls recruited into the sex trade. Knowledge of prevalent pathways supports schools in targeting prevention education to the students experiencing multiple pathways, and therefore, most vulnerable to recruitment. In addition, the pathways represent the childhood trauma in need of attention in a prevention environment. Inextricably linked to pathways are the recruitment strategies employed by sexual predators attempted to lure Indigenous girls. In the following section, survivor and staff testimonies will be analyzed to gain insight into the necessary direction of preventative education.

Recruitment

In this section, recruitment is broken down into several additional categories: people, places, and strategies. There is significant crossover between these elements; for example, a boyfriend can use substance abuse to recruit an Indigenous girl from the reserve. The previous example crosses three of the mediums of recruitment. Furthermore, many of the elements of recruitment were examined in the pathways section, since pathways and recruitment are so closely linked. In the instances of crossover, the sections on pathways will have already covered any pertinent information regarding vulnerability and preventative education, and will not be repeated in this section. In most cases, preventative educational responses to methods of recruitment will plainly prepare the girls for the strategies they will encounter. The dynamic nature of the sex trade needs to be considered, requiring preventative education to be constantly reinvented to meet the changing models of recruitment.

Gang Recruitment

This research has discovered that gangs were reported to use a very wide range of recruitment strategies. Based on the staff and survivor interviews (2014), gangs are involved in recruitment through boyfriends, female recruitment, substance abuse, social media, reserve recruitment, and family recruitment. Despite having a wide range of recruitment activities, more than half of the interviews (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014; Staff Interview, 2014) attributed recruitment to people or situations outside of gang affiliation. Creating a section specifically mapping gang recruitment strategies would be far too expansive and lack organization. Instead, the reader should be clear that gangs use most of the elements presented in the recruitment section.

The staff member (2014) who offered support services directly in the streets believed that gangs only controlled the youngest participants in the sex trade, which means that while gangs were significant recruiters, they were unable to maintain control. Given this trajectory, sex trade workers unaffiliated with gangs may have still been initiated by gang members, but were able to achieve independence as they matured. The trauma inflicted upon recruitment and omnipresent substance abuse resulted in the girls facing the nearly impossible task of exiting the sex trade, even once escaping the gang's direct control. In one case, a survivor (2014) was able to escape her gang captors only to return home and find her family heavily involved in the streets, ultimately deciding to return to the sex trade in what she perceived a safer environment.

In addition to the strategies laid out in the previous sections used by gangs, the practice of 'gangbanging' (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Totten, 2009), which is a group sexual assault used to initiate young girls, is unique to gang recruitment. In this section the use of this initiation tool will compare the experiences of young Indigenous girls in Prince Albert with what has been presented in the literature. In addition, kidnapping from schools as a method of recruitment will be analyzed.

Initiation into gangs is not uniform between the genders, boys do 'minutes' when entering gangs, which means being beaten by several gang members for a minute. Girls rarely decide to enter gangs; instead the decision is made for them. The initiation for female members is sexual assault by multiple gang members (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). Gang rape is used to create elevated trauma in the Indigenous girls, which makes it easier to put them out on the street. Furthermore, it creates a sexualized identity for females in the mind of young gang members who are required to force young girls into the sex trade,

while using sexual and physical violence to maintain control. In the Prince Albert context, Indigenous girls initiated into the gangs are typically in their early teens (Staff Interview, 2014). A survivor has attempted to get male gang members to consider their actions with perpetrated group sexual assaults:

Actually gangbanging girls into the gang and I'm like, lets talk about, you're just being a skinner, man. You have just become the pedophile and, you know, I don't think they realize that. Don't think they realize that. (Sex trade survivor, 2014)

Prince Albert Outreach staff (2014) and survivors (2014) made regular references to the use of group sexual assaults to initiate young Indigenous girls into their sex trade ring.

Understanding that gangs employ most of the following strategies of recruitment, we will begin to investigate specific aspects of recruitment, meeting basic needs, which is heavily relied upon by gangs and other predatory individuals.

Meeting Basic Needs

Meeting basic needs has significant crossover with experiencing poverty, but additional needs connected to parental relationships and emotional support create a separate category. Moreover, in some cases parents may not be impoverished, but do not allocate sufficient resources for their family. There is an erroneous belief that youth maintain any semblance of agency upon entering the sex trade. In most of the interviews conducted for this research, Indigenous girls entered the sex trade through force or a lack of alternative recourse. Even if a youth made a conscious decision to participate in the sex trade, children in Canada cannot be willing participants in sexual activity under the age of sixteen (unless with a partner of a similar age), which means that any sexual activity with adults is deemed as rape (Leeds, Grenville, Lanark District Health Unit,

2009). There are two elements of recruitment in this research born from the requirement of meeting basic needs: the vulnerable position that lacking basic necessities creates for Indigenous girls; and intentionally entering the sex trade to meet basic survival needs. While these vulnerabilities may seem identical, there is a demonstrable separation between the two.

The first aspect of meeting basic needs that functioned as a method of recruitment is the susceptible position a lack of housing, food, and transportation can create. In addition to the statutory rape element of the sex trade, rape is a common recruitment mechanism used by sexual predators to introduce Indigenous girls into the sex trade. Survivor (2014) and staff interviews (2014) contained repeated histories of Indigenous girls who lacked reliable housing, food, or transportation, which resulted in being stalked upon by sexual predators. In most cases older men trolling the streets identified vulnerable children and offered somewhere to stay for the night and a hot meal, never revealing their true motivation. As soon as the men were able to isolate the Indigenous girls in their vehicle or home, they would rape them. After the sexual assault, the men drove the girls back to where they found them, forcing money upon the girl as they exited the vehicle (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014). Offering money to underage girls can be read as justification on the part of the rapist, convincing themselves that the young girl they just sexually assaulted was actually a prostitute.

Survivors (2014) described their first exposure to the sex trade mirroring much of the sexual abuse they experienced as children. In childhood they were raped by relatives or someone at their parents' party and then given candy or small amounts of money afterwards, which is quite similar to their experiences being taken from the street, raped,

and then given money. The transition from their abusive life experiences to active participation in the sex trade is understandable, which has been facilitated by the blurred lines between rape and the sex trade. Indigenous girls are persuaded to believe they have entered the sex trade, when in reality they were raped and paid.

Preventative education can respond to the vulnerabilities of Indigenous girls to sexual assaults when lacking shelter, food, or transportation by employing evidenced-based, culturally appropriate programming. First, the development of an after school program, as mentioned in the previous section, will mitigate the number of Indigenous girls on the streets. Afterschool programs connected to Prince Albert Outreach gave access to food, shelter and safety previously unavailable to Indigenous youth, minimizing their need to seek necessities on the streets. Second, detailed education can be given regarding the dangers of hitchhiking or staying with strangers. An article in the Terrace Standard (2013) reported that thirty-three recommendations emerged from a symposium on missing and murdered Indigenous women along the Highway of Tears in northern British Columbia. The recommendations asked for police to be more vigilant in recognizing female hitchhikers, the creation of a shuttle service, safe houses along Highway 16, and the development of a reporting procedure for businesses. Preventative education that works directly with girls vulnerable to hitchhiking is conspicuously absent from the recommendations (Terrace Standard, 2013). An interview with a foster parent in Winnipeg (CBC News, 2014) found that parents and guardians lacked the ability to engage youth at risk from running away. Mobilizing (Smith, 1999) the entire family (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014) is one way for multiple preventative methods and outcomes to be developed and discussed collectively. The largest youth shelter in Toronto (Covenant

House, 2015) provides school presentations to educate students on the realities of running away that include being pushed to “steal, sell drugs or worse” (para. 11). The framework of Covenant Houses’ presentation can be adapted to include Indigenous ways of knowing, while responding to the local context.

The second aspect of meeting basic needs that creates an environment ripe for sex trade recruitment is survival. Staff interviews (2014) referenced older children entering the sex trade to ensure younger siblings would have food and housing. Saewyc’s (2008) research found that street youth had exchanged sex for housing (33%), food (20%), and transportation (25%). Hoogland and Redden’s (2006) research unearthed examples of street youth paid to perform sexual acts, who used the money to purchase drugs that secured temporary housing with friends. A staff member (2014) argued it was commonplace for Indigenous girls new to Prince Albert to live with older men in exchange for constant sexual availability. In instances like these, staff members (2014) believe the girls do not recognize or identify as sex trade participants, instead surviving by any means necessary.

The findings of Saewyc’s (2008) research suggested the most common reasons for entering the survival sex trade are the absence of food, housing, and transportation, which was echoed by survivors (2014). The logical response in a preventative education program is to inform Indigenous girls of where they can access these staples in the city, negating their perceived necessity of resorting to sex trade activities. River Bank Development Corporation (2014) developed a municipal strategic plan for homelessness in Prince Albert that amasses a list all of the available services. Emergency shelter services are available through the following: YWCA, Our House, and Safe Shelter for

Women. In addition, a number of agencies offer services aimed at medium and long-term housing options. Organizations that offer food programs are available through the following: PA Share-a-Meal Food Bank, PA Food Bank, and Prince Albert Alliance Church. Transportation can be difficult to find through social services, but organizations like the Bernice Sayes Centre and the Indian Métis Friendship Centre offer social integration services that could begin to address emergency transportation needs (River Bank Development Corporation, 2014). Service providers from these agencies could become partners in prevention education, giving the students the opportunity to volunteer at one of the facilities. Since housing, food, and transportation create vulnerability, the only option for those engaged in prevention is to find healthier ways to meet these needs.

An expected ethical conundrum arises from creating familiarity between Indigenous girls and emergency services. Will these classes create an expectation of poverty and a lack of success? Jussim and Harber (2005) found that negative teacher expectations creating negative outcomes may “selectively occur among students from stigmatized social groups” (p. 131). Instead of presenting the social programs as services students are expected to use, a strengths based model can be adopted (Hoogland & Redden, 2009), encouraging the girls to do research regarding services they could recommend to a friend in a vulnerable position. Instead of seeing themselves as destined for failure, Indigenous girls can be empowered as advocates, which was a pedagogical recommendation of survivors and staff members (2014).

Lacking basic necessities serves as both a pathway and a mode of direct recruitment in this dissertation. The most common responses to recruitment were connected to access to basic necessities, barely edging out recruitment by boyfriends. The

following section will analyze interview responses regarding boyfriends recruiting, which in many cases also responds to a lack of access to the necessities of life.

Boyfriends

Prior to the data collection phase, gang recruitment was expected to be the most common medium of entry, based on the available research. Boyfriends, both affiliated and not affiliated with gangs, proved to be a far more significant mechanism of recruitment. Survivors (2014) histories of recruitment by boyfriends represents the most brutal descriptions in this research. Based on the data collected, boyfriends recruited Indigenous girls by love bombing or claiming ownership. Significant crossover exists between these two categories, but deciphering the general attitudes in these relationships is necessary to inform the design of preventative education.

Dorais and Corriveau (2009) identified ‘submissives’ as the overwhelming majority of girls being recruited into the sex trade. Submissives are almost always runaways, lacking a support network or survival skills. The tactic used by predators recruiting submissives is often ‘love bombing’ (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009; Totten, 2009a, 2012), which involves showering girls, who are in transitional periods, with affection, gaining their trust and love. Once the recruiters achieved complete reliance, they undertook one or all of the following strategies: forced addiction to serious drugs, violently forcing girls onto the street, or begging to help the predator pay his debts. Love bombing preys on the absence of love in the life histories of Indigenous girls, creating what, at first, is perceived as a loving and accepting environment (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009; Staff Interviews, 2014).

The experiences of one survivor (2014) becoming recruited by her boyfriend encompassed all of the elements of recruitment by love bombing. The first night she was introduced to the older man, she was drugged and woke up handcuffed to his bed and beaten. Over the next couple of weeks the predator showered her with affection, declaring his love, claiming he needed her, and everything else she wanted to hear. Eventually he began subtly pressuring her to participate in the sex trade: “he was giving me kind of like hinting for me to go for a walk” (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014). When she later came home apologizing for not being able to do it he said, “I can’t stand the thought of any other man’s hands on you” (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014), to which this young girl thought, “he really likes me” (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014). Eventually the boyfriend began pleading with her, stating that he was in danger because of the debts he owed. Once she became involved in the sex trade, scarcely a teenager, her boyfriend used recurring violence to maintain control and ensure fear motivated continued sex trade activities. PA Outreach staff (2014) and other survivors (2014) shared similar experiences of love bombing, but this single experience encompasses all of the elements in the current literature. A supporting perspective of love bombing stated, “One of the street guys who want to pimp them tell them what they want to hear, love them and then get them addicted to IV drugs and then put them on the street” (Staff Interview, 2014).

The second element of recruitment used by boyfriends is present in the majority of love bombing examples, but important to consider as a separate issue. The perceived ownership of girlfriends in relationships contributes to the vulnerability of Indigenous girls by placing them at the whim of often-violent men. A staff member (2014) mentioned, “I had one guy that thought as soon as you had a girlfriend, you own that

person. He thought it was alright to restrain her if she wants to get away”. The unhealthy attitudes towards relationships and women were developed by youth who grow up in violent and abusive homes, with no modeling of healthy romantic relationships (Staff Interview, 2014). The literature review of this dissertation indicated that a lack of parental modeling in families experiencing trauma from the fallout of the IRS system creates toxic expectation for familial roles and behaviour (Ing, 2000; Morrisette, 1994; Nichols, 2010; Partridge, 2010). A mentality of ownership over Indigenous girls is a direct result of dysfunctional family dynamics emerging from IRS, which needs to be addressed in order to establish positive expectations and behaviour in relationships.

A possible response to the vulnerabilities created by boyfriends is working in collaboration with the students to outline acceptable behaviour within a relationship. Building from Ermine’s (1995) inward search for knowledge, students can decide, in partnership with female elders, what it means to be cared for and valued in a relationship. By following this model, Indigenous girls are placed in a leadership position, which embraces the empowerment necessary to transcend towards self-determination (Smith, 1999). Collaboratively, the girls participating in preventative education will understand acceptable behaviour, and which relationships within their own lives have unhealthy characteristics. A major finding of a national policy forum (Human Services Alberta, 2006) on violence and Indigenous women was that, “[t]argeted [youth] education can encourage healthy lifestyles and relationships and promote non-violence” (p. 13). The Ontario Native Women’s Association (2007) posit that education for healthy relationships in schools must contain cultural education that promotes the traditional equality between men and women in order to be effective. Applying principles and

processes of cultural education were priorities for sex trade survivors (2014), who believed that identifying with cultural traditions would support the growth of self-esteem. Furthermore, staff members (2014) argued that a fundamental component of preventative education should be fostering basic skills necessary to function in society. Creating an internally motivated understanding of healthy relationships amounts to a basic skill required for Indigenous girls to function in society.

Boyfriends as primary recruiters were the most common refrain shared in the interviews. Despite the common occurrence of males recruiting, the role of females must not be overlooked, and will be analyzed in detail in the following section.

Female Recruitment

The literature available on female recruitment emphasized the necessity of female gang members showing their value beyond the sex trade, which often led to recruiting other girls in their place (Hoogland and Redden 2010; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2009; Totten, 2012). Within PA Outreach programming, there was a history of girls recruiting at an alarming rate: “One recruited seven girls within this program” (Staff Interview, 2014). Another staff member (2014) made reference to the same recruiter, “She has been on the streets since she was fourteen. The girl offered protection to other girls and gives them IV drugs and protecting them out there. She offers girls a place to stay, then pushes them on to the street”. Staff and survivor interviews (2014) offer a collection of motivations for female recruiters, which include predatory individuals, under the threat of violence, and friendship. Despite most of the evidence in the literature pointing to female recruitment occurring as a defense against their own recruitment (Hoogland and Redden 2010; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2009; Totten, 2012), interviews presented a different story altogether.

A sex trade survivor (2014) gave an extensive account of female recruitment that is a considerable departure from the literature, mirroring the violent and abusive strategies used by male gang members and pimps.

I actually got put out by his sister... they were pretty scary people... Also, she was a scary woman... In regards to fighting her back, there was another thing, she said she knew my mom. My mom was on the street, my mom got put out when she was 11, by my father. She knew my mom and my dad. She had told me the first time, I remember the first time, she said 'I'll blow your fucking mom away', and I believed her, I believed she was that crazy to do it. People were afraid of her, like adults. I'm kind of locked in this thing. Do you know what I mean? (Survivor Interview, 2014)

The conventional wisdom presented in the literature and staff interviews (2014) perceived female recruiters as being placed in an impossible position, opting to recruit instead of being forced into the sex trade themselves. The previous example shows that females are not strictly passive in recruitment; occasionally they embody the predatory force. Granted, the recruiter may have been under pressure or threats invisible to the survivor (2014), despite the autonomous image she presented.

A second survivor (2014) was forced to become a recruiter using violence to initiate into the gang and ensure sex trade activity.

I had to beat up some girls. Some of them were so tiny, they would say 'no, please', but I didn't want to. I know if I didn't do it, I'm going to get a beating, I'm going to go to the room, and in his eyes I'm a little bitch. He is going to go to the room and beat the shit out of me. I would look at them, they would look at me with these eyes

saying ‘please don’t’. Before they try and plead I would beat the shit out of them, and that was their initiation. (Survivor Interview, 2014)

This example falls outside of the literature that contends girls recruit to avoid being forced into the sex trade, because this recruiter was already active in the sex trade. In this instance, recruitment and initiation were undertaken by females in order to avoid being beaten or killed by their boyfriends.

A third sex trade survivor (2014) said, “Women are doing it lots [recruiting], lots of women. Actually I see more women than men”. The third method of recruitment by females is called ‘teaming up’, and involves a relatively older girl befriending young recruitment targets. “In the end, they are involved in recruitment of other girls, especially the younger ones. They do what they call ‘teaming up’ with younger girls. Hanging out and buying them things” (Staff Interview, 2014). The earlier example of a sex worker recruiting seven girls from the Won Ska School was accomplished through ‘teaming up’. Once again, recruitment was not undertaken instead of being pushed onto the street, it was happening concurrently. The motivation of the girls recruiting was not discussed by survivors (2014) or staff members (2014), and falls beyond the research focus of this dissertation.

The motivation of the female recruiters is relevant to the creation of preventative education curriculum addressing potential recruits. It is important for Indigenous girls in the program to be aware and remain vigilant of female recruiters. Sex trade survivors (2014) emphatically endorsed a reliance on Indigenous women with experience in the sex trade to teach sections of preventative education. In order to create resiliency regarding female recruitment, Indigenous women with sex trade experience can lead a class sharing

their experiences and knowledge of recruitment tactics, combined with wisdom regarding resiliency, strength, and health. In some cases prevention education needs to be simple and straightforward: ‘this is how they are going to try to recruit you and this is what you need to do’. In addition to the information sessions, the women’s group model developed by PA Outreach in the Warrior Spirit Walking Program (Totten & Dunne, 2010) promotes healthy friendships between Indigenous girls based on mutual respect. Kenny, Fairies, Fiske, and Voyageur (2004) believe that holistic research that honours the “past, present, and future” using “intergenerational discourse” (p. 5) is necessary for research investigating female Indigenous participants. The contributions of survivors encourage a holistic design that honours the past, the knowledge of Indigenous women who have experienced comparable pathways, while emphasizing models of recruitment.

The recruitment section thus far has primarily focused on the individuals recruiting, instead of the mechanisms and places recruitment occurs. In the following section, an emerging tool of recruitment is analyzed. Social media is a prime example of the dynamic nature of the sex trade, recruitment, and vulnerability.

Social Media

The appearance of social media and widespread internet access is an emerging technology reimagining recruitment and sex trade activity in Prince Albert. As recently as the last decade, social media lacked widespread influence on recruitment, but today is routinely utilized by recruiters preying on Indigenous girls. The literature (Hoogland & Redden, 2009) scarcely references the internet and omits social media altogether in regards to recruitment or vulnerabilities. Staff (2014) and survivors interviews (2014) contain repeated references to this technology being central to the industry. Social media

is used to recruit and maintain the sex trade in three distinct ways. First, recruiters target Indigenous girls in reserve communities through social media by luring into the city with promises of parties and a social scene. Second, the pre-teens active in the prostitution are kept off of the streets by utilizing social media to set up ‘dates’ and hide from authorities monitoring the visible sex trade. Finally, social media maintains constant communication between the girls, their pimps, and johns, which results in many girls being constantly active. Recommendations for preventative education will concentrate on the first vulnerability of luring through social media, due to the second and third vulnerabilities, maintenance within the sex trade, having more relevance to intervention education, which is not the focus of this dissertation.

Recruitment from the reserve is an entire section in this dissertation, but it is important to highlight the unique methods used by social media to recruit Indigenous girls from these communities. There are dozens of reserves surrounding Prince Albert, hundreds of kilometers apart, making active recruiting in these isolated communities difficult. In order to overcome the geographic barriers,

They are using Facebook to get them from the reserves and into the city. The majority of them are from reserves, and they know who is back home and then they go home and they do recruitment on the reserves because they are connected. (Staff Interview, 2014)

The application of Facebook, and other social media tools, creates an environment where recruitment is invisible to teachers, relatives, and parents. The dynamic nature of recruitment and the sex trade means that preventative education must constantly change to effectively address the shifting landscape. A prime example is when staff members

(2014) began to notice that Facebook was exploited to target preteens, protecting recruiters from the dangers of physically approaching young children.

Existing preventative education (Jones, Mitchell, & Finkelhor, 2012; Wolak, Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Ybarra, 2008) related to social media use is limited to helping children be vigilant for sexual predators. The situation for Indigenous girls on reserves creates unique circumstances with less obvious predators. While some of the non-Indigenous specific prevention education has relevance to reserve populations, the recruiters using social media in the Indigenous context are more likely to be friends or relatives (Sex Trade Survivor, 2014; Staff Interview, 2014). Designing preventative education that limits Indigenous girls' contact with friends and relatives would be misguided and inevitably end in failure. The task of equipping Indigenous girls with the skills to decipher which friends and relatives are luring them into a trap is daunting. Truthfully, I do not know how to respond to this vulnerability. Perhaps the curriculum design process can include collaborative meetings with educators, parents, students, and elders to pose this question, working together in order to find a possible solution through preventative education. The process of collaboration promotes mobilization (Smith, 1999) of community knowledge and resources, which can serve as a model for attending to barriers in the future. Furthermore, Smith (1999) encourages academics to have humility in their research, which can be displayed when entering a community and stating your inability to find a suitable solution, and asking for guidance.

The research findings in this dissertation typically do not focus on sex trade activity, because the aim of this study is to understand vulnerability and recruitment methods in order to create resiliency in vulnerable populations. An exception is going to

be made in this section on the use of social media for sex trade activities because it highlights the need for preventative education, because the youngest girls in the sex trade are kept off the streets and hidden by using social media. Moreover, the information shared by staff (2014) and survivors (2014) about the changing nature of sex trade activities needs to be shared in order to create a wider understanding of this phenomenon.

Prior to the data collection phase, Prince Albert Outreach offered a van service that transported staff members (2014) offering basic services to sex trade workers and street children. Staff (2014), who spent years in the outreach van, began to notice an absence of the youngest girls, which at first appeared to be progress. Eventually they learned the youngest girls were being removed from the streets and pushed into online mediums, to avoid unwanted attention from the police. With the aid of social media, pimps were now able to connect johns with the youngest prostitutes while hidden behind the veil of anonymity offered by the internet. Outreach staff (2014) believed that once the young girls get lost in the online sex trade, it is almost impossible to get them out, due to the loss of access. The shift of the sex trade into social media makes the creation of preventative education imperative, because of the limited possibilities for intervention for girls who are absent from the streets. By the time the girls get a little older and are back on the streets, they have been drug addicted and participating in the sex trade for years, experiencing trauma that is difficult to come back from.

The final impact social media is having on the sex trade is creating constant access for pimps, johns, and sex trade workers. In the Won Ska Cultural School, run by PA Outreach, staff members (2014) witnessed one student, who they knew to be active in the sex trade, communicating with johns over Facebook. Shortly thereafter, an unknown

vehicle would pick her up from school, and then drop her off sometime later.

Furthermore, the Youth Activity Centre employees saw the same behaviour in their afterschool program, from multiple girls regularly attending the YAC (Staff Interviews, 2014). The emergence of social media has turned any environment into a hub of sex trade activity, normalizing behaviour for the rest of the youth, and creating unsafe environments out of what previously was a haven for street involved youth. Hoogland and Redden (2009) report that social media sites in the lower mainland are an emerging new medium of sexual exploitation for vulnerable girls. According to their research, online mediums are often utilized by pimps to advertise young girls to a wide audience of predators.

Social media, as a medium of recruitment and practice, has changed the landscape the sex trade in Prince Albert. The following issues, which have previously been addressed in earlier sections, are predictable elements of the sex trade.

Substance Abuse

The primary findings regarding substance abuse as a method of recruitment were already presented in the pathways section, and were: creating vulnerability due to traumatic and chaotic lifestyles; a method of recruitment, achieved by forced and unforced addiction creation; and keeping Indigenous girls and women in the sex trade to support their addiction. To review these findings, please see the section on ‘substance abuse’ in the pathways section.

Family Recruitment

The primary findings regarding family recruitment as a method of recruitment were already presented in the pathways section, and were: direct recruitment; normalizing

prostitution and sexualisation of femininity; and bringing drugs, violence, and other negative behaviours into the home. To review these findings, please see the section on ‘family in the sex trade’ in the pathways section.

Reserve Recruitment

Despite a section in the existing pathways examining the vulnerability created by movement from reserves into the city, additional attention is necessary to analyze the methods of reserve recruitment. The previous section analyzed the use of social media as a recruitment tool in reserves communities, covering a primary medium of reserve recruiting. However, it is imperative to understand that social media, Facebook specifically, appeared as the most common method of recruitment in reserve communities. In addition to social media, gangs, pimps, and predators recruit from reserve communities in two ways. First, gang affiliations on reserves persuade young girls to accompany relatives and friends to Prince Albert for gang related matters. Second, gang members from the city periodically visit reserve communities and schools to recruit by flashing money and creating the perception of a supporting and prosperous environment.

The first recruitment method used on reserves is pressuring youth with loose gang affiliations to bring girls into the city for gang related activities (Staff Interview, 2014). One staff member (2014) emphasized the difference between this practice in Prince Albert and the recruitment methods in other cities of Saskatchewan,

In my opinion there are similarities and slight difference. It is the same for recruitment or strategies they use. The difference is that the majority of the youth who are involved in the gangs are from the reserves and in the very north. And they cycle into PA for gang related matters. In Regina and Saskatoon they are mostly

local girls. Also when you see their interaction, how they came in and out. They have a network through the reserves and the city. (Staff Interview, 2014)

The boys, manipulated into participating, unwittingly jeopardize the safety of friends and relatives by introducing them to parties that serve as prime recruitment grounds. As discussed in the previous section, pimps, gang members, and predators made repeated references to targeting Indigenous girls fresh from the reserve (Staff Interview, 2014)).

Preventative education design can acknowledge recruitment via gang events by discussing the role parties and substance abuse will play in creating vulnerability. Research conducted by the US Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS, 2006) found that children up to age nine typically have a negative view of alcohol consumption, which usually reverses by thirteen. The National Centre for Addiction and Substance Abuse (1999) research demonstrates that children are likely to mimic the substance abuse patterns of their parents. The recommended age of prevention education for Indigenous girls (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014; Staff Interview, 2014) falls somewhere between seven and twelve, which is the same period the research (USDHHS, 2006) predicts opinions of alcohol shift from negative to positive.

Healing, based on Smith's (1999) Indigenous Research Agenda, can be used to interrupt generational substance abuse, by giving students the chance to gain a deeper understanding of substance abuse during a crucial period in their identity formation. A study conducted in a third grade classroom in a First Nation school in central Alberta (Baydala, Sewlal, Rasmussen, Alexis, Fletcher, Letendre, Odishaw, Kennedy, & Kootenay, 2009) investigated the implementation of a substance abuse focused life skills training program augmented for Indigenous students. Success in the program was

attributed to the participation of elders and the inclusion of cultural ways of knowing in disseminating information about substance abuse. Recommendations from the study included bringing parents and family members into information sessions, which mirrors the recommendations of sex trade survivors (2014) and PA Outreach staff (2014).

The final method of recruitment on the reserves is active in-person recruitment by older gang members. Staff (2014) recognized the lack of access to resources on most isolated reserves surrounding Prince Albert, creating an irresistible enticement to the city. Recruitment, in these instances, is rarely directly into the sex trade, but instead establishes friendships or romantic relationships between predators and young girls, fertile ground for the myriad of strategies employed by boyfriends in recruitment. Infrequently, the recruiters spark interest by creating an illusion of opportunity, “The pimp makes it sound so luxurious. For twenty minutes you could get two-hundred dollars” (Staff Interview, 2014). Based on theory (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009), the girls recruited in this manner would be considered ‘Independents’, due to being drawn to the sex trade by promises of money and a lavish lifestyle. But, in practice, the girls recruited in this manner have a skewed understanding of the sex trade due to being so far removed in the reserve. In Sethi’s (2007) research on domestic sex trafficking, evidence emerged of gangs targeting on-reserve schools to recruit girls, as young as ten, with money, gifts, and drugs. The access gang members have to drugs, cars, and money are desirable to many Indigenous girls on reserves where resources are limited.

In addition to the myriad of recruitment strategies presented in this dissertation, occasionally gangs will just kidnap Indigenous girls and force them into the sex trade. Sethi’s (2007) research on Canadian sex trafficking provides a wealth of examples of

kidnapping as a recruitment method, but this was uncommon in most of the literature. In the Prince Albert context, several examples of kidnapping as a recruitment method emerged, creating difficult questions regarding prevention when schools are no longer a safe space. A survivor (2014) shared an incident where a violent female gang member kidnapped girls directly from schools:

I was going to school there and actually starting to feel like, maybe again, this is going to be OK. All of a sudden I heard this ruckus and I came out of the class and there she was standing at the door. There she was dragging this eleven-year old kid out. Then she noticed me and she said, ‘I’m coming back for you, you little bitch’. I said ‘fuck this, I’m not waiting’. So I went back to the street and I said screw it.
(Sex Trade Survivor, 2014)

The sex trade survivor who shared this experience had previously endured severe trauma in her life and was only starting to heal and benefit from a healthy environment. Recommendations for preventative education seem absurd when schools are not providing an environment safe from kidnapping and forced prostitution.

Preventative education, in this case, needs to be aimed at the teachers and administration in on-reserve schools. The burden of resisting recruitment must be shared by the entire institution, ensuring students a safe haven from the pressures of recruitment on school grounds. Gottfredson (2013) found that only one-fifth of principals overseeing institution with significant gang activity were able to recognize its presence. School based research on gangs typically investigates peer-to-peer recruitment, which may not recognize the stated outsider recruitment occurring in First Nation schools (Staff Interview, 2014). The Spergel Model (2003) advocates for the collaboration between

multiple agencies to prevent, intervene, and suppress gang activity. Multiple agencies working together can educate teachers, administration, and support staff to recognize gang recruitment, and establish a school policy for ensuring safe spaces. It is imperative for school leaders to extend prevention beyond resiliency for Indigenous girls, a safe school environment stands as the foundation of prevention education (Gottfredson, 2013).

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation is not to create preventative education for the reserve schools surrounding Prince Albert, but to examine the experiences of sex trade survivors and staff members of Prince Albert Outreach to get a better understanding of pathways and recruitment strategies. The design of programming can be informed by the findings of this research, but must include educators and community members when analyzing this data and developing educational responses to vulnerabilities. The analysis section of this dissertation gave examples of preventative applications, but theses were only meant to highlight the necessity of using pedagogical recommendations in the responses to unearthed vulnerabilities. The findings of this research accentuate the traumatic life experiences that need to be addressed at an early age to create resiliency towards recruitment into the sex trade. Multiple pathways experienced by Indigenous girls are predictors of other negative life experiences, like poverty (Anderson, 2002; Blackstone & Trocme, 2005; NWAC, 2003), addiction (Rawana & Ames, 2012), dropping out (Janosz et al., 2007; Nimmo, 2003), teenage pregnancy (Copping, Campbell & Muncer, 2013), and experiencing domestic abuse (Kipling, 2003). Preventative education can be more expansive to include resiliency for negative life experiences beyond the sex trade, like

health problems, lack of education, and incarceration, which are mostly based on the same set of multiple pathways (Totten, 2012).

The pathways uncovered in this research establish a roadmap for targeting and the creation of preventative education for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade. New vulnerabilities and recruitment strategies were uncovered which were previously absent from the literature (prisons, transitions, relationship with services, social media), and new dimensions of existing vulnerabilities (sexual abuse, substance abuse, poverty) have emerged in the interviews of this dissertation. Pathways and recruitment strategies can make up the content of prevention curriculum, while the pedagogical recommendations can inform how, by whom and where programming should be established. Preventative education needs to avoid becoming too general to meet the specific vulnerabilities that emerge in a given geographical context.

Chapter 6: Summary, Conclusions, and Implications

Chapter six of this dissertation provides an overall summary of the study, supported by final conclusions and implications of the findings. The organization of the final chapter begins with a summary of the research purpose, followed by a short review of significant literature, which will be compared to the research findings. A brief discussion of the research methodology will then help to inform the future application of Indigenous feminist methods in a study of this nature. The following section contains a discussion of the research findings as they relate to the questions posed in the study. Implications for practice and further research are examined in order to establish where to go from here. The chapter concludes with my reflection on the experience of undertaking such a challenging topic.

Summary

The purpose of this dissertation was to address the overrepresentation of Indigenous girls in the sex trade across Canada, but specifically looking at the Prince Albert context. The questions guiding the dissertation shifted slightly after entering the field, which aligns with Indigenous feminist methodologies (Kenny, Fairies, Fiske & Voyageur, 2004; Smith, 1999) that advocate sharing decision-making with Indigenous partners collaborating in the study. Prior to entering the field, the questions in this dissertation focused on gang involvement of Indigenous girls and subsequent sex trade activities. Collaboration, discussion, and consultation of Prince Albert Outreach staff members who have worked closely with vulnerable Indigenous girls, and the input of Indigenous sex trade survivors, revealed the necessity of expanding the scope of

questions to look primarily at sex trade vulnerability and recruitment, instead of viewing through the lens of gangs.

The research questions that were investigated in this dissertation were: 1) Which life experiences create vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls? 2) How are Indigenous girls recruited into the sex trade? 3) What should sex trade prevention education look like? Research questions were posed to nineteen staff members of Prince Albert Outreach and five sex trade survivors. The findings of the research questions create a foundation of knowledge regarding which life experiences create vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls, how recruitment is happening in Prince Albert, and which pedagogical models should be used in preventative education. Outcomes of this research are not expected to be the sole basis of preventative education in Prince Albert, but the raw data from which collaboration can assume the development of a preventative education design.

Literature Review

The most prominent revelation in the literature review is the lack of direct research relating to the creation of preventative education. Instead of relying on direct literature, I was required to piece together aspects of pathways, recruitment, and pedagogy from separate sources that were not always Indigenous specific. Prior to discussing the literature relating directly to the research questions, it is important to establish the historical continuum of trauma stemming from the IRS era. The literature review begins with IRS survivor accounts (Fontaine, 2010), which establish the earliest traumatic experiences that transferred intergenerationally and became the pathways to the sex trade for contemporary Indigenous girls. In order to show the linear trajectory of

trauma, the literature review contends that abusive treatment at the hands of priests, nuns, and teachers led to negative parental modeling adopted by Indigenous students and practiced on the next generations (Partridge, 2010; McDonald, 2001). Abusive and cold parental practices that grew out of the IRS era were the genesis of Indigenous communities who were vulnerable to losing generations to the child welfare system (Blackstock & Trocme, 2005), shaming (Bull, 1991), violence (Trocme, Knock & Blackstock, 2004), poverty (MacDonald & Wilson, 2013), low academic achievement (MacDonald & Wilson, 2013), food insecurity (Willows, Veugelers, Raine & Kuhle, 2009), suicide (MacNeil, 2008), and sexual abuse (Fontaine, 2010). The traumatic cycles of abuse and neglect that grew from the IRS era created an environment in which the pathways for Indigenous girls into the sex trade can be clearly traced.

Totten's (2009a; 2012) work on pathways to gangs and the sex trade provided the foundation for the creation of a model of life experiences that cause vulnerability, which was augmented by Hoogland and Redden's (2010) study on *Gangs, Girls and Sexual Exploitation in British Columbia*, Seshia's (2005) research on sexual exploitation in Winnipeg, and Sethi (2007), Sikka (2010) investigations of sex trafficking and Indigenous girls in Canada, and Kingsley and Mark's (2000) work on sexually exploited Indigenous youth. The cumulative result of existing literature informed the creation of the seven-pathway model: sexual abuse, social devaluation, violentization, family disorganization/out of home placements, FASD, sexualized femininity, and substance abuse. Based on the available literature, these pathways were the best available predictor of life experiences that create vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls. Furthermore, it was understood that several of the sources were not Indigenous specific,

and may lack the cultural nuances to understand the unique vulnerability for Indigenous girls in a given context, but they were the best available literature at the time of research design.

Literature on recruitment into the sex trade was also limited, focusing primarily on gang recruitment, and never Indigenous specific. Dorais and Corriveau's (2009) research out of Quebec on juvenile prostitution was the primary source used for the creation of a recruitment model in this research, prior to data collection. The model of sex trade recruitment posits that the four categories of recruitment are: submissives, sex slaves, independents, and daredevils (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). Submissives comprise the vast majority of recruitment, which highlights life and familial transitions creating vulnerability. Hoogland and Redden (2010) expanded on the recruitment methods used on submissives, by giving specific tactics undertaken by pimps to lure girls into the streets through drug use and access to the basic necessities of life. Love bombing is the primary mechanism of recruitment available in the literature (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009), which consists of predatory males showing excessive affection and caring for vulnerable girls. Once the male has established trust and love, they use violence, drugs or persuasion to push girls into the sex trade. Within the practice of love bombing is *gangbangs*, a group sexual assault used as a means of initiating young girls into gangs and the sex trade (Dorais & Corriveau, 2009). The research available on recruitment gives limited insight into specific methods of preventative education. Furthermore, since most of the literature was not Indigenous specific, pertinent cultural elements are conspicuously absent.

Literature Review and Research Findings

The discrepancies between pathways and recruitment referenced in the literature and the findings in the interviews are significant, likely due to the literature not being Indigenous specific. This study may be the first example of direct investigation of Indigenous specific vulnerabilities to the sex trade. Furthermore, the geographic variables create unique responses to questions of pathways and recruitment strategies. In addition to pathways and recruitment, recommendations for pedagogical approaches bring an entire new understanding to preventative education. While there is a wealth of scholarship on Indigenous education and pedagogy, none of it addresses sex trade prevention.

Nearly every article published on related issues of Indigenous girls in the sex trade call for additional research into vulnerability and recruitment (Bingham, Leo, Zhang, Montaner, & Shannon, 2014; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Totten, 2012). Sex trade literature is primarily focused on activity or intervention (Seshia, 2005; Sethi, 2007; Sikka, 2010), which are invaluable sources for understanding the nuances of the industry, but do not address preventative aspects of education and research. In order to report the differences uncovered in the data-gathering phase of this research, conceptual models will be displayed. Deep discussions of the research findings will not happen in this section, but will instead be presented under the headings of individual questions in the ‘discussion of findings’ section.

As mentioned before, due to limitations in the field, the literature was not always Indigenous specific, instead a mixture of recruitment into gangs and the sex trade. The justification of using both gang and sex trade recruitment in the development of a theoretical based model is the overwhelming evidence of gang involvement for

Indigenous girls resulting in sex trade activity. In contrast, the creation of the conceptual models for recruitment based on the interviews with survivors and staff are limited to the sex trade.

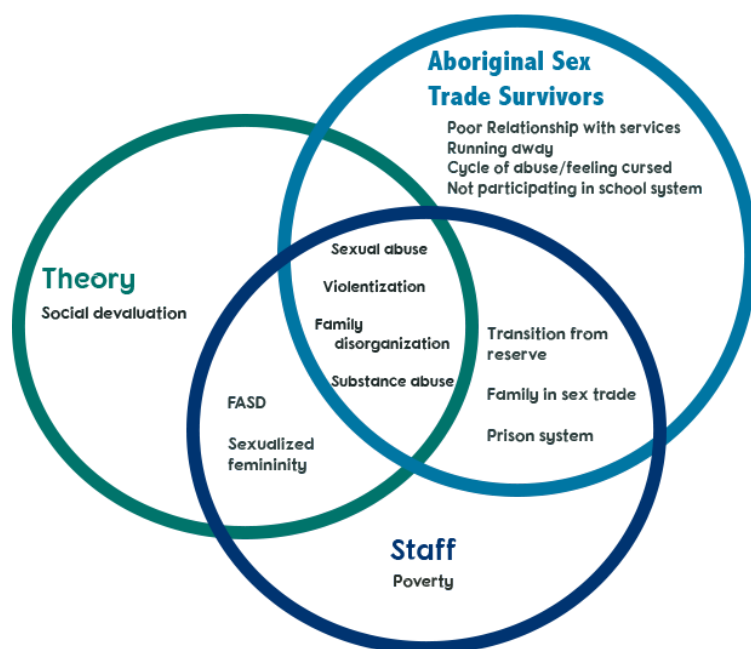


Figure 6.1 Venn pathway diagram

Existing literature combined to predict seven pathways to sex trade activity for Indigenous girls, including many higher-level responses steeped in jargon that can translate into related pathways. The only pathways occurring in all three sources, existing literature, survivor interview, and staff interviews were: sexual abuse, violentization, family disorganization/out of home placements, and substance abuse. Emerging pathways based on the interviews created a new model for the assessing vulnerability of Indigenous girls. Every pathway recognized by literature, survivors, and staff contributed to the final model, but some of the headings in the above conceptual model were combined to holistically address related issues.

Literature limited recruitment analysis to the types of girls lured into the sex trade. Dorais and Corriveau's (2009) study established the four categories of girls based on their motivation and vulnerability to recruitment. The model established by Dorais and Corriveau (2009) created composites of girls recruited, which contained specific strategies or populations that preyed upon them. Instead of developing larger categories, the findings of this research looked directly at the people, places, and strategies used to recruit. In order to analyze the similarities and differences between the existing literature and the findings of this paper, Dorais and Corriveau's four categories need to be broken down into specific predators and tactics.

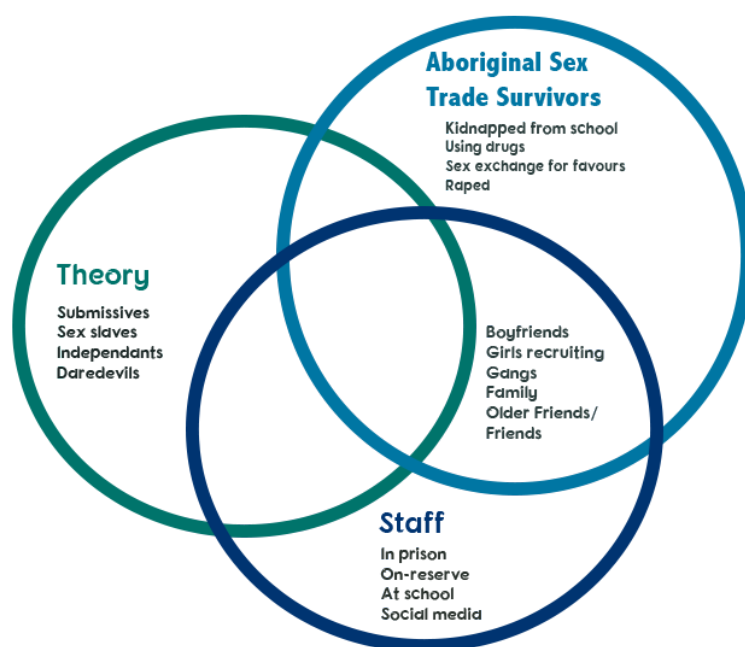


Figure 6.2 Venn recruitment diagram

An important element of Dorais and Corriveau's (2009) research to keep in mind is that it is non-Indigenous specific and based in Quebec, where Indigenous people make up one percent of the population (Statistics Canada, 2006a). Based on the interviews with sex trade survivors and PA Outreach staff in this research, Indigenous women in the sex

trade in Prince Albert primarily fall within the realm of submissives and sex slaves, as described by Dorais and Corriveau (2009). The activities associated with recruitment of submissives were running away, lack of support network, boyfriends, gangs, and drugs. In terms of sex slaves, the recruitment methods are far more difficult to establish, because kidnapping is the preferred method (Sethi, 2007). After breaking down the theory, we see that gangs, boyfriends, and family are present in all three sources of data. Since the recruitment models used in the literature are primarily non-Indigenous specific, it was anticipated that interview responses would be the richer data set. A deeper discussion regarding the specific elements of a recruitment model will be undertaken in the ‘discussion of findings’ section.

Following the completion of the research and analysis, a paper was uncovered that contained aspects of a similar investigation. The Native Women’s Association of Canada (2014) conducted a literature review report on Indigenous women in the sex trade that uncovered pathways, recruitment methods, sex trade activity, and intervention information. None of this information was available prior to the research design, data gathering or analysis, but the findings are fascinating. The report found that vulnerabilities to the sex trade include, “a history of abuse (including sexual abuse as a child), unstable childhood homes, lower education, emotionally needy, familiar with foster care, drug use, and poverty” (p. 45). In regards to recruitment, the report found that “pretending to care” (p. 45), which includes many of the familiar trappings of ‘love bombing’, lack of employable skills, drugs, and female recruitment. The Findings of the NWAC (2014) report provided support for aspects of pathways and recruitment models conducted in this research, without the specific recommendations and interviews relating

to pedagogical methods. In addition, recommendations were not as exhaustive in the NWAC report, providing fewer pathways and methods of recruitment, and without additional details describing the myriad of ways pathways create vulnerability. The conclusion of the report calls for additional research responding to regional variation, which is exactly what this dissertation has undertaken.

Implications for Research Methodology

Methodological design of this research adhered closely to the principles of Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies*, which is a staple in Indigenous research. A wealth of prominent research studies have adopted Smith's methodology and proven the necessity of its creation. The unique element of the methodology adopted by this research was insisting on every aspect being collaborative, even the design of the questions (Smith, 1999). A strong parallel exists between Smith's idea of truly collaborative research and the Director of Prince Albert Outreach's insistence of allowing students to decide the direction of their school. In her interview, the director mentioned that multiple organizations came to learn the strengths of PA Outreach, but always stopped short of allowing students any real control (Staff Interview, 2014). Similarly, researchers often feel the necessity to maintain control over their research, specifically the aims and questions. Kenny, Fairies, Fiske, and Voyageur (2004) remind us that, "intrusive research is not productive and only adds to the alienation of Aboriginal people" (p. 10). By collectively designing questions with local Indigenous partners, research can avoid becoming an imposition on the researched. Allowing for a shift in questions not only follows the requirements of Indigenous feminist methodologies, but honours Little Bear's (2000) central Indigenous epistemology of constant flux.

Specific methodological questions that became relevant in this research focus on the gender and background of the interviewers. Grekul and Larocque (2011) contended that survivors, due to the negative gender dynamics relentlessly governing their lives, should only be interviewed by women. Based on this logic, male researchers were prohibited from survivor interviews. A fundamental component of Smith's (1999) methodology emphasizes that the processes and outcomes of research should be empowering for Indigenous communities. In this context, empowerment is achieved by conducting interviews that are unstructured, with the interviewer and interviewee both being women, and preferably Indigenous. Of the five interviews with sex trade survivors, an Indigenous woman conducted three, and a non-Indigenous woman with a wealth of experience in Indigenous communities conducted two. The initial research design called for survivors in the study to have recently exited the sex trade. In reality, the difficulty of securing interviews with survivors resulted in reducing limitations and conducting some interviews with Indigenous women who had been out of the sex trade for several years. Despite being several years removed from active participation, these women all worked in fields that supported youth, which kept them current on strategies of recruitment and vulnerability.

Subsequent studies will pose difficult methodological questions regarding the gender and Indigenous ancestry of interviewers. At the Canadian Society for the Study of Education conference (2014), an academic in the audience urged me to conduct interviews with survivors in order to model healthy gender relationships between Indigenous men and women. While I do see the benefit of contributing to healthy gender dynamics, Grekul and Larocque (2011), Totten (2011), and Hoogland and Redden (2010)

all advocated for men being removed from the recovery process. Despite many of the women interviewed being several years removed from active participation, the discussion of sex trade activities may have triggered an experience of trauma, which can be exacerbated by the presence of a man. Furthermore, the women conducting the interviews all have a background working with vulnerable populations and the expertise to support women in difficult times, experience that I do not have.

Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodology* promotes the application of the principle of *democratizing* to Indigenize research and accurately represent and analyze data. In this research study, democratizing was proposed in collaboration with Frankel's (1999) trustworthiness indicator of *member checking*. The design of the research intended to speak with participants to get their approval and insight into the analysis of their interviews, in order to extend participation. Unfortunately, once the sex trade survivors had been interviewed they became either impossible to get a hold of, or decided they were already satisfied with their level of participation. If Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *democratizing* and Frenkel's (1999) 'member checking' are going to be used to establish trustworthiness of analysis in research related to sex trade survivors, a new approach is required to ensure ongoing participation. The interviews became far more difficult to obtain than PA Outreach had initially expected, due to survivors moving away, not having up to date contact information, imprisonment, or being hesitant to talk about traumatic experiences. Future research in this area needs to rethink the development of ongoing relationships and communication with survivors collaborating in the studies in order to secure member checking.

The ethics approval procedures for this dissertation were understandably rigorous, given the sensitive nature of the research and the vulnerability of the participants. A surprising barrier to ethics approval was the lack of familiarity and resistance to fundamental elements of Indigenous methodologies by the ethics board. Insisting upon face-to-face communication in recruitment was an especially contentious element in the ethics approval process. Tuhiwai Smith (2005) states that face-to-face interactions are imperative, especially when presenting research idea to the community. Members of the ethics board were initially insistent upon the use of flyers to advertise the research and recruit participants. Furthermore, several members of the ethics board questioned the research focus on Indigenous women, worried that the exclusion of non-Indigenous women may be discriminatory. Clearly, the immense overrepresentation of Indigenous girls and women in the western Canadian sex trade warrants race specific studies. In addition to these instances of misunderstanding the necessity of Indigenous methodologies, other tensions became apparent between the researcher and ethics board, which contained no Indigenous members. Thankfully, the Indigenous feminist methodologies were eventually accepted by the ethics board, following a hard fought meeting with over ten board members.

Discussion of Findings

Question 1 – Which life experiences create vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls?

The findings related to pathways established a firm set of life experiences that contribute to and predict vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls. A lack of research specifically investigating life experiences that create vulnerability meant that

findings in this research would be the first to establish a model. Based on the interviews with survivors and staff, the life experiences that create vulnerability are: sexual abuse, transition from reserves, prison systems, violentization, substance abuse, family disorganization/out of home placements, family in the sex trade, poverty, and poor relationship with services.

The model in the previous section highlights which pathways were predicted in related literature, recognized by staff, and reported by survivors. Every pathway recognized by survivors was included in this model, but occasionally amalgamated into larger pathways. For example, running away was mentioned repeatedly, but instead of being a stand-alone category, it was included in the sections on transition from reserves, family disorganization, and several sections in recruitment. The pathways recognized by outreach staff were all included in the final model, with the exception of sexualized femininity being incorporated into sexual abuse and the FASD pathway being removed because of infrequent mentions without emphasis. It is entirely possible that FASD was unidentified by staff and survivors due to difficulty in diagnosis by a non-professional, despite being an indicator of vulnerability. Several pathways included in the model based on literature were removed because they were recognized in the interviews. Social devaluation was not mentioned in any of the interviews with survivors, and was barely addressed by any staff. Since the study was focused on Indigenous girls, understanding their drastic overrepresentation in the sex trade, perhaps social devaluation was already assumed by research participants.

Sexual abuse was by far the most referenced pathway to the sex trade by survivors and staff interviews. Survivors had all experienced sexual abuse in their childhood, and a

number of staff stated that all of the girls they have worked with had been sexually abused. In both sets of interviews (Sex Trade Survivors, 2014 Staff Interview, 2014) respondents believed that sexual abuse is apparent to teachers or support workers, based on children's behaviour. Despite this belief, it may prove dangerous to rely on teacher or support worker diagnosis for targeting preventative education for students who they believe may have experienced sexual abuse. The multiple vulnerabilities created by sexual abuse recognized in the research are: the lack of distinction between sexual abuse and their first experiences in the sex trade; and the trauma of sexual abuse experiences creating psychological barriers and harmful behaviour for survivors. Each pathway recognized in this research has multiple modes of vulnerability, which all need to be addressed in preventative education. Available models of sexual abuse education (Couture et al., 2001; Zwi et al., 2007) aim to create resiliency in youth against sexual abuse experiences, while also helping survivors to avoid self-blame. The preventative aspect of sexual abuse education informs the design of programming to widen its scope to children who are also vulnerable to the pathways.

The creation of pathways moves beyond targeting prevention education. Traumatic life experiences need to be addressed in prevention as is addressing vulnerability and empowering Indigenous girls to lead healthy lives. Education design needs to find ways to address sexual abuse, transition from reserves, prison systems, violentization, substance abuse, family disorganization/out of home placements, family in the sex trade, poverty, and poor relationship with services. Recommendations for curriculum were given with each pathway in the analysis section, informed by the pedagogical recommendations of survivors and staff. The curriculum proposed in

response to pathways is only one possibility. The creation of preventative education should be in collaboration with teachers, Indigenous communities, service providers, and elders who will help design and deliver curriculum.

Since the study was limited to Prince Albert, it is impossible to say definitively which pathways will be geographically unique until subsequent studies in other Canadian cities can be conducted. Despite the necessity of more studies to identify uniqueness, the prison system pathway will likely only be a predictor of vulnerability in cities with an overrepresentation of prisons. Furthermore, transition from reserves will predictably occur in many western Canadian cities with significant Indigenous participation in the sex trade, but the pattern and experience of urbanization will vary depending on the city. The small size and porous divide between Prince Albert and the dozens of reserves within a few hundred kilometers creates a unique experience, which may occur differently in the context of perhaps Calgary or Vancouver.

The recognition of specific life experiences that create and predict vulnerability is an important first step in understanding the phenomenon, while targeting and creating education that can minimize vulnerability and hopefully impact the overrepresentation of Indigenous girls in the sex trade.



Figure 6.3 Pathways to the sex trade (findings)

Question 2 – How are Indigenous girls recruited into the sex trade?

Strategies used to recruit Indigenous girls into the sex trade in Prince Albert provide curriculum designers with a key aspect of preventative education. The model relied upon from the literature is Dorais and Corriveau's (2009) four categories of recruitment, which breaks down the girls recruited into a composite of sex slaves, submissives, independents, and daredevils. Each composite contains people, places, and strategies employed in recruitment. For this dissertation, I decided to break the categories down into the people, places, and strategies of recruitment in order to give prevention education a clear plan of action. This research found that Indigenous girls in Prince Albert are recruited into the sex trade by: gang recruitment, boyfriends, female recruitment, family recruitment, meeting basic needs, substance abuse, social media, and reserve recruitment.

The categories of recruitment established in this research are not exclusive, in most instances multiple strategies are used in concert. For example, gangs may recruit using female friends via social media. Or, boyfriends may find young Indigenous girls on

the reserve and use substance abuse to create an environment amenable to recruitment. The difficult aspect of preparing young Indigenous girls to be mindful of potential recruitment is that it appears in so many forms, requiring them to be weary of friends, relatives, and anyone offering friendship. Preventative education will equip young girls with the ability to recognize manipulative behaviour, develop resiliency and independence. Dorais and Corriveau's (2009) four categories of recruitment argue that submissives are the most common composite of girls recruited into the sex trade. A consistent trait of submissives is dependency on boyfriends and friends in periods of excessive vulnerability, which can be mitigated through preventative education.

An element of recruitment that requires consideration is its constantly evolving nature. Social Media has emerged as a powerful resource for predators, minimizing their exposure while casting a wide net. Recruitment via social media usually occurs by male or female predators befriending young Indigenous girls living on the reserve. The connection is made through friends of friends who have already urbanized, inviting girls from the reserve to parties or boys establishing romantic relationships. Facebook, and other social media, is also used for sex trade operations, which are outside of the mandate of this research, but nevertheless important. Staff members reported the youngest girls missing from the streets for some time, eventually learning that pimps use Facebook when setting up dates to keep pressure from the police at bay. Moreover, the girls themselves used Facebook from schools and youth centres to set up dates with johns and stay connected with their pimps. Responding to recruitment via social networking is imperative, and also highlights the necessity of monitoring the constantly shifting landscape of recruitment into the sex trade.

The limitation of educating for recruitment strategies is the pernicious methods used by some recruiters. Several survivors were kidnapped from the streets and raped, stolen from schools and forced on the streets, or sold by family members at parties. Extending prevention beyond children to educators, police, social workers, and parents is imperative for a holistic approach. Asking children to be solely responsible for the prevention of recruitment is absurd; the entire community should commit to giving our children the protection and basic liberties taken for granted by everyone else. Family based education was a pedagogical recommendation repeatedly voiced by survivors and staff. Extending participation outwards builds from Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) principle of 'democratization' as a tool for creating a community that takes on responsibility for sex trade prevention. The barrier of engaging parents in difficult learning is outside of the framework of this research, and a necessary next step for school systems incorporating sex trade prevention in their curriculum.

Meeting basic needs as a medium for recruitment is especially difficult to overcome, since Indigenous children experiencing multiple pathways often lack the necessities of life. Survivors and staff shared stories where a lack of housing, food, and transportation resulted in Indigenous girls having their first experience in the sex trade. In many cases, the girls did not recognize this behaviour as sex trade activity until years later. Recommendations for addressing basic needs included providing students with information about organizations in Prince Albert that assist in housing, meals, and transportation. In reality, the availability of social services providing basic necessities may assist Indigenous girls in a vulnerable position, but systemic poverty pervasive in Indigenous communities is a larger issue well beyond the limits of this dissertation. The

limitations section of this dissertation hypothesized that systemic barriers stemming from colonization and the IRS era would emerge as significant factors in vulnerability.

Pervasive poverty experienced by Indigenous families is one such example.



Figure 6.4 Recruitment (findings)

Question 3 - What should preventative education look like?

The absence of any material relating to pedagogical and demographic recommendations for prevention education required establishing a foundation in this research. The available literature on Indigenous education (Battiste, 2013; Cajete, 1994; Wotherspoon & Schissel, 1998) can help inform models of pedagogy, but the unique nature of preventative education requires creative use of local experts and community resources. The recommendations emerging in the research regarding the design of preventative education included: age of prevention, location of instruction, background of educators, geographic variation, cultural education, family-based prevention, ethic of care, and engagement strategies. Each recommendation included a number of possibilities, promoting the necessity of diverse program designs that include teachers and participants from local communities.

Responses regarding the location of instruction contained a strong emphasis for establishing prevention education in on-reserve schools surrounding cities with sex trade activity. Survivors and staff believed most recruits came from reserve communities, which created a specific vulnerability that was openly targeted by predators. The experience of transitioning from reserves to the city causes multiple pathways, most significantly poverty, loss of support network, vulnerability to new friends and boyfriends, loss of services, and being recruited from family members. Targeting prevention in on-reserve schools allows for access to a large population of Indigenous girls experiencing multiple pathways, and the resources and individuals required to offer a collaborative program.

Questions regarding age of prevention education split into two camps. All of the sex trade survivors and most of the staff believed that preventative education should occur somewhere between 7 and 10 years old. A smaller contingent argued for prevention education to be focused on 12 to 13 year olds, allowing for direct, age appropriate education. Totten (2012), Seshia (2005), and Sethi (2007) inform us that first experiences in the sex trade typically happen for Indigenous girls by 10 to 13 years old, which requires the earliest stage of prevention to occur prior to the youngest age of recruitment. Targeted sex trade prevention with students as young as grade two may create resistance in the community, in the interest of protecting children from being exposed to aspects of sexuality inappropriate for children. Furthermore, policy like Section 50.1 of the Alberta School Act (Government of Alberta, 2015) may limit the ability of prevention education to access the girls occupying the most vulnerable position by allowing students to be removed from classes including any discussion of sex and sexuality. Since the

recommended focus of prevention education in this dissertation is reserve schools surrounding cities, provincial school policy will not apply, but federal or local policy may impact schools' ability to provide sufficient education to Indigenous girls experiencing multiple pathways.

The relationship between the students and educators is paramount in the recommendations of survivors and staff. Survivors gave multiple examples of support staff and educators using a formal relationship that dehumanized and removed the possibility of engagement. Recommendations for educators included grandmothers, aunties and other respected women from the community who could establish a caring relationship in the classroom that fits with survivors' experiences of effective teaching and relationship building. Focusing attention on teaching from a place of care instead of duty fits seamlessly with Noddings (2005) ethic of care, which has been adopted with great success in a western Canadian school catering to students lacking engagement, transitioning from mainstream schools (Cassidy & Bates, 2005). Modeling care must extend beyond the relationships with students. Grandmothers, aunties, and other community educators must be valued within the school, demanding the same respect and deference as formal teachers and administrators.

Family-based education emerged as a hopeful aspect of prevention, but many survivors and staffed questioned the feasibility of family participation. Parental engagement is an ongoing barrier to education success for Indigenous students (Barnes, Josefowitz, & Cole, 2006), which could be far more difficult in classes targeting sensitive issues that may implicate parenting practices. A strengths-based approach to parental involvement is preferable, instead of viewing participation as a means of unearthing

family trauma. Couture, Parker, Couture, and Laboucane (2001) found that family and community-based education extends the responsibility of prevention beyond the individual. Elders could work together with families in class to practice and model healthy relationships, instead of focusing solely on identifying negative behaviour. Parents may lack exposure to positive parental behaviour, which can be addressed through activities that provide a forum for learning and practicing care and love.



Figure 6.5 Pedagogical recommendations (findings)

Response to the Problem

The stated problem in this research is the drastic overrepresentation of Indigenous girls and women in the sex trades of most Canadian cities. Seshia (2005), and Bingham, Leo, Zhang, Montaner, and Shannon (2014) argued that Indigenous women comprise more than half of the visible sex trade in western Canadian cities, despite being 2% of the population. Programs addressing sex trade activity are rarely Indigenous specific, often have an intervention focus, and are primarily overseen by organizations outside of the school system (CISS, 2005; Public Safety Canada, 2012a; Public Safety Canada, 2012b

Public Safety Canada, 2012d; Totten, 2012). While sex trade intervention programming is important, academics agree that prevention education is required for a continuum of care for vulnerable populations and will likely offer a more effective method of addressing overrepresentation than reactionary interventions (Totten, 2009; Virgil & Yun, 2002). The limited prevention and intervention programming tends to happen in community organizations, with schools shirking their responsibility to address the situation many of their Indigenous students endure.

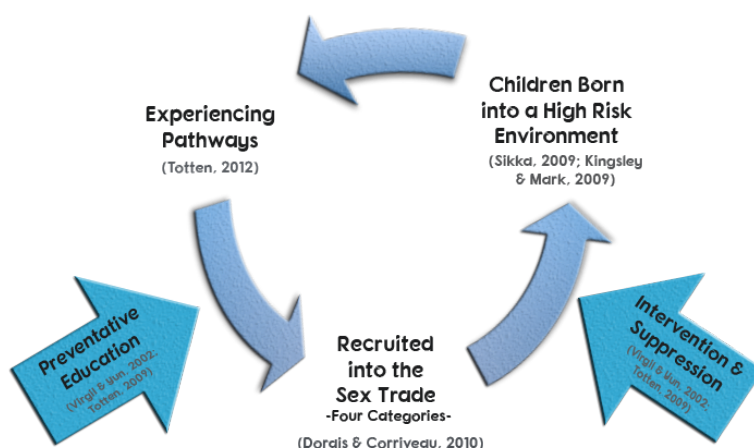


Figure 6.6 Prevention and intervention

The findings of this dissertation have created a response to the stated problem by establishing foundational data required to create preventative education currently absent. In order to begin addressing the overrepresentation of Indigenous girls in the sex trade, a basic understanding of pathways and recruitment are necessary prior to preventative education promoting resiliency.

Conclusions Summarized

Relating to the three questions of this research, this research has found:

1. The life experiences creating vulnerability to the sex trade for Indigenous girls are: sexual abuse, transition from reserves, prison systems, violentization, substance abuse, family disorganization/out of home placements, family in the sex trade, poverty, and poor relationship with services.
2. Indigenous girls are recruited into the sex trade by: gang recruitment, meetings basic needs, boyfriends, female recruitment, social media, substance abuse, family recruitment, reserve recruitment.
3. Prevention education should be focused on Indigenous girls from 7-13 in on-reserve schools. A combination of teachers, female community members, elders, role models, and service providers should teach preventative education using love, engagement, patience, and understanding. Entire families should be included in the education process as much as possible, which should apply local cultural education and ways of knowing as much as possible.



Figure 6.7 Pathways, recruitment, and pedagogy (findings)

Implication of the Study

The following implications arose for preventative education for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade arose from this research.

Implications For Practice

1. The implications of this research on the practice of preventative education will hopefully lead to the establishment of research-driven, school-based prevention in on-reserve schools across Canada.

2. Prince Albert Outreach was selected to partner with this research because of the recognition of their amazing work in prevention and intervention education relating to the sex trade and gang activity (Public Safety Canada, 2012d; Totten, 2012). Preventative and intervention programming for PA Outreach is only limited by available funding. Research findings in this research can help inform the continued modification of PA Outreach program design and targeted education. Moreover, hopefully funders will recognize the remarkable and pioneering work of this organization.
3. Education authorities and school boards will begin to recognize the necessity of addressing vulnerable populations based on the reality of age of recruitment for Indigenous girls.
4. Partnerships between social services providers and on-reserve school systems to provide a continuity of care, establish relationships with Indigenous youth, and give individuals experience within the local community in a positive environment.
5. Promote the necessity of including local Indigenous experts in the classroom and showing respect for the wealth of knowledge they bring to the school environment.
6. Schools and organizations can build from the success of Prince Albert Outreach by shaping program design and engagement strategies after a successful model.
7. National and Provincial level governments are responsible for amending health, education, justice, child welfare, and social systems to stop oppressing Indigenous peoples. Government funding agencies are required to move away from temporary funding strategies that removes funding from effective organizations based on cyclical models.

Implications For Theory

1. Academics have repeatedly called for studies investigating the life experiences leading Indigenous girls into the sex trade, and the methods used in recruitment (Bingham, Leo, Zhang, Montaner, & Shannon, 2014; Hoogland & Redden, 2010; Totten, 2012). This dissertation establishes the data that contributes to the creation of theoretical models that can inform foundational understanding of pathways to the sex trade, recruitment, and pedagogical responses.
2. Pathways to the sex trade for Indigenous girls in Prince Albert include: sexual abuse, transition from reserves, prison systems, violentization, substance abuse, family disorganization/out of home placements, family in the sex trade, poverty, and poor relationship with services. Each pathway creates vulnerability in multiple ways, which must be recognized and additionally researched in order to understand how prevention can be optimally designed.
3. Recruitment to the sex trade for Indigenous girls in Prince Albert include: gang recruitment, boyfriends, female recruitment, family recruitment, meeting basic needs, substance abuse, social media, and reserve recruitment. Models can inform future research and theory of the specific nature of recruitment for Indigenous girls significantly overrepresented in the sex trade.
4. Pedagogy and demographic models for preventative education should be focused on Indigenous girls from 7-13 in on-reserve schools. A combination of teachers, community members, elders, role models, and service providers should teach preventative education using love, engagement, patience and understanding. Entire families should be included in the education process as much as possible,

which should apply local cultural education and ways of knowing as much as possible.

5. No other studies look directly at vulnerability and recruitment of Indigenous girls into the sex trade, but the Hoogland and Redden (2009) study in southern British Columbia, and Bingham et al. research in Vancouver, and Seshia (2005) in Winnipeg have enough data available to begin creating larger models.

Implications For Further Research

Since there is no research in the creation of preventative education for Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade, the implications for further research are endless. Each pathway, recruitment method, and pedagogical recommendation is fertile ground for further research. In the interest of brevity, I will limit the implications for further research to the immediate projects and research studies that will begin based on the findings of this dissertation. Since the original questions of this research were not specifically focused directly on pathways, recruitment and pedagogy, subsequent studies will be far more focused and easier to conduct.

1. Replicate the same study in a number of Canadian cities, beginning with Calgary. Understanding the geographical variations is important for establishing which pathways and recruitment strategies are universal and which are unique. The experience gained while conducting these studies has prepared me for the barriers and strengths engrained in researching vulnerable populations
2. Following the second study in Calgary, the pathways, recruitment strategies, and pedagogical recommendations will be compiled and published. Researching multiple western Canadian cities will create the opportunity for the creation of

- theory with wide ranging implications for sex trade prevention education for Indigenous girls.
3. Calgary is surrounded by several large First Nations communities. The pathways, recruitment method, and pedagogical findings of the Calgary study will be brought to an on-reserve school to partner with in the creation of preventative education curriculum. Further research will be created by writing a methodological paper based on collaboration with an on-reserve school, community elders, parents, and students to design curriculum based on the research findings. A second research paper can be written based on the theoretical translation of research findings into a school curriculum and pedagogical model.
 4. Participants of the sex trade prevention education program in the on-reserve school can be tracked and interviewed periodically to understand the impact of prevention education as Indigenous girls reach the age of recruitment. The experiences of Indigenous girls taking prevention education can be compared with Indigenous girls in other schools where programming is unavailable.
 5. Additional cities and countries can follow the same steps of research, design, and implementation of sex trade prevention education for Indigenous girls. Research can be conducted to understand the similarities and differences between all aspects of research, design, implementation, success, and barriers in each region.
 6. Research studies can be conducted to understand the Indigenous boys who prey upon and recruit girls into the sex trade. Available research (Totten, 2012) informs us that the same traumatic life experiences that push Indigenous girls toward the sex trade make Indigenous boys vulnerable to gangs, and more likely

to become predators. Research can be conducted into the creation of preventative education addressing pathways, recruitment, and toxic gender perspectives for young Indigenous boys. The same process can be followed in this study: research pathways and recruitment in multiple cities, use data to collaborate in the creation of curriculum for on-reserve schools, deliver prevention education to young Indigenous boys, and then study their progress.

Researchers Reflections

Designing, researching, analyzing, and writing this dissertation has been a transformative experience in my growth as an academic. The overwhelming prospect of a completed dissertation is far too much to consider at the outset, especially considering the stark contrast between the ideas proposed and the finished product. Little Bear (2011) reminds us that relationships based on Indigenous epistemologies take time to develop, which is fitting for the meandering path I traveled in search of my research questions. Without the patience, knowledge, and guidance of my advisor, Dr. Jacqueline Ottmann, I may have remained lost amongst the ill-suited epistemologies, methodologies, and research questions. Confidence in my ability to meaningfully address destructive issues facing Indigenous people through education never wavered, thanks to the vast support network I enjoyed throughout the process.

Settling on a specific research topic took over a year, growing from a related field that was far too expansive. Initially I had planned on a comparative study that would expand upon my masters research that focused on peace education for ex-child soldiers in the remote areas of northern Uganda. The dissertation would compare strategies of peace education between east Africa and western Canadian anti-gang education targeted at

Indigenous youth. Thankfully, experienced researchers informed me that a comparative study requires twice the work and employ far too many variables for plausibility. Emerging from the shattered framework of my comparative investigation was a focus on gang prevention education for Indigenous youth. Further research into existing programming and scholarship related to Indigenous gangs revealed the near absence of information regarding Indigenous girls and women. The limited information available pointed to most Indigenous girls within gangs being forced onto the street to earn money in the sex trade. Finally, the proposal of my dissertation intended to investigate questions related to vulnerability and recruitment of Indigenous girls into gangs, which resulted in sex trade activity. Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues that decolonized methodologies require true collaboration with Indigenous communities, which includes collaborating in defining what is important and the questions being asked. Based on initial conversations with staff at Prince Albert Outreach and students living in vulnerable situations, it became clear the scope of this dissertation would require going beyond gang recruitment, and consider pathways and recruitment into the sex trade for Indigenous girls through any mechanism.

From the outset it became clear that Prince Albert Outreach was the optimal organization to partner with in this research. Totten (2012) acknowledged the remarkable intervention achievements of PA Outreach working with gang affiliated Indigenous boys and Indigenous girls in the sex trade. Compared to other organizations across western Canada, PA Outreach was the only Indigenous specific intervention service revered for best practices, and using culturally specific programming to support vulnerable populations. The wealth of knowledge in the teachers, support staff, and administration of PA Outreach is the basis of much of the theory developed in this dissertation. Staff

members spent years working in support vans that offered basic services to sex trade workers, negotiated with gang leaders to help students exit their affiliation, answered phone calls from students in crisis at 3AM, showed students love and caring previously absent in their lives, never ceased in their belief and support of students who others had given up on, and countless other remarkable actions. When describing my research it is common to be praised for tackling such a difficult subject. I always explain that I am merely documenting and theorizing about the remarkable work of others, working tirelessly on the frontlines.

Securing interviews with sex trade survivors was far more difficult than I had initially envisioned. The staff of PA Outreach bore much of the responsibility for identifying and securing interviews with sex trade survivors, since I did not have the connections in Prince Albert. I am forever indebted to Angela for her unwavering support of my research, continually following leads for possible interview subjects. Since I was not present in the interviews of sex trade survivors, the first time I was exposed to their harrowing experiences was in the transcription phase. Listening to hours of unimaginable trauma experienced by young children, often at the hands of people who were supposed to protect them was more than I could bear on occasion. Most of the interviews consisted of repeated sexual abuse, rape, violence, victim blaming by the police and social services, and death. At several points during transcription and analysis I had to take breaks from the research for days or weeks, in order to regain my composure and feel comfortable engaging. Transitioning from understanding these experiences on an emotional level to creating academic theory proved difficult. Eventually, you have to detach yourself from the individual's life experiences long enough to analyze and create meaningful theory.

Balancing the emotional and analytic requirements of research of this nature requires compartmentalizing responses and a strong support network.

Sikka (2010) argues that the occupation of ‘criminalized spaces’ by Indigenous girls result in the general public blaming them for their own oppression. Assuming that everyone has the ability to decide whether or not they would grow up in poverty, or that individuals should overcome their current circumstances and decades of intergenerational trauma and systemic oppression. This sentiment was clearly expressed by a former member of the Canadian Parliament when he stated that many missing and murdered Indigenous women were “putting themselves at risk” (CBC News, 2015, para 1).

Participation in the sex trade is still perceived as voluntary by the vast majority, never stopping to think why anyone would choose an abusive and difficult life if they had any other recourse. Furthermore, since we understand the age of recruitment to be somewhere around 10 to 13 for Indigenous girls, how can the word voluntary ever enter the equation?

Despite the overwhelming systemic barriers facing meaningful avenues of change for academics and practitioners working as advocates and allies of Indigenous girls, nothing is gained from becoming mired in frustration. The voices of sex trade survivors who overcame unspeakable trauma to remove themselves from cycles of violence, substance abuse, unspeakable sexual violence, and a myriad of other trauma, models the tenacity we can only hope to achieve. Understanding the multiple pathways experienced by Indigenous girls vulnerable to the sex trade gives us only the slightest glimpse into the impossible childhood they were not required to endure. As researchers, educators, and human beings, we have the responsibility to work to interrupt cycles of trauma stemming back to the IRS era for Indigenous girls. Every survivor interviewed spoke of one person

in their lives, often teachers or support workers, who continued fighting for them, caring, and treating with humanity. As researchers and educators we should aim to be the one person who helps change the life of students growing up in an environment lacking hope and possibility, ensuring support and care for everyone who enters our classroom.

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